POLISC 4940: POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

Autumn 2023

Instructor:	Mohamed Shedeed	Time:	M/W 3:55pm - 5:15pm
Email:	shedeed. 1@osu. edu	Place:	150 Journalism Bldg.

Course Page: https://osu.instructure.com/courses/147970 Office Hours: Tuesday 12pm - 1pm or by appointment

Office: Derby Hall 2081

Course Description

This course provides students with an overview of the literature on voluntary and involuntary migration throughout the world. Students will be exposed to a variety of topics, including public attitudes toward migration, migrant experiences in host countries, and reasons for migration. The course is broken into two main parts. Part I discusses migration in the "Global North" and addresses concepts related to these migration patterns. Part II includes readings on migration in the "Global South." In both parts, the goal is to help students develop an understanding of migration patterns, how host communities react to incoming refugees and migrants, and how the origins of migrants can affect these experiences.

Course Goals:

- 1. Students will gain in-depth knowledge of the scholarly literature on migration Expected Learning Outcomes:
 - Understand the reasons individuals move from one country to another and the reactions this migration provokes in host populations
 - Understand how host population reactions affect policymaking and how politicians use fears of migrants as a political tool
 - Understand the challenges migrants face in their host countries
- 2. Students will develop analytic and critical thinking skills that allow them to assess various policies relating to immigration.

Expected Learning Outcomes:

- Evaluate policies targeted toward migrants affect that population
- Understand the goals of various policies regarding migration
- 3. Students will be able to explain variation in public attitudes toward refugees, engaging with literature that explains why these attitudes exist and how they can be changed.

Expected Learning Outcomes:

- Engage with competing theories of explaining attitudes toward immigration
- Understand how both elite-level discourse and personal attributes affect opinions on immigration
- 4. Students will develop a working understanding of modern approaches to establishing causal relationships through exposure to these techniques, largely in the form of survey experiments Expected Learning Outcomes:
 - Read and summarize common empirical methods and research strategies in political science

- Discuss different ways of measuring similar concepts
- Describe techniques scholars use for data collection

Course Materials: There are no required textbooks for this class. All readings will be available on Carmen. If a student cannot access the readings on Carmen for any reason, they should attempt to use the Ohio State University's library system to access academic articles.

Academic Misconduct: It is the responsibility of the Committee on Academic Misconduct to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term "academic misconduct" includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. Instructors shall report all instances of alleged academic misconduct to the committee (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487). For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct https://studentlife.osu.edu/csc/

Disability Services: The University strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. In light of the current pandemic, students seeking to request COVID-related accommodations may do so through the university's request process, managed by Student Life Disability Services. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability (including mental health, chronic or temporary medical conditions), please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. To establish reasonable accommodations, I may request that you register with Student Life Disability Services. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. SLDS contact information: slds@osu.edu; 614-292-3307; slds.osu.edu; 098 Baker Hall, 113 W. 12th Avenue.

Your Mental Health: As a student you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, feeling down, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may lead to diminished academic performance or reduce a student's ability to participate in daily activities. The Ohio State University offers services to assist you with addressing these and other concerns you may be experiencing. If you or someone you know are suffering from any of the aforementioned conditions, you can learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus via the Office of Student Life's Counseling and Consultation Service (CCS) by visiting ccs.osu.edu or calling 614-292-5766. CCS is located on the 4th Floor of the Younkin Success Center and 10th Floor of Lincoln Tower. You can reach an on call counselor when CCS is closed at 614-292-5766 and 24 hour emergency help is also available 24/7 by dialing 988 to reach the Suicide and Crisis Lifeline.

Sexual Misconduct and Relationship Violence: Title IX makes it clear that violence and harassment based on sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses subject to the same kinds of accountability and the same kinds of support applied to offenses against other protected categories (e.g., race). If you or someone you know has been sexually harassed or assaulted, you may find the appropriate resources at http://titleix.osu.edu or by contacting the Ohio State Title IX Coordinator at titleix@osu.edu

Assignments

1. ATTENDANCE (20%): Students should engage in class discussions, both by responding to the professor as well as fellow students. This requires that students complete the assigned readings in a timely manner. It is encouraged that students attend every class. If you need to miss class for any reason, please let me know by email before the start of class. Students are allowed 2 unexcused absences.

- 2. **SYLLABUS QUIZ (5%):** After the first class session, student will take a short syllabus quiz through Carmen that is due before the next class meeting. The quiz will ask simple questions about the format of the class and the course requirements.
- 3. **READING RESPONSE MEMOS (20%):** Students must submit three (2) 2-page reading response memos throughout the course of the semester. Each one will engage with the readings from one full week (not one class meeting). These memos are an opportunity for the student to critically engage with the literature and connect topics from various weeks.
- 4. **FINAL PAPER PROPOSAL (10%):** Students will submit an outline (max 1 page) of their final project by early October. Students must submit this assignment in order to gain feedback from the instructor and begin their final project. The details of this assignment and its rubric can be found on the Carmen page. In order to submit subsequent assignments related to the final paper, the student has to have had their project proposal approved.
- 5. ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY (20%): Students will turn in an annotated bibliography with ten (10) academic sources relevant to their final project. Details of this assignment will be posted to Carmen.
- 6. **FINAL PAPER (25%):** In lieu of a final exam, students will submit a final research paper they are intended to work on throughout the course of the semester. The topic of the paper is left to the students, but must be approved by the instructor. Details on the final research paper will be provided in class and posted on Carmen.

Important Dates

- September 13th: Project Proposal Due
- October 16th: Annotated Bibliography Due
- December 14th: Final Paper Due at 11:59pm

Course Policies

- LATE AND MAKE-UP POLICY: Because this class is largely structured around long-term assignments, late assignments will only be accepted if the student has previously consulted with the instructor. Acceptances of late assignments will be made on a case-by-case basis.
- GRADE APPEALS: You have one week from when the grades are posted on Carmen to appeal the grade. You should submit a typed, double-spaced statement directly to the instructor explaining why you are appealing your grade and justify it with evidence from your paper, exam, readings, lectures, and/or answer keys.
- HOW TO USE THIS SYLLABUS: This syllabus should be your guide for the semester. It includes all major dates, readings, and learning outcomes. Before each class, you should read the assigned readings for that day. There is also a list of recommended readings for each week. You are free to read these pieces and bring them up in class discussions, but they are entirely optional. I will not assess your knowledge of these readings at any time in class. Lastly, I have included a list of guided reading questions for most of the weeks. These are meant to guide your reading. For the weeks you write your response memos, you should answer most if not all of that week's reading questions.
- CHANGES TO DEADLINES OR SYLLABUS: I reserve the right to make changes to due dates, readings, and other aspects of the course as necessary. Students will be given advance notice for any of these changes.

Course Overview and Schedule

Part 1A: Voluntary Migration in the Global North

Week 1: Introduction and Course Overview

Wednesday August 23rd

Week 2: Reasons for Migration

Monday August 28th: Cultural Explanations

Readings: 36 pages

- Simpson, N. B. (2022). Demographic and economic determinants of migration. IZA World of Labor
- Caragliu, A., Del Bo, C., de Groot, H. L., & Linders, G.-J. M. (2013). Cultural determinants of migration. The Annals of Regional Science, 51, 7–32

Suggested Readings:

 Wang, Z., De Graaff, T., & Nijkamp, P. (2016). Cultural diversity and cultural distance as choice determinants of migration destination. Spatial Economic Analysis, 11(2), 176–200

Wednesday August 30th: Economic Explanations

Readings: 34 pages

- De Haas, H. (2013). The myth of invasion: The inconvenient realities of african migration to europe.
 In Globalisation and migration (pp. 77–94). Routledge
- Fleischmann, F., & Dronkers, J. (2010). Unemployment among immigrants in european labour markets: An analysis of origin and destination effects. Work, employment and society, 24(2), 337–354

Reading Questions:

- What can explain trends in international migration?
- What makes one destination more attractive than another?

Week 3: Host Country Attitudes Toward Migrants

Wednesday September 6th: Economic Competition

Readings: 42 pages

– Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2010). Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration: Evidence from a survey experiment. *American political science review*, 104(1), 61–84

Week 4: Host Country Attitudes Toward Migrants (Cont'd)

Monday September 11th: Cultural Differences

Readings: 26 pages + skim

- d'Urso, A. S. (2022). A boundary of white inclusion: The role of religion in ethnoracial assignment.
 Perspectives on Politics, 1–18
- One of the following:
 - Williamson, S., Adida, C. L., Lo, A., Platas, M. R., Prather, L., & Werfel, S. H. (2021). Family matters: How immigrant histories can promote inclusion. American Political Science Review, 115(2), 686–693

Marble, W., Mousa, S., Siegel, A. A., et al. (2021). Can exposure to celebrities reduce prejudice?
 the effect of mohamed salah on islamophobic behaviors and attitudes. American Political Science Review, 115(4), 1111–1128

Wednesday September 13th: Ethnicity or Economics PROJECT PROPOSAL DUE

Readings: 43 pages

- Hopkins, D. J. (2010). Politicized places: Explaining where and when immigrants provoke local opposition. American political science review, 104(1), 40–60
- Colantone, I., & Stanig, P. (2019). The surge of economic nationalism in western europe. *Journal of economic perspectives*, 33(4), 128–151
- Huntington, Samuel P. (2004). The Hispanic Challenge. Foreign Policy, 141, 30-46.
- skim Samuel, P. (2004). Huntington, the hispanic challenge. Foreign Policy, 141, 30–46

Reading Questions:

- What drives opposition to migrants in Europe and the United States?
- What are the different debates about the drivers of anti-migrant hostility?
- How do elite discourses about migrants affect general attitudes?

Week 5: Assimilation and Migrant Communities

Monday September 18th: Challenges Facing Immigrants and the Assimilation Solution Readings: 29 pages + skim

- Hansen, R. (2012). The centrality of employment in immigrant integration in europe. Migration Policy Institute Europe
- Santoro, W. A., & Segura, G. M. (2011). Generational status and mexican american political participation: The benefits and limitations of assimilation. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(1), 172–184
- skim Gschwind, L. (2021). Generous to workers≠ generous to all: Implications of european unemployment benefit systems for the social protection of immigrants. Comparative Political Studies, 54(9), 1629–1652

Wednesday September 20th: How do migrants respond to "assimilation" practices? Readings: 29 pages

- Chan, A. (2011). Critical multiculturalism: Supporting early childhood teachers to work with diverse immigrant families
- One of the following:
 - Fouka, V. (2019). How do immigrants respond to discrimination? the case of germans in the us during world war i. American Political Science Review, 113(2), 405–422
 - Abdelgadir, A., & Fouka, V. (2020). Political secularism and muslim integration in the west:
 Assessing the effects of the french headscarf ban. American Political Science Review, 114(3), 707–723

Suggested Readings:

- Kogan, I. (2004). Last hired, first fired? the unemployment dynamics of male immigrants in germany. European sociological review, 20(5), 445–461
- Auer, D., Bonoli, G., & Fossati, F. (2017). Why do immigrants have longer periods of unemployment? swiss evidence. *International Migration*, 55(1), 157–174

Reading Questions:

- What challenges do immigrants face in their host countries?
- What are the root causes of these challenges? How can we address them?
- Does assimilation help mitigate these challenges?

Part 1B: Involuntary Migration in the Global North

Week 6: Refugees in Europe Part 1

Monday September 25th: Elite Discourse on Refugees

Readings: 32 pages

- Salehyan, I., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2006). Refugees and the spread of civil war. International organization, 60(2), 335–366
- Click Link 2016 Presidential Platforms on Refugees
- Click Link Presidential Candidates on Syria

Suggested Readings:

– Zhou, Y.-Y., & Shaver, A. (2021). Reexamining the effect of refugees on civil conflict: A global subnational analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1175–1196

Wednesday September 27th: Public Perceptions of Refugees

Readings: 34 pages

- van der Brug, W., & Harteveld, E. (2021). The conditional effects of the refugee crisis on immigration attitudes and nationalism. *European Union Politics*, 22(2), 227–247
- Thorson, E., & Abdelaaty, L. (2022). Misperceptions about refugee policy. American Political Science Review, 1–7
- Ward, D. G. (2019). Public attitudes toward young immigrant men. American Political Science Review, 113(1), 264–269

Suggested Readings:

- Salehyan, I. (2019). Conclusion: What academia can contribute to refugee policy. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 146-151
- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K., & Xefteris, D. (2019). Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile? *American political science review*, 113(2), 442–455

Reading Questions:

- How does elite-level discourse on refugees affect how the public views them?
- What ethical responsibility to academics have in their research? Should academics consider how their research may be misinterpreted or misused to advance political interests?
- What factors change the public's perception about refugees?

Week 7: Refugees in Europe Part 2

Monday October 2nd: Refugees from Ukraine - are htey different?

Readings: 17 pages

- The New York Times. Nov. 3, 2022. "A New Refugee Crisis Stirs Uncomfortable Issues for Europe."
 Erika Solomon and Monika Pronczuk. Available here
- The New York Times. March 17, 2022. "Countries previously hostile to refugees embrace Ukrainians."
 Niki Kitsantonis, Christina Anderson, and Emma Bubola. Available here
- De Coninck, D. (2023). The refugee paradox during wartime in europe: How ukrainian and afghan refugees are (not) alike. *International Migration Review*, 57(2), 578–586

Wednesday October 4^{th} : Unlikely Refugees - Russian Men Fleeing Conscription Readings: articles

- The New York Times. Valerie Hopkins. "Where have all the men in Moscow gone?" (October 19, 2022). Available here
- The New York Times. Andrew Higgins. "Russians fleeing the draft find an unlikely haven." (October 9, 2022). Available here
- Adida, C. L., Lo, A., & Platas, M. R. (2019). Americans preferred syrian refugees who are female, english-speaking, and christian on the eve of donald trump's election. *PloS one*, 14(10), e0222504

Suggested Readings:

- National Public Radio. "The Muslims who saved the Jews." (August 30th, 2009). Available here
- Christianity Today. "Is it 'Christian' for Europe to welcome refugees from Ukraine but not Syria?"
 (March 25, 2022). Available here

Reading Questions:

- What explains the differences in discourse about refugees from one area and those from another?
- How can we compare attitudes toward voluntary and involuntary migrants?
- How can we use the articles from the last few weeks to understand this change in attitude?

<u>Part 2A</u>: Voluntary Migration in the Global South

Week 8: Migration Trends and Effects

Monday October 9th: Labor Markets

Readings: 39 pages

- Sell, R. R. (1988). Egyptian international labor migration and social processes: Toward regional integration. *International Migration Review*, 22(3), 87–108
- Seccombe, I. J. (1985). International labor migration in the middle east: A review of literature and research, 1974–84. *International Migration Review*, 19(2), 335–352

Wednesday October 11th: Oil and Migration

Readings: 21 pages

- Gardner, A. (2012). Why do they keep coming? labor migrants in the persian gulf states. Labor Migrants in the Persian Gulf States (January 01, 2012). Migrant Labor in the Persian Gulf, Mehran Kamrava and Zahra Babar, eds. Hurst & Company, London

Suggested Readings:

- Salih, T. (2009). Season of migration to the north. New York Review of Books

Reading Questions:

- What role do natural resources play in migration?
- Can we use readings from earlier in the semester to generalize Gulf migration to the broader global context?
- What role do remittances play in economic growth?
- How do remittances alter conditions in the home country?

Week 9: Migration Trends and Effects (Cont'd)

Monday October 16th: Remittances ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY DUE

Readings: 22 pages

- Qutb, R. (2021). Migrants' remittances and economic growth in egypt: An empirical analysis from 1980 to 2017. Review of Economics and Political Science, 7(3), 154–176
- Choucri, N. (1986). The hidden economy: A new view of remittances in the arab world. World development, 14(6), 697–712

Wednesday October 18th: Labor Transitions

Readings: 24 pages

- Arnold, F., & Shah, N. M. (1984). Asian labor migration to the middle east. *International Migration Review*, 18(2), 294–318

Reading Questions:

- What are remittances? Why are they important?

Week 10: Rural to Urban Migration Part 1

Monday October 23rd: Internal Migration Trends

Readings: 36 pages

 Bell, M., & Charles-Edwards, E. (2013). Cross-national comparisons of internal migration: An update of global patterns and trends

Wednesday October 25th:Challenges Facing Internal Migrants

Readings: 35 pages

- Thachil, T. (2017). Do rural migrants divide ethnically in the city? evidence from an ethnographic experiment in india. American Journal of Political Science, 61(4), 908–926
- Gaikwad, N., & Nellis, G. (2017). The majority-minority divide in attitudes toward internal migration: Evidence from mumbai. American Journal of Political Science, 61(2), 456–472

Reading Questions:

- Are the drivers of within-country migration the same as those that drive migration across countries?
- - What challenges do rural-urban migrants in India face?

Week 11: Migration Trends and Effects

Monday October 30th: Attitudes Toward Internal Migrants

Readings: 16 pages

- Gaikwad, N., & Nellis, G. (2021). Do politicians discriminate against internal migrants? evidence from nationwide field experiments in india. American Journal of Political Science, 65(4), 790–806

Wednesday November 1st:Decisions and Opportunities for Rural to Urban Migrants Readings: 43 pages

- Zhao, Y. (1999). Leaving the countryside: Rural-to-urban migration decisions in china. *American Economic Review*, 89(2), 281–286
- Wang, F., & Zuo, X. (1999). Inside china's cities: Institutional barriers and opportunities for urban migrants. American Economic Review, 89(2), 276–280
- Fu, D. (2009). A cage of voices: Producing and doing dagongmei in contemporary china. *Modern China*, 35(5), 527–561

Suggested Readings:

 Fu, D. (2018). Mobilizing without the masses: Control and contention in china. Cambridge University Press

Reading Questions:

- How can we compare inter-region migration to intra-region migration?
- Given what we've read about migration between countries, how can we expect migration within countries to affect local contexts?

Part 2B: Involuntary Migration in the Global South

Week 12: Syrian Refugees in the Middle East

Monday November 6th: Where's the crisis?

Readings: 32 pages

- Ghosn, F., Braithwaite, A., & Chu, T. S. (2019). Violence, displacement, contact, and attitudes toward hosting refugees. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 118–133
- Yanmyr, M. (2016). The legal status of syrian refugees in lebanon. Refugee Research and Policy in the Arab World
- Karasapan, Omer. Brookings Institute. "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A decade and counting. January 27, 2022. Available here.
- Lehmann, M. C., & Masterson, D. T. (2020). Does aid reduce anti-refugee violence? evidence from syrian refugees in lebanon. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1335–1342

Wednesday November 8th: Effects of Refugees on Host Communities

Readings: 29 pages

- Altındağ, O., & Kaushal, N. (2021). Do refugees impact voting behavior in the host country? evidence from syrian refugee inflows to turkey. Public Choice, 186, 149–178
- Fakih, A., & Ibrahim, M. (2016). The impact of syrian refugees on the labor market in neighboring countries: Empirical evidence from jordan. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 27(1), 64–86

Reading Questions:

- Is there a refugee "burden"?
- How can we connect this week's readings with those about refugees in Europe?
- How do people form their beliefs about refugees?

Week 13: Refugees Returning Home

Monday November 13th: When is it safe to return?

Readings: 32 pages

- Içduygu, A., & Nimer, M. (2020). The politics of return: Exploring the future of syrian refugees in jordan, lebanon and turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(3), 415–433
- Beaman, L., Onder, H., & Onder, S. (2022). When do refugees return home? evidence from syrian displacement in mashreg. *Journal of Development Economics*, 155, 102802

Wednesday November 15th: Post-Conflict Conflict

Readings: 36 pages

Schwartz, S. (2019). Home, again: Refugee return and post-conflict violence in burundi. *International Security*, 44(2), 110–145

Reading Questions:

- When is it safe for refugees to return home? How do we determine how safe it is?
- Do political actors have an interest in making it seem safe to return?
- What challenges do refugees face when they return home?

Week 14: NO CLASS; WORK ON YOUR PAPER

Week 15: Palestinian Refugees - A Unique Issue?

Monday November 27th: Origins and Institutional Solutions

Readings: 20 pages + article

- Hallevy, D., & Hillel, M. (2023). Six basic facts about the nakba everyone should know. *Haaretz*. https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2023-05-18/ty-article-magazine/.premium/six-basic-facts-about-the-nakba-everyone-should-know/00000188-2e5d-d6e4-ab9d-eefdb0fe0000?v=1692206666274
- Farah, R. (2010). Uneasy but necessary: The unrwa-palestinian relationship. Washington, DC: Alshabaka policy brief
- Al-Husseini, J. (2000). Unrwa and the palestinian nation-building process. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 29(2), 51–64

Wednesday November 29th: Palestinians in Arab Countries

Readings: 40 pages

- Siklawi, R. (2010). The dynamics of palestinian political endurance in lebanon. The Middle East Journal, 597–611
- Reiter, Y. (2004). The palestinian-transjordanian rift: Economic might and political power in jordan.
 The Middle East Journal, 58(1), 72–92

 Brand, L. A. (1995). Palestinians and jordanians: A crisis of identity. Journal of Palestine Studies, 24(4), 46-61

Suggested Readings:

- Nevo, J. (2008). September 1970 in jordan: A civil war? Civil Wars, 10(3), 217-230

Reading Questions:

- Are Palestinian refugees distinct from other refugees around the world?
- Is an organization like UNRWA necessary?
- Is the issue of Palestinian refugees an "intractable" one?
- What challenges do Palestinians face in Arab countries?

Week 16: Rethinking Citizenship, Migration, and Nationality

Monday December 4th: Conceptualizing Citizenship

Readings: 36 pages

- Goodman, S. W. (2015). Conceptualizing and measuring citizenship and integration policy: Past lessons and new approaches. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(14), 1905–1941
- Frost, Lillian. 2017. "Patriots without passports." ACOR. Available here.

Suggested Readings:

- The Washington Post. David Bernstein. "The one-state solution and the brutal honesty of Edward Said." (September 29, 2015. Available here.

Wednesday December 6th: The Effects of Citizenship Laws

Readings: 21 pages

 Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Pietrantuono, G. (2017). Catalyst or crown: Does naturalization promote the long-term social integration of immigrants? American Political Science Review, 111(2), 256–276

Reading Questions:

- What does it mean to be a citizen? Who gets to decide?
- What are the social impacts of citizenship laws?
- What are the social impacts of withholding citizenship?

Thursday December 14th: FINAL PAPER DUE AT 11:59PM