INTL 8310 Politics of Postindustrial Democracies
Migration, diversity and the challenges to social cohesion in modern societies
Th: 3:55 – 6:45 p.m. Candler 117
Office hours: Wed: 2-4 and by appointment
Dr. Markus M. L. Crepaz
mcrepaz@uga.edu

There is hardly a more divisive issue in contemporary politics than the one related to immigration and immigrants. Yet, people have been on the move since time immemorial – whether emigrating, immigrating, or migrating. What makes migration issues so potent is that as different ethnic groups come in contact with each other, racial and ethnic stereotypes and prejudices flourish. Many politicians have become quite adept at exploiting the fear of strangers for their own political interests, thereby amplifying the chasm between the native borns and the "strangers" even more. In many European countries, the US and even in countries that were hitherto "closed" to immigration, such as Japan and South Korea, parties on the far right have already become so influential that the traditional parties can no longer ignore them, pushing some of them to the right as well and becoming increasingly authoritarian in the process, thereby questioning the very liberal democratic principles upon which the Western political order is based.

Course outcomes:

- This course will enable students to understand, dissect, and critique the arguments that immigration allegedly undermines social and cultural cohesion.
- Students will learn about the connections between immigration and the welfare state
- Students will also be exposed to theories that argue for the attenuating effects of generalized trust on attitudes on immigration
- Students will gain an appreciation of various policy approaches to immigration such as multiculturalism and assimilation.
- Students will learn about how immigration leads to the rise of far right political parties and how that affects the traditional party landscape.
- Students will grapple with the question whether social homogeneity is a precondition for redistribution.
- Students explore on what grounds would native borns accept newcomers – what rights are they willing to extend to them?
- Students will also learn about the socio-demographic drivers of xenophobia and anti-immigrant attitudes.
- This is a course that will make full use of various data sources to explore the question raised enabling students to familiarized themselves with the data and learn to apply them to their own research.

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

Teaching, learning, and staying safe in times of the coronavirus:

If you are unsure about this coronavirus thing, and need to find out more about it (such as the policy on face coverings, the dawg check, what to do if you have been exposed or have symptoms, how do you get a test, and what to do if you test positive) please visit this site: https://coronavirus.uga.edu/

Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

- *If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit https://sco.uga.edu. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.*
- *UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) or crisis support (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies).*
- *If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.*
- *Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.*

Prohibition on Recording Lectures. In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:

· Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.

· Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.

· Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.

· Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.

· Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.

· Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

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:

UN Migration: Making Migration Work for All
UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency
Migration Policy Institute
International Labour Organization
Migrant Integration Policy Index
World Bank Global Bilateral Migration Database
OECD Databases on Migration
Multicultural Policy Index
Varieties of Democracy Dataset

Grade Scale:

- >=93%: A
- 90-92.99%: A-
- 87-89.99%: B+
- 83-86.99%: B
- 80-82.99%: B-
- 77-79.99%: C+
- 73-76.99%: C
- 70-72.99%: C-
- 60-69.99%: D
- <60%: F

Course requirements:

1. **Participation** (13%): Given that this is an advanced seminar, students are expected to have read and digested the required reading materials ahead of class time and to actively participate **in calm, thoughtful, and respectful** discussion of the material. Participation will be measured *not only in the frequency of comments but also their quality*. *Clarification questions, while certainly encouraged, will not count towards seminar participation. Only informed questions and statements about the readings or other pertinent sources which directly refer to the topic at hand or to specific books or articles will count as "seminar participation".* Solid preparation for each meeting is essential as you will be called upon to provide your own assessments of the various assignments.
2. **Discussion lead** (20%): Each student will pick one topic from the syllabus to be the discussion lead (15-20 minutes) by presenting power point slides that succinctly a) summarize the weekly reading, b) connect the readings to other topics in the syllabus, c) present a series of questions to the students and d) lead the discussion.
3. **A concise 2 page reflection** (22%, 11 papers each counting for 2%) of the weekly reading assignments. This reflection should include: **firs**t, a brief statement of the gist (the central argument) of each reading; **second**, an explanation how the readings are similar/different from each other and how they connect to the weekly topic at hand; **third**, provide your own critique of the reading (i.e. is the argument plausible; were the data and methods used appropriate), and

finally, to you agree/disagree with the central argument and why/why not (this is important: I want to hear your "voice" in these short papers).

4. **An annotated research design** (20%) based on the Edicts of Candler. In this case "annotated" just means that you take the Edicts of Candler and fill in the various elements (see the "Edicts" at the end of the syllabus). This should be brief but as complete as possible as this will be the basis of your final research paper. The research design is **due in class on April 11**, and each student will briefly introduce their research design in class (no power point necessary). However, you should print out your annotated research design as a handout to each student (make 8 copies).
5. **Final research paper** (25%). This should be a completed research paper based on the Edicts of Candler that is empirical in nature and of publishable quality, after some revisions. **Due May 2, 8:00 p.m.via MS Word to mcrepaz@uga.edu.**

Some ground rules:

1. For your summaries and final research paper, no chatbotting please. I can and will use the ChatbotGPT to find out if you used a chatbot to write your papers.
2. Tips for reading academic work: it sometimes may seem overwhelming to read complex scholarly articles. However, there are ways to efficiently manage reading and understanding of substantial amounts of papers. **First**, take a good look at the abstract (if any) – read it carefully. A good abstract should concisely summarize the central claims of the article. **Second**, what is the central argument the author(s) are making? What are they claiming? **Third**, what data do they bring to the table to support their argument? **Fourth**, what methods are they using to manipulate the data? **Fifth**, what are they concluding? **Finally**, what do YOU think of the argument? How does it fit into your current stock of knowledge and how does it correspond, or not, to other articles you have been reading in this course and what you have learned in other courses.
3. **This course does not require you to buy any books**. Most readings are conveniently hyperlinked for you. Two readings require downloads from the electronic reserve desk (password: immigration). Some other readings are from my edited volume "Handbook on Migration and Welfare". I'll provide the PDF's of those readings directly to you at least one week before they are due.

Reading assignments:

January 11:	Introduction and "why worry about immigration"? Theorizing immigration and immigration policy A "warm up reading": The Lost Boys of Sudan
January 18:	National identity, immigration and social cohesion. Matthew Wright (2011). Diversity and the Imagined Community: Immigrant Diversity and Conceptions of National Identity. International Society of Political Psychology. 32:837-862.

Francis Fukuyama (2018). Why National Identity Matters. Journal of Democracy. 29. 5-15.

David Goodhart (2004). "Too Diverse"? Prospect Magazine

Joseph Carens (1987). The Case for Open Borders. The Review of Politics. 49:251-273.

Data: (peruse this public opinion survey)

Pew Research Center (2021): Views about national identity becoming more inclusive in US, Western Europe.

January 25: The framing of immigration and immigrants: between constructivist and evolutionary approaches

Lene Aaroe et.al. (2017). The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration. American Political Science Review, 111:277-294.

Isabel Kusche and Jessica Barker (2019). Pathogens and Immigrants: A Critical Appraisal of the Behavioral Immune System as Explanation of Prejudice Against Ethnic Outgroups. Frontiers in Psychology.

Gerald V. O'Brien (2003) 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.

Smithsonian Magazine (2017): How the 19th century Know Nothing Party Reshaped American Politics.

February 1: Perceived immigrant threats to culture, economics, and security

Anthony Messina (2014): Review article: Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror. World Politics, 66:530-559.

Hana Kleider (2022) What explains opposition to immigration: Economic anxiety, cultural threat, or both? In: Markus M. L. Crepaz. Handbook on Migration and Welfare. Edward Elgar (will provide).

Hans Georg Betz (2022). Economic resentment or cultural malaise: What accounts for nativist sentiments in contemporary liberal democracies? In: Markus M. L. Crepaz. Handbook on Migration and Welfare. Edward Elgar (will provide).

Wim van Oorschot (2006). Making the difference in social Europe: deservingness perceptions among citizens of European welfare states. Journal of European Social Policy, 16:23-42.

February 8: Social cohesion in diversifying societies: do “contact” and “cultural capital” matter?

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

Jeroen van der Wal, et. al. (2010) Some are more equal than others. Economic Egalitarianism and Welfare Chauvinism in the Netherlands. Journal of European Social Policy, p. 1-34.

Patrick Kotzur, et. al. (2018) Welcoming the Unwelcome: How Contact Shapes Contexts of Reception for New Immigrants in Germany and the United States. Journal of Social Issues, 74:812-832.

Justin Allen Berg (2020) Assessing the effects of intergroup contact on immigration attitudes. The Social Science Journal.

February 15: Immigration, interpersonal trust, and the Welfare State

Matthew Wright (2022) Why share with strangers? Reflections on a Variety of Perspectives. In: Markus M. L. Crepaz, Handbook on Migration and Welfare. Edward Elgar (will provide).

Butovskaya, et.al. (2000). Urban Begging and Ethnic Nepotism in Russia: An Ethological Pilot Study. Human Nature, 11, 157-82.

Crepaz Markus M. L. (2009) Constructing Tolerance: How the Welfare State Shapes Attitudes About Immigrants. Comparative Political Studies, 42:437-463.

Finseraas, et.al. (2022). Immigration and welfare state sustainability: whose perception is affected by fiscal cost cues? Journal of European Public Policy.

February 22: The liberal dilemma

Romana Careja and Eloisa Harris (2022). Thirty Years of welfare chauvinism research: Findings and Challenges. Journal of European Social Policy, 32:212-224.

Gary Freeman (1986). Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 485. 51-63.

Maureen Eger and J. Kulin (2022). The politicization of immigration and welfare: The progressive’s dilemma, the rise of far right parties and challenges for the left. In: Markus M. L. Crepaz, The Handbook on Migration and Welfare. Edward Elgar (will provide).

Rafaela Dancygier (2020). Another Progressive’s Dilemma: Immigration, the Radical Right &Threats to Gender Equality. American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

February 29: Party system change in the age of populism

Charlotte Cavaille and Jeremy Ferwerda (2022). How Distributional Conflict over In-Kind Benefits Generates Support for Far Right Parties. Journal of Politics, 85:19-33

Cas Mudde (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. Government and Opposition. 39:541-563.

Tarik Abou-Chadi, et.al. (2021). The centre-right versus the radical right: the role of migration issues and economic grievances. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. 48: 366-384.

Aristotle Kallis (2013): Far Right "Contagion" or a Failing "Mainstream"? How Dangerous Ideas Cross Borders and Blur Boundaries. Democracy and Security, 9: 221-246.

March 7: SPRING BREAK

March 14: The specter of rising authoritarianism in western democracies

Karen Stenner (2020) Magazine: Essay – Authoritarianism. Hope not Hate.

Jonathan Haidt (2016). When and Why Nationalism Beats Globalism. Policy, 32: (3)

Amanda Taub (2016). The Rise of American Authoritarianism. Vox.

Markus M. L. Crepaz (2020) Coveting Uniformity in a Diverse World: The Authoritarian Roots of Welfare Chauvinism in Postmigration Crisis Germany. Social Science Quarterly, 101, 1255-1270.

March 21: Between multiculturalism, integration, and assimilation

Keith Banting, Daniel Westlake and Will Kymlicka (2022). The Politics of Multiculturalism and Redistribution: Immigration, Accommodation, and Solidarity in Diverse Democracies. In: Markus M. L. Crepaz, Handbook on Migration and Welfare. Edward Elgar (will provide).

Mathias Kauff, et. al. (2013). Side Effects of Multiculturalism: The Interaction Effect of a Multicultural Ideology and Authoritarianism on Prejudice and Diversity Beliefs. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

Ruud Koopmans (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.

Markus M. L. Crepaz and Pierre Naoufal (2022) Authoritarianism, economic threat, and the limits of Multiculturalism in post-migration crisis Germany. Social Science Quarterly, 103, 425-438

March 28: Citizenship and the rights of newcomers

Melanie Kolbe and Markus Crepaz (2016). The Power of Citizenship: How Immigrant Incorporation Affects Attitudes towards Social Benefits. Comparative Politics, 49:105-123.

Marc Hooghe (2021). When Playing by the Rules is not Sufficient: Citizenship Criteria in Ethnic, Cultural, and Civic Citizenship Concepts (p. 47-62). In: Nils Holtug and Eric Uslaner, National Identity and Social Cohesion. ECPR Press. (on electronic reserve).

Jeannette Money, et. al. (2016). Why migrant rights are different from human rights (p. 399-418). In: Gary Freeman and Nicola Mirilovic. Migration and Social Policy. Edward Elgar. (on electronic reserve).

Antje Ellerman (2020) Discrimination in migration and citizenship. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. 46: 2463-2479.

April 4: Migration into historically "closed" societies: Japan and South Korea

Erin Aeran Chung (2021). How South Korean Demographics are Affecting Immigration and Social Change. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Hans Schattle and Yeojin Seo (2022). The Challenges in Balancing National Interests and Global Responsibilities in South Korea's Refugee Policy. Refugee Law, 33: 581-607.

MinSoo Kim-Bossard (2018) Challenging Homogeneity in Contemporary Korea. Demographics, Social Policy, and Asia

Jeremy Davison and Ito Peng (2020). Views on Immigration in Japan: identities, interests, and pragmatic divergence. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. 47: 2578-2595.

April 11: Research design presentations based on the "Edicts of Candler"

April 18: Presentation of research papers

April 25: Presentation of research papers

THE EDICTS OF CANDLER HALL

MARKUS M. L. CREPAZ

Below you find the most crucial elements of a successful research paper. They should all be there if you want your work to get published, to get a job, and in general, to reduce the "B.S. factor". Here are the steps you should follow, although not necessarily in this order, to write a logically compelling research paper and one that maximizes your chances of getting a good grade.

1) PUZZLE: This is a tough one. Your research must have a puzzle, if not, why do the research? If theory and praxis diverge, that is a puzzle; contested theories represent a puzzle; inconsistent empirical findings are a puzzle; etc.

2) RESEARCH QUESTION: At some point you should clearly state in the form of a question the objective of your research.

3) LITERATURE REVIEW: Here you are taking stock – what is it that others have written about your subject. This is the place for showing off how much have you have read and understood about the material and drop names.

4) THEORY: This is VERY important! Here you don't drop names – after all this is the place where you present YOUR theory to the world, YOUR ideas, YOUR contribution.

5) UNIT OF ANALYSIS: What is the "unit" that you are examining? Is it elections, individuals, countries, etc.?

6) TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL PARAMETERS: Over what time period and what location are you applying your theory? Are you making a CROSS-SECTIONAL or TIME SERIES argument, or BOTH?

7) HYPOTHESIS: What is your hypothesis? Remember a hypothesis contains three things: first it indicates the object of observation, the dependent an independent variables, and the direction of their relationship. For example: “the more I’m feeding my cat, the fatter she gets”. “Cat” is the object of observation, “food” is the cause, cat getting “fat” is the effect, and the direction of the relationship is positive.

8) DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES: Which ones are they? How much do they vary?

9) PROCESS TRACING: Why should the cat get fat if fed a lot? If more calories enter her body that she can burn, her body will on the basis of biological processes begin to store the energy contained in the food in terms of fat. Process tracing should in detail describe the various steps how things move from cause to effect.

10) OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS: Your hypotheses will contain concepts, i.e. names of things. You will have to translate these concepts into things that can be measured. It is crucial that you explain this metamorphosis from concept to measure as clearly as you can.

11) VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF MEASURES: Do the measures you use capture the concept they intend to reflect? Would repeated measuring yield the same results every time? Might there be systematic or random measurement error?

12) CAUSAL MECHANISM: How do you know that your argument is causal rather than correlational? Do you have endogeneity? Is your research design indeterminate?

13) FINDINGS: Are you accepting or rejecting your hypothesis?

14) DATA SOURCES: If you don’t have data sources yet, report as to what DATA would you need to make your argument? If you’d do a survey, what questions would you ask subjects?

15) CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: What do these findings mean? How do they affect the reigning theories? Do they question them, or confirm them? What new questions do arise? Where does future research go from here?