

“Immigrant Integration in Contemporary Western Europe”

Political Science 447-001  
Fall 2016  
Peabody 215  
Tuesday and Thursday 9:30am – 10:45am

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Office Hours – Monday and Wednesday 9:30-11:00am  
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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 critical 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%

Final exam: 20%

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.

Research paper: 45%

(5% for the paper proposal, 10% for report on initial results, 30% for the final paper)

You will write a 5,000 word data analysis paper **due in class on Tuesday December 6**. 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 of the paper 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 2001 (there are currently seven rounds of data available, the most recent from 2014). It includes a wide range of economic, political and social data.

There are several ways in which the ESS can be applied to the study of immigrant integration. One basic 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 the specific outcome that you choose to analyze, you can analyze variation across individuals, countries, or over time. So you have several options.

The ESS is a rich source of data and 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://eresources.lib.unc.edu/eid/description.php?resourceID=12&passthrough=no>

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 a good source 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 in connection with immigrants). You could add complexity to the topic 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 September 20**

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 kinds of specific questions are the most interesting and the most amenable to the data you will be using. So 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 a given 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 all of 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 **Tuesday October 25** you will be required to submit the **first draft of your data analysis**. This is not a full-blown first draft of the paper. So 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.

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

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

Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni and Florence Passy. 2005. *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Jonathan Laurence. 2012. *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State's Role in Minority Integration*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

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

## Schedule

### Week One – Setting the stage

#### Tuesday August 23: Introduction

#### Thursday August 25: How and why did so many immigrants come to Western Europe?

Anthony Messina. 2007. “The Origins and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration” in *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### Week Two – What is immigrant integration?

#### Tuesday August 30: Assimilation and political integration

Milton Gordon. 1964. “The Nature of Assimilation” in *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

#### Thursday September 1: No class

Work on your paper proposal

### Week Three – National models of immigrant integration

#### Tuesday September 6 and Thursday September 8: The initial formulation of national models

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

#### Week Four – Tuesday September 13 and Thursday September 15: An extension of national models

Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni and Florence Passy. 2005. *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

### Week Five – Questioning national models of immigrant integration

#### Tuesday September 20: How coherent are national models?

Christophe Bertossi. 2012. "French republicanism and the problem of normative density" *Comparative European Politics* 10(3): 248-265.

Jan Willem Duyvendak and Peter Scholten. 2012. "Deconstructing the Dutch multicultural model: A frame perspective on Dutch immigrant integration policymaking" *Comparative European Politics* 10(3): 266-282.

\*\*\*\*Paper proposal is due in class\*\*\*\*

**Thursday September 22: What about variation across immigrant groups?**

Rahsaan Maxwell. 2012. *Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France: Integration Trade-Offs*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction through Chapter 4.

**Week Six – Integration Trade-Offs continued and Mid-term**

**Tuesday September 27:** Rahsaan Maxwell. 2012. *Ethnic Minority Migrants in Britain and France: Integration Trade-Offs*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5 through Conclusion.

**Thursday September 29:** In-class midterm

**Week Seven – Tuesday October 4 and Thursday October 6: European states respond to Islam**

Jonathan Laurence. 2012. *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State's Role in Minority Integration*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**Week Eight –Islam in Europe continued**

**Tuesday October 11: No class – University Day**

**Thursday October 13: Who is to blame for Muslims' integration difficulties?**

Ruud Koopmans. 2015. "Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups: A Comparison of Muslims and Christians in Western Europe" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(1): 33-57.

Ruud Koopmans. 2016. "Does Assimilation Work? Sociocultural Determinants of Labour Market Participation of European Muslims" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(2): 197-216.

Jonathan Laurence. 2016. "Europe risks repeating past mistakes on Islam" Brookings Institution, July 21, 2016.

### **Week Nine – Public opinion about immigration**

#### **Tuesday October 18: Cultural versus economic threat**

Paul Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.

Rafaela Dancygier and Michael Donnelly. 2013. "Sectoral Economies, Economic Contexts, and Attitudes Towards Immigration." *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 17-35.

#### **Thursday October 20: No class – Fall Break**

### **Week Ten – Electoral politics**

#### **Tuesday October 25: The Far Right**

Matt Golder. 2003. "Explaining Variation In The Success Of Extreme Right Parties In Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4): 432-66.

Katya Adler. 2016. "Is Europe lurching to the far right?" BBC News, April 28, 2016.

\*\*\*\*First draft of data analysis due in class\*\*\*\*

#### **Thursday October 27: Accepting immigrant political candidates**

Rafaela Dancygier, Karl-Oskar Lindgren, Sven Oskarsson and Kåre Vernby. 2015. "Why Are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden" *American Political Science Review* 109(4): 703-724.

### **Week Eleven – Multiculturalism vs. Liberalism**

#### **Tuesday November 1: No class**

Work on writing your final paper

#### **Thursday November 3: Multiculturalism vs. Liberalism**

Christian Joppke. 2004. "The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy" *British Journal of Sociology* 55(2): 237-257.

Christian Joppke. 2014. "The Retreat is Real – but what is the Alternative? Multiculturalism, Muscular Liberalism and Islam" *Constellations* 21(2): 286-295.

## **Week Twelve – Dealing with Diversity**

### **Tuesday November 8: Citizenship Tests**

Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke (eds.) *How Liberal are Citizenship Tests?* EUI Working Papers 2010/41

### **Thursday November 10: Diversity**

Steven Vertovec. 2007. "Super-diversity and its implications" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.

Fran Meissner. 2015. "Migration in migration-related diversity? The nexus between super-diversity and migration studies" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(4): 556-567.

## **Week Thirteen: Internal European Migration**

### **Tuesday November 15 and Thursday November 17**

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

## **Week Fourteen – Thanksgiving**

### **Tuesday November 22 and Thursday November 24: No class - Thanksgiving**

## **Week Fifteen – Culture and Refugees**

### **Tuesday November 29: Becoming part of mainstream European culture**

Elizabeth Buettner. 2008. "“Going for an Indian”: South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain" *The Journal of Modern History* 80(4): 865-901.

### **Thursday December 1: How to deal with refugees**

Jens Hainmueller, Dominik Hangartner and Duncan Lawrence. 2016. “When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees” *Science Advances* 2(8)

**Week Sixteen – The future of immigrant integration**

**Tuesday December 6: Thoughts on immigrant integration in the US and Europe  
(Final papers due in class)**

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.