

U.S. Immigration Policy
Political Science 126C / Chicano/Latino Studies 163
Fall 2010

Professor Louis DeSipio

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2-3:30 and by appointment

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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 2010 or 2011 and immigration-related issues will shape the outcomes of the 2010 congressional races and the preparation for the 2012 presidential race.

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.

Kivisto, Peter, and Thomas Faist. 2010. *Beyond A Border: The Causes and Consequences of Contemporary Immigration*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.

Schmidt, Sr., Ronald; Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh; Andrew L. Aoki; and Rodney E. Hero. 2009. *Newcomers, Outsiders, and Insiders: Immigrants and American Racial Politics in the Early Twenty-first Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 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.

The syllabus also provides some data sources that you can review. I do not expect you to look at these in detail. Instead, I offer them as resources for your research project for the quarter. I will reward research papers and group presentations that tap these data to defend the points being made.

Course Structure

Until the last five class sessions of the quarter, 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 (ideally by the evening before). 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 enforcement
- Legalization of unauthorized immigrants

- Naturalization
- Refugee policy
- Workplace enforcement

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):

- Agricultural employers
- Congressional Immigration Reform Caucus
- Latino and Asian American civil rights organizations
- National immigrant rights research and advocacy organizations
- National immigration restriction research and advocacy organizations
- Potential 2012 Republican presidential candidates
- State governments in the United States (particularly states along the border or with new unauthorized populations)
- Tea Party candidates and/or “leaders”
- The Government of Mexico
- The Obama administration
- U.S. Chamber of Commerce (and more broadly non-agricultural employers)
- 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 Thursday, September 30, 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 bibliography.

The annotated bibliography will be due in class on October 12. 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 on November 2. In addition to handing in a copy to me 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 November 4.

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

3) Exam: The exam will occur in class on November 9. 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 November 2. 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 November 16, 18, 23, & 30 and December 2. I will group like groups with like groups and will distribute a presentation schedule by late October.

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

September 23 – **1) Course Introduction and Overview**
2) Thrace, 378 AD and competing notions of making immigration policy

September 28 – **Introduction to Current Debate – What Does “Comprehensive” Immigration Reform Mean in 2010?**

READINGS: Kivisto and Faist, chapters 1-3, pp, 1-84
“Barack Obama on Immigration” *On The Issues*. [Posted to the class web site].

“Immigration” *Barack Obama and Joe Biden: The Change We Need* [Obama Campaign Website]. [Posted to the class website].

Kirkorian, Mark. 2007. “Amnesty Follies: The False Inevitability of ‘Comprehensive Immigration Reform’” *National Review Online*, [March 15]. [posted to the class web site].

Part 1. Historical Perspectives and the Collective Memory

September 30 – **U.S. Immigration and Incorporation Policies 1492-1965**

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-59
Kivisto and Faist, chapter 4, pp 85-126.
Schrag, Peter. 2010. “Unwanted: Immigration and Nativism in America.” Washington: DC: The Immigration Policy Center [Posted to the class web site].

Data on historical and contemporary immigration patterns available at:
<http://www.dhs.gov/files/statistics/publications/LPR09.shtm>.

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.

October 5 – **Collective Memories of Earlier Migrations**

READINGS: Kivisto and Faist, chapters 5-6, pp. 127-192

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

Part II. Contemporary Immigration and Immigrant Incorporation

October 7 – The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Amendments and Contemporary Immigration and Immigrant Incorporation Policy

READING: Kivisto and Faist, chapters 7-8, pp. 193-256.

Data resource: Monger, Randall. 2010. *U.S. Legal Permanent Residents: 2009*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/lpr_fr_2009.pdf.

October 12 – Other Contemporary Migrations (unauthorized, short-term, refugees/asylees), Birth-Right Citizenship, and Changing Modes of Border Enforcement

READINGS: 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. 2010. *Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2009*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_ill_pe_2009.pdf [posted to the class web site].

Passel, Jeffrey S., and Paul Taylor. 2010. *Unauthorized Immigrants and their Children*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Center. [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].

Data resource: Martin, Daniel. 2010. *Refugees and Asylees: 2009*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_rfa_fr_2009.pdf.

ASSIGNMENT: Annotated bibliography due at the beginning of class.

October 14 – Immigrant Incorporation

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

Lee, James. 2010. *Naturalizations in the United States: 2009*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/natz_fr_2009.pdf [posted to the class web site].

October 19 – Immigrant Political Incorporation**READING:**

Schmidt, et. al., introduction and chapters 1-2, pp. 1-66.

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].

October 21 and 26– Immigrant Political Participation, the Second Generation, and the Future of National and Local Politics in the United States**READING:**

Schmidt, et. al, chapters 3-7, pp. 67-268

October 28 and November 2 – The Politics and Policy of Immigration Reform – 2005-07**READINGS:**

Barreto, Matt A.; Sylvia Manzano; Ricardo Ramirez; and Kathy Rim.

2009. "Mobilization, Participation, and Solidaridad: Latino Participation in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies." *Urban Affairs Review* 44: 736-764. [posted to the class web site].

DeSipio, Louis. 2010. "Drawing New Lines in the Sand: A Retrospective Evaluation of Immigration Reform's Failure in 2006 and 2007." In Kim Voss and Irene Bloemraad, eds. *Rallying for Immigrant Rights*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. [posted to the class web site].

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: Short research essay on key debates in your policy research area due at the beginning of class on November 2.

Part III. The Contemporary Political Debate

November 4 –

- 1) Exam Review
- 2) Election Overview
- 3) Initial meeting of policy study groups

November 9 –

In-class Exam

November 11 –

No Class – Veteran's Day Holiday

Part IV. Student Presentations on Comprehensive Immigration Reform

November 16, 18, 23, & 30 and December 2 – Policy Study Group Presentations and Group Reactions