

# **POL SCI 4SS3: PUBLIC POLICY & PUBLIC OPINION**

## **IMMIGRATION, MULTICULTURALISM, AND THE WELFARE STATE**

**WINTER 2020**

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**Lecture:** Mondays, 2:30 PM – 5:20 PM  
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## **Course Description**

This course explores the interplay of public policy and public opinion in the policy areas of immigration, multiculturalism, and socioeconomic inequality. The course offers a survey of policy debates and public attitudes by drawing on public opinion studies and public policy literatures from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries. We will also conduct original statistical analysis by using the SPSS and publicly available survey data.

## **Course Objectives**

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- gain a substantial knowledge of the major debates and concepts in the policy areas covered by the course
- improve their political science research skills.

## **Required Materials and Texts**

All required readings will be available electronically through Avenue-to-Learn. Students must bring a copy of the readings to each class. Please note that students are expected to read the readings from the online reading list on Avenue-to-Learn. In the event of any conflict between the course outline and the reading list on the Avenue-to-Learn, the latter shall prevail.

In addition to reading peer-reviewed research articles and book chapters, we will carry out statistical analysis using the SPSS. You can access the SPSS in the [UTS computer labs](#).

## **Class Format**

This course is a seminar, and consequently, students are expected to participate actively in class. The instructor's role is to lead discussions, to pose questions, to evaluate the strengths of the arguments and to provide additional information and guidance when required. Only occasionally will there be lectures. Students are strongly encouraged to bring a laptop or tablet to class.

## **Course Evaluation – Overview**

1. Attendance & Participation – 15%, due date N/A
2. Short Reading Responses – 15%, due between weeks 3 and 11
3. Literature Review and a Preliminary Discussion of Research Hypotheses – 20%, due February 3
4. A Written Presentation of Data Analysis and Findings – 25%, due March 2

5. A research poster and oral presentation – 25%, due March 16. Oral presentations due March 30 and April 6.

## **Course Evaluation – Details**

### **Attendance & Participation (15%)**

Participation is exhibited by consistent attendance, punctuality, preparation, active participation in small and large group discussions and overall contribution to the seminar.

### **Short Reading Responses (5 x 3% = 15%), due in class between weeks 3 and 11.**

Each one of these participation papers should be roughly 350 words long and should discuss one of the readings from the module we are covering in a given week. The reading response should discuss the critical points of the reading of your choice. That is, we are not looking for a general overview/summary of that reading. I would like you to briefly reflect on the critical discussion that takes place in that piece. Feel free to suggest further questions for reflection or to speculate on how a particular problem raised by the reading could be solved/tackled. You can hand in only one response papers per week. I will not accept any response papers over email. All of the response papers have to be handed in person during the class. You can use any citation style. Please make sure you clearly identify the article/book chapter you are responding to.

### **Literature Review and a Preliminary Discussion of Research Hypotheses (20%), due February 3rd.**

Word Limit 1500 words. Submit via the Avenue submission folder on the day of class #5 (February 3<sup>rd</sup>), by 11:59 pm.

The first section of your paper should include a brief literature review/annotated bibliography that covers five peer-reviewed sources on your research subject. The second part of your paper will present your preliminary research hypotheses, as well as identify and describe briefly the dataset, dependent, independent, and control variables you will work with. You should think of the first assignment, the second assignment (a written presentation of your data analysis and findings), and the third assignment (research poster & oral presentation) as one project. The combined weight of these three assignments is 70% of your final grade. You should not treat the assignment #1 as an independent piece of work. The sole purpose of this assignment is to help you develop your research project in POL SCI 4SS3. More information on assignment #1 will be presented during class #2.

### **A Written Presentation of Data Analysis and Findings (25%), due March 2<sup>nd</sup>.**

The assignment # 2 includes the output of your data analysis as well as a written discussion of your analysis and preliminary findings. The discussion should relate your findings to your research hypotheses and explain whether your findings support the

original hypotheses or not. More information on assignment #2 will be presented during class #6.

**A research poster and oral presentation (25%), due March 16<sup>th</sup>, March 30<sup>th</sup>, and April 6<sup>th</sup>.**

The digital file containing your presentation is due on March 16, by 11:59 pm via Avenue to Learn.

The in-class presentations will take place on March 30<sup>th</sup> and April 6<sup>th</sup>, according to the presentation schedule decided during our third class.

The individual presentations should last no longer than 10 minutes and should discuss your research process and findings as outlined in your poster or PowerPoint file.

**Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings**

**Week 1 (January 6)**

**Introduction to the course**

**Readings:**

- (1) Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77, no. 1 (March 1983): 175–90.
- (2) Burstein, Paul. "The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and an Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 29–40.
- (3) Klüver, Heike, and Mark Pickup. "Are They Listening? Public Opinion, Interest Groups and Government Responsiveness." *West European Politics* 42, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 91–112.

**Week 2 (January 13)**

**Immigration debates in Europe**

**Readings:**

- (1) The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, "UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern."
- (2) Hansen, Randall. "Making Immigration Work: How Britain and Europe Can Cope with Their Immigration Crises (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture, 2015)." *Government and Opposition* 51, no. 2 (April 2016): 183–208.
- (3) Wallace, Tom. "Policy-Driven Evidence: Evaluating the UK Government's Approach to Immigration Policy Making." *Critical Social Policy* 38, no. 2 (May 1, 2018): 283–301.

### **Week 3 (January 20)**

#### **Topic: Immigration debates in Canada and the United States**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Kaushal, Neeraj, and Yao Lu. 2015. "Recent Immigration to Canada and the United States: A Mixed Tale of Relative Selection." *International Migration Review* 49 (2): 479–522.
- (2) Bhuyan, Rupaleem, Daphne Jeyapal, Jane Ku, Izumi Sakamoto, and Elena Chou. 2017. "Branding 'Canadian Experience' in Immigration Policy: Nation Building in a Neoliberal Era." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 18 (1): 47–62.
- (3) Bragg, Bronwyn, and Lloyd L. Wong. 2016. "'Cancelled Dreams': Family Reunification and Shifting Canadian Immigration Policy." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 14 (1): 46–65.

Notes: You may begin submitting your response papers in class.

### **Week 4 (January 27)**

#### **Topic: Debating immigration in Turkey and Russia**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Malakhov, Vladimir S. "Russia as a New Immigration Country: Policy Response and Public Debate." *Europe-Asia Studies* 66, no. 7 (August 9, 2014): 1062–79.
- (2) Akcapar, Sebnem Koser, and Dogus Simsek. "The Politics of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: A Question of Inclusion and Exclusion through Citizenship." *Social Inclusion* 6, no. 1 (March 29, 2018): 176–87.
- (3) Light, Matthew. "Migration Policy in Russia, 2006 to 2013: Constraints on Reform." In *Fragile Migration Rights: Freedom of Movement in Post-Soviet Russia*. Routledge Studies in Criminal Justice, Borders and Citizenship. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.
- (4) Koca, Burcu Tođral. "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: From 'Guests' to 'Enemies'?" *New Perspectives on Turkey* 54 (May 2016): 55–75.

### **Week 5 (February 3)**

#### **Topic: Multiculturalism – public policy & public opinion in Europe**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Vertovec, Steven, and Susanne Wessendorf. "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash against Multiculturalism in Europe." In *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, edited by Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf. London ; New York: Routledge, 2010.
- (2) Statham, Paul. "How Ordinary People View Muslim Group Rights in Britain, the Netherlands, France and Germany: Significant 'Gaps' between Majorities and Muslims?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no. 2 (January 26, 2016): 217–36.
- (3) Westlake, Daniel. "Multiculturalism, Political Parties, and the Conflicting Pressures of Ethnic Minorities and Far-Right Parties." *Party Politics* 24, no. 4 (July 1, 2018): 421–33.
- (4) Morjé Howard, Marc, and Sara Wallace Goodman. "The Politics of Citizenship and Belonging in Europe." In *Debating Immigration*, edited by Carol M. Swain, Second edition. Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

## **Week 6 (February 10)**

### **Topic: Multiculturalism Debates in the United States (anti-racism and affirmative action)**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Moberg, Sarah Patton, Maria Krysan, and Deanna Christianson. "Racial Attitudes in America." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (September 12, 2019): 450–71.
- (2) DeBell, Matthew. "Polarized Opinions on Racial Progress and Inequality: Measurement and Application to Affirmative Action Preferences." *Political Psychology* 38, no. 3 (2017): 481–98.
- (3) Valentino, Nicholas A., and Ted Brader. "The Sword's Other Edge: Perceptions of Discrimination and Racial Policy Opinion after Obama." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (January 1, 2011): 201–26.
- (4) Davenport, Lauren D. "Beyond Black and White: Biracial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Politics." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 1 (February 2016): 52–67.
- (5) Moberg, Sarah Patton, Maria Krysan, and Deanna Christianson. "Racial Attitudes in America." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (September 12, 2019): 450–71.

- (6) Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "'Group Rights' and Racial Affirmative Action." *The Journal of Ethics* 15, no. 3 (March 26, 2011): 265.

Notes: Some of these readings will be denoted as recommended rather than required readings. I will announce which two will be a recommended/optional reading via A2L.

### **Week 7 (February 17) – Reading Week**

**No Class**

### **Week 8 (February 24)**

**Topic: Canadian multiculturalism policy**

**Readings:**

- (1) Besco, Randy, and Erin Tolley. "Does Everyone Cheer? The Politics of Immigration and Multiculturalism in Canada." In *Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*, edited by Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and John Myles. Queen's Policy Studies Series. Kingston, ON : Montreal ; Kingston ; London ; Ithaca: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University ; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.
- (2) Wright, Matthew, Richard Johnston, Jack Citrin, and Stuart Soroka. "Multiculturalism and Muslim Accommodation: Policy and Predisposition Across Three Political Contexts." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 102–32.
- (3) Winter, Elke. "Rethinking Multiculturalism After Its 'Retreat': Lessons From Canada." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 6 (May 1, 2015): 637–57.
- (4) Stuart Soroka and Sarah Robertson, "A literature review of Public Opinion Research on Canadian attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration, 2006-2009."

### **Week 9 (March 2)**

**Topic: Ethnicity and Cultural Politics in Turkey & Russia**

**Readings:**

- (1) Aktürk, Sener. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey. Problems of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. (Read Chapters 4&7)



- (2) Herrera, Yoshiko M., and Nicole M. Butkovich Kraus. "Pride Versus Prejudice: Ethnicity, National Identity, and Xenophobia in Russia." Text, April 2016.
- (3) Gerber, Theodore P. "Public Opinion on Human Rights in Putin-Era Russia: Continuities, Changes, and Sources of Variation." *Journal of Human Rights* 16, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 314–31.
- (4) Sarigil, Zeki, and Ekrem Karakoc. "Inter-Ethnic (In)Tolerance between Turks and Kurds: Implications for Turkish Democratisation." *South European Society and Politics* 22, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 197–216.

Notes: The written assignment #2 is due on March 2<sup>nd</sup> by 11:59 pm, via the Avenue submission folder.

### **Week 10 (March 9)**

#### **Topic: Multiculturalism & the Welfare State**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Banting, Keith, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and Stuart Soroka. 2006. "Do Multiculturalism Policies Erode the Welfare State? An Empirical Analysis." In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2) Banting, Keith G. 2010. "Is There a Progressive's Dilemma in Canada? Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 43 (4): 797–820.
- (3) Kymlicka, Will. 2015. "Solidarity in Diverse Societies: Beyond Neoliberal Multiculturalism and Welfare Chauvinism." *Comparative Migration Studies* 3 (1): 17.

### **Week 11 (March 16)**

#### **Topic: The politics of Redistribution in the United States**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Rudolph, Thomas J., and Jillian Evans. "Political Trust, Ideology, and Public Support for Government Spending." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 660–71.
- (2) Luttig, Matthew. "The Structure of Inequality and Americans' Attitudes toward Redistribution." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (January 1, 2013): 811–21.

- (3) Owens, Lindsay A., and David S. Pedulla. "Material Welfare and Changing Political Preferences: The Case of Support for Redistributive Social Policies." *Social Forces* 92, no. 3 (March 1, 2014): 1087–1113.
- (4) Wright, Graham. "The Political Implications of American Concerns About Economic Inequality." *Political Behavior* 40, no. 2 (June 1, 2018): 321–43.

## **Week 12 (March 23)**

### **Topic: The Politics of Welfare in Canada**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Banting, Keith, and John Myles. "Framing the New Inequality The Politics of Income Redistribution in Canada." In *Income Inequality: The Canadian Story*, edited by David A. Green, W. Craig Riddell, and France St-Hilaire. The Art of the State 5. Montreal, Quebec: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2016.
- (2) Harell, Allison, Stuart Soroka, and Kiera Ladner. "Public Opinion, Prejudice and the Racialization of Welfare in Canada." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 14 (December 6, 2014): 2580–97.
- (3) Jæger, Mads Meier. "What Makes People Support Public Responsibility for Welfare Provision: Self-Interest or Political Ideology?: A Longitudinal Approach." *Acta Sociologica* 49, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 321–38.
- (4) Fuller, Daniel, Josh Neudorf, Silvia Bermedo-Carrasco, and Cory Neudorf. "Classifying the Population by Socioeconomic Factors Associated with Support for Policies to Reduce Social Inequalities in Health." *Journal of Public Health* 38, no. 4 (December 2, 2016): 635–43.

## **Week 13 (March 30)**

### **Topic: The Politics of Welfare in the United Kingdom**

#### **Readings:**

- (1) Taylor-Gooby, Peter, Benjamin Leruth, and Heejung Chung. "Where Next for the UK Welfare State?" In *After Austerity: Welfare State Transformation in Europe after the Great Recession*, edited by Peter Taylor-Gooby, Benjamin Leruth, and Heejung Chung, First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- (2) Soroka, Stuart, and Christopher Wlezien. "Economic Crisis and Support for Redistribution in the United Kingdom." In *Mass Politics in Tough Times:*

Opinions, Votes and Protest in the Great Recession, edited by Nancy Gina Bermeo and Larry M. Bartels. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

- (3) Howarth, David, Theresa M. Marteau, Adam P. Coutts, Julian L. Huppert, and Pedro Ramos Pinto. "What Do the British Public Think of Inequality in Health, Wealth, and Power?" *Social Science & Medicine* 222 (February 1, 2019): 198–206.

Notes: Presentations will begin to take place on this day according to the schedule of presentations.

### **Week 14 (April 6)**

Notes: No readings for this week. In class presentations continue according to the schedule of presentations.

## **Course Policies**

### **Submission of Assignments**

All assignments except the weekly reading responses are due electronically via the assignment submission folders on Avenue-to-Learn. The reading responses are due in class in hard copy format.

### **Grades**

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

<b>MARK</b>	<b>GRADE</b>
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
67-69	C+
63-66	C
60-62	C-
57-59	D+
53-56	D
50-52	D-
0-49	F

### **Late Assignments**

Late assignments will be subject to a **late penalty** of 2% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments handed in AFTER the work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit. Accommodations due to late registration into the course will NOT be approved.

### **Absences, Missed Work, Illness**

In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”.

### **Avenue to Learn**

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

### **Turnitin.com**

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via Avenue to Learn (A2L) plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work through A2L and/or Turnitin.com must still submit an electronic and/or hardcopy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com or A2L. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more information please refer to the [Turnitin.com Policy](#).

### **Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)**

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the RISO policy. Students requiring a RISO accommodation should submit their request to their Faculty Office normally within 10 working days of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests

## **University Policies**

### **Academic Integrity Statement**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: “Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty”), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty

- Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one’s own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- Improper collaboration in group work.
- Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

### **Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities**

Students who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services \(SAS\)](#) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail [sas@mcmaster.ca](mailto:sas@mcmaster.ca). For further information, consult McMaster University’s Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

### **Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy**

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student’s own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student’s responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

### **Course Modification**

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable

notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.