

Graduate Center, CUNY

IMS 70200: Migration Policy

Monday 6:30–8:30pm EST

GC Room 4419

Class Zoom Link: xxxxx

Meeting ID: xxxxx

Passcode: xxxxx

Spring 2022 | Hybrid Modality



Dr. Els de Graauw

Department of Political Science
Baruch College, CUNY

Email: Els.deGraauw@baruch.cuny.edu

Zoom Office hours: F 2–4pm 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, foreign governments, U.S. states, cities, and the police. They also include a range of nongovernmental actors, including immigrant rights and other nonprofit organizations, labor unions, and philanthropy. While our 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.

Required Books

For this course, there are 3 required books that you need to purchase, rent, or find in the library:

- Abdelaaty, Lamis E. 2021. *Discrimination and Delegation: Explaining State Responses to Refugees*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cox, Adam B., and Cristina M. Rodríguez. 2020. *The President and Immigration Law*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Peck, Alison. 2021. *The Accidental History of the U.S. Immigration Courts: War, Fear, and the Roots of Dysfunction*. Oakland: University of California Press.

All other readings are available for download on Blackboard.

Course Expectations and Requirements

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

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| • Participating in weekly seminar discussions | 15% |
| • Reading presentation and seminar moderation | 15% |
| • Completing 6 short weekly reading responses | 20% |
| • Research paper | 40% |
| • Research paper presentation | 10% |

Participating in Weekly Seminar Discussions

15% of Final Grade

This course will be run as a seminar, with in-depth discussions of the required readings for each week. Every student should thoughtfully 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 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?

Reading Presentation & Seminar Moderation

15% of Final Grade

At one point in the semester, each student will be responsible for moderating a seminar discussion. This entails three things: (a) developing a 2-3 page, double-spaced memo on the assigned readings with at least 5 questions to stimulate discussion; you will email this memo no later than SUN 6pm EST to the entire class; (b) preparing a 10-12 minute engaging PowerPoint presentation that reviews the core methods, findings, or/and implications of the assigned readings; rather than doing this reading-by-reading, you want to do this across readings; and (c)

leading a class discussion on the assigned readings; I will be there to support you and contribute as necessary. The aim is for you to analyze—and not simply to summarize—the readings and to get your classmates to think more critically about them. See the “Reading Discussion Guide” on Blackboard for more information.

I have randomly assigned which student will moderate what seminar (see the class schedule below). You can trade dates amongst yourselves as long as you keep me posted on trades made, so I can keep the syllabus up-to-date. *I strongly encourage you to check in with me during my F office hours to discuss your moderator role and brainstorm ideas for how to organize your memo, PowerPoint presentation, and seminar discussion.*

5 Weekly Reading Responses

20% of Final Grade

Due SUN at 6pm EST

Students need to complete 5 weekly reading responses over the course of the semester (these are in addition to the longer memo you will write as seminar moderator). Keep in mind that you *can* write more than 5 responses; the 5 highest scores will count toward your reading response grade. Your responses are due via Blackboard by 6pm EST on SUN evening to ensure there will be enough time for everyone to review them before seminar discussion the next day.

Your weekly reading responses should be about 300 words (or two short paragraphs) each. These responses should combine a short critical summary of one or more readings with a discussion of what you see as the most notable contributions or/and 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 research paper in this course. Good responses will also include one follow-up question about that week’s readings that we could potentially discuss during seminar.

These weekly responses will help you to put your thoughts together and clarify your thinking about the assigned readings. You do not need to respond to every book/article/chapter. Strive to articulate an original thought or two about what you took away from the readings and think of a question that 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 response as an opportunity to identify a thread you noticed cutting across each of the books/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 response; try different approaches during the semester.

Reading responses will be graded on a “check plus”/“check minus” scale. Good and great responses will receive a “check plus.” Those that are subpar—perhaps because the response

makes clear that you did not complete the assigned readings or did not read them carefully—or show lack of effort—will receive a “check minus.” *Late responses will automatically receive a “check minus.”*

Research Paper & Presentation	50% of Final Grade	Due SUN 5/22, 11:59pm
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To further your research interests and writing skills, you will develop a paper on an immigration/integration policy phenomenon, issue, or actor. Papers can be U.S. based, but those based on international or comparative migration or integration policy phenomena, issues, or actors are certainly welcome, too.

You will develop your paper in 6 successive stages during the semester:

Assignments	Due date	Grade %
1. A proposal of what you want to research and why, including a theoretical, empirical, or/and methodological research question you plan to address.	SUN 2/27, by 11:59pm EST	5%
2. A literature review that situates your research, takes stock of what is already known, and identifies what gaps in knowledge remain.	SUN 3/20, by 11:59pm EST	10%
3. A research design and data collection plan that discusses and explains what research procedures and data sources you plan to use to answer your research question.	SUN 4/3, by 11:59pm EST	5%
4. A data collection progress report that provides an update on your data collection to date, including a discussion and explanation of what you can do during the remainder of the semester and what you may need to save for later.	SUN 4/24, by 11:59pm EST	5%
5. A paper-in-progress presentation in class during the last 2 weeks of the semester, giving students the opportunity to receive additional feedback from me and their peers before submitting the final paper.	Varies, but last 2 weeks of the semester	10%
6. A final paper tying the above elements together and expanding upon them as much as possible by including, for example, a fleshed out discussion of methodology and data, findings, and a conclusion.	SUN 5/22, by 11:59pm EST	15%

More instructions will be provided as the semester gets under way. The course schedule below also indicates when each assignment is due. *No late assignments will be accepted unless you were previously granted an extension.*

For all aspects of the research paper, I encourage you to check in with me during office hours frequently to discuss your progress and receive feedback along the way.

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”), with the exception of the three books noted above.
- Links to all optional multimedia pieces (“Multimedia”)
- Discussion Board, where you will post your weekly reading responses and upload all assignments related to the research paper assignment (“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 F between 2-4pm EST (or by appointment, but please only if you cannot make it during my regular office hours). Please sign up, via my Calendly website, 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, for example, about your research paper and your role as seminar moderator.

Zoom Etiquette

This is a hybrid course, with both in-person and Zoom synchronous meetings. Given the recent surge in Omicron infections in NYC, all class meetings for January and February will be online via Zoom. Starting in early March, we will meet in person on the following five dates: M 3/7, M 3/21, M 4/4, M 5/9, and M 5/16.

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

- Have your camera on; use an appropriate Zoom background, if you wish.
- 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 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 as lighting and noise.
- Use the Zoom functions to communicate as needed, such as chat and raise hand.
- Turn off/silence your 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 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. You can register for any of the below four book talks (held on Mondays from 4:30-6pm EST on Zoom) [here](#):
 - M 2/7: *One Quarter of the Nation: Immigration and the Transformation of America*, with Nancy Foner, Filiz Garip, Phil Kasinitz, and Mary Waters.
 - M 3/7: *State of Belonging: Immigration Policies, Attitudes, and Inclusion*, with Tomás Jiménez.
 - M 3/28: *The Chinese Question: The Gold Rushes and Global Politics*, with Mae Ngai.
 - M 4/11: *Immigration Matters: Movements, Visions, and Strategies for a Progressive Future*, with Ruth Milkman.
4. Participate in the Professional Development Workshops that fellow IMS students organize. These take place on Mondays from 2:30-4pm EST; more info TBA.
5. Write a short blog for the new IMS Blog. More info to follow soon.

6. 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: xxxxx (xxxxx) and xxxxx (xxxxx).

Course Schedule

All readings—except the Abdelaaty, Cox & Rodríguez, and Peck books—are available through Blackboard. They focus on migration policy in the United States, but many weeks also include a non-U.S. reading. *All listed readings are required, but the included multimedia pieces are optional.*

1 M 1/31	Topic	Course Introduction
	Readings	None
	Student Moderator	None
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By TH 2/3, 11:59pm EST: upload your “avatar image” to Blackboard. • By TH 2/3, 11:59pm EST: add your intro to Blackboard.

2 M 2/7	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. <u>Chapter 2</u>. • Ellermann, Antje. 2021. <i>The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States</i>. New York: Oxford University Press. <u>Chapter 2</u>. • 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>Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences</i> 142(3): 185-198.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Racist History of US Immigration Policy (2016)
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 2/6, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard.

3 M 2/14	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. <u>Chapters 1, 2, and 3</u>. • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration Battle (2015)
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 2/13, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard.



No class on M 2/21 due to Presidents' Day

4 M 2/28	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. <u>Introduction, chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, and Epilogue</u>. • 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"> • Zero Tolerance: How Trump Turned Immigration into a Political Weapon (2019)
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 2/27, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard. • By SUN 2/27, 11:59pm EST: add your paper proposal to Blackboard.

5 M 3/7 <u>IN PERSON</u>	Topic	Paper Proposals: Class Discussion
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None
	Student Moderator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 3/6, 6pm EST: add to Blackboard a brief discussion of one or two issues/areas related to your paper proposal that you would like help with. • Before coming to class: review your classmates' paper proposals on Blackboard and be prepared to offer feedback during seminar.

6 M 3/14	Topic	Courts: Judicial Decision-Making, Asylum, and Deportation
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peck, Alison. 2021. <i>The Accidental History of the U.S. Immigration Courts: War, Fear, and the Roots of Dysfunction</i>. Oakland: University of California Press. <u>Whole book</u>. • 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)
	Student Moderators	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 3/13, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard.

7 M 3/21	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.

<u>IN</u> <u>PERSON</u>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hiemstra, Nancy. 2014. "Performing Homeland Security within the US Immigration Detention System." <i>Environment and Planning</i> 32(4): 571-588. • 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)
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 3/20, 6pm EST add your reading response to Blackboard. • By SUN 3/20, 11:59pm EST: add your literature review to Blackboard.

8 M 3/28	Topic	International Politics and Domestic Migration Policies
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abdelaaty, Lamis E. 2021. <i>Discrimination and Delegation: Explaining State Responses to Refugees</i>. New York: Oxford University Press. <u>Whole book</u>. • 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	None
	Student Moderators	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 3/27, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard.

9 M 4/4 <u>IN</u> <u>PERSON</u>	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</i>. <u>Chapters 1, 2, and 5</u>. • Paquet, Mireille. 2014. "The Federalization of Immigration and Integration in Canada." <i>Canadian Journal of Political Science</i> 47(3): 519-548.
	Multimedia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illegal America: Arizona's Immigration Fight (2010)
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By SUN 4/3, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard. • By SUN 4/3, 11:59pm EST: add your research design and data collection plan to Blackboard.

10 M 4/11	Topic	Cities: Grassroots Innovation within the Limits of Federalism
	Readings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Filomeno, Felipe A. 2017. <i>Theories of Local Immigration Policy</i>. Cham (Switzerland): Palgrave Macmillan. <u>Chapters 2 and 3</u>. • 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> 53(2):379-398. • Williamson, Abigail F. 2020. "Intergovernmental Policy Feedback and Urban Responses to Immigrants." <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i>: 53(1): 20-24.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> de Graauw, Els, and Floris Vermeulen. 2016. "Cities and the Politics of Immigrant Integration: A Comparison of Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City, and San Francisco." <i>Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies</i> 42(6): 989-1012.
	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 SUN 4/10, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard.



No class on M 4/18 due to Spring Recess

11 M 4/25	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> Saberi, Parastou. 2017. "Toronto and the 'Paris Problem': Community Policing in 'Immigrant Neighbourhoods.'" <i>Race & Class</i> 59(2): 49-69.
	Student Moderator	xxxxx
	Assignments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By SUN 4/24, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard. By SUN 4/24, 11:59pm EST: add your data collection progress report to Blackboard.

12 M 5/2	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. Kreisberg, Nicole A., Els de Graauw, and Shannon Gleeson. 2022. "Explaining Refugee Employment Declines: Structural Shortcomings in Federal Resettlement Support." <i>Social Problems</i> 1-20 (OnlineFirst).
	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 SUN 5/1, 6pm EST: add your reading response to Blackboard. 	

13 M 5/9 <u>IN</u> <u>PERSON</u>	Topic	Research Paper Presentations
	Student #1	xxxxxx
	Student #2	xxxxxx
	Student #3	xxxxxx
	Student #4	xxxxxx
	Student #5	xxxxxx
	Student #6	xxxxxx

14 M 5/16 <u>IN</u> <u>PERSON</u>	Topic	Research Paper Presentations
	Student #1	xxxxxx
	Student #2	xxxxxx
	Student #3	xxxxxx
	Student #4	xxxxxx
	Student #5	xxxxxx
	Student #6	xxxxxx



Research paper is due via email SUN 5/22, by 11:59pm EST