

POLI 150A

Prof. Tom K. Wong, Ph.D.

Office: SSB 363

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 3:00PM – 4:00PM in SSB 363

Additional Office Hours

- Skype (tomkwong_ucsd): email to set up date/time
- Coffee Shop Hours: Wednesdays 11:00AM – 12:00PM (usually in North Park, email in advance for location)

TAs: Liesel Spangler (lspangle@ucsd.edu), Dennis Rhee (drhee@ucsd.edu), Louis Weimer (lweimer@ucsd.edu), Gregoire Phillis (g1philli@ucsd.edu), Christina Cottiero (ccottier@ucsd.edu)

Introduction

This course examines how countries are responding to, and being transformed by, immigration. It addresses the central questions in the study of the politics of immigration and provides a comprehensive overview of the debates that have arisen among scholars in the field. Topics addressed include why people migrate, the determinants of anti-immigrant sentiment, the politics and determinants of immigration control policies, and immigrant inclusion and exclusion. After examining these issues in comparative perspective, we will take a closer look at the United States.

Requirements

- 5% Assignment 1
 - Due Thursday 1/21 before the end of class
 - Prompt to be distributed Week 3
- 30% Midterm Exam
 - Tuesday 2/9
 - Multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions
- 20% Research Paper
 - Due Thursday 2/25 before the end of class
 - 5 single-spaced pages, 1-inch margins, 12 point Times New Roman Font
 - Prompt to be distributed Week 3
- 5% Assignment 2
 - Due Thursday 3/3 before the end of class
 - Prompt to be distributed Week 9
- 40% Cumulative Final Exam
 - Wednesday 3/16 3:00PM – 5:59PM
 - Multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions

Readings

Understanding Contemporary International Migration: Theory and Evidence

1/7-12 |

Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark Miller. 2014 (5th edition). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. The Guilford Press. **Read “Introduction,” “Theories of Migration,” and “How Migration Transforms Societies.”**

Douglas Massey et al. 1993. “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal.” *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.

Recommended

- E.G. Ravenstein. 1885. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48(2): 167-235.
- E.G. Ravenstein. 1889. "The Laws of Migration." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52(2): 241-305.
- Larry A. Sjaastad. 1962. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *The Journal of Political Economy* 70(5): 80-93.
- Everett S. Lee. 1966. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography* 3(1): 47-57.
- Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2005. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. MIT Press.
- Jennifer Fitzgerald, David Leblang, and Jessica C. Teets. 2014. "Defying the Law of Gravity: The Political Economy of International Migration." *World Politics* 66(3): 406-445.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Contentious Politics of Immigration in Comparative Perspective

- 1/12-14 | **Jens Hainmueller and Daniel J. Hopkins.** 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225-249.
- John Sides and Jack Citrin.** 2007. "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 477-504.
- Lauren McLaren.** 2003. "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants." *Social Forces* 81(3): 909-936.
- Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior.** 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.
- Shanto Iyengar, et al.** 2013. "Do Attitudes About Immigration Predict Willingness to Admit Individual Immigrants? A Cross-National Test of the Person-Positivity Bias." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77(3): 641-665.

Recommended

- Alin M. Ceobanu and Xavier Escandell. 2010. "Comparative Analyses of Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration Using Multinational Survey Data: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1): 309-328.
- Anna Maria Mayda. 2006. "Who is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes Toward Immigrants." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 88(3): 510-530.
- Daniel Herda. 2013. "Too Many Immigrants? Examining Alternative Forms of Immigrant Population Innumeracy." *Sociological Perspectives* 56(2): 213-240.
- Eric Kaufmann and Gareth Harris. 2015. "'White Flight' or Positive Contact? Local Diversity and Attitudes to Immigration in Britain." *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Anastasia Gorodzeisky and Andrew Richards. 2015. "Union Members' Attitudes Towards Immigrant Workers: A 14-Country Study." *European Journal of Industrial Relations*.
- Kevin H. O'Rourke and Richard Sinnott. 2006. "The Determinants of Individual Attitudes Towards Immigration." *European Journal of Political Economy* 22(4): 838-861.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Contentious Politics of Immigration in the United States

- 1/14-19 | **Ted Brader, Nicholas Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay.** 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 959-978.
- Jens Hainmueller and Michael J. Hiscox.** 2010. "Attitudes Toward Highly Skilled and Low-Skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 61-84.

- Zoltan Hajnal and Michael Rivera.** 2014. "Immigration, Latinos, and White Partisan Politics: The New Democratic Defection." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 773-789.
- Kim Ebert and Dina Okamoto.** 2015. "Legitimizing Contexts, Immigrant Power, and Exclusionary Actions." *Social Problems*.

Recommended

- Mathew J. Creighton and Amaney Jamal. 2015. "Does Islam Play a Role in Anti-Immigrant Sentiment? An Experimental Approach." *Social Science Research*.
- Kenneth F. Scheve and Matthew J. Slaughter. 2001. "Labor Market Competition and Individual Preferences Over Immigration Policy." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 83(1): 133-145.
- Matthew Wright, Morris Levy, and Jack Citrin. 2015. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy Across the Legal/Illegal Divide: The Role of Categorical and Attribute-Based Decision-Making." *Political Behavior*.
- Benjamin J. Newman and Yamil Velez. 2014. "Group Size Versus Change? Assessing Americans' Perception of Local Immigration." *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Daniel J. Hopkins, Van C. Tran, and Abigail Fisher Williamson. 2014. "See no Spanish: Language, Local Context, and Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2(1): 35-51.
- Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, Alexandra Filindra, and Joshua J. Dyck. 2015. "When Partisans and Minorities Interact: Interpersonal Contact, Partisanship, and Public Opinion Preferences on Immigration Policy." *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Deborah J. Schildkraut. 2014. "Boundaries of American Identity: Evolving Understandings of 'Us.'" *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 441-460.
- Rui De Figueiredo and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry Into the Vices of In Group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 171-188.

The Determinants of Immigration Policy

- 1/19-21 | **Wayne Cornelius and Takeyuki Tsuda.** 2004. "Controlling Immigration: The Limits of Government Intervention." In *Controlling Migration: A Global Perspective*. 2nd edition. Stanford University Press.
- Wayne Cornelius and Marc Rosenblum.** 2005. "Immigration and Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1): 99-119.
- Gary Freeman.** 1995. "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States." *International Migration Review* 29(4): 881-902.
- Gary Freeman and Alan Kessler.** 2008. "Political Economy and Migration Policy." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(3): 655-678.

Recommended

- James F. Hollifield, Philip L. Martin, and Pia M. Orrenius. 2014. "The Dilemmas of Immigration Control." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. 3rd edition. Stanford University Press.
- Margaret E. Peters. 2015. "Open Trade, Closed Borders: Immigration in the Era of Globalization." *World Politics* 67(1): 114-154.
- James F. Hollifield and Tom K. Wong. 2014. "The Politics of International Migration: How Can We Bring the State Back In?" In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. 3rd edition. Routledge.
- Christina Boswell. 2007. "Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?" *International Migration Review* 41(1): 75-100.

The Mechanisms of Immigration Control

- 1/26-28 | **Antje Ellermann.** 2009. *States Against Migrants: Deportation in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge University Press. **"A Theory of Socially Coercive State Capacity."**

- Georg Menz.** 2015. "The Promise of the Principal-Agent Approach for Studying EU Migration Policy: The Case of External Migration Control." *Comparative European Politics* 13(3): 307-324.
- Cecilia Menjivar.** 2014. "Immigration Law Beyond Borders: Externalizing and Internalizing Border Controls in an Era of Securitization." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*.
- Kris Kobach.** 2007-2008. "Attrition Through Enforcement: A Rational Approach to Illegal Immigration." *Tulsa Journal of Comparative and International Law* 15(1): 153-161.
- Tom K. Wong.** 2015. *Rights, Deportation, and Detention in the Age of Immigration Control*. Stanford University Press. **"Introduction," "Deportation Nations," "The Labyrinth of Immigration Detention," and "An Effective Deterrent, or Smoke and Mirrors?" (optional)**

Recommended

- Grete Brochmann. 1999. "The Mechanisms of Control." In *The Mechanisms of Immigration Control: A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policy*. Berg.
- James C. Torpey. 2000. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Jennifer Hyndman and Alison Mountz. 2008. "Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-Refolement and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe." *Government and Opposition* 43(2): 249-269.
- Boswell, Christina. 2003. "The 'External Dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy." *International Affairs* 79(3): 619-638.
- Gallya Lahav. 1998. "Immigration and the State: The Devolution and Privatisation of Immigration Control in the EU." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24(4): 1-19.
- Virginie Guiraudon and Gallya Lahav. 2000. "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(2): 163-195.
- Sandra Lavenex. 2006. "Shifting Up and Out: The Foreign Policy of European Immigration Control." *West European Politics* 29(2): 329-350.
- Joseph Nevins. 2002. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Liz Fekete. 2005. "The Deportation Machine: Europe, Asylum, and Human Rights," *Race & Class* 47(1): 64-78.
- Liza Schuster. 2005. "A Sledgehammer to Crack a Nut: Deportation, Detention and Dispersal in Europe." *Social Policy & Administration* 39(6): 606-621.
- Mathew Coleman and Austin Kocher. 2011. "Detention, Deportation, Devolution and Immigrant Incapacitation in the US, Post 9/11." *The Geographic Journal* 177(3): 228-237.
- Mary Bosworth and Emma Kaufman. 2011. *Foreigners in a Carceral Age: Immigration and Imprisonment in the U.S.* University of Oxford Legal Research Paper Series.
- Godfried Engbersen and Dennis Broeders. 2009. "The State Versus the Alien: Immigration Control and Strategies of Irregular Immigrants." *West European Politics* 32(5): 867-885.
- Dennis Broeders and Godfried Engbersen. 2007. "The Fight Against Illegal Migration Identification Policies and Immigrants' Counterstrategies." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50(12): 1592-1609.
- Wayne Cornelius. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.
- Alex Street, Chris Zepeda-Millán, and Michael Jones-Correa. 2015. "Mass Deportations and the Future of Latino Partisanship." *Social Science Quarterly* 96(2): 540-552.

Far-Right Political Parties and Anti-Immigrant Politics

- 2/2-4 | 2011. "Europe's Nationalist Populists' and Far Right." *The Guardian*.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/nov/06/europe-far-right-nationalist-populist-interactive>
2016. "The Far Right." *The Guardian*.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/far-right>

- Kai Arzheimer.** 2009. "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980–2002," *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.
- Geertje Lucassen and Marcel Lubbers.** 2012. "Who Fears What? Explaining Far-Right-Wing Preference in Europe by Distinguishing Perceived Cultural and Economic Ethnic Threats." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(5): 547-574.
- Lenka Bustikova.** 2014. "Revenge of the Radical Right." *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Joost van Spanje and Claes de Vreese.** 2015. "The Good, the Bad, and the Voter: The Impact of Hate Speech Prosecution of a Politician on Electoral Support for his Party." *Party Politics* 21(1): 115-130.

Recommended

- Herbert Kitschelt and Anthony J. McGann. 1997. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. University of Michigan Press.
- Robert Jackman and Karin Volpert. 1996. "Conditions Favoring Parties of the Extreme Right in Western Europe." *British Journal of Political Science* 26(4): 501-521.
- Terri Givens. 2005. *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pippa Norris. 2005. *Radical Right Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge University Press.
- Marcel Lubbers, Merove Gijsberts, and Peer Scheepers. 2002. "Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 41(3): 345-378.
- Matt Golder. 2003. "Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4): 432-466.
- Rydgren, Jens. 2008. "Immigration Sceptics, Xenophobes or Racists? Radical Right-Wing Voting in Six West European countries." *European Journal of Political Research* 47(6): 737-765.
- Marc Howard. 2010. "The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(5): 735-751.
- Kyung Joon Han. 2015. "The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties on the Positions of Mainstream Parties Regarding Multiculturalism." *West European Politics* 38(3): 557-576.

Midterm 2/9

Immigration and the Making of the "Other" in the United States

- 2/11-16 | **Mae Ngai.** 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **"Part I: The Regime of Quotas and Papers" and "Part II: Migrants at the Margins of Law and Nation."**

Recommended

- Oscar Handlin. 1951 [2002]. *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- John Higham. 1955 [2002]. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Rutgers University Press.
- Desmond King. 2002. *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*. Harvard University Press.
- Matthew Frye Jacobson. 1999. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Harvard University Press.

Immigration Politics in the United States: Part 1

- 2/18-23 | **Daniel Tichenor.** 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. **"The Politics of Immigration Control: Understanding the Rise and Fall of Policy Regimes."**

- Claudia Goldin.** 1994. "The Political Economy of Immigration Restriction in the United States, 1890 to 1921." In *The Regulated Economy: A Historical Approach to Political Economy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Tom K. Wong.** Forthcoming. *The Politics of Comprehensive Immigration Reform in the United States*. Oxford University Press. **"The Politics of Immigration," "Immigration Policy in the United States," and "The Determinants of Immigration Policymaking in the United States." (optional)**
- *U.S. Refugee Resettlement**

Recommended

- Aristde Zolberg. 2006. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy and the Fashioning of America*. Harvard University Press.
- Hiroshi Motomura. 2014. *Immigration Outside the Law*. Oxford University Press.
- Carolyn Wong. 2005. *Lobbying for Inclusion: Rights Politics and the Making of Immigration Policy*. Stanford University Press.
- Lina Newton. 2005. *Illegal, Alien, or Immigrant: The Politics of Immigration Reform*. NYU Press.
- Joel S. Fetzer. 2006. "Why Did House Members Vote for HR 4437?" *International Migration Review* 40(3): 698-706.
- Jason Casellas and David Leal. 2013. "Partisanship or Population? House and Senate Immigration Votes in the 109th and 110th Congresses." *Politics, Groups and Identities* 1(1): 48-65.
- James G. Gimpel and James R. Edwards. 1999. *The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- U.S. Senate. 2013. S.744: Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/113th-congress/senate-bill/744>
- Irene Bloemraad, Kim Voss, and Taeku Lee. 2011. "The Protests of 2006: What Were They, How Do We Understand Them, Where Do We Go?" In *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*. UC Press.

Immigration Politics in the United States: Part 2

2/25-3/1 |

- Monica W. Varsanyi, et al.** 2012. "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork: Immigration Federalism in the United States." *Law & Policy* 34(2): 138-158.
- Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom K. Wong.** 2010. "Partisanship, not Spanish: Explaining Municipal Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants." In *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in US Cities and States*. Stanford University Press.
- Daniel J. Hopkins.** 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 40-60.
- Vickie D. Ybarra, Lisa M. Sanchez, and Gabriel R. Sanchez.** 2015. "Anti-Immigrant Anxieties in State Policy The Great Recession and Punitive Immigration Policy in the American States, 2005–2012." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*.
- White House.** 2014. Immigration Executive Actions. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/immigration/immigration-action>

Recommended

- Graeme Boushey and Adam Luedtke. 2011. "Immigrants Across the US Federal Laboratory Explaining State-Level Innovation in Immigration Policy." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 11(4): 390-414.
- Benjamin J. Newman. 2013. "Acculturating Contexts and Anglo Opposition to Immigration in the United States." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(2): 374-390.
- Kristina M. Campbell. 2011. "The Road to SB 1070: How Arizona Became Ground Zero for the Immigrants' Rights Movement and the Continuing Struggle for Latino Civil Rights in America." *Harvard Latino Law Review*.
- Ingrid V. Eagly. 2011. "Local Immigration Prosecution: A Study of Arizona Before SB

Current Trends in Immigrant Incorporation in the United States

3/3-8|

- U.S. Census Bureau.** American Fact Finder, <http://factfinder2.census.gov/>
- U.S. Census Bureau.** 2013. “The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012,” <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-568.pdf>
- Pew Hispanic Center.** 2015. Modern Immigration Wave Brings 59 Million to U.S., Driving Population Growth and Change Through 2065.
- Jennifer Hochschild, et al.** 2013. *Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation.* Oxford University Press. **“Introduction.”**
- Lisa Garcia Bedolla and Melissa R. Michelson.** 2012. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns.* Yale University Press. **“Constructing Voters.”**

Recommended

- Jennifer Hochschild, et al. 2013. *Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation.* Oxford University Press.
- Adrian Pantoja, Ricardo Ramirez, and Gary M. Segura. 2001. “Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos.” *Political Research Quarterly* 54(4): 729-750.
- Zoltan Hajnal and Taeku Lee. 2011. *Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate.* Princeton University Press.
- Marisa Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. *New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America.* Princeton University Press.
- Pew Hispanic Center. 2012. When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity.
- Pew Hispanic Center. 2012. A Record 24 Million Latinos Are Eligible to Vote, But Turnout Rate Has Lagged That of Whites, Blacks.
- Janelle Wong, et al. 2011. *Asian American Political Participation.* Russell Sage Foundation.
- Qin Zhang. 2010. “Asian Americans Beyond the Model Minority Stereotype: The Nerdy and the Left Out.” *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 3(1): 20-37.
- Pew Research Center. 2012. The Rise of Asian Americans.

Final Review 3/10

Final 3/16