

POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

Prof. Tom K. Wong, Ph.D.

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Office Hours: on demand, schedule via email

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TAs:

- Bertrand Lewis Wilden (bwilden@ucsd.edu) [office hours link](#)
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Requirements

- 35% Midterm Exam
 - Tuesday, 5/9, in class, 11:00 AM PST – 12:20 PM PST
 - Multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions
- 25% Policy Memo
 - Due Thursday, 6/8 via Canvas no later than 11:00 AM PST
 - 5 single-spaced pages, 1-inch margins, 12-point Times New Roman font
 - Prompt to be distributed after midterm
- 40% Cumulative Final Exam
 - Tuesday, 6/13, in class, 11:00 AM PST – 2:29 PM PST
 - Multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions

In-Person Lectures

- In-person lectures will not be recorded. In-person lectures will not be podcasted. Attendance will not be taken

Lecture Slides

- Lecture slides will be posted on Canvas after each lecture

Readings (all readings posted on Canvas)

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Contentious Politics of Immigration in the United States

- 4/6-11 | **Jens Hainmueller and Daniel J. Hopkins.** 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225-249.
- Ted Brader, Nicholas 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.
- Daniel J. Hopkins, John Sides, and Jack Citrin.** 2019. "The muted consequences of correct information about immigration." *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): 315-320.

Recommended

- Sophia Jordan Wallace and Chris Zepeda-Millan. 2020. *Walls, Cages, and Family Separation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Levy, Morris and Matthew Wright. 2020. *Immigration and the American Ethos*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diana C. Mutz. 2018. "Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(19): E4330-E4339.
- German A. Cadenas, Jesus Cisneros, Nathan R. Todd, and Lisa B. Spanierman. 2018. "DREAMzone: Testing two vicarious contact interventions to improve attitudes toward undocumented immigrants." *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education* 11(3): 295.

- René D. Flores. 2017. "Do anti-immigrant laws shape public sentiment? A study of Arizona's SB 1070 using Twitter data." *American journal of sociology* 123(2): 333-384.
- Matthew Wright, Morris Levy, and Jack Citrin. 2015. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy Across the Legal/Illegal Divide: The Role of Categorical and Attribute-Based Decision-Making." *Political Behavior*.
- Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, Alexandra Filindra, and Joshua J. Dyck. 2015. "When Partisans and Minorities Interact: Interpersonal Contact, Partisanship, and Public Opinion Preferences on Immigration Policy." *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Deborah J. Schildkraut. 2014. "Boundaries of American Identity: Evolving Understandings of 'Us.'" *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 441-460.
- Sniderman, Paul, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing factors and situational triggers: Exclusionary reactions to immigrant minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49
- Rui De Figueiredo and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry Into the Vices of In Group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 171-188.
- Desmond King. 2002. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Harvard University Press.
- Matthew Frye Jacobson. 1999. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Harvard University Press.
- John Higham. 1955 [2002]. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Rutgers University Press.

Understanding Contemporary International Migration: Theory and Evidence

- 4/13-18 | **Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark Miller.** 2014 (5th edition). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. The Guilford Press. **Read "Introduction," "Theories of Migration," and "How Migration Transforms Societies."**
- Douglas Massey et al.** 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.

Recommended

- E.G. Ravenstein. 1885. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48(2): 167-235.
- E.G. Ravenstein. 1889. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52(2): 241-305.
- Larry A. Sjaastad. 1962. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *The Journal of Political Economy* 70(5): 80-93.
- Everett S. Lee. 1966. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography* 3(1): 47-57.
- Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2005. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. MIT Press.

Immigration Politics and Policy in the United States: Legal Admissions Policies and Humanitarian Immigration

- 4/20-25 | **Tom K. Wong.** 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. **Read p. 1-53**
- White House.** 2022. [Report to Congress on the Proposed Emergency Presidential Determination on Refugee Admissions for Fiscal Year 2023.](#)
- White House.** 2020. [Presidential Determination on Refugee Admissions for Fiscal Year 2021.](#)
- White House.** 2018. [Presidential Proclamation Addressing Mass Migration Through the Southern Border of the United States.](#)

Recommended

- Aristide Zolberg. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy and the Fashioning of America*. Harvard University Press.
- Daniel Tichenor. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Oscar Handlin. 1951 [2002]. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Midterm Review, 5/4

Midterm, 5/9, in class, 11:00 AM PST – 12:20 PM PST

Immigration Politics and Policy in the United States: Border Security Policies

- 5/11-5/16 | **Tom K. Wong**. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. **Read p. 54-71**
- United States Border Patrol**. 1994. *Border Patrol Strategic Plan: 1994 and Beyond*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Border Patrol Agency.
- Sophia Jordan Wallace and Chris Zepeda-Millan**. 2020. *Walls, Cages, and Family Separation*. Cambridge University Press. **Read p. 9-27**

Recommended

- White House. 2021. *Executive Order, Proclamation on the Termination of Emergency With Respect to the Southern Border of the United States and Redirection of Funds Diverted to Border Wall Construction*.
- White House. 2017. *Executive Order 13767, Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements*.
- Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand, and Karen A. Pren. 2016. "Why border enforcement backfired." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(5):1557-1600.
- Peter Andreas. 2012. *Border games: Policing the US-Mexico divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Nevins, Joseph. 2010. *Operation gatekeeper and beyond: The war on "illegals" and the remaking of the US-Mexico boundary*. New York: Routledge.
- Wayne A. Cornelius and Idean Salehyan. 2007. "Does border enforcement deter unauthorized immigration? The case of Mexican migration to the United States of America." *Regulation & Governance* 1(2):139-153.
- Mae Ngai. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wayne A. Cornelius. 2001. "Death at the border: Efficacy and unintended consequences of US immigration control policy." *Population and Development Review* 27(4):661-685.

No Class 5/18: Extra-Credit Assignment to be Distributed via Canvas

Immigration Politics and Policy in the United States: Interior Immigration Enforcement Policies

- 5/23-25 | **Tom K. Wong**. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. **Read p. 71-98**
- White House**. 2017. *Executive Order 13768, Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States*.
- U.S. Conference of Mayors and Major Cities Chiefs Association**. 2017. *U.S. Mayors, Police Chiefs Concerned with Sanctuary Cities Executive Order*
- Sophia Jordan Wallace and Chris Zepeda-Millan**. 2020. *Walls, Cages, and Family Separation*. Cambridge University Press. **Read p. 28-48**

Recommended

- Tom K. Wong, S. Deborah Kang, Carolina Valdivia, Josefina Espino, Michelle Gonzalez, and Elia Peralta. 2020. "How Interior Immigration Enforcement Affects Trust in Law Enforcement." *Perspectives on Politics*
- Benjamin Gonzalez O'Brien, Loren Collingwood, and Stephen Omar El-Khatib. 2019. "The politics of refuge: Sanctuary cities, crime, and undocumented immigration." *Urban Affairs Review* 55(1): 3-40.
- Tom K. Wong, Karina Shklyan, Anna Isorena, and Stephanie Peng. 2019. *The Impact of Immigration Enforcement on the Day-to-Day Behaviors of Undocumented Immigrants*. U.S. Immigration Policy Center Working Paper 1. La Jolla, CA: U.S. Immigration Policy Center.
- Tom K. Wong. 2017. *The Effects of Sanctuary Policies on Crime and the Economy*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.

Immigration Politics and Policy in the United States: Immigrant Integration and Legal Status

- 5/30-6/1 | **Tom K. Wong.** 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. **Read p. 98-109**
- National Academies of Sciences (NAS).** 2017. *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society*. Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press. **Read "Legal Status and Immigrant Integration" and "Political and Civic Dimensions of Immigrant Integration"**

Recommended

- Tomás R. Jiménez, Julie Park, and Juan Pedroza. 2018. "The New Third Generation: Post-1965 Immigration and the Next Chapter in the Long Story of Assimilation." *International Migration Review* 52(4): 1040-1079.
- Andrés Villarreal and Christopher R. Tamborini. 2018. "Immigrants' Economic Assimilation: Evidence from Longitudinal Earnings Records." *American Sociological Review* 83(4): 686
- Mary C. Waters and Tomás R. Jiménez. 2005. "Assessing immigrant assimilation: New empirical and theoretical challenges." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 31(1): 105-125.
- Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou. 1993. "The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants." *The annals of the American academy of political and social science* 530(1): 74-96.
- William S. Bernard. 1936. "Cultural determinants of naturalization." *American Sociological Review* 1(6): 943-953.

Immigration Politics and Policy in the United States: Comprehensive Immigration Reform

- 6/6 | **Tom K. Wong.** 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. **Read "The Determinants of Immigration Policymaking in the United States"**

Recommended

- Hiroshi Motomura. 2014. *Immigration Outside the Law*. Oxford University Press.
- U.S. Senate. 2013. S.744: Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/senate-bill/744>
- Jason Casellas and David Leal. 2013. "Partisanship or Population? House and Senate Immigration Votes in the 109th and 110th Congresses." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 1(1): 48-65.
- Irene Bloemraad, Kim Voss, and Taeku Lee. 2011. "The Protests of 2006: What Were They, How Do We Understand Them, Where Do We Go?" In *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. UC Press.

- Joel S. Fetzer. 2006. "Why Did House Members Vote for HR 4437?" *International Migration Review* 40(3): 698-706.
- Carolyn Wong. 2005. *Lobbying for Inclusion: Rights Politics and the Making of Immigration Policy*. Stanford University Press.
- Lina Newton. 2005. *Illegal, Alien, or Immigrant: The Politics of Immigration Reform*. NYU Press.
- James G. Gimpel and James R. Edwards. 1999. *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Claudia Goldin. 1994. "The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921." In *The Regulated Economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy*. University of Chicago Press.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Contentious Politics of Immigration in Comparative Perspective

- TBD | **John Sides and Jack Citrin.** 2007. "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 477-504.
- Lauren McLaren.** 2003. "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants." *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.
2019. "Europe and Right-Wing Nationalism: A County-By-Country Guide." BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006>
- Kai Arzheimer.** 2009. "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980–2002," *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.

Recommended

- Timothy Hellwig and Abdulkader Sinno. 2017. "Different groups, different threats: public attitudes towards immigrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(3): 339-358.
- Matthew Goodwin and Caitlin Milazzo. 2017. "Taking back control? Investigating the role of immigration in the 2016 vote for Brexit." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 19(3): 450-464.
- Shanto Iyengar, et al. 2013. "Do Attitudes About Immigration Predict Willingness to Admit Individual Immigrants? A Cross-National Test of the Person-Positivity Bias." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77(3): 641-665.
- Geertje Lucassen and Marcel Lubbers. 2012. "Who Fears What? Explaining Far-Right-Wing Preference in Europe by Distinguishing Perceived Cultural and Economic Ethnic Threats." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(5): 547-574.
- Alin M. Ceobanu and Xavier Escandell. 2010. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1): 309-328.
- Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.
- Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. University of Michigan Press.

Rights, Citizenship, and the Future of Immigration Politics and Policy

- TBD | **Michael Walzer.** 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. Basic Books. **Read "Membership."**
- Joseph H. Carens.** 1987. "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders." *The Review of Politics* 49(2): 251-273.

Recommended

- Aristide R. Zolberg. 2012. "Why Not the Whole World? Ethical Dilemmas of Immigration

Policy.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 56(9): 1204-1222.
Review Symposium: Citizenship in an Unequal World. 2011. *Perspectives on Politics* 9(3): 621-637.
Sarah Song. 2009. “What Does it Mean to be an American?” *Daedalus* 182(2): 31-40.
Seyla Benhabib. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge University Press.

Final Review, 6/8

Final, 6/13, in class, 11:00 AM PST – 2:29 PM PST