

**Immigration Politics and Policy -**

 **Past and Present**

PADM-GP 2213

## Fall 2023

**Class location and time:**

Wednesdays 4:55-6:35

GCASL, Room 365

## Natasha Iskander

James Weldon Johnson Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy NYU Wagner

Puck Building, rm 3043 natasha.iskander@nyu.edu

<https://nyu.zoom.us/my/nyuni6>

**Office hours:** Tuesdays 4:30-5:30pm or by appointment (zoom)

**Course assistant:** Andrew Gerstenberger, Doctoral Student, History and Hebrew & Judaic Studies Departments

Contact: atg4223@nyu.edu Office hours: by appointment

# Course description:

The politics of immigration and immigration policy seem more critical now than ever. Public debates about immigration have roiled nations around the world, and disagreements about how immigration should be regulated, who should have the right to migrate, what political rights immigrants should have once they cross a border, and how immigrants should participate in the economy have strained political alliances and upended norms of political discourse. In some cases, conflicts over immigration debates have been used to justify the overhaul of political institutions.

However, these debates and policy efforts are not new. The history of migration is long, and the disputes about migration just as old. In the modern era – defined here as the mid-19th century onward – debates about migration have returned over and over to a consistent set of themes, and have often been as heated and as strident as they are today.

These debates have engaged head-on with issues of economic equity and distribution of wealth, national identity, and the allocation of power in a society. Their connection to the actual empirics of migration, however, has been more tenuous. While the political discourse is framed in terms of immigration policy, the political contests have had more to do with tensions around economic transformation and dislocation, with concerns about national security, and with changes in social norms than they have had to do with the actual observed facts of immigration. Now, climate change can also be added to the list of policy challenges that are being debated and addressed through migration policy. Despite this slippage, these debates have had stakes that are very high. The policies they have produced have affected migrants profoundly, often upending their social and economic lives.

The course considers these debates, their relationship to the empirics of migration, and the policy outcomes that they produce. But this course is not about immigrants. While this course considers the strategies that immigrants and their communities have developed to cope with effects of immigrant policy, it is not a social and political history of immigrants. It looks at the policies that define who is an immigrant, the policies that shape the conditions under which people cross borders, and the policies that define the constraints that they face. It examines the history of specific policies and administrative practices, and traces the politics that have honed them and contested them over time. This course starts from the premise that immigrant policy is never primarily about immigrants at all, but rather about the politics of defining nationhood, sovereignty, labor rights, state latitude in policing and control, and the welfare responsibilities of the state.

To explore the stakes and political processes involved in immigration processes, the course focus in its Fall 2023 cycle on immigration policy in the United States. The reason for this is two-fold. First, the last 5 years have been an exceptionally active period in immigration policy development in United States. The Trump administration was exceptionally active in changing immigration policy and imposing new immigration restriction, and the Biden has followed suit. Most of these changes were administrative, not legislative, but their reach and impact has been significant. Second, the policies that the United States has developed have served as a template for other countries around the world. Sometimes, this replication occurs through a form of political isomorphism and a shift in global discourse around the rights of migrants. But the replication of U.S. immigration policy models has also occurred by fiat, with the United States imposing systems of border control on other countries, directly or by making trade and aid conditional on the adoption of immigration controls. Equally, the United States has borrowed and hardened models of border control and economic incorporation of immigrants that have been developed in other contexts in response to global migration flows. Given this, the course will include some comparative material. However, it is important to note that this course focuses on migration largely from countries of the Global South to countries of the Global North. This represents only about 30 percent of global migrant patterns, but the politics and policy making by receiving countries of the global North have had an outsized and definitional impact on immigrant policy around the world.

This course will look at the politics and processes of immigration policy in the United States from five angles: 1) the construction and militarization of borders, and their relationship to the politics of national identity; 2) the anxieties and empirics around climate change and migration; 3) the development of bureaucracies to implement migration policy and to enforce racial exclusion; 4) the incorporation of new technologies in enforcement and deterrence practices; and 5) the relationship between immigrant policy, worker rights, and economic structure. For each of these topics, the course reaches back to find their historical expressions, and brings the insights and questions from the past to bear on the present.

***Please note:*** the impact of immigration policy is often violent. The policies and government practices that comprise immigration enforcement has direct and indirect consequences that are brutalizing. Because this course is grounded in the empirics of migration policy, it necessarily addresses patterns and instances of violence connected to immigration policy and politics, including

forced detention, sexual assault, racialized and gendered patterns of policing and surveillance, and death. *Please be mindful of this aspect of immigration politics and policy as you commit to the readings and other assignments in this course.*

# Course objectives:

1. To provide an overview of the central theoretical debates in the study of international migration, with a focus on how theoretical frameworks used to explain labor migration, the distinction between political and economic migration, and the relationship between economies that migration can foster shape policy.
2. To provide a historical referent for contemporary migration policies, for current debates around migration, and for new policy proposals for migration management.
3. To analyze the effects of immigration policy, on immigrant and non-immigrant populations
4. To understand the function of immigration policy as a policy arena for the development of policy instruments applied to domains that do not pertain directly to immigration control or management
5. To consider how immigration policy stratifies labor markets, spaces, and polities by race and gender
6. To consider emergent trends in migration, and to tease out what aspects are novel and require new policy approaches, and which carry echoes from previous policy experiences.
7. To understand the administrative apparatus for the implementation and enforcement of immigration policy and to identify administrative levers for policy change, policy retraction, and policy redesign.
8. To learn how to prepare a cogent analysis of policy and a clear concise argument for policy change – a policy brief

# Course requirements, assignments, and grading:

This class is organized as a seminar, and investment in the readings is critical to the process of reaction and interpretation in which we will be engaging. **Completion of the readings** is a basic requirement for the course. The emphasis on books is purposeful; books allow for greater detail and can often provide more nuance than an article, which is often constrained by limits on length. Policy debates about immigration tend to rely on stereotypes, political sloganeering, and platitudes, and more than in most arenas of policy-making, policy debates and policy measures do not invoke empirics or detail. The book-based approach used in this course is designed as an intervention to highlight the distance between empirics and policy debates in immigration policy.

The requirement for the course is that you invest in each text fully, but you are encouraged to read strategically. There may be sections of the book assigned that may be more compelling to you, and other sections that you may want to review with a lighter touch.

Most weeks, we will consider a policy instrument or measure – or set of policies and administrative measures – that grow out of the policy-making histories and dynamics covered in the book assigned. We will consider the ways in which they are an extension of past practice and the ways

in which they represent a break. We will explore the effect of those policies on immigrant and non-immigrant populations in the United States and beyond.

Additionally, articles or video clips covering current events related to the migration issues covered each week will be recommended. The goal is to connect the analysis of migration themes to debates about migration happening currently in the political sphere – and specifically to moves by the incoming administration to change aspects of immigration policy.

The instructor will populate this section, but the trending section is also a space for crowdsourcing. Students are encouraged to suggest and share articles from the press on the themes covered each week.

*You should plan to spend four hours a week on readings for the course.* Once you have completed the readings, please take 15-30 minutes to write down the main themes of the readings, to note the facets of the reading you found compelling or objectionable, or perhaps even moved you, and to flag elements of the reading you would like to know more about.

**Class participation** is a central requirement of the course. Participation means sharing your reflections in class. Listening carefully is also an important form of participation. Please be attuned to the quality of your engagement and of your attention to the readings and to the commentary offered by your colleagues. Quality matters as much as quantity. Because the readings are required, I may, at any time, call on students to summarize or react to the readings.

*Optional*: In addition to sharing your reactions and insights in class, you are encouraged to post to the class forum on NYU Brightspace. You may share news items with your colleagues, research papers, video clips and links to short documentaries, as well information about public events at NYU and around NYC. You are also encouraged to share your thoughts and comments on the readings, your reaction to your colleagues’ discussion guides (see below), and your personal impressions of political events.

Class participation is critical to the pedagogical process around which the course is organized and it will be factored into your final grade. Please note that discussion guides (described below) will be factored into your class participation grade.

*Class participation is worth 30 percent of your final grade.*

You are also required to prepare 6 written assignments: **2 discussion guides, 2 policy reflections**, **1 policy brief,** and **one personal reflection essay**.

**Discussion guides:** 500 words – public – posted to the NYU Brightspace site in the Discussions section under the appropriate forum **by 5 pm on the day before your chosen class meeting**. You are required to prepare two discussion guides over the course of the semester. Please pick two weeks anytime **between Weeks 4-12, inclusive**.

These discussion guides should accomplish three things: 1) provide a summary of the main arguments of the reading (one or two paragraphs); 2) highlight an aspect of the readings you found surprising, moving, unexpected, or otherwise significant to you (one paragraph); 3) provide 2 or 3 discussion questions. These questions can be a place to start class discussion; they can also be questions raised for you by the readings themselves; and they can most certainly be questions about how the readings relate to and/or illuminate current development in immigration politics and policy. You have the option of making one of the Discussion guides an audio or video file, submitted to the Discussions forum for the appropriate week via the Brightspace link.

As part of the preparation of the discussion guides, you will be asked to summarize your guide and present the questions in class. This is a very informal exercise. You can do this presentation individually or you can coordinate with colleagues who are also preparing discussion guides for that day. Approximately 10 minutes of each class will be dedicated to the review of discussion guides.

Please sign up for 2 discussion guide weeks [here.](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1dfbzROUNsqbD83FTx4ip5QAb75-zAa2EBNKXmAXknW4/edit?usp=sharing)

**Policy reflections:** 500-700 words. You are required to write two policy reflection memos over the course of the semester. Please pick two weeks anytime **between Weeks 4-12, inclusive**. One of the policy reflections may be an audio or video file.

Choose any policy measure or government practice, past or present, and consider how it relates to the historical or empirical study we look at that week or in other weeks in that same section. How is the policy an extension of past practice? In what ways does it differ? What does considering the policy measure in a larger empirical/historical context reveal about what the measure is meant to achieve? How does this goal relate to its impact? Does analyzing this policy tool in a broader context change your assessment of it? If yes, why? What surprises you about the policy tool and its history? Please start the policy memo with a brief overview of the policy tool and of the historical/empirical context laid out in the readings you are considering, but please be sure to reserve room for your own reflections. A good structure for a policy memo is as follows, but feel free to develop any structure you feel is appropriate:

* 1. (1 sentence) *What is the policy or government practice you are considering and what is it meant to achieve?*
	2. (1 para) *What impact does the policy or government practice actually have, direct or ancillary?* (1 para) You can consider all kinds of effects here – they can be tangible or they can be representational; they can act on immigrants and non-immigrants; they can act on people, their bodies, their families and their livelihood, or they can reshape or otherwise impact government practice, law, and bureaucracies.
	3. (1 para) *What are the historical antecedents on this policy (draw from the readings if you like) and what historical patterns is it repeating?* What historical legacies is it drawing from? In what ways if any is it diverging from past practice?

*or*

*What is the broader empirical and policy context for the policy or government practice you are considering?*

* 1. (one or two sentences) *What does analyzing a policy in its broader historical and policy context allow us to see that would otherwise be difficult to perceive?*

Please sign up for two policy reflections [here.](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1dfbzROUNsqbD83FTx4ip5QAb75-zAa2EBNKXmAXknW4/edit?usp=sharing)

**Policy brief exercise:** this is a three-part assignment.

1. *Short abstract:* individual – under one page. Please select a policy instrument or government practice that you are interested in considering. Please draft a one-page abstract in which you address three questions:
	1. What is the policy measure that you want to analyze? Identify and describe – about 1 paragraph
	2. Why is this policy measure significant? Explain why you would like to consider this policy measure
	3. What consequences or impacts of this policy concern you most?

This abstract will be the basis on which you will form teams for the rest of the assignment – either self-organized or organized by the instructor.

*Due* ***Week 4*** *by class time*

1. *Policy brief:* This assignment will be done in teams of 4 students. (Please select your team by **Week 5**, or you will be assigned by the professor.) 3,500 words + appendix if desired

(up to 3,000 words)– public – posted to the NYU Brightspace site. In this memo, you will complete an analysis of a policy measure and its impacts, and you will recommend what changes to that policy you deem appropriate. In outlining suggested changes, you will need to make a case for why those changes are indicated and what administrative, legal, legislative, or political avenue(s) you recommend for making those changes. The memo should include the four sections outlined below. Please write clearly and concisely – imagine that you are writing a background document that a legislator, community groups, or an advocacy organization could use.

* 1. Description of policy measure
	2. Historical background or empirical context of policy measure
	3. Impact of policy measure on immigrant and non-immigrant populations (you do not necessarily need to distinguish between these two groups)
	4. Recommendations for policy change
1. *Presentation of policy brief:* in teams. 10-15 minute in-class presentation of policy brief. In this presentation, you will focus on making a case for why this policy should be changed, and on why the changes you are recommending are the most appropriate.

*The policy brief and presentation are both due Week 13 by class time*.

**Personal reflection essay:** individual – 800-1,000 words. Please reflect on a theme, political dynamic, or historical pattern we covered in the course. What surprised you about it? What moved you about it? How did your perspective on it change? How did it connect to your personal experience?

Write carefully, clearly, and thoughtfully. Please remember to support your statements with evidence, and to cite your sources appropriately.

*The discussion guides are counted as part of your class participation grade – 30 percent of your total grade. Policy reflections are each worth 10 percent of your final grade, the policy brief assignment is worth 35 percent of your final grade, and the personal reflection essay is worth 15 percent of your final grade.*

*Course schedule:*

Week 1 – Wednesday September 6

Week 2 – Wednesday September 13

Week 3 – Wednesday September 20

Week 4 – Wednesday September 27

Week 5 – Wednesday October 4

Week 6 – Wednesday October 11

Week 7 – Wednesday October 18

Week 8 – Wednesday October 25

Week 9 – Wednesday November 1

Week 10 – Wednesday November 8

Week 11 – Wednesday November 15

Week 12 – Wednesday November 29

Week 13 – Wednesday December 6

Week 14 – Wednesday December 13

*Assignment summary table:*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Assignment** | **Summary** | **Weighting** | **Due date** |
| Class Participation | * Thoughtful commentary
* Readings
* Discussion guides
 | 30% of final grade | Throughout course |
| Assignment #1 | * Policy Reflection
 | 10% of final grade | Week 4-12 |
| Assignment #2 | * Policy Reflection
 | 10% of final grade | Week 4-12 |
| Assignment #3 | * Abstract
* Policy Memo + Presentation
 | 35% of final grade | Week 4Week 13 |
| Assignment #4 | * Reflection Essay
 | 15% of final grade | Week 14 |

## Learning Assessment Table

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Assignment** | **Learning Objective Covered** |
| **Participation + completion of readings + discussion guides** | **All** |
| **Policy reflection memos** | **1-6** |
| **Policy brief** | **3-8** |
| **Policy brief presentation** | **All, but especially 8** |
| **Personal reflection memo** | **2-6** |

**Letter Grades**

Letter grades for the entire course will be assigned as follows:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Letter Grade** | **Points** |
| **A** | 4.0 points |
| **A-** | 3.7 points |
| **B+** | 3.3 points |
| **B** | 3.0 points |
| **B-** | 2.7 points |
| **C+** | 2.3 points |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Letter Grade** | **Points** |
| **C** | 2.0 points |
| **C-** | 1.7 points |
| **F** | 0.0 points |

## Student grades will be assigned according to the following criteria:

* (A) Excellent: Exceptional work for a graduate student. Work at this level is unusually thorough, well-reasoned, creative, methodologically sophisticated, and well written. Work is of exceptional, professional quality.
* (A-) Very good: Very strong work for a graduate student. Work at this level shows signs of creativity, is thorough and well-reasoned, indicates strong understanding of appropriate methodological or analytical approaches, and meets professional standards.
* (B+) Good: Sound work for a graduate student; well-reasoned and thorough, methodologically sound. This is the graduate student grade that indicates the student has fully accomplished the basic objectives of the course.
* (B) Adequate: Competent work for a graduate student even though some weaknesses are evident. Demonstrates competency in the key course objectives but shows some indication that understanding of some important issues is less than complete. Methodological or analytical approaches used are adequate but student has not been thorough or has shown other weaknesses or limitations.
* (B-) Borderline: Weak work for a graduate student; meets the minimal expectations for a graduate student in the course. Understanding of salient issues is somewhat incomplete. Methodological or analytical work performed in the course is minimally adequate. Overall performance, if consistent in graduate courses, would not suffice to sustain graduate status in “good standing.”
* (C/-/+) Deficient: Inadequate work for a graduate student; does not meet the minimal expectations for a graduate student in the course. Work is inadequately developed or flawed by numerous errors and misunderstanding of important issues. Methodological or analytical work performed is weak and fails to demonstrate knowledge or technical competence expected of graduate students.
* (F) Fail: Work fails to meet even minimal expectations for course credit for a graduate student. Performance has been consistently weak in methodology and understanding, with serious limits in many areas. Weaknesses or limits are pervasive.

## Class Policies

*Academic Integrity*

Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and NYU. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by [Wagner’s Academic Code.](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/policies/code) All Wagner students have already read and signed the [Wagner Academic Oath.](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/policies/academic-oath) Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to me. If any student in this class is unsure about what is expected of you and how to abide by the academic code, you should consult with me.

*ChatGPT and other generative AI tools*

Ethical uses of ChatGPT, Bard, and other generative AI tools are permitted but [require](https://t.e2ma.net/click/ksma5g/4j5elg4/ob0c8k) [acknowledgment.](https://t.e2ma.net/click/ksma5g/4j5elg4/ob0c8k) I will provide specific guidance on how you can use these tools for each assignment. As a reminder, please review [Wagner’s Academic Integrity Policy,](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/policies/code) which is also mentioned separately on this syllabus.

[Examples of uses for your course: to generate ideas, for literature review and summaries, to correct and proofread text but not to draft it.]

The [policies of Wagner](https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/academic-integrity-for-students-at-nyu.html) require that you complete and submit your own work. If you use ChatGPT, Bard, and other generative AI tools in your work, you must cite them. If you don’t, this violates the school’s norms, and you will be held to the guidance outlined in [Wagner’s Academic Integrity](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/policies/code#sec-B1) [Policy.](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/policies/code#sec-B1)

*Absences*

If you will be absent to class or will arrive more than 15 minutes late to the zoom call, please email the professor. Accumulated absences may affect your participation grade. If you are feeling slightly unwell and would prefer not to attend class in person, please join the zoom session for the course. Zoom links will be sent out in advance of each class.

*NYU’s Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays*

[NYU’s Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays](https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/university-calendar-policy-on-religious-holidays.html) states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. Please notify me in advance of religious holidays that might coincide with exams to schedule mutually acceptable alternatives.

*The Wagner Writing Center*

One important skill this class seeks to cultivate is the clear and grounded articulation of ideas about development. If you would like additional support with the craft of writing, Wagner tutors are available to help students with their writing skills. Please see details at [https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/academics/advisement/writing-center.](https://wagner.nyu.edu/portal/students/academics/advisement/writing-center) This webpage has additional details on other useful resources, including NYU Writing Center and several links concerning plagiarism and how to cite properly.

The Wagner Writing Center offers: 1) excellent free skills-based non-credit workshops on writing, research, citations; 2) one-off lectures, co-curricular modules, online webinars and how-to guides; and 3) one-on-one coaching to help students throughout their writing process from idea generation, to outlining, forming effective arguments, and final draft polish. They do not edit. They coach. The Writing Center's goal is to help students improve writing overall.

*Research support*

The semester-long research assignment requires research beyond the readings assigned for the course. The NYU library system provides additional support for research using many different

kinds of data. For more information about these services, now offered remotely, please go to the guides link at Bobst library. Additionally, you may contact [Andrew Battista, Research Librarian for](https://library.nyu.edu/people/andrew-battista/) [Public Policy and Urban Planning at Bobst](https://library.nyu.edu/people/andrew-battista/) [https://library.nyu.edu/people/andrew-battista/.](https://library.nyu.edu/people/andrew-battista/)

*Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Students with Disabilities at NYU*

Academic accommodations are available for students with disabilities. Please visit the [Moses](https://www.nyu.edu/students/communities-and-groups/students-with-disabilities.html) [Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) website](https://www.nyu.edu/students/communities-and-groups/students-with-disabilities.html) and click on the Reasonable Accommodations and How to Register tab or call or email CSD at (212-998-4980 or mosescsd@nyu.edu) for information. Students who are requesting academic accommodations are strongly advised to reach out to the Moses Center as early as possible in the semester for assistance.

*Classroom Etiquette:*

It is crucial that the tone of exchange of ideas and impressions, in class discussion as well as outside the classroom in conversations on the class forum, remain respectful, constructive, and inclusive at all times. This norm will be strenuously enforced, and anyone who violates this norm will be asked to leave the conversation, regardless of whether that conversation is in person, in a zoom classroom meeting, in asynchronous formats online, or through email.

## Readings for the course – where to find them:

**Books**: This course is organized around books purposefully. Book-length narratives provide the complexity and nuance that will allow us to get beyond convention wisdom and broad political statements about migration. Most of the books for this course are available on-line through the NYU library. Selections for the books that are unavailable online will be posted on the NYU Brightspace site for the course, and the books will be placed on reserve at Bobst Library. *Links for online books and information about hardcover books can be found on the NYU Brightspace page under “More Tools * *Course Reserves.”*

**Articles**: If a link to the article is not provided in the syllabus, the articles can be found on NYU Brightspace under the content window for that class week.

**Trending articles/videos/op-eds:** these will be posted to the Discussion section of NYU Brightspace during the week prior to class session they pertain to, in the forum for that week. You are encouraged to review them before class. The goal is to connect the analysis of migration themes to debates about migration happening currently in the political sphere.

The instructor will populate this section, but this section is also a space for crowdsourcing. Students are encouraged to suggest and share articles from the press on the themes covered each week, and especially to offer commentary on the policy and current events that are shared.

*Books – where to find them:*

*Links for online books and information about hardcover books can be found on the NYU Brightspace page under “More Tools * *Course Reserves.”*

* Blue, E., 2021. *The Deportation Express: A History of America through Forced Removal*. Univ of California Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Cox, Adam and Cristina M. Rodriguez. 2020. *The President and Immigration Law.* New York and London: Oxford University Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* De León, J., 2015. *The land of open graves: Living and dying on the migrant trail.* Univ of California Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Gowayed, H., 2022. *Refuge: How the state shapes human potential*. Princeton University Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Hahamovitch, C., 2011. *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*. Princeton University Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Hayden, S., 2023. *My Fourth Time, We Drowned: Seeking Refuge on the World's Deadliest Migration Route.* Melville House. *On reserve at Bobst. Also available through Bobst online as an audiobook.*
* Kelly, John. 2012. The graves are walking: the Great Famine and the saga of the Irish People: Macmillan. *Selections available through course site. Other options for full manuscript available at* [*MacMillan Publishers.*](https://us.macmillan.com/books/9780805095630) *The book is also on reserve at Bobst.*
* Lee, Erika. 2003. *At America's gates: Chinese immigration during the exclusion era, 1882- 1943.* Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Muñiz, A., 2022. *Borderland Circuitry: Immigration Surveillance in the United States and Beyond.* Univ of California Press. *Available online through the NYU libraries system.*
* Villavicencio, K.C., 2021. *The Undocumented Americans*. One World. *On reserve at Bobst.*
* Vince, G., 2022. *Nomad century: how climate migration will reshape our world*. Flatiron Books. *On reserve at Bobst.*

# Course outline:

##  Introduction: Immigration Policy Past and Present

Week 1—

## How migration policy affects lives, loves, and families: The consequences and logic of immigration controls

What are the main concerns that have driven migration and migration policy over the past century?

*Readings due:*

Rodriguez, S. and Macias, E., 2023. “Even Being a Citizen Is Not a Privilege Here”: Undocumented Latinx Immigrant Youth and Perceptions of Racialized

Citizenship. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity,* 9(1), pp.21-36.

*Readings suggested:*

Villavicencio, K.C., 2021. *The Undocumented Americans*. One World.

Week 2—

## The bureaucratic border: The immigration restrictions implemented under the Trump administration

How have the administrative and policy changes implemented during the Trump and Biden presidencies transformed or reinforced the US immigration system? Which policies represent a break from past practice and which policies are a continuation?

*Screening due:*

Clusiau, Christina and Shaul Schwarz*. 2020.* [*Immigration Nation.*](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X_xVKy58Yuw) *Reel Peak Films. On Netflix. (I will schedule a screening via zoom for those who do not have Netflix). The documentary has six episodes.* ***Please watch episode 1 and at least one other episode.***

*Optional reading:*

Pierce, Sarah and Jessica Bolter. 2020. [Dismantling and Reconstructing the U.S.](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPI_US-Immigration-Trump-Presidency-Final.pdf) [Immigration System: A Catalog of Changes under the Trump Presidency.](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPI_US-Immigration-Trump-Presidency-Final.pdf) Migration Policy Institute. Washington D.C. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPI\_US-Immigration-](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPI_US-Immigration-Trump-Presidency-Final.pdf) [Trump-Presidency-Final.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPI_US-Immigration-Trump-Presidency-Final.pdf)

##  Immigration Policy Paradox: The Benefits of Immigration and the Violence of Exclusion

Week 3—

## Prevention through deterrence: the policy of designing and using violence to prevent migration

How does the policy of prevention through deterrence enlist geography, remoteness, and natural hazards to prevent border crossings? How does immigration policy use the fragility of the human body to enforce borders and what does this mean for the definition of the nation, national territory, and sovereignty? What are the roles of different branches of government and different local and national policies in making border control a site of state violence?

*Readings due:*

De León, J., 2015. *The land of open graves: Living and dying on the migrant trail.* Univ of California Press.

Week 4—

## Global strategies for prevention through deterrence: the outsourcing border control to countries of the global south

How has the policy of prevention through deterrence become globalized? What are the policy measures through which border control has been outsourced and how have these policy measures been implemented? What new institutions have been created and what new roles for existing national and international government actors have been defined? How does the violence of this policy redefine geopolitics, development, and geography?

*Readings due:*

Hayden, S., 2023. *My Fourth Time, We Drowned: Seeking Refuge on the World's Deadliest Migration Route.* Melville House.

Week 5—

## The economic and social benefits of immigration to immigrants, their children, and receiving countries

What are the benefits of immigration and how do they compare with the impact of immigration in the past? How does the use of quantitative and longitudinal data help us track the impact of immigration, and what does it miss? How do we explain the contradiction between the empirical research on immigration and current policy directions? What kind of political and policy intervention would be required to bring policy and governance practices in line with the evidence?

*Readings due:*

Abramitzky, R. and Boustan, L., 2022. *Streets of gold: America's untold story of immigrant success*. Hachette UK.

##  Future Anxieties and Planning for the Future: Climate Change and Migration

Week 6—

## The impact of climate change on migration and on migration narratives

How will climate change shape migration and how will migration shape our understanding of and adaptation to climate change? How will climate change shape our understandings and stories about the nation – national imaginaries? What is the relationship between current evidence and informed prediction and the development of policy around climate change and migration? How does the assumption of stasis – that not migrating is the “normal” and “desired” state of affairs – shape research and policy on climate change migration?

*Readings due:*

Vince, G., 2022. *Nomad century: how climate migration will reshape our world*. Flatiron Books.

Mitchell, K., 2010. Pre‐black futures. *The Point is to Change it: Geographies of Hope and Survival in an Age of Crisis*, pp.239-261.

Week 7—

## The history of migration, ecological disasters, and the making of cities

How are emergent climate change pressures creating new waves of migration? How are the pressures refracted through institutional structures, and does this matter for their effect on migration dynamics? Are these pressures new?

*Readings due:*

Kelly, John. 2012. *The graves are walking: the Great Famine and the saga of the Irish People*: Macmillan.

Iskander, N., 2023. America's arrival city: how immigration made New York and how immigrant exclusion almost destroyed it: commentary on “Global commerce, immigration and diversity: a New York story” by Philip Kasinitz. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pp.1-10.

##  The Making of Immigration Governance and Bureaucracies

Week 8—

## Immigration policy design and implementation: the U.S. political structure and process

What are the roles of different branches of government in making immigration policy? How has immigration policy shaped the powers of different branches of government? What does this mean for the design, implementation, and retraction of immigration policy measures?

*Readings due:*

Cox, Adam and Cristina M. Rodriguez. 2020. *The President and Immigration Law.* New York and London: Oxford University Press.

Week 9—

## Selective exclusion and security concerns

What are the justifications used to exclude certain groups of immigrants and what are the criteria used to determine exclusion (race, religion, class)? To what extent does the implementation of exclusionary immigration policies foster the development of bureaucracies and policies design to surveil and control residents, citizens and non-citizens alike?

*Readings due:*

Lee, Erika. 2003. *At America's gates: Chinese immigration during the exclusion era, 1882- 1943*. Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press.

Katyal, N.K., 2018. Trump v. Hawaii: How the Supreme Court Simultaneously Overturned and Revived Korematsu. *Yale LJF*, *128*, p.641.

##  The Technologies and Infrastructures of Border Control

Week 10—

## Information Technology, Artificial Intelligence, and Surveillance as Bordering

How have new technologies redefined immigration policies and bureaucracies? How have they redrawn and replaced the border? How have transformed the significance of detention and freedom, of asylum and legal rights to mobility? What impact do they have on broader notions of belonging and citizenship when deployed for immigration enforcement?

*Readings due:*

Muñiz, A., 2022. *Borderland Circuitry: Immigration Surveillance in the United States and Beyond.* Univ of California Press.

Kocher, Austin. 2023. "Glitches in the Digitization of Asylum: How CBP One Turns Migrants’ Smartphones into Mobile Borders" *Societies* 13, no. 6: 149. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13060149

Week 11—

## Legacy technologies and infrastructure and the transformation of immigration enforcement

What was the historical relationship between technologies that were new then and the transformation of immigration enforcement? How did the type of innovation drive the development of immigration bureaucracies and what kind of possibility for immigration policy did it create? How did new technologies shape the experience of migration and mobility for immigrants and non-immigrants alike?

*Readings due:*

Blue, E., 2021. *The Deportation Express: A History of America through Forced Removal*. Univ of California Press.

##  The Rights of Immigrants and the Rights of Workers

Week 12—

## Immigration policy and the making of deportable labor

How has immigration policy shaped the rights of workers, both immigrant and non- immigrant? How has immigration policy and enforcement impacted the structure of the labor market and the economic benefits of immigration? What is the relationship between the organization of production, industry practices, and immigration enforcement? How has deportability impacted the political voice of workers and why does this matter political and economically?

*Readings due:*

Hahamovitch, C., 2011. *No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*. Princeton University Press.

Canizales, S.L., 2023. Work primacy and the social incorporation of unaccompanied, undocumented Latinx youth in the United States. *Social Forces*, *101*(3), pp.1372-1395.

*Optional*: Gowayed, H., 2022. *Refuge: How the state shapes human potential*. Princeton University Press.

Iskander, N. N. 2019. On Detention and Skill: Reflections on Immigrant Incarceration, Bodying Practices, and the Definition of Skill. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(9), 1370- 1388.

##  The Way Forward

Week 13—

## Student team policy brief presentations

Week 14—

## Reflections and Synthesis

Is everything old new again? What are the enduring patterns of immigration policy making and enforcement in the United States? What are the possibilities for policy change? What are the implications for global migration policy making?