

Graduate Center, CUNY

IMS 70200: Migration Policy

W 6:30-8:30pm EST

Class Zoom Link: XXXXX

Meeting ID: XXXXX

Passcode: XXXXX

Spring 2021



Dr. Els de Graauw

Department of Political Science
Baruch College, CUNY

Email: Els.deGraauw@baruch.cuny.edu

Office hours: W 9am-12pm EST or by appointment

Course Overview

In this course, we will study migration policy from a critical and interdisciplinary perspective, with a focus on understanding the role of various institutional actors in the making and implementation of immigration and immigrant integration policies. These involve a range of governmental actors at different levels of government, including Congress, the President, the courts, states, cities, and the police. They also include a range of nongovernmental actors, including nonprofit organizations, labor unions, philanthropy, and immigrant social movements. While our primary focus will be on migration policy and its assorted actors in the context of the contemporary United States, we will also consider historical examples and those in other country contexts.

Course Expectations and Requirements

To receive a grade in the course, students need to complete the following assignments:

- Participating in weekly seminar discussions 25%
- Co-moderating one seminar discussion 10%
- Completing weekly reading memos 25%
- Final project and presentation 40%

Participating in Weekly Seminar Discussions

25% of Final Grade

This course will be run as a seminar, with in-depth discussions of the required readings for each week. Every student will be expected to be prepared to contribute to the discussion in each class.

The quality of student contributions is more important than the quantity, and I will encourage everyone to speak up, even those who are naturally shy. In evaluating your participation in seminar discussions, I will consider how well you prepared for class. For example, do you know the readings well and have you thought through their key arguments, research design and data, and implications? Also, did you contribute to seminar discussions in an ongoing, meaningful, and constructive way that also invited the participation of other students in the class? I will evaluate these points based on my own observations, but I will also seek input from you and your classmates at the end of the semester.

Co-moderating One Seminar Discussion

10% of Final Grade

At one point in the semester, each student will be responsible for co-moderating a seminar discussion with me. I have assigned which student will co-moderate what seminar (see the class schedule below). The task of the student moderator is to help organize and facilitate the seminar discussion by highlighting key themes, questions, etc. gleaned from their own understanding of the assigned readings as well as other students' weekly reading memos. The student moderator will also monitor the chat box during the seminar discussion and bring relevant chat entries to the attention of the entire class. Students need to check in with me about their moderator role during office hours on the day that they are assigned to be moderator. That way, you can discuss your ideas for that day's class, which will also allow me to provide suggestions and talking points for how to organize the seminar discussion.

***Weekly Reading Memos
& Responses***

25% of Final Grade

***Due Every TU at 8pm EST
& Every W at 12pm EST***

Students will have to complete 9 weekly reading memos over the course of the semester. Given that there are 10 weeks where readings are assigned, this means you can skip writing a memo on one occasion (although I encourage you to write a memo for all 10 weeks; the 9 highest scores will count toward your grade). Your memos are due via Blackboard by 8pm EST on TU evening to ensure there will be enough time for me and the student moderator to review the memos and prepare for seminar discussion the next day.

Your weekly reading memos should be between 300-500 words each. These memos should combine a critical summary of the readings with a discussion of the contributions and/or deficiencies—theoretical, empirical, methodological—of the readings in relation to the broader seminar topic of that week. If appropriate, you can also frame the readings in relation to your own evolving research interests or final project in this course. Good memos will also include one or more follow-up questions about that week’s readings that we could potentially discuss during seminar.

These weekly memos will help you to put your thoughts together and clarify your thinking about the assigned readings. You do not need to summarize every article/chapter or engage in a deep critique of the author(s) you did not agree with. Strive to articulate an original thought or two about what you took away from the readings and think of a question that perhaps you would like to see discussed during seminar. Maybe you want to say something about how what you read relates to a capstone project idea you are thinking about? Or maybe you want to highlight a particular passage, argument, or methodological approach that stood out and explain why? Or maybe you use a weekly memo as an opportunity to identify a thread you noticed cutting across each of the articles/chapters in the set of readings for that week, or a connection to something we previously discussed? Anything along these lines will be appropriate and will make for a strong reading memo.

Also, every student needs to respond briefly to the memo of two classmates by 12pm EST on W. Your response, not exceeding 250 words, can do different things: raise a different point of view (if only to play devil’s advocate), put the original memo in conversation with other course materials, ask a question that the original memo raised for you, etc. The goal of these responses is to have you engage with the thinking and writing of your classmates and to prepare yourself better for in-class discussion that week.

Reading memos and responses will be graded on a “check plus”/“check minus” scale. Good and great memos and responses will simply receive a “check plus.” Those that are subpar—perhaps because the memo and response make clear that you did not read the assignments or did not read them carefully—or show lack of effort will receive a “check minus.”

Final Project & Presentation

40% of Final Grade

Due F 5/21, 11:59pm EST

Students will also need to complete a final project. With a class composition that is diverse in terms of professional goals and interests, students have some freedom in designing the shape of their project. It might be a traditional 20-page research paper, or it might be something else that is more in harmony with what you are already working on (or plan to be working on), perhaps as part of your capstone project. Whatever it is that you choose to work on, your project needs to engage with the course themes and materials, and it needs to include analysis of some primary and/or secondary data. Projects can be U.S. based, but those based on international or comparative data are welcome, too (but keep in mind that my expertise is in migration policy in the context of the United States). Projects and topics should be chosen in consultation with me by TH 3/11. I encourage you to check in with me during office hours frequently to discuss the progress on your project and receive feedback along the way.

Final projects are due F 5/21 by 11:59pm EST via email. Students will also present their final project in class during the final two weeks of the semester and have the opportunity to receive additional feedback from me and their peers before handing in the final project.

Course Website on Blackboard

The course has a website posted on Blackboard, where you will find many materials useful to you in this course. They include the following folders:

- Updates regarding the course schedule and relevant due dates (“Announcements”)
- Information about my weekly office hours (“Office Hours”)
- A copy of the syllabus (“Syllabus”)
- All assigned reading materials (“Reading Materials”)
- Links to all optional multimedia pieces (“Multimedia”)
- Discussion Board, where you will post your weekly reading memos and other short writing assignments (“Discussion Board”)

Class Policies

Questions and Getting Help

I welcome your questions anytime. There are two ways you can get in touch with me:

- Email: you can email me with questions about the course schedule or particular course content that I can answer in a short email. *I strive to respond within 48 hours*. If you anticipate that answering your questions involves a long typed answer from me, please speak with me during office hours instead.
- Office hours: I hold office hours through Zoom every week, on W between 9am-12pm EST (or by appointment, but please only if you cannot make it during my regular office hours).

Please sign up for one or more 20-minute slots to speak with me (if you signed up and cannot make a meeting, be sure to cancel your appointment). Please use this time to consult with me about your research/writing projects, for example, and your role as seminar moderator.

Zoom Etiquette

To ensure a successful Zoom seminar meeting and engage in a productive learning environment, please keep the following “do’s and don’ts” in mind:

Do’s

- Be on time to class. Communicate with me via email if you will be late or if you lose your connection during class.
- If you are co-moderating the seminar, log in a few minutes early to make sure all is set.
- Make sure your full name shows up in your Zoom window.
- Be aware of your background, such a lighting and noise.
- Mute yourself when you are not talking.
- Use the Zoom functions to communicate as needed, such as chat and raise hand.
- Please have your camera on, if possible, and use an appropriate Zoom background if you wish.
- Turn off/silence cell phone and close other windows on your computer to minimize distractions.

Don’ts

- Take screenshots, cell phone pictures, or otherwise record the meeting, your classmates, or your instructor without express permission to do so.
- Change your name or change your Zoom background during the meeting.
- Sit in front of a window or bright light; this will make your face too dark to see.
- Engage in texting, social media, or other distractions while in class.
- Eat dinner during class.

Student Responsibility to Reach Out

I want everyone to succeed in this class. To that end, I expect all of you to act responsibly and communicate with me if something is going on in your life that affects your school performance. If you have trouble comprehending or keeping up with the course materials, contact me. If you are struggling with personal issues that affect your school work, let me know. If I send you an email about something, do not ignore my email. *Don’t wait to ask for assistance until it is too late. I’m here to help.*

Get Involved in the IMS Program

I encourage you all to get involved in the IMS program. Here are some ways you can do this:

1. Follow the IMS program on Twitter: [@GC Migration](#).

2. Join the Immigration Working Group, a graduate student discussion group that exchanges, discusses, and collaborates on ideas and research related to studying immigration. To join, send an email to gc-immigration@googlegroups.com, including your name and why you would like to join the group.
3. Attend talks of the CUNY Immigration Seminar Series, co-sponsored by the PhD Program in Sociology and the IMS program. Note that two of the books (*) to be discussed during this semester's seminar series are on this syllabus. You can register for any of the below eight book talks (held on Fridays from 3-4:30pm EST on Zoom) [here](#).
 - 2/5—*Holding Fast: Resilience and Civic Engagement among Latino Immigrants*
 - 2/19—*Hyper Education: Why Good Schools, Good Grades, and Good Behavior Are Not Enough*
 - 3/5—(*)*Citizenship Reimagined: A New Framework for State Rights in the United States*
 - 3/12—(*)*The President and Immigrant Law*
 - 3/26—*The Browning of the New South: Race, Immigration, and Minority Linked Fate*
 - 4/9—*Reuniting Families: Central American Minors between Separation and Family Reunification*
 - 4/23—*Represented but Unequal: The Contingent Effect of Legal Representation in Removal Proceedings*
 - 4/30—*Pursuing Citizenship in the Enforcement Era*
4. If you have ideas for or concerns about the IMS program, you can also reach out to the two student representatives on the Executive Committee of the IMS program: Sara Ortiz (XXXXX) and Shannon Reimers (XXXXX).

Course Schedule

We are using exclusively articles and selected book chapters, so you do not need to purchase books for this course. All the assigned readings are available through the course Blackboard site. Readings focus on migration policy in the United States, but most weeks also include one non-U.S. reading. While I hope you will make every effort to read all assigned readings, if you are strapped for time, please focus on those marked (*). *I do expect student moderators to be familiar with all assigned readings for the week they are assigned to be moderator.* I have also included links to assorted multimedia pieces, which are all optional.

1	Topic	Course Introduction
W 2/3	Readings	None
	Student Moderator	None
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 2/7, 11:59pm EST: upload your “avatar image” to Blackboard. • By SUN 2/7, 11:59pm EST: add your intro to Blackboard.

2 W 2/10	Topic	Migration Policy Over Time: Big Picture Determinants
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Tichenor, Daniel J. 2002. <i>Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America</i>. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2. • (*)Ngai, Mae. 1999. "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Reexamination of the Immigration Act of 1924." <i>Journal of American History</i> 86(1): 67-92. • (*)Jones-Correa, Michael, and Els de Graauw. 2013. "The Illegality Trap: The Politics of Immigration and the Lens of Illegality." <i>Dædalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences</i> 142(3): 185-198. • Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. 2010. "Global Norms, Domestic Institutions and the Transformation of Immigration Policy in Canada and the US." <i>Review of International Studies</i> 36(1): 169-193.
	Multimedia	• The Racist History of US Immigration Policy (2016)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 2/9, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 2/10, 12pm EST: respond to the reading memos of 2 classmates. 	

3 W 2/17	Topic	Congress: Changing Demographics, Electoral Incentives, and Partisan Divides
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Wong, Tom K. 2017. <i>The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity</i>. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 3. • Gimpel, James G., and James R. Edwards. 1999. <i>The Congressional Politics of Immigration Reform</i>. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Chapter 2. • (*)Reny, Tyler. 2017. "Demographic Change, Latino Countermobilization, and the Politics of Immigration in US Senate Campaigns." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 70(4): 735-748.
	Multimedia	• Immigration Battle (2015)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 2/16, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 2/17, 12pm EST: respond to the reading memos of 2 classmates. 	

4 W 2/24	Topic	Presidents: Immigration Policymakers-in-Chief?
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Cox, Adam B., and Cristina M. Rodríguez. 2020. <i>The President and Immigration Law</i>. New York: Oxford University Press. Introduction, chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, and Epilogue. • Bostdorff, Denise M. 2006. "Rhetorical Ambivalence: Bush and Clinton Address the Crisis of Haitian Refugees." Pp. 206-246 in <i>Who Belongs in America? Presidents, Rhetoric, and Immigration</i>, edited by Vanessa B. Beasley. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The White Season: Rivers of Blood (2008) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 • Zero Tolerance: How Trump Turned Immigration into a Political Weapon (2019)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 2/23, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 2/24, 12pm EST: respond to the reading memos of 2 classmates. 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TH 2/25, 8pm EST: add one or more ideas you have for your final project to Blackboard. • By SUN 2/28, 8pm EST: via Blackboard, provide feedback to the final project idea(s) of at least 2 of your classmates.
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5 W 3/3	Topic	Final Projects: Class Discussion and Peer Feedback
	Readings	• None
	Student Moderator	• None
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 3/2, 8pm EST: add to Blackboard a brief discussion of one or two issues/areas related to your final project that you would like help with. • Before coming to class: review your classmates' Blackboard posts for this week and be prepared to offer some suggestions during seminar.

6 W 3/10	Topic	Courts and Lawyers: Judicial Decision-Making, Asylum, and Deportation
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Williams, Margaret S., and Anna O. Law. 2012. "Understanding Judicial Decision Making in Immigration Cases at the U.S. Courts of Appeals." <i>Justice System Journal</i> 33(1): 97-120. • Kavar, Leila. 2012. "Juridical Framings of Immigrants in the United States and France: Courts, Social Movements, and Symbolic Politics." <i>International Migration Review</i> 469(2): 414-455. • (*)Asad, Asad L. 2019. "Deportation Decisions: Judicial Decision-Making in an American Immigration Court." <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> 63(9): 1221-1249. • (*)McKinnon, Sara L. 2009. "Citizenship and the Performance of Credibility: Audiencing Gender-based Asylum Seekers in U.S. Immigration Courts." <i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i> 29(3): 205-221.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration Courts (2018) • Unaccompanied: Alone in America (2018) • Chasing Freedom (trailer, 2004) • Capernaum (trailer, 2018)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 3/9, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 3/10, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates. • By TH 3/11, 8pm EST: email me your finalized project proposal.

7 W 3/17	Topic	Government Bureaucracies: Forces of Bad or Good?
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Kang, S. Deborah. 2012. "Implementation: How the Borderlands Redefined Federal Immigration Law in California, Arizona, and Texas, 1917-1924." <i>California Legal History: Journal of the California Supreme Court Historical Society</i> 7: 245-285. • Hiemstra, Nancy. 2014. "Performing Homeland Security within the US Immigration Detention System." <i>Environment and Planning</i> 32(4): 571-588.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)North, David S. 1987. "The Long Grey Welcome: A Study of the American Naturalization Program." <i>International Migration Review</i> 21(2): 311-326. • (*)Marrow, Helen B. 2009. "Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation: The Dual Roles of Professional Missions and Government Policies." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 74(5): 756-776.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separated: Children at the Border (2018) • Deportation Nation (2018) • Lost in Detention (2011) • Well-Founded Fear (trailer, 2000)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 3/16, 8pm EST add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 3/17, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates.

8 W 3/24	Topic	States: Asserting Power in a Federal System
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newton, Lina. 2012. "Policy Innovation or Vertical Integration? A View of Immigration Federalism from the States." <i>Law & Policy</i> 34(2): 113-137. • (*)Colbern, Allan, and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan. 2020. <i>Citizenship Reimagined: A New Framework for State Rights in the United States. Chapters 1, 2, and 5.</i> • (*)Paquet, Mireille. 2014. "The Federalization of Immigration and Integration in Canada." <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 47(3): 519-548.
	Multimedia	• Illegal America: Arizona's Immigration Fight (2010)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 3/23, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 3/24, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates.



No class on W 3/31 because of Spring Recess

9 W 4/7	Topic	Cities: Grassroots Innovation within the Limits of Federalism
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Filomeno, Felipe A. <i>Theories of Local Immigration Policy</i>. Cham (Switzerland): Palgrave Macmillan. Chapters 2 and 3. • (*)de Graauw, Els. 2020. "City Government Activists and the Rights of Undocumented Immigrants: Fostering Urban Citizenship within the Confines of US Federalism." <i>Antipode</i> (Online First). • (*)Williamson, Abigail F. 2020. "Intergovernmental Policy Feedback and Urban Responses to Immigrants." <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i>: 53(1): 20-24. • Kaufmann, David, and Dominique Strebler. 2020. "Urbanising Migration Policy-Making: Urban Policies in Support of Irregular Migrants in Geneva and Zürich." <i>Urban Studies</i> (Online First).

	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Via Genoa: Welcome to Europe (2017) • Via Genoa: Fuck That (2017) • Via Genoa: Fortune Seekers (2017)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 4/6, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 4/7, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates. • By TH 4/8, 8pm EST: add your final project update #1 to Blackboard.

10 W 4/14	Topic	The Police: Enforcers or Community Builders?
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Varsanyi, Monica W., Paul G. Lewis, Doris Marie Provine, and Scott Decker. 2011. "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork: Immigration Federalism in the United States." <i>Law and Policy</i> 34(2): 138-158. • (*)Armenta, Amada. 2017. <i>Protect, Serve, and Deport: The Rise of Policing as Immigration Enforcement</i>. Oakland: University of California Press. <u>Chapters 3, 4, and 5.</u> • (*)Williams, Linda M. 2015. "Beyond Enforcement: Welcomeness, Local Law Enforcement, and Immigrants." <i>Public Administration Review</i> 75(3): 433-442.
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 4/13, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 4/14, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates.

11 W 4/21	Topic	Civil Society Organizations: Always Helping Immigrants?
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)de Graauw, Els. 2016. <i>Making Immigrant Rights Real: Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco</i>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. <u>Chapter 1.</u> • (*)Gleeson, Shannon. 2009. "From Rights to Claims: The Role of Civil Society in Making Rights Real for Immigrant Workers." <i>Law & Society Review</i> 43(3): 669-700. • (*)Calderon, Apolonia. 2020. "Foundations as 'Amigos o Rebeldes': The Influence of Philanthropic Funding on Local Immigration Policy Outputs." <i>Nonprofit Policy Forum</i> 11(2): 1-31. • Kohl-Arenas, Erica. 2016. <i>The Self-Help Myth: How Philanthropy Fails to Alleviate Poverty</i>. Oakland: University of California Press. <u>Chapter 3.</u> • Castañeda, Ernestso. 2020. "Urban Context and Immigrant Organizations: Differences in New York, El Paso, Paris, and Barcelona." <i>ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> 690(1): 117-135.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Made in L.A. (2007) • Clínica de Migrantes (trailer, 2016)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 4/20, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 4/21, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates.

12 W 4/28	Topic	Immigrant Social Movements: Disrupting or Reproducing the Status Quo?
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (*)Zepeda-Millán, Chris. 2016. "Weapons of the (Not So) Weak: Immigrant Mass Mobilization in the US South." <i>Critical Sociology</i> 42(2): 269-287. • (*)Swerts, Thomas. 2020. "Politics Disrupted? Collective Intentionality, Inaugural Performativity, and Institutional Receptivity in Undocumented Migrant Struggles." <i>Antipode</i> (Online First). • (*)Kocher, Austin, and Angela Steusse. 2020. "Undocumented Activism and Minor Politics: Inside the Cramped Political Spaces of Deportation Defense Campaigns." <i>Antipode</i> (Online First). • Monico, Gabriela. 2020. "American't: Redefining Citizenship in the U.S. Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement." Pp. 87-109 in <i>We Are Not Dreamers: Undocumented Scholars Theorize Undocumented Life in the United States</i>, edited by Leisy J. Abrego and Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales. Durham: Duke University Press.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No Le Digas a Nadie (trailer, 2015) • Llévate Mis Amores (2014) • Immigrant Nation! The Battle for the Dream (trailer, 2010)
	Student Moderator	XXXXX
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TU 4/27, 8pm EST: add your reading memo to Blackboard. • By W 4/28, 12pm EST: respond to the memos of 2 classmates. • By TH 4/29, 8pm EST: add your final project update #2 to Blackboard.

13 W 5/5	Topic	Student Presentations
	Student #1	XXXXX
	Student #2	XXXXX
	Student #3	XXXXX
	Student #4	XXXXX
	Student #5	XXXXX

14 W 5/12	Topic	Student Presentations
	Student #1	XXXXX
	Student #2	XXXXX
	Student #3	XXXXX
	Student #4	XXXXX
	Student #5	XXXXX