

Migration and Citizenship

Newsletter of the American Political Science Association
Organized Section on Migration and Citizenship

<http://community.apsanet.org/MigrationCitizenship>

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Letter from the Co-Presidents

The excellent attendance at our Migration and Citizenship Section meeting at the unforgettable Washington APSA meeting is another sign that this Section was a terrific idea. Our numbers are currently a bit under 300 — so renew that membership now and add your friends! But we are sizable, solvent and active. Our syllabus bank is growing. We now have 72 undergrad and graduate syllabi on migration and citizenship courses. This past meeting co-chairs Willem Maas and Jane Junn worked a minor miracle by turning our allotted 15 panel slots into 23 panels, sixteen of which were co-sponsored with other sections. How to get the largest number of panels in place (and whether to squeeze more papers on panels) remain thorny issues. We wish Elizabeth Cohen and Daniel Tichenor all the best in their efforts to sort out the proposals and get as many as possible into the final program.

We are, probably more than any other APSA section, a multi-disciplinary group focused on a reasonably discrete set of issues. Our range of methodologies and potential for comparative assessments makes for lively conversations at the annual meeting and elsewhere. Our panels this year spanned a broad gamut of issues. Attendance was gratifying. At times the audience was bigger than the room provided. So it's fair to say that our young Section appears to be in good health. Thank you everyone for your enthusiastic participation!

One of the early accomplishments of this Section is its fine newsletter. In range and depth it rivals some published journals. Our first editor, Antje Ellermann has been succeeded by Marc Helbling, who produced the newsletter you are reading now. Thank you to both — your excellent editorial efforts help to keep our connections strong between meetings. And thank you



to all the members of this past year's award committees, who did a fabulous job in making tough decisions and presenting the awards at the Section meeting.

We can also be grateful for the fifteen scholars who stepped forward to staff this year's award committees for best book, dissertation, article, paper, and chapter published in the past year. Note that nominations are due soon: March 31. Please consider nominating your own work or someone else's — we need to recognize each other's hard work in this fast-moving area.

And share your suggestions for making our Section work better with us and our fellow officers: Els de Graauw, Secretary; Tom Wong, Treasurer; and Council members Joseph Cobetto, Alexandra Filindra, Monica Varsanyi, Rebecca Hamlin, Michael Jones-Correa, and Gerasimos Tsourapas. We all need your good ideas and willingness to take the helm of this exciting venture. Migration and citizenship are more visible issues than now than in most of world history. Ironically, as the world grows smaller, issues of membership grow more significant and work opportunities and challenges must be reinterpreted in a global context. The increasing movement of people makes new demands on institutions and governments and legal systems — all key areas for political scien-

tists. All areas of social science have something to contribute to the study of migration and citizenship and we should all be making the case

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for the centrality of these issues in the study of governance and society.

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Letter from the Editor

I am very excited to introduce the fifth issue of the APSA Citizenship and Migration Newsletter that is the first issue I edited. It has been an honor to take over the position from my predecessor Antje Ellermann. I hope to be able to continue her excellent work for the next two years. As a newsletter editor I would like to continue the rich intellectual exchange between migration scholars that has been started with the past issues. The newsletter should help build a strong community for this still relatively young research field. It is however also important to reach out to other fields. Other domains in political science could also learn from migration scholars, and scholars outside political science could help the group shape a clearer profile.

This issue's main topics are methodology and data. Ron Schmidt and Dvora Yanow have organized a symposium on interpretive methods and methodologies for studying migration and citizenship politics. They have brought together various scholars who work on how natives and strangers are constructed through discourses and by means of metaphors and categories, how immigration is framed and what the role of visual methods can be. It will appear that migration scholars as much as any social scientist have a large toolbox of instruments at their disposition to investigate immigration issues.



This also became clear at the short course on methodology and data that has been organized by Els de Graauw and Mireille Paquet at the last APSA meeting in Washington D.C. In their summary for this issue they present the three panels on data sources as well as various quantitative and qualitative methods.

Discussing the appropriate way to collect data also implies that we talk about research ethics. According to Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea not enough attention is paid to potential problems. They think that political scientists often lack crucial information. This might be especially problematic for migration scholars who often work with particularly vulnerable population. Therefore, they decided to share some insights from their research on US Institutional Review Boards (IRB).

In further contributions of this issue Pieter Bevelander presents the Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) and Caress Schenk summarizes in her policy brief the latest developments in immigration management in Russia.

As always, our news section features information on the latest book and journal publications, as well as member news. We have also included excerpts of the speeches for our Section's best book, best article, best chapter, and best dissertation awards, which were presented at the APSA meeting 2014 in Washington D.C. Please note that we slightly

changed the layout and the structure of the newsletter. You find now the references and notes of all contributions at the end of this issue.

Future issues will continue to rely on your suggestions and contributions. Please get in touch with your ideas and suggestions for symposia – whether research, teaching, or policy focused – and for Teacher's Corner and Policy Brief contributions.

I would like to thank everybody who contributed to this issue and especially my assistant Andrea Pürckhauer for her help.

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Symposium:

Interpretive Methodologies and Methods in Studying Migration and Citizenship Politics, edited by Ron Schmidt, Sr. and Dvora Yanow

Introduction

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As Els de Graauw and Rogers Smith wrote in their “Letter from the Co-Presidents” in the previous issue of this newsletter, “migration and citizenship are topics that by their nature demand to be studied by multiple methods in multiple sub-fields.” In agreement with that notion, we organized this symposium because we have long believed that interpretive methods and methodologies need more sustained attention and development in political science, in general, and so we thought it might be helpful to members of our Section to read several short essays on how understandings of migration and citizenship might be enhanced through interpretive work.

“Interpretive” methods and methodologies take their name from the interpretive turn in social sciences more broadly (e.g., Geertz 1973, Hiley, Bohman, and Shusterman 1991, Rabinow and Sullivan 1979/1985), drawing on ideas from a range of different sources. These include phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophies, along with critical theory’s engagement with power; attention to symbols and their meanings within symbolic-cultural anthropology, semiotics, and literary studies; and pragmatism, symbolic interaction, and ethnomethodology’s everyday action-meaning links. Interpretive analyses shift the analytic focus to *meaning-making* – its expression as well as its communication – as an alternative to instrumental ra-



tionality in explaining human action (see, e.g., Hawkesworth 1988). An interpretive focus also incorporates elements from various other “turns” that have been prominent in social scientific thinking since the latter part of the 20th century: linguistic, historical, metaphoric, practice, pragmatist, and so on (respectively, Fraser 1995, McDonald 1996, Lorenz 1998, Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina, and von Savigny 2001, White 2004). In addition to attending to language as other than a transparent indicator for what it designates, interpretive analysis also treats of acts (cf. Taylor [1971] on “text analogues”; see also Ricoeur 1971), such as nonverbal communication during meetings or the doing of policy implementation, and of objects (physical artifacts), such as built spaces (Goodsell 1993), seeing these, too, as modes of communicating meaning(s). Including acts and objects in a study also incorporates visual elements in the analysis.

Interpretive research can draw, then, as much on participant-observer ethnographic and visual methods (Schatz 2009, Yanow 2014) as it does on textual and other language-focused ones. "Interpretation," in this account, takes certain ideas from hermeneutics – mainly its focus on meaning, on epistemic (or interpretive) communities, on the recursiveness of the hermeneutic circle, and on the possibility for multiple interpretations of political elements – without getting caught in its historically-situated insistence on a specific, and thereby limiting, set of rules for interpreting. Joined with phenomenology's insistence on the role of lived experience in shaping meaning-making, leading to the centrality of context-specific analysis, these ideas have proved generative to the understanding of a range of topics in political studies.¹ In this symposium, we look at several different approaches to the study of immigration and citizenship which fall under the broad umbrella of interpretive methods and methodologies.

Leading off is Ruth Wodak's essay, "The discursive construction of strangers," which discusses and illustrates *discourse-historical analysis* as a means for understanding the complex roles played by language in shaping political conflicts over international migration. Ron Schmidt, Sr.'s essay on "Framing immigration" follows, demonstrating (with two specific US examples) that *critical framing analysis* can illuminate and interrogate the ways in which taken-for-granted frames through which others understand immigrants and immigration have important implications for both political understanding and political conflict. Dvora Yanow's essay, "Naming and counting 'natives' and strangers . . ." draws our attention to, and analyzes, the work of *metaphors* and *categories* in shaping political debate and understanding of migration, illustrated with examples from the

Netherlands. And Anna Sampaio's essay, "Racializing and Gendering Immigration Research within Political Science," takes an *intersectional* approach to critical discourse and institutional analysis, demonstrating the rich insights possible when analysts explore the dynamic intersections of multiple modes of subordination affecting Latina/o migrants in the enforcement of immigration policy.

In different ways, each of the four essays mentioned above centers on language-focused analysis for understanding international migration and the local political conflicts that are driven by this large-scale contemporary phenomenon. The final two essays in our symposium take a somewhat different tack. Kevin Bruyneel's essay, "Migration and Settlement . . ." provides "an indigenous studies perspective on the politics of migration in settler states," arguing that such a perspective is invaluable for grasping a more fully developed understanding of the phenomenon of such immigration, illustrated by examples from the United States. His essay is a further illustration of the utility and power of critical framing analysis, as per the Schmidt essay, here extended to the analysis of academic discourses and ways of seeing (much as, for instance, Brown 1976 examines the metaphors of social theory and McCloskey 1985 and Mirowski 1989, the rhetoric and metaphors of economics). Finally, Kristen Hill Maher's essay, "Finding narratives through visual methods," demonstrates the power of visual representations developed by both researchers and research participants in guiding analyses of migration narratives.

We are hopeful that these essays will stimulate further inquiry and discussion regarding the role of interpretive methods in "making sense" (Taylor 1971) of international migration in contemporary political science.

The Discursive Construction of Strangers: Analyzing Discourses about Migrants and Migration from a Discourse-historical Perspective

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Discourse and Migration

Studying various dimensions of migration from a discursive point of view implies making decisions on the kind of more general complex problem one is interested in, the research questions which focus on specific aspects of that problem, and the kind of data that will be analysed in order to understand and explain the object under investigation. Migration can be studied both from an *in-side perspective* (i.e., by interviewing migrants, in making focus groups with migrants, or by participant observation of interactions with migrants in various settings, or by any combination of such methods and genres); or from an *out-side perspective*, by studying media reports about migration and migrants, policy papers, legislation, manifestoes and programmes of political parties, election campaign materials, and so forth. All these *genres* necessarily consist of *text and talk* – written, spoken or visual communication².

Indeed, an interview also has to be regarded as a dialogue and analysed accordingly. Frequently, however, social scientists only reproduce snippets of interview material in a paper or book which are supposed to *illustrate* some claims or findings. They seem thereby to forget that every text is dialogical; i.e., every text acquires its meaning in context and in dialogue with the specific audience, reader, listener or viewer who is part of that context. This is why analyses and interpretations have to be retroductable³, systematic and explicit, deconstructing the texts via linguistic (rhetorical, argumentative, pragmatic, and semantic) means.

The *Discourse-Historical Approach* (DHA) presented in this essay and widely applied in research on migration allows relating the macro- and mezzo-level of contextualization to the mi-



cro-level analyses of texts. Such analyses consist primarily of *two levels*, the ‘entry-level analysis’ focusing on the thematic dimension of texts and the ‘in-depth analysis’ which deconstructs coherence and cohesion of texts in detail. The general aim of the *entry-level* thematic analysis is to map out the contents of analyzed texts and through that mapping to assign them to particular discourses. The key analytical categories of thematic analyses are *discourse topics*, which, “conceptually, summarize the text, and specify its most important information” (van Dijk 1991, 113). The *in-depth analysis*, on the other hand, is informed by the research questions. The in-depth analysis consists of the analysis of the genre (e.g., TV interview, policy paper, election poster, political speech or homepage), the macro-structure of the respective text, and discursive strategies of identity construction, and of argumentation schemes, as well as of other means of linguistic realization.

The DHA views *discourse* as a set of “context-dependent semiotic practices” which are “socially constituted and socially constitutive,” “related to a macro-topic,” and characterized by a “pluri-perspective,” i.e., linked to argumentation (Reisigl and Wodak 2009, 89). The approach focuses on *texts* – be they audio, spoken, visual and/or written – as they relate to structured knowledge (*discourses*), are realized in

specific *genres*, and must be viewed in terms of their *situatedness*. That is, many texts cannot be fully understood without considering different layers of *context*. Here, I follow a *four-level model* of context that includes the historical development of migration policies in a particular nation state (the *socio-political/historical context*), discussions which dominated a specific debate/event (*the current context*), a specific text (*text-internal co-text*), and *intertextual and interdiscursive relations* (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 40 ff.). The latter terminological pair interdiscursivity/ intertextuality denotes the linkage between discourses and texts across time and space – established via explicit or implicit references. If text elements are taken out of their original context (de-contextualisation) and inserted into another (re-contextualisation), a similar process occurs, forcing the element in question to (partly) acquire new meaning(s).

In this essay, I focus primarily on *discursive strategies of positive self- and negative other-presentation* when talking/writing about and visualizing migrants and representing them as the ‘other.’ In the following, I first list relevant stages of a qualitative in-depth discourse analysis. I then briefly discuss the concept of ‘the stranger’ in our globalised and globalising societies and, finally, turn to an example of recent debates in the UK which illustrate some typical arguments and linguistic-rhetorical means employed for the discursive exclusion of migrants.

Stages of the Discourse-Historical Approach

A thorough DHA ideally follows an eight-stage program. Typically, the eight steps are implemented recursively (see Reisigl and Wodak 2009 for more details):

1. **Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge** (i.e., recollection, reading and discussion of previous research).

2. **Systematic collection of data and context information** (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, genres and texts are focussed on).

3. **Selection and preparation of data for the specific analyses** (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.).

4. **Specification of the research question/s and formulation of assumptions** (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data).

5. **Qualitative pilot analysis, including a context analysis, macro-analysis and micro-analysis** (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions; see the example below).

6. **Detailed case studies** (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitatively, but in part also quantitatively).

7. **Formulation of critique** (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique as specified in Reisigl and Wodak 2009).

8. **Practical application of analytical results** (if possible, the results might be proposed for practical application aiming at having social impact).⁴

Migrants as ‘strangers’

Identity is always defined via *similarity* and *difference* (Ricoeur 1992; Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2003). The manifold discursive forms of inclusion and exclusion define who are considered ‘Europeans,’ for example, and create an ‘imagined community’ that necessarily excludes ‘Others.’ Hegemonic discursive forms of inclusion and exclusion create an ‘imagined community’ that does not comprise ‘Others,’ “those that are not worthy of becoming Europeans” (Wodak 2007, 651; Wodak 2011a, b) and who are usually represented as ‘strangers’ (Simmel

1950; Bauman 1995) or even ‘enemies’.

But who are these ‘illegal/irregular migrants’ thus invoked? A recent study on the representation of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers in British newspapers over a decade (1996–2006) provides evidence that the concepts of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are conflated into one large category of ‘Others,’ i.e., strangers, in the media reporting of both tabloids and broadsheets (although less so in the latter) (KhosraviNik 2010, 22–23). These findings resonate with earlier studies on the representation of refugees and migrants, such as post-1989 in Austria (Matouschek et al. 1995), where manifold flood-metaphors as well as *topoi of criminality, danger and burden* were identified. These findings allow us to conclude that much discourse about migrants and immigration seems to bear several almost universal features, throughout Europe and beyond, which can be explained by social theories about ‘Othering’ and the discursive construction of ‘the stranger’ and ‘fear of the stranger,’ as mentioned above. Border and identity/body politics converge to keep specific strangers out while letting others in. Moreover, poor and destitute insiders are suddenly defined as strangers and also excluded.

Example: The ‘Immigration Problem’

When analysing positive self- and negative other-presentation (i.e., the discursive construction of strangers) in concrete text extracts such as the examples below, there are *discursive strategies* which deserve special attention (see Step 5 in the DHA stages above). When approaching these strategies within the framework of the DHA, five heuristic questions are considered salient:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and fea-

tures are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?

3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?

Specific linguistic means are employed to realize these strategies, i.e., various forms of labelling social actors (via names, metaphors, labels, and so forth) or the use of arguments which justify and legitimize the attribution of such labels and characterizations to specific actors.⁵ Much research, for example, has illustrated that migrants (labelled as ‘legal, undocumented or irregular’) are systematically attributed negative characteristics and that their exclusion is officially legitimized by many seemingly rational arguments (such as “The boat is full” or “They are a burden,” and so forth). The following case study illustrates how speeches and media texts are analysed using the DHA (for the extensive analysis of these texts, see Wodak and Boukala 2014; Wodak 2014).

On 14 April, 2011, the British Prime Minister David Cameron’s address to the British Conservative Party was dedicated to the so-called ‘immigration problem’:

That’s not to say migration from Europe has been insignificant. Since 2004, when many large Eastern European countries joined the EU, more than one million people from those countries have come to live and work in the UK – a huge number. We said back then that transitional controls should have been put in place to restrict the numbers coming over. And now we’re in government, if and when new countries join the European Union, transitional controls will be put in place. But this remains the fact: when it comes to immigration to our country, it’s the numbers from

outside the EU that really matter. In the year up to June 2010, net migration from nationals of countries outside the EU to the UK totalled 198,000. This is the figure we can more easily control and should control.⁶

Cameron's speech makes reference to the migration of a vague number of European citizens, and especially citizens of Eastern European countries. He underlines the "huge number [one million people] who came to live and work in the UK" and the importance of transnational controls, thus of border politics. Hence, he emphasizes issues of security and represents *Eastern Europeans* (who, of course, are also EU citizens) as a huge threat within Europe. This argument is developed on the basis of the *topos of internal threat*, which is based on the conditional: 'If immigration from Europe is a threat against the UK, then the British government should control it.'

Later on, Cameron explains that "it's the numbers from outside the EU that really matter" and only then restores the opposition between Europeans and non-Europeans supported by the *topos of threat*. In Cameron's speech three different social actors are constructed and represented: the British government, migrants within Europe and non-European migrants. The role of the government is elaborated by the *topos of responsibility*, which is based on the conditional 'If the British government is responsible for its people (i.e., the family), then it should control immigration.' Moreover, Cameron highlights the numbers of immigrants and at this point triggers an intensification of fear that is related to the *topos of threat*. Cameron's warnings resonated well with the British public. For example, during the continuing financial crisis in 2012, when reports from the European Commission⁷ illustrated that the financial and social crisis had destabilized the Greek social structure and created a new generation of mid-

dle-class, well-educated Greek migrants (who are, of course, EU citizens), the British conservative newspaper *The Telegraph* interviewed the Home Secretary Theresa May on 25 May, 2012.⁸ She referred to the possibility of excluding Greece from the Eurozone and the arrival of Greek migrants in the UK, thus neglecting the fact that Greece is still a member of the EU and will likely remain so, and that Greeks are thus EU-citizens as well as Europeans.⁹

Indeed, Greek citizens are suddenly transformed into *post-modern strangers*, as acutely defined by Zygmunt Bauman (1995, 2-3). He distinguishes between two strategies of modern and post-modern societies to cope with strangers. The first consists of "devouring them," that is, swallowing them and making them indistinguishable from oneself, i.e., assimilating them. The second strategy implies exclusion or "vomiting the strangers," making them invisible, by locking them into ghettos or removing them from one's territory. These metaphors are related to body politics, i.e., imagining a human being eating and digesting food. It seems to be the case that current immigration policies continue to oscillate between these two extremes. Specifically, the editor of *The Telegraph* mentioned that: "The Government is drawing up plans for emergency immigration controls to curb an influx of Greeks and other European Union residents if the euro collapses, the Home Secretary discloses today." The phrase "emergency immigration controls" implies that the Greek migrants will be very dangerous and, therefore, that control systems are necessary and urgent. Three *topoi* are employed in this argumentation: the *topos of threat* and the *topos of urgency*, combined with the *topos of responsibility* (here, of the government to protect British citizens).

The editor then quoted Home Secretary May's arguments: "The Government is drawing up plans for emergency immigration controls to curb 'an influx of Greeks and other European Union residents' and underlines the necessity for "emergency immigration controls." The British Home Secretary confirms these concerns when she mentions that it is difficult to say how migration is going to develop in the coming weeks. This rhetoric is based on the *topos of internal threat* and constructs a distinction between the U.K. and the "struggling European economies," obviously implying that the U.K. is not a struggling economy. She also adds that "emergency immigration controls and the freedom of movement within the EU are under consideration" and emphasizes the necessity of a Fortress Europe, while at the same time presenting the British government as the guarantor of national security, via the *topos of responsibility*. While the political situation in Greece remained unstable and the country proceeded to a second election (17 June 2012), the British Prime Minister, fearing Greece's possible exit from the Eurozone, declared in a speech in the House of Commons on 3 July 2012:

Britain is prepared to take measures to avoid a major influx of Greek citizens. I would be prepared to do whatever it takes to keep our country safe, to keep our banking system strong, to keep our economy robust. At the end of the day, as prime minister, that is your first and foremost duty.¹⁰

In this speech, the Greeks are clearly and explicitly represented as dangerous migrants who threaten the stability of the UK, and the collocation "major influx of Greek citizens" is repeated. This claim is further elaborated by the *topos of internal threat*. Moreover, Cameron elaborates the danger presented by the *Greek Other* and underlines his role as Prime Minister via the *topos of responsibility*. He constructs a Manichean dichotomy, an opposition between a British 'us' and the Greek migrants' economy, presenting himself as the savior of the nation who "will do whatever it takes" to protect Britain. In this way, the text illustrates well how European allies are suddenly transformed into 'Others,' i.e., strangers, in moments of crisis, by mainstream parties and not only by right-wing populist politicians.

Framing Immigration

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Framing is one of the bases for all conscious understanding, but we are not normally conscious of our frames. Frames are both cognitive and moral. We make sense of the world around us through *cognitive frames*, and we make sense of our role in the world through *moral frames*. Cognitive frames enable us to "see" the world in which we are embedded, while moral frames give us direction from which to connect with the world in a purposive way.

Political frame analysis asks us to step back from those frames that are employed in politi-

cal discourse and understanding, in order to deconstruct, to question, to ask how our frames affect human relationships and wellbeing in political communities. Frame analysis critically interrogates the work that frames do, investigating how frames guide and direct both cognitive and moral understanding of political phenomena. In this writer's understanding, the primary work that frames do is to *provide context and perspective* to discrete information about phenomena – events, beings, actions, behavior, material objects, scenes, etc. – ena-

bling us to make sense of their meaning and significance.

Since the social and political world in which we live contains many purposive actors with multiple perspectives interacting in complex ways, there are always multiple potential ways to make meanings of these phenomena, and hence, multiple frames come into play. Once frames are deployed and especially once they are widely shared among members of political communities, it is easy to lose awareness of their contingent origins and the role they play in meaning making. Both the common multiplicity of frames and their relatively hidden quality lead to (and help to explain) political conflict.

Political frame analysis seeks to bring the frames being employed in political discourse and understanding back into awareness so that they can be critically interrogated. More specifically, frame analysis attempts to clarify and problematize the contextual assumptions and preconceptions deployed in political discourses by questioning their appropriateness and searching for alternative frames that seem equally, or more, compelling for understanding the political engagements in which we are inevitably enmeshed. This brief essay argues that *critical frame analysis* can be quite helpful in improving our understanding of international migration as a phenomenon, and its political and policy implications. It does so by giving several brief examples of how frames affect our understanding of international migration, and how frames impact our political and policy evaluations of international migration.

Example One: Framing the Unauthorized Migrant.

After a strong electoral surge from Latino voters helped secure President Barack Obama's dramatic re-election in the 2012 presidential

campaign, many pundits predicted that Congressional Republicans would alter their approach to immigration policy – accepting “comprehensive reform” – in order to improve their party's chances in future presidential elections. “Comprehensive immigration reform” is a catch-phrase signifying a policy change opening up a “path to citizenship” for the more than 11 million undocumented immigrants currently believed to be living in the United States.

In no small measure, the fact that immigration policy reform continues to be stymied in the U.S. Congress is connected to the way that ideas concerning undocumented immigrants are framed in American political discourse. In the most basic sense, there are two competing frames through which undocumented immigrants are understood in contemporary U.S. political discourse, and interrogating these frames might go a long way toward enhancing our understanding of what is at stake in this ongoing political conflict.

The dominant frame in the public discourse terms those migrants who have entered the U.S. without proper documents *illegal aliens*. Widely used in the media, and in public and private discussion, to describe undocumented immigrants, the “illegal” tag seems to flow effortlessly from the tongues and keyboards of many Americans. This is especially true of those who are most upset about the phenomenon of unauthorized migration, those belonging to the *exclusionist* camp in the political discourse on the subject. I term them exclusionists because the avowed aim of this group is to *exclude* undocumented immigrants from participating in multiple realms of American society, including the workforce, educational institutions, public social services, drivers licenses, access to housing and to any possible “pathway to citizenship” or “amnesty” that might be enacted for normalizing their status in the country. In addition to

“sealing the border” to prevent migrants from gaining entry to the country, exclusionists seek to expel those who are already in the U.S. through national government border enforcement and local law enforcement personnel, and/or through making the migrants’ lives so difficult in the country that they will “self-deport” (in the memorable phrase of former GOP Presidential candidate Mitt Romney) by leaving the country on their own.

The core message of the “illegals” frame is that undocumented immigrants are *law-breakers*, *criminals*, who are best seen as *alien invaders* who have victimized the U.S. and its people in multiple ways, but especially in their disregard for, and undermining of, the *rule of law*. Exclusionists claim that the very presence of “illegals” in the country undermines the rule of law, but having already violated the law, these “illegals” are claimed to be engaging in a host of other criminal activities, including illegal drug smuggling and sales, tax evasion, various forms of gangsterism, etc. In short, the “illegal alien” frame very powerfully shapes an understanding of undocumented immigrants that is wholly negative: why would any sane American want to harbor, protect, or provide amnesty for such a group of people that knowingly and systematically undermines the rule of law, and victimizes the USA and its people in a variety of ways? And the fact that so many Americans – even those ambivalent about the exclusionist position on immigration policy – understand this issue through the frame of the “illegal alien” seems certainly connected to the on-going political logjam preventing adoption of even the most punitive and restrictive form of “comprehensive” immigration policy reform.

What is the alternative frame for understanding the phenomenon of unauthorized migration to the United States? *Undocumented immigrants* is the term used most frequently by those I term

inclusionists on this issue (because they seek “pathways to citizenship” that will *include* these migrants in the national political community’s understanding of itself). “Undocumented immigrants” is a more descriptive than pejorative term, it is said, and that’s why it is preferred as an attempt to neutralize hostility toward these migrants. But underlying this term is a frame that aims to present undocumented immigrants as *already members of the U.S. national community*, even though their lack of documented status here pushes them to live in the shadows to avoid public recognition.

This frame does not focus on how these migrants moved into the country, but rather on who they “really” are and what they actually do as members of our communities. It notes that the 11 plus million human beings who are the subjects of this debate are not massed at the borders of the United States in camps or otherwise physically isolated from the rest of the U.S. population. Rather, they are individuals and families living among the rest of the population. They live in neighborhoods alongside authorized residents and citizens of the country, they sit in classrooms together with other residents of their neighborhoods and communities, their children play with our children in parks and recreation facilities, they work next to many of us (and sometimes in our homes and gardens), they prepare and serve us food when we eat out and wash our dirty dishes afterward, they harvest and package and transport the food that we purchase in grocery stores, they sew our clothes, they pray with us in our places of worship, they pay taxes along with us, sometimes they own property in our cities and neighborhoods, they have opinions about our collective well-being that sometimes lead them to act in ways we may see as political (despite not being allowed to vote), and they are members of our families as well. While this depiction conveys the substance of the inclusionist frame, the

term “undocumented immigrants” fails to signify this substance clearly, which may be why the term “illegal aliens” continues to prevail in the largely unconscious battle for public opinion support. The term used by inclusionists for undocumented young people – DREAMers – is much better at conveying something of the moral frame embedded in the inclusionist position here, but it remains confined to the young for important political reasons.

It should be apparent from the above paragraphs that how conceptions of immigrants are framed in public discourse makes a significant difference in how they might be viewed by the public from a moral and political point of view. There is not space to do this work here, but a political frame analysis would critically analyze the strengths and weaknesses of each way of framing our conception of immigrants. The payoff of such an analysis should be greater clarity on what is at stake – cognitively and morally – in this political competition between immigrant frames.

Example Two: Framing the USA as a Receiving, Host Country for Immigrants.

Even more taken-for-granted than the “illegal alien” frame, the role of the USA in relation to international migration is rarely examined in a critical fashion. In virtually all the discourse on this subject in the US, it is taken for granted that immigrants *act upon* the United States by entering its borders from outside. In what might be termed a *nationalist* frame, this frame of reference sees the United States solely as a passive *recipient* of immigrants, and – in the case of undocumented immigrants – as a passive *victim*. Virtually all of the debate over international migration in the US – and from both the exclusionary camp and the inclusionary camp – takes place within this contextual assumption, focusing on the economic, political, legal, and moral impacts of immigration *on* the United

States. Put differently, from this frame of reference, immigrants make up the independent variable, the engine of change, and the United States is the dependent variable, the passive recipient of international migrants.

Completely ignored in this community of meaning is a larger, *global* frame of reference. Shifting one’s perspective from *national* to *global*, it quickly becomes obvious that the United States is *not* a largely passive recipient or victim of external forces but has been one of the most powerful engines of change in the world for nearly two centuries. And immigration figures prominently as one of the major *consequences* of the exercise of American power in the larger world around it. In the realm of foreign policy, for example, the US has been in a very powerful position in global politics for well over a century and, it might be said, in a dominant position since the end of World War II. Accordingly, the narratives of migration to the US from many countries around the world include stories about entanglements and changes brought about by the exercise of US global power. Among the most prominent examples: Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Eastern Europe, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and South Korea.

American *economic* activities in other countries also result in stimulation of migrants to the United States. Some of this derives from overt efforts to recruit immigrants for American businesses that perceive themselves as suffering from a shortage of labor, a practice that has operated – with ebbs and flows – rather continuously since the early part of the nineteenth century. American business interests abroad (e.g., American owned factories, foreign contractors, service-providers, etc.), in addition, develop ties with individuals and groups in

other countries who, in turn, make contact with potential sponsors for immigration in the United States. And US international trade efforts (e.g., NAFTA) also may be seen as having played a significant role in stimulating migration. With the reach of the American businesses having spread to nearly span the globe, the potential for the US stimulation of immigrants has grown accordingly. Both the foreign policy and economic impacts of American power on international migration can be seen in the special relationship between the US and Mexico, the country that currently accounts for a very large proportion of US immigrants. There is not space here to detail these foreign policy and economic actions and their effects on migration, but the point is that a *global* frame for understanding international migration yields a very different understanding, both cognitively and morally, than does taking a *nationalist* frame.

Conclusion

The two examples above should suffice to make the point that an interpretive, critical frame analysis can contribute importantly to our understanding of international migration. The first example is one in which there are two competing frames working two sides of a very divided political fence for two very different “communities of meaning” (Yanow 2000: 10-13) in relation to unauthorized migration to the United States. As noted above, the role of frame analysis here is to clarify the meaning, to sharpen understanding, of the competing frames being deployed by the political agents involved in this political conflict, and then to critically assess the strengths and weaknesses of the two competing frames. The first aspect of this challenge involves taking note of the background and contextual assumptions of the competing political discourses regarding this phenomenon and making them explicit. The second part of the challenge involves employing various forms of critical analysis – e.g., critical

discourse analysis, value-critical policy analysis, category analysis, historical contextual analysis – to come to a better understanding of the strengths and the limitations of both the exclusionary “illegal aliens” frame and the more inclusionary “undocumented immigrant” frame (for a recent, and very insightful, *legal* analysis of this debate, see Motomura 2014). In some contexts, this form of analysis might well lead to a better understanding of each other’s positions by competing sides in a political conflict, and perhaps even to a reconciliation or resolution of the conflict.

The second example above is one in which there is a largely unexamined and implicit frame being used by virtually everyone involved in the US political debate over immigration and immigration policy. The role of frame analysis here is, again, to make this frame explicit, and then, second, to seek and articulate a wider perspective inspiring an alternative frame that can also be made explicit. As Lakoff has noted: “When an important truth is unseen because it is unframed and unseen, you may have to construct a conceptual frame and a name, so that the important truth can be seen” (Lakoff 2008: 133). Once that wider, alternative frame is constructed and articulated, it becomes possible to use that frame to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the *nationalist* perspective that ignores the US role in generating immigrants. In turn, this could lead to both cognitive and moral insights that might help improve the US debate over this phenomenon.

ADDENDUM for those interested in reading more about frame analysis in political studies: the American anthropologist Gregory Bateson (1972 [1955]) is usually cited as the originator of the concept of “frame analysis,” but it has spread widely in recent decades to a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, cognitive science and psychology, communication stud-

ies, linguistics, social movement studies, and sociology, as well as political science. In political science, the most extensive discussions have been in relation to public policy. In the sub-field of public policy, Donald Schön and Martin Rein first advocated this approach, particularly in relation to “problem definition,” but also to policy analysis more generally (see, e.g., Rein

and Schön 1977, 1996; Schön and Rein 1994; Rein 1983). For more recent discussions, also policy-focused, see, e.g., Bacchi 2009a, 2009b; Rasmussen 2011; van Hulst and Yanow 2014; Verloo 2005; Yanow 2000: 10-13. And though a linguist by disciplinary training, Lakoff has written extensively on framing in relation to the “political mind” (see, e.g., Lakoff 1987, 2008).

Accounting for ‘Natives’ and Strangers: The Work of Metaphors and Categories

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Among the range of written and spoken genres which are key in analyzing policy and political materials from an interpretive perspective are metaphors and categories. This essay presents theoretical-methodological sketches of each, illustrated by examples drawn from my own research (Yanow 2003, Yanow and van der Haar 2013, two Dutch-language articles, and other papers in progress).

Metaphor analysis

Key to understanding the role of metaphors in communicating meaning is the conceptual distinction between metaphors as “decorations” or “doilies” floating on top of language, and metaphors as an integral part of language. The difference is between seeing metaphors as distortions of “truth” or “facts” versus seeing them as part and parcel of how we make sense of the world around us. Built in to the former is the idea that if we could but “snatch away the veil of ornament, ...we can confront the Facts and the Reality direct” (McCloskey 1994: 328); whereas the latter takes a cognitive approach in which metaphors are understood as central to the ways in which we learn about ideas and things that are new to us: “Metaphor is not a harmless exercise in naming. It is one of the principal means by which we understand our

experience and reason on the basis of that understanding” (Lakoff and Johnson 1987: 79; see also Lakoff and Johnson 1980). But more than that: “To the extent that we act on our reasoning, metaphor plays a role in the creation of reality” (idem.). Metaphor analysis is, then, both methodology and method: it combines theorizing about how metaphors work in the creation of knowledge – an epistemology – with practical steps for how to analyze them – a set of methods.

In a cognitive view, metaphors are both models of prior thought and ways of seeing, and models for subsequent action (Schon 1979/1993, Yanow 2008); they cannot be eliminated and replaced by “clearer,” non-metaphoric language (Miller 1985). Much as a modern Greek *meta-pherein* – a moving van – carries furniture from one place to another, metaphoric language moves meaning from its source domain to its focus (or “target”). In this way, metaphor enables a “seeing-as,” in which the focus (or aspects of it) is seen in terms of the source. (For a more formal definition of metaphor, see Yanow 1992). Analysis, then, seeks to explicate what is seen and, concomitantly, not-seen; where this vision comes from; and, in empirical circumstances, what action it enables.

Metaphors name that which they designate; and in so doing, they frame our ideas about those entities: the points of similarity and their implications for action were not there to begin with. It is in this sense that metaphors are an aspect of cognition, not of correspondences; their meanings are created (however unconsciously), not just “revealed.” Moreover, metaphors direct attention toward certain features of the target, thereby highlighting them, while at the same time they direct attention away from other features, thereby (metaphorically) blinding us to these. Having identified a metaphor in political documents or discourse, analysis seeks to spell out the metaphor’s usually tacitly known, local (or situated) knowledge, in four steps:

- identifying the source domain of the metaphor (often by tracing its etymology; dictionaries, especially those that trace usage histories, are useful here);
- specifying its target (in one’s primary data materials; e.g., legislative texts, debates, implementing organizations’ documents, speeches);
- reasoning out its entailments in its source domain (inferred from analyzing its meanings in this domain); and
- working out the implications of these entailments for the target (inferred from analyzing its usage here).

As with framing analysis (see Schmidt’s essay, this symposium), metaphor analysis can be used to elucidate the experience of contending parties speaking past each other and consequent implementation blockages, aiming to facilitate clearer communication and resolve policy contestations.

Miller (1985) identifies seven kinds of metaphor, each of them built on some form of equivalence:

- analogy (built on homology, isomorphism);

- translation (on transformation, trans-coding);
- exchange (equivalence built on value);
- contradiction (the conceptual “equivalence” of opposites);
- synecdoche (in which a part represents the whole, or vice versa; e.g., *the broken arm* in Room 22 needs his medicine);
- metonymy (which substitutes an attribute for the thing itself; e.g., they counted *heads*); and
- metaphor proper.

These distinctions can be useful in pointing attention to various sort of metaphoric equivalence that might be found in political discourses (see Cienki and Yanow 2013 for additional examples).

The use of metaphor presupposes some understanding of its sense in its source. Metaphors become “public” (e.g., policy or organizational ones) when they enter oral and/or written discourse (including practices). Analysis might explore how much of the policy issue the metaphor explains and whether metaphoric entailments are recapitulated in other arenas of policy or organizational acts. The wider the “echoes” or “ripples” of metaphoric meaning within the study, the more robust the analysis and the more likely that it will help articulate the architecture of the policy or other political argument.

Case example. Immigrant and “race” discourses in The Netherlands¹¹

The policy and public discourse taxonomy concerning natives and immigrants in The Netherlands is binary: one is either an *autochtoon* (autochthon in English; “native”) or an *allochtoon* (Eng. allochthon; foreign-born or of foreign heritage; I will continue to use the Dutch spelling for the noun form). My analysis suggests that this taxonomy serves as a proxy for designating “race,” a term whose use is

prohibited by Article 1 of the Constitution (with exceptions for certain medical and administrative actions). But language use focuses on “ethnicity,” for which birthplace—the migrant’s own, a parent’s or a grandparent’s—serves as surrogate. Examining the metaphoric aspects of these two terms shows how the autochtoon-allochtoon taxonomy joins

ing and living or occurring naturally in an area or environment (syn. “native”; *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed., 2006; OL. indu + the root of L. gignere, to beget, bear [cf. gender, generate], *Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary* 1996). Table 1a summarizes the source meanings of the terms.

	autochthonous	allochthonous
Meaning in etymological source [Greek]	<i>auto</i> : same + <i>chthōn</i> : land, country, earth	<i>allos</i> : other + <i>chthōn</i> : land, country, earth
Meaning in usage source [geology]	geological formations and persons indigenous to where they were found; aboriginal	foreign rocks, mineral deposits, or other elements that were not formed in the region where found; not indigenous

Table 1a. Source domains and meanings: autochtoon and allochtoon

“ethnicity”-birthplace with the unspoken “race.” Dutch, English, and French dictionaries, examined for comparative analytic purposes, show the terms’ linguistic etymologies as: *auto* [same] or *allos* [other] + *chthōn* [country, land, earth].

They also have a “usage etymology” in geology: autochtoon refers to geological formations and persons indigenous to where they were found (syn. aboriginal; *Random House Unabridged Dictionary* 2006; *indigène* is the term used in Francophone Africa); allochtoon (a back-formation from the adjective allochthonous) refers to rocks, mineral deposits, or other elements “not formed in the region where found” (idem.). Indigenous itself is defined as originat-

Analysis then proceeds to ask, What characteristics of geology are being imported in metaphoric fashion, “embedded” in the terms themselves, with what entailments for their focus? What might the meanings of these terms in their usage sources in rocks and land imply, for example, in policy implementation and public discourse applied to people? To begin with, allochthonous rocks, etc. are created out of specific geological components from the soil, water, air, and sun setting of their origins; and these components can always be identified: they would never be confused with autochthonous formations. Table 1b shows the implications for individual “identity” and for policy action.

entailments in source	implications for “target”
<p>a “rock” that carries the unchangeable, long-recognizable “essence” of its identity within it [an “authenticity”];</p> <p>i.e., essentialist identity, regardless of place, time...</p>	<p>always identifiable in terms of place of (foreign) origins (by birth or parental heritage);</p> <p>no limit on generations;</p> <p>implications for policy/action: can be tossed back to its place of origin, which is always knowable</p>

Table 1b. Metaphoric entailments and implications

All the “immigrant integration” policies in the world cannot turn allochtoons—immigrants, of whatever generation—into autochthonous natives, regardless of the fact that second and subsequent generations are born and schooled in The Netherlands and socialized to its morés.

To further extend and support this analysis, I need to bring in a second dimension: analysis of the category structure of this taxonomy.

Category analysis

Category analysis takes up sets of terms—categories—within a taxonomy, analyzing similarities and differences with respect to a usually implicit but unspoken point of view from which they are created. Categories highlight elements that are deemed to be similar within the boundaries they draw and different from elements beyond those boundaries. Those samenesses of things within categories and differences between things in different categories constitute the organizing principles around which categories are built: X belongs in Category A because it shares “A-ness” and is not “not-A.” The features thereby highlighted are imputed to be important, whereas the occluded features are deemed less or not important. Moreover, the conceptual logic of category-making implies *sharp* differences between members of different categories, whereas from another

viewpoint, these may be only minor gradations of difference. Classifying entails *an interpretive choice* on the basis of a decision about the relative importance of certain features over others, implicitly asserting that things belong together which, from a different perspective, could be seen to be divergent.

Categories and their structures do not occur in nature; they are products of social consensus built up over time, including in and through state practices. We can ask of them, too, then, What meanings—values, beliefs, feelings—do they embody and convey? Members of an interpretive (or epistemic or discourse) community have the ability to *and typically do* group objects into similarity sets without having to ask, or needing to make explicit an answer to, the question, “*Similar or different with respect to what?*” That, however, is the beginning of analysis, which seeks to explicate meanings-in-use—what category terms and concepts mean as used in policy and administrative practices (Yanow 2000, 2003). Making “A-ness”—the common-sense, taken-for-granted, everyday, tacitly known meanings—more explicit requires thinking, How might things otherwise be? or, As opposed to what? —and doing so not only as espoused, but as enacted, reflecting the collective, social dimension of category and concept construction, learning, and knowing.

Establishing the point of view from which the categories have been named is an important part of analysis.

Categories in political discourse appear to take one of two forms: slotting (think “mailbox”), in which boundaries are distinct; and prototyping (think the center under a “normal curve”), where lines of demarcation are less pronounced. From a slotting perspective, a set of categories implies two principles:

- nothing has been left out: the categories are exhaustive; everything in the category world has a place in one of the categories; and
- there is no overlap in category membership: the categories are discrete; no element fits into more than one category.

Slotting-type categories become problematic when either (or both) of these states is violated: when one or more elements do not fit the existing categories, or when one element fits into more than one category. These “leftovers” constitute “category errors” or “mistakes.” The prototype approach is more forgiving: to the extent that they bear visible family resemblances with the prototype, outliers are still seen as part of the category. Immigration (and other social) policies appear to begin with slotting-type taxonomies; but over time, as lived experience no longer fits the boxes, their treatment moves towards a prototype model. The more the slots and prototypes break down, the greater the demand for policy change (consider, for instance, how, and why, the 1980 US OMB taxonomy that said Americans come in five varieties segued into the 2000 revision, with six).

One more aspect of category-usage is useful in analysis: the distinction (commonly found in anthropological linguistics) between marked and unmarked terms. The latter is, by linguistic and category logic, the “normal” (or “default”) case; e.g., “My professor is teaching this course.”

The former conveys that what is being marked is somehow different, not usual, not expected, a deviation; e.g., “The instructor is a woman professor” or “a Nigerian professor.” “Professor” is the unmarked norm; “woman” and “Nigerian” mark “professor” as having features other than the norm. In many cultures, the marked term is the inferior case.

Proceeding systematically, in a policy or other political context, analysis aims to map the “architecture of meaning” in the category structure by:

1. identifying the categories or category set (taxonomy) in use (looking, e.g., at policy language in documents and debates, the administrative language of implementing organizations, and/or the language of general [political] discourse);
2. analyzing category elements’ points of similarity (the features being highlighted) and difference (to which we are being “blinded”);
3. identifying the perspective from which the categories have been created; and
4. “reading” for category meanings.

Case example. Categories in the allochtoon-autochtoon taxonomy

This part of the research project assesses the unwritten, operative “rules” for assigning elements to “A” and “not-A” and what work the categories do in policy and administrative practices. This analysis sheds additional light on the “racial” meaning of allochtoon and, by implication, autochtoon. The intersections between “race-ethnicity” and immigrant thereby come into clearer focus.

In 1999 Statistics Netherlands (the English-language name for the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*, CBS) standardized the definitions of these two terms. A more detailed taxonomic structure was introduced through the division

of allochtoon between Western and non-Western and further dividing the latter by generation: first and second then; more recently, third has been added. Table 2a presents the CBS' Western/non-Western distinctions, arranged to highlight the category oppositions—e.g., opposing "Europe (but not Turkey)" and "Turkey." Note the opposite of "Western" (not "Eastern") and the respective locations of "Western" and "non-Western" entities: e.g., Japan is "Western" and many "non-Western" states are in the southern hemisphere, thereby creating "category errors." Their illogic suggests that something other than an East-West orientation is operative. From what vantage point are the categories defined? Might there be another discourse embedded in this one?

native—whereas autochtoon has no subdivisions. Ancient theories of what today is called human identity noted that the four elements comprising the world—earth, air, fire (sun), water—had their counterparts in four bodily "humors" or fluids—black bile, blood, yellow bile, phlegm—whose relative balance within an individual shaped character. This balance was affected by genealogy (birth, which is to say, the biological and, today, genetic) and environment (geography). To be born in a particular place—marked by its own combination of elements—was determinative of one's character: birthplace produced melancholia, nobility, excitability or passivity. Later "race" theorists (eugenicists, in particular) mapped these traits onto skin color—tied, in essentialist fashion, to place of origin—and its (imputed) attendant behav-

Western	Non-Western
Europe (but not Turkey)	Turkey
	Africa [Morocco]
North America	Latin America
Oceania	
Japan	Asia
Indonesia (including former Dutch Indonesia)	[Suriname, Dutch Antilles/Aruba]

Table 2a. Distinctions between Western and non-Western allochtoons

Source: Yanow and van der Haar 2013: 240. Author's layout, arrayed to highlight the terminological oppositions, based on a 2000 linear (narrative) Statistics Netherlands document on the standardized definitions; bracketed words are from other sentences in that text which elaborate on the definitions.

Looking at "non-Western" as a marked term points toward one direction for analysis (supported by other aspects of Netherlands' policies toward immigrants which I haven't the space to discuss here). Keep in mind that Western and non-Western both fall under allochtoon—non-

ioral characteristics: Black, Red, Yellow, White, respectively. In this taxonomy, birthplace becomes a surrogate for "race"—even where, post-World War II, due to the character of the state's wartime involvement, "race" discourse is prohibited. These ideas are carried in the

'chtoon suffix of the two main categories (meaning earth, as noted above) and the place-based oppositions of Western and non-Western allochtoon subcategories. The links are underscored, conceptually, by the shared root of nation, naturalization, and nature: *nātiō*, meaning race, breed, from *nātus*, to be born.

Table 2b adds Table 2a's missing half back in, graphically illustrating what is at stake:

Combining metaphor and category analysis shows that birthplace, the defining constituent of allochtoon, is being used as a surrogate for "race," given the older ties between geographic origins and "racial" groups. The category structure underscores the implications of the metaphor—showing how the idea of an innate (in-born!), essential, unchanging identity continues to be enacted in contemporary policy discourse and administrative practices, including in eve-

Autochtoon	Allochtoon	
	Western	Non-Western
	Europe (but not Turkey)	Turkey
		Africa [Morocco]
	North America	Latin America
	Oceania	
	Japan	Asia
	Indonesia (including former Dutch Indonesia)	[Suriname, Dutch Antilles/Aruba]

Table 2b. Unified autochtoon, divided allochtoon

Source: Yanow and van der Haar 2013: 248.

The category structure treats the autochthonous, "native" Dutch as the unmarked, undifferentiated, "normal" inhabitants of The Netherlands, whereas the state's allochthonous residents are the site of marking—of difference, otherness, and, by logical inference, inferiority. Table 2b distinguishes a domain of sanctification and purity, on the left side, from a domain of "pollution," danger, and impurity on the right in which the allochthonous, "hybrid" or "hyphenated" "rocks" are "matter out of place," and hence, "dirt," in Mary Douglas's terms (1966).

ryday registration forms to obtain various kinds of services (e.g., educational, medical; Yanow, van der Haar, and Völke 2015). It is not the program designs that are at fault, but, rather, the framing of the matter to begin with—in this case, done through the metaphoric language of political discourse supported by state-defined categories, all the more insidious and potentially dangerous for its achievement, silently, through shared, tacit knowledge.

In sum

This essay not only demonstrates the utility of two different analytic genres for analyzing im-

migration-related (and other) materials, but also the ways in which different genres can often usefully work together in such analyses. Although my own research has focused primarily on the written or spoken language of legislative and organizational texts, interviews, and public discourse, both metaphor and category analyses can also be applied to visual materials, including built spaces (see, e.g., Yanow 2014; cf. Maher's essay in this symposium). These analyses are always comparative, between source and target in the case of metaphors or between one metaphor and other pos-

sible metaphors, between elements (A, not-A) and principles of inclusion and exclusion in the case of categories or between one way of drawing category boundaries and other ways. Either method can also support comparative analysis across time and across location, whether state, policy or some other spatial boundary. Both methods are potentially useful for analyzing silences in political discourses and acts, as silence is part of the power of metaphors and of the unspoken, yet tacitly known organizing logic embedded in categories.

Racializing and Gendering Immigration Research within Political Science¹²

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Within the context of contemporary immigration politics, one of the most alarming shifts in enforcement practices is the return of large scale raids and roundups which target large numbers of highly vulnerable immigrants via racialized spectacle. Once a regular feature of immigration in the U.S., these large scale raids abated by the early 1990s only to resurface powerfully after 9/11 and in the war on terrorism (De Genova 2010; Golash-Boza 2011; Kanstroom 2007). In addition to causing widespread fear within immigrant communities, these raids produced significant increases in the detention and deportation of primarily Latina/o immigrants. Between 1999 and 2007, deportations increased by 78%, and by 2013 Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) had deported nearly 1.5 million people, with a record-breaking 409,847 in fiscal year 2012 alone (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2013; Bennett 2013).

However, understanding these changes in enforcement as well as corollary shifts in immigration legislation and policy and the specific



impacts on Latina/o immigrants requires more than a singular attention to patterns of discrimination based on forms of ethnic or racial identity. What is needed is an analysis of race as a process both constructed and executed in relationship to the state and larger realms of civil society and affected by its operation in relationship with other forms of marginalization. Ray Rocco (2014, 114-115) offers a succinct definition of this process as:

A configuration of social, cultural, and political processes by which specific perceived visible differences are imbued with racial significance and meaning that then are incorporated as racial hierarchy both within

macro level economic, state, and cultural institutional structures and within the interstitial nodes of quotidian experiences and relation taking place in the sites of civil society.

As Rocco aptly notes, it is through racialization that Latinas/os have been historically constructed as “perpetual foreigners,” thereby legitimating their political marginalization and their exclusion from institutions of public life, and making them vulnerable to restrictive immigration policy and enforcement (Rocco 2014, 114-115). Moreover, this enduring construction as “aliens,” regardless of nativity or immigration status, has evolved since the mid 1990s shifting with the intervention of new discourses and technologies of power surrounding “security” and especially with the emergence of a national security regime, such that Latinas/os are increasingly positioned by the state as not just foreigners but potential terrorists.

As with other processes of domination, the particular manifestations of racialized marginalization are mediated, altered, negotiated, reconfigured and informed by intersecting modes of subordination, and require an analysis attuned to these simultaneous forms of difference to thoroughly explore changes in immigration politics. In other words, the current marginalization of Latina/o immigrants cannot be understood solely by examining questions of racial identity, but rather requires an analysis attuned to the “dynamic, multi-level, and muticategorical enactments of power” made possible through an intersectional analysis (Dhamoon 2011; Hancock 2013).

Of particular significance to such analysis is the expansion of race and gender scholarship toward conceptual tools emphasizing *racialization and gendering processes*. Drawing upon this recent scholarship, race and gender are treated as important forms of organization and identity, but equally as ways in which difference is con-

structed, expressed, negotiated and embodied through complex interactions with political institutions and processes. Moreover, categories of analysis attentive to difference and their relationship to each other and to forms of power and privilege are built through the research process, as opposed to assuming the a priori existence of discreet and complete forms of racial, ethnic, or gendered identity and operationalizing these as static variables with clear outcomes.

A parallel aspect of intersectional research in Political Science especially pertinent to examinations of immigration legislation is the process of “denaturalization,” which draws attention to the language and technical properties of bills that create hierarchies among citizens even as they deploy seemingly-neutral language. By analyzing the process and politics surrounding the development of legislation, as well as the larger effects of a bill’s passage, it is possible to demonstrate how “seemingly neutral, objective or even universal phenomena ... inscrib[e] race and gender hierarchies” (Hawkesworth 2006). Using an intersectional heuristic, it is possible to penetrate the seemingly neutral language associated with budget bills or national security measures to reveal how ostensible linguistic neutrality inscribes hierarchies of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality.

In what follows, I draw on my own research utilizing forms of intersectional analysis to examine different aspects of immigration enforcement. In the first case I focus on race and gender as embodied in the experiences of immigrant women, with particular attention to the proliferation of Latina women and children caught up in the raids and subsequent detention practices. This is followed by an examination of the production of racialized and gendered meaning within recent legislation which impacts the raids – highlighting the 2005 reau-

thorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) and the 2003 Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA).

Seeing through the analytic lens of intersectionality: Illustrations

While the resurgence of large scale raids and roundups disproportionately impacting Latina/o immigrants have been deeply racialized, frequently overlooked are the ways both men *and* women's bodies have become important sites of enforcement in these operations. For example, a 2011 report from the Warren Institute found that 93 percent of the immigrants detained in conjunction with the initial phase of large scale military style raids and roundups intended to identify and remove potential terrorists after 9/11 were Latino men (Kohi, Aarti, Markowitz, and Chavez 2011). However, as the raids shifted from secured and sensitive facilities to commercial employment and residential locations, Latina women became increasing targets, and the number of Latina immigrants detained and imprisoned or deported proliferated. For example, in a 2008 raid of the Agri-processor meat packing plant in Pottsville, Iowa, of the 390 undocumented immigrants arrested over 20% were women (Hsu 2008). Similarly, approximately 360 immigrant women were apprehended and arrested in a 2007 raid on a textile manufacturing plant that produced backpacks for the U.S. military in New Bedford, Massachusetts (Shulman 2007). These apprehensions were not isolated incidents: more women and parents with children were detained as the scale of immigration raids expanded, particularly after the launch of Operation Return to Sender and the Secured Communities Program.¹³

In addition, as the number of apprehensions and detentions escalated and, particularly, as more women were held in detention facilities for processing and deportation, reports of gen-

dered violence in the forms of sexual harassment and abuse also increased. The American Civil Liberties Union documented close to 200 allegations of sexual abuse of immigrants between 2007 and 2010, including sexual assaults by officers working in the detention facilities. These incidents were reported at virtually each of the 85 detention facilities across the country, with 56 emanating from Texas facilities alone (American Civil Liberties Union 2011). In each case immigrant women already marginalized by race, gender, class, legal status, and language faced legal and political constraints, coupled with fear and intimidation, making them vulnerable targets for such abuse and offering them little remedy from a country that already constituted them as threats.

In addition to the specific forms of racial and gender discrimination at work in these cases, the proliferation of raids and rapid deportation of adults with children reconfigured entire Latina/o families. As parents were incarcerated or deported, families were often separated and parental and financial responsibilities were redefined. Within the first wave of apprehensions many women were forced to become single parents, as a disproportionate number of men were apprehended and deported (Dreby 2012). Single mothers were left to provide for their families with limited economic opportunities while simultaneously negotiating complex and hostile immigration rules in the hopes of reunification. The tenuous legal status of many women meant they themselves were subject to constant scrutiny and generally couldn't rely on state sponsored support or services to ameliorate their condition. In short, the "enforcement policies left women - more so than men - in extremely vulnerable situations" (Dreby 2012, 10).

Focusing on the race and gender of those apprehended brings to the forefront the signifi-

cant obstacles encountered by Latina immigrant women in these enforcement initiatives and the degree to which enforcement, scrutiny, intimidation and fear reconfigured race and gender identities, roles, and vulnerabilities. Attending to the intersectional experiences of those apprehended also challenges the presumption of uniformity within the raids as Latino male bodies become the de facto face of enforcement. The bodies of Latina and Latino adults and children became the site upon which the enforcement initiatives came to life; however, the experiences of these subjects were mediated by their race and gender. These enforcement initiatives exacted a particularly harsh gendered consequence both as women faced apprehension and as their status as marginalized subjects made them vulnerable to additional physical and psychological abuse. Thus, understanding the full extent of Latina/o immigrant restriction and marginalization means understanding how their racialized subordination intersected with the particular vulnerabilities of women within Latina/o communities, redefining both their lives and their future in the U.S.

Another important way that gender and race intersected in the context of contemporary immigration politics was through the creation of new legislation weaving together expansions of gender-based rights, particularly protections, access, and opportunities for immigrant women and children, with increased scrutiny of immigrants. Here, the analysis of race and gender shifts from the racialization and gendering of *subjects* to the racialization and gendering of *legislation* and to a process of unmasking and de-naturalizing language in legislation that intensified the proliferation of raids and roundups.

The Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005 and the

2003 Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act provide two examples of this intersection of racializing and gendering in legislation tied to immigration in the war on terror. Both acts simultaneously extended protections, rights of admission, and legalization to immigrant women and children who were victims of sexual assault or trafficking in the U.S., while simultaneously extending the ability of local law enforcement to act as immigration agents, a key feature of the surge in raids and roundups.

In particular, while the initial VAWA legislation and the 2005 reauthorization expanded rights of women and children (and especially immigrant women and children), the 2005 legislation also extended the practice of empowering local law enforcement officials to act as immigration agents, a key feature of the surge in raids and roundups that joined local and federal agents in targeted enforcement teams that disproportionately targeted Latina/o immigrants (Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005). These joint efforts grew out of a model of coordinated response teams that were the hallmark of VAWA's initial success, and yet became a vehicle to facilitate additional scrutiny, harassment, and apprehension of immigrants after the bill's reauthorization in 2005.

The 2005 Violence Against Women Act also integrated local offices, officers, and resources with federal immigration agents by reauthorizing appropriations for the "state criminal alien assistance program," which allowed local agents to conduct raids in residential neighborhoods that targeted immigrants previously convicted on criminal charges Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005. Through both the legislation and its subsequent enforcement, the boundaries and definitions of "criminality" were significantly expanded, blurring the lines between

persons who constituted a public threat and immigrants caught up in a state of hyper-securitization.¹⁴

The 2005 reauthorization of VAWA also directed the Department of Justice to study and report on state and local assistance in “incarcerating undocumented criminal aliens” (Violence Against Women and Department of Justice Reauthorization Act of 2005). Designed to facilitate local officers’ communication with federal agents to enable the transfer of immigrants from local jails to federal holding facilities, this provision was particularly important to the Secured Communities program that contributed significantly to the rapid rise of apprehensions and deportations among Latina/o immigrants.

Similar to the reauthorization of VAWA, the 2005 TVPRA expanded the reach of immigration enforcement by allowing foreign NGOs to work with “border guards, officials, and other law enforcement” personnel to review and scrutinize immigrants crossing the border (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003). Moving well beyond the provision of services such as providing shelter and aid to victims of trafficking or creating prevention and education programs, the language of the 2005 reauthorization empowered NGOs to take on enforcement duties, literally serving as a vehicle for “border interdiction” (Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003). Thus, legislation explicitly designed to promote women’s rights became a vehicle for securitization and immigrant restriction.

On the one hand, both the reauthorization of VAWA and TVPRA advanced aspects of gendered legislation and women’s rights; however, both Acts also blurred the boundaries between anti-violence/anti-trafficking legislation and securitization and anti-terror initiatives.

Through the expansion of law enforcement powers, women’s rights legislation becomes a means of targeting immigrants, constructing them as potential threats to the homeland and creating new mechanisms for their control. In this way both TVPRA and VAWA contributed to the racialization of immigrants by expanding securitization practices aimed at restraining and restricting immigrants.

Examining the racialized and gendered configurations of the legislation exposes these hidden burdens and disadvantages while also pointing to complex and contradictory ways in which ideas about immigrants were constructed in post 9/11 legislation, how these depictions deviated from prior ones, and the consequences of this shift. Immigrant women and children were depicted as innocent victims worthy of state protection, including admission to the country and access to a range of social services. At the same time, the state traded on a benevolent gendered theme to construct ideas about other immigrants, regardless of their status, as violent, threatening, suspect, and potentially terrorists. Moreover, these laws provided no protection for the women and children who were caught up in the raids facilitated by these Acts. As the raids and roundups increased after 2006 and rising numbers of women were apprehended, subjected to abuse in detention facilities, deported, or left as single parents, and growing numbers of immigrant and U.S.-born children were traumatized, neither Act provided relief or recourse to the states’ own terrorizing practices.

In the end, contemporary changes in immigration politics and policy prompted by the rise of the security state have been deeply racialized, but these processes of racial construction, articulation, and execution are intricately woven together with multiple configurations of gender and subordination that changed the meaning

and practice of race while necessitating a more nuanced intersectional analysis. Understanding this complex interplay of race and gender as well as other intersecting modes of subordination is important to the future of democratic participation. Moreover, intersectional analytic

approaches which enable the sort of understanding outlined in this essay also provide an important site of analysis from which we can challenge, provoke, and extend the reach of immigration research within Political Science.

Migration and Settlement: An Indigenous Studies Perspective on the Politics of Migration in Settler States

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America is *a nation of immigrants*, or so goes one of the most well-worn tropes in U.S. political discourse. The iconic image of American immigration is that of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, inscribed with the following famous words: “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!” This vision of the constitutive relationship of migration to American national identity is not so much wrong as it is incomplete. It is incomplete in a manner that produces profound forms of analytical and political blindness regarding the context to and about which such migration occurs – about this land in which “huddled masses” migrate in order to, ostensibly, “breathe free.” The blindness I refer to here regards the historical and contemporary status of Indigenous people and of settler colonialism. While rarely acknowledged, the study of immigration in such contexts as the United States – to select but one example, others can include Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Israel – is also a study in the reproduction of settler colonialism and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands. To state it in this way is not to advocate an anti-immigration politics or be against the study of immigration, at all. Rather, it is to suggest that it is important that those



engaged in the politics and analysis of immigration seriously consider questions of settler colonialism and Indigenous politics as a part of their work and considerations. Three such considerations are, I believe, worth keeping in mind in the study of immigration. The first is to understand what settler colonialism is and how it is reproduced. The second is to directly understand the persistent relevance of the concepts of the doctrine of discovery and *terra nullius* for the legitimating logic of settler colonialism. The third, and by no means the least, is to grasp historical and contemporary Indigenous people’s politics, with a specific concern for how such politics challenges prevailing Euro-American notions of governance and the relationship of a people to land. The status of governance and land are often presumed, or rarely reimagined, in immigration politics and discourse. I address each of these in turn.

While the United States is, with good reason, deemed a white supremacist nation and an imperialistic one, the idea of it being a colonialist one does not so readily come to mind for many political analysts. Colonialism is generally understood to be that which European powers of the 19th and 20th century engaged in, whereby, as one of many possible examples, a European power such as France invaded, occupied, and exploited the people and territory of Algeria, but in so doing did not create a wholly new national identity that replaced that of the colonized population. By contrast, settler colonialism involves the active displacement of one population, the Indigenous population, through which the settler population claims the land, claims belonging to the land, and generates a new collective identity as now 'native' to this land. In this process, as anthropologist and settler colonial studies scholar Patrick Wolfe phrases it, "settler colonialism is inherently eliminatory but not invariably genocidal" (Wolfe 2006, 387). Settler colonialism deploys violence and engages in practices of removal, displacement, and forced assimilation that seek to make the Indigenous population disappear, or render it invisible, and it does so perpetually. The truth is that Indigenous people have never disappeared, and this fact has important implications, for as Wolfe notes: "...the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society. It is both as a complex social formation and as a continuity through time that I term settler colonization as a structure rather than an event..." (Wolfe 2006, 390). The key distinction Wolfe makes here is between an event, specifically of the past, and a structure that persists and shapes social, economic, and political relations up to and in the present. In other words, settler colonialism is a defining structure of U.S. political society in our time, not something to be consigned to the American past of the 18th and 19th century. But why and how does this matter for the study of immigration?

To start, common analytical concerns in immigration studies include the manner in which immigrants seek to incorporate, adapt, and potentially assimilate within and to the political society to which they have migrated. A settler colonial perspective complicates or at least adds to the components one accounts for when seeking to grasp the politics and processes of such incorporation. While migrant incorporation could well come at the direct expense of Indigenous territorial claims – as in direct displacement from territory – the wider concern in the contemporary context is the presumption that may exist in some analyses that immigration occurs into a society in which the matter of jurisdiction over land and people is a settled matter. But from a perspective often articulated and enacted in Indigenous politics – especially from Indigenous nations which claim and assert sovereignty upon the premise of a nation-to-nation relationship with the U.S. federal government, not an assimilatory one within the United States – the U. S. claim to land and to governing authority are continuing items of contestation. In Indigenous politics, these are not settled matters; they are deeply contested ones. It is in this context of the politics and conflict over settler colonialism that voluntary immigrants find themselves, even while scholars of immigration may not see it as pertinent or, even, not see it at all, especially in the U.S. context in which Indigenous politics is likely more invisible in both the public sphere and in U.S. focused political studies than in other settler contexts. The analytic corrective here involves doing more than just adding an awareness of settler colonialism and Indigenous politics to one's present studies of immigration, as important a first step as that would be. What would be still more valuable is for scholars to both understand and provide direct attention to the role of key conceptual underpinnings of settler colonialism – such as the concepts of the doctrine of discovery and *terra nullius* – and

how they are as constitutive of American political society as the notion that America is a 'nation of immigrants.'

As articulated by law professor Robert A. Williams, Jr., a leading expert in U.S. Indian law, the doctrine of discovery is the legal basis for the claim of European colonizing nations to Indigenous people's territory. The doctrine of discovery is a claim to the rights that accrue from conquest, and this claim was posed against any potential claims made by other competing European nations, not against those made by Indigenous nations themselves. Prior to the U.S. founding, the British "crown held superior sovereign interest in the lands by right of 'discovery,'" and therefore "the Indians could not sell their right of occupancy to whomever they chose," as all sales went through the Crown as 'discoverer' (Williams 1990, 229). After the American Revolution overthrew the rule of the British Crown in the American colonies, the U.S. Founders assumed the rights of conquest over Indigenous people's territory. This process was ultimately codified in U.S. legal discourse in the unanimous 1823 decision in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, with its "acceptance of the Doctrine of Discovery and its denial of territorial sovereignty to American Indian nations" (Williams 1990, 231). Right on up to our time in the 21st century, the doctrine of discovery and the precedent of *Johnson v. McIntosh* continue to undergird the legal rationale for U.S. claims of authority over and ultimate rights to Indigenous people's territory, be it dispossessed or not. This persistent claim to discovery is not based upon the notion that Indigenous peoples did and do not exist, but rather that Indigenous people had and still have no relationship to the land that was/is worthy of respect as sovereign in the eyes of European colonizers and the United States government. This viewpoint is one that sees the territory that would become the United States as being in a status of *terra nullius* - meaning

empty or vacant land - prior to and during conquest, colonization, and settlement. As political theorist Carol Pateman notes, "Defenders of colonization in North America frequently invoked two senses of *terra nullius*: first, they claimed that the lands were uncultivated wilderness, and thus they were open to appropriation by virtue of what I shall call *the right of husbandry*; second, they argued that the inhabitants had no recognizable form of sovereign government. In short, North America was a state of nature" (Pateman 2007, 36). And as it regards the production of settler colonialism: "A settled colony simultaneously presupposes and extinguishes a *terra nullius*...where there is no pre-existing title. All title is created by civil government" (Pateman 2007, 67).

To be clear, it is not the fault of contemporary migrants that the settler society is built upon the premise that Indigenous people were not deemed to exist legitimately on the land or as governing peoples, that being in accord with Eurocentric forms and norms, on the land or as governing peoples. However, it is the case that historical and contemporary migrants to the United States - those 'homeless' people called forth by the Statue of Liberty - are provided the opportunity for homes and for settlement as part of the American nation at the structural expense of Indigenous territorial and governing claims. For migrants and their descendants to incorporate into a settler nation such as the United States or Canada requires that they move towards becoming settlers and thereby reproduce the structural and ideological premises and practices of settler colonialism. In this way, immigration to a settler colony such as the United States or Canada reproduces, even if unwittingly, the doctrine of discovery and the presupposition/extinguishment of *terra nullius* if incorporation within the boundaries and terms of settler colonial governance, rather

than their refusal, is the ultimate political and analytical priority.

To pose the matter in this stark way is also to suggest the possibility for alternative political imaginaries and thus alternative focal points for students and scholars analyzing the implications and dynamics of the politics of immigration. In other words, there is only a zero sum game pitting Indigenous and Immigrant concerns against each other if the politics and analysis of these remains situated within the structural logic and upon the hegemonic presumption of settler colonial rule. It is here that attention to Indigenous politics as an anti-settler colonial politics may help to open up new and fertile questions and paths of research and theorization for students and scholars of immigration.

To this end, I turn to the work of anthropologist and Indigenous studies scholar Audra Simpson for an example of this kind of analysis. In her research on the politics and political life of her community, the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke, Simpson documents, theorizes, and argues for a politics of refusal that involves an “ongoing interruption of the story of settlement” (Simpson 2014, 177). The Mohawk Nation is part of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (often known as the Iroquois Confederacy) whose territorial expanse and sovereign assertions span the boundaries of the United States and Canada and of multiple states and provinces within these two settler states. The existence and political life of the Mohawk and Haudenosaunee people refuses settler boundaries and settler governmentality, including the settler logics of the doctrine of discovery and terra nullius. As Simpson well articulates, an effort to take seriously Indigenous political life, such as that of the activists of the Mohawk nation, raises questions for people of the settler political society regarding “nation-state formation: Whose land

is this; whose nation is this; how is it that we are here if these people were here first, who have this different constitution, are pushing back, refusing encroachment, refusing the ongoing dispossession of their land? They did what they did, because they were not and are not Canadian citizens, indeed” (Simpson 2014, 169). Here, Simpson reveals through the contemporary political life of Mohawk people the active refusal of settler governmentality, of settler citizenship, of settler boundaries, of the settler state itself. To refuse means, among other things, to not have one’s identity and interests shaped and defined according to the hegemonic structural demands of settler colonial rule. This refusal of settler colonialism at the level of governmentality is also deeply tied, at least for an anticolonial politics, to refusing the settler colonial construction of the relationship of a people to land in the form of private property.

The matter of land and a people’s relationship to it raises a potential tension between Indigenous and Immigrant peoples. As Indigenous Studies scholar Andrea Smith points out, if the understanding of a people’s relationship to land is based upon the concept of private property, then it will be the case that “migration, for whatever reason, relies on a displacement and disappearance of Indigenous peoples,” but the “processes of settlement can be undone when we rethink our relationship to land.” This involves a refusal of the hegemony of the nation-state and a “radical reorientation toward land,” in which “all are welcome to live on the land” if “we live in a different relationship to it” (Smith 2012, 83). More pointedly, an anti-colonialist politics is by definition also an anti-capitalist politics, as decolonization requires reimagining the relationship of a people to and with the land. This reimagining is, for many Indigenous peoples, a lived reality, historically and in the contemporary era. But settler colonial rule can

and does make the pursuit of such a lived reality a difficult venture through the threat of dispossession, violence, and domination.

Given all that I have set out here thus far, a fair question to conclude with may be the following: What does an awareness of settler colonialism, the doctrine of discovery and *terra nullius*, and key components of Indigenous politics mean for the study of Immigrant politics? I am not a scholar of the politics of immigration, so I'll answer my question in this way. I write this piece from the subject position as neither an Immigrant nor an Indigenous person, but as someone born and raised in and of the settler society located in and around Vancouver, British Columbia, on the unceded territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Indigenous Nations. It is with respect to the political complexities of Immigrant and Indigenous politics that, as someone committed to an anti-colonial politics, I see a pressing need to decolonize the academy by specifically attending to and refusing the presumptions and hegemony of settler colonialism in our lives, work, and approaches to research. What I have offered here are a few sites or entry points to refuse, or to at least call into question, the manner in which the hegemonic presumptions of settler colonial rule may and often do serve as unstated, shaping forces of scholarly work that, on the surface, may seem to have nothing to do with

Indigenous people's politics or colonialism. Of course, one need not take on the entirety of an anti-colonial politics as it concerns the refusal of settler governmentality and settler capitalism to be able to refuse and correct one's blindness to the general and specific issues discussed here. Instead, one might start by asking not simply what is left out of our research frame or questions by not, for example, considering the matter of where claims to and authority over the land come from and in what way are they contested, but also what unique and important questions could be added to my approach if I take such contestations seriously as also shaping, say, the challenges faced by Immigrants seeking to incorporate into countries such as the United States and Canada? In other words, regardless of one's discipline or specific focus of study, it is likely helpful to ask oneself: What might I see by taking Indigenous politics and settler colonialism seriously that I could not see without doing so? This question is not limited to students and scholars of the politics of immigration, to be sure, but in pondering this particular and rather compelling dynamic of comparing peoples who assert longstanding relationship to territory and those who have recently migrated to it, refusing analytical and political blindness about settler colonialism offers a productive potential avenue of study and for political re-imagining.

Finding Narratives through Visual Methods

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Most political scientists using interpretive methods focus on texts of some sort, and for good reason, since interpretation is generally grounded in language. However, in recent years, I have begun experimenting with visual methods and have found them to be a powerful tool for eliciting narratives about immigration, social divisions, and the various inclusions and exclusions of citizenship. This essay offers a brief introduction to visual methods as well as a few concrete examples of projects that use them.

Visual methods can be integrated at different moments of the research process. Some scholars *produce* visuals, such as a video or photographic record, as part of fieldwork, at times collaborating with research subjects to generate a visual account of some dimension of lived experience. Such visuals can also be incorporated into the interview process, as described below. Other scholars, perhaps more commonly, *find or collect* already-existing visual representations for analysis, such as campaign advertisements, news broadcasts, film, or archival materials.

And finally, visuals are often a means by which scholars communicate their findings, particularly when images can illustrate more effectively than words (Knowles and Sweetman 2004; Margolis and Pauwels 2011; Mitchell 2011; Pink 2007; Pink, Kurti, and Afonso 2004). The following discussion offers just two examples amidst a broad array of possibilities, looking first at research involving images I produced to incorporate into the interview process and then at a project analyzing pre-existing visuals.



Using photographs to elicit narratives within focus groups or interviews.

My own exposure to visual methods began with the work of ethnographer Pablo Vila, who used a set of photographs as prompts in focus groups in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez in order to understand social categories and identities from various locations across the border region. Focus group members each selected photos from a set Vila provided that they believe deserved comment. Their commentary and discussion about the images produced all sorts of nuanced dialogue about social and economic differences, such as between Mexicans (including Mexican immigrants) and Anglo- or Mexican-Americans. As one brief example, a focus group in El Paso responded to an image of a run-down house with commentary about poverty in Juárez. Several Mexican-Americans in the focus group were so committed to what Vila identifies as the “all poverty is Mexican national” narrative that they defended this claim about poverty as something Mexican even after learning that the home in the image was in fact located in El Paso. They suggested that any poverty in El Paso was qualitatively different than what they represented as the extreme poverty of Mexico. They concluded that any Mexican living like that in El Paso was just lazy and did not want to work (Vila 2000, 109-111).

Vila argues that photo-interviewing is especially effective because “people believe photography depicts reality” (3). They imagine themselves describing something objective and universal, when in fact we all filter realities through a prism of our social learning, experience, and position: “[B]y definition, photography requires the interviewee to project his/her narrative identity and categorical systems onto the scene depicted in order to make sense of it within his/her horizon of understanding” (4). Photo-interviewing therefore provides a powerful tool that enables subjects to articulate taken-for-granted markers of social distinction and social categories. Visual prompts like photographs are also powerful because they “encode an enormous amount of information in a single representation” (Grady 2004, 20), which can spark any number of connections, recollections, and stories.

Vila’s work inspired me to try using photographs as a prompt for conversations in a qualitative study in San Diego that analyzes how different groups of people across San Diego County frame the neighboring Mexican city of Tijuana, and to what effect.¹⁵ I knew anecdotally that stories in San Diego about Tijuana tended to be negative, and that bad experiences in Tijuana were widely repeated and passed on until they generated their own genre of urban legends. Like Vila, one of the things I wanted to understand was how and where people drew lines of distinction in this borderland context, and along what kinds of dimensions. I suspected that negative popular narratives projected not only onto Tijuana (and Mexico) as places, but onto Tijuana residents themselves and onto Mexican migrants more generally. In that regard, popular narratives about Tijuana and about Mexico would shape the economic prospects and social standing of anyone crossing the border north into San Diego.

In order to explore these issues, I identified six communities across the county that differed by location and racial/ethnic composition and held qualitative interviews with 45 individuals. As part of these interviews, I asked respondents to examine a set of 26 photographs that I had taken throughout the local border region and physically sort them into three groups according to how much they corresponded to their own image of the neighboring city, from “very much like Tijuana” to “not at all like Tijuana.”¹⁶ As each of them sorted, we talked about what it was they saw in each image that led them to place it as they did. I recorded how people categorized photographs, but the richest material for analysis came out of their verbal interpretations.

For instance, verbal interpretations of the photos made clear that the dominant narratives about Tijuana reflected not only economics, but also disorder. Respondents widely associated any elements of images that they read as poorly maintained, makeshift, or aesthetically messy with Tijuana and often with Mexico more broadly. They also commonly connected these physical aesthetics to more general claims about Mexico as a society plagued with lawlessness and failures of regulation, markers of an “Other” against which they could identify San Diego as a place of law and order. For instance, several people examined a photo of a dog running loose in a rural setting and identified it as looking very much like their image of Tijuana, explaining, “We have leash laws.” (Ironically enough, this photo had actually been taken in San Diego County.) Using photographs as part of the interview was critical to enable respondents to articulate their implicit schema about order vs. disorder as a key line of social distinction north and south of the border. This process also underscored the breadth and adaptability of the schema beyond narratives of crime: when one expects lawless-

ness, it is possible to see confirming evidence of it anywhere, from dogs in the street, to electrical lines overhead rather than underground, to neighborhoods with houses painted in “irregular” colors.

Schemata about difference – class, culture, race, ethnicity, gender, nationality – tend to have a strong visual or aesthetic dimension. People are very skilled at “reading significance into the loaded surfaces of life” (Hebdige 1979, 18) in order to discern where things and people belong, and to sift them into categories. Adopting visual methods as part of interviews or focus groups can offer a tool to let people *show* how they do that interpretive work. In response to a visual like a photograph, people are more likely to articulate the contours of their social realities so we can better understand the social constructions and structures at work in a given context.

Examining existing images for narrative or connotative content.

A second, more common visual method among those doing interpretive analysis is to examine different sorts of cultural or political images for their narrative or connotative content. There are already many good examples of this kind of work being done among scholars of immigration and citizenship. For instance, in *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*, Leo Chavez examines images from the covers of magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, which he identified as “sites of discourse,” that incorporate symbols, icons, and metaphors representing immigrants and their relationship to the nation (2001, 4). In his later book, *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (2008), Chavez explores a range of media spectacles and visual strategies, including those by cartoonists, the Minutemen,¹⁷ and protestors in the immigrant rights marches of 2006. In *Juan in a Hundred*,

Otto Santa Ana (2013) examines the coverage and representation of Latinos on television news. His book spans content analysis (what was covered and how often), semiotic interpretations of what various visual cues connote, and analysis of narrative storylines within particular broadcasts.

Studies that examine pre-existing images draw theory and method from multiple traditions – including scholarship in sociology, anthropology, linguistics, cultural studies, and history – and share a common belief that representations matter. This claim certainly extends to politics: visual imagery is a powerful part of how media, politicians, NGOs, and other actors communicate a range of overt and pre-conscious messages. Analyzing cultural representations can also expose various ways that the ‘gaze’ of media produces and scripts the subordination of less-powerful actors (Pink 2007, 27). “Semiotics” – the analysis of connotations, myth, metaphor, and narrative embedded in visual symbols or images – can be applied even to “realistic” portrayals not designed to communicate particular meanings, such as photojournalism.

As a concrete example, let me describe another project I have in process that examines photojournalism in print newspapers and online sources. The photographic images that show up in online or print journalism are the product of many framing decisions, including photographers’ choices of subjects and how they are framed in what kind of lighting.¹⁸ They also reflect decisions of editors, who select particular images to publish from among the many available. These choices may not appear political on the surface, but they collectively produce patterns of representation that shape the relative visibility or invisibility of various groups as well as popular social constructions. These patterns have particular impact since readers of

the news tend to scan headlines and images more often than they read the full story of news articles themselves.

I collected a sample of ten years of border news coverage by the San Diego *Union-Tribune*, creating a database of both articles and photographs. I coded the database by subject and content, and then added semiotic analysis of the visual framing and connotations of the images. Following Wallen (2003), the semiotic analysis involved examining the individuals in each image to determine whether they were presented as active or passive subjects, and to evaluate how the framing and lighting of the image shaped their representation. I also analyzed each image for whether its connotations aligned with any of a set of dimensions I had established at the outset, such as poverty vs. wealth, difference vs. empathy, and inequality vs. equality (each of which had more specific conceptual definitions).

One of the most striking patterns to emerge from the analysis was how the local newspaper represented Mexican migrants in its visuals. By far, the most common images were of workers, *every one* of whom was male, most of whom were day laborers or field workers. The tens of thousands of Mexican migrants working in any other kind of local industry – and women working in any capacity – were absent from coverage. Women did show up doing other things, and there were also images of middle-class entrepreneurs and of children, but these latter images were very much in the minority.

Clearly, one issue begging for analysis is why a newspaper editor would choose to publish images of male migrant workers doing these particular low-skilled jobs, and why media decision makers are leaving other populations out of the visual imagery, in this critical space of public rhetoric and problem definition (Flores 2003;

Ono and Sloop 2002). The semiotic analysis of the particular framing and connotations of this set of photos lent some element of insight. Male workers were rarely named in captions, often shown toiling in the distance or else waiting for day labor jobs; they were presented as objects and abstractions more often than as individuals with a story or context. The few images that named any of the men in their captions focused on their victimization or the squalor of their lives in homeless migrant camps in the canyons near the homes and businesses where they worked. These latter images were framed to inspire pity, a paternalistic impulse grounded in inequality of status.

Considered together, these images created a composite iconography of “the Mexican immigrant” as a generic worker bee, a sometimes vulnerable underclass in need of acts of benevolence. While we cannot infer the intentions of the news editors or photographers, we could use photographic interviews (as described above) to confirm whether readers of this newspaper share my interpretation of the images. Such imagery is certainly consistent with the needs and structure of the labor market in San Diego, in which it would be convenient to imagine low-wage jobs more as a form of benevolence than as exploitation. Images of male Mexican workers living in squalor outside society reinforce the social distance between them and the rest of the population, making them appear appropriately demeaned and desperate to do the kind of work that society asks them to do. The focus on men reinforces the stereotype of the solitary sojourner male rather than the women and families that are settling in increasing numbers; it avoids the political tension that accompanies the prospect of their present or future citizenship. Although there has been plenty of media content that has criminalized or vilified migrants (and indeed there were representations of other migrants as

criminal), it was striking that the paper never represented migrant workers as potentially threatening. Within the local labor market, they *cannot* be imagined as dangerous, or else they would not be trustworthy to repair homes, do landscaping, and generally be a pervasive presence in everyday spaces.

Readers less familiar with interpretive analysis may question the bases of such interpretations. How can we know what kinds of interests or relationships of power actually get served by the representations in a local newspaper? What if these are not how other readers of the newspaper would interpret these images? These are fair concerns; as I already noted, photographic images each encode complex layers of information. However, these concerns ask questions

that could be answered by other studies, such as the one described in the first example. Qualitative interpretive analyses have particular strengths in discerning complex potential relationships and generating theory (or, if you prefer, hypotheses), but cannot test all the possibilities they generate. In this regard, they are not so different from quantitative studies that find patterns and relationships but then rely on interpretation to try to explain what turned up and to offer suggestions for further study.

Visual interpretive methods are excellent tools for examining social divisions, the ideological and cultural bases of domination or exclusion, and identity formation in mobile and mediated societies. For these reasons, they hold great promise for scholars of immigration and citizenship.

Teacher's Corner:

APSA 2014 Short Course

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As part of the 2014 APSA annual meeting in Washington, D.C., the Section on Migration and Citizenship organized a short course on "Methods, Data, and the Study of Migration and Citizenship in Political Science." Made possible with generous financial support from the Section and the Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism, more than 40 scholars in different stages of their careers participated in an afternoon of dynamic and informative presentations and a catered reception afterward.

We organized this short course to bring together scholars with diverse substantive interests and methodological expertise to present and discuss existing and new data sources as well as to evaluate the pros and cons of different methodological approaches in the study of migration and citizenship. Held on the conference site the day before the official APSA program started, the short course featured three panels and a total of eight presentations: (1) a panel on new data sources of interest to migration and citizenship scholars; (2) a panel assessing and evaluating quantitative methods in the study of migration and citizenship; and (3) a panel as-

sessing and evaluating qualitative methods. Graduate students, post-doctoral fellows, and faculty members from the United States and beyond made up the audience, and all enthusiastically participated in the discussion that concluded each panel.



The workshop started with three presentations on new data sources. *Justin Gest* (George Mason University) introduced the *International Migration Policy and Law Analysis* (IMPALA) database, a large-N, cross-national, cross-institutional, and cross-disciplinary project on comparative immigration policy since 1960. *Erwin de Leon* (Urban Institute) discussed the *National Immigrant Communities Project* (NICP), a joint endeavor of the Urban Institute's Center on Nonprofits & Philanthropy and the Metropolitan Housing & Communities Policy Center. NICP is being developed to be an online platform that will allow researchers, practitioners, and other integration stakeholders to identify and map immigrant organizations in the United States. *Tom Wong* (UC San Diego) discussed his Undocumented Millennial Project, with a focus on the challenges of conducting survey research with undocumented immigrants and the ways in which online platforms can serve as useful data-gathering instruments.

The second panel featured two presentations on quantitative research on immigration and

citizenship. *Pei-te Lien* (UC Santa Barbara) presented on the impacts of pre-migration socialization on the political mobilization in the United States of immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. *Matthew Wright* (American University) discussed both the perils and promise of using large-n surveys to assess immigrants' incorporation.

The three presentations of the final panel focused on qualitative methods and data in migration and citizenship research. *Michael Jones-Correa* (Cornell University) discussed his experiences conducting field research using mixed research methods, and he shared important lessons from his on-going collaborative project on immigrant-native relations in 21st century Philadelphia and Atlanta. *Anna Law* (Brooklyn College, CUNY) discussed the advantages and drawbacks of using American Political Development and other interpretative methods in studying immigration and citizenship in the US context. *Ethel Tungohan* (University of Alberta) discussed her experiences of working with migrant activist groups using participatory action research and feminist interpretive research methodologies. Her presentation invited audience members to reflect on the role of migration and citizenship researchers in relation to their informants.

Following the short course, participants were invited to a catered rooftop reception at Rebellion, a bar nearby the conference hotel. Here, participants continued the conversations started during the panel discussions and made new connections with fellow migration and citizenship scholars. It was a fun way to conclude the short course and start the APSA annual meeting.

We want to thank all the presenters and audience members for participating in the short course and for making it such a success. We appreciate all the positive feedback we received about how the short course was set up and conducted! The short course was filled to capacity (40 participants), and we even had to create a waitlist for others wanting to attend (in the end, we were able to accommodate everybody!). This strong interest in the short course points to the vitality of our Section and the interest of its members in this type of training and networking opportunities.

We were very happy to organize this short course in 2014 and hope that others will want to follow in our footsteps for future APSA meetings. If you have an idea for a short course for APSA 2015 in San Francisco (ideally, a short



course is organized around some sort of unifying theme), please contact Marie Provine and Rogers Smith (the Section's Co-presidents) or Els de Graauw (the Section's Secretary). Only with your active involvement will the Section continue to thrive and remain relevant to its members!

More Information:

On IMPALA (Justin Gest):

- <http://www.impaladatabase.org/>
- <http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/articles/population-and-migration/measuring-and-comparing-immigration-asylum-and-naturalization-poli>

On the Urban Institute (Erwin de Leon):

- <http://www.urban.org/center/cnp/>
- <http://www.urban.org/center/met/>

On the Undocumented Millennial Project (Tom Wong):

- <http://ccis.ucsd.edu/in-their-own-words-a-nationwide-survey-of-undocumented-millennials-working-paper-191/>

On Pei-te Lien's research:

- Lien, Pei-te. 2011. "Chinese American Attitudes towards Homeland Government and Politics: A Comparison among Immigrants from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong." *Journal of Asian American Studies* 14(1): 1-31.

On Matthew Wright's (co-authored) research:

- Bloemraad, Irene, and Matthew Wright. 2014. "'Utter Failure' or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism." *International Migration Review* 48(S1): S292-S334.

On immigrant-native relations in Philadelphia and Atlanta (Michael Jones-Correa):

- <http://philadelphia-atlanta.weebly.com/>

On American Political Development/interpretive methodology (Anna Law):

- Law, Anna O. 2010. *The Immigration Battle in American Courts*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (now available in affordable paperback edition!)
- Tichenor, Daniel J. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of American Immigration Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

On feminist/interpretive methodology (Ethel Tungohan):

- Tungohan, Ethel. 2013. "Reconceptualizing Motherhood, Reconceptualizing Resistance:

Migrant Domestic Workers, Transnational Hyper-maternalism, and Activism." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 15(1): 39-57.

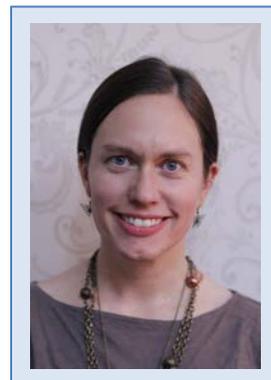
- Ethel Tungohan, Rupa Banerjee, Wayne Chu, Petronila Cleto, Conely de Leon, Mila Garcia, Philip Kelly, Marco Luciano, Cynthia Palmaria, Christopher Sori. Forthcoming (2015). "Graduated and Uneven Citizenship: Filipina Caregivers' Experiences Transitioning to Canada after the Live-in Caregiver Program." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*.

Policy Brief:

Policy vs. Reality: Immigration Management in Russia

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Though Russia is the second-largest immigrant receiving country in the world, it is rarely included in cross-national studies of migration policy or in the broader migration literature. As migration policy research has evolved from a comparative case or model based approach to a new trend on quantitative comparison through index-building (see the summer 2013 Migration and Citizenship newsletter) the literature has sought to answer whether and how states can control immigrant populations and to assess the policy tools states use to achieve their goals. Yet the vast majority of migration theory has been built on the analysis of democratic migrant receiving countries. As a non-liberal case, the Russian policy context offers important departures from typical migrant entrance and management, particularly in terms of the im-



port of institutionalized corruption and the use of shadow labor. Because of widespread failure of the rule of law to robustly impact the implementation and enforcement of migration legislation, it is necessary to look beyond the typical variables used to assess immigration policy in Western democracies. Therefore the Russian case is an essential addition to the literature,

especially at this critical juncture when the scholarship is assessing various indicators by which to measure migration policy development.

The most important category of migrants coming to Russia is temporary workers from the former Soviet countries of Central Asia. Officially, temporary labor migration stands around 2 million people per year, though even conservative estimates including undocumented workers are upwards of 6 million (Ioffe and Zayonchkovskaya 2010). Some estimates place the number of immigrants from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan alone at over 5 million (Anichkova 2012). Toward this end it is instructive to consider how the policies regulating this category of migrants should work according to legislation, how the general approach compares with other immigrant-receiving countries, and the problems (and solutions) encountered by migrants and employers in order to assess how the Russian case can inform current scholarship.

Migrants from former Soviet countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) do not need a visa to enter Russia, and are afforded special status in many aspects of the legislation. They are able to stay for up to 90 days on the basis of a migration card received at the border and registration with the migration services at their destination. Longer stays can be negotiated once migrants arrive to Russia by signing an employment contract or buying a labor patent (a permit purchased monthly). From 2007-2014, CIS workers could apply for a 3-month work permit upon arrival and move freely between employers. A work permit of a longer duration required a contract with an employer who had been approved in the previous year to hire foreign workers (through a quota mechanism). Since 2012, certain categories of migrants (i.e. those who work in services such as

janitorial work) were required to also pass a Russian language proficiency test.

In 2010, a new mechanism was introduced for CIS migrants, allowing them to purchase a labor patent for a fee of 1000 rubles (\$30 at pre-crisis prices) per month and work outside the work permit quota system for an individual Russian citizen in the capacity of personal, domestic or non-business work. Beginning in January 2015, the work permit quotas were suspended and patents were extended to cover migrants working for companies in addition to those working for individuals. However also since January 2015, migrants are required to present proof of medical insurance and a certificate showing they have passed a language, history and law test in order to receive a patent. Russia's regional governments are now given the latitude to set patent prices (as much as 8000 rubles, \$123, per month in the Far Eastern region of Chukotka) and suspend the issuing of patents altogether should they deem it necessary. For certain occupations, "allowable shares" are set by the federal government defining the percentage of the labor market that can be comprised of foreign workers. A number of occupations have an allowable share of zero, effectively banning migrants from work in retail trade of pharmaceuticals, in bazaars, markets and other retail trade outside of shops. Recently there has been discussion of limiting foreign workers in the agricultural and construction sectors (two sectors in which migrants contribute most significantly) through this mechanism.

In comparative perspective, there are broad commonalities between Russia and other countries of immigration: the presence of anti-immigrant attitudes and pressure on the government to limit immigration, greater media attention to migration around elections, a segmented labor market, etc., which in some ways

makes Russia a “normal” country of immigration. Even some of the seemingly draconian measures (i.e. language requirements, registration requirements, medical checks etc.) have counterparts in European or North American immigration policy. In terms of entry, Russia is quite open considering that citizens of the major sending countries have visa-free access. In Russia, obtaining a temporary or permanent residence permit is not required as it is in some migrant-receiving countries, and the time required to achieve permanent residency can be less than 2 years. However, Russia requires all foreigners to be registered at a particular address within a relatively short period of time. By some estimates, Russia’s labor market can be considered relatively open, given the recent move from regulating work permits by quota to the patent system which has no specific numerical limitations. On the other hand, many experts argue legal access to work is insufficient given the high proportion of illegal immigrants in the immigrant labor market. While it is too soon to tell whether the changes effective January 2015 will reduce the substantial level of undocumented workers (estimates range from 3-8 million), there is reason to be skeptical.

It is important to take into consideration that most immigration problems in Russia do not stem from inadequacy of the law itself, but rather from the interaction of law and actual practice. It is a situation where strict regulation coexists with active practices of corruption and the informal economy, providing reliable mechanisms to circumvent legal procedures. The Russian context is one where policies that seem open (i.e. the non-visa regime and the patent system) are quite closed in reality as migrants find navigating legal processes extremely difficult, and policies that seem increasingly closed (i.e. the previous quota system and current language exam requirements) are fairly easy to circumnavigate through corruption.

For example, despite visa-free entry, many CIS migrants find registration requirements difficult to complete. It has traditionally been quite rare when renting an apartment that a landlord will complete the registration process, and CIS migrants who have the option of being registered at their place of work have found that employers are similarly loathe to complete registration paperwork (Tyuryukanova 2009). It has been more common for migrants to find a friend to register them (this advice is even published on online travel forums), or to register through an intermediary service for a fee. While this type of registration has been a long-standing de facto procedure, there was significant media attention to the issue in 2012 and 2013, particularly in the run-up to presidential elections. As candidate for President, Vladimir Putin spoke out against false registrations and “rubber apartments”, where many migrants (as many as several hundreds in some extreme cases) were registered in a single apartment or home though they were not physically living on premises (Reeves 2013; Sergeev 2013; Lysova, Lyauv and Zheleznova 2013). False registrations have since been criminalized (and are now the only migration-related offense that is criminal), but it is too soon to tell what enforcement patterns will be. In many cases when legislation is enacted to rectify legal loopholes or tighten immigration control and enforcement, the result is merely another avenue for corruption. Furthermore, the frequency with which migration law changes and the increasing complexity of regulations makes the legal landscape unpredictable and difficult to navigate. The main migration law has been amended 62 times since its institution in 2002 and has quadrupled in length from 8,000 to over 33,000 words.

When the patent system was introduced in 2010, it was advertised as an easy way to come to Russia and work legally outside the quota

system (Passport-Visa Service). The Federal Migration Service has indeed issued increasing numbers of patents (from 765,000 in 2011 to 1.3 million in 2012), yet critics voice several problems with the original system. One is that migrants often purchase patents because it legalizes their stay in Russia, yet they aren't employed. Since there was no concrete connection between a patent holder and an employer, there was no way to verify the reported work is being carried out. New patent regulations require migrants to submit an employment contract within two months or the patent will be annulled. Another scenario arose when migrants holding patents work for legal entities (companies) even though patents only allowed work for individuals in a personal or domestic capacity. If caught, however, migrants and employers alike could often reliably bribe police and labor inspectors to overlook legal and administrative violations (Guillory 2013; Kurachyova and Chizhova 2013). Though the new legislation closes these particular legal loopholes and common violations, given previous patterns the increasingly strict requirements will almost certainly create further demand for mechanisms to skirt the law. For example, experts predict there will almost certainly be an

increase in corruption schemes providing fake medical and language exam documents.

Because corruption and informal strategies are structurally embedded in Russian politics, policymakers must make different calculations when creating, implementing and enforcing policies than is usually considered in the migration literature (Schenk 2010; Schenk 2013). If legislation truly eliminated opportunities for corruption, lower bureaucrats (i.e. migration officials, law enforcement, labor inspectors, etc.) would lose out on the opportunity to benefit from the proceeds of their positions. If implementation and enforcement reduced the ease with which migrants manage to live and work in the shadow sector, employers would not have reliable access to cheap labor and migrants' access to jobs would be reduced. Keeping in mind that the Russian context is not one in which the dialogues of rights or rule of law have much traction, policymakers are more or less free to pursue seemingly contradictory policy and enforcement practices in order to try and balance disparate interests of government actors, employers, the public and migrants themselves.

Research Institute Profile:

Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare

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MIM is an attractive and vibrant research environment for lecturers, researchers and practitioners who are united in their interests for migration related research. The environment is both intellectually and socially enriching. We achieve this by attracting national and international external research funding and having regular non-prestigious intellectual encounters. External research funding is not just based on individual competences, but on a joint commitment to an inspiring working environment.



Approximately 30 researchers are based at MIM. In addition, we enrol a relatively large number of affiliated members. MIM was founded in 2007 with the aim of strengthening Malmö University's migration research profile, expanding its international network and building bridges to the world outside academia.

In this newsletter we describe (1) our basic philosophy, (2) our dual commitment to both strengthening research and improving education on migration relation issues, (3) our Willy Brandt Guest Professorship, (4) our seminar activities and (5) our dissemination strategies.

Our Philosophy - Plurality is an Advantage
This approach to the field of migration studies



is truly interdisciplinary. MIM is a natural meeting point for researchers and others who are jointly committed to the area of investigation without focusing on differences in e.g. disciplinary backgrounds. This plurality is an advantage, especially as it is not our aim to reach consensus. Although there are differences in our scientific approaches and methodological preferences, these are communicated in dialogue. We achieve pluralism by means of pragmatism.

The Institute has intimate ties to political life in Malmö, both at civil society and municipal levels. MIM also enhances Malmö's international standing, as visiting reputable scholars are able to improve their knowledge of Malmö and the city as a consequence of their stay here.

MIM researchers are engaged in practitioner-close research, such as [facilitating the situation for asylum seekers experiencing involuntary return and research focusing on, for example, popular attitudes, hate crime, citizenship and populism.](#)

The research on migration is divided between projects that ethnographically and statistically engage with the lives of migrants and projects dealing indirectly with representations of migration in the media, museums, minority groups, public attitudes and elsewhere. In other words, we are multifaceted.

MIM contributes to concrete knowledge dissemination that is of direct use to policymakers and to a scrutiny of analytical and critical work in the various fields of academic research devoted to migration and integration.

Moreover, research conducted at MIM focuses on the origins of migration and the effects of migration, i.e. on policy and on discourse. The methodological span ranges from ethnography via text-analysis to statistical analysis. Some 20 to 30 research projects are currently based at MIM and range from locally funded research projects to EU projects.

Teaching and Research

Many MIM researchers engage in educational activities at the faculty level in departments such as [Health & Society](#) and [Culture & Society](#). MIM is an intellectual resource that is used by lecturers from a variety of disciplines and for many diverse teaching programmes, e.g. [International Relations](#) and the [Department of Social Work](#). MIM researchers thus take an active part in teaching activities, including BA level courses and various post-graduate courses in IMER education. Recently, we have initiated a special [prize](#) for the best MA dissertation in the field of migration and a number of master's level students are currently based at MIM to conduct research in various projects at the faculty level.

The Third Obligation

Sometimes referred to as the third obligation, the dissemination of research results outside academia is taken seriously by MIM research-

ers. This means that people outside academia who are interested in migration related issues and who, for example, listen to radio broadcasts, participate in public events or read newspapers and blogs can exchange knowledge and make use of the expertise available at MIM. MIM researchers are visible in public debates at local, national and international levels. Inside academia, MIM takes an active role in the [IMISCOE](#) [International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion] network by organising research initiatives and chairing workshops. In 2013 MIM also hosted the [annual IMISCOE Conference](#). In short, academic collaborations take place simultaneously, both at the university and outside it.

The Willy Brandt Professorship

[The Guest Professorship](#) at IMER (International Migration and Ethnic Relations) in Memory of Willy Brandt is a donation to Malmö University financed by the City of Malmö. In order to emphasise the importance and status of the scientific investment in a Guest Professorship with its associated posts, the City of Malmö obtained the family's permission to name a Guest Professorship after him. As a consequence of the Second World War Willy Brandt was forced to seek refuge in Sweden and developed strong ties with both Norway and Sweden. He served as West Germany's Chancellor from 1969 - 1974. The Guest Professorship was donated to the IMER Department when Malmö University was inaugurated on 31 August 1998. Since 1 January 2007 it has been located at MIM. The gift from the City of Malmö also includes a Research Fellow (forskarassistent) and a PhD Student (doktorand) post. The purpose of the Professorship is to strengthen research at Malmö University in the field of international migration and ethnic relations.

As IMER has a strong international focus, the City of Malmö seeks, via the Guest Professor-

ship, to forge contacts with international experts in order to ensure that the Guest Professors become an integral part of the research and teaching in the field of IMER. To this end, an internationally oriented Guest Professorship creates a constant exchange of knowledge and ideas and enhances IMER's and MIM's academic strength. For MIM, the figure of Willy Brandt captures the possibility and necessity of combining civil engagement and research.

Musa – Connecting Education with Research

In May 2012 the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education granted Malmö University the right to award doctoral degrees in the research area Migration, Urbanisation and Societal change (MUSA).

The doctoral programme comprises the research areas IMER and Urban Studies (US) in the [Global Political Studies](#) and [Urban Studies](#) departments.

Knowledge of migration and urbanisation is increasingly important in a world characterised by globalisation, for example in relation to the economy, labour issues, segregation and competition between cities. Migration and urbanisation are both the result of and driving forces for ongoing societal change.

Migration is thus a prerequisite for urbanisation, which we understand as the emergence of cities as dynamic clusters of buildings, populations and material resources. Phenomena like serial and circular migration, ethnic segregation and global competition between cities emphasise the movement and crossover of these processes of change via and beyond the national states.

14 PhD students are currently enrolled in the programme. The mutual exchange of knowledge between MUSA and MIM has con-

tributed to the further development of the already vibrant research community, both in terms of joint teaching engagements, seminar discussions and lunch-room conversations.

Seminar Activities

The MUSA programme has developed its own [Brown Bag Seminars](#) with presenters from the programme and discussants from adjacent research fields and teaching areas. This provides a particular space for the mutual exchange of visions and ideas and also allows new researchers to be challenged and coached by their more experienced peers. It thus epitomises the tight link between research and education.

Most importantly, MIM organises its own seminar series on a weekly basis: the Migration Seminar. This has now become an attractive meeting point for scholars, master's level students and others who share an interest in migration related issues. Our basic philosophy – our pluralism – flourishes in the seminar room.

[The Migration Seminar series](#) involves many different genres. For example, the Guest Professor gives various seminar presentations on her/his topics of interest throughout her/his appointment. External guests (researchers outside Malmö University), including prominent scholars in the field of migration studies and up and coming junior researchers and PhD students, are often invited to discuss their work at the seminar.

Researchers or other collaborators are also invited to present their projects at a seminar. This could relate to the early stages of the process and sometimes be part of the dissemination of project related findings. Another seminar variation is *panel discussion seminars* to which we invite scholars to present their views on a topical issue in the field of migration and integration. In the past we have had panel sem-

inars on [race](#) and [Islamophobia and anti-Semitism](#) as well as on other topics of interest. Yet another seminar type is *book presentations*, to which authors (from Malmö University or elsewhere) are invited to present their recently published books. Finally, we also encourage scholars who are affiliated to MIM or Malmö University to discuss individual papers (work-in-progress) at the seminar.

The seminar series was evaluated in 2012 by approximately 30 respondents. According to this evaluation, the MIM seminar series is seen as *very good*, or even *excellent*, dynamic and open for a wide set of genres and topics. It also opens up for high quality conversations. Naturally, researchers who are affiliated to MIM also participate in other seminars in or outside Malmö University, international conferences and so forth.

Dissemination

MIM has its own [Working Paper Series](#) related to the MIM seminars, which is open for the dissemination of various early stage (pre-journal) publications and for [Willy Brandt Guest Professorship papers](#). There are currently more than 10 working papers available online and more than 40 Willy Brandt working papers contributed by the Guest Professors.

Apart from these working papers we also invite scholars to contribute manuscripts following e.g. research project and conference proceedings, for a particular book series, [Current Themes in IMER Research](#). At present 15 books are available in this series.

In order to develop MIM as an attractive meeting point for scholars interested in migration related research, it is important to be highly visible both inside and outside academia. With this in mind we have recently initiated a series of [newsletters](#) to communicate MIM activities. This newsletter is distributed to approximately 400 receivers on a quarterly basis.

MIM is both a dynamic working place and an attractive site to visit. It offers a multitude of opportunities for anyone interested in migration and integration, either as an intern or as a visiting scholar. As the previous Guest Professor, Ayhan Kaya (currently the Director of the European Institute, Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and the Department of International Relations, in Istanbul, Turkey), put it:

The time that I spent at MIM as the Willy Brandt Professor was extremely enriching and stimulating in terms of scientific production, encountering new topics to explore in the Nordic context, meeting new colleagues, and enjoying the calm atmosphere of Sweden in general, and Malmö in particular. I was aware of the fact that the title that I tried to carry with me during my stay was truly rewarding in every sense. This is why I was honoured to take the post. I was also honoured to spend a few months with the brilliant colleagues, staff and students of MIM, who turned Malmö into a second home for me.



MIM Christmas Get-together 2013.

Encountering your IRB:

What Immigration and Citizenship Scholars and other Political Scientists Need to Know

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This is a condensed and revised version of an essay appearing in *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* [Newsletter of the APSA Organized Section for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research] Vol. 12, No. 2 (Fall 2014). The original, which is more than twice the length and develops many of these ideas more fully, is available from the authors. (©2014 Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea)

Pre-script. After we finished preparing this essay, a field experiment concerning voting for judges in California, Montana, and New Hampshire made it even more relevant. Three political scientists—one at Dartmouth, two from

Stanford—mailed potential voters about 300,000 flyers marked with the states' seals, containing information about the judges' ideologies. Aside from questions of research design, whether the research passed IRB review is not entirely clear (reports say it did not in Stanford but was at least submitted to the Dartmouth IRB; for those who missed the coverage, see [Derek Willis' article](#) and political scientist [Melissa Michelson's blog](#) (both accessed November 3, 2014). Two bits of information offer plausible explanations for what have been key points in the public discussion:

- Stanford may have had a reliance agreement with Dartmouth, meaning that it

would accept Dartmouth's IRB's review in lieu of its own separate review;

- Stanford and Dartmouth may have “unchecked the box” (see below), relevant here because the experiments were not federally funded, meaning that IRB review is not mandated and that universities may devise their own review criteria.

Still, neither explains what appear to be lapses in ethical judgment in designing the research (among others, using the state seals without permission and thereby creating the appearance of an official document). We find this a stellar example of a point we raise in the essay: the discipline's lack of attention to research ethics, possibly due to reliance on IRBs and the compliance ethics that IRB practices have inculcated.

Continuing our research on US Institutional Review Board (IRB) policies and practices (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2014, Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2008) shows us that many political scientists lack crucial information about these matters. IRB policy is of particular concern to immigration and citizenship scholars doing empirical research with human participants when these are considered a “vulnerable” population (see definition below). Researchers engaging government officials, using surveys, interviews or observation regardless of population, or analyzing existing databases might pay particular attention to the “exempt” category definitions. To facilitate political scientists' more effective interactions with IRB staff and Boards, we would like to share some insights gained from our research.

University IRBs implement federal policy, monitored by the Department of Health and Human Services' Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP). The Boards themselves are comprised of faculty colleagues (sometimes social scientists) plus a community member. IRB adminis-

trators are often not scientists (of any sort), and their training is oriented toward the language and evaluative criteria of the federal code. Indeed, administering an IRB has become a professional occupation with its own training and certification. IRBs review proposals to conduct research involving “human subjects” and examine whether potential risks to them have been minimized, assessing those risks against the research's expected benefits to participants and to society. They also assess researchers' plans to provide informed consent, protect participants' privacy, and keep the collected data confidential.

The federal policy (US Code of Federal Regulations, Title 45, Part 46) was created to rest on local Board decision-making and implementation, leading to significant variations across campuses in its interpretation. (All subsequent references to CFR §46 are to this Title.) Differences in practices often hinge on whether a university has a single IRB evaluating all forms of research or different ones for, e.g., medical and social science research. Therefore, researchers need to know their own institutions' IRBs. In addition, familiarity with key IRB policy provisions and terminologies will help. We explain some of this “IRB-speak” and then turn to some procedural matters, including those relevant to field researchers conducting interviews, participant-observation/ethnography, surveys, and/or field experiments, whether domestically or overseas.

IRB-speak: A primer

Part of what makes IRB review processes potentially challenging is its specialized language. Regulatory and discipline-based understandings of various terms do not always match. Key vocabulary includes the following.

- “*Research.*” IRB regulations tie this term's meaning to the philosophically-contested

- idea of “generalizable knowledge” (CFR §46.102(d)). This excludes information-gathering for other purposes and, on some campuses, other scholarly endeavors (e.g., oral history) and course-related exercises.
- “*Human subject.*” This is a *living* individual with whom the researcher interacts to obtain data. “Interaction” is defined as “communication or interpersonal contact between investigator and subject” (CFR §46.102(f)). But “identifiable private information” obtained without interaction, such as through the use of existing records, also counts.
 - “*Minimal risk.*” This research is when “the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests” (CFR §46.102(i)). But everyday risks vary across subgroups in American society, not to mention worldwide, and IRB reviewers have been criticized for their lack of expertise in risk assessment, leading them to misconstrue the risks associated with, e.g., comparative research (Schrag 2010, Stark 2012).
 - “*Vulnerable populations.*” Six categories of research participants “vulnerable to coercion or undue influence” are subject to additional safeguards: “children, prisoners, pregnant women, mentally disabled persons, or economically or educationally disadvantaged persons” (CFR §46.111(b)). Federal policy enables universities also to designate other populations as “vulnerable,” e.g., Native Americans.
 - *Levels of review.* Usually, IRB staff decide a proposed project’s level of required review: “exempt,” “expedited,” or “convened” full Board review. “Exempt” does not mean that research proposals are not reviewed. Rather, it means exemption *from full Board review*, a status that can be determined only via some IRB assessment. Only research entailing no greater than minimal risk is eligible for “exempt” or “expedited” review. The latter means assessment by either the IRB chairperson or his/her designee from among Board members. This reviewer may not disapprove the proposal, but may require changes to its design. Projects that entail greater than minimal risk require “convened” (i.e., full) Board review.
 - *Exempt category: Methods.* Survey and interview research and observation of *public behavior* are exempt from full review if the data so obtained do not identify individuals *and* would not place them at risk of “criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects’ financial standing, employability, or reputation” if their responses were to be revealed “outside of the research” (CFR §46.101(b)(2)(ii)). Observing public behaviors as political events take place (think: “Occupy”) is central to political science research. Because normal IRB review may delay the start of such research, some IRBs have an “Agreement for Public Ethnographic Studies” that allows observation to begin almost immediately, possibly subject to certain stipulations.
 - *Exempt category: Public officials.* IRB policy explicitly exempts surveys, interviews, and public observation involving “elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office” (CFR §46.101(b)(3))—although who, precisely, is an “appointed public official” is not clear. This exemption

means that researchers studying public officials using any of these three methods might—in complete compliance with the federal code—put them at risk for “criminal or civil liability” or damage their “financial standing, employability, or reputation” (CFR §46.101(b)(2)). The policy is consistent with legal understandings that public figures bear different burdens than private citizens.

- *Exempt category: Existing data.* Federal policy exempts from full review “[r]esearch involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, [or] records, ... if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects” (§46.101(b)(4)). However, university IRBs vary considerably in how they treat existing quantitative datasets, such as the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research collection (see www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/irb/). Some universities require researchers to obtain IRB approval to use any datasets not on a preapproved list even if those datasets incorporate a responsible use statement.
- *“Unchecking the box.”* The “box” in question—in the Federal-wide Assurance form that universities file with OHRP registering their intention to apply IRB regulations to all human subjects research conducted by employees and students, regardless of funding source—when “unchecked” indicates that the IRB will omit from review any research funded by sources other than the HHS (thereby limiting OHRP jurisdiction over such studies). IRB administrators may still, however, require proposals for unfunded research to be reviewed.

Procedural matters: Non-experimental field research

The experimental research design model informing IRB policy creation and constituting the design most familiar to policy-makers, Board members and staff means that field researchers face particular challenges in IRB review.

As the forms and online application sites developed for campus IRB uses reflect this policy history, some of their language is irrelevant for non-experimental field research designs (e.g., the number of participants to be “enrolled” in a study or “inclusion” and “exclusion” criteria, features of laboratory experiments or medical randomized controlled clinical trials). Those templates can be frustrating for researchers trying to fit them to field designs. Although that might seem expeditious, conforming to language that does not fit the methodology of the proposed research can lead field researchers to distort the character of their research.

IRB policy generally requires researchers to inform potential participants—to “consent” them—about the scope of both the research and its potential harms, whether physical, mental, financial or reputational. Potential subjects also need to be consented about possible identity revelations that could render them subject to criminal or civil prosecution (e.g., the unintentional public revelation of undocumented workers’ identities). Central to the consent process is the concern that potential participants not be coerced into participating and understand that they may stop their involvement at any time. Not always well known is that federal code allows more flexibility than some local Boards consider. For minimal risk research, it allows: (a) removal of some of the standard consent elements; (b) oral consent without signed forms; (c) waiver of the consent process altogether if the “research could not practicably

be carried out without the waiver or alteration” (CFR §46.116(c)(2)).

Procedural matters: General

IRB review process backlogs can pose significant time delays to the start of a research project. Adding to potential delay is many universities’ requirement that researchers complete some form of training before they submit their study for review. Such delay has implications for field researchers negotiating site “access” to begin research and for all empirical researchers receiving grants, which are usually not released until IRB approval is granted. Researchers should find out their campus IRB’s turnaround time as soon as they begin to prepare their proposals.

Collaborating with colleagues at other universities can also delay the start of a research project. Federal code explicitly allows a university to “rely upon the review of another qualified IRB...[to avoid] duplication of effort” (CFR §46.114), and some IRBs are content to have only the lead researcher proceed through her own campus review. Other Boards insist that all participating investigators clear their own campus IRBs. With respect to overseas research, solo or with foreign collaborators, although federal policy recognizes and makes allowances for international variability in ethics regulation (CFR §46.101(h)), some US IRBs require review by a foreign government or research setting or by the foreign colleague’s university’s IRB, not considering that not all universities or states, worldwide, have IRBs. Multiple review processes can make coordinated review for a jointly written proposal difficult. Add to that different Boards’ interpretations of what the code requires, and one has a classic instance of organizational coordination gone awry.

In sum

On many campuses political (and other social) scientists doing field research are faced with educating IRB members and administrative staff about the ways in which their methods differ from the experimental studies performed in hospitals and laboratories. Understanding the federal regulations can put researchers on more solid footing in pointing to permitted research practices that their local Boards may not recognize. And knowing IRB-speak can enable clearer communications between researchers and Board members and staff. Though challenging, educating staff as well as Board members potentially benefits all field researchers, graduate students in particular, some of whom have given up on field research due to IRB delays, often greater for research that does not fit the experimental model (van den Hoonaard 2011).

IRB review is no guarantee that the ethical issues relevant to a particular research project will be raised. Indeed, one of our concerns is the extent to which IRB administrative processes are replacing research ethics conversations that might otherwise (and, in our view, should) be part of departmental curricula, research colloquia, and discussions with supervisors and colleagues. Moreover, significant ethical matters of particular concern to political science research are simply beyond the bounds of US IRB policy, including recognition of the ways in which current policy makes “studying up” (i.e., studying societal elites and other power holders) more difficult.

Change may still be possible. In July 2011, OHRP issued an Advanced Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, calling for comments on its proposed regulatory revisions. As of this writing, the Office has not yet announced an actual policy change (which would require its own comment period). OHRP has proposed revising several of the requirements discussed in this essay,

including allowing researchers themselves to determine whether their research is “excused” (OHRP’s suggested replacement for “exempt”). Because of IRB policies’ impact, we call on political scientists to monitor this matter. Although

much attention has, rightly, been focused on Congressional efforts to curtail National Science Foundation funding, as IRB policy affects *all* research engaging human participants, it deserves as much disciplinary attention.

Section News:

May – December 2014 in Brief – Books, Journal Articles, APSA, Member News

Books

Andersson, Ruben (2014). *Illegality, Inc. Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*. University of California Press.

Arthur, John A. (2014). *Class Formations and Inequality Structures in Contemporary African Migration. Evidence from Ghana*. Lexington Books.

Benet-Martinez, Veronica and Ying-Yi Hong (Eds.). (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Multicultural Identity*. Oxford University Press.

Berg, Ulla D. and Robyn M. Rodriguez (Eds.). (2014). *Transnational Citizenship Across the Americas*. Routledge.

Blitz, Brad K. (2014). *Migration and Freedom: Mobility, Citizenship and Exclusion*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Bosworth, Mary (2014). *Inside Immigration Detention*. Oxford University Press.

Bunescu, Ioana (2014). *Roma in Europe. The Politics of Collective Identity Formation*. Ashgate.

Collier, Elizabeth W. and Charles R. Strain (Eds.). (2014). *Religious and Ethical Perspectives on Global Migration*. Lexington Books.

Costello, Cathryn and Mark Freedland (Eds.) (2014). *Migrants at Work. Immigration and Vulnerability in Labour*. Oxford University Press.

Dominelli, Lena and Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha (Eds.). (2014). *Reconfiguring Citizenship. Social Exclusion and Diversity within Inclusive Citizenship Practices*. Ashgate.

Dragojević, Mila (2014). *The Politics of Social Ties. Immigrants in an Ethnic Homeland*. Ashgate.

Edwards, Alice and Laura van Waas (Eds.). (2014). *Nationality and Statelessness under International Law*. Cambridge University Press.

- Fauri, Francesca (Ed.). (2014). *The History of Migration in Europe. Perspectives from Economics, Politics and Sociology*. Routledge.
- Goodman, Sara W. (See Member News).
- Gouws, Amanda and Daiva Stasiulis (Eds.). (2014). *Gender and Multiculturalism. North-South Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Hepburn, Eve and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (Eds.). (2014). *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States. Governance and Political Parties*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Honohan, Iseult and Marit Hovdal-Moan (Eds.). (2014). *Domination, Migration and Non-Citizens*. Routledge.
- Isin, Engin and Peter Nyers (Eds.). (2014). *The Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*. Routledge.
- Jansen, Yolande, Robin Celikates and Joost de Bloois (Eds.). (2014). *The Irregularization of Migration in Contemporary Europe. Detention, Deportation, Drowning*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Kivisto, Peter (2014). *Religion and Immigration: Migrant Faiths in North America and Western Europe*. Wiley.
- Lewis, Hannah, Peter Dwyer, Stuart Hodgkinson, Louise Waite (2014). *Precarious lives. Forced labour, exploitation and asylum*. Policy Press.
- Liebert, Hugh, John Griswold and Isaiah Wilson III (Eds.). (2014). *Thinking beyond Boundaries. Transnational Challenges to U.S. Foreign Policy*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lindley, Anna (Ed.). (2014). *Crisis and Migration. Critical Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Lluch, Jaime (See Member News).
- Marciniak, Katarzyna and Imogen Tyler (Eds.). (2014). *Immigrant Protest Politics, Aesthetics, and Everyday Dissent*. SUNY Press.
- Meier, Lars (Ed.). (2014). *Migrant Professionals in the City. Local Encounters, Identities and Inequalities*. Routledge.
- Molavi, Shourideh C. (2014). *Stateless Citizenship: The Palestinian-Arab Citizens of Israel*. Haymarket Books.
- Müller, Andreas (2014). *Governing Mobility Beyond the State. Centre, Periphery and the EU's External Borders*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- O'Nions, Helen (2014). *Asylum - A Right Denied. A Critical Analysis of European Asylum Policy*. Ashgate.
- Pickering, Sharon and Julie Ham (Eds.). (2014). *The Routledge Handbook on Crime and International Migration*. Routledge.
- Rellstab, Daniel H. and Christiane Schlote (Eds.). (2014). *Representations of War, Migration, and Refugeehood. Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Routledge.
- Schenker, Marc B., Xóchitl Castañeda and Alfonso Rodriguez-Lainz (Eds.). (2014). *Migration and Health. A Research Methods Handbook*. University of California Press.
- Schwenken, Helen and Sabine Ruß-Sattar (2014). *New Border and Citizenship Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Silbereisen, Rainer K., Peter F. Titzmann and Yossi Shavit (Eds.). (2014). *The Challenges of Diaspora Migration. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Israel and Germany*. Ashgate.

Thunder, David (2014). *Citizenship and the Pursuit of the Worthy Life*. Cambridge University Press.

Veale, Angela and Giorgia Donà (Eds.) (2014). *Child and Youth Migration. Mobility-in-Migration in an Era of Globalization*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Vecchio, Francesco (2014). *Asylum Seeking and the Global City*. Routledge.

Vertovec, Steven (Ed.). (2014). *Migration and Diversity*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Journal Articles¹⁹

American Behavioral Scientist

Triandafyllidou, Anna and Ruby Gropas (2014). "Voting With Their Feet': Highly Skilled Emigrants From Southern Europe." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(12), 1614-1633.

Special Issue: American Behavioral Scientist 58(13): Spillover Effects of Immigration Enforcement in Local Contexts

Aranda, Elizabeth, Cecilia Menjívar, and Katharine M. Donato (2014). "The Spillover Consequences of an Enforcement-First U.S. Immigration Regime." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(13), 1687-1695.

Ebert, Kim and Sarah M. Ovink (2014). "Anti-Immigrant Ordinances and Discrimination in New and Established Destinations." *American Behavioral Scientist* November 58(13), 1784-1804.

Flores, René D. (2014). „Living in the Eye of the Storm: How did Hazleton’s Restrictive Immigration Ordinance Affect Local Interethnic Relations?“ *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(13), 1743-1763.

Menjívar, Cecilia (2014). "The "Poli-Migra": Multilayered Legislation, Enforcement Practices, and What We Can Learn About and

From Today’s Approaches." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(13), 1805-1819.

Quiroga, Seline Szkupinski, Dulce M. Medina, and Jennifer Glick (2014). „In the Belly of the Beast: Effects of Anti-Immigration Policy on Latino Community Members." *American Behavioral Scientist* November 58(13), 1723-1742.

Vega, Irene I. (2014). "Conservative Rationales, Racial Boundaries: A Case Study of Restrictionist Mexican Americans." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58(13), 1764-1783.

Comparative Political Studies

Citrin, Jack, Morris Levy and Matthew Wright (2014). "Multicultural Policy and Political Support in European Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(11), 1531-1557.

Just, Aida and Christopher J. Anderson (2014). "Opinion Climates and Immigrant Political Action: A Cross-National Study of 25 European Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(7), 935-965.

Electoral Studies

Richman Jesse T., Gulshan A. Chattha and David C. Earnest (2014). "Do non-citizens vote in U.S. elections?" *Electoral Studies* 36, 149-157.

European Journal of Political Research

Eggert, Nina and Katia Pilati (2014). "Networks and political engagement of migrant organizations in five European cities" *European Journal of Political Research* 53(4), 858-875.

International Studies Quarterly

Pfütze, Tobias (2014). "Clientelism Versus Social Learning: The Electoral Effects of International Migration." *International Studies Quarterly* 58(2), 295-307.

Journal of Common Market Studies

Cappelen, Ådne and Terje Skjerpen (2014). "The Effect on Immigration of Changes in Regulations and Policies: A Case Study." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(4), 810-825.

Law and Society Review

Light, Michael T. (2014). "The New Face of Legal Inequality: Noncitizens and the Long-Term Trends in Sentencing Disparities across U.S. District Courts, 1992–2009." *Law & Society Review* 48(2), 447–478.

Ranasinghe, Prashan (2014). "The Humdrum of Legality and the Ordering of an Ethic of Care." *Law & Society Review* 48(4), 709–739.

Political Geography

Brand, Laurie A. (2014). "Arab uprisings and the changing frontiers of transnational citizenship: Voting from abroad in political transitions." *Political Geography* 41, 54-63.

Collyer, Michael (2014). "Inside out? Directly elected 'special representation' of emigrants in national legislatures and the role of popular sovereignty." *Political Geography* 41, 64-73.

Ragazzi, Francesco (2014). "A comparative analysis of diaspora policies." *Political Geography* 41, 74-89.

Political Research Quarterly

Newman, Benjamin J. and Yamil Velez (2014). "Group Size versus Change? Assessing Americans' Perception of Local Immigration." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(2), 293-303.

Pedraza, Francisco I. (2014). "The Two-Way Street of Acculturation, Discrimination, and Latino Immigration Restrictionism." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(4), 889-904.

Zepeda-Millán, Chris (2014). "Perceptions of Threat, Demographic Diversity, and the Framing of Illegality: Explaining (Non)Participation in New York's 2006 Immigrant Protests." *Political Research Quarterly* 67(4), 880-888.

Political Science Quarterly

Wallace, Sophia J. (2014). "State-Level Anti-Immigrant Legislation in the Wake of Arizona's SB 1070." *Political Science Quarterly* 129(2), 261-291.

Politics & Society

Special issue: Politics & Society 42(3): The Rights of Noncitizens.

Délano, Alexandra and Benjamin Nienass (2014). "Invisible Victims: Undocumented Migrants and the Aftermath of September 11." *Politics & Society* 42(3), 399-421.

Ellermann, Antje (2014). "The Rule of Law and the Right to Stay: The Moral Claims of Undocumented Migrants." *Politics & Society* 42(3), 293-308.

de Graauw, Els (2014). "Municipal ID Cards for Undocumented Immigrants: Local Bureaucratic Membership in a Federal System." *Pol-*

itics & Society September 2014 42(3), 309-330.

Landau, Loren B. (2014). "Conviviality, Rights, and Conflict in Africa's Urban Estuaries." *Politics & Society* 42(3), 359-380.

Plotke, David (2014). "The Rights of Noncitizens: Introduction." *Politics & Society*, 42(3), 287-291.

Quiroz Becerra, M. Victoria (2014). "Performing Belonging in Public Space: Mexican Migrants in New York City." *Politics & Society* 42(3), 331-357.

Smith, Rogers M. (2014). "National Obligations and Noncitizens: Special Rights, Human

Rights, and Immigration." *Politics & Society* 42(3), 381-398.

World Politics

Burgoon, Brian (2014). "Immigration, Integration, and Support for Redistribution in Europe." *World Politics* 66(3), 365-405.

Fitzgerald, Jennifer, David Leblang and Jessica C. Teets (2014). "Defying the Law of Gravity: The Political Economy of International Migration." *World Politics* 66(3), 406-445.

Messina, Anthony M. (2014). "Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror." *World Politics* 66(3), 530-559.

APSA Section Awards 2014

Book Award

Selection Committee:

Martin Heisler (University of Maryland), **Peite Lien** (University of California, Santa Barbara), **Daniel Tichenor** (University of Oregon)

Winner:

Ruhs, Martin. 2013. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

"The committee found that Martin Ruhs' book evinces erudition, meticulous research and a comprehensive understanding of the subject. He succeeded in integrating nearly seamlessly the empirical, policy and normative elements at the heart of migration issues. The author grappled with and grasped all of the significant aspects of 'economic migration' in the broadest sense and incorporated relevant normative considerations more effectively than works that focus mostly on policy matters or those dedicated to normative aspects of migration. He

addressed the sensitivities in controversies of key policy debates, marshaled both positivist and normative arguments and took a courageous stand in the advancement of migrant rights. This work will help to shape our thinking about the central issues involved in migration."

Honorable mention:

Masuoka, Natalie, and Jane Junn. 2013. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dissertation Award

Selection Committee:

David Plotke (New School for Social Research), **Kristi Andersen** (Syracuse University), **Ayelet Shachar** (University of Toronto)

Winner:

Lori, Noora Anwar. 2013. "Unsettling State: Non-citizens, State Power, and Citizenship in the United Arab Emirates." Submitted to the Political Science Department at the Johns Hopkins University.

"Noora Anwar Lori has written an original and provocative dissertation about the crucial role of migration in the efforts of political elites to create a distinctive citizenship regime in the Gulf States. These polities are in significant respects constituted through the simultaneous economic presence and political and civic exclusion of migrants. Her work takes on important theoretical claims about the relationship between natural resource abundance and authoritarian governance. She questions the assumptions underlying the idea of a "resource curse" and demonstrates persuasively the existence of an important intervening variable: the maintenance of an effective citizen/non-citizen boundary. She demonstrates with extensive archival and interview data how authoritarian regimes in the Gulf States (with the assistance of oil companies and foreign states) have created and enforced new categories of "non-citizens" in their quest to monopolize power. This creative dissertation effectively links the management of migration to building polities and states, in a region that has not gained the attention it deserves from scholars of migration and citizenship."

Honorable mention:

Zamora-Kapoor, Anna. 2013. "A Structural Explanation for Anti-immigrant Sentiment: Evidence from Belgium and Spain." Submitted to the Sociology Department at Columbia University.

Chapter Award

Selection Committee:

Lisa García Bedolla (University of California, Berkeley), **Yasmeen Abu-Laban** (University of Alberta), **Julie Mostov** (Drexel University)

Winner:

Plascencia, Luis F. B. 2013. "Attrition Through Enforcement and the Elimination of a 'Dangerous Class.'" Pp. 93-127 in *Latino Politics and Arizona's Immigration Law SB1070*, edited by Lisa Magaña and Erik Lee. New York: Springer.

"Luis Plascencia explores a new policy position as expressed through Arizona's SB 1070 and other laws that expand on the policy of "attrition through enforcement." He traces the origins of this policy position, its elaboration, and potential consequences, arguing that this policy direction is a product of Arizona's history as a state and a "strange-bedfellows" relationship between the state and federal governments in relation to immigration policy, along with being driven by economic trends, demographic trends, and political formulations. He concludes that "attrition through deportation" is a form of political sacrifice that has constructed the "sacrificial subject"—the Mexican undocumented immigrant—but has a more fundamental goal that simply encouraging self-deportation or discovering a nostalgic past. Instead, the political project here is re-asserting a racialized U.S. national identity in order to lay claim to a national community that is perceived to have been lost. Our committee was impressed with the chapter's substantive contributions as well as the ways in which it challenges conventional wisdom on the topic. We congratulate Luis Plascencia on making such an important theoretical and empirical contribution to the field of migration studies."

Article Award

Selection Committee:

Jackie Stevens (Northwestern University), **Joel Fetzer** (Pepperdine University), **Phil Triadafilopoulos** (University of Toronto)

Winner:

Ellermann, Antje. 2013. "When Can Liberal States Avoid Unwanted Immigration? Self-Limited Sovereignty and Guest Worker Re-

cruitment in Switzerland and Germany." *World Politics* 65(3): 491-538.

Paper Award

Selection Committee:

Janelle Wong (University of Maryland), **Deborah Milly** (Virginia Tech), **Martin Ruhs** (University of Oxford)

Winner:

Pugh, Jeffrey. 2013. "Markers of Difference and Their Effect on Political Strategies in the Context of Invisibility: Colombian Forced Migrants in Ecuador." Presented at the APSA annual meeting in Chicago, IL.

"The award committee congratulates Jeffrey Pugh on a paper that enriches our theoretical and empirical understanding of migration and citizenship. We were especially impressed by the usefulness and originality of the central concept developed throughout the paper, the "invisibility bargain." We also appreciated his careful attention to the ways in which exclusion is achieved through informal social exchange and to how migrants exert agency through strategic interactions with the society and state. The paper successfully illustrates how the tenuous position of forced migrants in Ecuador is constructed from multiple angles. The research completed was both difficult and original, and provides critical insights related to the choices made by forced migrants to navigate very limited opportunities for belonging."

APSA Award Committees 2015

The Section welcomes nominations and self-nominations for awards for best (1) book, (2) dissertation, (3) book chapter, (4) article, and (5) APSA paper. Section membership is not required for consideration (but we encourage you to become a Section member if you aren't one already)!

Book Award

Award for best book on migration and/or citizenship published (i.e., printed) in the previous calendar year. Publishers or other nominators should send one hard copy of a book published (i.e., printed; either paperback or hardback) in 2014 to each committee member by March 31, 2015. Edited volumes are not eligible for the book award.

Best Book Award Selection Committee 2015:

Jeannette Money (Chair)
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Purdue University
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Dissertation Award

Award for best dissertation on migration and/or citizenship accepted in the previous calendar year. Send one electronic copy of a dissertation accepted in 2014 AND a dissertation abstract to each committee member. Nominees should also request their advisor to send an electronic letter of recommendation to the award committee chair. All materials are due March 31, 2015.

Best Dissertation Award Selection Committee 2015:

David Leal (Chair)

UT Austin

dleal@austin.utexas.edu

Katrina Burgess

Tufts University

Katrina.Burgess@tufts.edu

Maria Koinova

University of Warwick

m.koinova@warwick.ac.uk

Chapter Award

Award for best book chapter on migration and/or citizenship published (i.e., printed) in the previous calendar year. Send one electronic copy of a book chapter published (i.e., printed) in 2014 to each committee member by March 31, 2015.

Best Chapter Award Selection Committee 2015:

Anna Sampaio (Chair)

Santa Clara University

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Article Award

Award for best article on migration and/or citizenship published (i.e., printed) in the previous calendar year. Send one electronic copy of an article published (i.e., printed) in 2014 to each committee member by March 31, 2015.

Best Article Award Selection Committee 2015:

Antje Ellermann (Chair)

University of British Columbia

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Daniel Hopkins

Georgetown University

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Paulina Ochoa

Haverford College

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Paper Award

Award for best paper on migration and/or citizenship presented at the previous APSA annual meeting (either as part of a panel or poster session). Send one electronic copy of a paper presented at APSA 2014 to each committee member by March 31, 2015.

Best Paper Award Selection Committee 2015:

David Cook-Martin (Chair)
Grinnell College
cookd@grinnell.edu

Scott Solomon
University of South Florida
msolomon@usf.edu

Dara Strolovitch
Princeton University
dzs@princeton.edu

Member News

Saskia Bonjour (Political Science, University of Amsterdam)

- Published “The Transfer of Pre-Departure Integration Measures for Family Migrants among Member States of the European Union.” *Comparative Migration Studies* 2(2), 203-226.
- Moved to new position as Assistant professor at the Political Science Department of the University of Amsterdam (as of 15 August 2014).

Anna Boucher (Political Science, University of Sydney)

- Published “Familialism and migrant welfare policy: Restrictions on social security provision for newly-arrived immigrants.” *Policy and Politics* 42(3), 367-384.
- Published with Lucie Cerna “Current trends in skilled immigration policy.” *International Migration* 52(3), 21-25.
- Published with Justin Gest, Anna Boucher, Suzanna Challen, Brian Burgoon, Eiko Thielemann, Michel Beine, Patrick McGovern, Mary Crock, Hillel Rapoport, Michael Hiscox “Measuring and Comparing Migration, Asylum and Naturalization Policies Globally: Challenges and Solutions.” *Global Policy* 5(3), 261-274.
- Was promoted from lecturer to senior lecturer in Political Science, University of Sydney.

Alexandra Filindra (Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago)

- Published “The Emergence of the ‘Temporary Mexican’: American Agriculture, the U.S. Congress and the 1920 Hearings on the ‘Temporary Admissions of Illiterate Mexicans.’” *Latin American Research Review* 49 (3), 85-102.
- Received a grant by the Chancellor’s Discovery Fund, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2014-2015.

Els de Graauw (Political Science, Baruch College-CUNY)

- Published “Municipal ID Cards for Undocumented Immigrants: Local Bureaucratic Membership in a Federal System.” *Politics & Society* 42(3): 309-330.
- Received a contract from Cornell University Press for her book manuscript tentatively titled, *Making Immigrant Rights Real: Non-profit Advocacy and Immigrant Integration in San Francisco*.

James F. Hollifield (Political Science, Southern Methodist University)

- Published edited book with Philip L. Martin, and Pia M. Orrenius *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Third Edition. Stanford University Press.
- Published edited book with Caroline B. Brettell *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. Third Edition. Routledge.

- Has been appointed as a Public Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for 2015-16.

Jaime Lluich (Political Science, University of Puerto Rico)

- Published *Visions of Sovereignty: Nationalism and Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Published edited book *Constitutionalism and the Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Willem Maas (Glendon College, York University)

- Published "The Origins, Evolution, and Political Objectives of EU Citizenship." *German Law Journal* [Special Themed Issue entitled "EU Citizenship: Twenty Years On", edited by Patricia Mindus] 15(5), 797-819.
- Published "The Netherlands: Consensus and Contention in a Migration State." In: *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Third Edition. James F. Hollifield, Philip L. Martin, and Pia Orrenius (Eds.). Stanford University Press, pp. 256-275.
- Published "European Union Citizenship in Retrospect and Prospect". In: *Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*. Engin Isin and Peter Nyers (Eds.). Routledge, pp 409-17.

John Mollenkopf (Political Science and Sociology, City University of New York)

- Published "The Impact of Immigrants on City Politics: Comparing New York and London." In: *Migration and London's Growth*. Ben Kochan (Ed.). LSE London.

Daniel Naujoks (School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University)

- Joint Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs as Adjunct Assistant Professor, as well as The New School's

Graduate Programme in International Affairs.

- Organized the conference "A Foot in Each World: South Asian Diaspora Communities in the United States and their Interactions with their Homeland", New York, October 17, 2014, organized by the Organisation for Diaspora Initiatives (ODI), New Delhi, the *Diaspora Studies Journal*, in collaboration with the Economic and Political Development Concentration at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA).

Sara Wallace Goodman (Department of Political Science, University of California)

- Published *Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Received the Israel Institute Faculty Development Grant.

Jeff Pugh (Department of Conflict Resolution, Human Security, and Global Governance, University of Massachusetts)

- Co-coordinated the launch of the UMB/FLACSO Summer Institute on Conflict Transformation in Border Regions in Quito, Ecuador (currently accepting applications).

Stefan Rother (Political Sciences, University of Freiburg)

- Published with Nicola Stefan Rother "More than Remittances: Resisting the Dominant Discourse and Policy Prescriptions of the Global 'Migration-Development-Mantra'". *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* 30(1), 44-66.
- Was awarded a one year fellowship at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies (FRIAS), University of Freiburg, within the Research Project: Regional Democratisation from below? Alignments, Dealignment and Re-alignments in Southeast Asian Transna-

tional Civil Society (October 2014-September 2015).

Myra A. Waterbury (Political Science, Ohio University)

- Published "Making Citizens Beyond the Borders: Nonresident Ethnic Citizenship in Post-Communist Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism* 61(4), 36-49.

Nils Witte (Bremen International Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Bremen)

- Published "Legal and symbolic membership: Symbolic boundaries and naturalisation intentions of Turkish residents in Germany." *EUI/RSCAS Working Paper* 100. Florence: European University Institute.

Joseph Yi (Political Science, Hangyang University)

- Received a Travel Grant by the Luce Foundation & Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals.

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Migration and Settlement: An Indigenous Studies Perspective on the Politics of Migration in Settler States (Kevin Bruyneel)

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Finding Narratives through Visual Methods (Kristen Hill Maher)

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Policy Brief: Policy vs. Reality: Immigration Management in Russia (Caress Schenk)

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Encountering your IRB: What Immigration and Citizenship Scholars and other Political Scientists Need to Know (Dvora Yanow, Peregrine Schwartz-Shea)

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Notes

¹ For additional discussion, examples, and sources, see Yanow and Schwartz-Shea 2014.

² See, for example, Delanty et al. 2011; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2009; Richardson 2004; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008; Wodak and Meyer 2009 for more information on discourse and genre analysis.

³ “Retractable” [in German: *nachvollziehbar*] implies that text analyses should be transparent so that any reader can trace and understand the detailed in-depth textual analysis.

⁴ This ideal-typical list is best realized in a large-scale interdisciplinary project with sufficient resources of time, personnel and money. Depending on the funding, time, and other constraints, smaller studies are, of course, useful and legitimate. In any case, it makes sense to be aware of the overall research design, and thus to make explicit choices when devising one’s own project, such as a Ph.D. thesis. Sometimes, a pilot study can be extended to more comprehensive case studies, and, occasionally, case studies included in the planning at the very beginning must be left for a follow-up project.

⁵ See Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 2009, for the definition of such strategies and the types of argumentation schemes and *topoi* employed in exclusionary text and talk.

⁶ Speech available at <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/apr/14/david-cameron-immigration-speech-full-text> (accessed 23 August, 2014).

⁷ Quarterly Review on EU Employment and the Social Situation, June, 2012.

⁸ The Telegraph, *Theresa May: We’ll stop Migrants if Europe collapses*, 25 May, 2012.

⁹ See Wodak 2015; Wodak and Boukala 2014, for an extensive analysis of the British hegemonic discourse about immigration and migrants.

¹⁰ See <http://www.c-span.org/video/?306895-1/impact-european-debt-crisis-british-economy>; accessed 23 August, 2014.

¹¹ The two examples presented here draw on Yanow and van der Haar 2013.

¹² This essay utilizes excerpts from work originally published in Sampaio (2014), as well as research from Sampaio (2015).

¹³ Operation Return to Sender, which began on May 26, 2006, is a nationwide interior enforcement initiative which brings together National Fugitive Operations Program (NFOP) operating through the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) bureau with federal, state, and local law enforcement entities to identify and apprehend immigrants classified as “fugitives.” The Secured Communities program, launched in March 2008, followed the trend of mobilizing local law enforcement agencies’ resources to serve federal immigration enforcement by requiring local jurisdictions to share electronic data on immigrants arrested. The program “transformed the landscape of immigration enforcement by allowing ICE to effectively run federal immigration checks on every individual booked into a local county jail, usually while still in pre-trial custody” (Kohi, Aarti, Markowitz, and Chavez 2011, 2).

¹⁴ In their report on residential raids conducted by the NFOP, Mendelson, Strom, and Wishni (2009) note that in 2003, 32% of the aliens apprehended and arrested by the teams had criminal convictions, a number that dropped to 17% in 2006 and 9% by 2007. In other words, by 2007 the preponderance of immigrants apprehended by the Fugitive Operations Teams as part of the war on terrorism had no connection to terrorism *and* no evidence of criminal convictions in their records.

¹⁵ This study comprises two chapters of a book in draft. The second study I mention is part of the same book project (Maher and Carruthers, n.d.).

¹⁶ This method was a loose adaptation of the Q-sort technique, which is a much more structured way to elicit cognitive schemata and categories that can be quantitatively evaluated (e.g., Day 2008). My adaptation included only three categories (with “neutral” in the middle), which turned out to be plenty complicated for less-educated respondents.

¹⁷ Various contemporary groups in the U.S. adopting the “Minuteman” label from American revolutionary war times have engaged in visual spectacle to attract media attention to what they identify as lax immigration enforcement.

¹⁸ See Yanow (2014) for a nuanced discussion about how those who use cameras with the intent to merely document the world instead engage in framing and worldmaking.

¹⁹ A note on methodology. Journals were selected from the list of 90 political science journals included in Michael Giles and James Garand’s article “Ranking Political Science Journals: Reputational and Citational Approaches” (*PS*, October 2007, 741-751). We selected those that included at least 3 migration and citizenship related articles over the past decade (using the search terms “migration,” “citizenship,” “multiculturalism”). We only included articles written in English. We apologize for any oversight. For feedback and suggestions, please contact the editor.