

PS 83800
Mondays, 4:15 - 6:15
Fall, 2013
Room 5382

Professor Mollenkopf
Office: 6202
Phone: 817-2046
jmollenkopf@gc.cuny.edu

Immigrants and Politics in New York City

The vast flow of immigrants into New York City (and other “gateway cities”) since 1965 is reshaping its population composition, neighborhood dynamics, and political constituencies in ways that we are just beginning to understand. Caribbean, Latin American, East and South Asian, European, and African immigrants and their native born children are remaking our already cosmopolitan racial and ethnic groups into an even more varied mix, posing new challenges for inter-group relations and the fair and vigorous political representation of all groups. The emerging new immigrant communities are now contending for power not just against an older set of native born white political elites, but also against native-born minority elites. They are redefining what it means to be a New Yorker, and, ultimately, to be American. Such a profound transformation raises many research questions for social scientists.

This seminar uses New York City as a laboratory to analyze the political changes being brought about by the new immigration. It will cover the existing theoretical and empirical literatures on immigrant political incorporation and enable you to do a “hands on” research project. It has three “learning goals:”

- To give you experience in using quantitative data (Census data, election results), secondary sources (such as the immigrant and neighborhood press), and interviews to describe and analyze the civic and political engagement of an immigrant ethnic group of your choice
- To enable you to examine the patterns of political activism within your group and how it interacts with other racial/ethnic groups in their environment in pursuit of its political goals, with attention to patterns of conflict and/or cooperation.
- To allow you understand how leadership is developing within your group, how leaders are seeking to promote group identity and activism, and how they are seeking to become elected or appointed office holders as the larger civic and political culture gradually integrates them.

Class members will pursue these goals by: 1) reviewing key studies on the overall process of immigrant political incorporation in New York and other cities, 2) reading studies about political participation within the major immigrant groups, 3) analyzing Census data, election results, and voter history, and available public opinion polls regarding the political engagement and leanings of your chosen group, and 4) undertaking interviews of political elites from your group, focused on the 2013 mayoral and council elections. (We will hold a workshop for students who lack basic quantitative skills and may also substitute further qualitative work for the quantitative analysis.) Class readings will mainly be available in electronic form. The new Center for Urban Research information resource, www.nycelectionatlas.com/

Each student will prepare three reports:

- 1) By Monday, September 23, circulate a one page outline identifying the group you will study, listing a bibliography of studies on the groups, and describing the key political contests for this group in 2013. (Please choose among the groups for which we have created Census and voter profiles at <http://www.nycelectionatlas.com/>.)
- 2) By Tuesday, October 14, circulate a five page profile describing recent political developments within your group, drawing on quantitative data, secondary literature, and interviews, also reviewing how your group voted in the Democratic Primary and Runoff elections.
- 3) By Friday, December 13, Submit your final group profile.

Course Outline - Fall 2013

1. **Monday, September 9th.** Introduction and overview of main issues of course, discussion what the concept of political incorporation means and its historic relationship to immigration, overview of immigration to the US and NYC, and discussion of course assignments.

No readings.

[Tuesday, September 10th, Democratic Primary Election]

2. **Monday, September 16th.** Key issues in understanding immigrant political incorporation.

Jennifer Hochschild, Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, Claudine Gay, and Michael Jones-Correa, Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), introduction and chapters by Ramakrishnan (1), Mollenkopf (6), Morawska (9), Jones-Correa (10), Gerstle (18). All the chapters are short and the rest of the book is well worth reading.

Background

Ronald Schmidt Sr., Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh, Andrew L. Aoki, and Rodney E. Hero, Newcomers, Outsiders, and Insiders: Immigrants and American Racial Politics in the Early Twenty-first Century (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf, ed.s, Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009)

Jane Junn and Kerry L. Haynie, ed.s, New Race Politics in America: Understanding Minority and Immigrant Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Christina Wolbrecht and Rodney E. Hero, ed.s, with Peri A. Arnold and Alvin B. Tillery, The Politics of Democratic Inclusion (Temple University Press, 2005).

Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf, eds., E Pluribus Unum? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigrant Incorporation (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), pp. 1-30

Jan E. Leighley, Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001)

James G. Gimpel, Separate Destinations: Migration, Immigration, and the Politics of Place (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

3. **Monday, September 23rd.** New York City as the World's Largest Melting Pot
[Professor Foner will join us for the first hour]

Nancy Foner, ed., One Out of Three (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), introduction (1) and chapters by Lobo and Salvo (2), a group of your choice, and Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Waters (11)

Background

Roger Waldinger, Still the Promised City? African Americans and New Immigrants in Post-Industrial New

York (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996)

Nancy Foner, From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 2000)

Nancy Foner and Roger Waldinger, "New York and Los Angeles as Immigrant Destinations: Contrasts and Convergences," in David Halle and Andrew A. Beveridge, ed.s, New York and Los Angeles: The Uncertain Future (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 343-357

4. Monday, September 30th. The Shifting Composition of the New York City Electorate and the Rise of Immigrant Political Influence

John Mollenkopf, "The Rise of Immigrant Influence in New York City Politics," in Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Rogier van Reeksum, ed.s, New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape (New York: New York University Press, 2014)

John Mollenkopf, Steven Romalewski, Leslie Hirsch, and Joseph Pereira, "Shifting Shares: Demographic Change, Differential Mobility, and Electoral Trends in New York City, 2000 to 2013," at <http://www.21cforall.org/>

Background:

John Mollenkopf, "New York: Still the Great Anomaly," in Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb, eds., Racial Politics in American Cities, 3rd Ed (New York: Longman, 2003), pp. 113-142.

John Mollenkopf, A Phoenix in the Ashes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) pp. 56-68, 76-92, 161-164, 186-189, 204-227.

Karen Kaufmann, The Urban Voter: Group Conflict and Mayoral Voting Behavior in American Cities (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

First Assignment Due: Outline of Group Profile

[Tuesday, October 1, Democratic Runoff Election]

5. Monday, October 7th. Native and Immigrant Minorities: Racial and Ethnic Complexities in Political Mobilization and Political Empowerment [Angelo Falcon of NiLP will join us for the class]

Angelo Falcón, "Black and Latino Politics in New York City: Race and Ethnicity in a Changing Urban Context," in F. Chris Garcia, ed., Latinos in the Political System (Notre Dame Press, 1988), pp. 171-194.

Background

Andrés Torres, Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), especially chapters 5-7.

Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad, "Civic Presence and Political Weight: Bringing Power into the Analysis of Immigrant Civic Organizations" (conference on political incorporation of immigrants, UC Berkeley, March 4-5, 2011)

Dennis Chong and Reuel Rogers, "Racial Solidarity and Political Participation," Political Behavior 2005 27(4):347-374.

Michael Jones-Correa, ed., Governing American Cities: Interethnic Coalitions, Competition, and Conflict (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005)

Michael Jones Correa, "Immigrants, Blacks, and Cities," in Yvette Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, eds., Black and Multiracial Politics in America (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

Second Assignment: Draft Group Profile

NO CLASS Monday, October 14 - Columbus Day – Class held on Tuesday

6. Tuesday, October 15th. : Puerto Ricans and Dominicans

Angelo Falcón, "Mayoral Preferences and Political Influentials in New York," NiLP iReport (May 15, 2013)

Angelo Falcón, "A Boricua Game of Thrones? A Critical Review of the Rise of Puerto Rican Political Families in New York City," NiLP iReport (July 2012)

Ed Morales, series of articles on Latino leadership in City Limits (November 2012).

Silvio Torres-Saillant and Ramona Hernández, "Dominicans: Community, Culture, and Collective Identity," in Foner, ed., One Out of Three

Background:

José E. Cruz, "Pluralism and Ethnicity in New York City Politics: The Case of Puerto Ricans," Centro Journal 23:1 (2011): 55-85.

José Ramón Sánchez, "Puerto Ricans and the Door of Participation in U. S. Politics," Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the U.S., pp. 110-132.

Nicole Marwell, "Ethnic and Postethnic Politics in New York City: The Dominican Second Generation," in Phil Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, and Mary Waters, ed.s, Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographies of the New Second Generation (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004), pp. 227-256.

Michael Jones-Correa, Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 69-90, 124-127, 182-188.

Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, "On the Political Participation of Transnational Migrants: Old Practices and New Trends," in Gerstle and Mollenkopf, eds., E Pluribus Unum?, pp. 213-266.

Pamela Graham, "Political Incorporation and Reincorporation, Simultaneity in the Dominican Migrant Experience," in Héctor Cordero-Guzmán, Robert C. Smith, and Ramón Grosfoguel, eds. Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), pp. 87-108

Roger Sanjek, The Future of Us All: Race and Neighborhood Politics in New York City (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000)

7. **Monday, October 21st.** The Other Hispanics: Mexicans, Ecuadorans, Colombians, and Peruvians

Robert Smith, "Mexicans: Civic Engagement, Education, and Progress Achieved and Inhibited," in Foner, ed., One Out of Three

Robert Smith, "Mexicans in New York at a Crossroads in the Second Decade of the New Millennium," (unpublished paper, 2013)

Background

Robert Courtney Smith, Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of the New Immigrants (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)

David G. Gutiérrez, "Ethnic Mexicans and the Transformation of 'American' Social Space: Reflections on Recent History," with comment by George Sanchez, in Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, ed., Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 307-340.

Juan Hernández, Senior Adviser to the President, Office of the President for Mexicans Abroad, Government of Mexico, "Mexico's New Public Policies for its Citizens Abroad," (Metropolis Conference Rotterdam, The Netherlands November 28, 2001)

Rodolfo F. Acuña, Anything but Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 1-18, 43-89, 94-100, 127-133, 144-154, 156-164. **P**

David G Gutiérrez, Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1995), pp. 117-178

George Sánchez, Becoming Mexican-American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

8. **Monday, October 28th.** Native and Immigrant Minorities: African Americans, West Indians, Haitians, and Africans [Professor John Fleteau of Medgar Evers College, CUNY, and campaign manager both for Queens Borough President Helen Marshall and Brooklyn Congresswoman Yvette Clarke will join us]

Milton Vickerman, "Jamaicans: Balancing Race and Ethnicity," in Foner, ed., One Out of Three

Reuel Rogers, "Black Like Who? Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, African Americans, and the Politics of Group Identity," in his Afro-Caribbean Immigrants and the Politics of Incorporation: Ethnicity, Exception, Or Exit (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapter 6

Francois Pierre-Louis, "New York City Politics and Relationships with Other Ethnic Groups," in Haitians in New York City: Transnationalism and Hometown Associations (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), Chapter 7

Bernadette Ludwig, "Liberians: Struggles for Refugee Families," in Foner, ed., One Out of Three.

http://bronx.ny1.com/content/politics/road_to_city_hall/187897/ny1-online--caribbean-journalists-voice-importance-of-west-indian-vote

Background

Christina M. Greer, Black Ethnics: Race, Immigration, and the Pursuit of the American Dream (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)

J. Phillip Thompson III, Double Trouble: Black Mayors, Black Communities, and the Call for Deep Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), Part II

Wilbur C. Rich, David Dinkins and New York City Politics: Race, Images, and the Media (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007)

Charles Green and Basil Wilson, The Struggle for Black Empowerment in New York City (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992).

Martha Biondi, To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003)

Yvette Alex-Assensoh and Lawrence J. Hanks, Eds., Black and Multiracial Politics in America (New York: NYU Press, 2000)

Milton Vickerman, Crosscurrents: West Indian Immigrants and Race (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Philip Kasinitz, Caribbean New York (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992)

9. **Monday, November 4th.** Chinese and Koreans: Race, Class, Ideology

Min Zhou, "Chinese: Diverse Origins and Destinies," and Pyong Gap Min, "Koreans: Changes in New York in the Twenty-First Century," in Foner, ed., One Out of Three.

Asian Americans for Equality, "Distinct Places, Shared Opportunity: A Neighborhood-Based Analysis of Asians in New York City," (February 2011).

Background

Janelle Wong, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn, Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and Their Political Identities (New York: Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2011)

Pei-te Lien, The Making of Asian America Through Political Participation (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001)

Leland T. Saito, "Asian Americans and Multiracial Political Coalitions: New York City's Chinatown and Redistricting, 1990-1991," in Gordon H. Chang, ed. Asian Americans and Politics: Perspectives, Experiences, Prospects (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001)

Zai Liang, "Rules of the Game and Game of the Rules: The Politics of Recent Chinese Immigration to New York City," in Cordero-Guzmán, Smith, and Grosfoguel, eds. Migration, Transnationalization, and Race in a Changing New York, pp. 131-145

Gordon S. Chang, ed. Asian Americans and Politics (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), essays by Claire Jean Kim, "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans," Don T. Nakanishi, "Beyond Electoral Politics," Wendy K. Tam Cho and Bruce E. Cain, "Asian Americans as the Median Voters," Paul M. Ong and David E. Lee, "Changing of the Guard? The Emerging

Immigrant Majority in Asian American Politics,” and Edward J.W. Park, “The Impact of Mainstream Political Mobilization on Asian American Communities: The Case of Korean Americans in Los Angeles, 1992-1998”

Pyong Gap Min, Changes and Conflicts: Korean Immigrant Families in New York (New York: Allyn & Bacon, Inc, 1997) (Little material on politics but good background)

Claire J. Kim, Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[Tuesday, November 5th, Mayoral Election]

10. **Monday, November 11th.** South Asians: Indians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, and Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Trinidadians

CLEAR Project, CUNY Law School, “Mapping Muslims: NYPD Spying and its Impact on American Muslims,” (CLEAR 2012)

CHHAYA Community Development Corporation, “A Community’s Vision,” (CHHAYA 2011)

Background

Nazli Kibria, Muslims in Motion: Islam and National Identity in the Bangladeshi Diaspora (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), Chapters 3 and 4.

Madhulika Khandelwal, Becoming Americans, Becoming Indians: Indian Immigrants in New York City, 1976-1997 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), Chapter 7

Aminah Mohammad-Arif, Salaam America: South Asian Muslims in New York (London: Anthem Press, 2002), pp. 193-230

Mahin Gosine, Caribbean East Indians in America: Assimilation, Adaptation and group Experience (New York: Windsor Press, 1990)

Sanjeev Khagram, Manish Desai, and Jason Varughese, “Seen, Rich, but Unheard: The Politics of Asian Indians in the U.S.,” in Chang, ed., Asian Americans and Politics.

11. **Monday, November 18th.** Cleavages and Coalitions I: Immigrant communities and the 2001, 2005, 2009, and 2013 campaigns in NYC

Compendium of press reports on 2013 election

12. **Monday, December 2nd.** Cleavages and Coalitions II: The Broader Prospects for Multi-ethnic Alliances Among Old and New Immigrant Minorities

Jennifer Hochschild, “From Nominal to Ordinal: Reconceiving Racial and Ethnic Inequalities in the United States,” <http://www.nd.edu/~amdemoc/Hochschild.pdf>

J. Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong, “Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings,” American Journal of Political Science (impact factor: 2.76). 09/2003; 47(4):567 - 58

Karen Kaufmann, "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions" Political Science Quarterly June 2003 56(2):199-210

Taeku Lee, "Racial Attitudes and the Color Line(s) at the Close of the Twentieth Century," and

Leland Saito and Edward J.W. Park, "Multiracial Collaborations and Coalitions," in Ong, ed., The State of Asian Pacific America, pp. 103-158 and 435-466.

13. **Monday, December 9th.** Student Reports

Friday, December 13th. THIRD ASSIGNMENT: Final group profiles due