

Seminar in Global Politics: Immigration Attitudes Politics 380D, Winter 2023

TR 9:45-11:15 am, Huntley 220

Dr. Zoila Ponce de León
zponcedeleon@wlu.edu

Huntley Hall 210

Office Hours: Wednesday 10:30 am-12 pm & Thursday 5-6:30 pm

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 take place.

Course Objectives

- Develop tools to better examine attitudes towards immigrants to increase your understanding of this phenomenon worldwide.
- 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. The requirements for the course are class attendance, reading of the assigned materials, and active participation in class discussions.

If you need to miss class, send me a quick note ahead of the class session you must miss. Classes missed immediately before and after holidays are particularly noticed. I expect everyone to **arrive on time**. Late arrivals are extremely disruptive.

Contact me if you have questions or concerns. If you have any kind of problem with the course or with life, please **communicate** with me (no need to give me any specific details regarding the situation you are going through). Let me know if my office hours are not at a convenient time for you and we will set an appointment. I am willing to work with you to help you succeed, but I cannot do so retroactively at the end of the semester.

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

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 queries you do.
- **Respect** one another. Differences of opinion are likely and desirable. **Listen** to your peers' questions and comments and express your disagreements with respect.
- **No cellphones in class.**
- **Stick to pen and paper** to take notes. In exceptional cases, tablets or laptops may be employed only for valid educational reasons related to the course. Violations will affect your grade and preclude further use of the device in class.

Course Evaluation

Participation	20%
Leading discussion	15%
Reaction essays	15%
Research paper	50%
<i>Abstract & outline</i>	5%
<i>First draft</i>	10%
<i>Presentation</i>	15%
<i>Final paper</i>	20%

Grade Assessment

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-.

There are no extra credit assignments in this course. 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 made.

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 the assignments 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. Comments or questions that contribute to our analysis of course contents and discussion are highly regarded. Questions are an excellent way to participate; they show your interest in the course and your ability for critical thought.

To achieve an **A** for participation, your engagement in class discussions must be exceptional, contributing to a lively conversation consistently and displaying that you master the material. You must be active in both class-wide and small group discussions 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 we **respect** one another. Differences of opinion can provide an opportunity for intellectual growth.

Leading Discussion

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

Reaction Essays

You will write two short essays (2 pages, double-spaced and 12-point font - about 750 words) offering some **insightful 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. Students will choose topics for these short essays in the second week of classes.

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 **April 11th**. The paper must be double-spaced and in 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 a theory on a 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.

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 your working argument), an **outline** of the paper, and a preliminary **bibliography** are due on Friday, **February 17th**. You will also send a **copy** to a classmate who will provide comments on your progress. I will return this assignment 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, **February 28th**. 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 24th**. 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 strongly encourage you to seek the help of the [Writing Center](#).

On March 28th and 30th, you will share the findings of your research in a conference-style **presentation**.

Honor System

For all course work, the [Honor System](#) applies. You need to familiarize yourself with the concept and practice of plagiarism to make sure that you avoid it. 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."* Ask me if you have any questions. Leyburn Library has helpful advice on [avoiding plagiarism](#).

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. Please read the [Politics Department Statement on Diversity and Inclusion](#).

Policy on Prohibited Discrimination

The University prohibits and this policy addresses discrimination, including harassment, on the basis of race, color, religion, national or ethnic origin, age, disability, veteran's status, and genetic information in its educational programs and activities and with regard to employment. Additionally, the University prohibits retaliation against any individual who brings a good faith complaint under this policy or is involved in the complaint process. Students, faculty, and staff found to have violated this policy will be disciplined appropriately, up to and including termination from employment or dismissal from the University.

Sexual Discrimination & Misconduct Policy

W&L prohibits all forms of sexual misconduct-which includes sexual harassment, non-consensual sexual intercourse, non-consensual sexual contact, sexual exploitation, domestic and dating violence, and stalking-and retaliation. This policy provides guidance to assist those who have experienced or been affected by sexual misconduct, whether as a complainant, a respondent, or a third party. It includes detailed information about what conduct is prohibited, confidential and reporting resources, and resolution procedures.

Important dates

February 17	Paper Abstract & Outline
March 2	Peer-review
March 24	First Draft
March 28 & 30	Presentations
April 11	Final Paper

Course Schedule

I reserve the right to make changes to the course schedule, including assignment due dates, when unforeseen circumstances occur. All the required readings will be posted on **Canvas**.

January 10: Why Do People Migrate?

- 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)
- Complete [Canvas assignment](#)

January 12 & 17: How Do Governments React to Immigration?

- Boucher, Anna K., and Justin Gest. 2018 *Crossroads: comparative immigration regimes in a world of demographic change*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2 & 3.
- [BBC](#) article

January 19: How Do Natives React? Basic Theories on Immigration Attitudes

- Quillian, Lincoln. 1995. Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review* 60(4): 586-611.
- Alesina, Iberto, Armando Miano, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2018. Immigration and Redistribution. *NBER Working Papers Series*.

Recommended: Hainmueller, Jens, and Michael J. Hiscox. 2010. Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration: Evidence from a survey experiment. American Political Science Review 104(1): 61-84.

January 24: Economic Factors & Immigration Attitudes

- *Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2015. The hidden American immigration consensus: A conjoint analysis of attitudes toward immigrants. American Journal of Political Science 59(3): 529-548.*
- Magni, Gabriele. 2022. Boundaries of Solidarity: Immigrants, Economic Contributions, and Welfare Attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science* <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12707>

Recommended: Hix S, Kaufmann E, and Leeper TJ. 2021. Pricing Immigration. Journal of Experimental Political Science 8(1), 63-74.

Garand, James C., Ping Xu, and Belinda C. Davis. 2017. Immigration attitudes and support for the welfare state in the American mass public. American Journal of Political Science 61(1): 146-162.

Magni, Gabriele. 2021. Economic Inequality, Immigrants and Selective Solidarity: From Perceived Lack of Opportunity to In-group Favoritism. British Journal of Political Science, 51(4), 1357-1380.

January 26: Beyond Economic Factors

- Newman, Benjamin J., and Neil Malhotra. 2019. Economic Reasoning with a Racial Hue: Is the Immigration Consensus Purely Race Neutral? *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): 153-166.
- Valentino, Nicholas A. et al. 2019. Economic and cultural drivers of immigrant support worldwide. *British Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 1201-26.

Recommended: Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. Cosmopolitan immigration attitudes in large European cities: Contextual or compositional effects? American Political Science Review 113(2): 456-474.

Dustmann, Christian, and Ian P. Preston. 2007. *Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy* 7(1).

January 31: Identity & Immigration Attitudes

- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2016. How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science* 354(6309): 217-222.
- Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. Predisposing factors and situational triggers: Exclusionary reactions to immigrant minorities. *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.

February 2: The Importance of Information

- Hopkins, Daniel J., Sides, John, and Citrin, Jack. 2019. The Muted Consequences of Correct Information About Immigration. *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): 315-320.
- 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 7: Emotions & Immigration Attitudes

- Renshon, Jonathan, Joa Julia Lee, and Dustin Tingley. 2015. Physiological arousal and political beliefs. *Political Psychology* 36(5): 569-585.
- Banks, Antoine J. 2016. Are group cues necessary? How anger makes ethnocentrism among whites a stronger predictor of racial and immigration policy opinions. *Political Behavior* 38(3): 635-657.

February 9: Catch Up & Discussion of Paper Assignment

February 14: Perspective Taking & Giving

- Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, and Melina R. Platas. 2018. Perspective taking can promote short-term inclusionary behavior toward Syrian refugees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(38): 9521-26.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2023. Which Narrative Strategies Durably Reduce Prejudice? Evidence from Field and Survey Experiments Supporting the Efficacy of Perspective-Getting. *American Journal of Political Science* 67: 185-204.

Recommended: Bruneau, Emile G., and Rebecca Saxe. 2012. The power of being heard: The benefits of 'perspective-giving' in the context of intergroup conflict. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 48(4): 855-866.

Simonovits, Gábor, Gábor Kézdi, and Péter Kardos. 2018. Seeing the World Through the Other's Eye: An Online Intervention Reducing Ethnic Prejudice. American Political Science Review 112(1): 186-193.

Kalla, Joshua L and David E Broockman. 2020. Reducing exclusionary attitudes through interpersonal conversation: evidence from three field experiments. American Political Science Review 114(2):410-425.

February 16: Empathy

- Sirin, Cigdem V., Nicholas A. Valentino, and José D. Villalobos. 2017. The social causes and political consequences of group empathy. *Political Psychology* 38(3): 427-448.
- Miklikowska, Marta. 2017. Development of anti-immigrant attitudes in adolescence: The role of parents, peers, intergroup friendships, and empathy. *British Journal of Psychology* 108(3): 626-648.

Recommended: Sirin, Cigdem V., José D. Villalobos, and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2016. 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(3): 893-908.

February 17: Paper Abstract & Outline

February 28: Framing

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

March 2: Diversity

Peer Review Due in Class

- Abascal, Maria, and Delia Baldassarri. 2015. Love thy neighbor? Ethnoracial diversity and trust reexamined. *American Journal of Sociology* 121(3): 722-782.
- Enos, Ryan D. 2014. Causal effect of intergroup contact on exclusionary attitudes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111 (10): 3699-3704.

Recommended: Dinesen, Peter Thisted, and Kim Mannemar Sønderskov. 2018. 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: 175-204.

Newman, Benjamin J. 2013. Acculturating contexts and Anglo opposition to immigration in the United States. American Journal of Political Science 57(2): 374-390.

March 7: Elites & Immigration Attitudes I

- Margolis, Michele F. 2018. How far does social group influence reach? Identities, elites, and immigration attitudes. *The Journal of Politics* 80(3): 772-785.
- Jones, Bradford, and Danielle J. Martin. 2017. Path-to-citizenship or deportation? How elite cues shaped opinion on immigration in the 2010 US house elections. *Political Behavior* 39(1): 177-204.

Recommended: 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): 959-978.

March 9: Elites & Immigration Attitudes II

- Flores, René D. 2018. Can elites shape public attitudes toward immigrants?: Evidence from the 2016 US presidential election. *Social Forces* 96(4): 1649-1690.
- Bohman, Andrea, and Mikael Hjerm. 2016. 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(11): 1729-1747.

March 14: Immigration Attitudes in Latin America I

- Meseguer, Covadonga, and Achim Kemmerling. 2018. What Do You Fear? Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in Latin America. *International Migration Review* 52(1):236-272.
- Lawrence, Duncan. 2015. "Crossing the Cordillera: immigrant attributes and Chilean attitudes. *Latin American Research Review* 50(4): 154-177.

March 16: Immigration Attitudes in Latin America II

- Holland, Alisha, Margaret E. Peters, and Yang-Yang Zhou. 2021. "Left Out: How Political Ideology Affects Support for Migrants in Colombia." OSF Preprints.
- Noy, Shiri, and Koen Voorend. 2016. "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(2): 605-629.

Recommended: Lawrence, Duncan. 2011. "Immigration attitudes in Latin America: Culture, economics, and the Catholic church." The Latin Americanist 55(4): 143-170.

Orcés, Diana M. 2009. "Democratic values and public opinion toward immigrants: The case of Ecuador." Latin American Politics and Society 51(4): 131-155.

March 21: Immigrant Incorporation

- Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2017. "Occupations, national identity, and immigrant integration." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(2): 232-263.
- Wright, Matthew, and Irene Bloemraad. 2012. "Is there a trade-off between multiculturalism and socio-political integration? Policy regimes and immigrant incorporation in comparative perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(1): 77-95.

Recommended: Abascal, Maria. 2017. "Tu casa, mi casa: Naturalization and belonging among Latino immigrants." International Migration Review 51(2): 291-322.

Maxwell, Rahsaan, and Lucie House. 2018. "Evaluating the character of people who insult the nation: Implications for immigrant integration." Political Psychology 39(2): 325-343.

March 23: Paper Workshop I

March 24: First Draft (Canvas)

March 28 & 30: Presentations

April 4: Deportation Attitudes

- Ostfeld, Mara. 2017. The Backyard Politics of Attitudes Toward Immigration. *Political Psychology* 38(1): 21-37.
- PRRI. "Welcoming Immigration Policies Remain Popular, But Immigration Is Not a Critical Issue for Most Americans." 3 February 2022.
<https://www.prii.org/research/welcoming-immigration-policies-remain-popular-but-immigration-is-not-a-critical-issue-for-most-americans>

April 6: Paper Workshop II

April 11: Final Paper (Canvas)