

Seminar in Global Politics: Immigration Attitudes

Politics 380A, Winter 2020

11:45 am-1:15 pm Tuesday & Thursday
CGL 246

Professor Zoila Ponce de Leon
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Course Description

This course provides an examination of immigration attitudes in Europe, the United States, and Latin America. When and why do individuals choose to emigrate? How do natives of the receiving country react to immigration and form preferences on the issue depending on their socio-economic and political context? The study of immigration has received a lot of attention in recent times as a consequence of the increased political salience of the topic. We examine the different factors that determine immigration attitudes in European countries and the United States, as well as the transportability of these explanatory factors to other regions of the world, such as Latin America. Immigration has become a pressing issue in this region, as the flow of people to countries outside the region has reduced since the 2000s while immigration across Latin American countries has increased.

The scope of the course is broad, mastering the minutiae of individual topics is not our objective. We will develop and apply critical thinking skills, questioning assumptions and deconstructing concepts often taken for granted. Our goal is to learn *why* and *how* certain sociopolitical phenomena takes places.

Course Objectives

- Develop tools to better examine attitudes towards immigrants in order to increase your understanding of this phenomenon around the world.
- Gain a deeper substantive understanding of leading theories in comparative politics that seek to explain immigration attitudes.
- Critically examine the course material presented, including academic readings, news articles, and lectures. Critical thought does not necessarily imply criticism, but a careful and creative consideration of the subject matter and awareness of multiple viewpoints.
- Learn to employ the comparative method, analyzing several country cases in greater detail and identifying commonalities and contrasts across cases.
- Improve writing skills and creative thinking through the research paper assignment, advancing logical arguments supported with evidence.
- Develop public speaking skills through class presentations, communicating thoughts clearly and concisely.

Course Requirements

The course will meet twice a week in plenary session. The requirements for the course are class attendance, **reading** of the assigned materials, and **active participation** in class discussions.

You are required to have all course-related files saved on an **online drive** of your preference (i.e. Dropbox, Google Drive, etc.).

Attendance is obligatory. You have one unexcused absence and I will excuse your absence in reasonable cases. However, you need to contact me ahead of the class session that you miss. **If you miss more than 4 classes without prior and valid excuse, you will fail this course.** I will let you know when you have accumulated 4 absences and will automatically give you a failing grade if you miss another one. Classes missed immediately before and after holidays are particularly noticed. I expect everyone to **arrive on time**. Late arrivals are disruptive and distracting. I appreciate your cooperation.

Please come to office hours or contact me by e-mail if you have questions or concerns. If you have any kind of problem with the course or with life, please **communicate** with me (you do not need to give me any specific details regarding the personal situation you might be going through). Let me know if my office hours are not at a convenient time for you and we will set an appointment. Do not let missed classes and assignments get out of hand. I am willing to work with you to help you succeed, but I cannot do so retroactively at the end of the semester.

Students are expected to come to each session **ready for a lively discussion**. The following are some guidelines to help you get started:

- **Speak up!** Ask the second you have a question or a comment. It is very possible that others may have the same concerns you do.
- **Respect** one another. Differences of opinion are likely and also desirable. **Listen** to other students' questions, express your disagreements with respect and value your colleagues' opinions as if they were your own.
- **Turn off your cell-phones.**
- **Stick to pen and paper** to take notes and forget about your laptop. In exceptional cases, laptops may be employed only for valid educational reasons related to the course. Violations may affect a student's grade and preclude further use of the laptop in class.

Course Evaluation

Participation	25%
Leading discussion	10%
Reaction essays	15%
Research paper	50%

Research paper grade breakdown:

<i>Abstract & outline</i>	5%
<i>First draft</i>	10%
<i>Presentation</i>	15%
<i>Final paper</i>	20%

Grade Assessment

Grades reflect the following assessment of your work in this course:

A: Excellent performance (90-100). Exceptional grasp of the material and a deep analytic understanding of the subject.

B: Good performance (80-89). Mastering the material, understanding the subject well, and showing some originality of thought and/or considerable effort

C: Fair performance (70-79). Acceptable understanding of the material, but not succeeding in translating this understanding into consistently creative or original work.

D: Poor performance (60-69). Some understanding of the material but exhibiting significant deficiency in comprehension and/or effort.

F: Fail (59 and below). Failing to complete assignments or to comprehend the basics of the material.

Minus grades at each increment are below 63, 73, 83, and 93, and plus grades above 67.9, 77.9, and 87.9. I don't round up .5 grades. In other words, 87.5 is not a B+ and 89.5 is not an A-.

If you have concerns about your grade in the course, please come talk to me as soon as possible about strategies to improve your performance.

Re-grading: I do not discuss grades via email. Please take 24 hours to review the initial feedback. Then, bring to my office a written note explaining the error that you think I have made. When I review the assignment again, your grade may go either up or down in order to more accurately assess your performance.

Participation

Participation is key for this course. Forget about the percentage of your overall grade it counts towards, the actual value of participation is much greater than this because it will help you to do better on all of the assignments and exams in this course.

Students are expected to read the assigned materials prior to each class and **participate actively** during class meetings. After reading anything, you should be able to answer at least the following questions: What is the main argument? Does it make sense logically? What is the evidence for it? What are the strengths and weaknesses? It is essential that you come to class prepared so that you can engage in discussion and ask questions.

Participation performance is not based on the number of times you speak up during class but on the **quality** of your input. By no means, this should be understood as having to "be right" every time. Any comment or question that contributes to our analysis of course contents and discussion is highly regarded. Questions are an excellent way to participate. They show your interest in the course and your ability for critical thought.

In order to achieve an **A for participation**, your engagement in class discussions must be exceptional, fully contributing to a consistent lively conversation. This means you must be active in both small group discussions and class wide discussions and do so on a regular basis.

We will be dealing with interesting and controversial issues in class, and I hope that we will have lively debates. It is important that you **respect** one another and the instructor. Differences of opinion can provide an opportunity for intellectual growth.

Leading Discussion

Each student must select two sessions to introduce and help lead the discussion. You will prepare a 5-10 minute introduction to the readings (with a slide show if you like) and present two or three discussion topics or questions. Students will make their topic choices in the second seminar session.

Reaction Essays

You will write two short essays (2 pages, double-spaced and 12-point font - about 750 words) offering some **critical commentary** on one or two of the readings for the session. The essays should critically evaluate the logical consistency of the arguments, and/or the empirical evidence offered. The essay should **conclude with questions** for discussion in at least one of these areas: conceptual/theoretical and comparative/empirical. These short essays **should not summarize** the readings, but rather critically discuss their central arguments, compare and contrast their findings, and highlight their strengths and weaknesses. The topics for these short essays will be chosen in the second seminar session.

The essays are due by noon on the day before class via Canvas. You **cannot** write your reaction essays for the sessions in which you are a discussion leader.

Research Paper

The research paper is due on Friday, **April 10th** via Canvas. The papers have to be double-spaced and 12-point font. You will need to consult a minimum of 6 scholarly sources other than the materials presented in class. You may choose to write this paper individually (10 pages) or in pairs (15 pages).

Option 1: Explaining cross-national variation. You will explain why **two countries** of your choice have responded to a similar immigration issue in **different** ways.

Option 2: Testing theory on one country case. You will **test an argument** covered in the course by applying it to a new country case. The paper will examine to what extent the theory is able to account for the empirical findings presented.

Regardless of the option you choose, your paper should intend to answer a **why** question and explain a political phenomenon rather than just describe it. You will be evaluated based on the clarity of your research question, the organization and clarity of your **argument**, the supporting evidence that you provide, and the quality of your writing. I will penalize **late papers** with one letter grade per day late.

An **abstract** (one or two paragraphs stating the research question you will pursue and how you will do it), an **outline** of the paper, and a preliminary **bibliography** are due on Friday, **February 21st** via Canvas (as a Word Document). You will also send a **copy** to a classmate who will

provide comments on your progress. I will return your abstract and outline with comments. You should incorporate this feedback into your paper draft.

Peer-review: You will give comments to a classmate on their abstract and outline by Thursday, **March 5th**. You will bring your comments to class to share directly with your peer. If you fail to provide this feedback by the deadline, your own paper grade will drop by one letter grade.

The **first draft** of the paper is due on **March 27th**. During the last week of classes, you will share the findings of your research in a conference-style **presentation**. The details of this assignment will be provided at a later date.

I will return your draft with comments. If you are happy with the grade that you received on the draft, you may choose to have me duplicate your draft grade for the final paper grade. If you would like the opportunity to improve upon your grade, you should incorporate the feedback you received and submit a final term paper.

I encourage you to seek the help of the Writing Center if this is your first or second research paper: <https://www.wlu.edu/writing-program/writing-center>

If this is your first Politics paper, I strongly recommend you seek the advice of the Williams School Communication Center. You can schedule an appointment via www.wlu.edu/the-williams-school/commcenter

Honor Code

For all course work, the Honor System applies. Familiarize yourself with the System at www.wlu.edu/executive-committee/the-honor-system/the-white-book#The_Honor_System

You need to familiarize yourself with the concept and practice of plagiarism in order to make sure that you avoid it. Any sign of plagiarism in your paper will **automatically lead to an F** for that assignment. From the Catalog: "Plagiarism describes the use of another's words or ideas without proper acknowledgment. The students of Washington and Lee University have considered plagiarism a violation of the Honor System; therefore, all forms of plagiarism including Internet plagiarism are taken very seriously. Plagiarism takes many forms, including the wholesale copying of phrases or texts, or the use of ideas without indicating the source."

Ask me if you have any questions. Leyburn Library has helpful advice on avoiding plagiarism: <https://libguides.wlu.edu/c.php?g=99506&p=644455>

Disability Accommodations

Washington and Lee University makes reasonable academic accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. All accommodations must be approved through the Office of the Dean of the College. Students requesting accommodations for this course should present an official accommodation letter within the first two weeks of the term and schedule a meeting outside of class time to discuss accommodations. It is the student's responsibility to present this paperwork in a timely fashion and to follow up about accommodation arrangements.

Diversity Statement

Washington and Lee affirms that diverse perspectives and backgrounds enhance our community. We are committed to the recruitment, enrichment, and retention of students, faculty, and staff who embody many experiences, cultures, points of view, interests, and identities. As engaged citizens in a global and diverse society, we seek to advance a positive learning and working environment for all through open and substantive dialogue.

Important dates

February 21	Paper Abstract & Outline
March 5	Peer-review
March 27	First Draft
April 7-9	Presentations
April 10	Final Paper

Course Schedule

Please note that I reserve the right to make changes to the course schedule, including assignments due dates, when unforeseen circumstances occur.

All the required readings will be posted on Canvas.

January 9: Course Overview

January 14: Why Do People Emigrate?

- Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." In *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. (pp. 34- 52)

January 16: How Do Governments React to Immigrants?

- Boucher, Anna K., and Justin Gest. *Crossroads: comparative immigration regimes in a world of demographic change*. Cambridge University Press, 2018. Ch 1, 2 & 3.

January 21: How Do Natives React? Basic Theories on Immigration Attitudes

- Quillian, Lincoln. "Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe." *American Sociological Review* (1995): 586-611.
- Alesina, Iberto, Armando Miano, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2018. "Immigration and Redistribution," *NBER Working Papers Series*.

January 23: Economic Factors & Immigration Attitudes

- Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. "Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration: Evidence from a survey experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 61-84.
- Garand, James C., Ping Xu, and Belinda C. Davis. "Immigration attitudes and support for the welfare state in the American mass public." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 1 (2017): 146-162.

Recommended: Boeri, Tito. "Immigration to the Land of Redistribution." *Economica* 77, no. 308 (2010): 651-687.

Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. "The hidden American immigration consensus: A conjoint analysis of attitudes toward immigrants." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 3 (2015): 529-548.

January 28: Beyond Economic Factors

- Newman, Benjamin J., and Neil Malhotra. "Economic Reasoning with a Racial Hue: Is the Immigration Consensus Purely Race Neutral?" *The Journal of Politics* 81, no. 1 (2019): 153-166.
- Maxwell, Rahsaan. "Cosmopolitan immigration attitudes in large European cities: Contextual or compositional effects?" *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 456-474.

Recommended: Valentino, Nicholas A., Stuart N. Soroka, Shanto Iyengar, Toril Aalberg, Raymond Duch, Marta Fraile, Kyu S. Hahn et al. "Economic and cultural drivers of immigrant support worldwide." *British Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 4 (2019): 1201-1226.

Dustmann, Christian, and Ian P. Preston. "Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration." *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 7, no. 1 (2007).

January 30: Identity & Immigration Attitudes

- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. "How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers." *Science* 354, no. 6309 (2016): 217-222.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. "Predisposing factors and situational triggers: Exclusionary reactions to immigrant minorities." *American political science review* 98, no. 1 (2004): 35-49.

February 4: The Importance of Information

- Hopkins, Daniel J., Sides, John, and Citrin, Jack. "The Muted Consequences of Correct Information About Immigration." *The Journal of Politics* 81.1 (2019): 315-320. Web.
- Grigorieff A, Roth C, Ubfal D (2016) Does information change attitudes towards immigrants? Representative evidence from survey experiments (Institute of Labor Economics, Bonn, Germany), IZA Discussion Paper No. 10419.

February 6: Emotions & Immigration Attitudes

- Renshon, Jonathan, Joa Julia Lee, and Dustin Tingley. "Physiological arousal and political beliefs." *Political Psychology* 36, no. 5 (2015): 569-585.
- Banks, Antoine J. "Are group cues necessary? How anger makes ethnocentrism among whites a stronger predictor of racial and immigration policy opinions." *Political Behavior* 38, no. 3 (2016): 635-657.

February 11: Catch Up & Discussion of Paper Assignment

February 13: Perspective Taking I

- Underwood, Bill, and Bert Moore. "Perspective-taking and altruism." *Psychological bulletin* 91, no. 1 (1982): 143.
- Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, and Melina R. Platas. "Perspective taking can promote short-term inclusionary behavior toward Syrian refugees." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115, no. 38 (2018): 9521-9526.

February 18: Perspective Taking II

- Simonovits, Gábor, Gábor Kézdi, and Péter Kardos. "Seeing the World Through the Other's Eye: An Online Intervention Reducing Ethnic Prejudice." *American Political Science Review* 112, no. 1 (2018): 186-193.
- Bruneau, Emile G., and Rebecca Saxe. "The power of being heard: The benefits of 'perspective-giving' in the context of intergroup conflict." *Journal of experimental social psychology* 48, no. 4 (2012): 855-866.

Recommended: Gutenbrunner, Lisa, and Ulrich Wagner. "Perspective-taking techniques in the mediation of intergroup conflict." Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology 22, no. 4 (2016): 298.

February 20: Empathy

- Sirin, Cigdem V., Nicholas A. Valentino, and José D. Villalobos. "The social causes and political consequences of group empathy." *Political Psychology* 38, no. 3 (2017): 427-448.
- Miklikowska, Marta. "Development of anti-immigrant attitudes in adolescence: The role of parents, peers, intergroup friendships, and empathy." *British Journal of Psychology* 108, no. 3 (2017): 626-648.

Recommended: Sirin, Cigdem V., José D. Villalobos, and Nicholas A. Valentino. "Group Empathy Theory: The effect of group empathy on US intergroup attitudes and behavior in the context of immigration threats." The Journal of Politics 78, no. 3 (2016): 893-908.

February 21: Paper Abstract & Outline Due (Canvas)

February 25 & 27: Washington Break - No Classes

March 3: Framing

- Haynes, Chris, Jennifer Merolla, and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan. *Framing immigrants: News coverage, public opinion, and policy*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2016. Ch 1, 2 & 7.

March 5: Diversity

Peer Review Due in Class

- Abascal, Maria, and Delia Baldassarri. "Love thy neighbor? Ethnoracial diversity and trust reexamined." *American Journal of Sociology* 121, no. 3 (2015): 722-782.
- Newman, Benjamin J. "Acculturating contexts and Anglo opposition to immigration in the United States." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 2 (2013): 374-390.

Recommended: Dinesen, Peter Thisted, and Kim Mannemar Sønderskov. "Ethnic diversity and social trust: a critical review of the literature and suggestions for a research agenda." The Oxford handbook on social and political trust (2018): 175-204.

March 10: Elites & Immigration Attitudes I

- Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. "What triggers public opposition to immigration? Anxiety, group cues, and immigration threat." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 4 (2008): 959-978.
- Margolis, Michele F. "How far does social group influence reach? Identities, elites, and immigration attitudes." *The Journal of Politics* 80, no. 3 (2018): 772-785.

March 12: Elites & Immigration Attitudes II

- Flores, René D. "Can elites shape public attitudes toward immigrants?: Evidence from the 2016 US presidential election." *Social Forces* 96, no. 4 (2018): 1649-1690.
- Bohman, Andrea, and Mikael Hjerm. "In the wake of radical right electoral success: a cross-country comparative study of anti-immigration attitudes over time." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no. 11 (2016): 1729-1747.

[2-week recess for transition to virtual instruction]

March 31: Immigration Attitudes in Latin America I & Discussion of News Articles

- Meseguer, Covadonga, and Achim Kemmerling. "What Do You Fear? Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in Latin America." *International Migration Review* (2016).

April 2: Immigration Attitudes in Latin America II

- Lawrence, Duncan. "Crossing the Cordillera: immigrant attributes and Chilean attitudes." *Latin American Research Review* (2015): 154-177.
- Orcés, Diana M. "Democratic values and public opinion toward immigrants: The case of Ecuador." *Latin American Politics and Society* 51, no. 4 (2009): 131-155.

April 7 & 9: Paper Workshop

March 12: First Draft Due (Canvas)

April 14: Immigration Attitudes in Latin America III

- Noy, Shiri, and Koen Voorend. "Social rights and migrant realities: migration policy reform and migrants' access to health Care in Costa Rica, Argentina, and Chile." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17, no. 2 (2016): 605-629.

April 16: Immigrant Incorporation

- Maxwell, Rahsaan. "Occupations, national identity, and immigrant integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 232-263.
- Wright, Matthew, and Irene Bloemraad. "Is there a trade-off between multiculturalism and socio-political integration? Policy regimes and immigrant incorporation in comparative perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 1 (2012): 77-95.

Recommended: Abascal, Maria. "Tu casa, mi casa: Naturalization and belonging among Latino immigrants." International Migration Review 51, no. 2 (2017): 291-322.

Maxwell, Rahsaan, and Lucie House. "Evaluating the character of people who insult the nation: Implications for immigrant integration." Political Psychology 39, no. 2 (2018): 325-343.

April 21 & 23: Presentations

April 25: Final Paper Due (Canvas)