**Immigration: Politics and Policy (POLISCI 391PC)**

University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Fall 2020

T/Th 1:00 – 2:15

Zoom link for class: <https://umass-amherst.zoom.us/j/98246060170>

Professor Scott Blinder

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Office Hours: Weds. 7pm-8pm, Fri. 10am-11pm or by appointment

Zoom link for office hours: <https://umass-amherst.zoom.us/j/5961929039>

**Course Description**

This course will focus on immigration in the United States in recent years, but will look at historical and cross-national perspectives as well, to better ground our understanding of what is happening here and now. Some of the topics we will look at will include 1) the relationship of immigration to definition of Americans as a people; 2) the causes and effects of migration; 3) immigration as an issue in the American political system; 4) immigration as an issue in electoral politics and public opinion; 5) moral and practical perspectives on immigration control and the construction of borders. This will include attention to the issue of “unauthorized” immigration, especially in the US.

The course will be divided into three main units corresponding to the three elements in the title of the course: *Immigration*, *Politics*, and *Policy*. In the *Immigration* unit, our goals will be to learn basic facts about immigration to the US, and to understand theories of immigration that explain its causes, and its impacts on receiving societies. In the *Policy* unit, we explore what immigration policy is, and what it’s for (i.e. what goals there are, or should be, for policy decisions). You’ll also begin your own research, in groups, on a policy area in which you will become the class experts. In the *Politics* unit, we will learn how immigration affects public opinion, voting, and other forms of political participation. This will include the political action of immigrants themselves, and the reactions of other citizens to immigration. We will also begin to discuss how governing institutions—Congress, the President, the bureaucracy—respond to citizens’ political demands, and learn how organized interests try to influence legislation and enforcement as well.

Finally, I am well aware that this is taking place in the middle of a pandemic that may be affecting some of you and your families and friends personally, and is disruptive to all of us. I plan to approach the class in a spirit of experimentation and compassion and ask that you all try to do the same. Thanks!

**Required Readings**

Two books are required for this course. They can be borrowed as **free e-books** through the UMass library or purchased or rented through the UMass campus textbook tool Fast eCampus.

* 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.
* Chavez, Leo R. 2013. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation, 2nd edition*. Stanford University Press. **Make sure to get the 2nd edition.**

Other readings will be available through Moodle/Perusall as .pdfs or links. The schedule of readings is set out in the course schedule in this document. I might make additions or changes while the course is in progress at my own discretion or after hearing suggestions from the class. If any changes are made, I will announce them in class and by group email.

Note that the lectures will highlight key points from the readings. It is more important to me that you keep up with your group projects, and read and research what you need to make those projects great. Course readings are valuable but a lower priority if you need to triage.

**Optional Readings and Research Resources**

The syllabus also includes a number of optional readings and resources. I do not expect that many of you will volunteer for extra reading! However, you might want to use these resources for your research projects, or to help you decide on a research topic. These also might be useful for the weeks when you are writing a response to the assigned readings, as they might help you think about questions to raise or help you understand the topic better.

Also, take note of on-line resources that will be useful for your research. The UMass librarian for social science, Lisa DiValentino, has compiled a fantastic course guide full of databases where you can find resources, organized to make it easier to navigate. She will visit our class early in the semester to help you with your research for your projects. The course guide: <https://guides.library.umass.edu/POLISCI391PC>

**Other Course Requirements, and Grade Composition**

ASSIGNMENTS

Participation in weekly group work 20%

Unit I quiz, via Moodle 10%

Group project (stages)

* Policy presentation 30%
* Political ad / PSA (audio/video/poster) 20%

Final project: policy memo 20%

(NO FINAL EXAM)

Details will be provided on Moodle and/or in class for each of these assignments.

Group project participation is very important to making the class work. You will have the opportunity to complete peer evaluation forms at the end of the project. I will use these to lower grades for people who, by consensus, did not contribute to the group, and potentially to give a bonus to people who made exceptional contributions.

Final letter grades will be calculated on the following scale: A (93-100), A- (90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B- (80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C- (70-72), D+ (67-69), D (60-66), and F (0-59). In cases where the distribution of raw scores departs dramatically from department or University averages, I may use my discretion as instructor to adjust scores upward.

There are several important points to keep in mind about your grade:

* Because of privacy concerns related to FERPA, I cannot discuss your course grade or your grade on any assignment over email. To discuss your grade, you must speak with me either at office hours or by appointment.
* It may be useful to come speak with me to get clarification on a grade after you have received it. This is particularly important if you perform poorly at the beginning of the semester since I can help you consider strategies for improving.
* Failure to complete an assignment or participate in a group project will result in a 0 for that portion of your grade.
* Considering that we are in the middle of a pandemic, I understand that we are likely to have more cases than we’d like of illness, family illness, and other serious personal difficulties. This is a time for compassion, not hard-and-fast enforcement of rules.
* The pass/fail option is always a possibility (for up to three of your classes this term). I have no objection to anyone taking that option.

**Statement on Grades during the Pandemic**

A few more key points about how I will be handling grading.

1. In light of the pass/fail option, my view is that classes this semester cannot be centered on grades. Many of you may opt out of being graded, and I don’t want that to mean opting out of learning in class or in your projects.
2. I will emphasize “formative” grading. Your early assignments will be graded mainly on whether or not you got them done (at a reasonable level of effort). I will give “formative” feedback designed to help you along toward the final project. Only the final project – the individual policy memo – will be evaluated in “summative” fashion, i.e. on the quality of the end product rather than satisfactory completion and signs of reasonable effort.
3. What does this mean? For group work, including the group presentation, you just need to participate and contribute to your group. For the individual on-line quiz, you’ll have a chance to retake it as many times as you want. The point is to learn, so go over your answers and figure out where you went wrong. Feedback is designed to help you learn and get better.
4. For the final policy memo, this is where you’ll need to shine if you want to earn an A or A- for the class. Here, results count.
5. If you have participated fully in all the formative assignments, you should have enough points to pass the class without doing the policy memo. But if you opt out of the memo, you’ll need to have been a full participant in the group work leading up to it to ensure you have full points going in.

**Academic Honesty**

The UMass Academic Honesty Policy states, “Academic dishonesty is prohibited in all programs of the University. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and facilitating dishonesty.” Students found violating this policy in class may receive an F for the course. For more information, see <http://www.umass.edu/ombuds/honesty.php/>.

Plagiarism is defined more broadly category than many people realize. It can involve directly copying text without attribution, but there are more subtle forms as well that are still not permitted. You might be plagiarizing by merely paraphrasing or rewording parts of someone else’s work. If any doubts or questions arise as you write your papers for this course, please consult this or similar documents, and consult with me if you are still unsure. More information is available here: <https://www.umass.edu/writingprogram/geninfo/plagiarism.html>.

**Structure of Class**

The class is oriented toward producing excellent policy projects – group and individual – that show real expertise in a particular immigration policy area and build on a strong understanding of the politics of immigration more broadly. The memos will be only 4-5 pages long but should show very detailed knowledge of your policy area. ***“Know a lot to write a little!”***

Week-to-week, we will build general knowledge of immigration policy and politics as a class while each group will apply this knowledge to their particular topic. You will also develop research skills to apply as well.

The course will follow a “flipped classroom” model. Information will be provided in recorded lectures and in readings. Much of our class time will be spent on activities. We will have in-depth discussions, but also spend a great deal of time working in groups, on tasks that will build toward the final project in stages.

**Weekly activities**

1. **Fri-Mon.**
   1. **Watch mini-lectures**. Lectures will be posted on Moodle and/or as YouTube videos.
   2. **Research on group projects**. Group work will start in week 2 and continue throughout. There will be in-class time to work together but you will also need to read and research on your own during the week.
   3. **Read, or skim course readings**. Readings will be available on Moodle page and through e-Reserves (also linked on Moodle. Many are also on Perusall. However, I am de-emphasizing course readings and If you pay attention to lectures, I will pick out the important points in the readings.
2. **Tues.**
   1. **Class activities**. Tuesday sessions will include discussions/critiques of points from readings and lectures. We will also have full-class or small-group activities such as brainstorming sessions, discussions that relate key concepts to current events or your own lives, and even a few sessions where we watch documentary films or play immigration-related video games.
   2. **Get plan for group work for the week.** You will get instructions – written and/or verbal – on Tuesdays for group work that will take place in class on Thursday and outside class for the rest of the week.
3. **Weds**
   1. **Prepare for group work**. There may be things to bring into class with you on Thursday, or you may just have the opportunity to think and be ready when you show up on Thursday.
4. **Thurs**.
   1. **Class.** Most Thursdays will emphasize group work, focused on a particular element in the build-up to the final project. Each group will also report back on their progress to the class periodically during the semester. This will usually be at the end of the day on Thursday but might be on Tuesday at the beginning if you need out-of-class time.

**Timing for graded assignments**

1. Moodle quiz due at end of week 3 (Sept 11). (Can be re-taken).
2. Group policy presentations during week 7. Formative assessment.
3. Short group video/poster due week 13.
4. Final individual memos due at end of finals period (Dec 4)

**Class routines**

During class: again, we will focus on group work, small group discussions, questions to clarify lecture/reading content and to explore critical/normative issues. We will be on Zoom, using breakout rooms extensively.

For Zoom sessions, I would like to default to cameras on, to facilitate discussion. I realize that there are many reasons from dodgy Wifi to nosy siblings to bathroom breaks why cameras might need to be off for a while, and that’s ok. But please do your best to be “on,” especially for breakout sessions.

We will use Slack for written communication outside of class. You can message me privately or share questions/comments with the class in the Slack “channels.” Link to join [here](https://join.slack.com/t/ps391pcimmigr-wsg8712/shared_invite/zt-gngj39ue-M3MmWe2FW9ukCWp7KNM9Mw).

**Course Schedule**

**Unit I. Immigration: Key Facts and Theories**

**Learning goals:**

* Learn and remember basic terminology about immigration, policy, and politics
* Understand impact of controversial terms
* Remember basic facts about immigration to the US, including historical trends and recent patterns
* Understand and evaluate state-of-the-art theories of why immigration occurs
* Understand and evaluate theories of immigration policy-making
* Apply this knowledge to examples in American history

**Unit I Assessment:**

* unit quiz (Moodle, due by Sept 11, can be re-taken; focused on terminology, history, theory)

**Week 1. Introduction, System Basics, Terminology Aug 25, 27**

Aug 25 Introductory discussion

Aug 27 DeSipio & de la Garza, Introduction

Packet of readings on debates over language use, provided by instructor

**Week 2. American Immigration Patterns, Old and new Sept 1, 3**

DeSipio & de la Garza, Ch. 2

Massey, Douglas. 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*, Ch. 3

Resources:

Origins and Destinations of the World’s Migrants: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/05/17/global-migrant-stocks/>

5 facts about the U.S. rank in worldwide migration: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/18/5-facts-about-the-u-s-rank-in-worldwide-migration/>

Visualization of 200 years of immigration to America: <https://www.vox.com/2016/1/4/10709366/immigration-america-200-years>

**Week 3. Immigration Theories Sept 8, 10**

Castles, Stephen, Hein de Haas, & Mark J. Miller. 2014. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 5th edition. Ch. 2.

Review Massey Ch. 2

Resource: Garip, Filiz. 2017. *On the Move: Changing Mechanisms of Mexico-U.S. Migration*. Princetion University Press. Appendix B – “Theories of International Migration.”

**UNIT 1 Quiz due Sept 11. Moodle. May be retaken. Open book and note but do it on your own.**

**Unit II. Policy**

In this unit, we will examine key areas of immigration policy. Class readings and discussions will provide a general overview and details about several policy areas. In your group work, you will aim to become experts in a particular aspect of policy, which will then form the basis of your final projects.

**Learning goals**:

* developing expertise in one aspect of US immigration policy,
* broad basic knowledge of immigration policy in the US;
* beginning understanding of how to evaluate immigration policy proposals;
* understanding the perspectives of policy stakeholders and why they matter;
* ability to present policy proposals in written and spoken form.

**Unit II Assessment:**

* participation in group work, especially in-class presentation of work-in-progress
* completion of project checklist, part I

**Week 4. Borders: (Why) do we need ’em? How do they work? Sept 15, 17**

Zolberg, Aristide R. 2012. “Why not the whole world? Ethical dilemmas of immigration policy.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 56.9 (2012): 1204-1222.Q

Shachar, Ayelet. *The Birthright Lottery*. Harvard University Press. pp. 1-30.

<https://www.law.utoronto.ca/documents/shachar/BirthrightLottery_excerpt.pdf>

Carens, Joseph. 2015. “The Case for Open Borders.”Open Democracy.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/beyondslavery/joseph-h-carens/case-for-open-borders>

Andreas, Peter. 2009. *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (2nd ed.). Chs 2, 5

Play “Papers, Please” [on-line game]

Watch “Crossing Arizona” [documentary]

Recommended:

De León, Jason. 2015. *The land of open graves: Living and dying on the migrant trail.* University of California Press. Chs 1-2.

Wong, Tom. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford Univesity Press. pp. 54-98.

Resource: Longo, Matthew. “The Border Is Not a Wall.” <http://bostonreview.net/global-justice/matthew-longo-border-not-wall>

**Week 5. The Legal Immigration System: Admissions, Naturalization Oct 20, 22**

DeSipio & de la Garza, Ch. 4

Wong, Tom. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. pp. 32-53.

Gubernskaya, Zoya, and Joanna Dreby. "US immigration policy and the case for family unity." *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 5.2 (2017): 417-430.

Chavez, Ch. 8, pp. 192 – 202

USA Citizenship test (handout)

**Recommended**:

Hainmueller, Jens, Duncan Lawrence, Justin Gest, Michael Hotard, Rey Koslowski, and David D. Laitin. "A randomized controlled design reveals barriers to citizenship for low-income immigrants." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115, no. 5 (2018): 939-944.

**Resource**:

AIC factsheet: How the US Immigration System Works

<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/how-united-states-immigration-system-works>

**Week 6. Refugees Sept 29, Oct 1**

  “The 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol,” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html

Hamlin, Rebecca. 2012. Illegal Refugees: Competing Policy Ideas and the Rise of the Regime of Deterrence in American Asylum Politics. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *31*(2): 33-53.

Wadhia, Shoba Sivaprasad. 2019. *Banned: Immigration Enforcement in the Time of Trump*, Ch. 6.

**Week 7. Unauthorized Immigrants**  **Oct 6, 8**

Chavez, *Latino Threat*, Ch. 5

Wong, Tom. 2017. *The Politics of Immigration: Partisanship, Demographic Change, and American National Identity*. Oxford University Press. pp. 98-109.

AIC fact sheet: “Why don’t they just get in line?” <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/why-don%E2%80%99t-they-just-get-line>

Resources: MPI, Pew Research, Center for American Progress: selected reports & fact sheets.

Politifact factcheck, “Julián Castro says nearly all DACA recipients employed, in school or serving in military”: <https://www.politifact.com/texas/statements/2018/jan/10/julian-castro/julian-castro-daca-recipients-employed-school-mili/>(contains links to further research on DACA recipients by Roberto Gonzalez, Tom Wong)

Vargas, Jose Antonio. My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant. *New York Times*. June 22, 2011.

Lind, Dara. 9 facts that explain DACA, the immigration program Trump is ending. <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2017/8/31/16226934/daca-trump-dreamers-immigration>

**Week 8. Detention and Deportation Oct 13, 15**

Wadhia, Shoba Sivaprasad. 2019. *Banned: Immigration Enforcement in the Time of Trump*, Ch 5.

Cortez, David. (2020). Latinxs in La Migra: Why They Join and Why It Matters. *Political Research Quarterly.*

**Unit III. Politics**

**Learning goals:**

In this unit, we will think about the following questions…

* What does the American public think about immigration? Why? What are key divisions in public opinion?
* What role does the media have in creating public opinion?
* What effect does public opinion have on policy?
* What organized interests or coalitions are active in immigration politics?
* How much and in what ways do immigrants participate in American politics? How does citizenship status, legal status, and national origins or ethnicity shape participation?

**Unit III Assessment:**

* Group political ad / PSA (audio/video/poster)
* Individual policy papers

**Week 9 Theories & Dilemmas of Immigration Policy Oct 20, 22**

Boswell, Christina. 2007. “Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?”

Recommended**:** DeSipio & de la Garza, selection from Ch 1 (pp. 10-12, 30-44)

Ruhs, Martin, and Philip Martin. 2008. Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs. *International Migration Review* 42(1): 249-65

**Week 10. Public Opinion, Media Narratives, Electoral Politics Oct 27, 29**

DeSipio & de la Garza Ch 3 sections (pp. 97-103, 124-130), Ch 5. (pp. 188-202 can be skimmed)

Chavez, *Latino Threat*, chapters 1-4

Resources: Pew Research – briefing(s) on positive public opinion and change over time, TBD.

**GROUP POLICY PRESENTATIONS TO BE SUBMITTED THIS WEEK**

**Week 11. Immigration, Elections, and Partisanship Nov 3, 5**

Barreto, Matt. 2018. “The Cycle of Undermobilization of Minority Voters.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 3(1): 185–188.

Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. *Identity* Crisis. Ch. 5

Raychaudhuri, Tanika. 2018. The social roots of Asian American partisan attitudes. *Politics, Groups, and Identities.*

Resources: Republican National Committee, Growth and Opportunity Project report, pp. 4-18

Latino Decisions’ 2016 post-election report: <http://www.latinodecisions.com/blog/2016/11/10/lies-damn-lies-and-exit-polls/>

**Week 12. Political Activism of Immigrants and Ethnic Communities Nov 10, 12**

Chavez, *Latino Threat*, Ch7 (all), Ch 8 (pp. 181-192 only)

Zepeda-Millán, Chris. 2017. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 6.

Lauby, Fanny. 2016. Leaving the ‘perfect DREAMer’ behind? Narratives and mobilization in immigration reform. *Social Movement Studies* 15(4): 374-387

Recommended: Abrego, L. (2020). *We Are Not Dreamers: Undocumented Scholars Theorize Undocumented Life in the United States*. Duke University Press.

**Week 13. Prospects for Change Nov 17, 19**

DeSipio & de la Garza, ch 6; Chavez, Epilogue OR TBD, depending on election outcome!

**GROUP SHORT VIDEO OR POSTER DUE THIS WEEK**

**FINAL INDIVIDUAL POLICY MEMOS DUE DEC 4**