

PSC 616
Demographic Change and Political Change in the United States
Fall 2014
9:00-11:30, Tuesdays
259 ten Hour Hall

Professor George Hawley
e-mail: ghawley@as.ua.edu
Office: 306 ten Hour Hall
Office Hours: 9:00-11:30, Wednesdays and Thursdays

Course Description

At present, the United States is undergoing many profound demographic changes. The large “Baby Boom” generation is retiring, leading to an older nation and possibly a greater strain on entitlement programs. Religious affiliation has experienced a slow, long-term decline since the early 1990s. Large portions of the United States are undergoing what has been called the “Second Demographic Transition,” characterized by later marriages and lower-birthrates. Large-scale immigration since the mid-1960s is changing the racial and ethnic characteristics of the United States, and by the mid-21st century the U.S. will no longer have a single racial/ethnic majority. While population growth continues in the U.S., not all states and regions are growing at equal rates; in fact, large swaths of the United States are actually experiencing population decline. Internal migration is leading to higher levels of geographic political polarization.

All of these trends have political consequences, and many have political causes. In this course, we will examine the key theories of how local demography leads to changes in attitudes toward minorities; does greater contact with minorities lead to greater tolerance or greater tension? Does marriage change our political attitudes? If not, why do we see such a strong correlation between marriage rates and voting at the state and county level? How is the decline in religious affiliation changing American politics? Can the Republican Party survive as the nation becomes increasingly secular and diverse? Is it plausible to believe that people consider politics when determining where they are going to live? In examining these questions, this course will examine literature from political science, economics, and sociology. It will also explore some of the methodological difficulties associated with this kind of analysis. Students will finish the course with a greater understanding of how these profound demographic changes are changing our politics. It will further provide them the tools they need to make informed speculation about future trends.

Course Objectives

By the end of this course, students will be able to understand and discuss the following subjects

- 1 – the primary motivations of migration across national borders
- 2 – how foreign immigration is reshaping the American electoral landscape
- 3 – the current trends in internal migration within the United States, and how they are changing our politics
- 4 – the current trends regarding family formation and religion, and how they relate to politics

Additionally, students will improve their writing and research skills by writing an original research paper related to these topics. Ideally, students will end the course with a well-developed paper ready to be presented at an academic conference or submitted to a peer-reviewed journal.

Recommended Books

I am not requiring students to purchase any books for this course. Most of our readings will come from academic articles. We will use several book excerpts throughout this course, but I will provide them.

While not required, it may be helpful for students to read my own books on these subjects, as they deal extensively with these themes. As they are expensive, I should note that they can be accessed from the library or students can borrow a copy from me. The titles of these books are below.

George Hawley. 2013. *Voting and Migration Patterns in the U.S.* New York: Routledge
George Hawley. 2014. *White Voters in 21st Century America.* New York: Routledge

I also recommend the following book, as it provides a useful introduction to many of the themes we will be discussing:

Beyond Red State, Blue State: Electoral Gaps in the Twenty-First Century American Electorate. Eds. Laura R. Olson and John C. Green. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education

Course Requirements and Grading (Read Carefully)

Student preparation and participation is critical for the success of this course, and thus will be a key component of grading. Students MUST come to class prepared.

- 1) Every student is expected to carefully read every assigned reading every week.
- 2) Each class period, a student is to present an overview of each article or book excerpt read for the course unless I specify otherwise. In their overview, students should highlight
 - a) the question the author seeks to address
 - b) where the article fits within the debate or literature
 - c) the author's hypotheses
 - d) competing hypotheses, mentioned by the author or not
 - e) description of the research design (if appropriate)
 - f) if the article is dated (more than two decades old), an argument as to why the author's arguments remain valid or need to be reevaluated
 - g) a critical evaluation of the author's claims, noting any major flaws.

Beyond presenting each paper to the class, students assigned to a particular paper or book excerpt are to submit a 4-5 page paper that analyzes their article. This paper should be e-mailed to the professor and all other students in the class no fewer than twelve hours before the class meets.

In presenting their analysis of the paper to the class, students should be prepared to speak for five to fifteen minutes.

- 3) Students NOT presenting papers on the day of class must come to class with a list of four CRITICAL questions based on the readings. These questions will help facilitate discussions in class. At the end of each class period, students will turn in their list of questions.
- 4) A crucial component of this course will be a research paper. As this course has a wide scope, students have a great deal of discretion regarding their topic. I will accept any topic as long as it deals with the

subject of this course, and it has clear political implications. Ideally, this should be original research, rather than a mere replication of earlier work. While this course is focused on the United States, I will accept a paper that analyzes these issues in a foreign context. Ideally, this paper should fit within the student's own larger research agenda.

The best papers will be ready, or almost ready, for presentation at an academic conference or even submission at an academic journal. The best papers will include a thorough literature review, a well-developed hypothesis, and an appropriate research design.

On October 14, students are to submit a proposal for their paper, and discuss their proposed topic with the class. This will allow me and fellow students to critique the proposed idea and offer helpful suggestions.

At the end of the course, students will present their papers to the class.

The final paper will be due the last day of class.

Students will be evaluated as follows:

30% of grade, attendance and class participation throughout the semester

30% of grade, individual presentations of the assigned readings

40% of grade, research paper and presentation of research paper

Classroom Policies and Instructor Availability

I expect all students to behave professionally in this course. I am intolerant of disruptive behavior in the classroom, including talking during lectures, reading newspapers, and especially the ringing of cell phones or pagers. Laptops may be used for professional purposes, but not for playing games or surfing the Internet. Students engaging in disruptive behavior will be asked to leave the classroom in order to preserve the learning environment for other students. Class discussions are expected to be civil, rational, and respectful of others' opinions. Please do not intimidate, patronize, or ridicule anyone else during the course of classroom activities.

If students would like to speak with me outside of class time, feel free to stop by my office (306 ten Hoor Hall) during regularly scheduled office hours (Wednesdays and Thursdays 10-11am). If students are unable to attend office hours, but would like to meet with me, please contact me via email (ghawley@as.ua.edu) to arrange an appointment. I am typically quick to respond to such emails. I, unfortunately, cannot guarantee that I will be able to meet with students that come to my office without first scheduling a time to see me.

Academic Integrity

No form of academic dishonesty will be tolerated. The University of Alabama has detailed its policies on academic integrity (<http://www.studenthandbook.ua.edu/conduct.html>). Students should acquaint themselves with policies concerning cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and academic interference. Any submission of work by a student in this course constitutes a certificate that the work complies with university policies on academic integrity.

Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990

The American with Disabilities Act of 1990 requires that the university make reasonable accommodation to persons with disabilities as defined in the act. Students who feel they need assistance under the ADA guidelines should approach the instructor to discuss such consideration.

Calendar

* Indicates that the reading is required, but it will not be assigned to individual students for discussion

August 26

Introduction to the course. Determine class presentation schedule. No readings.

September 2 – Immigration 1

Why people migrate

EG Ravenstein. 1885. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society*. 48(2): 167-235

Oded Stark and David E. Bloom. "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *The American Economic Review*. 1985: 173-178

Boswell, Christina. 2007. "Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?" *International Migration Review*. 41 (1):75–100.

Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review*. 19(3): 431-466.

September 9 – Immigration 2

The political consequences of immigration and immigration policy

James Gimpel. 2010. "Immigration, Political Realignment, and the Demise of Republican Political Prospects." Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies.

Kate Kenski, and Russell Tisinger. 2006. "Hispanic Voters in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential General Elections." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36:189–202.

Rodolfo O. De la Garza, and Jeronimo Cortina. 2007. "Are Latinos Republicans But Just Don't Know It?" *Americans Politics Research*. 35(2):202–23.

David L. Lean, Stephen A. Nūno, Jongho Lee, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 2008. "Latinos, Immigration, and the 2006 Midterm Elections," *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 41(2):309–17.

* Eagle Forum. "How Mass (Legal) Immigration Dooms a Conservative Republican Party." Washington, DC. http://www.eagleforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/2014_ImmigrationBook-6-12-14.pdf

September 16: Reactions to Diversity 1

Group Contact Theory

Gordon Allport W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. New York: Doubleday. (excerpt to be distributed)

Y. Amir. 1969. "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations." *Psychological Bulletin*. 71:319–42

M.R. Jackman and M. Crane. 1986. "Some of My Best Friends are Black . . . : Interracial Friendship and Whites' Racial Attitudes." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 50:459–86

Thomas F. Pettigrew, Linda R. Tropp, Ulrich Wagner, Oliver Christ. "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 35(3): 271-280

September 23: Reactions to Diversity 2

Group Threat Theory

Key, V. O. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press (excerpt to be distributed)

Blalock, H. M. 1967. *Towards a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: Wiley. (excerpt to be distributed)

James Glaser. 1994. "Back to the Black Belt: Racial Environment and White Racial Attitudes in the South." *Journal of Politics*. 56:21-41

Michael W. Giles & Melanie A. Buckner. 1993. "David Duke and Black Threat: An Old Hypothesis Revisited." *Journal of Politics*. 55:702-13.

September 30: Reactions to Diversity 3

Additional tests of the two theories

R. Michael Alvarez, and Tara L. Butterfield. 2000. "The Resurgence of Nativism in California: The Case of Proposition 187 and Illegal Immigration." *Social Science Quarterly*. 81:167-79

M.V. Hood and Irwin L. Morris. 2000. "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime: Racial/Ethnic Context and the Anglo Vote on Proposition 187." *Social Science Quarterly*. 81:194-206

Ryan D. Enos. 2014. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*. 111(10)

Lincoln Quilian. 1995. "Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe." *American Sociological Review*. 60:586-611.

* George Hawley. 2011. "Political Threat and Immigration: Party Identification, Demographic Context, and Immigration Policy Preference." *Social Science Quarterly*. 92(2): 404-422.

October 7: Migration within the United States 1

Causes of internal migration

Charles Tiebout. 1956. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." *Journal of Political Economy*. 64(5): 416-424

Alden Speare. 1974. "Residential Satisfaction as an Intervening Variable in Residential Mobility." *Demography*. 11: 173-188.

Ben-chieh Liu. 1975. "Differential Net Migration Rates and the Quality of Life." *Review of Economics and Statistics*. 57(3): 329-327.

* William Frey. 2009. "The Great Migration Slowdown: Regional and Metropolitan Dimensions." Washington, DC: Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, Brookings Institute

* Patrick J. Carr and Maria J. Kefalas. 2009. *Hollowing out the Middle: The Rural Brain Drain and what it Means for America*. Boston: Beacon Press (excerpt to be provided)

October 14: Migration within the United States 2

Political consequences of migration

Thad Brown. 1988. *Migration and Politics*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (excerpt to be distributed)

Thad Williamson. 2008. "Sprawl, Spatial Location, and Politics: How Ideological Identification Tracks the Built Environment." *American Politics Research*. 36(6): 903-933.

Tony Robinson and Stephen Noriega. "Voter Migration as a Source of Electoral Change in the Mountain West." *Political Geography*. 29: 28-39.

M.V. Hood and Seth C. McKee. 2010. "What Made Carolina Blue? In-Migration and the 2008 North Carolina Presidential Vote." *American Politics Research*. 42(5): 266-302.

* Jason R. Jurjevich and David A. Plane. 2012. "Voters on the Move: The Political Effectiveness of Migration and its effects on State Partisan Composition." *Political Geography*. 31(7): 429-443.

Submission and presentation of research paper proposals will also take place on this day.

October 21: Migration within the United States 3

Are Americans Sorting?

Bill Bishop and Robert Cushing. 2008. *The Big Sort*. New York: Mariner Books

Samuel Abrams and Morris Fiorina. 2012. "The Big Sort" That Wasn't: A Skeptical Reexamination. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 45(2), 203-210

Wendy K. Tam Cho, James G. Gimpel, and Iris S. Hui. 2013. "Voter Migration and the Geographic Sorting of the American Electorate." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103: 856-870.

McDonald, Ian. 2011. "Migration and sorting in the American electorate: Evidence from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study." *American Politics Research* 39(3): 512-533.

October 28: Political consequences of an aging population

Angus Campbell. 1971. "Politics Through the Life Cycle," *The Gerontologist*. 11

Duane F. Alwin and Jon A. Krosnick. 1991. "Aging, Cohorts, and the Stability of Sociopolitical Orientations Over the Life Span" *American Journal of Sociology*. 97(1): 169-195.

Andrew Fullerton and Jeffrey Dixon. 2010. Generational Conflict or Methodological Artifact? Reconsidering the Relationship between Age and Policy Attitudes in the US, 1984–2008. *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 74(4): 643-673.

Philip Schwadel and Christopher RH Garneau. 2014. "An Age–Period–Cohort Analysis of Political Tolerance in the United States." *The Sociological Quarterly* 55(2): 421-452.

* Donald R. Kinder. 2006. "Politics and the Life Cycle." *Science*.

November 4: Trends in the American family 1

Kathleen Gerson. 1987. "Emerging Social Divisions among Women: Implications for Welfare State Politics." *Politics and Society*. 15(2): 213-221

Herbert Weisberg. 1987. "The Demographics of a New Voting Gap: Marital Differences in American Voting." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 51(3): 335-343.

Eric Plutzer and Michael McBurnett, 1991. "Family Life and American Politics: The 'Marriage Gap' Reconsidered," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 55

Lena Edlund and Rohini Pande. 2002. "Why Have Women become Left-Wing? The Political Gender Gap and the Decline of Marriage." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 117: 917-962

* Amy Gershkoff. 2009. "The Marriage Gap." In *Beyond Red State-Blue State*. Eds. Laura R. Olson and John C. Green Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall (to be distributed)

November 11: Trends in the American family 2

Ron Lesthaeghe. "The Unfolding Story of the Second Demographic Transition." *Population and Development Review*. 36(2): 211-251.

Ron Lesthaeghe and Lisa Neidert. 2009. "US Presidential Elections and the Spatial Pattern of the American Second Demographic Transition." *Population and Development Review*. 35(2): 391-400

Naomi Cahn and June Carbone. 2010. *Red Families v. Blue Families: Legal Polarization and the Creation of Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press (excerpt to be distributed)

Jonathan V. Last. *What to Expect When no one's Expecting*. New York: Encounter Books (excerpt to be distributed)

* George Hawley. 2012. "Home Affordability, Female Marriage Rates, and Vote Choice in the 2000 Presidential Election: Evidence from U.S. Counties." *Party Politics*. 18(5): 771-789

November 18: Religious change and political change

James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin E. Smidt and John C. Green, "Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 36(2004): 223-242

Robert Putnam and David Campbell. 2010. *American Grace*. New York: Simon and Schuster. (excerpt to be distributed)

Michael Hout and Claude S. Fischer, "Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations," *American Sociological Review*, 67(2002)

Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker. 2000. "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Cultural Values," *American Sociological Review*. 65: 49-50

* Laura R. Olson and John C. Green. 2009. "The Worship-Attendance Gap." In *Beyond Rest State, Blue State: Electoral Gaps in the Twenty-First Century American Electorate*, eds. Laura R. Olson and John C. Green. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall)

November 25: Final Reading and Paper presentations 1

Eric Kaufmann, Anne Goujon, and Vegard Skirbekk. 2012. "American Political Affiliation, 2003–43: A Cohort Component Projection." *Population Studies*. 66(1): 53-67.

December 2: Paper presentations 2 and course wrap-up

(All final papers due on December 5th)