- Abiri, Elizabeth. 2000. "The Changing Praxis of 'Generosity': Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1): 11–28.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik. 2016. "Niche Party Success and Mainstream Party Policy Shifts How Green and Radical Right Parties Differ in Their Impact." British Journal of Political Science 46(2): 417–36.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik, Denis Cohen, and Markus Wagner. 2022. "The Centre-Right versus the Radical Right: The Role of Migration Issues and Economic Grievances." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(2): 366–84.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik, Christoffer Green-Pedersen, and Peter B. Mortensen. 2020. "Parties' Policy Adjustments in Response to Changes in Issue Saliency." West European Politics 43(4): 749–71.
- Abou-Chadi, Tarik, and Werner Krause. 2020. "The Causal Effect of Radical Right Success on Mainstream Parties' Policy Positions: A Regression Discontinuity Approach." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 829-47.
- AIDA. 2018. "Access to Protection in Europe: Borders and Entry into the Territory. Comparative Report." *Asylum Information Database* | *European Council on Refugees and Exiles*. http://asylumineurope.org/comparative-reports/ (March 16, 2021).
- Akkerman, Tjitske. 2012. "Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010)." West European Politics 35(3): 511–29.
- Alexander, Robin. 2017. Die Getriebenen: Merkel Und Die Flüchtlingspolitik: Report Aus Dem Inneren Der Macht. 4th edition. München: Siedler.
- Alfonso, Sonia, and Sara Claro da Fonseca. 2012. "Immigration, Left and Right." *Party Politics* 18(6): 865–84. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068810393265 (May 3, 2021).
- Ambrosini, Maurizio. 2013. "Immigration in Italy: Between Economic Acceptance and Political Rejection." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 14(1): 175–94.
- Ambrosini, Maurizio, and Anna Triandafyllidou. 2011. "Irregular Immigration Control in Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and Weak Gate-Keeping Serving the Labour Market." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13(3): 251–73.
- Angelescu, Irina, and Florian Trauner. 2018. "10,000 Border Guards for Frontex: Why the EU Risks Conflated Expectations." Brussels: European Policy Centre Policy Brief, 21.

- Bakker, Bert N., Matthijs Rooduijn, and Gijs Schumacher. 2016. "The Psychological Roots of Populist Voting: Evidence from the United States, the Netherlands and Germany." *European Journal of Political Research* 55(2): 305–20.
- Bale, Tim. 2003. "Cinderella and Her Ugly Sisters: The Mainstream and Extreme Right in Europe's Bipolarising Party Systems." West European Politics 26(3): 67–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380312331280598 (May 3, 2021).
- Bartels, Larry M. 2016. Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bartolini, Stefano. 2005. Restructuring Europe: Centre Formation, System Building and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bauböck, Rainer. 2018. "Europe's Commitments and Failures in the Refugee Crisis." *European Political Science* 17(1): 140–50.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., Christoffer Green-Pedersen, and Bryan D. Jones. 2006. "Comparative Studies of Policy Agendas." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(7): 959–74.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 2002. *Policy Dynamics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. 2016. Causal Case Studies: Foundations and Guidelines for Comparing, Matching and Tracing. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Beck, Nathaniel, and Jonathan N. Katz. 1995. "What to Do (and Not Do) with Time-Series Criss-Section Data (August 13, 2010)." *American Political Science Review* 89(3): 634–47.
- Bélanger, Éric, and Bonnie M. Meguid. 2008. "Issue Salience, Issue Ownership, and Issue-Based Vote Choice." *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 477–91. www.scien cedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379408000024 (May 3, 2021).
- Benz, Arthur. 1992. "Mehrebenen-Verflechtung: Verhandlungsprozesse in Verbundenen Entscheidungsarenen." In *Horizontale Politikverflechtung. Zur Theorie von Verhandlungssystemen*, eds. Arthur Benz, Fritz W. Scharpf, and Reinhard Zintl. Frankfurt: Campus, 147–96.
- Betz, Hans-George. 1993. "The New Politics of Resentment: Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe." Comparative Politics 25(4): 413.
- Bickerton, Christopher, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. 2015. "The New Intergovernmentalism and the Study of European Integration." In *The New Intergovernmentalism*, eds. Christopher Bickerton, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–48.
- Biermann, Felix, Nina Guérin, Stefan Jagdhuber, Berthold Rittberger, and Moritz Weiss. 2017. "Political (Non-)Reform in the Euro Crisis and the Refugee Crisis: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Explanation." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(2): 246–66.
- Bíró-Nagy, András. 2022. "Orbán's Political Jackpot: Migration and the Hungarian Electorate." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(2): 405–24.
- Blais, Andre, John H. Aldrich, and Renan Levine. 2006. "Do Voters Vote for Government Coalitions? Testing Downs' Pessimistic Conclusions." *Party Politics* 12(6): 691–705.

Bloch, Alice, Teresa Galvin, and Liza Schuster. 2000. "Editorial Introduction." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1): 1–10.

- Bodlos, Anita, and Carolina Plescia. 2018. "The 2017 Austrian Snap Election: A Shift Rightward." West European Politics 41(6): 1354-63.
- Bohle, Dorothee, Béla Greskovits, and Marek Naczyk. 2023. "The Gramscian Politics of Europe's Rule of Law Crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2182342
- Boin, Arjen, Paul 't Hart, and Allan McConnell. 2009. "Crisis Exploitation: Political and Policy Impacts of Framing Contests." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(1): 81–106.
- Bojar, Abel. 2019. "With a Little Help from My Friends: Ministerial Alignment and Public Spending Composition in Parliamentary Democracies." *Political Research Exchange* 1(1): 1–21.
- Bojar, Abel, Theresa Gessler, Swen Hutter, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2021. Contentious Episodes in the Age of Austerity: Studying the Dynamics of Government-Challenger Interactions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bojar, Abel, Anna Kyriazi, Ioana-Elena Oana, and Zbig Truchlewski. 2021a. "Policy Process Analysis: An Introduction to a Novel Method." Unpublished paper.
- Bojar, Abel, Anna Kyriazi, Ioana-Elena Oana, and Zbigniew Truchlewski. 2023. "A Novel Method for Studying Policymaking: Policy Process Analysis (PPA) Applied to the Refugee Crisis." European University Institute. Working Paper. https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/75543 (May 11, 2023).
- Borevi, Karin. 2014. "Multiculturalism and Welfare State Integration: Swedish Model Path Dependency." *Identities* 21(6): 708–23.
- Bornschier, Simon. 2010. Cleavage Politics and the Populist Right: The New Cultural Conflict in Western Europe. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. "Member State Responses to Europeanization." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 193–214.
- Börzel, Tanja A. 2002. "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2): 193–214.
- Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2018. "From the Euro to the Schengen Crises: European Integration Theories, Politicization, and Identity Politics." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1): 83–108.
- Boswell, Christina, and Andrew Geddes. 2011. Migration and Mobility in the European Union. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bosworth, Mary, and Marion Vannier. 2020. "Blurred Lines: Detaining Asylum Seekers in Britain and France." *Journal of Sociology* 56(1): 53–68.
- Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101.
- Bremer, Björn, and Julia Schulte-Cloos. 2019a. "The Restructuring of British and German Party Politics in Times of Crisis." In European Party Politics in Times of Crisis, eds. Hanspeter Kriesi and Swen Hutter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 281–301. www.cambridge.org/core/books/european-party-politics-in-times-of-crisis/restructuring-of-british-and-ger man-party-politics-in-times-of-crisis/978A0DD093F6EFF690E64D8C5A 5D01AD (March 16, 2021).

- 2019b. "The Restructuring of British and German Party Politics in Times of Crisis." In European Party Politics in Times of Crisis, eds. Hanspeter Kriesi and Swen Hutter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 281–301. www.cambridge.org/core/books/european-party-politics-in-times-of-crisis/restructuring-of-british-and-german-party-politics-in-times-of-crisis/978A0DD093F6EFF690E64D8 C5A5D01AD
- Brewer, Paul R., and Kimberly Gross. 2005. "Values, Framing, and Citizens' Thoughts about Policy Issues: Effects on Content and Quantity." *Political Psychology* 26(6): 929–48.
- van der Brug, Wouter. 2004. "Issue Ownership and Party Choice." *Electoral Studies* 23(2): 209–33. www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379402000616 (May 3, 2021).
- Budge, Ian., and Dennis Farlie. 1983. Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue Effects and Party Strategies in Twenty-Three Democracies. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Burnett, Jon, and Fidelis Chebe. 2020. "Towards a Political Economy of Charging Regimes: Fines, Fees and Force in UK Immigration Control." *The British Journal of Criminology* 60(3): 579–99.
- Burstein, Paul, and April Linton. 2002. "The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns." *Social Forces* 81(2): 380–408.
- Carvalho, Joao. 2013. Impact of Extreme Right Parties on Immigration Policy: Comparing Britain, France and Italy. London: Routledge.
- Cavounidis, Jennifer. 2002. "Migration in Southern Europe and the Case of Greece." *International Migration* 40(1): 45–70.
- Chindea, Alin. 2008. *Migration in Greece: A Country Profile*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Crespy, Amandine, and Lucas Schramm. 2021. "Germany and Europe's Hamiltonian Moment: Reassessing Preference Formation in the EU in the Face of Covid-19." Draft paper.
- Cruz, Cresi, Philipp Keefer, and Carlos Scartascini. 2021. "Database of Political Institutions, 2020." https://publications.iadb.org/en/database-political-institutions-2020-dpi2020
- Culpepper, Pepper D. 2011. Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- De Vries, Catherine E. 2017. "Benchmarking Brexit: How the British Decision to Leave Shapes EU Public Opinion." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 55: 38.
- De Vries, Catherine E., and Sara B. Hobolt. 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. www.jstor.org.eui.idm.oclc.org/stable/j.ctvt9k3d3 (May 3, 2021).
- De Vries, Catherine E., and M. van de Wardt. 2011. "EU Issue Salience and Domestic Party Competition." In *Issue Salience in International Politics*, eds. Kai Oppermann and Henrike Viehrig. Milton Park: Routledge.

De Wilde, Pieter. 2011. "No Polity for Old Politics? A Framework for Analyzing the Politicization of European Integration." *Journal of European Integration* 33(5): 559–75.

- Debus, Marc. 2008. "Pre-electoral Commitments and Government Formation." *Public Choice* 138(1): 45.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. "Repertoires of Contention." In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, eds. David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Doug McAdam. Malden: John Wiley & Sons.
- DEMIG. 2015. DEMIG POLICY, Version 1.3, Online Edition. Oxford: International Migration Institute, University of Oxford. www.migra tioninstitute.org/data/demig-data/demig-policy-1/download-the-data/demig-policy-data-downloads
- Dennison, James, and Matthew Goodwin. 2015. "Immigration, Issue Ownership and the Rise of UKIP." *Parliamentary Affairs* 68(suppl\_1): 168–87. https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv034 (May 3, 2021).
- Deutschmann, Emanuel, Jan Delhey, Monika Verbalyte, and Auke Aplowski. 2018. "The Power of Contact: Europe as a Network of Transnational Attachment." *European Journal of Political Research* 57(4): 963–88.
- Diez Medrano, Juan. 2003. Framing Europe: Attitudes towards European Integration in Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dimitriadi, Angeliki, and Anna-Maria Sarantaki. 2018. The Refugee "Crisis" in Greece: Politicisation and Polarisation Amidst Multiple Crises. Chemnitz: ELIAMEP. www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/11\_Dimitriadi\_Sarantaki\_WP5\_Greece-1.pdf
  - 2019. National Report on the Governance of the Asylum Reception System in Greece. Chemnitz: ELIAMEP. www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/ WP3\_Greece.pdf
- Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2021. "Parlgov." www.parlgov.org/
- Druckman, James N., Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus. 2013. "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation." *American Political Science Review* 107(1): 57–79.
- Duch, Raymond, Wojtek Przepiorka, and Randolph Stevenson. 2015. "Responsibility Attribution for Collective Decision Makers." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(2): 372–89.
- Durán Mogollón, Lía, Olga Eisele, and Maria Paschou. 2021. "Applied Solidarity in Times of Crisis: Exploring the Contexts of Civil Society Activities in Greece and Germany." *Acta Politica* 56(2): 308–29.
- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. "The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30(1): 65–80.
- ECRE. 2021. "ECRE Comments on the Commission Proposal for a Regulation on Asylum and Migration Management. COM (2020) 610 2020/0279 (COD)."
- Emilsson, Henrik. 2018. Continuity or Change? The Refugee Crisis and the End of Swedish Exceptionalism. Malmö: Malmö University, Malmö Institute for

- Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM). http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:mau:diva-12872 (March 26, 2021).
- Engler, Fabian, Svenja Bauer-Blaschkowski, and Reimut Zohlnhöfer. 2019. "Disregarding the Voters? Electoral Competition and the Merkel Government's Public Policies, 2013–17." *German Politics* 28(3): 312–31.
- Fabbrini, Sergio. 2019. Europe's Future: Decoupling and Reforming. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  - 2022. "Going beyond the Pandemic: 'Next Generation EU' and the Politics of Sub-Regional Coalitions." *Comparative European Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-022-00302-8 (June 5, 2022).
- Fernandes, Jorge M., Florian Meinfelder, and Catherine Moury. 2016. "Wary Partners: Strategic Portfolio Allocation and Coalition Governance in Parliamentary Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(9): 1270–300.
- Ferrara, Federico Maria, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2021. "Crisis Pressures and European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1966079.
- Ferrera, Maurizio. 2005. The Boundaries of Welfare: European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferrera, Maurizio, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Waltraud Schelkle. 2023. "Maintaining the EU's Compound Polity during the Long Crisis Decade." *Journal of European Public Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2023.2165698
- Fontan, Clement, and Sabine Saurugger. 2020. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Preference Formation in France during the Eurozone Crisis." *Political Studies Review* 18(4): 507–24.
- Fontana, Iole. 2019. "The Implementation of Italian Asylum Policy and the Recognition of Protection in Times of Crisis: Between External and Internal Constraints." *Contemporary Italian Politics* 11(4): 429–45.
- Fortunato, David, and Randolph T. Stevenson. 2013. "Perceptions of Partisan Ideologies: The Effect of Coalition Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2): 459–77.
- Frizzell, Craig. 2011. "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Effects of Celebrity Endorsements." *The Social Science Journal* 48(2): 314–23.
- Gamson, William A., and Andre Modigliani. 1987. "The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action." *Research in Political Sociology* 3: 137–77.
- Geddes, Andrew. 2018. "The Politics of European Union Migration Governance: EU Migration Governance." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 56: 120–30.
  - 2021. Governing Migration beyond the State: Europe, North America, South America and Southeast Asia in a Global Context. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geddes, Andrew, and Peter Scholten. 2016. The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe. 2nd edition. London: Sage.
- Geddes, Andrew, Leila Hadj Abdou, and Leiza Brumat. 2020. Migration and Mobility in the European Union. 2nd edition London: Macmillan Education.
- Genschel, Philipp, and Markus Jachtenfuchs. 2021. "Postfunctionalism Reversed: Solidarity and Rebordering during the Covid-19 Pandemic." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(3): 350–69.

George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. 2005. Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Georgiou, Myria, and Rafal Zaborowski. 2017. *Media Coverage of the "Refugee Crisis": A Cross-European Perspective*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. https://edoc.coe.int/en/refugees/7367-media-coverage-of-the-refugee-crisis-a-cross-european-perspective.html (August 16, 2021).
- Giddens, Anthony. 1985. The Nation-State and Violence. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3): 564–81.
- Gingrich, Jane, and Silja Häusermann. 2015. "The Decline of the Working-Class Vote, the Reconfiguration of the Welfare Support Coalition and Consequences for the Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1): 50–75.
- Golby, James, Peter Feaver, and Kyle Dropp. 2018. "Elite Military Cues and Public Opinion about the Use of Military Force." *Armed Forces & Society* 44(1): 44–71.
- Gray, Barbara. 2003. "Framing of Environmental Disputes." In *Making Sense of Intractable-Environmental Conflicts: Concepts and Cases*, eds. Roy Lewicki, Barbara Gray, and Michael Elliott. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Graziano, Paolo, and Marteb Vink, eds. 2006. Europeanization: New Research Agendas. Berlin: Springer.
- Green, Jane, and Sara B. Hobolt. 2008. "Owning the Issue Agenda: Party Strategies and Vote Choices in British Elections." *Electoral Studies* 27(3): 460–76. www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379408000255 (May 3, 2021).
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer. 2012. "A Giant Fast Asleep? Party Incentives and the Politicisation of European Integration:" *Political Studies* 60(1): 115–30. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00895.x (July 20, 2020).
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer, and Jesper Krogstrup. 2008. "Immigration as a Political Issue in Denmark and Sweden." *European Journal of Political Research* 47(5): 610–34. https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2008.00777.x
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer, and Peter B. Mortensen. 2015. "Avoidance and Engagement: Issue Competition in Multiparty Systems." *Political Studies* 63(4): 747–64. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9248.12121 (May 3, 2021).
- Green-Pedersen, Christoffer, and Simon Otjes. 2019. "A Hot Topic? Immigration on the Agenda in Western Europe." *Party Politics* 25(3): 424–34.
- Greussing, Esther, and Hajo G. Boomgaarden. 2017. "Shifting the Refugee Narrative? An Automated Frame Analysis of Europe's 2015 Refugee Crisis." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(11): 1749–74.
- Grossmann, Matt, Zuhaib Mahmood, and William Isaac. 2021. "Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Unequal Class Influence in American Policy." *The Journal of Politics* 83(4): 1706–20.

- Gruber, Oliver. 2017. "Refugees (No Longer) Welcome'. Asylum Discourse and Policy in Austria in the Wake of the 2015 Refugee Crisis." In *The Migrant Crisis: European Perspectives and National Discourses*, eds. Melanie Barlai, Birte Fähnrich, Christina Griessler, and Markus Rhomberg. Zürich: Lit-Verlag, 39–57.
- Guiraudon, Virginie. 2003. "The Constitution of a European Immigration Policy Domain: A Political Sociology Approach." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(2): 263–82.
  - 2018. "The 2015 Refugee Crisis Was Not a Turning Point: Explaining Policy Inertia in EU Border Control." *European Political Science* 17(1): 151–60.
- Hacker, Jacob S., and Paul Pierson. 2010. Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Hadj-Abdou, Leila, Tim Bale, and Andrew Peter Geddes. 2022. "Centre-Right Parties and Immigration in an Era of Politicisation." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48(2): 327–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1853901 (Published online: 2021).
- Hagelund, Anniken. 2020. "After the Refugee Crisis: Public Discourse and Policy Change in Denmark, Norway and Sweden." *Comparative Migration Studies* 8(1): 13.
- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2018. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hatton, Timothy J. 2017. "Refugees and Asylum Seekers, the Crisis in Europe and the Future of Policy." *Economic Policy* 32(91): 447–96.
- Heclo, Hugh. 1974. Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance. Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Helbling, Marc. 2016. "Immigration, Integration and Citizenship Policies: Indices, Concepts and Analyses." In *Handbook on Migration and Social Policy*, eds. Gary P. Freeman and Nikola Mirilovic. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781783476282/9781783476282.00009.xml (August 28, 2021).
- Hellmann, Gunther et al. 2005. "De-Europeanization by Default? Germany's EU Policy in Defense and Asylum." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1(1): 143-64.
- Hermanin, Costanza. 2021. "Immigration Policy in Italy." Istituto Affari Internazionali, Working paper 35/17.
- Hilgartner, Stephen, and Charles L. Bosk. 1988. "The Rise and Fall of Social Problems: A Public Arenas Model." *American Journal of Sociology* 94(1): 53–78.
- Hinnfors, Jonas, Andrea Spehar, and Gregg Bucken-Knapp. 2012. "The Missing Factor: Why Social Democracy Can Lead to Restrictive Immigration Policy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(4): 585–603.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1991. *The Rhetoric of Reaction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hix, Simon, and Björn Hoyland. 2022. *The Political System of the European Union*. 4th edition. London: Bloomsbury PLC.
- Hobolt, Sara B., and James Tilley. 2016. "Fleeing the Centre: The Rise of Challenger Parties in the Aftermath of the Euro Crisis." West European Politics 39(5): 971–91.

Hoeglinger, Dominic. 2016. "The Politicisation of European Integration in Domestic Election Campaigns." West European Politics 39(1): 44–63.

- Höhmann, Daniel, and Ulrich Sieberer. 2020. "Parliamentary Questions as a Control Mechanism in Coalition Governments." West European Politics 43(1): 225–49.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2009. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1–23.
  - 2012. "Politicization." In *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, eds. Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 840–54.
  - 2018. "Cleavage Theory Meets Europe's Crises: Lipset, Rokkan, and the Transnational Cleavage." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(1): 109–35.
  - 2019. "Grand Theories of European Integration in the Twenty-First Century." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8): 1113–33.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, and Carole J. Wilson. 2002. "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" *Comparative Political Studies* 35(8): 965–89.
- Hosli, Madeleine O., and Christine Arnold. 2010. "The Importance of Actor Cleavages in Negotiating the European Constitution." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(3): 615–32.
- Hutter, Swen. 2014. "Protest Event Analysis and Its Offspring." In *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella Della Porta. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 335–67.
- Hutter, Swen, and Edgar Grande. 2014. "Politicizing Europe in the National Electoral Arena: A Comparative Analysis of Five West European Countries, 1970–2010." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 52(5): 1002–18.
- Hutter, Swen, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. 2019a. European Party Politics in Times of Crisis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. www.cambridge.org/ core/books/european-party-politics-in-times-of-crisis/466446CE959EB782 BC30047F8FB9275D
  - 2019b. "Politicizing Europe in Times of Crisis." Journal of European Public Policy 26(7): 996–1017.
- Ignazi, Piero. 2003. Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Indridason, Indridi H., and Gunnar Helgi Kristinsson. 2013. "Making Words Count: Coalition Agreements and Cabinet Management." *European Journal of Political Research* 52(6): 822–46.
- Inglehart, Ronald F., and Pippa Norris. 2016. *Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash*. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. SSRN Scholarly Paper. https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2818659 (October 22, 2019).
- Jolly, Seth, Ryan Bakker, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Jonathan Polk, Jan Rovny, Marco Steenbergen, and Milada Anna Vachudova. 2022. "Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, 1999–2019." *Electoral Studies* 75(February), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102420
- Jones, Bryan D. 1994. Reconceiving Decision-Making in Democratic Politics: Attention, Choice, and Public Policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Jones, Bryan D., and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2005. *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. 2021. "Failing Forward? Crises and Patterns of European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1519–36.
- Jones, Erik, R. Daniel Kelemen, and Sophie Meunier. 2016. "Failing Forward? The Euro Crisis and the Incomplete Nature of European Integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(7): 1010–34.
- Joppke, Christian. 2017. "Civic Integration in Western Europe: Three Debates." West European Politics 40(6): 1153–76.
- Juhász, Judit. 2003. "Hungary: Transit Country Between East and West." migrationpolicy.org. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/hungary-transit-country-between-east-and-west (March 15, 2021).
- Jungar, Anne-Cathrine. 2015. "Business as Usual: Ideology and Populist Appeals of Sweden Democrats." In European Populism in the Shadow of the Great Recession, eds. Hanspeter Kriesi and Takis S. Pappas. Colchester: ECPR Press, 41–56.
- Kalogeraki, Stefania. 2020. "A Mixed Method Approach on Greek Civil Society Organizations Supporting Migrants during the Refugee Crisis." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 21(3): 781–806.
- Kammermann, Lorenz, and Clau Dermont. 2018. "How Beliefs of the Political Elite and Citizens on Climate Change Influence Support for Swiss Energy Transition Policy." *Energy Research & Social Science* 43: 48–60.
- Kasimis, Charalambos, and Chryssa Kassimi. 2004. "Greece: A History of Migration." MPI. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/greece-history-migration
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Anthony J. McGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1994. The Transformation of European Social Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klaus, Witold, Miklós Lévay, Irena Rzeplińska, and Miroslav Scheinost. 2018. "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Central European Countries: Reality, Politics and the Creation of Fear in Societies." In *Refugees and Migrants in Law and Policy: Challenges and Opportunities for Global Civic Education*, eds. Helmut Kury and Sławomir Redo. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 457–94. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72159-0\_21 (March 26, 2021).
- Klaus, Witold, and Marta Pachocka. 2019. "Examining the Global North Migration Policies: A 'Push Out Push Back' Approach to Forced Migration." *International Migration* 57(5): 280.
- Kleinnijenhuis, Jan, J. A. de Ridder, and E. M. Rietberg. 1997. "Reasoning in Economic Discourse: An Application of the Network Approach to the Dutch Press." In *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods of Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts*, ed. Carl W. Roberts. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 191–207.
- Kolb, Holger. 2014. "When Extremes Converge." *Comparative Migration Studies* 2(1): 57–75.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 2023. Die Asyl-Lotterie. Eine Bilanz Der Flüchtlingspolitik von 2015 Bis Zum Ukraine-Krieg. München: C.H. Beck.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Paul Statham. 1999. "Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Political Discourse Approaches." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 4(2): 203–21.

- 2010. The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Koß, Michael, and Astrid Séville. 2020. "Politicized Transnationalism: The Visegrád Countries in the Refugee Crisis." *Politics and Governance* 8(1): 95–106.
- Kovář, Jan. 2020. "A Security Threat or an Economic Consequence? An Analysis of the News Framing of the European Union's Refugee Crisis." *International Communication Gazette* 82(6): 564–87.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2016. "The Politicization of European Integration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(S1): 32–47.
  - 2020. "Is There a Crisis of Democracy in Europe?" *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 61: 237–60.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter et al. 2008. West European Politics in the Age of Globalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2012. Political Conflict in Western Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Argyrios Altiparmakis, Abel Bojar, and Nena Oana. 2021. "Debordering and Re-Bordering in the Refugee Crisis: A Case of 'Defensive Integration.'" Journal of European Public Policy. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1882540
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Maurizio Ferrera, and Waltraud Schelkle. 2021. "The Theoretical Framework of SOLID: A Research Agenda." https://solid-erc.eu/app/uploads/2020/12/theoretical-framework\_april2021.pdf
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Swen Hutter, eds. 2019. Restructuring European Party Politics in Times of Crises. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Swen Hutter, and Abel Bojar. 2019. "Contentious Episode Analysis" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 24(3): 251–73.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Jasmine Lorenzini, Brüno Wuest, and Silja Hausermann. 2020. Contention in Times of Crisis: Recession and Political Protest in Thirty European Countries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krotz, Ulrich, and Lucas Schramm. 2022. "Embedded Bilateralism, Integration Theory, and European Crisis Politics: France, Germany, and the Birth of the EU Corona Recovery Fund." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 60(3): 526–44.
- Kuhn, Theresa. 2019. "Grand Theories of European Integration Revisited: Does Identity Politics Shape the Course of European Integration?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8): 1213–30.
- Kyriazi, Anna. 2023. "Making and Breaking Coalitions for a More 'Social Europe': The Path Towards the Revision of the Posted Workers Directive." *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 29(3): 221–41.
- Lahav, Gallya, and Anthony M. Messina. 2005. "The Limits of a European Immigration Policy: Elite Opinion and Agendas within the European Parliament." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 43(4): 851–75.

- Laubenthal, Barbara. 2019. "Refugees Welcome? Reforms of German Asylum Policies Between 2013 and 2017 and Germany's Transformation into an Immigration Country." *German Politics* 28(3): 412–25.
- Lavenex, Sandra. 2001. "The Europeanization of Refugee Policies: Normative Challenges and Institutional Legacies." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 39(5): 851–74.
  - 2018. "'Failing Forward' Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(5): 1195–1212.
- Laver, Michael, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1990. "Coalitions and Cabinet Government." *American Political Science Review* 84(3): 873–90.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1968. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. 3rd edition. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, eds. Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. Toronto: The Free Press, 1–64.
- Lorimer, Marta. 2021. "What Do They Talk about When They Talk about Europe? Euro-Ambivalence in Far Right Ideology." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44(11): 2016–33.
- Lowi, Theodore J., and Norman K. Nicholson. 2009. Arenas of Power: Reflections on Politics and Policy. New York: Routledge.
- Lutz, Philipp, David Kaufmann, and Anna Stünzi. 2020. "Humanitarian Protection as a European Public Good: The Strategic Role of States and Refugees." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 58(3): 757–75.
- Mair, Peter. 2013. Ruling the Void: The Hollowing of Western Democracy. London: Verso.
- Majtényi, Balázs, Ákos Kopper, and Pál Susánszky. 2019. "Constitutional Othering, Ambiguity and Subjective Risks of Mobilization in Hungary: Examples from the Migration Crisis." *Democratization* 26(2): 173–89.
- Manin, Bernard. 1997. The Principles of Representative Government. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marsaglia, Geroge, Wai Wan Tsang, and Jingbo Wang. 2003. "Evaluating Kolmogorov's Distribution." *Journal of Statistical Software* 18, https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v008.i18
- Martin, Lanny W., and Georg Vanberg. 2004. "Policing the Bargain: Coalition Government and Parliamentary Scrutiny." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(1): 13–27.
  - 2013. "Multiparty Government, Fiscal Institutions, and Public Spending." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 953–67.
- McDonnell, Duncan, and Annika Werner. 2020. *International Populism: The Radical Right in the European Parliament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/10.1093/oso/97801975008 59.001.0001/oso-9780197500859 (August 31, 2021).
- McKay, David. 2004. "William Riker on Federalism: Sometimes Wrong but More Right than Anybody Else?" *Regional and Federal Studies* 14(2): 167–86.

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2005. "Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 347–59.

- Mérand, Frédéric. 2022. "Political Work in the Stability and Growth Pact." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(6): 846–64.
- van Middelaar, Luuk. 2017. *De Nieuwe Politiek van Europa*. Brussels: Historische Uitgeverij.
  - 2019. Alarums and Excursions: Improvising Politics on the European State. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda Publishing.
- Moise, Alexandru Daniel, James Dennison, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2023. "Differential Attitudes to Refugees: Explaining European Preferences after the Invasion of Ukraine." West European Politics. https://doi.org/10.1080/01 402382.2023.2229688
- Moravcsik, Andrew. 1998. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
  - 2005. "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(2): 349–86.
- Mudde, Cas. 2007. Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  - 2013. "Three Decades of Populist Radical Right Parties in Western Europe: So What?" European Journal of Political Research 52(1): 1-19.
- Mueller, John E. 1970. "Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson." American Political Science Review 64(1): 18–34.
- Müller, Andreas, and Viktoria Rietig. 2016. "The New Reality: Germany Adapts to Its Role as a Major Migrant Magnet." *migrationpolicy.org.* www.migrationpolicy.org/article/new-reality-germany-adapts-its-role-major-migrant-magnet (October 21, 2020).
- Müller, Wolfgang C., Kaare Strøm, Robert H. Bates, and Peter Lange. 1999. Policy, Office, Or Votes?: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mulvey, Gareth. 2010. "When Policy Creates Politics: The Problematizing of Immigration and the Consequences for Refugee Integration in the UK." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(4): 437–62.
- Nelson, Thomas E. 2011. "Issue Framing." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*, eds. George C. Edwards, Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Robert Y. Shapiro. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 189–203.
- Nestoras, Antonios A. 2015. "The Gatekeeper's Gambit: SYRIZA, Left Populism and the European Migration Crisis." *IED Institute of European Democrats*. www.iedonline.eu/publications/2015/left-populism-and-the-european-migration-crisis.php (November 25, 2021).
- Netjes, Catherine E., and Harmen A. Binnema. 2007. "The Salience of the European Integration Issue: Three Data Sources Compared." *Electoral Studies* 26(1): 39–49.
- Nickell, Stephen. 1981. "Biases in Dynamic Models with Fixed Effects." *Econometrica* 49(6): 1417–26.
- Niemann, Arne, and Johanna Speyer. 2018. "A Neofunctionalist Perspective on the 'European Refugee Crisis': The Case of the European Border and Coast Guard." JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies 56(1): 23–43.

- Niemann, Arne, and Natascha Zaun. 2018. "EU Refugee Policies and Politics in Times of Crisis: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(1): 3–22.
- Noll, Gregor. 2003. "Risky Games? A Theoretical Approach to Burden-Sharing in the Asylum Field." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16(3): 236–52.
- Odmalm, Pontus. 2011. "Political Parties and 'the Immigration Issue': Issue Ownership in Swedish Parliamentary Elections 1991–2010." West European Politics 34(5): 1070–91.
- Odmalm, Pontus, and Betsy Super. 2014. "Getting the Balance Right? Party Competition on Immigration and Conflicting Ideological 'Pulls." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37(3): 301–22.
- Oesch, Daniel. 2008. "Explaining Workers' Support for Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe: Evidence from Austria, Belgium, France, Norway, and Switzerland." *International Political Science Review* 29(3): 349–73.
- Ortiz, David, Daniel Myers, Eugene Walls, and Maria-Elena Diaz. 2006. "Where Do We Stand with Newspaper Data?" *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 10(3): 397–419.
- Ott, Jean-David. 2019. "Asylum Authorities: An Overview of Internal Structures and Available Resources." AIDA: Asylum Information Database. https://asylumineurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/aida\_asylum\_authorities\_0.pdf. (September 25, 2023).
- Pardos-Prado, Sergi. 2015. "How Can Mainstream Parties Prevent Niche Party Success? Center-Right Parties and the Immigration Issue." *The Journal of Politics* 77(2): 352–67.
- Pardos-Prado, Sergi, Bram Lancee, and Iñaki Sagarzazu. 2014. "Immigration and Electoral Change in Mainstream Political Space." *Political Behavior* 36(4): 847–75. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s11109-013-9248-y (May 3, 2021).
- Pérez, Carlos Rodríguez. 2017. "News Framing and Media Legitimacy: An Exploratory Study of the Media Coverage of the Refugee Crisis in the European Union." *Communication & Society* 30(3): 169–84.
- Perotti, Roberto, and Yianos Kontopoulos. 2002. "Fragmented Fiscal Policy." *Journal of Public Economics* 86(2): 191–222.
- Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3): 825–50. www.jstor.org/stable/2111797 (May 3, 2021).
- Pierson, Paul. 2004. Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Poggi, Gianfranco. 1990. The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Princen, Sebastiaan. 2011. "Agenda-Setting Strategies in EU Policy Processes." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(7): 927–43.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." *International Organization* 42(3): 427–60.
- Rauh, Christian. 2016. A Responsive Technocracy?: EU Politicisation and the Consumer Policies of the European Commission. Colchester: ECPR Press.

2022. "Supranational Emergency Politics? What Executives' Public Crisis Communication May Tell Us." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(6): 966–78.

- Rhinard, Mark. 2019. "The Crisisification of Policy-Making in the European Union." *FCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(3): 616–33.
- Riker, William H. 1984. *Theory of Political Coalitions*. Revised edition. Westport: Praeger.
- Rinscheid, Adrian, Silvia Pianta, and Elke U. Weber. 2021. "What Shapes Public Support for Climate Change Mitigation Policies? The Role of Descriptive Social Norms and Elite Cues." *Behavioural Public Policy* 5(4): 503–27.
- Ripoll Servent, Ariadna, and Florian Trauner. 2014. "Do Supranational EU Institutions Make a Difference? EU Asylum Law before and after 'Communitarization." *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(8): 1142–62.
- Ripoll Servent, Ariadna, and Natascha Zaun. 2020. "Asylum Policy and European Union Politics." In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1057 (July 28, 2020).
- Rokkan, Stein. 1974. "Entries, Voices, Exits: Towards a Possible Generalization of the Hirschman Model." *Social Science Information* 13(1): 39–53.
- Roubini, Nouriel, and Jeffrey D. Sachs. 1989. "Political and Economic Determinants of Budget Deficits in the Industrial Democracies." *European Economic Review* 33(5): 903–33.
- Rucht, Dieter, and Friedhelm Neidhardt. 1999. "Methodological Issues in Collecting Protest Event Data: Units of Analysis, Sources and Sampling, Coding Problems." Acts of Dissent: New Developments in the Study of Protest: 65–89.
- Rutz, Julia. 2018. The Changing Influx of Asylum Seekers in 2014–2016: Austria's Response. IOM: EMN European Migration Network.
- Rydgren, Jens, and Sara van der Meiden. 2019. "The Radical Right and the End of Swedish Exceptionalism." *European Political Science* 18(3): 439–55.
- Saunders, Elizabeth N. 2018. "Leaders, Advisers, and the Political Origins of Elite Support for War." Journal of Conflict Resolution 62(10): 2118–49.
- Scarpa, Simone, and Carl-Ulrik Schierup. 2018. "Who Undermines the Welfare State? Austerity-Dogmatism and the U-Turn in Swedish Asylum Policy." *Social Inclusion* 6(1): 199–207.
- Schain, Martin A. 2006. "The Extreme-Right and Immigration Policy-Making: Measuring Direct and Indirect Effects." West European Politics 29(2): 270–89.
  - 2009. "The State Strikes Back: Immigration Policy in the European Union." *European Journal of International Law* 20(1): 93–109.
- Schamis, Hector E. 1999. "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America." World Politics 51(2): 236–68.
- Schattschneider, E. E. (Elmer Eric). 1975. The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America. Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2018. "European Integration (Theory) in Times of Crisis: A Comparison of the Euro and Schengen Crises." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(7): 969–89.

- 2021. "Rebordering Europe: External Boundaries and Integration in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(3): 311–30.
- Schulte-Cloos, Julia. 2018. "Do European Parliament Elections Foster Challenger Parties' Success on the National Level?" *European Union Politics* 19(3): 408–26.
- Schuster, Liza. 2000. "A Comparative Analysis of the Asylum Policy of Seven European Governments." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1): 118–32.
- Scipioni, Marco. 2018. "Failing Forward in EU Migration Policy? EU Integration after the 2015 Asylum and Migration Crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(9): 1357–75.
- Siegel, Sidney. 1956. Non-parametric Statistics for Social Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Sigelman, Lee, and Emmett H. Buell. 2004. "Avoidance or Engagement? Issue Convergence in U.S. Presidential Campaigns, 1960–2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 650–61. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00093.x (May 3, 2021).
- Simon, Herbert A. (Herbert Alexander). 1983. *Reason in Human Affairs*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sitaropoulos, Nicholas. 2000. "Modern Greek Asylum Policy and Practice in the Context of the Relevant European Developments." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1): 105–17.
- Sitter, Nick. 2001. "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-Scepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?" West European Politics 24(4): 22–39.
- Skodo, Admir. 2018. "Sweden: By Turns Welcoming and Restrictive in Its Immigration Policy." *migrationpolicy.org*. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/sweden-turns-welcoming-and-restrictive-its-immigration-policy (August 26, 2020).
- Slominski, Peter, and Florian Trauner. 2018. "How Do Member States Return Unwanted Migrants? The Strategic (Non-)Use of 'Europe' during the Migration Crisis." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(1): 101–18.
- Slothuus, Rune, and Martin Bisgaard. 2021. "Party over Pocketbook? How Party Cues Influence Opinion When Citizens Have a Stake in Policy." *American Political Science Review* 115(3): 1090–96.
- Statham, Paul, and Hans-Jörg Trenz. 2013. The Politicization of Europe Contesting the Constitution in the Mass Media. Abingdon/Oxon: Routledge.
- Steenbergen, Marco, and David J. Scott. 2004. "Contesting Europe? The Salience of European Integration as a Party Issue." In *European Integration and Political Conflict*, eds. Gary Marks and Marco R. Steenbergen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 165–92.
- Suhrke, Astrid. 1998. "Burden-Sharing during Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective versus National Action." Journal of Refugee Studies 11(4): 396–15.
- Teigen, Mari, and Rune Karlsen. 2020. "Influencing Elite Opinion on Gender Equality through Framing: A Survey Experiment of Elite Support for Corporate Board Gender Quotas." *Politics & Gender* 16(3): 792–815.

Tétényi, András, Tamás Barczikay, and Balázs Szent-Iványi. 2019. "Refugees, Not Economic Migrants: Why Do Asylum-Seekers Register in Hungary?" *International Migration* 57(5): 323–40.

- Than, Krisztina, and Irene Preisinger. 2015. "Austria and Germany Open Borders to Migrants Offloaded by Hungary." *Reuters*, September 5.
- Thielemann, Eiko. 2018. "Why Refugee Burden-Sharing Initiatives Fail: Public Goods, Free-Riding and Symbolic Solidarity in the EU." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(1): 63–82.
- Thies, Michael F. 2001. "Keeping Tabs on Partners: The Logic of Delegation in Coalition Governments." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(3): 580–98.
- Tilly, Charles. 2008. *Contentious Performances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Timmermans, Arco. 2001. "Arenas as Institutional Sites for Policymaking: Patterns and Effects in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* 3(3): 311–37.
- Traugott, Mark. 1995. Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Trauner, Florian. 2016. "Asylum Policy: The EU's 'Crises' and the Looming Policy Regime Failure." *Journal of European Integration* 38(3): 311–25.
- Trauner, Florian, and Ariadna Ripoll Servent. 2016. "The Communitarization of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice: Why Institutional Change Does Not Translate into Policy Change." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(6): 1417–32.
- Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2014. *Migration in Greece: Recent Developments in 2014*. Athens: ELIAMEP. http://icm-westernbalkans.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Migration-in-Greece-Recent-Developments-2014\_2.pdf
- Triandafyllidou, Anna, and Maurizio Ambrosini. 2011. "Irregular Immigration Control in Italy and Greece: Strong Fencing and Weak Gate-Keeping Serving the Labor Market. The Pathways in and out of Irregular Migration." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13(3): 251–74.
- UK Home Office. 2016. Annual Report and Accounts, 2015–16. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/534977/obr\_annual\_areport\_2016\_web.pdf (September 25, 2023).
- Van Gunten, Tod S. 2015. "Cohesion, Consensus, and Conflict: Technocratic Elites and Financial Crisis in Mexico and Argentina." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 56(5): 366–90.
- Vincenzi, Stefano. 2000. "Italy: A Newcomer with a Positive Attitude?" Journal of Refugee Studies 13(1): 91–104.
- Vries, Catherine E. De. 2017. "Benchmarking Brexit: How the British Decision to Leave Shapes EU Public Opinion." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55(S1): 38–53.
- Wallace, Helen. 2000. "The Institutional Setting: Five Variations on a Theme." In *Policy-Making in the European Union*, eds. Helen Wallace and W. Wallace. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–36.
- Wasserfallen, Fabio, Dirk Leuffen, Zdenek Kudrna, and Hanno Degner. 2019. "Analysing European Union Decision-Making during the Eurozone Crisis with New Data." *European Union Politics* 20(1): 3–23.

- Webber, Douglas. 2019. European Disintegration?: The Politics of Crisis in the European Union. London: Red Globe (an imprint of Springer Nature Limited).
- Weinberg, James. 2022. "Can Political Trust Help to Explain Elite Policy Support and Public Behaviour in Times of Crisis? Evidence from the United Kingdom at the Height of the 2020 Coronavirus Pandemic." *Political Studies* 70(3): 655–79. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720980900
- Werts, Han, Peer Scheepers, and Marcel Lubbers. 2013. "Euro-Scepticism and Radical Right-Wing Voting in Europe, 2002–2008: Social Cleavages, Socio-Political Attitudes and Contextual Characteristics Determining Voting for the Radical Right." *European Union Politics* 14(2): 183–205.
- Whitaker, Richard, and Shane Martin. 2022. "Divide to Conquer? Strategic Parliamentary Opposition and Coalition Government." *Party Politics* 28(6): 999–1011.
- White, Jonathan. 2020. Politics of Last Resort: Governing by Emergency in the European Union. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wihtol de Wenden, Catherine. 1994. "The French Response to the Asylum Seeker Influx, 1980–1993." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 534(July): 81–90.
  - 2011. "The Case of France." In Migration Policymaking in Europe. The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present, eds. Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 61–94.
- de Wilde, Pieter, Anna Leupold, and Henning Schmidtke. 2016. "Introduction: The Differentiated Politicisation of European Governance." *West European Politics* 39(1): 3–22.
- Zaller, John. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaun, Natascha. 2017. EU Asylum Policies. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zincone, Giovanna. 2011. "The Case of Italy." In Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present, eds. Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Zürn, Michael, and Pieter de Wilde. 2016. "Debating Globalization: Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism as Political Ideologies." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21(3): 280–301.