Fortress Europe or E Pluribus Unum?
Multilevel Governance and the Governance of Migration and Asylum in the EU

September 22-24, 2016
Jane Addams Hull House Museum
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Conference Schedule

September 22, 2016
Participants’ arrival and accommodation at Hotel Blake, Chicago, 500 S Dearborn St, Chicago, IL 60605

September 23, 2016

8:30 am  Meet at lobby of Hotel Blake for transportation to campus
9:00 am  Breakfast and Welcome

9:30 am – 10:45  Panel 1: Normative and Legal Implications of the Migration and Asylum Crises

Chair: R. Daniel Kelemen (Rutgers University)

Presentations:
2. “From Migration Crisis to Immigration and Integration Regime” David Abraham (University of Miami)
3. “Moral Leader or Moral Hazard: Germany’s Response to the Refugee Crisis and its Impact on European Solidarity” Beverly Crawford (University of California, Berkeley)

Discussant(s): Alexandra Filindra (UIC) and Sarah Dávila-Ruhaak (John Marshall School of Law)

10:45 – 11:00  Coffee break

11:00 – 12:15  Panel 2: EU Responses and Reactions (part I)

Chair: Akis Kalaitzidis (University of Central Missouri)

Presentations:
1. “The Free Movement of People? European Integration, Asylum Crises, and the Construction of Internal Barriers to Unauthorized Migration” Kimberly Morgan (George Washington University)
2. “Making or breaking the Union? The migrant and refugee crisis and supranational identification in Europe” Aleksandra Sojka (Harvard University)
3. “Media, Politicians, and the Refugee Crisis in the European Union” A. Maurits van der Veen (College of William and Mary)

Discussant(s): Martyn de Bruyn (Northeastern Illinois University)

12:30 – 2:00pm  Lunch and Keynote Address

“E Pluribus Unum? Immigration from the Other Europe and the Hull-House Response,” by Dominic Pacyga (Columbia College Chicago)
September 23, 2016, continued

2:00 – 3:15pm Panel 3: Immigrant and Refugee Integration: Discussions from Select Countries

Chair: Alexandra Filindra (UIC)

Presentations:
1. “Inviting Immigrants in: Field Experiments in Voter Mobilization among Immigrants in Norway” Rick Matland (Loyola University, Chicago)
2. “Assessing Integration in Flanders, Wallonia, and Brussels” Neil Vander Most (UIUC)
3. “Austerity, Solidarity, and the Governance of Refugees in Greece” Heath Cabot (University of Pittsburgh)
4. “Grassroots Responses to Europe’s Migration Crisis: New Actors in the Multilevel Governance of Migrant Flows and an Opportunity for Citizenship Formation” Giulia Sinatti (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

Discussants: Amalia Pallares (UIC) and Olga Avdeyeva (Loyola University Chicago)

3:15 – 3:30pm Coffee

3:30pm Transport to Hotel Blake and free time

5:30pm Meet at lobby of Blake Hotel for transportation to dinner venue

6:30 pm Informal drinks at Edgewater Beach Apartments gardens
7:00 pm Dinner at Edgewater Beach Café, 5545 N. Sheridan Rd, Chicago, IL 60640

September 24, 2016

8:00am Meet at lobby of Hotel Blake for transportation to campus
8:15am Coffee and breakfast pastries

8:30am – 9:45am Panel 4: Comparisons with the United States and Canada

Chair: Petia Kostadinova (UIC)

Presentations:
1. “Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration: Lessons from North America?” Willem Maas (York University, Toronto and European University Institute)
2. “What Explains White Working Class Radicalism and Xenophobia in Britain and the United States?” Justin Gest (George Mason University)

Discussant(s): Andreas Feldmann (UIC) and Erik Tillman (DePaul University)
September 24, 2016, continued

9:45-10:00 Coffee

10:00-11:15 Panel 5: EU Responses and Reactions (part II)

Chair: Petia Kostadinova (UIC)

Presentations:
1. “The Unintended Consequences of EU Border Security Institutions” Kaija Schilde (Boston University)
2. “Ever Further Union? Institutional Sources of and Solutions to the 2015 EU Refugee Crisis” Sara Wallace Goodman (UC Irvine)
3. “Incentive Effects and Burden-sharing in Multilayered Asylum Governance” Philip Hanke (University of Bern)

Discussant: R. Daniel Kelemen (Rutgers University)

11:30 – 1:00pm Lunch and concluding remarks
Conference Presenters

David Abraham is Professor of Law at the University of Miami. He was educated at the University of Chicago and University of Pennsylvania. Prior to joining a Law Faculty, Abraham taught German and European history in the History Department at Princeton University. Abraham has published widely on issues of politics and economics in Weimar Germany and is the author of The Collapse of the Weimar Republic: Political Economy and Crisis. More recently he has written on immigration and citizenship law. The recipient of Humboldt and DAAD Awards and a Visiting Professor at several European universities, Abraham is currently at work examining various aspects of the recent Circumcision Controversy and the current Migration Crisis.

Barbara Buckinx is Associate Research Scholar in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. She received her PhD in Politics from Princeton University. Dr. Buckinx also holds MA and MSc degrees in Psychology and Social and Political Theory, both from the University of Edinburgh. Her research interests lie in global governance, migration, citizenship, and borders, and her primary focus is on vulnerable populations in the state and the global order. In addition, she is completing a book manuscript entitled Reducing Domination in Global Politics. Her work has appeared in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Ethics & International Affairs, Migration Studies, and Global Justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric.

Heath Cabot recently joined the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. Her research focuses on migration, asylum, and humanitarian ethics in Greece and the European Union, the anthropology of organizations, NGOs, and cultures of advocacy; as well as urban memory. Her monograph On the Doorstep of Europe Asylum and Citizenship in Greece was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2014. Prior to joining University of Pittsburgh, Professor Cabot taught at the College of the Atlantic in Maine.

Beverly Crawford is Professor emerita of Political Science and Political Economy and the former Director of Berkeley’s Center for German and European Studies. She teaches courses on Theories of International Political Economy, American Foreign Policy, International Law, Ethnic and Religious Conflict, as well as Global Conflict and the Refugee Crisis. She has written policy papers, articles, and a co-edited book on the causes of cultural conflict. Most recently she received fellowships from the Turkish National Science Foundation and from the European Commission to study the demographics of the refugee crisis in Turkey and Europe. As a Jean Monnet Fellow and Fellow at the Hertie School of Public Policy, she will spend the Fall semester in Berlin working on German refugee policy.

Philip Hanke is a Post-doctoral research fellow at the Department of Public Law, University of Bern, Switzerland, within the research project “The Law and Economics of Migration Policy”, a sub-project of the National Competence Center for Research (NCCR) “on the move – The migration-mobility nexus”, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (www.ncr-onthemove.ch). He has a Masters degree in Economics and Political Science from the University of Vienna, Austria, Masters degree in Law and Economics from the Universities of Rotterdam, Bologna, and Haifa, and a PhD in Economic Analysis of Law from the Universities of Bologna, Hamburg, and Rotterdam. His work experience includes the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO), the U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna, and Lexidale International Policy Consulting.

Justin Gest is an Assistant Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University’s School of Policy and Government. His teaching and research interests include comparative immigration policy and minority political behavior. He is the author of Apart: Alienated and Engaged Muslims in the West (Oxford University Press, 2010), The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality (Oxford University Press, 2016), and forthcoming in 2017, Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in Times of Demographic Change (Cambridge University Press).

Sara Wallace Goodman is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. Her research examines democratic inclusion and the shaping of political identity through citizenship, immigrant integration, and education policy. Her book, Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe (Cambridge University Press, 2014) explains how the dynamic interplay between party politics and the institutional inheritance of citizenship policy contributes to new, contemporary definitions of national belonging through mandatory civic integration schemes. Her research has also been published in Comparative Political Studies, World Politics, West European Politics, Political Studies, and Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.
Willem Maas is Jean Monnet Chair and Associate Professor at York University (Toronto) and currently Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at EUI (Florence). His book *Creating European Citizens* argues that European integration involves not only economic cooperation but also a political project of transcending borders and building a European community of people. *Multilevel Citizenship* (ed) considers overlapping jurisdictions, sub- or supranational citizenships, and shared governance. *Democratic Citizenship and the Free Movement of People* (ed) challenges the normal way of thinking about free movement by identifying barriers and disincentives to free movement, against citizenship’s promise of equality. In Sixty-Five Years of European Governance (co-ed 2016), eleven articles demonstrate the creative and often fragile solutions found to address the challenges facing Europe by analyzing transformations in European governance. Maas co-founded APSA’s Migration and Citizenship section and co-edits a new book series on the Politics of Citizenship and Migration.

Richard Matland is the Helen Houlanah Rigali Chair in Political Science at Loyola University Chicago. Professor Matland's work crosses several fields, including public policy, comparative politics, and American politics. His work emphasizes a comparative institutions approach, looking at how different institutions for aggregating preferences can lead to different policy outcomes. His work includes a number of articles looking at the effect of electoral systems on women's representation in legislatures. He has also done work on policy implementation, on school choice programs in the United States and theories of distributive justice. Professor Matland's work has been published in the American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, British Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Social Science Quarterly, Canadian Journal of Political Science, as well as many other journals and books. He is co-editor of the Oxford University Press book Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe.

Kimberly J. Morgan is a Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. Her work examines the politics shaping public policies in Western Europe and the United States, with particular interests in immigration and the welfare state. She is the author of *Working Mothers and the Welfare State: Religion and the Politics of Work-Family Policy in Western Europe and the United States* (Stanford, 2006) and *The Delegated Welfare State: Medicare, Markets, and the Governance of American Social Policy* (Oxford, 2011), and co-editor of two volumes, the *Oxford Handbook of US Social Policy* (Oxford, 2015) and *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* (Cambridge, forthcoming). Her articles have appeared in journals such as American Journal of Sociology, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Foreign Affairs, Politics & History, Social Politics, and World Politics.

Neil Vander Most is the Visiting Academic Coordinator for the European Union Center at the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign. Dr. Vander Most holds a Ph.D. and M.A. degree in Political Science from the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, and a B.A. in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles. He oversees the academic and curricular affairs of the European Union Center, including frequently teaching courses on topics relevant to European Union Studies, managing the Center’s degree programs, and exploring new ways to educate students of all backgrounds. Dr. Vander Most’s research specializes in Dutch and Flemish politics, the immigration and the integration of immigrants into Europe, national identities, and radical right parties. He is currently writing a book on comparative integration policies in Belgium and the Netherlands.

Kaija E. Schildt is Assistant Professor at the Boston University Pardee School of Global Studies. Her primary research interests involve European and transatlantic security, the political economy of defense and security industries, and the role of private nonstate actors in national and international security. She has published articles in European Security and the Journal of Common Market Studies. Her book, *Building the European Security State*, is forthcoming with Cambridge University Press in 2017. It investigates the emergent state-society relationship between EU institutions and interest groups, with a particular focus on security and defense industries and markets. Professor Schildt co-directs the Pardee Initiative on Forced Migration and Human Trafficking at the Pardee School.

Zachary Selden is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. He was previously the Deputy Secretary General for Policy at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly based in Brussels, Belgium from 2008-2011. He was the Director of the Defense and Security Committee of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly from 2003-2007. Prior to that posting, he was the International Affairs Analyst in the National Security Division of the Congressional Budget Office (1999-2003) and the Director for Emerging Threats at Business Executives for National Security (1996-1999). He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1995. He has published in journals such as The Journal of Common Market Studies, Policy Review, Security Studies and Parameters and is the author of *Economic Sanctions as Instruments of American Foreign Policy* (Praeger, 1999) and *Alignment, Alliance and American Grand Strategy* (University of Michigan Press, 2016).
Giulia Sinatti is Lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and Research Fellow at the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University, the Netherlands. She is an ethnographer and a migration scholar. Her research interests include ethnicity and nationalism; transnational mobility and return migration; diaspora mobilization; development effects of migration. Her latest ongoing research focuses on grassroots initiatives of migrant welcoming in Europe, which she studies from an active citizenship perspective. Her work has appeared in various academic journals, including Ethnicities, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Population Space and Place, and Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism and she has contributed chapters to several edited volumes.

Aleksandra Sojka is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Department of Political Science of the University of Granada in Spain and a Visiting Scholar at The Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies (CES) at Harvard University during the academic term 2016-2017. In her research, Sojka focuses on the relationship between political identities and attitudes towards European Union and its policies, and explores the role of public opinion and elite positions in the process of integration. Her doctoral dissertation explored the role of political identities as a central element of attitudes towards European integration in the context of its Eastward enlargement. Her research appeared as articles in European Union Politics and Revista Española de Ciencia Política, as well as several chapters in edited volumes.

Maurits van der Veen is an Assistant Professor of Government at the College of William and Mary. He joined the department in 2010, after receiving his B.A. from Dartmouth College, an M.S. in computer science from Stanford University, and a Ph.D. in government from Harvard University. Dr. van der Veen’s research examines the various ways policy-makers think about (“frame”) foreign policy issues, and the impact that different frames, in turn, have on actual policy choices. He has applied this approach to the study of foreign aid policy in Western Europe and the United States, the politics of European integration and EU enlargement, and the terminology used to describe massive human rights violations. He also develops agent-based computational models to analyze the impact of social networks on the spread of foreign policy frames, and of ideas more generally.

Invited Discussants and Panel Chairs

Olga Avdeyeva is an Associate Professor of Political Science and the Director of the European Studies Program at Loyola University Chicago. Professor Avdeyeva’s research and teaching interests are in comparative social policy, women and politics, East European and post-communist politics, and the EU Enlargement. She has published articles in International Studies Quarterly and International Journal of Social Welfare and an essay in the edited volume Violence Against Women in Post-Communist Europe and Eurasia: Global Forces, Local Activism, and Domestic. She is currently working on several articles on the politics of gender equality policies in EU Enlargement countries.

Martyn de Bruyn is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Northeastern Illinois University. He specializes in the study of comparative regional integration and institutional reform of the European Union. Prof. de Bruyn has written on federalism and constitutionalization in the European Union, direct democracy and the use of referendums to ratify EU treaties. Prof. de Bruyn’s work has been published in Asia Europe Journal, Contemporary Political Society, The Journal of Contemporary European Studies, and On Korea. He serves as an international editorial board member of Contemporary Political Society. His current research, entitled “The European Union, Japan, and the Elusive Global Human Security Partnership” is included in an edited volume, Human Security, Changing States and Global Responses: Institutions and Practices.

Sarah Dávila-Ruhaak is Co-Founder and Director of the International Human Rights Clinic at The John Marshall Law School. She teaches International Human Rights, Transitional Justice, and lectures on international topics as part of her clinical teaching. Prior to working at John Marshall, Dávila-Ruhaak was an adjunct lecturer at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), where she taught international law, international human rights, transitional justice, human rights in the U.S., and criminal law. She also worked as a pro bono attorney with the Institute for Justice & Democracy (IJDH) in Haiti, where she focused on issues relating to the displacement of Haitians in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, the Duvalier prosecution, and sexual violence. Prior to her work with IJDH, she was a litigator at CAMBA Legal Services, an organization in New York City. She has experience in the domestic and international litigation of human rights cases and has engaged in impact advocacy at the United Nations.
Andreas E. Feldmann is Associate Professor in the departments of Latin American and Latino Studies and Political Science at the University of Illinois Chicago (UIC). His research specializes in International Relations with a focus on Latin America. Among the topics he investigates are human rights, population uprooting, political violence and terrorism, and international cooperation and development. His work has appeared in *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Beyond Law*, *Revista de Ciencia Política and Migración y Desarrollo*. Feldmann has worked as a consultant of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and served as assistant to the Special Rapporteur on Migrant Workers and Members of their Families of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights (2000-6). He previously worked at the Instituto de Ciencia Política of the Universidad Católica de Chile (2005-2014) and the Human Rights Program of the University of Chicago (2003-5). He earned a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Notre Dame.

Akis Kalaitzidis is Professor of Political Science at the University of Central Missouri. Dr. Akis Kalaitzidis received his B.A. from the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in Economics and Political Science, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Temple University in Philadelphia in Political Science. He joined the UCM faculty in 2004. He teaches a variety of classes, including American Government, The European Union, World Politics, International Organizations, and American Foreign Policy. He was Rotary Peace Fellow at the Rotary Peace Center Chulalongkorn University’s Program in Conflict Resolution and has been the director of the Missouri Ghana program (2011) and Missouri Greece program (2015). He is the author of *Europe’s Greece: A Giant in the Making*, published by Palgrave McMillan (2010) and co-edited with Dr. Streich *US Foreign Policy: A Documentary and Reference Guide* (Greenwood 2012) among others. His work appears in a variety of journals, book reviews/contributions, and conference publications.

Amalia Pallares is Professor of Political Science and Latin American and Latino Studies and Director of the Latin American and Latino Studies Program. She has a PhD in Political Science from the University of Texas. She studies social movements, ethnicity and race in Latin America and in the U.S, focusing on the relationship between political activism and identity formation among newly politicized groups. Her first book *From Peasant Struggles to Indian Resistance: the Ecuadorian Andes in the late Twentieth Century* analyzed the social, economic and political conditions that inform contemporary indigenous activism and identity in Ecuador. Other areas of study in Latin America include rural politics, political protest, and political change. More recently, she has focused on immigrant activism in Chicago. Along with Nilda Flores-Gonzalez she co-edited *Marcha: Latino Chicago and the National Immigrant Movement* (University of Illinois Press, 2010). Her recent book *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggles and the Politics of Noncitizenship* focuses on the different ways in which family and the family separation issue is politicized in immigrant rights struggles.

Erik Tillman joined the DePaul University faculty in 2010. He teaches courses about West European politics, the European Union, elections and public opinion, political psychology, and political economy. Prof. Tillman is working on a project examining public attitudes towards the European Union and their effects on national politics. His prior research studied the effects of the economy on political party support and voter participation. Erik has published articles in leading peer-review journals, including the *Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Political Research Quarterly, and European Union Politics*.

*Keynote Speaker*

Dominic A. Pacyga, PhD, is Professor of History in the Department of Humanities, History, and Social Sciences at Columbia College Chicago. Dr. Pacyga received his PhD in History from the University of Illinois at Chicago in 1981. He has authored, or coauthored, six books concerning Chicago’s history, including *Slaughterhouse: Chicago’s Union Stock Yard and the World it Made* (2015); *Chicago: A Biography* (2009); *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago* (1991); *Chicago: City of Neighborhoods* with Ellen Skerrett (1986); *Chicago: A Historical Guide to the Neighborhoods* (1979) with Glen Holt; and *Chicago’s Southeast Side* (1998) with Rod Sellers. Dr. Pacyga is a winner of the Oscar Halecki Award from the Polish American Historical Association and a winner of the Catholic Book Award.
Conference Organizers

Alexandra Filindra is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, Chicago. She specializes in American immigration policy, immigration decisions, racial prejudice and its effects on policy preferences, public opinion, political psychology and survey research. Dr. Filindra received her Ph.D. from Rutgers University and served as a post-doctoral researcher at Brown University’s Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions and the Center for the Study of Human Development. Her work has appeared in Political Behavior, Policy Studies Journal, State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Social Science Quarterly, Urban Affairs Review, Harvard Education Review, Migration Studies, International Migration and other scholarly journals. Her research has been supported by grants from the University of Illinois at Chicago, the Pew Center for the States, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Centers for Disease Control, and the Rhode Island Foundation. She is the recipient of two best paper awards from the American Political Science Association and the Lucius Barker Award from the Midwest Political Science Association.


Petia Kostadinova is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). She studies the politics and policies of the European Union and its member states, and teaches courses in the field of comparative politics. Prior to joining UIC, Dr. Kostadinova worked at the Center for European Studies at the University of Florida. She received her PhD from Florida State University in 2002, and BA from the American University in Bulgaria in 1997. Her work has appeared in several journals including, the Journal of Common Market Studies, Politics and Policy, Party Politics, Eastern European Politics and Society, East European Politics and others.