

***THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION:
THE UNITED STATES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE***

***Political Science 150A – Winter Quarter 2002
Tuesday, 5:00-7:50 pm, Copley International Conference Center Auditorium***

Professor Wayne Cornelius
wcorneli@ucsd.edu

Graduate Teaching Assistants:

Kathryn Baltensperger
kbaltensperger@hotmail.com

Peter York
pyork@weber.ucsd.edu

Synopsis

This course explores the origins and consequences of attempts by the United States and other industrialized countries to control inflows of immigrant workers and political refugees. Why is it so difficult for the governments of these countries to reduce “unwanted” immigration and refugee flows? What are the consequences – intended and unintended – of immigration control policies? What are governments doing (or not doing) to integrate immigrants – socially, culturally, and politically – into their societies? In this course, we will:

- ?? critically examine the assumptions made by public officials and members of the general public about why people migrate across international borders.
- ?? explore why the economies of the U.S. and other major labor-importing countries “demand” immigrant workers.
- ?? examine the way in which international migration is organized and facilitated by professional people-smugglers.
- ?? assess the effectiveness of a various policy instruments for controlling “unwanted” immigration: stronger border enforcement, penalties against employers who hire illegal immigrants, denial of social services to immigrants, temporary (“guest”) worker programs, and trade and development assistance to labor-exporting countries.
- ?? examine the actual performance of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan in controlling immigration from the early 1980s to the present.
- ?? discuss how international migration creates political, economic, and cultural ties between sending and receiving areas, and how daily life and concepts of citizenship and identity in both sending and receiving communities are transformed by international migration.
- ?? analyze how general publics in immigrant-receiving countries respond to the immigration phenomenon. (How is public opinion toward immigrants and immigration policy formed?)

- ?? consider how international migrants participate in the politics of host countries, focusing on the participation of Latino and Asian immigrants to the U.S. in recent elections and in labor unions.

Requirements

1. There will be an in-class mid-term and a take-home final examination. The mid-term will be an open-book, open-notes exam that require you to integrate what you have learned from the lectures, readings, videos, and class discussions. The final will be an essay-type exam that will enable you to demonstrate your command of all material presented in the course.
2. You will be expected to attend all class sessions, in their entirety. Late arrivals and early departures from class are acceptable only by prior approval of one of the graduate teaching assistants.
3. You should come to class prepared to participate actively in the discussions that will follow lectures, having done the assigned readings and read at least one daily newspaper that has extensive coverage of immigration issues (e.g., *San Diego Union-Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*).

Grading

Course grades will be determined as follows: mid-term exam, 40%; final exam, 60%.

Schedule for Exams and Make-up Session

The mid-term exam will be on February 12 at the regular class time. The take-home final examination will be distributed at the end of class on March 12 and will be due on the day and at the time specified by the Registrar for the final exam in this course. Final exams are to be turned in at the reception desk of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, on the ground floor of the Institute of the Americas Building (opposite RIMAC, but take the stairs down to the plaza level and enter the building from the ground floor). If you are unsure of the location, go to this website: www.ccis-ucsd.org, then to "Directions." It will not be possible to arrange any other times to take these exams.

Office Hours

Office hours for Professor Cornelius will be on Mondays from 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m., in room 105 of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, ground floor of the Institute of the Americas Building (adjacent to RIMAC and the Graduate School of International Relations). To avoid long waits during office hours, it is recommended that you send an e-mail message a day or two in advance to Ms. Kris Pelton, kpelton@ucsd.edu, requesting a specific time. She will confirm a meeting time for you. Office hours for the Graduate Teaching Assistants will be posted at the first class meeting.

Texts

The following paperback books should be purchased at the UCSD Bookstore:

- ?? Andreas, Peter, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).
- ?? Cornelius, Wayne A., Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995). [N.B.: All royalties from the sale of this book go to the UCSD Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, for its revolving publications fund]
- ?? Fitzgerald, David, *Negotiating Extra-Territorial Citizenship: Mexican Migration and the Transnational Politics of Community* (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, UCSD, Monograph No. 2).

There is also a *COURSE READER* that must be purchased from the representative of University Readers, Inc. who will be present at the beginning of the first and second class meetings.

Required Readings

Unit 1 (January 8-15): Terms of the Immigration Debate in the United States

George J. Borjas, *Heaven's Gate: Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 3-18.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "A Close Look at the Newest Newcomers," *Wall Street Journal*, September 28, 1999.

Rebecca Rajman and Marta Tienda, "Immigrants' Socioeconomic Progress Post-1965: Forging Mobility or Survival," pp. 239-256 in Charles Hirschman, et al., *The Handbook of International Migration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999).

David M. Kennedy, "Can We Still Afford to be a Nation of Immigrants?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 278, No. 5 (November 1996), pp. 52-68.

Gregory Rodríguez, "Forging a New Vision of America's Melting Pot," *The New York Times*, February 11, 2001.

Philip Martin and Susan Martin, "Immigration and Terrorism," unpublished paper, October 4, 2001.

Video to be shown in class, January 8: William Langewiesche, "Go Back to Mexico!" (PBS Frontline, 1996)

Unit 2 (January 22): Why Do People Migrate Internationally? -- Alternative Theories

Peter Stalker, *The Work of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration* (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1994), pp. 21-39.

Mark S. Reisler, "Recruitment of Mexican Labor: The Early Phase, 1900-1916," in Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), pp. 3-23.

Roger Waldinger, "Social Capital or Social Closure?--Immigrant Networks in the Labor Market," Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, UCLA, Working Paper No. 26 (1997), pp. 1-11.

Wayne A. Cornelius, "Labor Migration to the United States: Development Outcomes and Alternatives in Mexican Sending Communities," in Sergio Díaz-Briquets and Sidney Weintraub, eds., *Regional and Sectoral Development in Mexico as Alternatives to Migration* (Boulder, Col.: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 91-131.

Unit 3 (January 29): Explaining the Demand for Immigrants in the U.S. and Other Labor-Importing Countries

Andreas, *Border Games*, pp. 15-39.

John Salt and Jeremy Stein, "Migration as a Business: The Case of Trafficking," *International Migration*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1997), pp. 467-491.

Wayne A. Cornelius, "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor," in Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, *Crossings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 115-155.

Roger Waldinger and Jennifer Lee, "New Immigrants in Urban America," in Roger Waldinger, ed., *Strangers at the Gate: New Immigrants in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 30-79.

Video to be shown in class: Katharine Collins, "Resettling the West: Mexicans in Wyoming" (2001)

Unit 4 (February 5): Controlling Immigration: The U.S. Experience

Andreas, *Border Games*, chapters 1, 2, 5.

Wayne A. Cornelius, "Appearances and Realities: Controlling Illegal Immigration in the United States," in Myron Weiner and Tadashi Hanami, eds., *Temporary Workers or Future Citizens—Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 384-427.

Philip L. Martin and Michael S. Teitelbaum, "The Mirage of Mexican Guest Workers," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 6 (November-December 2001), pp. 117-131.

Unit 4 (February 19): Controlling Immigration: The European Experience

Andreas, *Border Games*, chapter 6.

Cornelius, et al., *Controlling Immigration*, chapters 5, 6, 8, 10.

Unit 5 (February 26): Controlling Immigration: The Japanese Experience

Cornelius, et al., *Controlling Immigration*, chapter 11.

Takeyuki Tsuda, "The Permanence of 'Temporary' Migration: The Structural Embeddedness of Japanese-Brazilian Immigrant Workers in Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 58, No. 3 (August 1999), pp. 687-722.

Katherine Tegtmeyer Pak, "Foreigners Are Local Citizens, Too: Local Governments Respond to International Migration in Japan," in Mike Douglass and Glenda Roberts, eds., *Japan and Global Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 244-274.

Video to be shown in class: Ann Kaneko, "Overstay" (1999)

Unit 6 (March 5): General Public Responses to Immigration in the U.S. and Other Immigrant-Receiving Countries

Rita J. Simon and James P. Lynch, "A Comparative Assessment of Public Opinion Toward Immigrants and Immigration Policies," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 455-467.

Karin MacDonald and Bruce E. Cain, "Nativism, Partisanship, and Immigration: An Analysis of Proposition 187," in Michael B. Preston, et al., eds., *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California, Vol. II* (Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, UC-Berkeley, 1998), pp. 277-304.

Rainer Bauböck, "Immigration Control Without Integration Policy: An Austrian Dilemma," in Grete Brochmann and Tomas Hammar, eds., *Mechanisms of Immigration Control: A Comparative Analysis of European Regulation Policies* (Oxford, U.K.: Berg, 1999), pp. 97-134.

Unit 7 (March 12): Immigrants as Political Participants in Sending and Receiving Countries

Fitzgerald, *Negotiating Extra-Territorial Citizenship* – entire.

S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Thomas J. Espenshade, "Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation in the United States," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Fall 2001), pp. 870-895.

Ruth Milkman, ed., *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 1-11.