

POLSCI 304-01:
Latino Immigration and Elections
Duke University, Fall 2012

Instructor: Brittany N. Perry
Time: Tues & Thurs 4:40-5:55pm
Location: Soc Psych 127
Office hours: Wednesday 3-4:30pm or by appointment
Office Location: 404a Old Chem

Course Description

This course investigates the role of Latino immigrants in the U.S. political system, with a particular focus on the 2012 election. We begin by analyzing patterns of Latino immigration historically and today, and theories of immigration. Then we examine when and how both citizen and non-citizen Latinos engage in politics and to what extent these groups influence political outcomes. In particular, we will analyze the degree to which Latinos are engaging in the 2012 electoral campaign and how they may be influencing campaign messages and candidates, and ultimately, electoral results.

With the aid of literature in political science, economics and sociology, and data on public opinion, voting and legislative behavior, the class will attempt to answer questions such as: “Why are Latinos immigrating to the United States and where are they coming from?” and “Will Latino immigrants have an effect on the outcome of the 2012 election?” We will take a behavioral approach to analyze the public opinion and political participation of Latino citizens and non-citizens and then work to assess the institutional consequences of the Latino immigrant presence. In addition, the course will examine how native-born American citizens react to Latino immigration and how the preferences of whites, blacks and native Latinos are reflected in current immigration policy.

Overall, this course is designed to take an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Latino immigration. The goal is for students to integrate various theories and ideas in order to gain a more comprehensive view of Latino immigrants and their role in politics today.

Learning Objectives

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

- Explain patterns of Latino immigration historically and today
- Analyze economic, social and psychological theories of immigration generally and Latino immigration specifically
- Understand and apply theories of Latino politics and political behavior
- Assess real data on the public opinion, political participation and political representation of Latino immigrants
- Understand the components of an academic research paper
- Produce an original research paper that addresses a question concerning Latino immigrants in the American political system

Course Texts

All required reading for this course will be available electronically on <https://sakai.duke.edu/>. You are required to complete all assigned reading for each class meeting.

A recommended text you may wish to purchase is Nan Lin's *Foundations of Social Research* (1976). This book may help in writing your final research paper. It is available on Amazon.

Assignments

The assignments in this course will consist of two analytical papers, one in-class presentation, five quizzes and one final research paper.

- The analytical papers (5-6 pages, excluding the bibliography) will address major concepts covered in the course. You will choose to write on **two** of a choice of three paper topics. (A detailed description of the assignment will be distributed in class.) The due dates for the papers are: **September 27th** for the first topic, **October 18th** for the second topic, and **November 27th** for the third topic. The papers you choose to write are to be submitted to the Dropbox on Sakai by 11:59pm on the due date.
- Students will also be required to give a 5-10 minute in-class presentation on a scholarly article (not assigned on the syllabus) that is related to a subject matter discussed in the course. Students will be expected to read the article carefully and work to identify 1) the research question examined; 2) the theory; 3) the hypothesis/hypotheses tested; 3) the research methods used to test the hypothesis/hypotheses; and 4) the results of the analysis. The purpose of this assignment is to prepare students for their final paper and to enhance oral presentation skills. A presentation schedule will be established in the first week of the semester.
- The in-class quizzes (5) will cover material from both lecture and the readings. They will consist of short essay questions. Quiz dates are: **Sept 18th**, **Oct 2nd**, **Oct 23rd**, **Nov 15th** and **Dec 4th**
- The final project in this class will be a research paper, which will address an original question dealing with the role of Latino immigrants in American politics. Students will be expected to propose a research question by **October 11th** (which is to be approved by me) and submit a one-page paper outline (detailed assignment to follow) by **November 6th**. The final paper (12-15 double-spaced pages, 1 inch margins, 12-point font) will be modeled after a professional academic research paper, with sections outlining the question, theory, hypotheses, methodology, data description and expected results/preliminary analyses (no empirical analysis is required). It will be due on **December 6th** at 11:59pm.
- Students will also periodically be required to post questions on and discuss news articles and poll results concerning the 2012 election. This will count toward individual participation grades.

Extra Credit Opportunity

For a 2% point increase in your final grade you may participate in 2 hours of Political Science Research Pool (PSRP) studies over the course of the semester. More information on this option is available at <http://www.duke.edu/web/psrp>. If you wish to participate, you can register at: <http://duke-psrp.sona-systems.com>.

Grading

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|------------------------------|----------------|
| • Written concept papers (2) | 20% (10% each) |
| • Quizzes (5) | 25% (5% each) |
| • Final Research Paper | 35% |
| • In-Class Presentation | 10% |
| • Participation | 10% |

Note: Any student who is not satisfied with the grade received on a paper or quiz must submit, in writing, a description of the issue in dispute (i.e. what is allegedly mis-graded and why you believe your work is correct). If necessary, I will set up a meeting with the student to discuss the supposed grading mistake. I will then decide whether to raise, lower, or leave the grade unchanged.

Other Requirements:

- **Attendance is required.** Any unexcused absences will be reflected in your participation grade. Any absence that does not comply with the university's short-term or long-term illness procedures or with the guidelines governing travel for university-sanctioned events will NOT be excused.
- **All late assignments will be docked one full letter grade for every day they are late.** Make sure you turn in everything on time.
- **You may NOT use your cell phone to email or text message in class.** Before you come to class, make sure that your cell phone is turned off and put away.
- You may use laptops in this class, however, if I see you emailing, surfing the Internet or checking Facebook, I will ask you to put it away and take notes by hand.
- **The University Code of Academic Integrity (The Honor Code) is taken seriously in this class.** Violations or suspected violations will be reported to the proper authorities. Academic dishonesty includes signing someone else's name on attendance sheets, signing the attendance sheet and not attending class, and both the giving and the receiving of improper assistance on examinations and other graded work. Please familiarize yourself with what constitutes plagiarism.
- I also expect everyone in this class to be **respectful of the opinions of others.** During class discussions, I ask that you be courteous of other students and the instructor at all times.

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments:

Please read in order of assignments

(Note: This schedule is subject to slight modifications)

August 28: Introduction

August 30: No Class- American Political Science Association Conference

September 4,6: Latino immigrants: *Examining historical patterns of Latino immigration to the U.S., exploring where Latinos immigrated from, where they settled overtime and where they are settling today. We will also focus on the development of key U.S. immigration laws and their effects on Latino immigration patterns as well as key demographic features of the major Latino subpopulations living in the U.S. today.*

Reading:

- Boswell, Richard A. 2006. *Essentials of Immigration Law*. Washington D.C.: American Immigration Lawyers Association. Chapter 1.
- Garcia, Alma M. 2011. "Mexican Immigrants" In *Multicultural America: An Encyclopedia of the Newest Americans*. ed. R. H. Bayor: Greenwood.
- Grenier, Guillermo J. 2011. "Cuban Immigrants" In *Multicultural America: An Encyclopedia of the Newest Americans*. ed. R. H. Bayor: Greenwood.
- Motel, Seth and Eileen Patten. 2012. "The 10 Largest Hispanic Origin Groups: Characteristics, Rankings, Top Countries." Pew Hispanic Center.
- Passel, Jeffrey S. 2011. "Unauthorized Immigrant Population: National and State Trends, 2010." Washington D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center.

*Additional Reading: "Types of Visas for Immigrants" U.S. Department of State.

September 11,13: Theories of Immigration: *What is a theory? Analyzing general economic, social and institutional theories of immigration and comparing these to theories of Latino immigration specifically*

Readings:

- Lin, Nan. 1976. *Foundations of Social Research*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 2.
- Massey et al. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3).
- Kimberlin, Sara E. 2009. "Synthesizing Social Science Theories of Immigration." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*. 19.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Kristin E. Espinosa 1997 "What's Driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A Theoretical, Empirical and Policy Analysis." *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (4).

-----**Quiz #1: September 18th**-----

September 18, 20: Assimilation or Exclusion?: *Assessing theories of assimilation and the debate on Latino assimilation trends today*

Reading:

- Brown, Susan and Frank Bean. 2006. "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long Term Process." *Migration Policy Institute*.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy* 141.
- Alba, Richard. 2006. "Mexican Americans and the American Dream." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (2).

-----**Paper 1 Due September 27th**-----

September 25, 27: Theories of Latino Politics: Analyzing theoretical frameworks for studying/understanding Latinos and the political process

Reading:

- Jones-Correa, Michael. 2007. "Fuzzy Distinctions and Blurred Boundaries: Transnational, Ethnic and Immigrant Politics." In *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization and Representation*. ed. R. Espino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Hero, Rodney E. 1992. *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Chapter 2 and Chapter 11.

-----**Quiz #2: October 2nd**-----

October 2, 4: Political attitudes of Citizen and Non-Citizen Latino Immigrants: Examining the determinants of Latino immigrant policy attitudes and partisanship

Reading:

- Hugo Lopez, Mark and Susan Minushkin. 2008. "2008 National Survey of Latinos: Hispanic Voter Attitudes." *Pew Hispanic Center*.
- Choice of Recent Poll Presented on *Latino Decisions*. To be discussed in class
- Branton, Regina 2007. "Latino Attitudes toward Various Areas of Public Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 60 (2): 293-303.
- Rouse, Stella M. and Betina Cutia Wilkinson and James C. Garand. 2010. "Divided Loyalties? Understanding Variation in Latinos' Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Social Science Quarterly* 91(3).

-----**Research Question Due October 11th**-----

October 9, 11, 18: Political participation: Citizen and Non-Citizen Latino Immigrants: Looking at political mobilization and voting behavior of naturalized Latinos and the political involvement of non-citizen Latinos. Focus on participation in the 2010 and 2012 elections

Reading:

- Pantoja, Adrian D., Ricardo Ramirez, and Gary M. Segura. 2001. "Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos " *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (4).
- Pantoja, Adrian D., Ricardo Ramirez, and Gary M. Segura 2008. "Commentary on 'Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos.'" *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (1).
- Sanchez, Gabriel. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Political Participation Among Latinos in the United States." *American Politics Research*. 34(4).
- Review interactive map presented at <http://www.latinovotemap.org/map/> and prepare to discuss in class
- Leal, David. 2002. "Political Participation by Latino non-citizens in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 22 (2).
- Bedolla, Lisa Garcia. 2006. "Rethinking Citizenship: Non-citizen Voting and Immigrant Political Engagement in the United States." In *Transforming Politics, Transforming America: The Political and Civic Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States*. ed. S. K. R. Taeku Lee, Ricardo Ramirez. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Fall Break: October 13-16

-----Paper 2 due October 18th-----

October 23rd: Quiz #3 and Research paper day

Reading:

- Lin, Nan. 1976. *Foundations of Social Research*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 3 & 4.
- Enterline, Andrew. 2007. "Guide to Writing Research Projects in Graduate Political Science Courses."

October 25, 30, Nov. 1: Political representation and effect on elections: Citizen and Non-Citizen Latino Immigrants:

Topics: Assessing the substantive and descriptive representation of Latino immigrants and the influence these individuals are having on elected officials and candidates.

Reading:

- Griffin, John D. and Brain Newman. 2007. "The Unequal Representation of Latinos and Whites." *The Journal of Politics* 69(4).
- Casellas, Jason A. 2007. "Latino Representation in Congress: To What Extent are Latinos Substantively Represented?" In *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization and*

Representation ed. D. L. L. Rodolfo Espino, Kenneth J Meier. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

- Wilson, Walter Clark. 2010. "Descriptive Representation and Latino Interest Bill Sponsorship in Congress." *Social Science Quarterly*. 91(4).
- Preuhs, Robert R. 2005. "Descriptive Representation, Legislative Leadership and Direct Democracy: Latino Influence on English-Only Laws in the States: 1984-2002." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 5(3).
- Taylor, Paul and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2010. "National Latino Leader? The Job is Open." Washington D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Cooper, Helene and Trip Gabriel. "Obama's Announcement Seizes Initiative and Puts Pressure on Romney." *New York Times*.
- Search polls/articles on Obama and Romney and representation of Latino immigrant interests. Prepare to discuss in class

-----**Final Paper outline due November 6th**-----

November 6, 8, 13: Native Reactions to Latino immigration: Public Opinion (and discussion of election results!!) *Assessing native attitudes on legal and undocumented immigration*

Reading:

- McClain et al. 2009. "Black and White Americans and Latino Immigrants: A Preliminary Look at Attitudes in Three Southern Cities." Presented at *American Political Science Association Annual Conference*. September 2-6, 2009: Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 982-997.
- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat " *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (4): 959-78.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Michael Hiscox. 2010. "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104 (1).
- "Public Favors Tougher Border Controls and Path to Citizenship." 2011. *Pew Center for People and the Press*.

-----**Quiz #4 November 15th**-----

November 15, 20: Native Reactions to Latino immigration: Policy Creation: Analyzing the effect of mass attitudes on immigration policy and the passage of policy to restrict both citizen and non-citizen immigrants

Reading:

- Schuck, Peter H. 2007. "The Disconnect Between Public Attitudes and Policy Outcomes in Immigration." In *Debating Immigration*. ed. Carol M. Swain. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tolbert, Caroline J. and Rodney E. Hero 1996. "Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative." *The Journal of Politics* 58 (3):806.
- Hero, Rodney and Robert R. Preuhs 2007. "Immigration and the Evolving American Welfare State: Examining Policies in the U.S. States." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (3).
- Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick and Tom (Tak) Wong. 2010. "Partisanship, Not Spanish: Explaining Municipal Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants" In *Taking Local Control*. ed. Monica W. Varsanyi. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Thanksgiving Break: Nov. 21-25th

-----Paper 3 due November 27th-----

November 27, 29: The future of Latino Immigrants in America: Looking at future trends in Latino immigration to the U.S. and predictions on Latino politics post-2012

Reading:

- Passel, Jeffrey S. and D'Vera Cohn 2008 "U.S. Population Projections: 2005-2050." In *Social and Demographic Trends* ed. P. R. Center: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. 2012. "Contested Ground: Immigration in the United States." *Migration Policy Institute*.
- Hajnal, Zoltan and Taeku Lee. 2012. "The Untold Future of American Politics." *New York Times*.
- Additional articles TBD

December 4: Quiz #5 and Final Wrap Up

December 6: Final Papers DUE!!