

## Gov 6454 Politics of Immigration

Fall 2011

Wednesday 10:10- 12:05, McGraw Hall 215

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### Course Requirements

The Politics of Immigration” explores key questions and themes in the politics of immigration, touching on immigration politics and policy, as well as immigrant politics, from a variety of perspectives in political science. The course draws extensively on contemporary work in both American and comparative politics. Topics to be addressed include migration, citizenship, immigration policy, immigrant political integration, transnationalism, right wing reaction, local vs national dynamics, the second generation and more.

Each week in the following list of readings includes a major book on one aspect of immigration or a series of related articles and chapters. Class participation and writing assignments will be organized as follows:

- For this course you will write two to three paragraphs questions for each week’s readings, underlining important or unresolved issues in the reading (you are exempt the week you are a ‘defender of the text’. You can pose these as questions for discussion in class. These are due via email by 5pm on Tuesday, the day before class. (20% class grade)
- Attendance, preparation and participation in class discussion of the readings are expected and will be taken into account in assigning final grades. (15% class grade)
- You will be responsible as a ‘defender of the text’ for one week of the class. On this week you will send in a 6-8pg critical essay on the readings, and be prepared to comment on, and ‘defend’ the readings, if necessary, in class. Send your email to me by email by 5pm Tuesday, the day before class (15% class grade).
- There will also be a requirement for a longer (25-30pp) research paper (based qualitative or quantitative data), detailed research design or analytical literature review due at the end of the course. You should write a short précis of the paper and arrange to meet with me in the first half of the semester to talk about your paper topic and approach. (50% class grade)

For all assignments, students are required to abide by Cornell University's Code of Academic Integrity. A copy of the code can be found at the following URL: <http://cuinfo.cornell.edu/Academic/AIC.html>.

Violations of the Code of Academic Integrity, especially plagiarism, may result in a failing grade in the course. Students are urged to read and complete the exercises on "Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism" at <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>.

## Materials

You will want to purchase the following books through Amazon or another on-line site:

- Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hochschild, Jennifer and John Mollenkopf eds. 2009. *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Citizenship and Immigration*. London: Polity Press.
- Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, Mary Waters and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheiriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Comes of Age*. New York: Russell Sage Press and Harvard University Press.
- Motomura, Hiroshi. 2006. *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ngai, Mae. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sadiq, Kamal. 2009. *Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship in Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sassen, Saskia. 1999. *Guests and Aliens*. New York: New Press.
- Tichenor, Daniel. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Varsanyi, Monica ed. 2010. *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy and Activism in U.S. Cities and States*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press
- Copies of shorter reading assignments will either be available electronically, on the course website, and/or handed to you directly.
  - The required reading load may be adjusted along the way. The 'other reading' listed below is for your perusal.

## Weekly Topics and Reading Assignments

### Week 1 (August 24)

#### Why People Move

##### Required Readings:

- Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis." Pp. 34-52 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. 1999. "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy." Pp. 71-93 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

##### Recommended Readings:

- Castles, Stephen and Mark Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Guilford Press
- Fuchs, Lawrence. 1990. *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity and Civic Culture*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.
- Portes, Alejandro and Rubén Rumbaut. 1999. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zolberg, Aristide. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. New York: Russell Sage Press.

**\*\* August 31 meeting cancelled due to APSA meetings \*\***

### Week 2 (September 7)

#### Immigration Policy (and Its Limits)

##### Required Readings:

- Cornelius, Wayne. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31:4 Pp. 775 – 794
- Money, Jeannete. 1999. *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY. Chapter 3
- Sassen, Saskia. 1999. *Guests and Aliens*. New York: New Press.
- Tichenor, Daniel. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (selections)

##### Other Readings:

- Aleinikoff, T. Alexander, David Martin and Hiroshi Motomura. 2003. A Brief History of Immigration to the United States. Pp. 145-169 in *Immigration and Citizenship: Process and Policy, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition*. Thompson West.
- Andreas, Peter. 2000. *Border Games: Policing the U.S. Mexico Divide*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Bean, Frank D. and Gillian Stevens. 2003. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Cornelius, Wayne Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip Martin and James Hollified eds. 2004. *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Galston, William, Noah Pickus and Peter Skerry. 2009. *Breaking the Immigration Stalemate*, Brookings Institute.
- Givens, Terri Gary Freeman and David Leal. 2009. *Immigration Policy and Security: U.S., European and Commonwealth Perspectives*. New York: Routledge Press.
- Legomsky, Stephen H. and Cristina M. Rodriguez. 2009. *Immigration and Refugee Law and Policy*, pp. 91-97
- Massey, Douglas Jorge Durand and Nolan Malone. 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Press.
- Newton, Lina. 2008. *Illegal, Alien or Immigrant: The Politics of Immigration Reform*. New York: New York University Press.
- White House Office of the Press Secretary. 2010. *Remarks by the President on Comprehensive Immigration Reform*, (July).

### **Week 3 (September 14)**

#### **Membership and Citizenship through a European Lens**

##### Required Readings:

- Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Citizenship and Immigration*. London: Polity Press.
- Hansen, Randall and Patrick Weil. 2002. *Dual Nationality, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the U.S. and Europe: The Reinvention of Citizenship*. New York: Berghahn Books. (selections).

##### Other Readings:

- Bloemraad, Irene. 2004. "Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Postnationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditionalism." *International Migration Review* 38(2).
- Brubaker, William Rogers. 1990. "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis." *International Sociology* 5(4):379-407.
- Howard, Marc. 2009. *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Janoski, Thomas. 2010. *The Ironies of Citizenship: Naturalization and Integration in Industrialized Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Chs. 1, 7 & 8.

### **Week 4 (September 21)**

#### **Membership and Citizenship through an American Lens**

##### Required Readings:

- Motomura, Hiroshi. 2006. *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Other Readings:

- Schklar, Judith. 1991. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Spiro, Peter. 2008. *Beyond Citizenship: American Identity After Globalization*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Week 5 (September 28)****Uncertain Membership: Illegality I**Required Readings:

- Ngai, Mae. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Other Readings:

- Cohen, Elizabeth. 2009. *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Motomura, Hiroshi. *The Rights of Others: Legal Claims and Immigration Outside the Law*, 59 Duke L.J. 1723 (2010)

**Week 6 (October 5)****Uncertain Membership: Illegality II**Required Readings:

- Sadiq, Kamal. 2009. *Paper Citizens: How Illegal Immigrants Acquire Citizenship in Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Week 7 (October 12)****Threat and Backlash**Required Readings:

- Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Other Readings:

- Detroit Area Study Team. 2009. *Citizenship and Crisis: Arab Detroit after 9/11*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Givens, Terri. 2005. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Higham, John. 1994. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Huysmans, Jef. 2006. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. New York: Routledge.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 8 (October 19)****Immigrant Integration and Assimilation**Required Readings:

- Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (selections).
- Zhou, Min. 1999. "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation." Pp. 196-211 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage.

Other Readings:

- Bean, Frank D. and Gillian Stevens. 2003. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 5.
- Hero, Rodney and Robert Preuhs, "Immigration and the Evolving American Welfare State," *American Journal of Political Science*, July 2007, pp. 498-517

**Week 9 (October 26)****Federalism and Local Immigration Policy**Required Readings:

- Caponio, Tiziana and Maren Borket, eds. 2010. *The Local Dimensions of Migration Policymaking*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. (selections)
- Ireland, Patrick. 1994. *The Policy Challenge of Ethnic Diversity: Immigrant Politics in France and Switzerland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (selections).
- Varsanyi, Monica ed. 2010. *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy and Activism in U.S. Cities and States*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. (selections)

Other Readings:

- Archibold, Randal C. 2010. "Arizona Enacts Stringent Law on Immigration," *The New York Times* (April 23)
- Archibold, Randal C. 2010. Judge Blocks Arizona's Immigration Law," *The New York Times* (July 28)
- Bolton, Susan. 2010. *United States v. Arizona*, Judge's Order (July 28), [http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/national/20100729\\_ARIZONA\\_DOC.pdf](http://graphics8.nytimes.com/packages/pdf/national/20100729_ARIZONA_DOC.pdf)
- Olivas, Michael A. 2007. "Immigration-Related State and Local Ordinances: Preemption, Prejudice, and the Proper Role for Enforcement." *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. 27.
- Seghetti, Lisa M., et al, 2009. "Enforcing Immigration Law: The Role of State and Local Law Enforcement." *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*

**Week 10 (November 2)****Immigrant Political Integration I**Required Readings:

Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Other Readings:

DeSipio, Louis. 2001. Building America, One Person at a Time: Naturalization and the Political Behavior of the Naturalized in Contemporary American Politics. Pp. 67-106 in *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by G. Gerstle and J. Mollenkopf. New York: Russell Sage.

Hayduk, Ron. 2006. *Democracy for All: Restoring Immigrant Voting Rights in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

Jones-Correa, Michael. 1998. *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City*. Cornell University Press.

Morales, Laura and Marco Guigni eds. 2011. *Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe: Making Multicultural Democracy Work?* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ramakrishnan, Karthick. 2005. *Democracy in Immigrant America: Changing Demographics and Political Participation*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

**Week 11 (November 9)****Immigrant Political Integration II**Required Readings:

Hochschild, Jennifer and John Mollenkopf eds. 2009. *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (selections)

**Week 12 (November 16)****Transnationalism**Required Readings:

Guarnizo, Luis. 2001. "On the Political Participation of Transnational Migrants: Old Practices and New Trends." In Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf eds. *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. New York: Russell Sage Press. Pp,213-263.

Levitt, Peggy and Nina Glick Schiller. 2007. "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society." In Alejandro Portes and Josh deWind eds. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York: Berghan Books. Pp. 181-218.

Morawska, Ewa. 2001. "Immigrants, Transnationalism, and Ethnicization: A Comparison of This Great Wave and the Last." In Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf eds. *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. New York: Russell Sage Press. Pp, 175-212.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. "Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation." In Alejandro Portes and Josh deWind eds. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical*



*and Empirical Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books. Pp. 149-180.  
 Waldinger, Roger and David Fitzgerald. 2004. "Transnationalism in Question" *American Journal of Sociology* 109(5): 1177-1195.

Other Readings:

- Fitzgerald, David. 2000. *Negotiating Extra-Territorial Citizenship: Mexican Migration and the Transnational Politics of Community*. La Jolla: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of San Diego.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. 2002. "The Study of Transnationalism Among the Children of Immigrants: Where We Are and Where We Should Be Headed." in Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters eds. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage. Pp. 221-241.
- Levitt, Peggy. 2001. *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levitt, Peggy. 2002. "The Ties that Change: Relations to the Ancestral Home Over the Life Cycle." In Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters eds. *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage. Pp. 123-144.
- Smith, Michael Peter and Matt Bakker. 2008. *Citizenship Across Borders: The Political Transnationalism of El Migrante*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Smith, Michael Peter and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo. 1999. *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Smith, Robert C. 2006. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**\*\* November 23 -- Thanksgiving \*\***

**Week 13 (November 30)**

**Second Generation**

Required Readings:

- Kasinitz, Philip, John Mollenkopf, Mary Waters and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheiriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Comes of Age*. New York: Russell Sage Press and Harvard University Press. (*selections*)
- Simon, Patrick. 2003. "France and the Unknown Second Generation: Preliminary Results on Social Mobility." *International Migration Review*. 37:4 pp. 1091-1119.

Other Readings:

- Portes, Alejandro and Rubén Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rumbaut, Rubén and Alejandro Portes. 2001. *Ethnicities: Children of Immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Telles, Edward and Vilma Ortiz. 2008. *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation and Race*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

**Week 14 (December 7) (optional)****Race and Immigration**Possible Readings

Bleich, Eric. 2003. *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking since the 1960s*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

King, Desmond. 2000. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lieberman, Robert. 2005. *Shaping Race Policy: The United States in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Waters, Mary C. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Read Introduction and Chapters 1, 3, 4. Skim Chapter 2.