

# POLI233: The Politics of Migrant Inclusion and Exclusion

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Office Hours: W 9-11am via [Calendly](#)

Office: SSB389

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Class Hours: Th 9-11:50am

Class Room: SSB104

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## Course Description

This course is a graduate level seminar investigating the politics of migrant inclusion and exclusion from a comparative perspective. It focuses on the determinants of public attitudes and behaviors toward migrants. Over the course of the quarter, we will first lay out the theoretical foundations that have motivated much of the empirical work in the social sciences on this question, and second evaluate this empirical evidence with an eye toward causal inference, scale-up, and policy implications.

## Prerequisites/Corequisites

There are no formal prerequisites for this class, though students who have completed the core requirements in the PhD program will likely get more out of class discussion.

## Course Structure

### Class Structure

The course meets once a week for two hours and fifty minutes. It is a discussion-based course, meaning that its success relies on your active engagement and participation. With some variation, a typical class session will follow the below structure:

- Student-led presentation: 20-30 minutes
- Recap and discussion questions: 20-30 minutes
- Small-group discussion: 30 minutes
- Break: 15 minutes

- Full class discussion: 45 minutes
- Summary and conclusion: 15-20 minutes

## Assessments

You will be evaluated based on three items:

- Class participation (out of 3 per session): you are expected to attend every session and participate actively in discussion. Every session, you will receive either a 1 (did not attend or write a make-up response paper), a 2 (attended but did not really try to participate), a 2.5 (attended and tried to participate but did not demonstrate having done the readings), or a 3 (attended, tried to participate, and demonstrated having done the readings). You can only miss one class and still receive full credit on this dimension as long as you write a strong response paper. If you miss more than one class, you will be penalized even if you write a response paper.
- Class presentation (out of 30): at the beginning of the quarter, you will sign up to present the readings for one week. The presentation should be organized by main topic, debate, or research question. It should demonstrate an ability to (1) synthesize the readings *and* (2) critically evaluate them (both positively and negatively). It should conclude with a set of discussion questions. Presentations that merely summarize the readings will receive a 15 to 20 out of 30. Presentations that summarize and synthesize, identifying strengths and weaknesses and drawing connections between readings, will receive a 20 to 25 out of 30. Presentations that summarize, synthesize, and do a good job at motivating discussion with questions and identifying directions for future research, will receive a 25 to 30 out of 30.
- Final projects (out of 40): your final projects comprise a final presentation (on June 6) and a final memo (due June 13). For this assignment, you are expected to present a research project that advances the literature we have read and analyzed this quarter. Your project should include an original research question situated in the relevant literature, an argument, and a research design to test at least one of your argument's observable implications. Evaluation criteria are as follows:
  - Class presentation (20 points):
    - \* The presentation asks a clear, researchable question that is well situated in the existing literature in that it is motivated by existing research and identifies a contribution opportunity: 5 points.
    - \* The presentation develops an argument that is conceptually and logically clear: 5 points.
    - \* The presentation proposes an empirical strategy that takes into account common research design concerns such as (a) a defensible operationalization of concepts and hypotheses, (b) clarity on what is and isn't causally identified, (c) a discussion of external validity: 5 points.
    - \* The presentation is well-organized, clear and engaging in its delivery: 5 points.
  - Final memo, due Thursday, June 13 at 12noon (20 points).

- \* The memo meets all of the criteria enumerated above for the presentation: researchable question (3 points), argument (3 points), empirical strategy (4 points).
- \* The memo has integrated feedback from the presentation: 5 points
- \* The memo is well and clearly written: 5 points

### **Grading Policy**

The grade will count the assessments using the following proportions:

- 30% of your grade will be determined by your class participation.
- 30% of your grade will be determined by your class presentation.
- 40% of your grade will be determined by your final project.

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## Course Policies

### During Class

Please refrain from using computers for anything other than activities related to the class. Phones are prohibited as they are rarely useful for anything in the course. Please respect your peers when engaging in class discussion. Do not interrupt others. Contribute to constructive criticism and fruitful, respectful debate.

### Attendance Policy

Attendance is required. Any absence must have documentation of a valid excuse. To avoid an absence affecting your participation grade, you can write a 7-10pp response paper covering the week's topics, due by the Sunday of that week at 5pm PST. I will allow one such make-up for the quarter without an impact on your participation grade. After that, even with a response paper, your participation grade will be impacted.

### Academic Integrity and Honesty

Each student is expected to abide by UCSD's [policy on Integrity of Scholarship](#) and to excel with integrity in this course. Please also abide by UCSD's [Principles of Community](#) and the [Student Code of Conduct](#) to support equity, diversity, and inclusion in our classroom.

### Accommodations for Disabilities

Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities. Students are required to discuss accommodation arrangements with me and our graduate coordinator liaison (Katie Smith: [kas008@ucsd.edu](mailto:kas008@ucsd.edu)) well in advance of any exams or assignments. More information about OSD accommodations can be found [here](#).

I am fully committed to creating a learning environment that supports diversity of thought, perspectives, experiences, and identities. I urge each of you to contribute your unique perspectives to discussions of course questions, themes, and materials so that we can learn from them, and from each other. If you should ever feel excluded, or unable to fully participate in class for any reason, please let me know, or you may also submit feedback to our Graduate Student Coordinator, Katie Smith ([kas008@ucsd.edu](mailto:kas008@ucsd.edu)). Katie will bring these comments to my attention.

### Sexual Misconduct/Title IX Statement

UC San Diego prohibits sexual violence and sexual harassment and will respond promptly to reports of misconduct. If you wish to speak confidentially about an incident of sexual misconduct, please contact CARE at the Sexual Assault Resources Center at (858) 534-HELP. Students should be aware that faculty members are considered responsible employees and are not a confidential resource; as such, if you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a faculty member, they have an obligation to report it to UC San Diego's Title IX office, the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD). To learn more about sexual misconduct, visit: <https://students.ucsd.edu/sponsor/sarc/>. To report an incident to the University, please contact OPHD at [ophd@ucsd.edu](mailto:ophd@ucsd.edu)

## Schedule

### Week 1 - April 4: Theoretical Foundations

Why do we exclude outgroups? We uncover two predominant theoretical frameworks that help investigate this question: the political economy approach and the political psychological approach.

- Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 16.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public attitudes toward immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17.
- Scheve, K.F. and Matthew J. Slaughter. 2001. "Labor market competition and individual preferences over immigration policy." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 83(1).
- Tajfel and Turner. Available [here](#)

### Week 2 - April 11: Threat narratives

Which threat narratives motivate migrant exclusion? We investigate the empirical evidence underlying the economic, cultural, and physical threat hypotheses.

- Adida, Claire L. 2021. "Migration and Public Opinion." In *Introduction to International Migration*, Eds. Jeannette Money and Sarah P. Lockhart. Routledge.
- Cavaille, Charlotte and John Marshall. 2019. "Education and anti-immigrant attitudes: evidence from compulsory schooling reforms across Western Europe." *American Political Science Review* 113(1).
- Colantone, Italo and Piero Stanig. 2018. "The economic determinants of the 'cultural backlash': globalization and attitudes in Western Europe." *Bocconi Working Paper* 91.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Michael J. Hiscox. 2007. "Educated Preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe." *International Organization* 61.
- Malhotra, Neil, Yotam Margalit, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2013. "Economic explanations for opposition to immigration: distinguishing between prevalence and conditional impact." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(2).
- 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).
- Ward, Dalston G. 2019. "Public attitudes toward young immigrant men." *American Political Science Review* 113(1).

### Week 3 - April 18: Exposure vs. Contact

Do interactions with migrants improve attitudes toward them? We distinguish between exposure and contact effects.

- Alrababa'h et al. 2021. "Can exposure to celebrities reduce prejudice? The effect of Mohamed Salah on Islamophobic behaviors and attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 115(4).
- Dinas, E. et al. 2019. "Waking up the Golden Dawn: Does exposure to the refugee crisis increase support for extreme-right parties?" *Political Analysis* 27.
- Enos, Ryan. 2014. "Causal effect of intergroup contact on exclusionary attitudes." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(10).
- Hager, Anselm, Hanno Hilbig, and Sascha Riaz. 2023. "Refugee labor market access increases support for immigration." *Comparative Political Studies* 57(5).
- Hangartner, D. et al. 2019. "Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?" *American Political Science Review* 113(2).
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth A. Green and Donald P. Green. 2019. "The contact hypothesis re-evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy* 3(2).
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. and Linda R. Tropp. 2006. "A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory." *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology* 90(5).

- Steinmayr, A. 2021. "Contact versus exposure: refugee presence and voting for the far right." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 103(2).

#### Week 4 - April 25: Media and Elites

What role do intervening variables, such as the media or political entrepreneurs, play in exacerbating or alleviating migrant exclusion?

- Bleich, Erik and A. Maurits van der Veen. 2018. "Media portrayals of Muslims: a comparative sentiment analysis of American newspapers, 1996-2015." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.
- Couttenier, Mathieu, Sophie Hatte, Mathias Thoenig, and Stephanos Vlachos. 2024. "Anti-Muslim voting and media coverage of immigrant crimes." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 106(2).
- Hobbs, William and Nazita Lajevardi. 2019. "Effects of divisive political campaigns on the day-to-day segregation of Arab and Muslim Americans." *American Political Science Review* 113(1).
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. "Politicized places: explaining where and when immigrants provoke local opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104(1).
- Reny, Tyler and Justin Gest. 2023. "Viewers like you: the effect of elite co-identity reinforcement on US immigration attitudes" *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

#### Week 5 - May 2: Policies of integration

What do we know about the causal effect of governmental policy on migrant integration or exclusion?

- Abdelgadir, Aala and Vasiliki Fouka. 2020. "Political secularism and Muslim integration in the West: assessing the effects of the French Headscarf ban." *American Political Science Review* 114(3).
- Alarian, Hannah M. and Michael Neureiter. 2019. "Values or origin? Mandatory immigrant integration and immigration attitudes in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(5).
- Bloemraad, Irene and Matthew Wright. 2014. "'Utter Failure' or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and evaluating policies of multiculturalism." *Internal Migration Review* 48(S1).
- Fouka, Vasiliki. 2020. "Backlash: the unintended effects of language prohibition in U.S. schools after World War I." *Review of Economic Studies* 87.
- Fouka, Vasiliki, Soumyajit Mazumder, and Marco Tabellini. 2022. "From immigrants to Americans: race and assimilation during the Great Migration." *Review of Economic Studies* 89.
- Grossman, Guy and Stephanie Zonszein. Forthcoming. "Voted in, standing out: public response to immigrants' political accession." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Hainmueller, Jens et al. 2015. "Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants." *PNAS* 112(41).
- Hainmueller, Jens et al. 2017. "Protecting unauthorized immigrant mothers improves their children's mental health." *Science* 357(6355).

#### Week 6 - May 9: Migrant identity

What role does migrant social identity, such as their ethnicity or religion, play in their exclusion?

- Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2014. "Muslims in France: identifying a discriminatory equilibrium" *Journal of Population Economics* 27.
- Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, and Melina Platas. 2019. "Americans preferred Syrian refugees who are female, English-speaking, and Christian on the eve of Donald Trump's election." *PLoS ONE* 14(10).
- Bansak, Kirk, Jens Hainmueller, and Dominik Hangartner. 2023. "Europeans' support for refugees of varying background is stable over time." *Nature* 620.
- Hainmueller, Jens and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. "Who gets a Swiss passport? A natural experiment in immigrant discrimination." *The American Political Science Review* 107(1).
- Rosenzweig, Leah R. and Yang-Yang Zhou. 2021. "Team and nation: sports, nationalism, and attitudes toward refugees." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(12).

- Steele, Liza G., Lamis Abdelaaty, and Nga Than. 2023. "Attitudes about refugees and immigrants arriving in the United States: a conjoint experiment." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46(10).

### Week 7 - May 16: Migrant behavior

What actions on the part of migrants increase or decrease inclusion?

- Adida, Claire L. and Amanda Robinson. 2023. "Why (some) immigrants resist assimilation: US racism and the African immigrant experience." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 18.
- Abramitzky, Ran et al. 2023. "The refugee advantage: English-language attainment in the early twentieth century." *NBER Working Paper* 31730.
- Fouka, Vasiliki. 2019. "How do immigrants respond to discrimination? The case of Germans in the US during World War I." *American Political Science Review* 113(2).
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2014. "The upside of accents: language, inter-group difference, and attitudes toward immigration." *British Journal of Political Science* 45.
- Sambanis, Nicholas, Mathias Poertner, and Danny Donghyun Choi. 2022. "Native Bias: Overcoming discrimination against immigrants." Selected chapters.

### Week 8 - May 23: Emotions and Narratives

To what extent does an appeal to the public's emotions exacerbate or alleviate exclusion?

- Aarøe, Lene, Michael Bang Petersen, and Kevin Arceneaux. 2017. "The behavioral immune system shapes political intuitions: why and how individual differences in disgust sensitivity underlie opposition to immigration." *The American Political Science Review* 111(2).
- Adida, Claire L., Adeline Lo, and Melina R. Platas. 2018. "Perspective taking can promote short-term inclusionary behavior toward Syrian refugees." *PNAS* 115(38).
- Albertson, Bethany and Shana Gadarian. *Anxious Politics*. Chapters 3 and 5.
- Dinas, Elias, Vasiliki Fouka, and Alain Schlöpfer. 2021. "Family history and attitudes toward out-groups: evidence from the European Refugee Crisis." *The Journal of Politics* 83(2).
- 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(1).

### Week 9 - May 30: Migrant exclusion in developing countries

- Abdelaaty, Lamis. 2021. "Discrimination and Delegation; Explaining State responses to refugees." Oxford University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 6.
- Adida, Claire L. 2011. "Too close for comfort? Immigrant exclusion in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(10).
- Alrababa'h et al. 2021. "Attitudes toward migrants in a highly impacted economy: evidence from the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(1).
- Zhou, Yang-Yang and Jason Lyall. Forthcoming. "Prolonged contact does not reshape locals' attitudes toward migrants in wartime settings: experimental evidence from Afghanistan." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Zhou, Yang-Yang, Guy Grossman, and Shuning Ghe. 2023. "Inclusive refugee-hosting can improve local development and prevent public backlash."

### Week 10 - June 6: Final Presentations