

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-48377-3 — The Struggle Over Borders

Edited by Pieter de Wilde , Ruud Koopmans , Wolfgang Merkel , Oliver Strijbis , Michael Zürn
Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

The Struggle Over Borders

Citizens, parties and movements are increasingly contesting issues connected to globalization, such as whether to welcome immigrants, promote free trade and support international integration. The resulting political fault line, precipitated by a deepening rift between elites and mass publics, has created the space for the rise of populism. Responding to these issues and debates, this book presents a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of how economic, cultural and political globalization have transformed democratic politics. This study offers a fresh perspective on the rise of populism based on analyses of public and elite opinion and party politics, as well as mass media debates on climate change, human rights, migration, regional integration and trade in the USA, Germany, Poland, Turkey and Mexico. Furthermore, it considers similar conflicts taking place within the European Union and the United Nations. Appealing to political scientists, sociologists and international relations scholars, this book is also an accessible introduction to these debates for undergraduate and masters students.

PIETER DE WILDE is Associate Professor in European Studies at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. He directs the project *Trondheim Analytica* on social media and democracy in Europe and is a steering committee member in *Reconciling Europe with its Citizens through Democracy and Rule of Law (RECONNECT)*.

RUUD KOOPMANS is Professor of Sociology and Migration Research at Humboldt University Berlin and directs the Migration and Diversity research area at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

WOLFGANG MERKEL is Director of the 'Democracy and Democratization' research department at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Professor of Political Science at Humboldt University Berlin. He is a member of the Berlin–Brandenburg Academy of Science.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-48377-3 — The Struggle Over Borders

Edited by Pieter de Wilde , Ruud Koopmans , Wolfgang Merkel , Oliver Strijbis , Michael Zürn
Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

OLIVER STRIJBIS is SNSF Professor at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Zurich and an associated researcher at the German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA).

MICHAEL ZÜRN is Director at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Professor of International Relations at the Freie Universität Berlin. He also directs the Cluster of Excellence ‘Contestations of the Liberal Script’ and is a member of the Berlin–Brandenburg Academy of Science and the Academy of Europe.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-48377-3 — The Struggle Over Borders

Edited by Pieter de Wilde , Ruud Koopmans , Wolfgang Merkel , Oliver Strijbis , Michael Zürn
Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

The Struggle over Borders

Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism

Edited by

PIETER DE WILDE

Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim

RUUD KOOPMANS

*WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Humboldt University
Berlin*

WOLFGANG MERKEL

*WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Humboldt University
Berlin*

OLIVER STRIJBIS

University of Zurich

MICHAEL ZÜRN

WZB Berlin Social Science Center and Freie Universität Berlin



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-48377-3 — The Struggle Over Borders

Edited by Pieter de Wilde, Ruud Koopmans, Wolfgang Merkel, Oliver Strijbis, Michael Zürn
Frontmatter

[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108483773

DOI: 10.1017/9781108652698

© Cambridge University Press 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: De Wilde, P. (Pieter), 1980– editor.

Title: The struggle over borders : cosmopolitanism and communitarianism / edited by Pieter de Wilde, Ruud Koopmans, Wolfgang Merkel, Oliver Strijbis, Michael Zürn.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019008507 | ISBN 9781108483773 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108718226 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: Globalization – Political aspects. | Cosmopolitanism. | Communitarianism. | Right and left (Political science)

Classification: LCC JZ1318 .S778 2019 | DDC 306.2–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019008507>

ISBN 978-1-108-48377-3 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-71822-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
 1 Cosmopolitanism and Communitarianism – How Globalization is Reshaping Politics in the Twenty-First Century	 1
RUUD KOOPMANS AND MICHAEL ZÜRN	
 Part I Domestic Impacts	 35
 2 Why Are Elites More Cosmopolitan than Masses?	 37
OLIVER STRIJBIS, CÉLINE TENEY AND MARC HELBLING	
 3 Mass Opinions: Globalization and Issues as Axes of Contention	 65
BERNHARD WESSELS AND OLIVER STRIJBIS	
 4 Mapping Policy and Polity Contestation about Globalization: Issue Linkage in the News	 89
PIETER DE WILDE	
 Part II Supranational and Cross-Level Analyses	 117
 5 Who Is the Most Frequent Traveller? The Cosmopolitanism of National, European and Global Elites	 119
OLIVER STRIJBIS	
 6 Globalization Conflict in International Assemblies: Cleavage Formation beyond the State?	 144
PIETER DE WILDE, WIEBKE JUNK AND TABEA PALMTAG	

vi	<i>Contents</i>
7	Who Are the Cosmopolitans and the Communitarians? Claims-Making across Issues, Polity Levels and Countries 173 RUUD KOOPMANS
	Part III Conclusion 205
8	Conclusion: The Defects of Cosmopolitan and Communitarian Democracy 207 WOLFGANG MERKEL AND MICHAEL ZÜRN
	<i>Appendices 238</i>
	<i>References 249</i>
	<i>Index 265</i>

Figures

2.1	Histograms on preferences for and against immigration	page 48
2.2	Histograms on pro-trade preferences	49
2.3	Histograms on preferences with respect to fighting climate change	50
2.4	Histograms on preferences for and against supranational integration	51
3.1	Macro contexts of globalization and mean positions on three issues in the OECD	74
3.2	Cumulative distribution of issue positions regarding migration, authority and global warming	76
3.3	Migration issue: Illustration of difference in conditional marginal effects of micro determinants across globalization contexts	82
3.4	Authority issue: Illustration of difference in conditional marginal effects of micro determinants across globalization contexts	85
3.5	Global warming issue: Illustration of difference in conditional marginal effects of micro determinants across globalization contexts	87
4.1	Polarization and salience of policy and polity contestation in Germany, Poland, Turkey, the USA and Mexico	98
4.2	WMMDU joint plot solution of Germany with cleavage coalitions	104
4.3	WMMDU joint plot solution of Poland with cleavage coalitions	105
4.4	WMMDU joint plot solution of Turkey with cleavage coalitions	106
4.5	WMMDU joint plot solution of the USA with cleavage coalitions	107
4.6	WMMDU joint plot solution of Mexico with cleavage coalitions	108

viii	<i>List of Figures</i>
5.1	Boxplots for policy positions per item and polity 128
6.1	Polarization and salience of globalization issues in the UN General Assembly 158
6.2	Polarization and salience of globalization issues in the European Parliament 160
6.3	WMMDU plot of country positions relating to policy and polity contestation in the UNGA 161
6.4	WMMDU plot of country positions relating to policy and polity contestation in the EP 162
7.1	Positions of domestic collective actors on the socio-cultural and economic dimensions of globalization 201

Tables

1.1	Political ideologies in the age of globalization	<i>page</i> 15
2.1	OLS regressions on preferences with regard to immigration	55
2.2	OLS regressions on preferences with regard to trade openness	57
2.3	OLS regressions on preferences for and against measures to fight climate change	59
2.4	OLS regressions on preferences towards supranational integration	61
3.1	Macro-context characteristics: OECD means compared to selected countries	67
3.2	Construction and reliability of scales for three issue areas	70
3.3	Aggregate correlations of mean issue orientations and globalization contexts, 35 OECD countries	73
3.4	Significant marginal effects and their direction in five countries	81
3.5	Significant moderating effects of macro context on the impact of micro characteristics	83
4.1	Attribution of issue poles to coalitions following cluster analysis	99
4.2	Attribution of actors and claims to clusters following cluster analysis	102
4.3	Average scores of coalitions on allocation of authority, problem scope and beneficiary	103
5.1	OLS regressions with Heckman estimator on issue positions	129
5.2	OLS regressions with Heckman estimator on international trade	131
5.3	OLS regressions with Heckman estimator on immigration	134

5.4	OLS regressions with Heckman estimator on fighting climate change	137
5.5	OLS regressions with Heckman estimator on supranational integration	139
6.1	Mean position per country group on dimensions of open borders, addressees, problem scope and beneficiary (min. -1, max. 1)	163
6.2	Means for Commissioners and MEPs in position, addressee, problem scope and beneficiary	166
6.3	Mean position per party family on dimensions of open borders, addressees, problem scope and beneficiary	168
7.1	Results of principal components factor analysis of issue positions of collective actors	177
7.2	OLS regression of issue positions (from -1 = closure/exclusion to +1 = openness/inclusion) on claimant actor characteristics	181
7.3	Framing of problem scope by issue	190
7.4	Scope of addressee of claim by issue	190
7.5	Beneficiary of claim by issue	191
7.6	OLS regression of problem scopes, addressees and beneficiaries of claims	194
7.7	Ideological positions by issue	198
A2.1	Factor analysis for fighting climate change	238
A2.2	Factor analysis for supranational integration	238
A2.3	Replication of Table 2.2 with WVS 5 instead of WVS 6	239
A2.4	Replication of Table 2.2 with ordered logistic instead of OLS regression	240
A5.1	Results of factor analyses for creation of dependent variables	242
B5.1	Heckman selection models from Tables 2–5	245

Contributors

Pieter de Wilde is Associate Professor in European Politics at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, Norway.

Marc Helbling is Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Bamberg and WZB Fellow at the Research Unit ‘Migration, Integration, Transnationalization’ at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Wiebke Junk is a PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

Ruud Koopmans is Professor of Sociology at Humboldt University Berlin and Director of the Research Unit ‘Migration, Integration, Transnationalization’ at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Wolfgang Merkel is Professor of Political Science at Humboldt University Berlin and Director of the Research Unit ‘Democracy and Democratization’ at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Tabea Palmtag is a PhD candidate and Teaching Assistant at the Department of Political Science at the University of Zürich, Switzerland.

Oliver Strijbis is SNF Professor at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Zürich, Switzerland.

Céline Teney is Professor of Fundamentals of Social Sciences at the University of Göttingen.

Bernhard Weßels is Professor of Political Science at Humboldt University Berlin and Deputy Director of the Research Unit ‘Democracy and Democratization’ at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.

Michael Zürn is Professor of International Relations at Freie Universität Berlin and Director of the Research Unit ‘Global Governance’ at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center.