

U.S. Immigration Policy
Political Science 126C / Chicano/Latino Studies 163
Winter 2013

Professor Louis DeSipio

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 3:30-5 and by appointment

SSPB 5283

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Class Web Site: <https://eee.uci.edu/13w/67200>

Course Overview:

The United States is in the middle of a national debate over immigration policy and the outcomes of immigrant incorporation. The debate is not just taking place in the U.S. Congress, which has the power and responsibility to shape policy, but also in national politics, in state legislatures, in the courts, and in community organizing. In some form, the current debate began in the early 1990s, but has achieved a new urgency in the last several years.

Congress has debated significant legislative changes to immigration policy in 2005, 2006, and 2007, but these debates largely ended inconclusively which had the effect of raising even more the salience of immigration as a policy issue in the public's mind. Congress will likely again debate immigration reform in 2013.

Our goal in this class is to analyze what it will take for Congress to craft a "comprehensive" immigration reform and what that legislation will likely include. Although the need for comprehensive reform is debated (the status quo works for many in the society), the high level of popular dissatisfaction with current policies, the pressures put on the nation by demands for immigrant labor, and the high number of unauthorized migrants resident in the United States demonstrate the need for a thorough review of current policies.

Course Readings:

Readings are taken from two sources. I will ask that you read three books and several sources available on the class web site. The books, available at the campus bookstore and are on reserve at the library, are:

DeSipio, Louis, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 1998. *Making Americans, Remaking America: Immigration and Immigrant Policy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Schrag, Peter. 2010. *Not Fit for Our Society: Immigration and Nativism in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Voss, Kim, and Irene Bloemraad. 2011. *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

I will expect that you have read the assigned readings *prior* to the class in which they are assigned. Although I will not always make explicit references to the assigned readings in my lectures, having read them in advance will help you understand that day's topic. I encourage you to come to class with questions about the readings.

The reading is weighted to the first seven weeks of the course so that you can dedicate the final weeks to the exam and the group presentations.

Course Structure

Until the last two class sessions, class time will be primarily used for lecture on the topic identified on the syllabus for that day. I welcome questions during class about that day's readings or points made in lecture. I strongly encourage you to raise all questions that you have at any point. If you have questions, your classmates probably do as well.

After students are assigned to their policy study groups (see below), I will dedicate part of a class to *begin* each group's conversation so that you can plan your research activities and presentation for the final two and a half weeks of the class. You should plan, however, to schedule additional group meeting times outside of class.

I will post outlines of each class on the class web site prior to each class. These outlines are meant to be a guide to the material that I will cover in lecture, but are *not* a complete version of what will be said in class. While it might be tempting, I can assure you that you will not be able to replace class attendance with a careful review of the outlines.

Policy Study Groups

By the end of the class, I anticipate that you will become expert on either one of the policy areas that will need to be a part of a comprehensive immigration reform or on one of the interest groups that will shape the legislative debate on immigration reform. I envision forming groups in the following areas (not all will have the same number of student members):

Policy areas:

- Birth-right citizenship
- Border control
- Changes to standards for admission to legal permanent residence (the "point system")
- Guest worker programs
- Immigration and civil liberties
- Immigration policy and international security
- Interior/workplace enforcement
- Legalization of unauthorized immigrants
- Naturalization
- Refugee policy

Interest groups and key actors central to Congressional policy debates (These are a bit more diffuse than the policy areas, but each seems to be a part of the debate):

- Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus and the Tea Party movement, including national officeholders who claim a connection to the Tea Party
- National immigrant rights research and advocacy organizations/ Latino and Asian American civil rights organizations
- National immigration restriction research and advocacy organizations
- State governments in the United States (particularly states along the border)
- The Obama administration
- Employers, particularly the technology and agriculture sectors of the economy
- U.S. trade unions

If you have an idea for another group, I am open to adding to this list. Any additions will have to either focus on a policy area that will be a part of the Congressional debate or an interest group that is organized to influence the policy debate.

Prior to class on January 15, please send me an email (LDESIPIO@UCI.EDU) with your ranked top four choices for assignment to a policy study group for the course. I can't guarantee that you will be assigned to one of the groups that you request, but I will do my best.

This assignment will guide the work you do for your annotated bibliography, the short research paper, and your group presentation, so you should do some preliminary research to ensure that you have sources in mind for your policy research area and that you are interested in the range of proposals in this area.

Course Requirements and Grading

I will evaluate your performance in the class in four ways. These include: 1) an annotated bibliography on your policy study area; 2) a eight to ten page essay of the key debates in your policy study area or the key positions of your interest group; 3) an exam covering the readings and class lectures; and 4) an in-class group presentation on your policy research area and how it contributes to the broader debate on comprehensive immigration reform.

1) Annotated Bibliography: Identify at least eight sources relevant to the topic of your policy study group and write a description of no more than two paragraphs for each citation on the relevance of this source and the its contribution to the current immigration debate. Ideally, some of these sources will be scholarly, some journalistic, and some from advocacy organizations (though I realize that scholarly sources may be hard to find for some of the policy study areas). I will reward students who include scholarly, journalistic, *and* advocacy sources in their annotated bibliographies.

The annotated bibliography will be due in Drop Box, prior to the start of class on January 22. It will account for 10 percent of your final grade.

2) Research Paper on Key Debates in Policy Area: In an essay of eight to ten pages, identify the key debates relevant to immigration reform in your policy study area. I expect this to be an analytical essay, rather than an advocacy essay, meaning that I expect that you will identify the internal debates in your policy area and the range of positions taken. In order to do this, you will have to look at positions taken by a variety of sources. These papers will serve as the foundation for your group activity.

These are *individual* assignments and I do not want you to work on the assignment with other people in your policy study group. My purpose in making this an individual assignment is to ensure that each student brings substantive knowledge to the first group meeting, so that you have the foundation to discuss your policy area from a variety of perspectives and that the group benefits from this diversity of opinion and sources.

The research paper will be due in Drop Box, prior to the start of class on February 12. In addition to submitting a copy to Drop Box for evaluation, you will need to distribute a copy to each member of your policy study group either in paper form or electronically. The policy study groups will meet during class on February 12.

The research paper on key debates will be worth 25 percent of your final grade.

3) Exam: The exam will occur in class on February 26. The class will be able to shape the format of the exam (and the balance between its different parts) and we will discuss it in class on February 19. My goal with the exam will be two-fold: to ensure that students synthesize different sources to be able to make an argument about U.S. immigration policy (this usually takes the form of an essay) and to be able to demonstrate a careful reading of the assigned readings (this usually takes the form of identifications).

The exam will make up 40 percent of the final grade.

4) In-Class Group Presentation and Response(s): Each policy study group will be responsible for making a presentation of approximately 10 minutes (some groups will be allocated a bit more time) that identifies:

- a) the key issue(s) related to the current immigration reform debate
- b) a discussion of the role that the issue played in the 2005, 2006, and 2007 Congressional debates and the preparations for the next round of Congressional immigration reform debates

Each group will select a representative or two to make the group's presentation.

The in-class group presentations and responses will be worth 25 percent of your final grade. This grade will be assigned based on: a) the overall quality of the group presentation and response (a single grade assigned to the group); b) group member evaluations of each group member's performance; and c) attendance at group planning sessions (an attendance sheet will be posted to the class web site).

These in-class presentations will take place March 4 and 11. I will group like groups with like groups and will distribute a presentation schedule by late February.

Extra Credit: I will bring to your attention opportunities to attend events on campus that relate to U.S. immigration policy. I can't predict in advance how many of these events there will be or when they will occur. If you hear of an event that you think might be relevant, please bring it to my attention.

To earn extra credit, I will require that you attend the event and write a description of no more than one page summarizing the key points. You can earn up to one point of extra credit (1 percent of your final grade) for each of these summaries that you submit, up to a maximum of 5 points. That said, I can't guarantee that there will be five such events.

Lecture and Reading Schedule

January 8

- 1) Course Introduction and Overview**
- 2) Thrace, 378 AD and competing notions of making immigration policy**
- 3) Introduction to the current policy debate – What does “comprehensive” immigration Reform Mean in the contemporary debate?**

January 15 **U.S. Immigration and Incorporation Policies – 1492-1965**

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-59.
Schrag, Introduction – chapter 4, pp. 1-138.

Class viewing: *Ellis Island: Island of Hope, Island of Tears*
Angel Island

ASSIGNMENT: Before class, email me (LDESIPIO@UCI.EDU) with your top four preferences for policy study group assignments. I will give preference to requests from students who send their requests in on time.

January 22 **1) The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Amendments and contemporary immigration and immigrant incorporation policy**
2) Other contemporary migrations (unauthorized, short-term, refugees/asylees)
3) Border enforcement and contestation over who enforces U.S. immigration law

READING: Schrag, chapters 5-6, pp. 139-193.
Benton-Cohen, Katherine, and Geraldo Cadava. 2010. "Back to the Border: A Historical Comparison of U.S. Border Politics." Washington, D.C.: Immigration Policy Center. [Posted to the class web site].

Massey, Douglas. 2008. "Caution: NAFTA at Work." *Miller McCune* 1 [April/May]: 30-37 [Posted to the class web site].

Hoefler, Michael; Nancy Rytina; and Bryan Baker. 2012. *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2011*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_ill_pe_2011.pdf. [Posted to the class web site].

Feere, Jon. 2010. "Birthright Citizenship in the United States: A Global Comparison." Washington, D.C.: Center for Immigration Studies [Posted to the class web site].

ASSIGNMENT: Annotated bibliography due in Drop Box before the beginning of class.

January 29 **Immigrant Incorporation**

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapter 3-5, pp. 61-134.

Lee, James. 2012. *U.S. Naturalizations: 2011*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/natz_fr_2011.pdf. [Posted to the class web site].

Gonzales, Roberto. 2007. *Wasted Talent and Broken Dreams: The Lost Potential of Undocumented Students*. Washington, D.C.: Immigration Policy Center. [Posted to the class web site].

February 5 **Immigrant/Second Generation Political Participation and the Future of U.S. Politics**

READINGS: Schrag, chapter 7 and epilogue (pp. 194-232)
 DeSipio, Louis. 2011. "Immigrant Incorporation in an Era of Weak Civic Institutions: Immigrant Civic and Political Participation in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55 [9] [September]: 1189-1213. [Posted to the class web site]
 Lopez, Marc Hugo, and Paul Taylor. 2012. *Latino Voters in the 2012 Election*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center.
http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/11/2012_Latino_vote_exit_poll_analysis_final_11-09.pdf. [Posted to the class web site]
 Asian American Justice Center and APIA Vote. 2012. *Behind the Numbers: Post-Election Survey of Asian American Voters in 2012*. Oakland, CA: APIA Vote. Preliminary Report. [If they release an updated report, I will Replace this reading with the more current data.
http://www.advancingequality.org/files/2012_12_Preliminary_Report_AAPIO_Voting_FINAL.pdf. [Posted to the class web site]

February 12 **The Politics and Policy of Immigration Reform – 1993-07 Initial meeting of Policy Study Groups**

READINGS: Voss and Bloemraad, chapters 1-9 (pp. 3-200).
 Pew Hispanic Center. 2006. *The State of American Public Opinion on Immigration in Spring 2006: A Review of Major Surveys*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center. <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/18.pdf>. [Posted to class web site].

Assignment: Research essay on key debates in your policy research area due in Drop Box before the beginning of class on February 12.

February 19 **Current debates**

- **Congress**
- **Executive discretion**
- **The states and the courts**
- **Public opinion**
- **Meeting national labor market needs**
- **Restructuring immigration preferences for immigration to permanent residence**
- **The electorate**
- **Dual nationality**

Discussion of the structure of the midterm

READINGS: Voss and Bloemraad, chapters 10-13 (pp. 201-258).
 Jones-Correa, Michael. 2012. *Contested Ground: Immigration in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/TCM-UScasestudy.pdf>. [Posted to the class web site]
 Passel, Jeffrey; D’Vera Cohn; and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera. 2012. *Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero – and Perhaps Less*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center. http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/Mexican-migrants-report_final.pdf. [Posted to class web site]

I anticipate adding a reading(s) on immigration reform proposals from the White House, assuming they have formal proposal by this point. If there is an organized response from the Republican leadership in Congress, I would add that as well.

February 26

Midterm exam

March 4 and 11

Group research presentations (schedule distributed in late February)