Original Article

The Evolution of the Immigration Debate: Evidence from a New Dataset of Party Positions Over the Last Half-Century

Rafaela Dancygier[1] and Yotam Margalit[2]

Abstract

Immigration is one of the most contentious issues across contemporary democracies, but this has not always been the case. What accounts for this development? We study how immigration has evolved in the political debate in Western Europe over five decades by creating and analyzing a comprehensive new data set—Immigration in Party Manifestos (IPM)—of all immigration-related appeals made in preelection manifestos by major parties. Our account focuses on three central debates. First, contra to perceived wisdom, we find no evidence of polarization between left and right. Instead, we document a striking co-movement. Second, we find only modest support for the argument that the success of anti-immigrant parties significantly shapes how centrist parties position themselves on immigration. Finally, our evidence counters the claim that cultural issues have overtaken the debate over immigration. Although the prominence of immigration-related cultural appeals has increased in certain countries and elections, the economic dimension has remained prevalent.

Keywords

[1]Princeton University, NJ, USA
[2]Tel Aviv University, Israel

Corresponding Author:
Yotam Margalit, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University, Naftali Building of the Social Sciences, Tel Aviv 6997801, Israel.
Email: ymargalit@tau.ac.il

Introduction

Few subjects nowadays generate as much heated debate as immigration. As the inflow and settlement of migrants continues across Europe, the topic is inescapable in contemporary electoral politics (Hooghe & Marks, 2018; Kriesi et al., 2008). Yet, this has not always been the case. In fact, for many years, the immigration issue was largely absent from national politics, even as millions of migrants arrived (Freeman, 1995; Messina, 1989). How has the debate over immigration evolved over the past half century? In what ways have the major centrist parties changed their positions on immigration and its repercussions? Have those changes been similar across Europe? And what role have anti-immigrant parties (henceforth AIPs) played in these processes?

These questions are fundamental to understanding the politics of immigration. Yet, the absence of systematic data on party positioning has made it difficult to adjudicate between different, sometimes conflicting, accounts. One perspective, for example, common among critics on the far-right, holds that mainstream parties are almost indistinguishable in their approach to immigration. In this view, the centrist establishment has either ignored immigration and related concerns altogether, or when it has addressed the issue, the center-left and the center-right have adopted very similar positions.[1]

A second approach holds that immigration and the debates it has spawned have in fact *polarized* the political landscape. In this account, center-left and center-right parties do engage with these issues and have increasingly differentiated their stances, particularly with regard to the cultural aspects of immigration. Broadly speaking, the left has emerged as a defender of immigration and multiculturalism, whereas the right is critical of both. This differentiation has led immigration to become an increasingly salient cleavage around which parties—and voters—sort themselves (Höglinger, Wüest, & Helbling, 2012; Kriesi et al., 2008).

There is also little consensus about a third account, which emphasizes the role of AIPs in shaping the approaches that centrist parties have taken with regard to immigration. Some posit that it takes strong AIPs to push mainstream parties to address immigration in the first place. AIPs may also compel other parties to move their platforms in a more nativist direction to fend off a populist challenge (Abou-Chadi & Krause, 2018; van Spanje, 2010). Alternatively, centrist parties could chart their own course, immune from the influence of a rising far-right (Akkerman, 2015; Bale, Green-Pedersen, Krouwel, Luther, & Sitter, 2010; Mudde, 2013; Schain, 2006).

Despite these fundamental disagreements about key aspects of the immigration debate, systematically evaluating these clashing accounts is a

challenge, in part due to data limitations. Thus, although scholars have made progress in understanding the sources of variation in native attitudes toward immigration, as well as in explaining policies that regulate migrant flows—and integration, we know considerably less about how political parties in different countries have addressed immigration over the long run.[2] As parties are crucial actors in shaping public opinion, the terms of the debate, and the policies that ultimately follow, this is a significant omission.

As a result, key questions remain open, and we focus on three of them. First, is the positioning of centrist parties on immigration best characterized by convergence or polarization? Second, what are the main dimensions of the immigration debate, and what is the relative role of cultural versus economic concerns? Third, how have shifts in the positioning of mainstream parties on the immigration issue corresponded with the growing electoral presence of AIPs?

All three questions speak to the long-term dynamics of and controversies involving party competition around immigration. Notably, despite the fact that answers to these questions are crucial for our understanding of the issue, data constraints have made it difficult to address them in a systematic manner, for reasons we elaborate below. Specifically, although scholars have been able to draw on the Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) to investigate party positions on a wide range of topics, immigration—let alone the diverse issue clusters that are associated with it—has not been part of the CMP until recently.[3] We therefore undertook a large-scale translation and coding project that covered hundreds of general election manifestos. We developed a coding scheme comprising 30 issue categories that fall within the broader immigration umbrella, and then identified, translated, and classified all immigration-related preelection statements made by major center-left and center-right parties (and, where applicable, AIPs). The effort centered on parties in 12 Western European countries, covering their manifestos from as far back as the 1960s.

Our analysis of this comprehensive new data set—entitled Immigration in Party Manifestos (IPM) data set—yields the following central findings. First, we find more support for the claim that the major parties on the left and right have converged, rather than polarized, in their treatment of immigration. In terms of the issue's salience in their preelection programs, the parties generally exhibit parallel trajectories: Their manifestos were largely silent on immigration during the initial decades of mass settlement, but since the 1980s, immigration has grown in salience and today comprises a significant share of party platforms. Furthermore, the center-left and the center-right increasingly address similar aspects of immigration and have begun to mirror

one another in terms of the stances that they take. Although the center-left used to be less likely than the center-right to discuss immigration in negative terms, in recent years, this difference has diminished.

Second, when discussing immigration and its repercussions, parties have not privileged cultural over material concerns. Although cultural issues have certainly risen in absolute salience as immigration has gained prominence overall, our results show that cultural concerns have not marginalized economic ones.

Finally, we observe these trends whether or not elections feature successful AIPs. Although there is some evidence that a powerful AIP is associated with the major centrist parties raising the salience of immigration in the next election, this effect weakens once we account for the inflow of immigrants and time trends. The evidence also does not support the claim that strong AIPs cause the major parties to adopt a more negative stance or that they have a substantial impact on the types of issues that these parties discuss. On the whole, we conclude that the relationship between AIPs' approach to immigration in their election programs and that of the major parties is modest.

An important takeaway from these findings is that although the main centrist parties on the left and the right have evolved significantly in their public discussion of the immigration issue, the dynamic over the past five decades has not been one of polarization.[4] Rather, the main centrist parties appear to have responded to demographic, economic, and social changes in their countries in broadly similar ways: by paying growing attention to the immigration issue, adopting more critical views of immigration, and increasingly addressing the issue through cultural frames without neglecting its economic aspects.

The article makes several contributions. Using the IPM data set, we present the most wide-ranging and fine-grained analysis of party approaches to immigration to date. As Europe confronts its largest migrant influx in decades and as electorates seek alternatives to established parties and policy frameworks, it is particularly important to understand how this debate has unfolded historically.

Furthermore, moving beyond single-country cases or an examination of multiple countries over a short period of time, we can adjudicate between competing claims about how parties have responded to immigration. Immigration has become a key element driving electoral competition, realignment, and party system change (Beramendi, Häusermann, Kitschelt, & Kriesi, 2015; Hooghe & Marks 2018). By systematically documenting how the major centrist parties have positioned themselves on this critical issue in terms of salience, substance and stance, our study, and the data set on which it is based, significantly improve our understanding of these important shifts.

Additionally, by incorporating AIPs into the analysis, we add to research on the interaction between mainstream and niche parties (e.g. Abou-Chadi and Krause 2018; Meguid 2008).

Finally, the IPM data set, which we make publicly available, can enhance future work on the politics of immigration. Until now, scholars who wanted to include a measure of parties' immigration policy positions—as an outcome or as an independent variable of interest—were either prevented from doing so or had to resort to inadequate proxies. The new data set considerably broadens the scope of feasible research projects. The analyses we present here provide examples of the types of insights one can glean from these data. Yet, the high level of detail and degree of disaggregation of categories will provide researchers with a great deal of flexibility in answering a wide range of questions about the causes and consequences of parties' positioning on immigration.

The article is organized as follows. We first review existing research on parties' immigration policy positions, focusing on their salience and substance and on the purported impact of AIPs. We then introduce the IPM data set, explain the coding protocol, and discuss how our approach differs from earlier work. This is followed by a presentation of the results. We conclude by demonstrating how our findings help answer some unresolved questions about the evolution of the immigration debate over the past half-century and by outlining avenues for future work.

Existing Research on the Politicization of Immigration in Europe

In 2017, almost 37 million people living in the European Union (EU) were born outside its borders, whereas 20.4 million EU-born residents lived in an EU member state that was not their country of birth.[5] Although these populations are diverse in origin and migrant status, to contextualize the findings of our study, we provide a brief and broad-brush overview of immigration to Western Europe as it has unfolded since the 1950s.[6]

Immigration rose significantly in the postwar years, when labor migrants—both in the form of guest workers and postcolonial migrants—arrived in large numbers. During this period, significant sending countries included Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the former Yugoslavia. Although many of these migrants had planned on a temporary stay, millions ended up remaining and brought their families with them. In addition, intra-European migration has been important. Before becoming migrant destinations in the 1970s, Spain, Portugal, and Italy were

countries of emigration (often to France, Germany, and Switzerland). More recently, an enlarged EU has facilitated large-scale migration from Eastern to Western Europe.

Another segment of migrants consists of refugees. Refugee flows to Europe first intensified in the immediate post–Cold War period, amid the outbreak of violent conflicts (in particular, in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia). Moreover, wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, as well as violent strife in sub-Saharan Africa have caused sizable refugee movements, with several million asylum seekers arriving during 2015-2016 alone.

This most recent influx has had a major impact on public debates and elections across Europe. But even prior to this latest wave, immigration had left its mark on European societies and politics. Integration challenges, often focused on migrants of Muslim faith, have been a frequent topic of debate, as have the economic, sociocultural, and national security implications of immigration. AIPs have become permanent fixtures in many countries (Adida, Laitin, & Valfort, 2016; Golder, 2016).

Although few doubt that immigration has been a salient and divisive political issue, what is less clear is how parties have approached this topic during elections. In this section, we discuss the extant literature, focusing on three key dimensions of how a party handles a political issue: how much focus it places on it (*salience*), what specific aspects it chooses to address (*substance*), and the position it takes on these aspects (*stance*). We also discuss the current literature on the impact of AIPs on centrist party positioning.

Beginning with salience, it is important to recognize that immigration and its repercussions do not align neatly along partisan lines. Although the free flow of labor fits with the right's embrace of open markets, the cultural diversity that follows does not mesh well with its desire to preserve the nation's ethnocultural heritage. The left may be more comfortable with cultural pluralism, but it has to grapple with the fact that an inflow of workers can lower the wages of the native working class and potentially strain the welfare state.[7] Due to these cross-pressures, centrist parties may have little to gain from drawing attention to immigration—especially, if it occurs on their watch. Some, such as Messina (1989) or Freeman (1995), have argued that centrist parties across Western Europe have therefore engaged in a "conspiracy of silence" on immigration-related issues. This issue avoidance is significant, not only because of the substantial scale and consequences of immigration but also because it creates a vacuum that anti-immigrant movements can potentially exploit (Meguid, 2008).

To understand how immigration has shaped party systems, however, we need to know not only how salient the subject is but also how major parties have positioned themselves.[8] If parties diverge in substance and stance,

immigration and the concerns it raises can restructure the political space. Some therefore maintain that immigration has become a crucial part of a second electoral dimension, supplanting conventional class politics among many voters (Hooghe & Marks, 2018; Kriesi et al., 2008). Just as competing approaches to racial issues led to a fundamental realignment of American politics in the 1960s, the immigration issue has the power to transform electoral coalitions in Europe. If major parties offer competing visions, immigration can trigger realignments across the party system. Yet, if major parties converge, voters who are dissatisfied with the mainstream's message may seek comfort in parties that offer different, and perhaps more extreme, platforms. In this scenario, a centrist core would be surrounded by more extremist voices on the left and the right, potentially leading to a growing fragmentation of the vote.[9]

Do parties converge or diverge when it comes to their treatment of immigration? Here, we observe notable disagreements. Studying 18 Western European parties and relying on the CMP proxy categories (i.e., multiculturalism, law and order, national way of life, and underprivileged minority groups), Alonso and da Fonesca (2011) argue that the left and the right have polarized in almost all countries. Investigating party manifestos for European Parliament elections, Duncan and Van Hecke (2008) also claim that partisan ideological fault lines run through immigration. This interpretation is based on measures from the Euromanifestos Project (EMP) as well as from the CMP.[10] Likewise, Akkerman (2015), analyzing manifestos of mainstream parties in seven Western European countries from 1989 to 2011 and using an original and more fine-grained coding scheme, finds evidence of increasing partisan polarization.

These accounts of divergence are difficult to square with arguments that emphasize the pressures pushing the center-left to adopt less immigrant-friendly positions in an effort to fight off competition from a more anti-immigrant right (Bale, 2014). Similarly, scholars have noted that immigration policies increasingly align across industrialized countries (Cornelius, Martin, & Hollifield, 1994). Some have claimed that economic, legal, and even moral constraints limit the types of immigration policies that national actors, including parties, can pursue.[11] According to these accounts, we should observe convergence on immigration platforms across party families.

This lack of consensus could be the result of varying methodologies. Scholars have drawn on various types of evidence, ranging from detailed country case studies to aggregated CMP proxies, and they have examined different countries and time periods. In addition, scholars have shown little consistency with respect to the policy positions under investigation. Immigration is bound up with a multitude of issues, each of which can gain or lose

prominence, while producing distinct distributional or cultural consequences that benefit some parties' supporters more than others. Partisan approaches might therefore be quite differentiated; studies that aggregate across categories could miss this variation.

Several authors, for instance, have noted the importance of distinguishing between *immigration policy* (i.e., whether to accept new migrants) and *integration policy* (i.e., policies directed at immigrant-origin residents; Duncan & van Hecke, 2008; Givens & Luedtke, 2005; Lahav, 2004). Givens and Luedtke (2005), for example, in an analysis of immigration and integration laws in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom from 1990 to 2002, posit that the left is more supportive than the right of policies aimed at promoting immigrant integration but find evidence of convergence with respect to immigration policy. More recently, Lehmann and Zobel (2018) develop an innovative crowd-sourced manifesto coding scheme that also distinguishes between these two dimensions (covering 14 countries beginning in the late 1990s). As this brief discussion suggests, assessments about convergence or divergence require careful differentiation across a host of immigration-related dimensions.

An additional point of contention relates to the role of AIPs in prompting mainstream parties to address immigration in the first place and in sharpening their tone when doing so. Bale (2008) rejects the notion that it takes vocal AIPs to break centrist parties' "conspiracy of silence" and argues that a focus on such parties cannot explain why center-right parties in France, Germany, and the Netherlands took a public and harder stance when they did. Akkerman (2015) also concludes that the impact of the far-right has been overstated.

Others, however, challenge these interpretations. van Spanje (2010) finds that the electoral success of anti-immigration parties in Western Europe between 1990 and 2004 does influence the positions of other parties.[12] Relying mainly on France's experience with the *Front National*, Schain (2006) also makes the case that mainstream parties have co-opted aspects of the Front National's program. Studying Austria, France, Germany, and Italy in the 1980s and 1990s, Minkenberg (2001) posits that AIPs generate more conservative cultural policies on the right.[13] But others argue that center-right parties will shift toward stricter immigration policy positions even in the absence of a successful radical right party, in the hopes of peeling away working-class voters from the left (cf. Mudde, 2013, p. 8). By implication, some contend that whether social democratic parties adopt tougher stances depends less on the presence of strong AIPs and more on the extent to which center-right parties embrace anti-immigrant positions. Bale et al. (2010)

make this point on the basis of comparative case studies of Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway.[14]

   As this short review indicates, existing research on Western European parties' immigration-related positions has not reached a consensus when it comes to matters of salience, substance, stance, and the impact of AIPs. It remains difficult to adjudicate between competing claims because scholars employ different definitions and methodologies, while studying different time periods and countries. In the next section, we detail our approach, which seeks to overcome many of these limitations.

Empirical Approach and Data

The analyses we present below build on a major data collection effort of immigration-related party statements. Given its importance for evaluating the significance of the article's findings, we discuss the data generation process in some detail. Our aim is to study how parties have discussed immigration in their appeals to voters over time, and to do so, we code how they address this topic in their general election manifestos. To clarify our data's strengths and limitations, we briefly describe existing approaches and contrast them with the approach we advance.

Existing Approaches

To assess the salience of issues across parties scholars have frequently relied on the CMP, which classifies manifesto text into one of over 50 categories. Its data sets are a key resource for scholars who want to study party positions over time and across countries, but they have not included an immigration category until very recently.[15] Instead, the CMP classifies immigration-related appeals into other categories which do not indicate whether immigration is an issue at stake.[16] One approach has therefore been to use several CMP categories as proxies, assuming that most references falling into those categories are indeed related to immigration. But references to issues such as policing or crime prevention (coded in the CMP under "law and order"), or to national symbols and holidays (coded under "national way of life"), often have very little, if anything, to do with immigration. Indeed, examining all sentences from a set of countries and parties that were coded in the CMP project under the "Law and Order" category, we found that only 4% directly referenced immigration. For the categories "Underprivileged Minority Groups" and "Multiculturalism," the numbers were 1.6% and 8.9%, respectively.[17] Even allowing for indirect references to immigration,

measures of immigration's role in manifestos based on the proxy approach are problematic.

A second, more recent, and more nuanced approach has been to apply original coding schemes (Akkerman, 2015; Green-Pedersen & Otjes, 2019; Ruedin, Morales, Pilet, & Thomas, 2013). Akkerman (2015), for example, studies manifestos in seven European countries over two decades, covering eight different policy fields.[18] Ruedin and colleagues (2013) study six European countries between 1992 and 2002. They first identify immigration-related sentences with a keyword-based search and then classify whether statements belong to "immigration" or "civic integration." Each grouping is then subdivided into five subissues.[19] Most recently, Green-Pedersen and Otjes (2019) use data from the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP), which codes manifesto references to immigration but only differentiates between two or three subcategories and only when the issue is the "main policy content." Their analysis covers seven European countries from 1980 to 2013 and, within these countries, every party that held seats in national parliaments in the present or prior legislative session.

The Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) pursues a different approach. It estimates parties' policy positions (most recently for all EU countries and for a wide range of parties) by asking country specialists, and it includes two relevant topics: immigration policy and multiculturalism, beginning in 1999 (Bakker et al., 2015).

Together, these studies represent substantial progress. We build on these efforts by investigating more differentiated issue dimensions for longer time periods and (with the exception of CHES) for a larger set of countries.

Finally, to study the politicization of immigration, some have looked at other forms of communication, such as politicians' statements in print media, tweets, or speeches, examined media coverage, and included nonparty actors (e.g., Helbling, 2014; van der Brug, D'Amato, Berkhout, & Ruedin, 2015). These studies have generated valuable insights, and future research can examine how these alternative sources match up with the ones we study here. For our purposes, however, general election manifestos are uniquely suitable: They are the only policy document that parties put forth as a collective, and more so than any other source, they represent the policy stances of the party as a whole. In addition to this theoretical and substantive motivation, we study manifestos because they provide a corpus that (a) covers an extended time period that most other sources (including expert surveys) do not,[20] (b) allows for a comparable and consistent metric that can be used within and across countries, and (c) facilitates a transparent and replicable data-generating process. Of course, these advantages also come with some limitations, on which we expand below.

Our Approach

This study analyzes the long-run evolution of the immigration debate by testing several key hypotheses put forth in the literature. To do so, we devised an original protocol for coding all immigration-related appeals made by parties in their manifestos. With the assistance of the CMP team and the Political Documents Archive, we collected all available manifestos from 12 Western European countries, from the early 1960s until 2013.[21] The countries are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

Reading manifestos and translating and coding relevant sentences are a resource-intensive exercise, so we limited the effort to two parties in each election: the largest center-left party and the largest center-right party.[22] Table 1 presents a list of coded manifestos by country, election year, and party family. Where applicable, we also coded the largest anti-immigrant party, although manifestos for these parties were much more difficult to track down (see the Supplemental Appendix for a complete list of parties and coded party-election-years). For each manifesto, one coder (or in some cases, two) read the entire manifesto, recorded any reference made to immigrants or immigration, translated each sentence into English, and then classified sentences into categories based on our protocol. The categories were derived from a thorough initial assessment, ex ante, of what seemed like logical and informative groupings. Specifically, we first generated a list of categories inductively, based on our prior knowledge of the topic and associated literature. We then deductively parsed some categories that we thought would benefit from greater differentiation.

For example, we split up "immigrant integration" into (a) economic integration and (b) other integration. We did so because clustering all mentions of integration into one category can disguise meaningful variation: Some parties focus on immigrants' ability to find jobs and support their families, whereas others emphasize the extent to which immigrants adopt local values and traditions. By coding party appeals into two separate categories, researchers using the IPM data set can more easily examine whether and when parties focus on one type of integration challenge rather than another.

Having completed this initial categorization, we then carried out a pilot test on a sample of manifestos, which suggested the need for several changes to the groupings and additional distinctions. Next, research assistants (whom we assigned to countries based on their language skills and background country knowledge) coded an initial set of manifestos. We checked this initial round for systematic errors or oversights and provided additional

Table 1. Coded CR and CL Party Manifestos, by Country and Election Year.

Country / Type	Election years
Austria	
CL	1962, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013
CR	1962, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2013
Belgium	
CL	1961, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010
CR	1961, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010
Denmark	
CL	1960, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011
CR	1964, 1966, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011
Finland	
CL	1966, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
CR	1966, 1970, 1972, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
France	
CL	1962, 1967, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012
CR	1962, 1967, 1968, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012
Germany	
CL	1961, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013
CR	1961, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, 2009, 2013
Italy	
CL	1972, 1976, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013
CR	1976, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2008, 2013
Netherlands	
CL	1963, 1967, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012
CR	1963, 1967, 1971, 1972, 1977, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012
Norway	
CL	1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013
CR	1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013
Sweden	
CL	1968, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
CR	1968, 1970, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010
Switzerland	
CL	1963, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
CR	1963, 1967, 1971, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
The United Kingdom	
CL	1964, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010
CR	1964, 1966, 1970, 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010

Missing entries denote election years for which we were unable to locate manifestos. CR = center-right; CL = center-left.

Table 2. List of Categories.

Asylum and refugees
Border protection
Citizenship
Civil liberties
Culture and identity
Deportation
Economic integration
Education
Equal treatment
Gay rights
Housing
Illegal immigration
Immigration policy
Integration
Islam
Jobs
Language
Law and order
National security
Other economic
Other
Overpopulation
Religion
Slaughtering of animals
Spatial clustering
Tolerance and racism
Voting rights
Wages
Welfare system
Women's issues

instructions where necessary, so that coders could continue to the next set of manifestos. Throughout this process, we continuously reviewed instances of ambiguity and revised the protocol to maximize consistency and clarity. Once all manifestos were coded, we sought to further ensure reliability and consistency and trained two additional research assistants who independently coded each of the sentences.[23]

The resulting codebook includes 30 categories. As Table 2 shows, they address a host of issues, including several categories dealing with the entry and exit of immigrants; the economic rationales for and impacts of immigration;

issues pertaining to culture and national identity; tolerance and racism; or law and order (see the Supplemental Appendix for a more detailed explanation and coding rules).

A guiding principle of the selection of categories was that they should be "modular": The coding scheme should allow researchers to focus on narrower categories (e.g., immigration's impact on the welfare system or on native wages) as well as to aggregate several of them into broader categories (e.g., an economic dimension). In the analyses below, we examine both levels of aggregation. A second guiding principle was that no two categories should always go together. For example, although many references pertaining to "Islam" will also be about "Religion" (e.g., the training of imams), others will simply refer to Muslim immigrants without emphasizing religious or cultural concerns (by discussing Muslims' economic integration, for example). The importance of this differentiation made it essential that our list of categories was quite exhaustive, containing macrotopics such as "citizenship" or "immigration policy" as well as more specific topics such as "gay rights" or "spatial clustering."

In total, our data set consists of 10,944 sentences referring to immigration, obtained from 423 general election manifestos.[24] Sentences that dealt with more than one aspect of immigration were coded as falling into more than one category. For example, the sentence "Immigrants are frequently unemployed and are therefore a burden on our welfare state" includes a reference to "economic integration" and to the "welfare state."[25] Table 3 provides an example of how we calculated the salience of a given issue in light of multiple references. To calculate the overall salience of immigration in a manifesto (as opposed to the salience of specific issues within the broad umbrella of immigration, as in Table 2), we sum the number of words in each sentence that deals with immigration, and we divide this sum by the total number of words in a manifesto. We obtain very similar results when we divide the number of sentences devoted to immigration by the number of total sentences in a manifesto ($r = .98$).

We also assessed a reference's stance as negative (-1), positive (1), or neutral (0). Positive references relate to (a) immigrants' positive impact on a given issue/area, (b) increasing immigration, or (c) enacting policies that favor immigrants. Negative references state the opposite. Neutral references either include no indication of a policy preference or evaluation or balance negative with positive assessments. Each reference within a sentence is assigned a stance. Below, we present measures of stance that indicate the percentage of issue references that are positive or negative, respectively, along with the *Net Stance* (which subtracts the percentage of issue references that are negative from those that are positive).

Table 3. Salience of Issues: Example.

	Number of issues referenced	Issues
Sentence 1	2	Welfare state; economic integration
Sentence 2	1	Jobs
Sentence 3	3	Illegal immigration; law and order; jobs
Sentence 4	1	Religion
Total number of issue references	7	
Salience of (%)		
Welfare state	14.3	(1 out of 7)
Economic integration	14.3	(1 out of 7)
Jobs	28.6	(2 out of 7)
Illegal immigration	14.3	(1 out of 7)
Law and order	14.3	(1 out of 7)
Religion	14.3	(1 out of 7)
All other issues	0.0	(0 out of 7)

In this example, a manifesto contains four sentences that make reference to immigration.

Potential Limitations

Our approach offers a number of significant advantages, especially with regard to scope and breadth. Nonetheless, it also has potential drawbacks. First, in this article, our emphasis is on establishing broad patterns; in some cases, focusing on aggregate shifts may lead us to lose sight of possible national differences. Having spent a great deal of time poring over country-specific data, we recognize that this critique is valid. Indeed, to mitigate the problem, in some of the analyses below, we discuss and present country-level variation. Still, although our data lend itself to studying single countries in depth, the chief objective of this first study is to investigate, in broad terms, how the immigration debate has unfolded in Western Europe over the last five decades. As such, we make claims that seek to best describe overall trends, even at the cost of sacrificing some country-specific nuance. In future work, scholars can of course make use of the fine-grained nature of our data to examine specific countries in depth.

A second issue is that of inference. Although we strive to introduce rich new data on how parties discuss immigration, the analysis is still vulnerable to the limitations of observational work. Nonetheless, this issue is less relevant for a study of this type; our aim is not to offer a precise causal account.

Instead, the goal is to capture key patterns in the evolution of the immigration debate over a wide range of countries and years, and the comprehensive data set we assembled was designed to do just that. Future research can employ our data and use this study's findings as a springboard for more targeted tests of our general arguments in specific contexts.

Turning to the data collection process itself, a third potential issue is our decision to rely on human coders rather than on automated textual analysis (ATA). The use of human readers represents a far more arduous and costly approach, but we chose it for several reasons. A chief concern was that ATA would miss too many segments that discuss immigration only indirectly or cryptically. Consider, for example, the following statement from the 2002 manifesto of the German Christian Democrats: "In major cities, parallel societies are being formed." The statement makes no direct reference to immigration, but the context makes clear that it speaks to immigrant integration. Scholars can try to devise an extensive list of keywords in each manifesto language, such that terms like "parallel societies" would be flagged. But in addition to the work required to develop such a list, coders would still have to read the original text to assess the context and rule out false positives. Even more problematic is the use of nonspecific terms. Quite a few sentences, such as "Not everyone can come here, not everyone can stay here" quoted from the 2007 manifesto of Belgium's Socialist Party, employ general language and would go unnoticed by a keyword method.

Another concern with ATA relates to the knowledge required to code stance. For example, ATA would not be able to tell whether a proposal to set residency requirements for citizenship at 5 years is favorable or disadvantageous to immigrants (especially, if stated in neutral language) because we need to know the policy status quo. Human coders can make this inference by consulting the surrounding manifesto text.

In sum, although recognizing that human coders can potentially find it more challenging to maintain consistency across codings, for the task at hand, we contend that on balance, their positives outweigh the negatives.

Finally, one could question the usefulness of manifestos as an indication of party positions. Here, two different issues are pertinent. One is whether parties actually follow through on what they proclaim in manifestos; a second is whether studying manifestos places too much emphasis on the preelection period and perhaps misrepresents how parties appeal to voters in different settings.[26] With regard to the link between statements and actions, we note that our emphasis is on how parties bring up immigration (if at all) when appealing to voters, not on the policies they enact. As the only official document that represents the collective voice of the party, manifestos are a key source for understanding the policy positions of the national party and can

serve as the basis for their future policy direction (Klingemann, Hofferbert, & Budge, 1994). As such, the unveiling of party manifestos is typically widely covered by TV, online, and print media.[27] Whether parties ultimately enact the policies they propose in their manifestos is an empirical question that our data can help answer.

To address the concern of a possible mismatch between manifestos and party declarations in other contexts, we compared the results from our manifesto coding to a similar coding of party press releases. For this purpose, we used data from Norway, the only country in our sample with a digitized repository of a complete set of major party press releases covering an extended period. We translated and applied our coding protocol to all immigration-related sentences in these releases made public in the 12 months leading up to the 2001 and 2005 elections.

The results reveal a high degree of correlation ($r = .7$) between the distribution of categories in the manifesto and in the press releases. Both topics and stance were quite similar across sources, suggesting that analyzing manifestos provides a fairly good estimate of how parties discuss immigration in other contexts (see the Supplemental Appendix for additional information). Nonetheless, there is certainly more to party positioning than what parties proclaim in their manifestos. Other forms of communication used by internal factions or individual politicians, such as speeches, interviews, or tweets, are surely also relevant for shaping voter perceptions or the public debate. Our study of party manifestos permits us to benchmark these other mediums against the collectively agreed-upon official stance of the party.

Results

Major Parties on Immigration: Polarization or Convergence?

We begin by focusing on how the major parties have addressed immigration over time. Specifically, we explore a key question in the literature, namely, whether the center-left and center-right have dealt with the issue in contrasting ways, leading to increased polarization, or whether they have instead converged. Once again, we differentiate between how much focus a party places on an issue (*salience*), what specific aspects it chooses to address (*substance*), and the position it takes on these aspects (*stance*).

Salience. Scholars have used case studies to argue that the major centrist parties largely met the onset of postwar mass migration, which in most West European countries began in the 1960s, with silence (e.g., Messina, 1989). Our cross-national analysis not only confirms this argument but also reveals
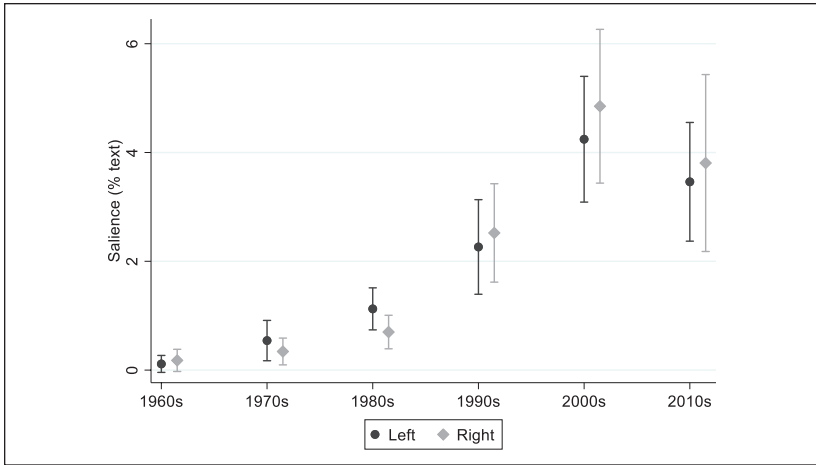
Figure 1. Salience of immigration in manifestos across party families.
The circles and diamonds denote means; the capped lines represent 95% confidence
intervals. To calculate salience, we sum the number of words in each sentence that deals with
immigration, and we divide this sum by the total number of words in a manifesto.

that this relative silence persisted throughout the 1980s. As a proxy for
salience, Figure 1 plots the percentage of centrist parties' manifesto text
devoted to immigration. Two major trends stand out: increasing salience over
time and a remarkable similarity across party families. Parties rarely dis-
cussed immigration in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, only 0.15% of the
manifesto text was spent on immigration or its repercussions. By the 1970s,
this number increased somewhat (to 0.44%), but remained low. To put these
figures in context, by the mid-1970s, millions of foreigners had arrived in
Western Europe, transforming industries and neighborhoods in the process
(Dancygier, 2010). Yet, most parties chose not to address these changes or
grapple with migration's far-reaching consequences. To further illustrate this
striking tendency to ignore immigration, consider the following: 80% of
manifestos were entirely silent on the issue during the 1960s, and 53% during
the 1970s. Even during the 1980s, after most countries in our sample had
experienced several decades of large-scale inflows and when it had become
clear that many migrants, and the associated integration challenges, were
here to stay, immigration still occupied a small portion of parties' general
election programs (1% of the text); one third of manifestos (32%) did not
address the issue at all.[28]

It was only during the 1990s and the 2000s—amid rising refugee inflows
and growing awareness of integration problems—that the issue occupied a

more prominent role. In the first half of the 2010s (before the recent influx of refugees began to intensify), parties' attention to immigration dropped off slightly, but salience remained at its second-highest level since the 1960s.

In brief, after being largely ignored initially, immigration has captured an increasing share of the manifestos of centrist parties. Nonetheless, it has not dominated platforms: Even in the 2000s, the peak of immigration's salience, the average manifesto dedicated 4.6% of the total text to the topic. Still, considering that parties confront dozens of issues, this figure is in fact quite high. To gain some perspective, consider that other relevant issues—the EU (2.5%), law and order (5.5%), and the military (1.2%)—received comparable, and in some cases less, attention.[29]

We also observe a striking consistency across party families: Center-right and center-left parties have shifted their emphasis in tandem, and this comovement has occurred to a remarkable degree. This is important, because to a large extent party competition revolves around the definition of the political agenda. Although parties often struggle to shift position on a particular issue, they can nevertheless shape the political space by emphasizing issues that benefit them and downplaying those that are disadvantageous. Yet, our results indicate that with respect to immigration, ideologically distinct mainstream parties have generally pursued *very similar* strategies. In every decade, the level of salience on the center-right has been closely mirrored by that on the center-left.

This finding might be surprising to some. After all, as discussed, observers note that the center-right, at times prompted by vocal AIPs, chooses in some instances to make immigration a campaign issue to win over ethnocentrist voters from both the left and the far-right. Do our aggregated salience measures mask substantial variation within countries?

To shed light on this question, Figure 2 breaks down salience by party family and country and indicates that salience can deviate during a given election year. In Denmark, for instance, the center-right Conservative People's Party dedicated nearly a quarter of its manifesto (22.8%) to immigration in 2001, whereas salience was much lower among the Social Democrats (7.9%). Likewise, whereas the German Christian Democrats emphasized the issue in 1998, the Social Democrats nearly ignored it. A similar pattern is apparent in the Netherlands in 2003. Still, the general trend remains one of similarity. The country plots reveal that elections in which one major party clearly exceeds the other in terms of salience are rare and typically followed by a recalibration. Overall then, the pattern we observe within countries mirrors the big picture: The center-left and the center-right are increasingly talking about immigration, and they do so with very similar frequency.
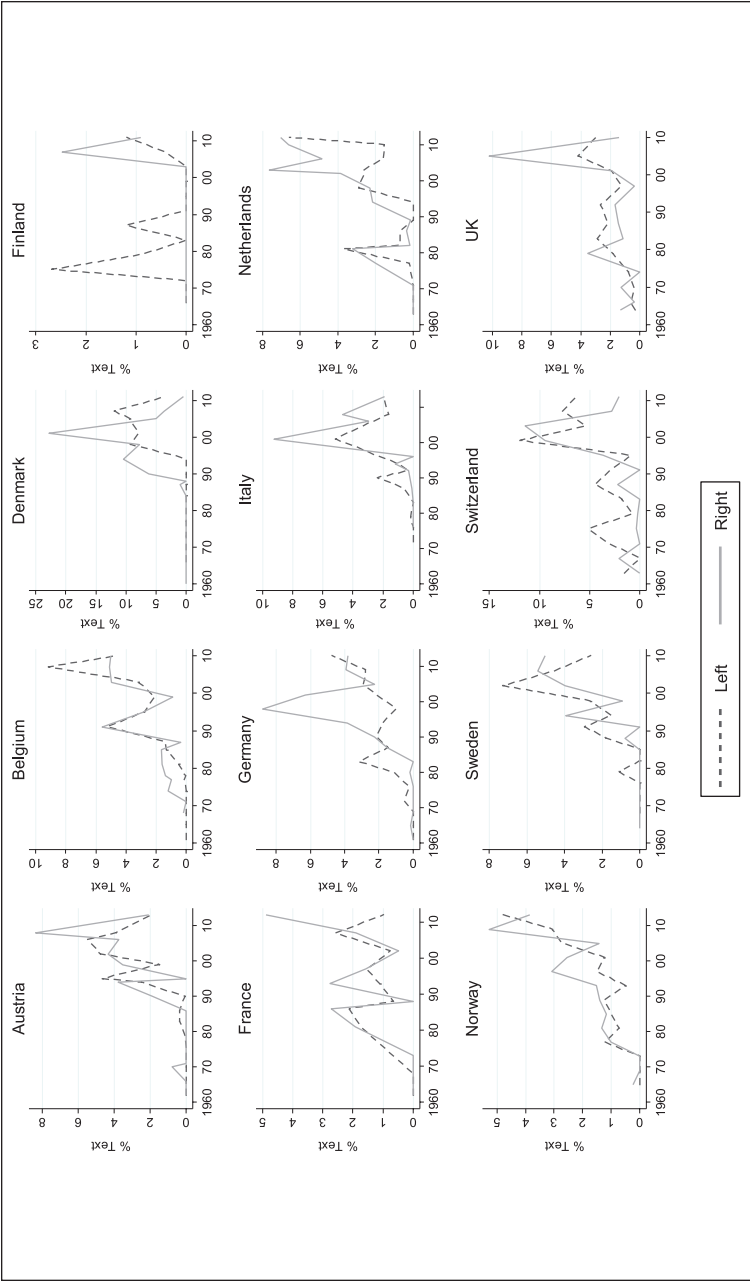
Figure 2. Salience of immigration in manifestos across countries and party families.
To calculate salience, we sum the number of words in each sentence that deals with immigration and divide this sum by the total number of words in a manifesto.

20
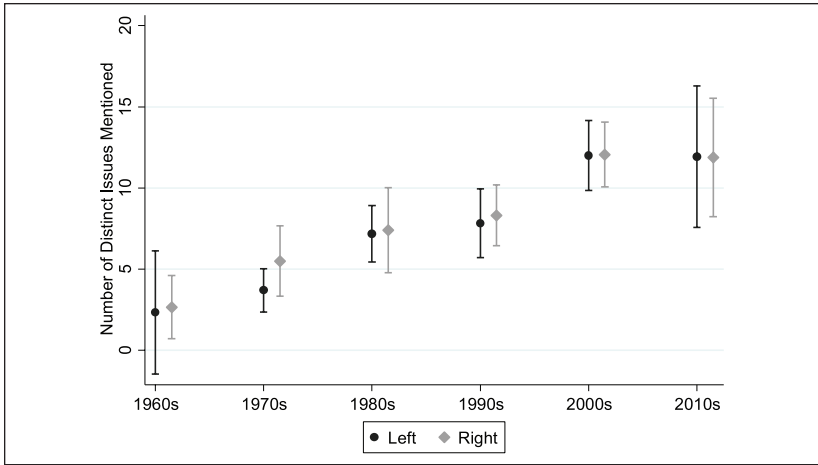
Figure 3. Diversity of immigration-related categories discussed in manifesto.
The *y*-axis denotes the mean number of distinct issue categories discussed in a manifesto.
A higher value signifies that the party referenced a larger number of issues when discussing
immigration. The circles and diamonds denote means; the capped lines represent 95%
confidence intervals.

Substance. When examining salience, our findings point to partisan convergence. Yet, salience is only one dimension of party behavior. As discussed, large-scale immigration has touched upon dozens of disparate issues. As the salience of immigration has grown, so have its diverse manifestations. This complexity is captured in Figure 3 which presents the mean number of different immigration-related categories. That is, for each manifesto, we count the number of distinct categories that are referenced (for an example, see the footnote below).[30]

The number of issue areas has shot up, probably reflecting the increased complexity of questions that arise as a result of long-term settlement. In the 1960s and 1970s, centrist parties not only hardly addressed immigration, but when they did they discussed a narrow set of dimensions (typically, immigration policy and economic issues). The average manifesto referenced 2.6 categories in the 1960s and 4.4 in the 1970s. Over time, parties have discussed immigration through a broadening prism, touching on matters such as asylum and refugees, language skills, culture and national identity, law and order, and religion. In fact, by the 2000s, the average (and median) manifesto dealt with 12 different facets, representing a nearly 5-fold increase compared with the 1960s.[31] Again, this pattern is almost identical across the center-left and the center-right.

Yet, the fact that the major parties on both sides of the ideological divide exhibit similar patterns does not necessarily mean that they have also discussed the same set of issues. In theory, parties can distinguish themselves by focusing on specific immigration-related issues. To examine this possibility, Figure 4 charts the relative salience of the center-right's and the center-left's top 10 issues, from 1980 until today (see also Table 4; for a distribution of all issues going back to the 1960s, see the Supplemental Appendix).[32] Together, these categories constitute 74% and 77% of the center-right's and the center-left's immigration-related references, respectively.

The first thing to note is that the top 10 issue domains largely correspond across party families. There are only a few exceptions: "language" and "deportations" are among the center-right's top 10 but not the center-left's, where they rank at 12 and 13, respectively. "Equal treatment" and "tolerance and racism" occupy the third and fifth position on the left but only the 11th and 12th position on the right, respectively. With respect to "equal treatment" we do observe an enduring difference. Center-left parties have always been more likely to address discrimination and equality, and they continue to do so when it comes to immigrant populations. By contrast, the center-left's preoccupation with "tolerance and racism" has declined, and differences between party families have narrowed.

These exceptions, however, should not disguise the main pattern: Centrist parties address similar topics when discussing immigration, and they do so with comparable frequency over time. This includes a wide range of issues, such as "asylum and refugees" (with the exception of the 1990s), "culture and identity," "deportations," "economic integration," "education," "illegal immigration," "jobs" (with a slight divergence in the 2010s), and "language."

There are only two issues that begin to diverge in the 2010s, with the center-right devoting increased attention: "immigration policy" and "integration." Yet, even these two issues received nearly identical coverage across party types in earlier decades, and the difference in salience in the 2010s is not statistically significant at conventional levels.[33]

We next address another claim, namely that the center-right tends to be more preoccupied than the center-left with who can enter or stay as opposed to the question of how to treat settled migrants. The center-left, by contrast, is said to concern itself more with integration (e.g., Duncan & van Hecke, 2008; Givens & Luedtke, 2005). We examine the relative emphasis assigned to each dimension—"restrictions" minus "integration"—across mainstream parties. *Restrictions* consists of "immigration policy," "deportations," and "border protection"; *Integration* contains both the general "integration" category as well as "economic integration." The top panel of Figure 5 shows a great deal of change over the decades. The changes exhibit a W-like pattern,
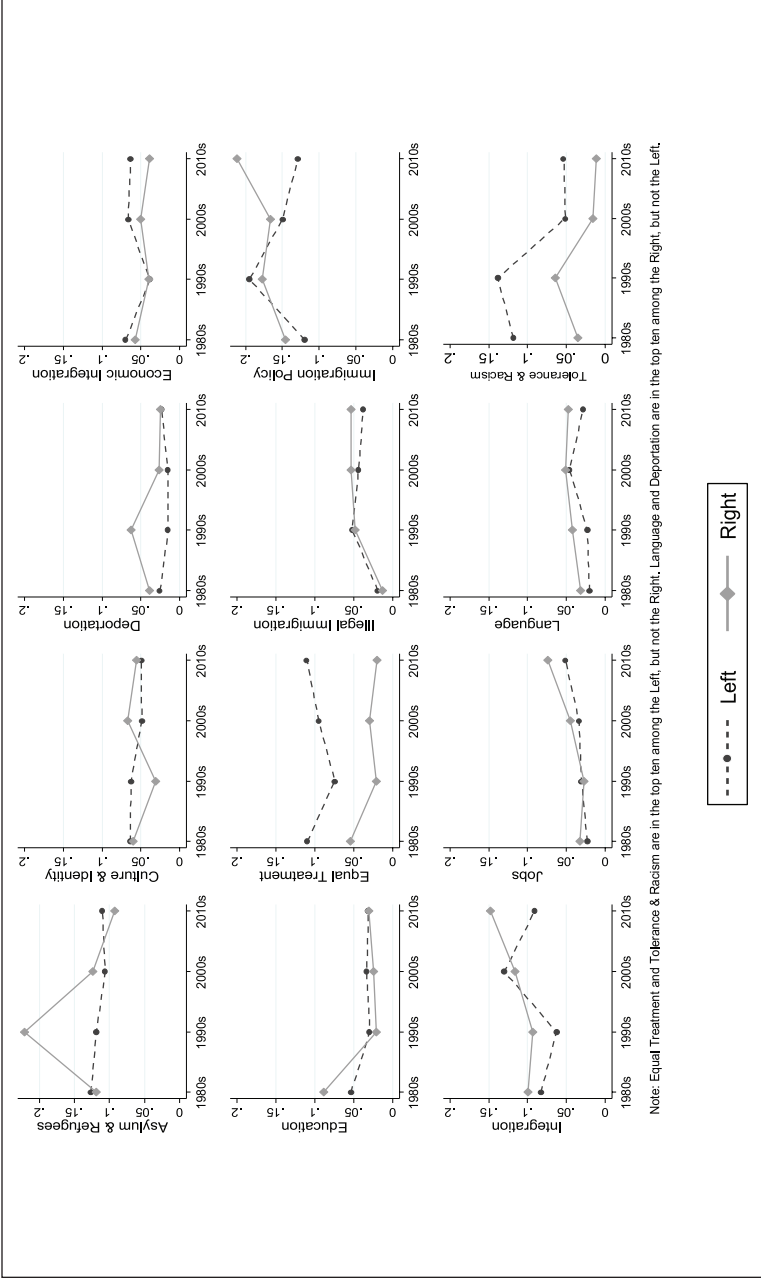
Figure 4. Salience of top categories across party families.
For an explanation of how issue salience is measured, see Table 3.

Note: Equal Treatment and Tolerance & Racism are in the top ten among the Left, but not the Right. Language and Deportation are in the top ten among the Right, but not the Left.

Table 4. Top 10 Issues by Party Type From 1980 Onward.

	1980s	1990s	2000s	2010s	Average
Center-left					
Immigration policy	12.0	19.5	15.0	12.9	14.8
Asylum and refugees	12.6	11.9	10.6	11.0	11.5
Equal treatment	11.0	7.4	9.5	11.0	9.7
Integration	8.3	6.3	13.0	9.1	9.2
Tolerance and racism	11.8	13.9	5.1	5.3	9.0
Economic integration	6.9	3.9	6.7	6.3	5.9
Culture and identity	6.4	6.3	4.9	5.0	5.6
Illegal immigration	1.9	5.2	4.4	3.8	3.8
Education	5.4	2.9	3.3	3.1	3.7
Jobs	2.3	3.1	3.4	5.1	3.5
Center-right					
Immigration policy	14.6	17.7	16.6	21.2	17.5
Asylum and refugees	11.9	22.1	12.3	9.3	13.9
Integration	10.0	9.3	11.6	14.8	11.4
Culture and identity	6.0	3.1	6.7	5.6	5.4
Economic integration	5.8	4.0	5.0	3.9	4.7
Jobs	3.3	2.8	4.5	7.4	4.5
Language	3.2	4.2	5.1	4.8	4.3
Illegal immigration	1.3	4.8	5.4	5.4	4.2
Education	8.8	2.1	2.4	3.0	4.1
Deportation	3.9	6.2	2.6	2.5	3.8

with a clear emphasis on who is allowed into the country in the 1970s and 1990s (and less so in the 1980s, the 2000s, and 2010s) and a trend toward discussing integration in the 1980s and 2000s. These shifts were perhaps more pronounced among center-left parties, but the patterns are nonetheless very similar. A regression analysis shows that the differences between the mainstream parties' relative emphases remain below statistical significance throughout the period (see Supplemental Appendix).

Another key claim holds that cultural clashes between immigrants and natives have become *the* dominant prism through which immigration-related problems are viewed and debated, eclipsing attention to economic aspects. Parties on the right, in particular, voice concerns that migrants with origins from outside of Europe continue to hold on to home-country cultural norms. Cultural conflicts have been a frequent topic of media discourse and political speech, especially as they pertain to Europe's Muslim communities (Adida
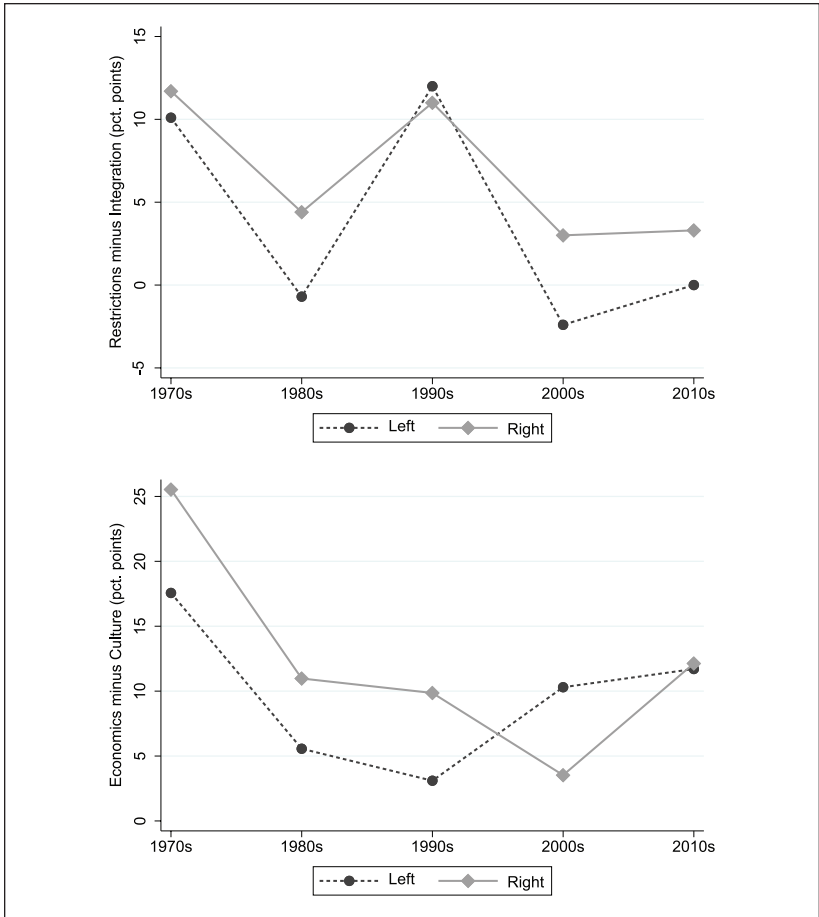
Figure 5. Relative emphasis of categories.
In the top panel, the *y*-axis measures the percentage of references devoted to issues pertaining to restrictions minus the percentage of references pertaining to integration. In the bottom panel, the *y*-axis measures the percentage of references devoted to economic issues minus the percentage of references pertaining to national culture and identity (for absolute values, see the Supplemental Appendix).

et al., 2016; Dancygier, 2017; Höglinger et al., 2012). But have centrist parties across Europe increasingly focused on cultural issues associated with immigration, prioritizing them over the economic aspects of immigration in their manifestos?

In Figure 4, we charted the salience of the "culture and identity" dimension. Statements about immigration's cultural implications do not appear to have risen. However, it could still be true that attention to economic issues has fallen compared with references to culture and identity and that these trends vary across parties. The bottom panel of Figure 5 addresses this possibility by presenting the relative share of references dedicated to economic matters as compared with cultural ones.[34] Three patterns are particularly relevant. First, we see a U-like shape, whereby economic issues used to dominate in the 1970s, then increasingly gave way to cultural matters, but in the last decade, economic issues grew once more in relative importance. Another notable and related pattern is that throughout this period, the relative emphasis on economic issues remained positive. This means that claims that the cultural dimension has overtaken and dominated the economic one are somewhat exaggerated, at least when it comes to how immigration is discussed in general election manifestos. Third, we see once again that mainstream parties on both sides of the ideological spectrum have followed a similar pattern over time, with differences across party families remaining fairly small throughout. These differences never attain statistical significance in any of the time periods, a result that also holds up in a regression with additional controls (see Supplemental Appendix).

In brief, the prominence of cultural issues in the discussion of immigration among centrist parties has increased. However, when these parties address immigration in their election programs, matters relating to national culture and identity do not tend to dominate, and on average, discussion of cultural aspects does not surpass attention to economic concerns.

Finally, in another test designed to assess polarization, we probe whether the degree of attention a given issue receives in center-left manifestos predicts the degree of attention the same issue receives in the program of the center-right (and vice versa) during the same election. Indeed, across a range of prominent issues we find positive, and mostly significant, associations between the center-left's and the center-right's focus on different issues (see Supplemental Appendix).[35]

Summing up, even though immigration is an issue of substantial complexity, major centrist parties on both sides of the ideological divide have focused mostly on similar topics. This pattern holds whether we focus on single categories or on more aggregated clusters. On the whole, the political discussion of immigration is characterized by a process of co-movement and convergence, not divergence.

Stance. Thus far, we have shown that when it comes to salience and content, there are few significant differences between the two party families: They
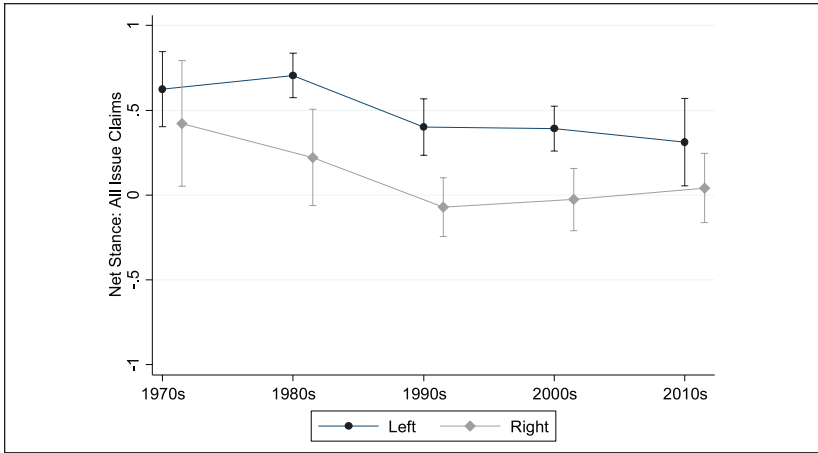
Figure 6. *Net Stance* across party families.
The circles and diamonds denote means; the capped lines represent 95% confidence intervals.

move in tandem within and across countries. These findings lend some support to allegations by populists that established parties do not represent clear alternatives. Yet, these parties may differ in one key respect: The stance with which they discuss immigration. In fact, another line of critique suggests that the center-left has become too immigrant-friendly, providing an opening to center-right and far-right parties and generating increased polarization. Which of these accounts is closer to the truth, if any?

We can assess the relative merits of these accounts by first examining the aggregate *Net Stance*, which covers all issue categories. The *Net Stance* subtracts the percentage of claims that are negative from those that are positive; values above zero therefore denote a more positive tone, on average. Figure 6 displays the *Net Stance* by party type across decades. It seems that neither account fully captures the actual development: The center-left and the center-right do differ in tone, but we cannot speak of polarization. Although the center-left speaks in more positive terms, the two party families pursue parallel trajectories. In the 1970s, when most parties hardly mentioned immigration, *Net Stance* was largely positive and indistinguishable across party families. Since the 1980s, we observe separation, but a similar trend on both sides of the ideological divide. *Net Stance* became more negative among both types of parties between the 1980s and 1990s, and the gap in tone has held steady. In short, with respect to stance, we can conclude that polarization is not taking place.

Moreover, we observe signs of convergence. When we disaggregate *Net Stance* into the share of positive and negative statements (Figure 7), it
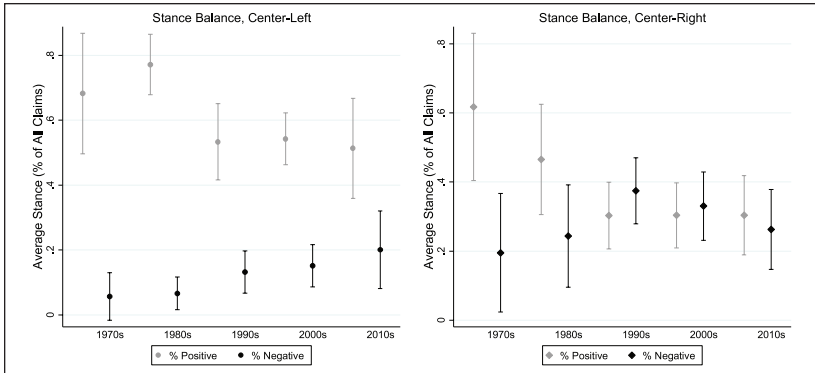
Figure 7. Stance balance, center-left, and center-right.
The circles and diamonds denote means; the capped lines represent 95% confidence intervals.

becomes clear that the center-left has in fact become more negative in its approach. By the 2010s, the share of negative stances, which had been considerably higher on the center-right, is no longer distinguishable across party types.[36] Our results refute the notion that the center-left has become more welcoming and uncritical of immigration over time, thereby contributing to an increasingly divisive immigration debate. If anything, the opposite is true. If polarization around immigration has occurred, it has likely been driven by parties located on the farther ends of the ideological spectrum.

Finally, we acknowledge that comparisons of policy stances across countries and parties can be complicated: A position that appears restrictive in one country might be judged liberal in another (cf. Laver, 2014). We therefore reproduce Figure 7 broken down by party family and election year within each country, and we run a series of regressions that examine trends within and across countries, covering both the overall *Net Stance* and that of the most salient issues. These tests confirm our assessment: There is no evidence of rising partisan polarization among major centrist parties (see Supplemental Appendix).

Anti-Immigrant Party Success and Mainstream Party Positioning

A common theme in the literature states that the rise of AIPs has led to a reconfiguration of mainstream parties' position on immigration. The center-right, seeking to co-opt its extremist competitor, is alleged to have shifted rightwards, adopting a more negative stance and increasing its emphasis on restrictions and the cultural threats posed by immigration. The center-left, fearing a backlash

from its working-class base, is said to have followed suit (Givens & Luedtke, 2005; Schain, 2006; van Spanje, 2010). Some have questioned this account, arguing that the influence exerted by the far-right has been either overblown (Mudde, 2013) or almost nonexistent (Duncan & van Hecke, 2008). Our data do not allow us to test the causal effect of AIPs on the stance of mainstream parties.[37] We can, however, explore a set of empirical associations that are key observable implications, or necessary conditions, if it were indeed the case that AIPs exert significant influence on centrist parties.

We first consider salience. Have centrist parties devoted more space in their manifestos to immigration as they face rising support for AIPs?[38] The percentage of text that centrist parties dedicate to immigration and the AIP vote share during the previous election correlate at .52, consistent with the idea that the electoral success of AIPs influences centrist parties' immigration agenda.[39] In Table 5, we regress salience on the vote share attained by AIPs in the previous election and additional controls. First, we again see that there is little difference between party families when it comes to salience (see the coefficients of *center-right party*; note that the interaction between *center-right party* and *AIP vote share [previous election]* is also insignificant [not shown]). Second, a rise in immigration may be responsible for both a strong AIP and increased salience. When we control for the size of the immigrant population, the success of AIPs continues to predict salience, but its effect size is cut by about a quarter, and it is further reduced when we add decade and country fixed effects. That is, when we examine the effect of AIPs within countries and within decades, a one standard deviation rise in the AIP vote share (6.9 percentage points; the median is 0.10, the mean is 4.2) is associated with a 0.54 rise in the percentage of text devoted to immigration in the next election. This effect is about one fifth of a standard deviation of salience (based on results in column 4). In other words, if taken at face value, these numbers suggest that it would require an immensely successful anti-immigrant party to bring about a meaningful shift in centrist parties' attention to immigration.

We next probe whether strong AIPs influence the content of mainstream parties' references to the immigration issue. Table 6 examines the relative emphasis centrist parties place on the two dimensions discussed earlier: "economics vs. culture" and "restrictions vs. integration." The key predictor of interest is again the electoral success of AIPs in the previous election. We find some, albeit weak, statistical evidence of an association between AIP success and a shift toward cultural aspects (Models 2 and 3), but the substantive magnitude of this effect is small (i.e., even a 10% showing for an AIP in the previous election is associated with only a quarter of a standard-deviation change in the dependent variable). With respect to the relative emphasis on restrictions (vs. integration), our analysis shows no relationship with AIP success. In all

Table 5. Anti-Immigrant Party Success and Subsequent Salience of Immigration-Related Issues Among Major Centrist Parties.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
AIP vote share (previous election, %)	0.192***	0.147***	0.0609*	0.0782**
	(0.0261)	(0.0285)	(0.0262)	(0.0261)
Center-right party	0.0724	0.101	0.0398	0.116
	(0.345)	(0.348)	(0.286)	(0.188)
Immigrant population (%)		0.114*	0.0921**	0.118
		(0.0438)	(0.0303)	(0.0899)
1960s			−0.237*	−0.257
			(0.115)	(0.159)
1980s			0.383**	0.308
			(0.129)	(0.187)
1990s			1.382**	1.265**
			(0.433)	(0.443)
2000s			2.879***	2.594***
			(0.605)	(0.628)
2010s			1.954**	1.538
			(0.718)	(0.792)
Constant	1.029***	0.300	−0.149	−0.339
	(0.180)	(0.334)	(0.200)	(0.545)
Country FE	No	No	No	Yes
n	363	363	363	363
R^2	.269	.305	.427	.476

OLS; standard errors, clustered on party, in parentheses. The dependent variable is the salience of immigration in major centrist parties' manifestos (i.e., the percentage of words of the manifesto text that is dedicated to immigration-related issues). Regressions exclude one outlier, Denmark's Conservative People's Party in 2001, which devoted 22.7% of its manifesto to immigration, by far the highest value among centrist parties (the second-highest percentage is 12.5). The results do not change much when this observation is included. AIP = anti-immigrant party; FE = fixed effects; OLS = ordinary least squares.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

specifications, the estimated effect remains small and statistically indistinguishable from zero.

Moving to stance, we again find no systematic evidence of an association between previous AIP performance and the stance of immigration-related statements. Figure 8 presents the effects of AIP vote share in the prior election on the *Net Stance* covering all issues as well as a number of salient issues.[40] There is no issue stance for which the electoral success of AIPs consistently affects centrist party stance. Most effects are statistically insignificant, rather small in magnitude, and vary in direction. Overall, these analyses do not support the

Table 6. Anti-Immigrant Party Success and Subsequent Immigration-Related Emphases among Major Centrist Parties.

	Economics vs. Culture				Restrictions vs. Integration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
AIP Vote Share	−0.002	−0.007*	−0.005	−0.005	0.001	0.002	0.004	0.007
(Previous Election, %)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Center-Right Party	0.012	0.016	0.011	0.013	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.018
	(0.037)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.058)	(0.059)	(0.061)	(0.023)
Immigrant Population (%)		0.014**	0.014**	−0.011		−0.001	−0.001	−0.036**
		(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.014)		(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)
1960s			0.197	0.174			0.120	−0.006
			(0.175)	(0.177)			(0.180)	(0.190)
1980s			−0.081	−0.055			−0.099	−0.051
			(0.049)	(0.046)			(0.080)	(0.080)
1990s			−0.077	−0.024			−0.018	0.051
			(0.055)	(0.057)			(0.095)	(0.095)
2000s			−0.080	0.025			−0.142	0.005
			(0.059)	(0.080)			(0.098)	(0.098)
2010s			−0.055	0.094			−0.124	0.082
			(0.073)	(0.113)			(0.110)	(0.121)
Constant	0.080**	−0.026	0.021	0.188	0.041	0.052	0.103	0.331**
	(0.031)	(0.038)	(0.058)	(0.101)	(0.047)	(0.067)	(0.085)	(0.110)
Country FE	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
N	236	236	236	236	236	236	236	236
R-squared	0.006	0.077	0.142	0.190	0.002	0.002	0.051	0.255

OLS; standard errors, clustered on party, in parentheses. *$p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$
The dependent variable "Economics vs. Culture" is measured by subtracting the percentage of claims devoted to cultural issues from the percentage of claims devoted to economic issues. The dependent variable "Restrictions vs. Integration" is measured by subtracting the percentage of claims devoted to issues relating to integration from the percentage of claims devoted to issues relating to restrictions.

claim that major centrist parties shift toward a more negative stance on immigration when they face a rising AIP.

In sum, we find little evidence that AIPs shape how centrist parties approach immigration in their manifestos. AIP success may lead to a small rise in the salience of the issue, but it does not appear to meaningfully shift substance or stance. These associations, if they exist, are tenuous at best.

Discussion

Immigration is one of the most prominent issues of our time. It involves aspects central to politics and society, ranging from questions about who is allowed entry and the boundaries of citizenship, to its impact on national culture and identity, to debates over the allocation of rights and economic resources. Yet,
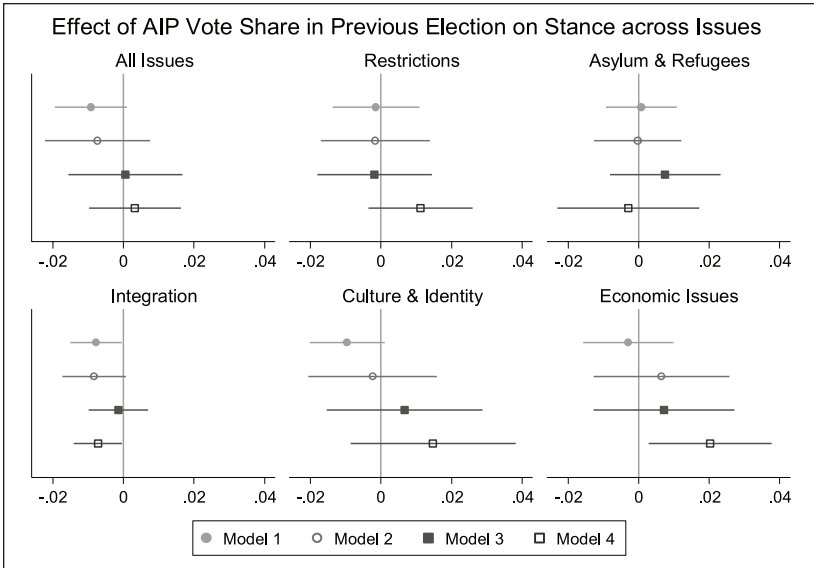
Figure 8. Anti-immigrant party success and subsequent stance of major centrist parties.
The graphs show OLS regressions results in which the dependent variable is the Net Stance (overall or on a specific issue). The effects refer to the coefficients of *AIP vote share (previous election, %)*, displayed with 95% confidence intervals. The following covariates are included. Model 1: *center-right party*; Model 2: *center-right party* and *immigrant population (%)*; Model 3: *center-right party, immigrant population (%)*, and *decade fixed effects*; Model 4: *center-right party, immigrant population (%), decade and country fixed effects*. For complete results, see the Supplemental Appendix. OLS = ordinary least squares; AIP = anti-immigrant party.

few studies have provided a general understanding of how the immigration debate has evolved over time and across a broad set of countries.

This void partly reflects data constraints. By creating a new data set that offers a detailed and comprehensive repository of how the major parties have positioned themselves in their manifestos, we can analyze systematically how immigration has evolved as a political issue in multiple countries over an extended timeframe.

Relying on this new data set, we address several fundamental questions that speak to the long-term dynamic of party competition around the issue: How the mainstream parties change their positioning on immigration vis-à-vis each other and in relation to the presence of a political force (AIPs) that claims ownership over this issue. A key finding is that trends have been very similar across the left–right divide. Even where initial levels differed across

parties, we find evidence of a consistent co-movement on dimensions of salience, substance, and stance, in some cases moving clearly toward increasing convergence. Our analysis does not support the notion that mainstream parties have progressively polarized on the issue of immigration. Likewise, we show that the idea of a reliably immigrant-friendly center-left cannot be sustained.[41] With respect to substance, we demonstrate that cultural concerns have not marginalized economic ones. Instead, a dominant focus on cultural issues is limited to specific elections and countries.

Our findings also speak to debates about AIPs. Much has been made of the role of AIPs in setting the terms of the debate. However, we show that the rise of AIPs is only weakly correlated with mainstream parties' approach to immigration. On dimensions of salience, substance, and stance, we find little evidence that AIPs dictate, or even influence, how centrist parties address the topic. This result is consistent with recent work (Odmalm & Bale, 2015) that emphasizes the autonomous role of the larger parties in deciding when and how to wade into this politically fraught topic.

Although our findings suggest that AIPs have not been instrumental in structuring mainstream party approaches, we do find that one of their most common critiques—that there is no substantial difference between major parties on the left and the right when it comes to immigration—has some merit.

Beyond this paper's substantive conclusions, a key contribution is the creation and dissemination of a publicly available data set, which will contain all sentences and all category and stance codings. The IPM data set will allow researchers to examine a host of new questions and test additional hypotheses. It will also permit scholars to place specific countries, parties, episodes, and issues into a larger context and can therefore help guide case selection. Furthermore, scholars can rely on our coding protocol to expand the data set's coverage to other parties, countries, and upcoming elections. Although we invested considerable effort to ensure comprehensiveness, consistency, and reliability, we invite future researchers to make improvements and expand the topic coverage to reflect new and emerging issue areas. This can include the application of automated text analysis to uncover additional patterns and to gain insights on the merits and drawbacks of different text-based approaches.

Another research avenue is comparison across issues. Scholars can pair the IPM data set with CMP data to assess whether immigration-related changes in salience, substance, or stance are associated with changes in other domains. Do parties shift toward a negative stance on immigration, for example, when they advocate spending policies that harm working-class voters? Answers to questions of this type would significantly broaden the way we think about the role of immigration in shaping electoral politics.

Relatedly, researchers can deploy our protocol to investigate the ways in which parties address new migration waves and integration challenges. The coverage of our empirical analysis ends before the large refugee influx of 2015. The sudden arrival of millions of migrants from Syria, Afghanistan, and other war-torn countries has brought to the fore a set of questions, from state capacity to deal with these sizable flows to concerns about national security and asylum regimes. By utilizing our classification scheme and codebook to expand the reach of the IPM data set, new research can help assess whether and how these events have transformed the politics of immigration in Europe when compared with the long-run dynamics we chart here.

Finally, another promising use of our data is studying the link between what parties *say* about immigration in manifestos and what they actually *do* post election. Recent efforts to map immigration policies (e.g., Beine et al., 2016; Helbling et al., 2017) open up opportunities for connecting the programmatic aspects that we study to these policy outputs. Such efforts would further expand our understanding of the continuously evolving political debate over immigration.

Acknowledgments

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Notes

1. On centrist party convergence and the rise of the far-right, see Kitschelt and McGann (1996) and Mudde (2007, Chapter 10).
2. For attitudes on immigration see, e.g., Dancygier & Donnelly, 2013; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Malhotra, Margalit, & Mo, 2013; McLaren, 2003; Scheve & Slaughter, 2001. For studies on immigration policies, see e.g., Alarian & Goodman, 2017; Goodman, 2014; Helbling, Bjerre, Romer, & Zobel, 2017; Maxwell, 2012; Peters, 2017.
3. See the "Empirical Approach and Data" section for more detail.

4. To be clear, the finding of no growing polarization speaks to the dynamic between the main center-left and center-right parties, not to all parties in the political system.

5. These data are taken from Eurostat (http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained /index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics#Migrant_population).

6. For details, see Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield (1994), Dancygier (2010), and Joppke (1999).

7. On the cross-cutting nature of immigration, see Odmalm and Bale (2015) and Pardos-Prado (2015).

8. van der Brug, D'Amato, Berkhout, and Ruedin (2015) also point out that when explaining politicization, salience and position-taking have to be considered jointly.

9. See, for example, de Vries (2018), Golder (2016), and Meguid (2008).

10. The authors' study of transnational programs begins in 1989 and ends in 2004, but it is confined to the period 1999-2004 for national party programs.

11. Freeman (1995) and Joppke (1999) highlight different aspects of this general argument; for competing views, see Ellermann (2013) and Guiraudon and Lahav (2000).

12. van Spanje (2010) notes that this "contagion" effect is especially strong among opposition parties.

13. Relatedly, Abou-Chadi and Krause (2018) show that successful radical right parties shift European mainstream party manifestos toward a more cultural protectionist position.

14. The authors also note that internal disunity within social democratic parties and leftist competitors influence their positions.

15. The Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP) added four immigration-related categories in 2009 (for Greece); since then the coding of these categories has only occurred for several countries.

16. For example, if a sentence calls for reducing welfare benefits to immigrants, it is coded under the "welfare state limitation" category, with no indication of the link to immigration.

17. Moreover, when examining all sentences that make explicit reference to immigration, we find that more than 40% of sentences do not fall into the categories that scholars have used as proxies for the immigration issue. See the Supplemental Appendix for a more detailed discussion of the limitations of using CMP categories as proxies.

18. These fields are labor immigration, citizenship, asylum, illegality, family reunification, integration trajectories, social rights, and religion/Islam. Akkerman limits her focus to "policy pledges", i.e., "a stated commitment to carry out some action or produce some outcome". Like our study, Akkerman focuses on centrist left and right parties as well as those on the far right.

19. In addition, coders decide whether parties express a preference for change and what actors would be affected.

20. For a discussion of the quality and reliability of expert surveys vis-à-vis CMP codings, see Benoit and Laver (2007).

21. We are grateful for the generous cooperation of the CMP team (see Volkens et al., 2014), and we thank the Political Documents Archive for providing additional data (see Benoit, Bräuninger, & Debus, 2009).
22. In some cases, mainly when the difference in vote shares between two center-left or center-right parties was relatively small or in the case of regional differences (i.e., Belgium), we included more than one party of each type.
23. Intercoder reliability was generally high but variable. For some categories such as citizenship, language, and asylum and refugees, agreement was high (88.1%, 93.8%, and 84.4%, respectively). In other categories such as tolerance-racism (64.8%) and overpopulation (40%), discrepancies required additional coding and, in some cases, a redefinition of the category to raise congruence levels.
24. Of these, 364 manifestos are from center-left and center-right parties, with the remainder coming from AIPs.
25. Overall, 34% of manifesto sentences referred to more than one category.
26. A related debate is about whether manifestos matter in influencing voter perceptions (e.g., Adams, Ezrow, & Somer-Topcu, 2011; Fernandez-Vazquez, 2014).
27. For example, since 2005 nearly 200 episodes of the major German news show "Tagesschau" discuss manifestos ("Wahlprogramm"). When searching "Labour Party manifesto" and "Conservative Party manifesto" in *The Guardian* and *The Times* between 2010 and 2017, 273 articles are returned.
28. Excluding Denmark, Italy, and Finland (countries with a later onset of mass migration), the percentage of words/sentences during the 1980s only increases to 1.26/1.1.
29. These figures pertain to the mean share of quasisentences in center-right and center-left party manifestos in all 12 countries included in our study during 2000-2010. (A quasisentence contains exactly one statement or message. One sentence is therefore at minimum, one quasisentence, but there are instances when a sentence contains more than one quasisentence). The key point of this imperfect comparison is to contextualize the high salience of immigration in recent years.
30. For example, this sentence in the 2005 manifesto of Denmark's Conservative Party contains references to four categories (women's rights, national culture/identity, religion, civil liberties): "Immigrants must learn to show respect for Danish values such as our democracy, freedom of speech, religion, views of women and cultural values."
31. Note that during this period, the length of manifestos has not grown at a similar pace; increased complexity is thus not the result of increased length.
32. Because of the small number of sentences and low complexity in prior years, a smaller number of issues represent a relatively large percentage of overall claims before 1980. However, the above trends do not change much if we extend the analysis back to the 1960s.
33. The difference in "integration"/"immigration policy" across party types is significant at $p = .14/.17$. The sample size is 31. Note also that one issue that does not make it into the top 10, "national security," deviates from this trend: Among the center-right, this topic represents 3% of immigration-related references from

1980 onward, but it has an upward trend, reaching 6.1% in 2010. Among center-left parties, the average frequency is only 0.4%, with no signs of an upward trajectory. By contrast, parties address "Law and Order," a related but distinct issue, with similar frequency. The average share of issue references is 2.0% for the center-left and 2.2% for the center-right. Whereas the center-left's focus on this issue has held steady over the last three decades, among the center-right, attention has declined, perhaps due to a more pronounced shift toward "national security" among the latter (see Table A1 in the Supplemental Appendix for details).

34. Our measure of the economic dimension includes: "economic integration," "jobs," "wages," "other economic," "welfare system," and "housing." "Culture" refers to "culture and national identity," "religion," "Islam," "gay rights," "women's issues," and "slaughtering of animals." The patterns for both dimensions remain consistent when using different classifications of categories. Note that our review of manifesto references indicates that "language" refers to both dimensions (e.g., as a requirement for securing a job or for integrating culturally). We therefore excluded this category from both groupings.

35. Specifically, the association is always positive, and in five out of eight cases, it is significant at $p < .10$ or less.

36. In the 2000s, the share of negative statements was, on average, 17.9 points higher on the right than it was on the left ($p = .004$). By the 2010s, this gap had shrunk to 6.1 points ($p = .441$). The difference of this difference is, however, not significant ($p = .252$).

37. For example, conditions may cause both a rise in AIPs and a shift in mainstream party positioning. In addition, variation in how centrist parties tackle immigration could lead to variation in AIP success.

38. We define an anti-immigration party as a party that makes opposition to immigration a central part of its agenda. To identify such parties we turned to case studies of parties typically designated as "radical" or "far" right, with the goal of detecting when their programmatic emphasis shifted to highlight restrictive stances on immigration (if at all). We additionally consulted existing indices of AIP's (see Wendt, 2009). See the Supplemental Appendix for a list of parties that we code as AIPs.

39. Different measures pertaining to seat shares or the current election yield similar results.

40. Note that in this analysis, "Integration" does not include "economic integration." Instead, "economic integration" is part of the "economic issues" cluster.

41. Studies and media coverage about the political space in Europe generally classify the center-left as being supportive of cultural and social openness; see, for example, Kriesi et al. (2008).

Supplemental Material

ORCID iDs

Rafaela Dancygier https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9569-134X
Yotam Margalit https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9589-8487

References

Abou-Chadi, T., & Krause, W. (2018). The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties's policy positions: A regression discontinuity approach. *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-19. Advance online publication. doi:10.1017/S0007123418000029

Adams, J., Ezrow, L., & Somer-Topcu, Z. (2011). Is anybody listening? Evidence that voters do not respond to European parties' policy statements during election. *American Journal of Political Science*, *55*, 370-381.

Adida, C. L., Laitin, D. D., & Valfort, M.-A. (2016). *Why Muslim integration fails in Christian-heritage societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Akkerman, T. (2015). Immigration policy and electoral competition in Western Europe. A fine-grained analysis of party positions over the past two decades. *Party Politics*, *21*, 54-67.

Alarian, H., & Goodman, S. (2017). Dual citizenship allowance and migration flow: An origin story. *Comparative Political Studies*, *50*, 133-167.

Alonso, S., & da Fonesca, S. C. (2012). Immigration, left and right. *Party Politics*, *18*, 865-884.

Bakker, R., de Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., . . . Vachudova, M. (2015). Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010. *Party Politics*, *21*, 143-152.

Bale, T. (2008). Turning round the telescope. Centre-right parties and immigration and integration policy in Europe. *European Journal of Public Policy*, *15*, 315-330.

Bale, T. (2014). Putting it right? The labour party's big shift on immigration since 2010. *The Political Quarterly*, *85*, 296-303.

Bale, T., Green-Pedersen, C., Krouwel, A., Luther, K. R., & Sitter, N. (2010). If you can't beat them, join them? Explaining social democratic responses to the challenge from the populist radical right in Western Europe. *Political Studies*, *58*, 410-426.

Beine, M., Boucher, A., Burgoon, B., Crock, M., Gest, J., Hiscox, M., . . . Thielemann, E. (2016). Comparing immigration policies: An overview from the IMPALA database. *International Migration Review*, *50*, 827-863.

Benoit, K., Bräuninger, T., & Debus, M. (2009). Challenges for estimating policy preferences: Announcing an open access archive of political documents. *German Politics*, *18*, 440-453.

Benoit, K., & Laver, M. (2007). Estimating party policy positions: Comparing expert surveys and hand-coded content analysis. *Electoral Studies*, *26*, 90-107.

Beramendi, P., Häusermann, S., Kitschelt, H., & Kriesi, H. (2015). *The politics of advanced capitalism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Budge, I., Klingemann, H.-D., Volkens, A., Bara, J., & Tannenbaum, E. (Eds.). (2001). *Mapping policy preferences: Estimates for parties, electors, and governments 1945-1998*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Cornelius, W. A., Martin, P. L., & Hollifield, J. F. (1994). *Controlling immigration: A global perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dancygier, R. (2010). *Immigration and conflict in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Dancygier, R. (2017). *Dilemmas of inclusion: Muslims in European politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dancygier, R., & Donnelly, M. (2013). Sectoral economies, economic contexts, and attitudes toward immigration. *Journal of Politics*, *75*, 17-35.

de Vries, C. (2018). The cosmopolitan-parochial divide: Changing patterns of party competition in the Netherlands and beyond. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *25*, 1541-1565.

Duncan, F., & van Hecke, S. (2008). Immigration and the transnational European centre-right: A common programmatic response? *Journal of European Public Policy*, *15*, 432-452.

Ellerman, A. (2013). When can liberal states avoid unwanted immigration? Self-limited sovereignty and guest worker recruitment in Switzerland and Germany. *World Politics*, *65*, 491-538.

Fernandez-Vazquez, P. (2014). And yet it moves: The effect of election platforms on party policy images. *Comparative Political Studies*, *47*, 1919-1944.

Freeman, G. P. (1995). Modes of immigration policies in liberal democratic states. *International Migration Review*, *29*, 881-902.

Givens, T., & Luedtke, A. (2005). European immigration policies in comparative perspective: Issue salience, partisanship and immigrant rights. *Comparative European Politics*, *3*, 1-22.

Golder, M. (2016). Far right parties in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *19*, 477-497.

Goodman, S. W. (2014). *Immigration and membership politics in Western Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Green-Pedersen, C., & Otjes, S. (2019). A hot topic? Immigration on the agenda in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, *25*, 424-434. doi:10.1177/1354068817728211

Guiraudon, V., & Lahav, G. (2000). A reappraisal of the state sovereignty debate: The case of migration control. *Comparative Political Studies*, *33*, 163-195.

Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *17*, 225-249.

Helbling, M. (2014). Framing immigration to Western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*, 21-41.

Helbling, M., Bjerre, L., Römer, F., & Zobel, M. (2017). Measuring immigration policies: The IMPIC database. *European Political Science Review*, *16*, 79-98.

Höglinger, D., Wüest, B., & Helbling, M. (2012). Culture versus economy: The framing of public debates over issues related to globalization. In H. Kriesi, E. Grande, M. Dolezal, M. Helbling, D. Höglinger, S. Hutter, & B. Wüest (Eds.), *Political conflict in Western Europe* (pp. 229-253). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2018). Cleavage theory meets Europe's crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the transnational cleavage. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *25*, 109-135.

Joppke, C. (1999). *Immigration and the nation state*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kitschelt, H., & McGann, A. J. (1996). *The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Klingemann, H.-D., Hofferbert, R., & Budge, I. (1994). *Parties, policies, and democracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezat, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2008). *West European politics in the age of globalization*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lahav, G. (2004). *Immigration and politics in the New Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Laver, M. (2014). Measuring policy positions in political space. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *17*, 207-223.

Lehmann, P., & Zobel, M. (2018). Positions and saliency of immigration in party manifestos: A novel dataset using crowd coding. *European Journal of Political Research*, *57*, 1056-1083.

Malhotra, N., Margalit, Y., & Mo, C. (2013). Economic explanations for opposition to immigration: Distinguishing between prevalence and magnitude. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*, 391-410.

Maxwell, R. (2012). *Ethnic minority migrants in Britain and France: Integration trade-offs*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

McLaren, L. (2003). Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Social Forces*, *81*, 909-936.

Meguid, B. M. (2008). *Party competition between unequals: Strategies and electoral fortunes in Western Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Messina, A. M. (1989). *Race and party competition in Britain*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Minkenberg, M. (2001). The radical right in public office: Agenda-setting and policy effects. *West European Politics*, *24*(4), 1-21.

Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Mudde, C. (2013). Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what? *European Journal of Political Research*, *52*, 1-19.

Odmalm, P., & Bale, T. (2015). Immigration into the mainstream: Conflicting ideological streams, strategic reasoning and party competition. *Acta Politica*, *50*, 365-378.

Pardos-Prado, S. (2015). How can mainstream parties prevent niche party success? Center-right parties and the immigration issue. *Journal of Politics*, *77*, 352-367.

Peters, M. E. (2017). *Trading barriers: Immigration and the remaking of globalization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ruedin, D., Morales, L., Pilet, J.-B., & Thomas, P. (2013, August). *Immigration in the party political agenda: A comparative analysis of party manifestos in six European countries*. Presented at the ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux, France.

Schain, M. (2006). The extreme-right and immigration policy-making: Measuring direct and indirect effects. *West European Politics*, *29*, 270-289.

Scheve, K., & Slaughter, M. J. (2001). Labor market competition and individual preferences over immigration policy. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, *83*, 133-145.

van der Brug, W., D'Amato, G., Berkhout, J., & Ruedin, D. (Eds.). (2015). *The politicization of migration*. London, England: Routledge.

van Spanje, J. (2010). Contagious parties: Anti-immigration parties and their impact on other parties' immigration stances in contemporary Western Europe. *Party Politics*, *16*, 563-586.

Volkens, A., Lehman, P., Merz, N., Regel, S., Werner, A., Lacewell, O. P., & Schultze, H. (2014). *The manifesto data collection. Manifesto project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2014a*. Berlin, Germany: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.

Wendt, C. (2009). *Migration, nativism, and party system change in Western Europe* (Doctoral dissertation). Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge.

Author Biographies

Rafaela Dancygier is an associate professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. She researches the domestic political consequences of international immigration and ethnic diversity. Her first book, *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*, was published in 2010. Her second book *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*, was published in 2017. Her other research has also appeared in journals such as *The American Journal of Political Science, The American Political Science Review, Comparative Politics, The Journal of Politics,* and *World Politics*.

Yotam Margalit is a professor at the Political Science Department at Tel Aviv University, specializing in comparative and international political economy. He is currently working on several projects dealing with immigration and the political repercussions of economic openness. His work has been published in journals such as *The American Journal of Political Science, The American Political Science Review,* and *The Journal of Politics*.