"Immigrant Integration in Contemporary Western Europe"

Political Science 447-001
Spring 2019
Dey Hall 402
Tuesday and Thursday 9:30am – 10:45am

Professor Rahsaan Maxwell
rahsaan@email.unc.edu
Office Hours – Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 11:00-12:00
Office – Hamilton 322

Immigrant integration has been one of the most intense political issues in Western Europe in recent decades. While many West European countries have long traditions of integrating immigrants from fellow European countries, the dramatic post-WWII rise in migrants from outside of Europe has literally changed the complexion of cities and towns across the continent. The extent to which these new non-white immigrants have successfully integrated is a hot topic of debate across Europe, and there is no consensus about the best way to promote integration. This course will explore these debates through literature on several aspects of immigrant integration in Western Europe.

The first part of the course focuses on variation in immigrant integration outcomes across different European countries. For much of the 1990s and early 2000s this was the dominant approach to understanding immigrant integration in Europe. However, in recent years people have begun to question that approach. Together, this first section lays out a broad range of theories for why immigrant integration should be more or less successful. After the midterm, the course moves to various specific topics including Islam, far-right parties, and internal European migration.

There are several goals for students taking this class. First, students will gain deeper knowledge of the key issues around immigrant integration in contemporary Western Europe. Second, students will be exposed to the main theoretical approaches and core debates about how to best understanding immigrant integration in Europe. More broadly, students will be exposed to cutting-edge political science research that focuses on carefully testing hypotheses and generating reliable knowledge. This rigorous approach to evidence and knowledge-formation is a useful component to any undergraduate education. Students will also be required to do their own data analysis for the course paper. This gives students first-hand experience with the challenges and nuances of dealing with data.

Grading is weighted as follows:
Class participation: 20%
Participation is a central part of the course and there are numerous ways to participate in the course (questions, comments, visits to office hours) that will be more or less relevant to different students' personal styles. However, I cannot give credit for participation without any evidence (i.e. if you don't speak up somewhere/somehow I don't know what you are thinking). Attendance in and of itself without speaking will not give you much credit for participation although missing class will be counted against you.

Midterm exam: 15% (Thursday February 21, in class)
Final exam: 20% (Friday May 3, 8am)
The midterm and the final both ask you to reflect on the course material and draw connections across the readings. The goal is to demonstrate that you have mastered the main concepts from the reading and can weigh the strengths and weaknesses of various arguments from the reading.

Group project: 10%
You will be broken into groups in the beginning of the semester to work on a short presentation about immigration in a specific European country. The presentation will give a brief overview of the history of immigration in your country as well as the main immigration issues in contemporary society. Presentations will be on April 23 and April 25. More details on the project will come in the first weeks of the class.

Research paper: 35%
(5% for the paper proposal, 5% for report on initial results, 25% for the final paper)

You will write a 5,000 word data analysis paper **due at 9:30am on Thursday April 11**. You are free to pursue any topic related to immigrant integration in Europe, although it must be approved by me to ensure that it is appropriate for the course. The paper must be framed around a research question and you must evaluate several competing hypotheses that purport to answer that research question.

The purpose is to get first-hand experience working with data and exploring the nuances of your data. You will be graded on the thoroughness with which you analyze the data, and the extent to which your conclusions are consistent with the nuances of the results.

You have **two options** for the type of data that you can use.

1.Quantitative analysis using the European Social Survey (ESS)
http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/

The ESS is a large cross-national survey that has been conducted in over 20 countries across Europe since 2002 (there are currently eight rounds of data available, the most recent from 2016). It includes a wide range of economic, political and social data.

There are several ways to use the ESS for studying immigrant integration. One approach is to study the attitudes of natives towards immigrants. There is a standard battery of six questions about how people feel about immigration and immigrants in their country, which is asked in each round of the ESS. Another advantage to the ESS is that it has fairly large samples of immigrants (first and second generation), especially if you combine multiple rounds of data. So you can also study a wide range of outcomes among immigrants, i.e. economic outcomes, social outcomes (their attitudes on a wide range of social issues), or political outcomes (vote turnout, party affiliation, attitudes on a wide range of political issues). Whatever outcome you choose to analyze, you can analyze variation across individuals, countries, or over time. So you have several options.

The ESS allows you to ask lots of broad and specific questions about immigrant integration, but to get the most out of such an analysis you will need to already be familiar with how to work with survey data, as well as the basics of statistical analysis.

2.Qualitative analysis using newspaper articles from LexisNexis Academic
http://www-lexisnexis-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/

LexisNexis Academic is a database of newspaper and magazine articles from around the world. You can get the full-text for articles dating back several years (or decades) from most major newspapers in most European countries.

Newspaper articles are useful sources of data for media/public discourse about immigrants. One basic approach would be to ask how immigrants (or certain types of immigrants, e.g. refugees, immigrants from a certain country/region/religion) are discussed in the media (i.e. what types of language, frames, or issues are mentioned regarding immigrants). You could add complexity by comparing across countries, over time, or across specific types of newspapers (left-leaning vs. centrist vs. right-leaning, or tabloid vs. broadsheet).

For a qualitative analysis, the focus would be on a narrow set of articles that you analyze in-depth, so you would need to carefully and systematically select your sample of articles. Depending on the exact topic, this could either involve a very limited time frame that focuses on a certain event, or a random selection of articles on a broader topic from a broader time frame.

NOTE: In exceptional cases, I will permit students to use data sources other than ESS or LexisNexis Academic. This is only advisable if you already have a project developed (e.g. for your Honors thesis) and are already familiar with this other data source. ESS and LexisNexis are two of the most straightforward sources of data and I do not want students to get bogged down trying to work with other complicated data sources. If you would like to pursue another option that is not the ESS or LexisNexis, you must get permission from me BEFORE submitting your paper proposal.

Paper proposal – due in class on Tuesday February 5

Your paper proposal does not require extensive writing and should fit on one page. It must include the following 3 elements:

1) Research question
2) A list of the competing hypotheses
3) The specific data that will allow you to evaluate these hypotheses.

(1) The research question should be a succinct sentence, e.g. 'Why are people more likely to favor increasing/reducing levels of immigration?' 'Why are people more likely to feel that immigrants are a benefit/harm to their country?' 'How did the media frame the recent refugee crisis in Europe?' 'How do newspapers frame Muslim integration in Europe?'

The research question should come from your interests, but also from your preliminary research into the existing literature on related topics, so that you can get a feel for what specific questions are the most interesting and the most amenable to the data you will be using. You cannot just make up a good research question in your head, you need to do some initial research.

(2) The list of competing hypotheses will also require research, so that you can see the common explanations for your question. You should look for books and articles on your topic, and in the beginning of each book/article there will be a section called 'literature review' or 'existing literature' or 'hypotheses', something like that. This section will discuss the multiple hypotheses that could explain their research question, and after scanning several books/articles on the same topic you should get a sense of what hypotheses will be most relevant for your paper. DO NOT just copy the hypotheses from the first article you find. The hypotheses are usually somewhat customized to the specific research question in each paper, so invariably you will need to make slight adjustments and consider multiple options from different books/articles.

(3) For the data, you need to get specific.

If you are doing the ESS paper, you will need to mention the specific questions in the survey that will allow you to measure the outcomes and the competing hypotheses. You will also need to mention the specific questions you will use to identify your key groups (i.e. natives, immigrants, second-generation, specific countries, sub-national regions, etc).

If you are doing the LexisNexis paper, you will need to mention the specific newspaper(s), the specific dates, and the specific search terms or the way in which you will identify specific articles. You will also need to clearly outline your strategy for how you will analyze the articles and determine which of your hypotheses has more support.

You can and should seek my advice prior to submitting the proposal. I will give you feedback on the proposal after submission. The specific wording and framing of the research question and the competing hypotheses may change as you work on the paper

during the semester but you will not be allowed to change the data source. You do not need to do any actual analysis of the data prior to submitting the proposal.

On **Thursday March 7** you will be required to submit the **first draft of your data analysis**. This is not a full-blown first draft of the paper. You do not need to write up the narrative flow of an introduction followed by literature review followed by description of the data, etc. Instead, you should present a summary of your results, showing how the data do or do not support the different hypotheses. Here is your opportunity to note the (inevitable) irregularities, complexities and nuances in your data. You should also briefly summarize how you plan to make sense of the results. E.G. 'Hypothesis A has the most support' or 'Hypothesis B is most relevant under conditions x and y but Hypothesis C is most relevant under conditions z and q'. This should be 2-3 pages long at the most.

Course Policies:
Assignments submitted after the deadline will be immediately marked down one grade and one additional grade for each subsequent 24 hours. I.E. a paper that would have otherwise received an A- would receive a B+ if submitted within the 24 hours following the deadline, a B if submitted within the 48 hours following the deadline, and so on.

All requests for alternative exam arrangements must be made in writing prior to the exam and must be approved by the instructor. These requests will only be honored in extreme circumstances and may nonetheless result in a lower-grade penalty.

Laptops, phones, tablets or other electronic devices may NOT be used during class. I am sure you are all familiar with research that students (and all people) drastically overestimate their capacity to effectively multi-task. In addition, research consistently shows that laptops are detrimental to learning because they are a distraction not only to the person using them but also to the other students. Research also repeatedly finds that manual note-taking is better than typing for processing and retaining information. If you want to refer to the readings during class you will need to print them out and bring paper copies to class so plan (and budget) accordingly.

Academic integrity:
All students are responsible for understanding the university's policies with respect to plagiarism and academic integrity. Any violation of these policies may result in a failing grade in this course and a referral to the Honor Court.

Readings:
The following texts are required and may be purchased online or found in the library.

Claire Adida, David Laitin and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rogers Brubaker.   1998.   *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rafaela Dancygier.   2017.   *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Adrian Favell. 2008.   *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Justin Gest. 2016.   *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*. New York, London: Oxford University Press.

All other readings are posted online at the course Sakai website.

Schedule

Thursday January 10: Introduction

Week One – Setting the stage

Tuesday January 15: How and why did so many immigrants come to Western Europe?

No reading

Thursday January 17: What is immigrant integration?

No reading

Week Two – National models of immigrant integration

Tuesday January 22 and Thursday January 24:

Rogers Brubaker. 1998. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Week Three – Extending and challenging national models

Tuesday January 29: Extending

Ruud Koopmans and Ines Michalowski. 2017. "Why do states extend rights to immigrants? Institutional settings and historical legacies across 44 countries worldwide". *Comparative Political Studies* 50(1): 41-74.

Thursday January 31: Challenging

Richard Alba and Nancy Foner. 2014. "Comparing Immigrant Integration in North America and Western Europe: How Much Do the Grand Narratives Tell Us?" *International Migration Review* 48(S1): S263-S291.

Week Four – Political integration

Tuesday February 5: Definitions and concepts

No reading
*****Paper proposal due in class*****

Thursday February 7: Muslims and political parties

Rafaela Dancygier. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week Five – Political integration and Sub-national variation

Tuesday February 12: Rafaela Dancygier. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thursday February 14: Sub-national divides

Martin Jørgensen. 2012. "The Diverging Logics of Integration Policy Making at National and City Level" *International Migration Review* 46(1): 244-278.

Week Six –Dimensions of Integration and Mid-term

Tuesday February 19: Dimensions of Integration

Rahsaan Maxwell. 2012. "The Argument" in *Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France: Integration Trade-Offs*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Thursday February 21: In-class midterm

Week Seven – Muslims in Europe

Tuesday February 26: Background

No reading

Thursday February 28: Muslims and Discrimination

Claire Adida, David Laitin and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Week Eight – Muslims in Europe continued

Tuesday March 5: Muslims and Discrimination continued

Claire Adida, David Laitin and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Thursday March 7: No class

*****First draft of data analysis due on Sakai at 9:30am*****

Week Nine – No class: Spring Break

Week Ten – Public opinion

Tuesday March 19: Economic vs. cultural factors

Nicholas Valentino et al. Forthcoming. "Economic and Cultural Drivers of Immigrant Support Worldwide" *British Journal of Political Science*

Thursday March 21: Refugees

Kirk Bansak, Jens Hainmueller and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. "How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers". *Science* 354(6309): 217-222.

Week Eleven – Native reactions

Tuesday March 26: Far right anti-immigrant parties

Cas Mudde. 2013. "Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what?" *European Journal of Political Research* 52: 1-19.

Thursday March 28: Natives' rights

Eric Kaufmann. 2018. "The myth of white exceptionalism" *The Spectator* December 21, 2018.

Week Twelve – The backlash in comparative perspective

Tuesday April 2 and Thursday April 4:

Justin Gest. 2016. *The New Minority: White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*. New York, London: Oxford University Press.

Week Thirteen: Immigrant cultural influence and cosmopolitan Europe

Tuesday April 9: Food and the nation

Rahsaan Maxwell. Forthcoming. "Everyone deserves quiche: French school lunch programs and national culture in a globalized world" *British Journal of Sociology*

Thursday April 11: No class

Potential makeup day for snow cancellations earlier in the semester

****Research paper due on Sakai at 9:30am****

Week Fourteen – Internal European migration

Tuesday April 16 and Thursday April 18:

Adrian Favell. 2008. *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Week Fifteen – Group Presentations

Tuesday April 23 and Thursday April 25: In class group presentations