

Workshop Proposal Outline form for prospective Workshop Directors for the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops

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Title of proposed Workshop:	The Representation of Citizens of Immigrant Origin in Established Democracies
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Outline of topic:	<p>Over the past decades, many established democracies have grown increasingly diverse in ethnic terms. To a considerable extent, this growing diversity has been a result of immigration. Europeanisation and the stronger demands for inclusion in the democratic process made by citizens of immigrant origin have led to an expansion of the electorate in many countries. As a consequence, the political rights, representation and integration of immigrants and their descendants have become important and controversial topics for debate amongst policy makers and social scientists.</p> <p>Some noticeable advances notwithstanding, there is still considerable variation in the ‘presence’ of citizens of immigrant origin in democratically elected bodies such as parliamentary assemblies. What is the extent of these variations? What are the main sources of variability? To what extent do institutions (such as electoral systems) shape these variations? What are the consequences of the growing presence of representatives of immigrant origin for debates and other representational activities in the legislatures of established democracies? To what extent have parties begun to compete for immigrant-origin voters by offering a more diverse set of candidates? What are the reasons for differences between political parties in this respect? And to what extent does the presence of representatives of immigrant origin change the content and tone of debates in legislative assemblies? In other words, is there a link between ‘descriptive’ and ‘substantive’ representation?</p> <p>Despite stark conceptual obstacles to empirical research in this field (see Bloemraad and Schönwälder 2013; Jacobs et al. 2009), and despite problems of identification and rigorous measurement, a number of empirical projects have made significant progress in producing some first answers to such questions. The proposed workshop will allow a comparative assessment of progress and facilitate exchange about emerging solutions to research problems. Not only would it speak to scholars working on migration and ethnic minorities, but also to researchers specialising in representation, political institutions, voting behaviour, party organization and legislative behaviour. The workshop will offer experts an opportunity to assess the state of the art in the empirical study of the representation of citizens of immigrant origin in established democracies; compare the results with representation studies in relation to other groups; reflect on ways of overcoming gaps in empirical data; discuss the opportunities and limitations of new methodological approaches and measurements (e.g., quasi-experimental designs or advanced methods of retrieving and analysing the texts of speeches); and not least define the theoretical and empirical research agenda for the next years.</p>
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<p>Relation to existing research:</p>	<p>The workshop is relevant to debates in both normative and positive political theory. Theorists such as Pitkin (1967), Mansbridge (1999; 2003), Philipps (1995) or Rehfeld (2011) have presented competing arguments about the need for descriptive representation. Others such as Manin (1997) have produced seminal work on the changing nature of representation in modern democracies. In addition, there has been a long and elaborate research tradition on the representational roles of Members of Parliament (for a review see Andeweg and Thomassen 2005). Despite the heterogeneity of angles and difficulty of ‘pinning down’ the notion of representation conceptually, the theoretical literature with a normative bent has connected relatively well with more positive political theory and rigorous quantitative scholarship such as the work on voting behaviour, party strategies under electoral competition since the 1950s (e.g., Downs 1957; Ezrow 2010; Ezrow et al. 2011; Miller and Stokes 1963; Powell 2004). This workshop will be relevant to normative discussions but will be informed by more positive theoretical work.</p> <p><i>Firstly</i>, papers in the workshop may build on research that focuses on the electoral and partisan links between</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Immigrant-origin and majority voters on the one hand and candidates of different backgrounds on the other (e.g., Brouard and Tiberj 2011; Heath et al. 2011, 2013; Wüst 2004); ▪ Immigrant-origin and majority candidates and political parties (e.g., Deiss-Helbig 2013; Folke and Rickne 2014; Geddes 1998; Soinenen 2014); ▪ And between parliamentary party groups and immigrant-origin Members of Parliaments (MPs) (Bird 2011; Nixon 1998; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). <p>Although this body of scholarship has generated many interesting empirical findings and theoretical advances, some of it is relatively dated in the meantime; other material is country-specific. The workshop format at ECPR Joint Sessions would allow for the discussion of current advances (which may not yet be entirely ‘visible’ in the literature), innovative theoretical approaches, new data bases and advanced methods that help to strengthen rigorous comparative work across a larger number of liberal democracies.</p> <p>Secondly, the literature on residential settlement patterns, the spatial concentration of immigrants and ethnic minorities and the associated local conditions for group mobilisation have made considerable strides in the past 15 years (e.g., Fennema and Tillie 1999; Morales, Pérez-Nievas and Vintila 2012; Maxwell 2012). Frequently, work in this category has been influenced by notions of social capital and its formation in urban contexts as well as political opportunity structures (e.g., Eggert and Giugni 2010; Koopmans 2004; Morales and Giugni 2011). The workshop format will encourage stronger linkage between this research and the more narrowly focused work on electoral representation briefly referred to above. It will also explore how lessons from the study of local mobilisation and participation can be extended to the analysis of higher tiers of political representation such as the national or regional levels. Also several comparative projects in this area (e.g., the LOCALMULTIDEM project and the SOM project) have produced a wealth of empirical findings and methodological innovations that are beginning to influence the way political scientists examine patterns of political representation. Other comparative projects currently under way (Pathways project) are innovating in systematic data collection on the specific topic of the political representation of citizens of immigrant origin and how a number of aspects (including residential patterns, mobilization patterns, political</p>
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	<p>opportunities, etc.) shape cross-national and longitudinal variations.</p> <p><i>Thirdly</i>, there is a growing and innovative body of empirical scholarship dealing with representation in legislatures and the policy responsiveness of various actors in parliaments and governments. The former includes recent work on speeches (e.g., Proksch and Slapin 2014). It is strongly informed by literature on the institutional constraints and strategic behaviour of MPs in general. A related strand of research has focused on immigrants and migration (e.g., Ruedin 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). The latter has begun to explore the structural conditions for policy responsiveness in the field of immigration (Morales et al. 2015, forthcoming). These two related streams have not interacted closely so far. Thus the workshop is designed to provide a platform for scholars from different backgrounds to explore links between public opinion and structures of political opportunity on the one hand and institutional incentives legislators and elites respond to on the other.</p>
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<p>Likely participants:</p>	<p>This workshop proposal is supported by the ECPR Standing Group on Immigration and Ethnicity and will be widely disseminated among that SG and other SGs directly connected to the workshop topic (Parliaments; Political Parties; Political Representation). Likely participants include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dr. Osnat Akirav (University of Haifa) ▪ Professor Johannes Bergh (University of Oslo) ▪ Professor Karen Bird (McMaster University) ▪ Dr. Manlio Cinalli (Sciences Po Paris) ▪ Elisa Deiss-Helbig (University of Stuttgart) ▪ Patrick English (University of Manchester) ▪ Lucas Geese (University of Bamberg) ▪ Dr. Liza Mugge (University of Amsterdam) ▪ Dr. Santiago Pérez-Nievas (Autonomous University of Madrid) ▪ Constanza Petrarca (University of Mannheim) ▪ Professpr Jean-Benoît Pilet (Université Libre de Bruxelles) ▪ Dr. Luis Ramiro (University of Leicester) ▪ Dr. Didier Ruedin (University of Neuchâtel) ▪ Professor Karen Schönwälder (MPI-MMG Göttingen) ▪ Dr. Maria Sobolewska (University of Manchester) ▪ Professor Maritta Soininen (University of Stockholm) ▪ Dr. Steven van Hauwaert (University of Leuven) ▪ Dr. Daphne van der Pas (University of Amsterdam) ▪ Dr. Marc van de Wardt (University of Amsterdam) ▪ Daniela Vintila (University of Leicester)
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<p>Type of Papers required:</p>	<p>We encourage the submission of theoretically informed empirical studies, including case studies and cross-national comparative work, analysing all levels of representation (local, regional, national and European). We encourage especially papers that make connections between hitherto relatively disconnected research traditions, innovative approaches to measurement and innovative research designs.</p>
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<p>Funding:</p>	<p>Participants will be funded through their own institutions and research grants.</p>
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<p>Biographical notes:</p>	<p>Laura Morales is Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Leicester. She obtained her BA from the Complutense University of Madrid, her MSc from the LSE (with Distinction), an MA from the Juan March Institute and her PhD (summa cum laude) from the Autonomous University of Madrid. She joined the University of Leicester in 2011. Previously she held teaching and research positions in the Autonomous University of Madrid, the Complutense University of Madrid, the University of Murcia and the University of Manchester. Her research interests lie, especially, in the areas of political behaviour, political parties, the politics of immigration, and comparative politics. She is currently engaged in several projects on the politics of immigration, and on civic and political participation in established democracies. Recent books include <i>Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe</i>, ed. with Marco Giugni (2011) and <i>Joining Politics Organisations</i> (2009).</p> <p>Thomas Saalfeld is Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Bamberg. He holds an MA in Political Science (with distinction) and a PhD (summa cum laude) from the University of Munich. Before joining the University of Bamberg in 2009, he held research and teaching positions at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Munich, The University of Hull, the Dresden Technical University and the University of Kent Canterbury. His research focuses on legislative studies including the study of parliamentary party groups, legislative voting and legislative organization. In addition he has published on cabinet stability in Western Europe, comparative legislatures, legislation, the scrutiny of EU legislation by national parliaments and the substantive representation of minority-ethnic interests in the United Kingdom. His books include <i>The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies</i>, ed. with Shane Martin and Kaare W. Strøm, (2014) and <i>The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities</i>, ed. with Karen Bird and Andreas M. Wüst (2011).</p>
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