

NTL 4630 Population, Immigration, and Politics, Spring 2020

Dr. Markus M. L. Crepaz

T and R: 11:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m in Caldwell Hall 102

Office Hours: W 2:00 to 3:00 p. m and by appointment

Candler Hall 308

Department of International Affairs

School of Public and International Affairs

The University of Georgia

People have been in motion since time immemorial. However, recent migration movements have had fundamental political consequences that are re-shaping the political landscape of not only the origin societies but also of the receiving societies as evidenced by “Brexit”, the Trump presidency as well as the rise of right wing parties in Europe, and others. Headlines are brimming with questions as to whether immigrants undermine the security of “our” societies? Will “they” take away our jobs? Will they undermine our social welfare delivery systems? Will these newcomers increase crime? Will they destroy or enrich our way of life? Will immigration make us richer or poorer? Will the diversity they inject into our societies make us more creative? Will more immigration induced diversity increase or decrease trust in our fellow human being? These are highly charged political topics and this course will take a cool, fact based approach to one of the grand challenges of our time.

Course Objectives:

In this course students will learn the reasons why people migrate and what, actually, is a migrant. This course will develop a theoretical framework about migration that allows students to get a broader and sharper understanding of the phenomenon of migration. Students will also learn about the consequences of migration for the origin as well as the receiving societies. The course will take an empirical look at the European immigration “crisis” of 2015 and critically examine its causes and consequences. This course will go beyond the issue of “immigration” and will also examine ways of how to incorporate newcomers, and once here, students will learn about the various models of integration of them. Finally, this class examines the hotly debated topic as to whether immigrants “cost” the host society or whether they benefit it and whether immigrants are a source of increased crime and terrorism. Finally, this class also examines how newcomers and members of the host society can work together in order for newcomers to develop a sense of belonging to their newly chosen home.

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Required readings:

All readings are either directly downloadable (I provide the links in the readings assignments) or they are available on the electronic reserves (<https://www.libs.uga.edu/access-services/course-reserves>) Password: compassion

I will also send you from time to time links to further readings from various sources such as the Economist, NYT, and other sources that I expect you to read and discuss in class.

You should make a habit of reading a good daily newspaper such as the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, or a weekly such as the *Economist*, and/or listening to NPR (91.7 or 94.5 FM WUGA or npr.org) and/or watching the *PBS NewsHour* (channels 8/30) for news and analyses related to immigration, integration, and other related topics.

Required reading:

Bryan Caplan (2019) *Open Borders: the Science and Ethics of Immigration*. This is a “graphic” book, i.e. it very effectively uses images to convey otherwise complex, value laden topics. It is written by an award winning professor of economics at George Mason University. It shouldn’t cost more than roughly \$ 15; a Kindle version is \$ 9.99.

Recommended reading:

Charlotte McDonald-Gibson (2016). *Castaway: True stories of survival from Europe’s Refugee Crisis*. *The New Press*. This is a vivid book that tells the true stories of the challenges of a number of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa as they tried to reach Europe. *Trigger warning*: this book is not for the faint-hearted as it describes in detail the horrible experiences of those who risk their lives to reach European shores.

Course requirements:

1. **Participation:** Each day’s assignment and readings must be completed before class and each student must be ready to conduct a quality discussion on the day’s material. Also, lectures will not necessarily follow the readings; rather, the lectures will complement and take off from the readings and introduce new, additional material. **Participation counts for 10% of the overall grade.**
2. **Attendance: you can miss two classes with no questions asked.** (However, if on one of these two days we happened to have a pop-quiz you will not be able to make up for this lost opportunity). For each additional classes missed, **no matter what the reason**, I will deduct 3 points from your final grade tally. If you miss more than five classes I will drop you from the roster! Attendance will be monitored via **Arkaive**, which is an attendance checker app. You will need to download the free app from the app store and is available both for i-phones and android phones. If you don’t have a smart phone, or if you have privacy concerns, let me know and I’ll check you in manually at the beginning of class. Arkaive works on the basis of geolocation. At the beginning of class I will “open” the class on my phone and I’ll give you a 4

letter/digit code which you will have to enter into your app to be recorded as “present” in the class. **Attendance counts for 10% of the overall grade.**

3. **Five short reflection papers on any of the weekly readings:** Pick any of the **weekly** readings and provide a short, 2 page summary of these readings. This should be a reflection paper, i.e. do not just summarize the readings, but provide your own informed assessments of the readings. This means that you should provide more than just your opinion on these readings, but critically assess the readings by considering the following questions:

- How plausible/implausible are the arguments proffered in the readings, and why?
- Can you add confirming or disconfirming evidence to the main gist of the readings?
- Can you think of any other potential explanations that the authors didn't consider?
- In what way are the readings complementary? Are they contradictory?
- Draw on your knowledge from other parts of our class and from other courses you have taken to critically assess the arguments laid out in the weekly readings.
- How did these readings appeal to you intellectually/emotionally?

While I will read each paper, they are graded on a **pass/fail** level. Each paper will count for **4 %** for a total of **20%** for this part of the grade. *A paper will receive a fail, if it is incoherently argued, consists of bad grammar with a multitude of typos or does not cover all the readings.*

4. **Oral history with an immigrant.** Create a recorded interview of a friend, family member, co-worker, class mate or somebody else you know who is an immigrant. The person must be an adult (18 years or older) who was not born in the United States and who immigrated to the U.S. before 2015 at 14 years of age or older. For this project, you need to do four things:
- a. Develop a questionnaire: this questionnaire is your guide throughout the interview and should cover three things: **first**, the immigration experience of the person (i.e. why/how did the person leave? What were his/her experiences of coming to America, etc; **second**, the integration experience of the person (i.e. does the person feel integrated? **Third**, what examples does the person give for being integrated or not. Does the person feel to be a full member of American society? Why? Why not, etc; **fourth**, the socio-graphic/economic situation of the person, i.e. age, sex, socio-economic status, marital status, number of children, educational status, country of origin and other relevant data;

Your interview will be semi-structured, i.e. you will use the questionnaire as a guide, but you should be able to also deviate from it to allow for prompts and follow up questions, so the interview should unfold like a conversation. **You will need to submit the questionnaire to me before you can start the interview. Unless I clear the questionnaire you are not allowed to proceed with the interview! The questionnaire is due on April 16, 2020.**

- b. Do the interview: it should be around 60 minutes in length. You must follow the ethical standards of informed consent. Request permission to record the interview and explain that the interview is confidential. Since this is a project for a class, no IRB (Institutional Review Board) approval is required.
- c. Transcribe (and translate into English if necessary) the *entire* interview. Type up a written transcript of the whole interview. Caution: transcribing a one hour interview could be quite time intensive – so plan ahead! Transcribe everything that is said, by the respondent and you, including partial sentences, small digressions, grammatical mistakes. Include non-verbal information (e.g. respondent pounds on the table, laughs, cries, etc.). At the top of the transcript, include a short paragraph about the interview: where it took place, what time, how you found the respondent, whether it went well, etc.)
- d. Thematic memo: In at least two pages at the end of the transcript, take one theory or idea we covered in this class and reflect on how well this idea matches the experiences of your respondent. What was different from what you heard in the interview that did not correspond to what we covered in our class? **This thematic memo is one of the most crucial part of this exercise!**

The point of this oral history project is to have you reflect on academic theories by considering the life of a real person. This is also an opportunity for you to get experience in collecting data using an in-depth interview. **The transcribed interview and the thematic memo are due on April 23, 2020 in class! This oral history project counts for 40 % of your grade.**

Evaluation of the oral history project: you will be evaluated on a) how well you handled the interview (did you probe? Listen well?); b) the completeness of your transcript; and c) the thoughtfulness of your thematic memo, notably how you identify & discuss quotes and examples from the interview in relation to readings.

5. **Five pop-quizzes on the readings/lectures** of which only the four top results count. These are very brief quizzes focused on the required readings and/or on the lectures of the previous two weeks. They can take the form of multiple choice, fill in the blanks, short answers, true/false, etc. Each pop quiz counts for 2% for a total of 8 percent.

6. **“Wrap up test”**: We will not have a traditional final exam, rather we have a “wrap up test” which covers only lecture materials (i.e. the content of the power point slides), is comprehensive, and consists of a combination of 30 multiple choice, “true/false”, “fill in the blanks”, short answers, etc. questions. It will count for the **remaining 10 percent of the final grade**. The “wrap up” test will take place on the **last day of class, April 28, 2020**.

Grading structure:	smaller than 60:	F
	60-69	D
	70-72	C-
	73-76	C
	77-79	C+
	80-82	B-
	83-86	B
	87-89	B+
	90-92	A-
	larger than 93	A

Some ground rules:

1. Each day’s assignments and readings must be completed before class, and each student must be ready to conduct a quality discussion on the day’s material.
2. **Laptops or tablets are NOT allowed in class. Please make sure your phones are turned off during the class period.**
3. You will be expected to attend class regularly, on time, and for the entirety of each class period. If students come late, are not alert, or leave early, such behavior will result in a reduction of total course points. As mentioned above, attendance will be monitored via **Arkaive**, a geo-location based attendance tracker.
4. Grade changes: if you feel that a test or assignment was graded incorrectly you must submit a type-written explanation of the problem along with the test or assignment in question **within one week** of my returning the paper/exam/quiz, etc. to you. I will re-evaluate your work and you will receive a “new” grade, whether that be the **same**, a **higher**, or **lower** grade. The only exception to this rule is for simple errors in calculation.
5. Plagiarism or cheating will not be tolerated. *As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University’s academic honesty policy, “A Culture of Honesty,” and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in “A Culture of Honesty” found at: <https://ovpi.uga.edu/academic-honesty/academic-honesty-policy>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.*
6. The use of sources is essential. For the statistical profile paper, you must make reference to the sources from which you drew your information. **It is absolutely crucial that you learn how to correctly quote and cite your work.** Please refer to the APSA manual of style which can be found here: <http://www.apsanet.org/files/Publications/APSASStyleManual2006.pdf>

7. Late papers are not acceptable. They are a burden for me and are unfair to your colleagues who do their work on time. Therefore, I will deduct a half a letter grade (5 points) for each day a paper is late. Extensions may be given but only if they are requested well in advance of the deadline, and if there is a compelling reason.
8. If you need to use outside reference works, please consult Joel Krieger, et. al., *Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2013. Do NOT use Webster's Dictionary for definitions of things such as "democracy"!
9. Disability arrangements: if you qualify for course adaptations or special accommodation under the Americans With Disabilities Act, please contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) and provide the appropriate documentation well before exam accommodations are made. Once I have DRC's documentation all efforts will be made to accommodate any learning disabilities.
10. Finally, immigration and related topics are politically highly sensitive themes. I will ensure that our discussions remain respectful of all members in the class while allowing and free exchange of ideas. **In your discussion, you should make an effort to provide either a theoretical or empirical basis for your comments – after all, this is part of becoming a critical thinker, and that is part of the goal of this course.**

Data sources on immigration related issues: there is a lot of immigration related data and information on the internet, however, I caution you to carefully check the source of the information as many are advocacy groups, or worse, have smartly hidden political agendas. To help you navigate this minefield, below find links to trustworthy data and statistical sources on international migration:

<http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/index.php?id=4&L=1>

<https://www.iom.int/>

<https://esa.un.org/unmigration/>

<http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/international-organizations.html>

<http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/labour-migration/lang--en/index.htm>

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/international-program>

<http://www.mipex.eu/>

<https://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/global-bilateral-migration-database>

http://imldb.iom.int/_layouts/15/IML.Portal/AppPages/Home.aspx

<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/oecdmigrationdatabases.htm>

<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/keystat.htm>

Reading assignments:

January 7: Introduction and Why should you care about this topic!

No readings!

January 9: Who is a migrant and why do people migrate?

Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark M. Miller (2014). *The Age of Migration*.

Read: chapter one, *Introduction 1-24* (on electronic reserve)

Frederick Jackson Turner (1921) *The Frontier in American History*. "Contributions of the West to American Democracy". You can find it here: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/> (click on Roman Numeral IX)

January 14:

Massey Douglas, 1988: *Economic Development and Migration in Comparative Perspective*. *Population and Development Review*, 14: 383-413. Can be found here: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1972195?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Caplan: chapter 1 Global Apartheid

Poros, Maritsa V. (2011) Migrant social networks. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrant-social-networks-vehicles-migration-integration-and-development>

January 16: Theorizing Migration policy:

Mavroudi and Nagel, chapter 1. Making sense of global migration, pp 1-27 (on electronic reserve)

Castles et. al. chapter 2, *Theories of Migration*, pp. 25-54 (on electronic reserve)

Belot Michele and Sjeff Ederveen, (2012) Cultural Barriers in Migration between OECD countries. *Journal of Population Economics*. 25:1077-1105
http://www.jstor.org/stable/41488379?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

January 21:

Joppke Christian: why liberal states accept unwanted immigration
<https://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/AcademyofEuropeanLaw/CourseMaterials/UL/UL2010/BoswellReading1.pdf>

Caplan: Chapter 2: Trillion Dollar Bills on the Sidewalk

January 23: What are the effects of emigration for origin countries?

Wise and Covarrubias (2013) Reframing the Debate on Migration, Development, and Human Rights. *Population, Space and Place*. 4:430-443.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/psp.1783/abstract>
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/reassessing-impacts-brain-drain-developing-countries>

January 28:

Elizabeth Mavroudi and Caroline Nagel (2016). Migration and Development. Chapter 4. Pp. 91-117 (on electronic reserve).

M. A. Clemens (2014) [Does Development Reduce Migration?](#) IZA – Institute of Labor Statistics

January 30: Brief History of US immigration

Gerald O'Brien (2009). [Indigestible Food, Conquering Hordes, and Waste Materials: Metaphors of Immigrants and the Early Immigration Restriction Debate in the United States](#). *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18: 33-47.

Paul Lombardo: [Eugenics Laws Restricting Immigration](#) (University of Virginia)

February 4:

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/immigrants-conspiracies-and-secret-society-launched-american-nativism-180961915/>

How the 19th century know nothing party reshaped American politics

Policy Roundtable 1-8: Immigration and Refugee Policy in Donald Trump's America

<https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/1-8-immigration-refugee>

February 6:

Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks (2000), "Immigrants and Socialism" pp. 125-166 in : *It Didn't Happen Here*. Norton. (on electronic reserve).

Nolan G. Pope, (2016): The Effects of DACAmentation: The Impact of Deferred Childhood Arrivals on Unauthorized Immigrants. *Journal of Public Economics*, Vol: 143 pp. 98-114.

Can be found here: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0047272716301268>

February 11: The 2015 refugee "crisis" in Europe: From *Willkommenskultur* to "Rapefugees Not Welcome"

Markus M.L. Crepaz (2017) Immigration and the Welfare State, pp. 153-166 in: **European Democracies**, Routledge. (on electronic reserve)

February 13:

[Ulrike Hamann and Serhat Karakayali \(2018\) Practicing Willkommenskultur: Migration and Solidarity in Germany, in: Intersections, 2 \(4\): 69-86.](#)

February 18: Political consequences of the 2015 European migration crisis

1. Undermining cultural identity

Jack Citrin, et. al. (2007) Testing Huntington: is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity? Can be found here:

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.523.360&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Caplan, chapter 4, Crimes against Culture:

<file:///C:/Users/mcrepaz/Downloads/TCMStatement-Identity.pdf> (Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration – Council Statement of the Migration Policy Institute)

February 20:

[Sebastian Fietkau and Kasper Hansen \(2017\). How perceptions of immigrants trigger feelings of economic and cultural threats in two welfare states. European Union Politics 19:119-139](#)

2. Undermining the welfare state

February 25:

Crepaz, Markus M.L. (2016) Rumors that diversity is the death of the welfare state are greatly exaggerated: on the resilience of the European Social Model, pp. 315-329 in: Freeman and Mirilovic, *Handbook on Migration and Social Policy*, Edward Elgar. (on electronic reserve).

Alejandro Portes and Erik Vickstrom (2015) Diversity, Social Capital, and Cohesion. In: *Migration-economic change –social challenge*. Oxford University Press. pp. 161-186 (on electronic reserve).

February 27:

3. Rise of nativism, populism, and radical right wing parties

Caplan: chapter 5: the Golden Goose on Trial

[Jasper Muis and Tim Immerzeel \(2017\). Causes and consequences of the rise of populist radical right parties and movements in Europe. *Current Sociology Review*, 65:909-930](#)

March 3:

4. Immigration, Security, and the Debate about Climate Change.

Castles, et. al. (2014). Migration, Security and the Debate on Climate Change, in: *The Age of Migration*, pp. 198-212. (on electronic reserve).

Anthony Messina (2014). Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror. *World Politics*, 66: 530-559. Can be found here:

<http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1123&context=facpub>

March 5:

Ariane Chebel D'Apollonia (2015). Security, Identity, Adversity: the “French Touch” on the securitization of Immigration. CritCom. Can be found here:

<http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/security-identity-adversity-the-french-touch-on-the-securitization-of-immigration/>

Facing Rising Waters: a Native Tribe takes its Plea to the Paris Climate Talks:

(<https://www.npr.org/2015/12/01/455745765/facing-rising-waters-a-native-tribe-takes-its-plea-to-paris-climate-talks>)

March 9 – 13: Spring Break!

March 17: Constructing the “other”: immigrants and the media:

Morris Levi, et. al. (2016). Mass Opinion and Immigration Policy in the United States: Re-assessing Clientelist and Elite Perspectives. *Perspectives on Politics*, 14:660-680. Can be found here: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/mass-opinion-and-immigration-policy-in-the-united-states-re-assessing-clientelist-and-elitist-perspectives/1461C6DF33BE8E552DFFF1DC8A7993BD>

March 19:

Facchini et.al. (2013) Individual Attitudes towards Immigration: Economic vs. non-economic Determinants, pp. 129-157, in: *Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies*, Gary P. Freeman, Randall Hansen and David L. Leal (editors), Routledge. (on electronic reserve).

Danckert, et. al. (2017) [Reacting to Neighborhood Cues? Political Sophistication Moderates the Effect of Exposure to Immigrants](#). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol: 81:37-56.

Public opinion of immigrants (Oorschoot, and others)
http://mediamattersaction.org/reports/fearandloathing/online_version

March 24:

Pecoraro, Marco and Didie Ruedin (2015) A Foreigner who does not steal my job: the role of Unemployment Risk and Values in Attitudes toward Equal Opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 50:628-666. Can be found here: http://forscenter.ch/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/FORS_WPS_2013-05_Pecoraro-2.pdf

Van der Waal, et. al. (2010). "Some are more equal than others": economic egalitarianism and welfare chauvinism in the Netherlands. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 20:350-363. Can be found here: <https://repub.eur.nl/pub/18240/>

March 26:

Melanie Kolbe and Markus M. L. Crepaz (2016): The Power of Citizenship: How Immigrant Incorporation Affects Attitudes Towards Social Benefits. *Comparative Politics*, 49: 105-123. Can be found here:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/24886230.pdf>

March 31: Making citizens – how to incorporate immigrants:

Castles, et.al. (2014). Chapter 12: *New Ethnic Minorities and Society* (on electronic reserve)

[Jeffrey Alexander. Theorizing the "Modes of Incorporation": Assimilation, Hyphenation, and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation. *Sociological Theory*, 19:237-249](#)

April 2:

S. Karthick Ramakrishnan: 2013; “Incorporation vs. Assimilation: The need for conceptual differentiation”, pp. (27-42) in: Jennifer Hochschild, et. al. *Outsiders no More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*. (on electronic reserve).

Xavier DeSouza Briggs 2013; “Conclusion: Rethinking Immigrant Political Incorporation: What have We Learned, and What Next? pp. 321-342 in: Jennifer Hochschild, et. al. *Outsiders no More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*. (on electronic reserve).

Understanding Urban Riots in France: Brookings Institution (2005)
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/understanding-urban-riots-in-france/>

April 7: Integration of immigrants: Between assimilation and Multiculturalism

Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka (2013) Is there really a retreat from Multiculturalism? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index. *Comparative European Politics*, 11:577-588. Can be found here: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/cep.2013.12>

Andrew Mason (2017). The Critique of Multiculturalism in Britain: Integration, Separation, and Shared Identification in: *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21:22-45.

Caplan, chapter 7: All Roads lead to Open Borders

April 9:

[Koopmans, Ruud \(2010\) Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross National Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:1-26.](#)

To become French, abandon who you are: can be found here:
<http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2015/01/16/to-become-french-leave-your-identity-behind/>

<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/01/magazine/the-lost-boys-of-sudan-the-long-long-long-road-to-fargo.html>

April 14: What are the costs and benefits of immigrants and immigration?

Caplan, chapter 3: The Natives’ Burden

Politifact (2017). *MOSTLY TRUE. Undocumented Immigrants less likely to commit crimes than U.S. citizens*. Can be found here:
<http://www.politifact.com/california/statements/2017/aug/03/antonio-villaraigosa/mostly-true-undocumented-immigrants-less-likely-co/>

[Alberto Alesina, et.al. \(2016\). Birthplace diversity and economic prosperity. Journal of Economic Growth, 21:101-138.](#)

April 16 - 21:

Bodvarsson Orn and Hendrik van den Berg (2003). The Impact of Immigration on a Local Economy. The Case of Dawson County, Nebraska. *Great Plains Research*, 13:291-309. Can be found here:

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1663&context=greatplainsresearch>

Daniel T. Griswold (2012). Immigration and the Welfare State. *Cato Journal*, 32: 159-174. Can be found here: <https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-journal/2012/1/cj32n1-11.pdf>

Caplan, chapter 6: Keyhole solutions

April 23: Membership, Belonging and Citizenship;

Irene Bloemraad (2015) Theorizing and Analyzing Citizenship in Multicultural Societies. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 1-16. Can be found here:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/tsq.12095/full>

Randall Hanson (2009). The poverty of postnationalism. *Theory and Society*, 38: 1-24. Can be found here:

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Randall_Hansen/publication/225359324_The_poverty_of_postnationalism_Citizenship_immigration_and_the_new_Europe/links/54c185e70cf25b4b80727426/The-poverty-of-postnationalism-Citizenship-immigration-and-the-new-Europe.pdf

Caplan: chapter 8: Fantastic Journeys ... and how to finish them.

April 28: Wrap up TEST!