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Office Hours MW Noon - 2:30 pm, T-TH 2-3  
or whenever my door is open or by appointment

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## **Immigration Politics and Policy**

**GO 367 (4 credits)**

**Spring 2009**

Immigration is one of the most important forces in American society today –re-shaping cities, suburbs, and rural areas, altering racial dynamics, influencing families, education, culture, labor markets, and politics. This class will examine these issues from an interdisciplinary perspective incorporating readings from economics, sociology, demography, and political science as well as the depiction of immigration in popular culture. Some of the topics we will address are: the historical evolution of American immigration policy, push and pull theories of immigration, the economic costs and benefits of immigration, the assimilation of recent immigrant, and the future direction of US immigration policy.

### **Readings**

Daniel Tichenor, Daniel J. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (2002).

Jorge Durand, Nolan J. Malone, and Douglas S. Massey, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (2003)

George Borjas, *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (2001)

Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (2004)

Carol Swain, ed. *Debating Immigration* 2008

You should complete the assigned reading and assignment before class. Class will consist primarily of discussion and student presentations.

### **REQUIREMENTS & GRADING**

As befitting your status at one of the “New Ivies”, I have high expectations of student performance. Grades will be determined by student performance on all of the following

1. Class participation/presentations (15%)
2. Explanation of Major U.S. Immigration Legislation 3-4 pages (15%)
3. Migration Paper 3-4 pages (15%)
4. Economic Analysis of Immigration 3-4 pages (15%)
5. Huntington paper 3-4 pages (15%)
6. Final policy paper (25%)

## **COURSE ABSENCES**

A well functioning class that promotes learning requires good attendance. You are allowed two personal days (absences), after that I will deduct 2.5% from your final grade. For example, you receive a 90%, but have missed four classes; your final grade is an 85%. You have an unlimited number of excused absences for illnesses, family crises, etc, though they count against your two absences. For each of these absences, you must provide written excuse from the Dean of Students' office.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **Jan 20 Introduction – Why Study Immigration?**

#### **Section I. US Immigration Policy: Past and Present**

### **Jan 22 Theoretical Foundations of Immigration Policy Reform**

Tichenor, Ch. 2 “The Politics of Immigration Control: Understanding the Rise and Fall of Policy Regimes”

Tichenor, Ch. 3 “Immigrant Voters in a Partisan Polity: European Settlers, Nativism and American Immigration Policy, 1776-1896.”

### **Jan 27 The Politics of Restrictionist Immigration Policy: Closing the Door?**

Tichenor, Ch. 4 “Chinese Exclusion and Precocious State-Building in the Nineteenth-Century American Policy”

Tichenor, Ch. 5 “Progressivism, War, and Scientific Policymaking: The Rise of the National Origins Quota System, 1900-1928”

### **Jan 29 The Politics of Immigration Policy Reform: Open- and Closed-Doors Policies**

Tichenor, Ch. 6 “Two-Tiered Implementation: Jewish Refugees, Mexican Guestworkers, and Administrative Politics.”

Tichenor, Ch. 7 “Strangers in Cold War America: The Modern Presidency, Committee Barons, and Postwar Immigration Politics.”

### **Feb 3 The Politics of Immigration Policy Reform: The Prelude and Rise of the Restrictionist (and Expansionist) Approach to Illegal Immigration**

Tichenor, Ch 8 “The Rebirth of American Immigration: The Rights Revolution, New Restrictionism, and Policy Deadlock.”

Tichenor, Ch. 9 “Two Faces of Expansion: The Contemporary Politics of Immigration Reform.”

### **Feb 5 Tichenor Catch-up day.**

### **Feb 10 A Comparative Perspective on Immigration Politics and Policies**

Gary P. Freeman and Bob Birrell. Divergent Paths of Immigration Politics in the United States and Australia, Population and Development Review, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), pp. 525-551 902.

Christian Joppke. Are "Nondiscriminatory" Immigration Policies Reversible? Evidence from the United States and Australia. Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 38, No. 1, 3-25 (2005)

### **Feb 11 Policy Paper Due**

## **Section II. Immigration Policy and the Mexican Immigration System or Do Fences Work?**

### **Feb 12 Why do people migrate?**

Massey, Chapters 1-3, p. 1-51

### **Feb 17 History of US-Mexico Migration**

Massey, Chapters 4-5 p. 52-104

### **Feb 19 Policy Implications**

Massey, Chapter 6 and 7 p. 105-164

### **Feb 24 A Contrasting Perspective**

Gary P. Freeman, Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration? The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 534, No. 1, 17-30 (1994)

Mark Krikorian, Immigration Enforcement? Yes, We Can! August 2008 <http://www.cis.org/node/742>

Mark Krikorian, Enforcement at Work: The strategy of attrition is bearing fruit,  
<http://www.cis.org/OpedsandArticles/EnforcementatWork>

Office of Homeland Security, "Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2006, Annual Report,"  
[http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/enforcement\\_ar\\_06.pdf](http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/enforcement_ar_06.pdf)

### **Feb 27 Economics paper due.**

## **Section III. Economic Impact of Immigration: Who wins, who loses?**

### **Feb 26 Who comes to America?**

Borjas, Heaven's Door, Preface, Ch 1, 2, 3

### **Mar 3 Who wins and loses from immigration?**

Borjas, Heaven's Door, 4, 5, 6

### **Mar 5 An Economic Approach to Immigration- A Point System**

Borjas, Heaven's Door, Ch 10-11

### **March 7-15 Spring Break - Professor doing field research in Costa Rica**

### **Mar 17 The Opposing View**

Executive Office of the President, Council of Economic Advisers, Immigration's Economic Impact, Washington, DC: June 20, 2007, p 1-8 [http://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/cea\\_immigration\\_062007.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/cea_immigration_062007.pdf)

Roger Lowenstein, The Immigration Equation, New York Times, July 9, 2006

Fiscal Policy Institute, Executive Summary, "Working for a Better Life: A Profile of Immigrants in the New York State Economy," 2007, p. 1-4

[http://www.fiscalpolicy.org/publications2007/FPI\\_ExecSumm\\_WorkingforaBetterLife.pdf](http://www.fiscalpolicy.org/publications2007/FPI_ExecSumm_WorkingforaBetterLife.pdf)

Skim Ira Gang and Ann Piehl, Program on Immigrant and Democracy, Destination New Jersey: How Immigrants Benefit The State Economy

<http://www.eagleton.rutgers.edu/Immigration/NJImmigrationReport.pdf>

### **Mar 19 Brain Circulation**

AnnaLee Saxenian, Brain Circulation: How High-Skill Immigration Makes Everyone Better Off, The Brookings Institution [http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2002/winter\\_immigration\\_saxenian.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2002/winter_immigration_saxenian.aspx)

AnnaLee Saxenian, The New Argonauts, Chapter 1 [http://thenewargonauts.com/SAXNEW\\_excerpt.pdf](http://thenewargonauts.com/SAXNEW_excerpt.pdf)

Skim Richard Florida, Creative Class War: How the GOP's anti-elitism could ruin America's economy. January/February 2004 Washington Monthly,

<http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2004/0401.florida.html>

## **Section IV American Identity in an Era of Mass Immigration- The Huntington Challenge**

### **Mar 24 A Crisis in American Identity**

Huntington, Foreword, Ch 1 and 2

### **Mar 26 The American Identity**

Huntington, Ch 3-6, 37-141

Rogers Smith, Alien Rights, Citizen Rights, in Swain, Debating Immigration p. 114-129

Peruse nativist websites <http://www.fairus.org> and Dick Lamm, How to Destroy America - <http://www.safehaven.com/article-4837.htm>

### **Mar 31 Challenges to American Identity**

Huntington, Ch 7 Deconstructing America v. Ewa Morawska, Transnationalism

Huntington, Ch 8 Assimilation v. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, Assimilation The New Americans, A Guide to Immigration Since 1965 p. 124-136. --See also Growing Share of Immigrants Choosing Naturalization <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=74>

Huntington, Ch. 9 Mexican Immigration and Hispanization v. Jack Citrin, et al. Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity? Perspectives on Politics (2007), 5:1:31-48

--See also Pew Hispanic Center, Hispanic Attitudes Towards Learning English, <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/20.pdf>

### **Apr 2 Renewing American Identity**

Huntington, Ch 11 and 12

Zolberg. Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States, Politics & Society, 1999

Peruse Center for Immigration The French Riots and U.S. Immigration Policy Panel Transcript, <http://www.cis.org/articles/2005/frenchriots> transcript.html

## **Section V. Whither US Immigration Policy?**

### **Apr 7 Public Opinion**

Schuck, The Disconnect Between Public Attitudes and Policy Outcomes in Immigration, Swain. 17-32

Macedo, The Moral Dilemma of US Immigration Policy, Open Borders versus Social Justice 63-105.

Pew Hispanic Center, America's Immigration Quandary, No Consensus on Immigration Problem or Proposed Fixes <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=63>

Pew Hispanic Center, The State of American Public Opinion on Immigration in Spring 2006:

A Review of Major Surveys, <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/18.pdf>

Pew Hispanic Center. [2007 National Survey of Latinos: As Illegal Immigration Issue Heats Up, Hispanics Feel a Chill](http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/84.pdf). Washington, DC, December 2007. <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/84.pdf>

### **Apr 9 Demographics**

Westoff, Immigration and Future Population Change in America, Swain 165-172

John R. Logan, Settlement Patterns in Metropolitan America

### **Apr 14 Hispanic Voting Behavior**

Mark Hugo Lopez , The Hispanic Vote in the 2008 Election, Pew Hispanic Center, 11.5.2008 <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=98>

James G. Gimpel, Latino Voting in the 2006 Election: Realignment to the GOP Remains Distant

Center for Immigration Studies, March 2007, <http://www.cis.org/articles/2007/back307.html>

### **Apr 16 Law and Policy**

Bosniak, The Undocumented Immigrant: Contending Policy Approaches, in Swain ch 6

Pickus and Skerry, Good Neighbors and Good Citizens: Beyond the Legal-Illegal Immigration Debate ch 7

### **Apr 21 Immigration in Europe- A Comparative Perspective**

Hansen, Randall. The Free Economy and the Jacobin State. in Swain ch 16

Howard, The Politics of Immigration and Citizenship in Europe. in Swain ch 17

Apr 23 and 28 Final Presentations