U.S. Immigration Policy
Political Science 126C / Chicano/Latino Studies 163
Winter 2017

Professor Louis DeSipio
Office Hours: Mondays, 5-6:30 and by appointment
SSPB 5283
824-4012
LDESIPIO@UCI.EDU   **Class Web Site**: https://canvas.eee.uci.edu/courses/4086

Teaching Assistant Office Hours will be posted to the class web site during Week 1.

Course Overview:
The United States is in the middle of a national debate over immigration policy and the outcomes of immigrant incorporation. The debate is not just taking place in the U.S. Congress, which has the power and Constitutional responsibility to shape policy, but also in national electoral politics and debates, in state legislatures, in the courts, in the media and blogosphere, and in community organizing. In some form, the current debate began in the early 1990s, but has achieved a new urgency over the last decade and new dynamics with the election of Donald Trump to the presidency.

Congress has debated significant legislative changes to immigration policy in 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2013, but these debates largely ended inconclusively which had the effect of raising even more the salience of immigration as a policy issue in the public's mind. In response to a perceived inaction on Congress' part, President Obama exercised executive powers that proved controversial to many in U.S. society and were partially blocked by the federal courts. Donald Trump staked his unlikely, but ultimately successful, candidacy on a promise to build a wall along the entire U.S.-Mexico border, to deport many or all unauthorized immigrants and, potentially, to change the volume of and eligibility for immigration to permanent residence (legal immigration, with a green card).

Our goal in this class is to analyze what it will take for Congress to craft a "comprehensive" immigration reform and what that legislation will likely include. Although the need for comprehensive reform is debated (the status quo works for many in the society), the high level of popular dissatisfaction with current policies, the pressures put on the nation by demands for immigrant labor, and the high number of unauthorized migrants resident in the United States demonstrate the need for a thorough review of current policies and, most likely, a major revision to existing policies. Whether there will be the political will to implement the compromises necessary to achieve a comprehensive reform to U.S. immigration law and policy is unclear.

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

> DeSipio, Louis, and Rodolfo O. de la Garza. 2015. *U.S. Immigration in the Twenty-First Century: Making Americans, Remaking America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

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

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

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

Course Structure

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

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

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

Policy Study Groups

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

Policy areas:
- Immigration enforcement at the border and in the interior/at the workplace; the "Wall"
- Changes to standards for eligibility for admission to legal permanent residence (the "point system")
- Guest worker programs
- Immigration, civil liberties, and national ID cards
- Immigration policy and international security
- Legalization of unauthorized immigrants; Obama administration executive actions (DACA and DAPA); the status of recipients of DACA after the inauguration of President Trump
- Refugee policy
- Naturalization policy

Interest groups and key actors central to Congressional policy debates (These are a bit more diffuse than the policy areas, but each is part of the debate):
- Republicans in the U.S. Congress (note that there are multiple coalitions, particularly in the House, that take different positions on immigration policies)

- National immigrant rights research and advocacy organizations/Latino and Asian American civil rights organizations
- Policy research groups promoting a reduction in the overall volume of immigration to the United States and/or restrictions to specific legal authorities for immigration to the United States
- State governments in the United States (particularly states along the border and states with large unauthorized immigration populations)
- The Trump administration (it is likely that we won't have a complete view of Trump proposals, so I would understand if members of this group focus on indicators of Trump immigration proposals through February 21).
- Employers, particularly the technology, service, and agriculture sectors of the economy
- U.S. trade unions
- Immigrant-sending nations' efforts to influence Trump administration policies/program

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

By Tuesday, January 17 (the Tuesday of Week 2 [the Monday of Week 2 is a holiday]), please send me an email (LDESIPIO@UCI.EDU) with your ranked top four choices for assignment to a policy study group for the course. I can't guarantee that you will be assigned to one of the groups that you request, but I will do my best.

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

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

      1) Annotated Bibliography: Identify at least eight sources relevant to the topic of your policy study group and write a description of no more than two paragraphs for each citation on the relevance of this source and the its contribution to the current immigration debate. These sources should come from a variety of publications. Some of these sources will be scholarly, some journalistic, and some from advocacy organizations (though I realize that scholarly sources may be hard to find for some of the policy study areas).

I will reward students who include scholarly, journalistic, *and* advocacy sources in their annotated bibliographies.

The annotated bibliography should be submitted to the Canvas site prior to the start of class on February 6. It will account for 10 percent of your final grade.

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

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

The research paper should be submitted to the Canvas site prior to the start of class on February 27. In addition to submitting a copy to Canvas for evaluation, you will need to distribute a copy to each member of your policy study group either in paper form or electronically. The policy study groups will meet during class on February 27.

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

3) <u>Midterm Exam</u>: I will post the exam to the class web page on February 15; it will be due (submitted to the class web page) by 5 pm on February 21. The class will be able to shape the format of the exam (and the balance between its different parts) and we will discuss it in class on February 13. My goal with the exam will be two-fold: to ensure that students synthesize different sources to be able to make an argument about U.S. immigration policy (this usually takes the form of an essay) and to be able to demonstrate a careful reading of the assigned readings (this usually takes the form of identifications *or* a multiple choice exam).

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

4) <u>In-Class Group Presentation</u>: Each policy study group will be responsible for making a presentation of approximately 12 minutes (some groups will be allocated a bit more time) that identifies:
   a) the key issue(s) related to the current immigration reform debate
   b) positions that the Trump administration and Republican Congressional leaders have taken on the issue or the relationship they have to the interest group/actors
   c) a discussion of the role that the issue played in the 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2013 Congressional debates and the preparations for the next round of Congressional immigration reform debates

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

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

These in-class presentations will take place March 6 and 13. I will group like groups with like groups and will distribute a presentation schedule by mid-February.

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

To earn extra credit, I will require that you attend the event and write a description of no more than one page summarizing the key points. You can earn up to one point of extra credit (1 percent of your final grade) for each of these summaries that you submit, up to a maximum of 3 points. That said, I can't guarantee that there will be three such events.

These extra credit submissions will be due by the final day of class (March 17) at 5 pm (to the class Canvas site).

Lecture and Reading Schedule

January 9	**1) Course Introduction and Overview**
	2) Thrace, 378 AD and competing notions of making immigration policy
	3) Introduction to the current policy debates
	a) What does "comprehensive" immigration reform mean in the contemporary debate?
	b) What have Congress, President Bush, and President Obama tried to achieve in terms of immigration reform
	c) What signals is the Trump transition team sending about immigration policy in the Trump years?
January 16	**Martin Luther King Day Commemoration – No class**
January 17	**Submit top four choices for assignment to a policy study group for the course by email to LDESIPIO@UCI.EDU**
January 23	**Foundations and Enduring Debates – U.S. Immigration and Incorporation Policies – 1492-1965**
READINGS:	DeSipio and de la Garza, Introduction, chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-96).
	Masuoka and Junn, Introduction and chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-62).
January 30	**1) The 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Amendments and contemporary immigration and immigrant incorporation policy**
	2) Other contemporary migrations (unauthorized, short-term, refugees/asylees)
	3) Border enforcement and contestation over who enforces U.S. immigration law (Why was "Build the Wall!" one of the cores messages of the 2016 Presidential race)
	4) Immigrant-native relations
READINGS:	DeSipio and de la Garza, chapter 3 (pp. 97-130) [also review pp. 77-96].
	Masuoka and Junn, chapter 3 (pp. 63-87).
	Rosenblum, Marc R. and Faye Hipsman. 2016. "Border Metrics: How to Effectively Measure Border Security and Immigration Control." Washington, D.C.: Immigration Policy Center. [Posted to the class web site].
	Massey, Douglas. 2008. "Caution: NAFTA at Work." *Miller McCune* 1 [April/May]: 30-37 [Posted to the class web site].

Passel, Jeffrey S., and D'Vera Cohn. 2016. *Overall Number of U.S. Unauthorized Immigrants Holds Steady Since 2009.* Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center – excerpt (pp. 1-15) [Posted to the class web site].

Department of Homeland Security, Office of Immigration Statistics. 2016. *DHS Immigration Enforcement: 2016.* Washington, D.C. Office of Immigration Statistics. [Posted to the class web site].

February 6   **Immigrant Incorporation**

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapter 4 (pp. 131-172).

Masuoka and Junn, chapters 4 and 5 (pp. 88-155)

Witsman, Katherine, and Ryan Baugh. 2016. *U.S. Naturalizations: 2015.* Washington, D.C.: Office of Immigration Statistics. [Posted to the class web site]

Baker, Bryan. 2010. Naturalization Rates Among IRCA Immigrants: A 2009 Update. Washington, D.C.: Office of Immigration Statistics. [Posted to the Class Web Site].

Gonzales, Roberto G.; Veronica Terriquez; and Stephen P. Ruszczyk. 2014. "Becoming DACAmented: Assessing the Short-Term Benefits of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)." *American Behavioral Scientist.* [Posted to the class web site]

Batalova, Jeanne; Sarah Hooker; and Randy Capps, with James Bachmeier. 2014. *DACA at the Two-Year Mark: A National and State Profile of Youth Eligible and Applying For Deferred Action.* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute. [Posted to the class web site]

ASSIGNMENT: Annotated bibliography should be submitted to the Canvas site before the beginning of class.

February 13   **Immigrant/Second Generation Political Participation and the Future of U.S. Politics**

Discussion of the Structure of the Midterm

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapter 5 (pp. 173-202)

Masuoka and Junn, chapters 6 and Conclusion (pp. 156-198)

DeSipio, Louis. 2011. "Immigrant Incorporation in an Era of Weak Civic Institutions: Immigrant Civic and Political Participation in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist.* [Posted to the class web site]

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

Blitzer, Jonathan. 2016. "Undocumented Immigrants Brace for the Trump Administration." *The New Yorker.* [Posted to the class web site]

ASSIGNMENT   Midterm posted to the class web site – February 15

February 20   **No Class – President's Day Observed**

ASSIGNMENT   Midterm due by 5 pm, February 21 (to the Canvas class site)

February 27   **The Politics and Policy of Immigration Reform – 1993-2017**

                         Current debates
                         - **Executive discretion and DACA/DAPA**
                         - **The states and the courts**
                         - **Public opinion**
                         - **Meeting national labor market needs**
                         - **Restructuring immigration preferences for immigration to permanent residence**
                         - **The electorate**
                         - **Dual nationality**
                         - **Birth-right citizenship**

                         Early indicators of Trump Administration policies and programs

                         Initial Meeting of Policy Study Groups

READINGS: DeSipio and de la Garza, chapter 6 (pp. 203-223)

                        Jones-Correa, Michael. 2012. *Contested Ground: Immigration in the United States.* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute. [Posted to the class web site]

                        Sumption, Madeleine, and Kate Hooper. 2014. *Selling Visas and Citizenship: Policy Questions from the Global Boom in Investor Immigration.* [Posted to the class web site]

                        Nakamura, David. 2016. "After Years on the Outside, Foes of Legal Immigration Find a Louder Voice with Trump's Election." *The Washington Post.* [Posted to the class web site]

                        Miller, Jonathan, and Dean DeChiaro. 2016. "Hard-Liners Are Confident Heading Into Immigration Battle." *Roll Call.* [Posted to class web site]

                        I will post a couple of extra readings related to early Trump administration policies/programs/initiatives. Watch the web site prior to doing this week's readings.

ASSIGNMENT   Research essay on key debates in your policy research should be submitted to the Canvas site before the beginning of class on February 27.

March 6 & 13   **Group research presentations (schedule distributed in mid-February)**