

POLI 891.200: Special Topics
The European Union Today: People, Policy, Politics
Spring 2017

CES Director John Stephens, Jean Monnet Chair Milada Vachudova, and Jean Monnet Visiting Scholar in Residence Mariano Torcal

Course Profile:

What does the future of the EU look like? This question is on the minds of many – and now you can discuss this question and many important issues facing Europe in POLI 490, a new "EU Today" course with experts in the field.

As a Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, the UNC Center for European Studies is offering this 3-credit undergraduate/graduate course designed for seniors and MA students who have been studying Europe and the EU. The course is team-taught by faculty affiliated with the Center, including the Center's Director John Stephens and the Jean Monnet Chair Milada Vachudova as well as by Prof Mariano Torcal from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain and current EU Visiting Scholar at the Center.

The course will offer students a chance to discuss current issues in a lecture and discussion-focused environment.

Course Requirements:

Attendance at the weekly meetings is required. If you know you will have to miss a session, please email Katie Shanahan Lindner at klindner@email.unc.edu as soon as possible. Please note that this kind of prior notification does not necessarily mean that your absence will be excused. One unexcused absence is allowable; after that participation points will be deducted from your final grade.

Grades and Tardiness:

Failure to do the work involved or to comply with the attendance norms could result in an F grade for the course. Please take these requirements seriously. The final grade will be calculated as follows:

Participation: 25%; Students are expected to complete the assigned readings before class each week and to contribute to discussion during seminar. Good participation does not presume you understand everything in the reading – good questions make for good participation. The estimated time of dedication to prepare each session should be 2-3 hours.

Discussion leaders: 25%; Each student will come to two class sessions prepared to lead discussion based on the readings. Please prepare 8-10 questions in handout form. We will have everyone sign up during orientation.

Research Paper: 50% (Proposal 5%; Annotated bibliography 10%; Final paper 35%); Each student must write an original paper on some aspect of covered by the course. Students should consult with Professor Torcal during the course of the term about potential topics.

The paper does not have to include any data analysis. Instead, papers could include an empirical or theoretical discussion of the topics covered. It is also possible to propose topics indirectly related to these topics, but from a different perspective that might be of interest for the students.

Each student should turn in a paper proposal that states the central question to be examined, and why the question is important and interesting, briefly explains how the proposed research will address the question. The proposal should be submitted by March 6th. This proposal will count for the 5% of the total grade. After this, students have to submit a document with all the annotated bibliography they intend to use and read. This document will count for the 10% of the total grade. The estimated time of dedication to write the research paper is 25 hours.

Course Sessions:

1. Monday, January 23, 2017 – Orientation John Stephens and Katie Shanahan Lindner (CES Executive Director) will provide an Introduction of the course, review of the syllabus and an overview of course requirements.

2. Monday, January 30, 2017 – “Social Investment Agenda” John D. Stephens, Lenski Professor of Political Science and Sociology; Director, Center for European Studies, Jean Monnet Center of Excellence, TransAtlantic Masters Program; jdsteph@unc.edu

- **Readings:** Gøsta Esping-Andersen, “A Child-Centered Social Investment Strategy” in Gøsta Esping-Andersen et al., *Why we need a New Welfare State*, Oxford, 2002.; Giuliano Bonoli, “New Social Risks and the Politics of Post-industrial Social Policies,” in Klaus Armingeon and Giuliano Bonoli, *The Politics of Post-Industrial Welfare States: Adapting Post-war Social Policies to New Social Risks*, Routledge, 2006.; Nathalie Morel, Bruno Palier, and Joakim Palme, “Beyond the Welfare States as We Know It,” in Nathalie Morel, Bruno Palier, and Joakim Palme (eds.), *Towards a social investment welfare state? Ideas, policies and challenges*. Policy Press, 2011.

3. Monday, February 6, 2017 – “Immigrants, Refugees and Muslims in Europe: Some Complicated and Challenging Issues” Rahsaan Maxwell, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, rahsaan@email.unc.edu

Immigrant integration has been one of the most intense political issues in Western Europe in recent decades. While many West European countries have long traditions of integrating immigrants from fellow European countries, the dramatic post-WWII rise in migrants from outside of Europe has literally changed the complexion of cities and towns across the continent. Muslim immigrants have been especially challenging to integrate and there have been widespread debates and controversies over whether Islam is compatible with contemporary European society. In addition, the recent refugee crisis has added further flames to an already-tense situation. Today we will discuss some of these complicated and challenging issues.

NOTE SPECIAL TIME: 4-7pm in GEC 3033

- **Readings:** Jens Hainmueller, Dominik Hangartner and Giuseppe Pietrantuono. 2015. "Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants" *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112(41): 12651-12656.; Jens Hainmueller, Dominik Hangartner and Duncan Lawrence. 2016. "When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees" *Science Advances* 2(8); Ruud Koopmans. 2015. "Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups: A Comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(1): 33-57.

The next five sessions will be taught by Mariano Torcal, Full Professor of Political Science at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spanish National Coordinator of the European Social Survey, Director of the Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Methodology, UNC Jean Monnet EU Visiting Scholar; mariano.torcal@upf.edu; office GEC room 3216.

These sessions will cover five different topics on Public Opinion and Political Behavior in Europe which are very relevant nowadays. These topics are: Support for the European Integration and EU institutions, the decline of political trust (national representative institutions), opinions and attitudes toward immigration, European Elections, and support to populist and right-wing extremist parties. This is a course basically on political behavior and political attitudes in Europe.

The sessions strive to give the students a thorough and careful introduction to the essential ideas of study and analysis of political attitudes and political behavior in Europe. Knowledge on basic aspects of political attitudes, political behavior and survey and methodological issues are very welcome, but it is not a prerequisite.

In the assigned readings there are some statistical analyses. Our class discussion will be based ONLY on the summaries of results provided in the readings. Therefore, statistical knowledge is not required. However, for those students interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the data results and greater methodological discussion I recommend a basic introduction to econometrics: *Gujarati's Basic Econometrics* (McGraw-Hill, 1988) or *Dougherty's Introduction to Econometrics* (Oxford University Press, 2002). For basic knowledge on comparative research designs, I recommend King, Keohane, and Verba's. *Designing Social Inquiry* (Princeton University Press, 1994).

The objective of these sessions is for students to be introduced in the study of the basic attitudes and behavior towards these five topics in Europe. Students are supposed to achieve an understanding of the basic concepts and dimensions of political attitudes, electoral behavior and some knowledge on how to deal with this expanding literature. The final goal is to have an idea what Europeans think and perceive about all these fundamental issues today.

4. Monday, February 13, 2017 "The Concept of Political Support and Attitudes toward the EU" This is an introductory session about the study of political attitudes. Departing from the classics on political culture, I will outline also the current discussion on Support to the EU and its basic institutions. For students not familiar with the Institutions and functioning of the European Union, I strongly recommend the following brief introduction: Simon Hix. 2014. "The EU as a new Political System". In Daniele Caramani, ed., *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (3ed.).

- **Compulsory Readings:** Sara B. Hobolt. 2012. "Public Opinion and Integration". In Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199546282.013.0050.; Armingeon, Klaus and Besir Ceka. 2013. "The loss of trust in the European Union during the great recession since 2007: The role of heuristics from the national political system." *European Union Politics*, DOI: 10.1177/1465116513495595.; Harteveld, Eelco; Tom van der Meer; and Catherine E De Vries (2013). "In Europe we trust? Exploring three logics of trust in the European Union". *European Union Politics*: 1-14. D.O.I.: 10.1177/1465116513491018.
- **Recommended Readings:** Some additional very short readings on Brexit: <http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21708679-minority-leavers-have-changed-their-minds-others-are-bailing-out-after-brexite-bregret>; <http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2016/06/daily-chart-17>; <http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21701257-results-paint-picture-angry-country-divided-class-age-and-region-country-divided>

5. Monday, February 20, 2017 "Second Order Election (SOE) Paradigm for EU Elections"

Voting behavior is admittedly one of the most developed fields in political science – in approaches, concepts, indicators, findings and contributions. This session deliberately seeks to introduce a degree of simplification by discussing the foundations laid down by three classical works in the field. However, these models were fundamentally changed to explain EU elections, where the second-order election is the dominant paradigm. In this session, we will have a very profound descriptive picture of the European Elections in the last 30 years, trying to identify some patterns, trends and tendencies, and also observing the impact that it might have had on the arrival of newcomers to countries in the EU.

- **Readings:** Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks 2012. "Politicization". In Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199546282.013.0058.; Joost van Spanje and Claes de Vreese. 2011. "So what's wrong with the EU? Motivations underlying the Eurosceptic vote in the 2009 European elections", *European Union Politics*, 12: 405-429; Catherine E. de Vries, Wouter van der Brug, Marcel H. van Egmond, and Cees van der Eijk. 2011. "Individual and contextual variation in EU issue voting: The role of political information", *Electoral Studies*, 30: 16–28.

6. Monday, February 27, 2017 "The representation crisis in Europe: Political trust in European democracies"

In this session we will observe the evolution of political trust in the main institutions on representation (national parliaments, politicians, political parties and judicial institutions) in Europe. After revising the main theories explaining cross-national differences in political trust, we will try to deal with the following questions. Is there a clear decline trend in political trust in Europe? What explains cross-national differences in political trust in Europe? What is the effect of the crisis in political trust in Europe? Is the economic performance the only explanatory factor in the decline of political trust?

- **Readings:** Meer, Tom van de (2017). "Democratic input, macro-economic output, and political trust" In Sonja Zmerli and Tom van der Meer, eds. *Handbook on Political*

Trust, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016: ISBN 978 1 78254 510 1.; Torcal, Mariano (2017). "Political Trust in Western and Southern Europe". In Sonja Zmerli and Tom van der Meer, eds. *Handbook on Political Trust*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016: ISBN 978 1 78254 510 1.; Armingeon, Klaus and Kai Guthmann (2014). "Democracy in crisis? The declining support for national democracy in European countries, 2007–2011", *European Journal of Political Research* 53 (1): 423-442.

7. Monday, March 6, 2017 "Public Opinion on Immigration and its electoral consequences" In this session will observe the evolution in public opinion on immigration in Europe, one of the most important issues nowadays. We will discuss different theories to explain individual level differences and cross-national differences. We will also observe some of the electoral consequences of this issue.

- **Readings:** Hainmueller and Hiscox (2010) "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment", *American Journal of Political Science*; Malhotra et al (2013) "Economic Explanations for Opposition to Immigration: Distinguishing between Prevalence and Conditional Impact", *American Journal of Political Science*; Sergi Pardos-Prado (2015) "How Can Mainstream Parties Prevent Niche Party Success? Center-Right Parties and the Immigration Issue", *The Journal of Politics*, 77(2): 352-367

8. Monday, March 13, 2017 – Spring Break

9. Monday, March 20, 2017 "The emergence and support to right-wing and niche parties" This session will be fully dedicated to explain the emergence of new parties in the European party systems, paying special attention to right-wing extremists parties and new niche parties.

- **Readings:** Adams, James, Michael, Clark, Lawrence, Ezrow and Garrett, Glasgow. 2006. Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998. *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 513-529.; Arzheimer, Kai. 2009. Contextual factors and the extreme-right vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002. *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.; Golder, Matt. 2016. Far Right Parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 477-97; Stavrakakis, Yannis and Giorgos, Katsambekis. 2014. Left-wing populism in the European periphery: the case of SYRIZA. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 19(2): 119-142.

10. Monday, March 27, 2017 "Europe under repression. How Europeans reacted to totalitarian control" Paul Corner, Professor of European History at University of Siena, Italy; Site Director, TransAtlantic Masters in Siena, paul.corner@unisi.it

The seminar asks a series of questions. How did ordinary people live under the totalitarian/authoritarian regimes of the last century? Why did people become Nazis or Fascists? Did people become communist out of conviction or because of compulsion? What was the nature of social control under these regimes and how far can

they be equated with each other? And a final, very important question; to what extent does fascism "belong" only to the past?

- **Readings:** Corner, P. (2009). *Popular opinion in totalitarian regimes: fascism, Nazism, Communism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press. (Chapters 1, 2, 3); Lüdtke, A. (2016). Ordinary People, Self-Energizing, and Room for Manoeuvring; Examples from 20th Century Europe in A. Lüdtke (Ed.), *Everyday life in mass dictatorship: collusion and evasion*. Houndmills, Basingstoke ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

11. Monday, April 3, 2017 "EUroscepticism and EU Cultural Policy" Sabine Von Dirke, Associate Professor, German Department, University of Pittsburgh, vondirke@pitt.edu

Prof Von Dirke will discuss the correlation between the collapse of the "permissive consensus" in the early 1990s/rising EUroscepticism and the EU's attempt to mobilize "C/culture" as a means to address this problem. In other words, her lecture will discuss some of the research on the "EUropean identity crisis" and the increase in cultural programming/funding by the EU. Her lecture will address the oldest program, "Cultural Capitals of Europe" and the most recent cultural programs – 2007-2013 and 2014-2020/Creative Europe program.

- **Readings:** Zimmermann, Hubert and Andreas Dür, *Key Controversies in European Integration*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) [Introduction, Chapter 6]; Bottici, Chiara and Benoit Challand, *Imagining Europe. Myth, Memory, and Identity*. (New York: Cambridge UP, 2013) [Introduction, Chapter 4]; Declaration of European Identity, Copenhagen 1973; EU Commission: Towards an Integrated Concept of Cultural Heritage of Europe; EU Commission: A New Narrative for Europe

12. Monday, April 10, 2017 "Can the Centre Hold? European Integration in the Face of Rising Populism and Democratic Backsliding in the Member States" Milada Vachudova, Associate Professor of Political Science, Chair, Curriculum in Global Studies, Jean Monnet Chair for EU Studies; vachudov@email.unc.edu

The last two years have seen a dramatic transformation in the political landscape of Europe due to the rising power of populist and xenophobic political parties and leaders in many EU member states. We will discuss the contours of Europe's refugee crisis, and the variation in how EU member states have responded to the call to help refugees, to develop EU burden-sharing, and to end the refugee flows. We will explore what changes in European and British politics and political attitudes led to the astounding Brexit vote in the United Kingdom last June — and what are the consequences. We will also examine the problem of democratic backsliding among EU member states, and ask whether other countries are following in the footsteps of Viktor Orban's Hungary in centralizing power and dismantling liberal democracy in the heart of Europe.

- **Readings:** European Politics & Society newsletter, Winter 2017; Kelemen, R. (2017). Europe's Other Democratic Deficit: National Authoritarianism in Europe's Democratic Union. *Government and Opposition*, 52(2), 211-238. doi:10.1017/gov.2016.41

13. **Monday, April 17, 2017 "The on-going impact of the financial crisis on the EU, including implications of Brexit"** Despina Alexiadou, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, dalexiad@pitt.edu

- **Compulsory Readings:** Roberts, Kenneth. Forthcoming. "State of the Field Party politics in hard times: Comparative perspectives on the European and Latin American economic crises.", *European Journal of Political Research*, Moury, Catherine and Adam Standring. Forthcoming. "Going beyond the Troika': Power and discourse in Portuguese austerity politics.", *European Journal of Political Research*, Hernandez, Enrique and Hanspeter Kriezi. 2016. "The electoral consequences of the financial and economic crisis in Europe.", *European Journal of Political Research*, 55: 203–224; Bertou, Eri and Giulia Pastorella. 2017. "Technocratic attitudes: a citizens' perspective of expert decision-making.", *West European Politics*, 40: 430–458
- **Recommended Readings:** Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2016. *The Euro: How a common currency threatens the Future of Europe*, W.W. Norton and Company.

14. **Monday, April 24, 2017 "From the Paris Attacks to Berlin: Terrorism, Migration and Security in Europe"** Tobias Hof, DAAD Visiting Professor of History; tobi@email.unc.edu

French President François Hollande condemned the terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015 as an "act of war". The vocabulary used by him and others is meant to establish a sense of unity, prepare citizens for suffering and herald the long effort ahead. Some scholars fear that the French and European reaction foretells a new global war on terrorism that may be just as unsuccessful as the first one. They demand that Europe, which has been struck by other terrorist attacks since Paris, must learn from the mistakes of the US in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. At the same time, however, Europe faces another challenge which can no longer be understood as separate from the crisis of terrorism after the Paris attacks and the attacks in Germany: the refugee crisis. In fact, for nationalists and far right populists these two crises were never really separate to begin with. In the lecture we will discuss their impact on European everyday life, security measures, immigration policy as well as the involvement of European countries in the "war on Terror" in the midst of serious challenges to the European Union. The lecture will focus on the central question of how to find a balanced path between the Scylla of unbridled liberalism and the Charybdis of authoritarianism in fighting terrorism in modern times without forfeiting Europe's dignity by rejecting refugees in need (Emmanuel Macron).

- **Reading:** Nail, T. (2016) A Tale of Two Crises: Migration and Terrorism after the Paris Attacks. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 16: 158–167. doi: 10.1111/sena.12168.

List of further recommended readings from Professor Torcal:

The Concept of Political Support and Attitudes toward the EU

- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2004. "Does Identity or Economic Rationality Drive Public Opinion on European Integration?" *Political Science and Politics*, 37(3), July: 415-120.

- Hanspeter Kriesi. 2008. Rejoinder to Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, 'A Postfunctional Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus' *British Journal of Political Science*, 39: 221-224.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration. From Permissive Consensus to Constraining" *British Journal of Political Science*, 39:1-23.
- Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse. 2008. "Revisiting the Nature of the Beast - Politization, European Identity, and Postfunctionalism: A comment on Hooghe and Marks" *British Journal of Political Science*, 39: 217-220.
- David Sanders, Pedro Magalhaes and Gabor Toka. 2012. "Summary and Conclusions: Europe in Equilibrium-Unresponsive Inertia or Vibrant Resilience?" in D. Sanders, P. Magalhaes and G. Tóka, eds., *Citizens and the European Polity*. Oxford. Oxford University Press, pp. 245-269.
- Belluci, David Sanders, Gábor Tóka and Mariano Torcal. 2012. "Introduction: Antecedents and Consequences of European Citizenship" in D. Sanders, Belluci, G. Tóka, and M. Torcal, eds., *The Europeanization of National Polities? Citizenship Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-16.
- David Sanders, Paolo Belluci, and Gábor Tóka. 2012. "Towards an Integrated Model of EU Citizenship and Support" in D. Sanders, Belluci, G. Tóka, and M. Torcal, eds., *The Europeanization of National Polities? Citizenship Support in a Post-Enlargement Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 187-233.
- Andrija Henjak, Gábor Tóka and David Sanders. 2012. "Support for European Integration" in D. Sanders, P. Magalhaes and G. Tóka, eds., *Citizens and the European Polity*. Oxford. Oxford University Press, pp. 169-211.
- Edgar Grande and Swen Hutter (2016). "Beyond authority transfer: explaining the politicisation of Europe". *West European Politics* 39(1), pp. 23-43.
- Pieter de Wilde and Christopher Lord (2016). "Assessing actually-existing trajectories of EU politicisation". *West European Politics* 39(1), pp. 145-163.
- Pieter de Wilde, Anna Leupold and Henning Schmidtke (2016). "Introduction: the differentiated politicization of European governance". *West European Politics* 39(1), pp. 3-22.

Second Order Election (SOE) Paradigm for EU Elections

- Karlheinz Reiff and Hermann Schmitt. 1980. "Nine Second Order National Elections. A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Elections", *European Journal of Political Research* 8:31-54.
- Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks (2016). "Europe's Crises and Political Contestation". Paper presented at the Conference, "Theory Meets Crisis," Robert Schuman Centre, EUJ, June 30-July 1, 2016.
- S. Flickinger and Donley T. Studlar One Europe. 2007. "Many Electorates?: Models of Turnout in European Parliament Elections After 2004". *Comparative Political Studies* 2007 40: 383-404.
- Sara B. Hobolt, Jae-Jae Spoon and James Tilley. 2008. "A Vote Against Europe? Explaining Defection at the 1999 and 2004 European Parliament Elections", *British Journal of Political Science*, 39: 93-115.
- Simon Hix and Michael Marsh. 2007. "Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections". *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 69, No. 2: 495-510.

- Nick Clark and Robert Rohrschneider. 2009. "Second-Order Elections versus First-Order Thinking: How Voters Perceive the Representation Process in a Multi-Layered System of Governance." *European Integration*, 31 (5): 645–664.
- Craig Parsons and Till Weber. 2011. "Cross-Cutting Issues and Party Strategy in the European Union", *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(4): 383–411.
- Arnold, Christine and Mark N. Franklin. 2012. "Introduction: Issue Congruence and Political Responsiveness," *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 6, 1217–1225.
- Sara B. Hobolt and James Tilley (2016). "Fleeing the centre: the rise of challenger parties in the aftermath of the euro crisis", *West European Politics*, DOI: 10.1080/01402382.2016.1181871.
- Torcal, Mariano and Toni Rodón. Forthcoming. "Issue voting and the pivotal role of the states"

The representation crisis in Europe: Political trust in European democracies.

- Pharr, Susan J. (2000). "Officials' Misconduct and Public Distrust: Japan and the Trilateral democracies," in Susan J. Pharr y Robert D. Putnam, *Disaffected Democracies. What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 173-2001.
- Pharr, Susan J. and Robert D. Putnam (2000). *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Porta, Donatella della (2000). "Social Capital, Beliefs in Government, and Political Corruption", in Susan J. Pharr y Robert D. Putnam, *Disaffected Democracies. What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 202-228.
- Mishler, William and Richard Rose (2001). "What Are the Origins of Political Trust? Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies," *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1): 30–62.
- Rohrschneider, Robert (2005). "Institutional Quality and Perceptions of Representation in Advanced Industrial Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(7): 850-874.
- Torcal, Mariano (2006). "Political disaffection and democratisation history in new democracies", in Mariano Torcal y José Ramón Montero, eds., *Political disaffection in contemporary Democracies. Social Capital, Institutions, and Politics*. London: Routledge, 157-189.
- Torcal, Mariano and José Ramón Montero (2006). "Political Disaffection in Comparative Perspective," in *Political Disaffection in Contemporary Democracies. Social Capital, Institutions, and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Polavieja, Javier (2013). "Economic crisis, political legitimacy, and social cohesion," in Duncan Gallie (Ed.), *Economic crisis, quality of work and social integration: The European experience* (pp. 256–278). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Torcal, Mariano (2014), "The Decline of Political Trust in Spain and Portugal: Economic Performance or Political Responsiveness?", *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 58, no. 12, pp. 1542-1567.
- Erkel, Patrick van, and Tom van der Meer, (2016) "Macro-economic performance, political trust, and the Great Recession: A multilevel analysis of the effects of within-country fluctuations in macroeconomic performance on political trust in 15 EU countries, 1999-2011". *European Journal of Political Research* 15: 177-197. D.O.I. 10.1111/1475-6765.12115.
- Meer, Tom van de, and Armen Hakhverdian (2016) "Process, performance, and political trust: A cross-national study in 48 European countries on political trust as an

evaluation of institutional quality and economic performance, and the supposedly moderating role of issue orientations". *Political Studies* 1-21. D.O.I.: 10.1177/0032321715607514.

Public Opinion on Immigration and its electoral consequences.

- Finseraas, H., Pedersen, A. W., & Bay, A.-H. (2014). When the Going Gets Tough: The Differential Impact of National Unemployment on the Perceived Threats of Immigration. *Political Studies*, n/a-n/a. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.12162
- Lahav, G. (2013). Threat and immigration attitudes in liberal democracies: The role of framing in structuring public opinion. In G. P. Freeman, R. Hansen, & D. L. Leal (Eds.), *Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies* (pp. 232-253). New York: Routledge.
- Blinder, S., Ford, R., & Ivarsflaten, E. (2013). The Better Angels of Our Nature: How the Antiprejudice Norm Affects Policy and Party Preferences in Great Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 841-857. doi:10.1111/ajps.12030
- McLaren, L. (2012). The cultural divide in Europe: migration, multiculturalism, and political trust. *World Politics*, 64(2), 199-241.
- McLaren, L. M. (2015). *Immigration and Perceptions of National Political Systems in Europe*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- McLaren, L. (2016). Immigration, national identity and political trust in European democracies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2016.1197772
- Ceobanu, A. M., & Escandell, X. (2010). Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36, 309-328. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102651
- McLaren, Lauren (2003). "Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of migrants". *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.
- Pardos Prado, Sergi, Bram Lancee, and Inaki Sagarzazu. 2013. "Immigration and Electoral Change in Mainstream Political Space." *Political Behavior* 36(4): 847-75.

The emergence and support to right-wing and niche parties.

- Albertazzi, Daniele and Duncan, McDonnel. 2008. *Twenty-First Century Populism*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meguid, Bonnie M. 2005. Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success. *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347-359.
- Mény, Yves and Yves, Surel. 2002. *Democracies and the Populist Challenge*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Taggart, Paul. 2000. *Populism*. London : Open University Press.
- 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