

RIETI BBL Seminar Handout

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Speaker: Prof. Yotam MARGALIT

Immigration and Electoral Appeals Over the Past Half Century: A Sketch of the Evidence

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Motivating Questions

- Has the political **salience** of immigration increased over time?
- What are the **types of issues** discussed in relation to immigration and how have these changed over the decades?
- Do **left** and **right** address the immigration issue in similar ways?
- Is the **demographic composition of immigrants** related to the way parties address immigration issues?

Two Data Collection Efforts

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- Breaking down the immigration issue into 30 categories
- Translation and coding of all major party manifestos (and far-right) in W. European countries from 1960s-today

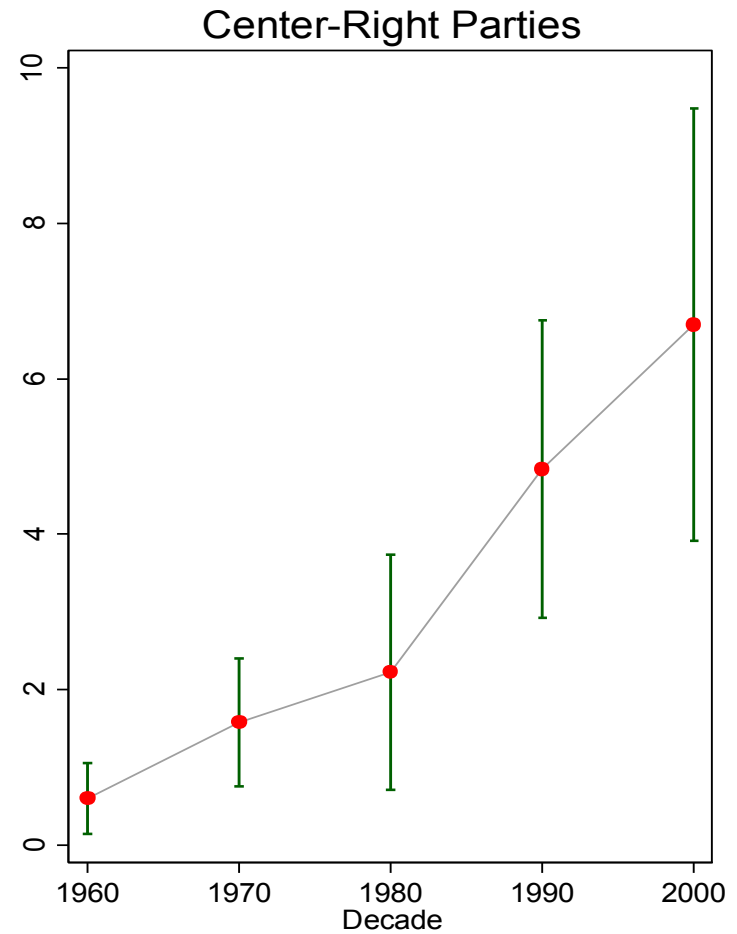
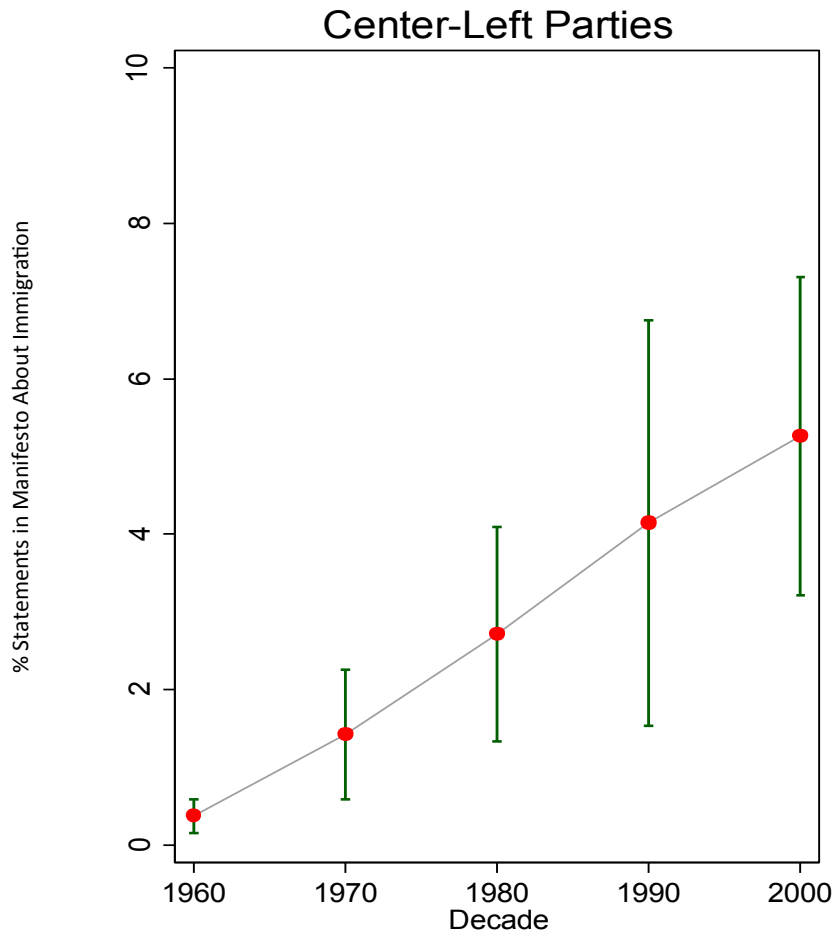
Two Data Collection Efforts

- Breaking down the immigration issue into 30 categories
- Translation and coding of all major party manifestos (and far-right) in W. European countries from 1960s-today
- Collecting statistical information about the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrant populations (e.g., Eurostat, OECD, annual statistical yearbooks)

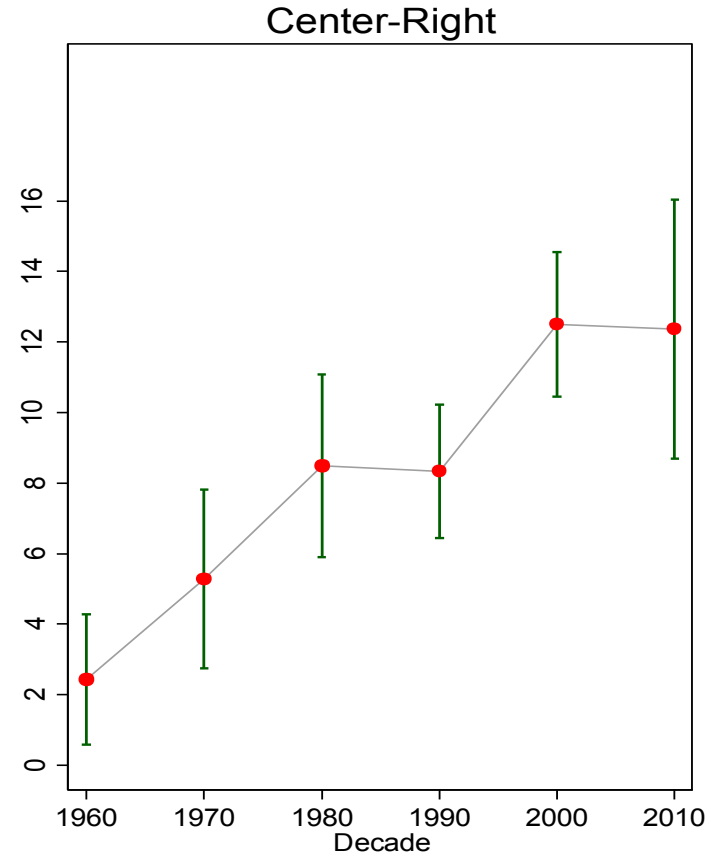
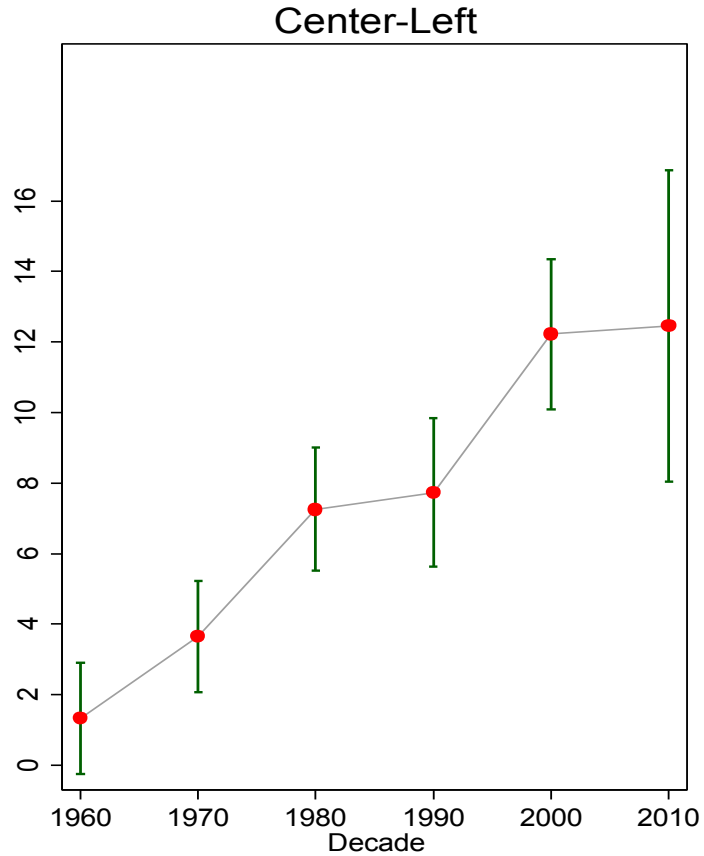
Descriptives

- 12 W. European countries
- 315 manifestos (1963-2012)
- 11,408 immigration-related sentences
- Demographics: 1980-2012

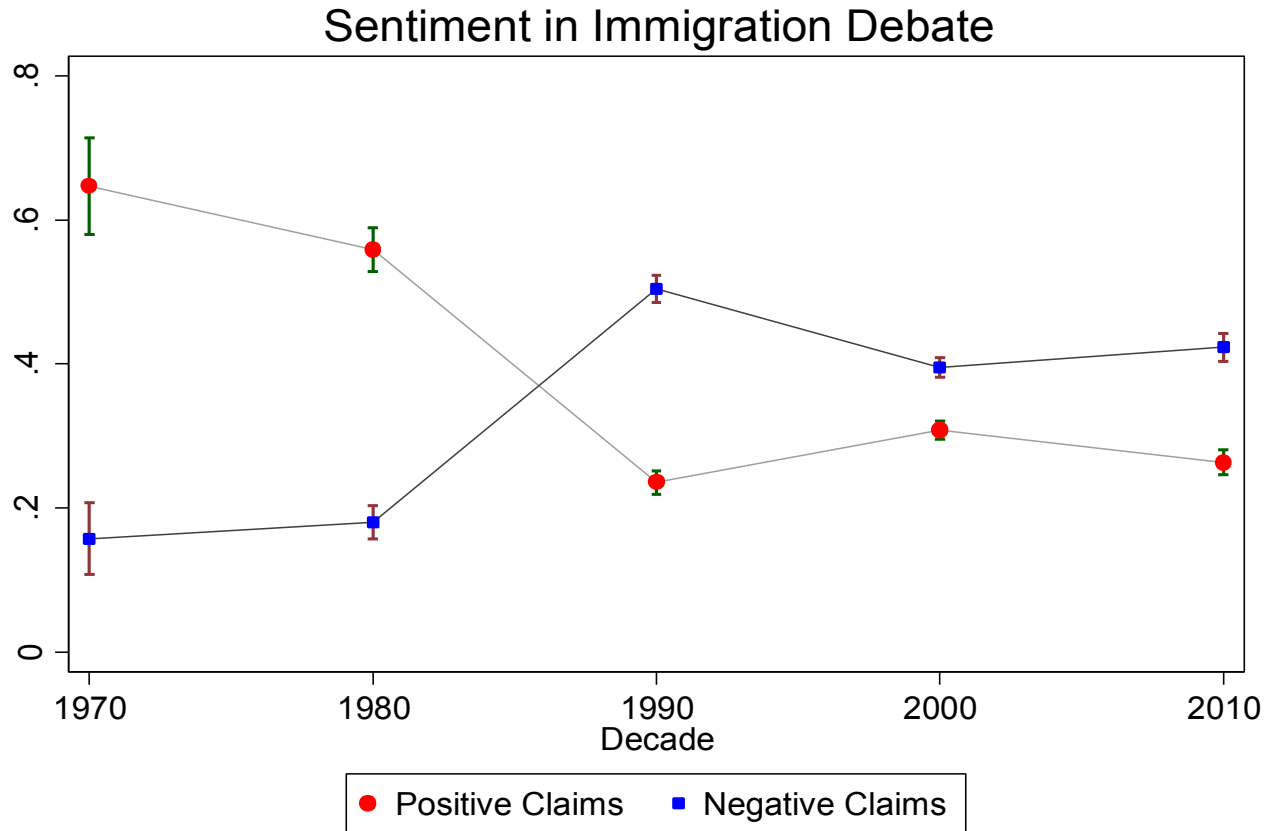
Salience of Immigration Issue



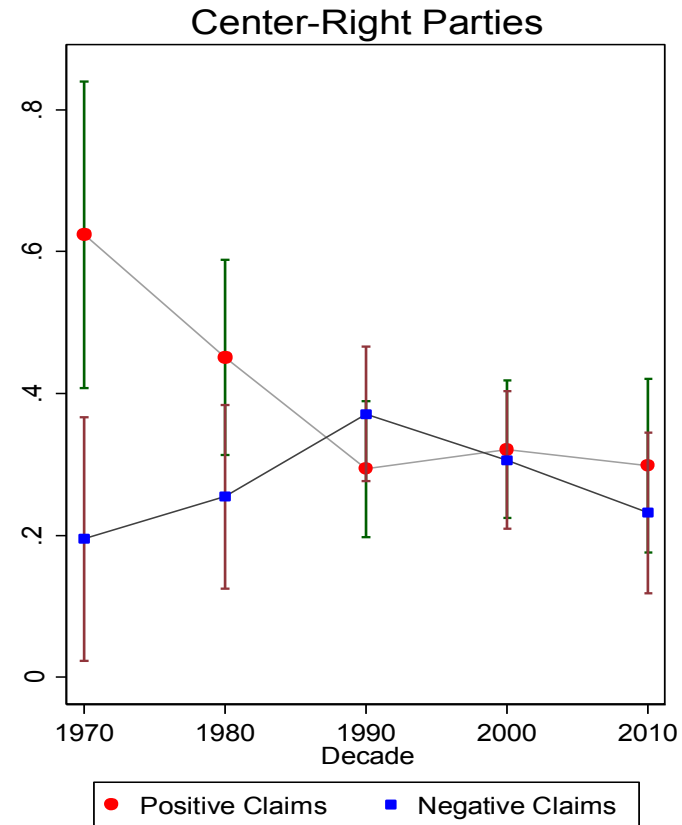
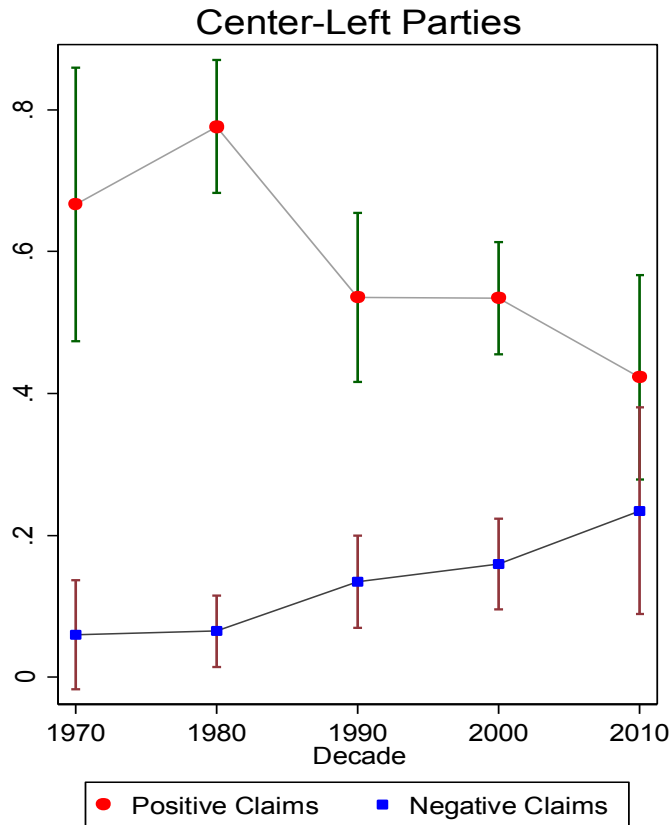
Number of Distinct Issues Mentioned



Sentiment of Statements



Sentiment of Statements by Party Type



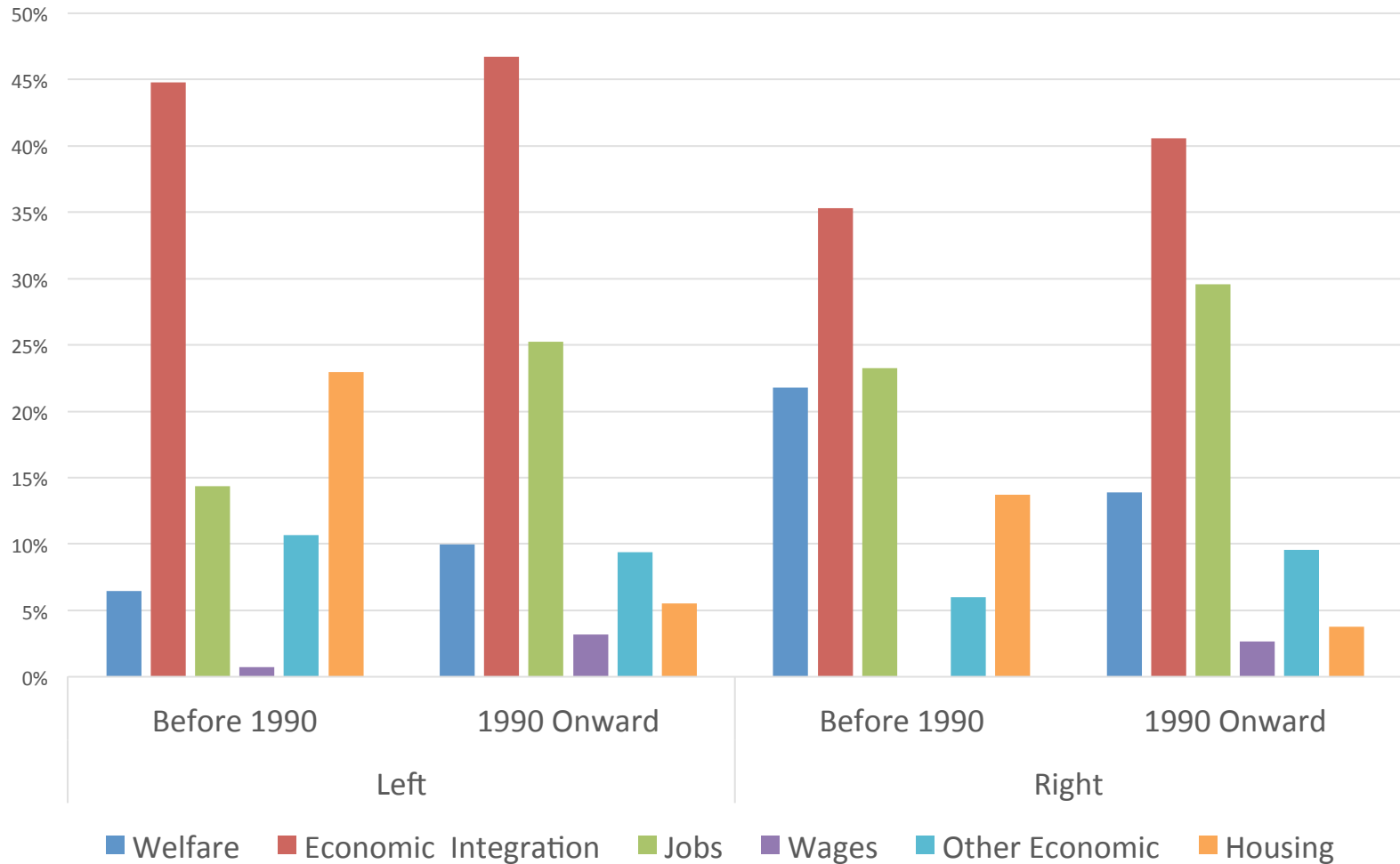
Frequency of Issues (%)

	Left	Right	Far-right
Restrictions	22	25	28
Refugees & Asyl.	13	17	17
Integration	13	16	5
Equal Treatment	14	5	7
Culture/Identity	8	7	9
Econ. Integration	8	8	3
Jobs of natives	5	7	10
Education System	6	7	2
Language	4	6	4
Illegal Immigration	5	5	3
Citizenship	4	3	5
Law and Order	2	3	6
Religion	1	2	2
Border Protection	2	0	1
Wages of natives	0.5	0.2	0.9

**Table 2: Type of Issues Mentioned by Major Left and Right Parties
As a Share of all Immigration-related Issues Mentioned (%)**

Decade	Economic	Culture/ Identity	Integration	Restrictions/ Deportations	Law - Order	Asylum & Refugees
1960's	33%	8%	4%	37%	0%	0%
1970's	24%	6%	11%	30%	1%	3%
1980's	19%	15%	12%	24%	1%	15%
1990's	14%	13%	13%	27%	4%	21%
2000's	19%	21%	20%	28%	3%	16%
2010's	21%	23%	21%	27%	3%	17%

Immigration-related References to Economic Issues (by party)



Immigration-related References to Economic Issues (by party)

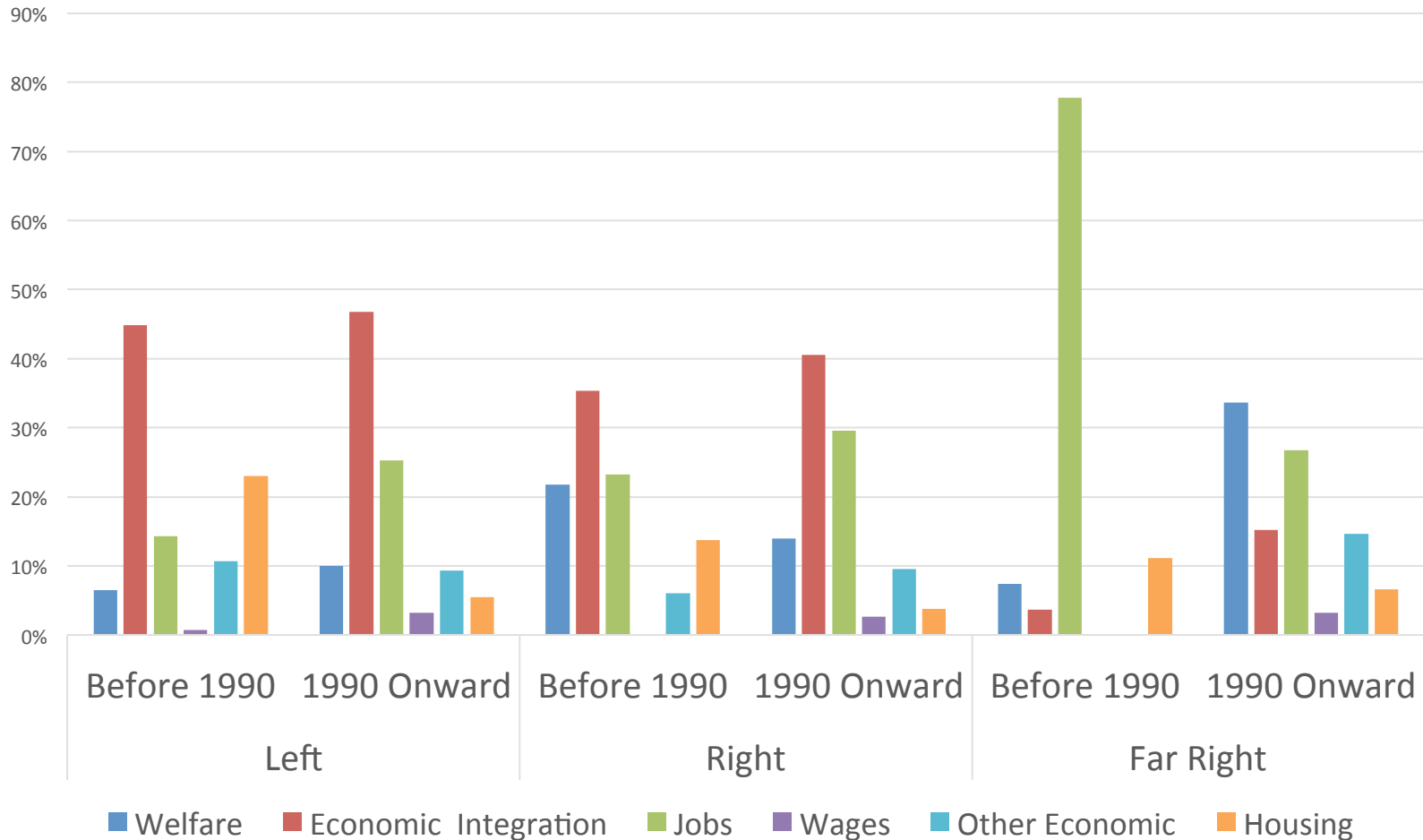


Table 6. Predictors of Negativity in Discussion of Immigration

	(1)	(2)	(3)
% Foreign Citizens	0.031** (0.012)	0.031** (0.013)	0.054* (0.031)
% Far Right Vote (Last Election)		0.005** (0.002)	-0.000 (0.004)
Employment Rate (foreigners)			0.001 (0.007)
Dependency Ratio (foreigners)			-0.011 (0.008)
Time			-0.086 (0.070)
Constant	0.149** (0.075)	0.222** (0.105)	0.599 (0.655)
<i>N</i>	242	201	105
R ²	0.131	0.229	0.236

Standard errors in parentheses; country fixed effects included.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p <.01, *** p<.001.

Table 5: Type of Economic Issues Discussed (%)

	Welfare	Jobs	Wages
% Foreign Born	0.008** (0.004)	-0.008 (0.008)	0.001 (0.001)
Employment Rate (foreigners)	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)
Dependency Ratio (foreigners)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)
Center-Right Party	-0.001 (0.014)	-0.017 (0.028)	-0.001 (0.005)
Far Right Party	0.043*** (0.015)	-0.028 (0.030)	0.006 (0.005)
Constant	0.194* (0.115)	0.297 (0.234)	-0.012 (0.041)
Observations	127	127	127
R-squared	0.199	0.288	0.139

OLS estimates. Standard errors in parentheses; country fixed effects included. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Main Points

- Salience has gone up
- Economic dimension *more* prominent than values
- Negative tone has increased
- Immigrant characteristics can systematically influence party appeals
- Major parties increasingly similar in topics discussed and in negative tone