

The Politics of Immigration, Winter 2013

Instructor: Tom K. Wong

Office: SSB 363

Email: tomkwong@ucsd.edu

Office Hours: Monday 12-2PM in SSB 363

Additional Office Hours (please email in advance to make appointment):

- Skype (tomkwong_ucsd) Hours: Tuesday 2-3PM
- Coffee Shop Hours: Thursday 10-11AM, location TBD

Introduction

This course examines how the United States and other immigrant-receiving countries are being transformed by, and are responding to, international migration. It addresses the central questions in migration studies and provides a comprehensive overview of the debates that have arisen among scholars in the field. We will address such topics as why people migrate, ethical debates related to efforts to control immigration, the politics and determinants of immigration policy, immigrant societal and political incorporation (and exclusion), the racialization of immigrants, and how immigration is affecting the meaning and practice of citizenship. After examining these key issues in comparative perspective, we will take a closer look at immigration policy in the U.S. and the incorporation (or lack thereof) of America's diverse immigrant groups, focusing on Hispanics/Latinos and Asians.

Requirements

- Midterm, 2/8/12, (multiple-choice and short-answer questions) 30%
- Final Exam (multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions) 40%
(Comprehensive)
- Group Presentation 20% (census data analysis, prompt to be distributed during week 3)
- Lecture Participation 10%

Readings (all readings posted on TED)

A World in Motion: Migration in Historical Perspective

1/9 | **David Held et al.** 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. **Read chapter 6, "People on the Move," p. 283-326.**

Recommended:

Stephen Castles and Mark Miller. 2009 (4th edition). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press. [Read ch. 3 "International Migration Before 1945," ch. 4 "Migration to Europe, North America, and Oceania Since 1945," ch. 5 "Migration in Asia," ch. 6 "Migration in Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America"]

Theories of Migration

1/11-14 | **Douglas Massey et al.** 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.

Recommended:

- Stephen Castles and Mark Miller. 2009 (4th edition). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press. [Read ch. 1 “Theories of Migration”]
- E.G. Ravenstein. 1889. “The Laws of Migration,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52(2): 241-305.
- E.G. Ravenstein. 1885. “The Laws of Migration,” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48(2): 167-235.
- Larry A. Sjaastad. 1962. “The Costs and Returns of Human Migration,” *The Journal of Political Economy* 70(5): 80-93.
- Marc Hooghe, Ann Trappers, Bart Meuleman, and Tim Reeskins. 2008. “Migration to European Countries: A Structural Explanation of Patterns, 1980-2004,” *International Migration Review* 42(2): 476-504.
- Fred Krissman. 2005. “Sin Coyote Ni Patron: Why the 'Migrant Network' Fails to Explain International Migration.” *International Migration Review* 39(1): 4-44.
- George Borjas. 1989. “Economic Theory and International Migration,” *International Migration Review* 23(3): 457-485.
- Hein De Haas. 2005. “International Migration, Remittances and Development,” *Third World Quarterly* 26(8): 1269-1284.

Controlling Migration: Ethical Debates

1/16-21 |

- Michael Walzer**. 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. New York, NY: Basic Books. **Read chapter 2, “Membership,” p. 31-63.**
- Matthew J. Gibney**. 2004. *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Read “Introduction,” p. 1-22.**

Recommended:

- Immanuel Kant. (1795) 1983. “To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays on Politics, History, and Moral Practice*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Seyla Benhabib. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge University Press. [Read “Introduction” and “Conclusion”]
- Joseph H. Carens. 2008. “The Rights of Irregular Migrants,” *Ethics and International Affairs* 22(2): 163-186.

No Class January 18th

The Determinants of Immigration Policy

1/23-25 |

- Gary Freeman and Alan Kessler**. 2008. “Political Economy and Migration Policy,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(3): 655-678.
- Wayne Cornelius and Takeyuki Tsuda**. 2004 (2nd edition). “Controlling Immigration: The Limits of Government Intervention.” In *Controlling Migration: A Global Perspective* Wayne Cornelius et al. (eds). Stanford CA: Stanford University Press. **Read p. 3-20.**

Recommended:

- Antje Ellermann. 2009. *States Against Migrants*. Cambridge University Press. [Read Chapter 1, “A Theory of Socially Coercive State Capacity”]

- James Hollifield. 2004. "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review* 38(3): 885-912.
- Christian Joppke. 1998. "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics* 50(2): 266-293.
- Eytan Meyers. 2000 "Theories of International Immigration Policy: A Comparative Analysis," *International Migration Review* 34(4): 1245-1282.
- Stephen Castles. 2004. "The Factors that Make and Unmake Migration Policies," *International Migration Review* 38(3): 852-884.
- Antje Ellermann. 2007. "Street-level Democracy: How Immigration Bureaucrats Manage Public Opposition," *West European Politics* 29(2): 293-309.
- Terri Givens and Adam Luedtke. 2004. "The Politics of European Union Immigration Policy: Institutions, Salience, and Harmonization," *Policy Studies Journal* 32(1): 145-165.
- Jeanette Money. 1997. "No Vacancy: The Political Geography of Immigration Control in Advanced Industrialized Countries," *International Organization* 51(4): 685-720.
- Douglas S. Massey. 1999. "International Migration at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: The Role of the State," *Population and Development Review* 25(2): 303-322.
- Saskia Sassen. 1996. *Losing Control: Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wayne Cornelius and Marc Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1): 99-119.
- Virginie Guiraudon and Gallya Lahav. 2000. "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control" *Comparative Political Studies* 33(2): 163-195.

The Mechanisms of Immigration Control

1/28-30 |

- Amnesty International.** 2009. *Jailed Without Justice: Immigration Detention in the USA*. New York, NY: Amnesty International Publications.
- Matthew Coleman and Austin Kocher.** 2011. "Detention, Deportation, Devolution and Immigrant Incapacitation in the US, Post 9/11," *The Geographic Journal* 177(3): 228-237.
- Liz Fekete.** 2005. "The Deportation Machine: Europe, Asylum, and Human Rights," *Race & Class* 47(1): 64-78.
- Liza Schuster.** 2005. "A Sledgehammer to Crack a Nut: Deportation, Detention and Dispersal in Europe," *Social Policy & Administration* 39(6): 606-621.

Recommended:

- David Brotherton and Phillip Kretsedemas (eds.). 2008. *Keeping Out the Other: A Critical Introduction to Immigration Enforcement Today*. Columbia University Press.
- Wayne Cornelius. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.
- Joseph Nevins. 2002. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- William Walters. 2002. "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens," *Citizenship Studies* 6(3): 265-292.
- Grete Brochmann. 1999. "The Mechanisms of Control." In *The Mechanisms of Immigration Control: A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policy* Grete Brochmann and Tomas Hammar (eds.). New York: Berg. [Read p. 1-28]
- Mark Dow. 2004. *American Gulag: Inside U.S. Immigration Prisons*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Marshall Fitz, Gebe Martinez, and Madura Wijewardena. 2010. *The Costs of Mass Deportation: Impractical, Expensive, and Ineffective*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.
- California State Senate. 2005. *The Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program*.

- Daniel Hopkins. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition," *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 40-60.
- Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom Wong. 2010 "Partisanship, Not Spanish: Explaining Local Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants," in *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States*. Monica W. Varsanyi, Ed. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

The Politics of Exclusion I: Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

- 2/1-4 | **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.
- 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.
- Paul 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.

Recommended:

- Lauren McLaren. 2003. "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants," *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.
- 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.

Midterm Review 2/6

Midterm 2/8

The Politics of Exclusion II: The Radical Right

- 2/11-13 | **Herbert Kitschelt.** 2007. "Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research," *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5): 1176-1206.
- 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:

- Terri Givens. 2005. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press. [Read ch. 1 "The Radical Right" and ch. 4 "Immigration, Unemployment, and the Vote for the Radical Right"]
- Marc Howard. 2010. "The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5): 735-751.

The Politics of Membership: Theorizing Citizenship

- 2/15 | **Irene Bloemraad, Anna Korteweg, and Gokce Yurdakul.** 2008. "Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(1): 8.1-8.27.

Recommended:

- Yasemin Soysal. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. [Read ch. 1 "Introduction," ch. 2 "International Migration and the Nation-state System," ch. 7 "The Membership Rights and Status of Migrants," and ch. 8 "Toward a Postnational Model of Membership"].
- Christian Joppke. 1999. "How Immigration is Changing Citizenship: A Comparative View." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(4): 629-52.
- Richard Falk. 2000. "The Decline of Citizenship in an Era of Globalization," *Citizenship Studies* 4(1): 5-17.
- Rogers Brubaker. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith. 1985. *Citizenship Without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Polity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Between Membership and Exclusion: Liminal "Illegality"

2/18 |

- Nicholas P. De Genova**. 2002. "Migrant "Illegality" and Deportability in Everyday Life," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(1): 419-447.
- Kamal Sadiq**. 2009. *Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship*. Oxford University Press. **Read Chapter 4, "Documentary Citizenship," p. 101-138.**

Recommended:

- Susan Coutin. 2005. "Contesting Criminality: Illegal Immigration and the Spatialization of Legality." *Theoretical Criminology* 9(1): 5-33.
- Katherine M. Donato and Amada Armenta. "What We Know About Unauthorized Migration." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37, no. 1 (2011): 529-543.
- Godfried Engbersen. 2001. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Panopticon Europe: Residence Strategies of Illegal Immigrants." In *Controlling a New Migration World*, edited by Virginie Guiraudon and Christian Joppke. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dennis Broeders and Godfried Engbersen. 2009. "The State versus the Alien: Immigration Control and Strategies of Irregular Immigrants," *West European Politics* 32 (5): 867-885.
- Monika Krause. 2008. "Undocumented Migrants: An Arendtian Perspective," *European Journal of Political Theory* 7(3): 331-348.

The Racialization of Immigrants

2/20 |

- Paul A. Silverstein**. 2005. "Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in New Europe," 34(1): 363-384.

Recommended:

- Liz Fekete. 2009. *A Suitable Enemy: Racism, Migration and Islamophobia in Europe*. New York, NY: Pluto Press.

No Class 2/22

Immigration Policy and the Making of the "Other" in the United States

2/25 |

Mae Ngai. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **Read “Part I: The Regime of Quotas and Papers” and “Part II: Migrants at the Margins of Law and Nation.”**

Recommended:

Aristde Zolberg. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy and the Fashioning of America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Daniel Tichenor. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Read ch. 2 “The Politics of Immigration Control: Understanding the Rise and Fall of Policy Regimes”]

Oscar Handlin. 2002. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People*. 2nd Edition. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

U.S. Immigration Policy and Comprehensive Immigration Reform

2/27-3/4 |

Joel Fetzer. 2006. “Why Did House Members Vote for HR 4437?” *International Migration Review* 40(3): 698-706.

Barreto, Matt A., Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramirez, and Kathy H. Rim. 2009. “Mobilization, Participation, and Solidaridad: Latino Participation in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies,” *Urban Affairs Review* 44(5): 736-64.

Rim, Kathy H. 2009. “Latino and Asian American Mobilization in the 2006 Immigration Protests,” *Social Science Quarterly* 90 (3): 703-21.

Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 .

<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:HR04437>. [Browse]

Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act 2006. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d109:S2611>. [Browse]

DREAM Act 2010. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d111:H.R.5281>. [Browse]

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) 2012.

<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.cb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=f2ef2f19470f7310VgnVCM100000082ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=f2ef2f19470f7310VgnVCM100000082ca60aRCRD>. [Browse]

Recommended:

Ruben J. Garcia. 1995. “Critical Race Theory and Proposition 187: The Racial Politics of Immigration Law,” *Chicano-Latino Law Review* 118(1): 40-60.

Leisy Abrego. 2008. “Legitimacy, Social Identity, and the Mobilization of Law: The Effects of Assembly Bill 540 on Undocumented Students in California,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 33(3): 709-734.

Eunice Hyunhye Cho. 2008. “Beyond the Day without an Immigrant: Immigrant Communities Building a Sustainable Movement.” In *Immigrant Rights in the Shadows of Citizenship* ed. Rachel Ida Buff. New York: NYU Press.

Pantoja, Adrian D., Cecilia Menjivar and Lisa Magana. 2008. “The Spring Marches of 2006: Latinos, Immigration, and Political Mobilization in the 21st Century,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 52(4): 499-506.

Current Trends in Immigrant Incorporation

3/6-8 |

U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder. <http://factfinder2.census.gov/>. [Browse]

Recommended:

Pew Hispanic Center. 2012. *When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity*.

- Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco and Mariela M. Paez (eds.). 2009. *Latinos Remaking America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. [Read Part 2 “Health, Families, Languages, Education, and Politics].
- Pew Hispanic Center. 2012. *A Record 24 Million Latinos Are Eligible to Vote, But Turnout Rate Has Lagged That of Whites, Blacks*.
- Rodolfo O. De La Garza. 2004. “Latino Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7(1): 91-123.
- Marisa Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. *New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [Read ch. 1 “Hispanic Political Identity” and conclusion “The Complexity of Studying Hispanic Political Behavior”].
- Juan Gonzalez. 2011. *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America*. NY: Penguin Books.
- Pew Research Center. 2012. *The Rise of Asian Americans*.
- Janelle Wong et al. 2011. *Asian American Political Participation*. NY: Russell Sage Foundation. [Read ch. 1 “Making Visible: Political Participation” and ch. 2 “Settling In: Immigrant Adaptation”].
- Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong. 2005. “The Multifaceted American Experiences of the Children of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(6): 1119-1152.
- Stacey J. Lee. 1994. “Behind the Model-Minority Stereotype: Voices of High- and Low-Achieving Asian American Students,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 25(4): 413-429.
- Qin Zhang. 2010. “Asian Americans Beyond the Model Minority Stereotype: The Nerdy and the Left Out,” *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 3(1): 20-37.

Group Presentations 3/11-15

Final Review TBA