

## **PPD 686: U.S. Immigration Policy**

Syllabus Fall 2015

Section 51226R

2:00 to 5:20 pm, Wednesday, VKC 260

Instructor: Roberto Suro

Office: ASC332c

Email: [suro@usc.edu](mailto:suro@usc.edu)

Office hours: Mondays 2 to 6: 30pm and additional times on request. Appointments preferred.

**What immigration strategy best serves U.S. national interests today?**

**How does that strategy translate into policies at the federal, state and local level?**

The basic project of this course will be for students to develop their own answers to both those questions. It will be an effort in applied policy studies. The approach will be intensely interdisciplinary, drawing ideas and information from multiple sources in the social sciences, policy-making, advocacy and journalism. The perspective on immigration will be as a phenomenon that is both international and domestic, that affects multiple aspects of national and community life from the labor market to law enforcement and that presents an array of policy challenges far more numerous and complex than simply deciding who gets a visa. The course will unfold against the backdrop of important ongoing debates about immigration in the United States and Western Europe that we will monitor throughout the term.

The semester is roughly divided into three segments: The first five sessions will be spent reviewing history, theory and basic data. In particular we will focus on three overarching policy challenges: selection, control and integration. The next five classes will focus on specific policy mechanisms that play major roles in U.S. policy debates. The last three sessions will take on some broader themes again and expand horizons to engage immigration issues from a transnational and global perspective. The final class session will be devoted to the capstone project.

Beyond the subject matter, a major objective of this course will be the development of communications skills appropriate to a professional policy analyst. This goal will be pursued through several different types of classroom presentations, frequent blogging and the production of three memos that will be the major written assignments for the course.

### **Learning objectives**

- 1) Become knowledgeable about some of the key social science theories and research findings about migration and apply those lessons to policy analysis.

- 2) Develop a detailed understanding of current controversies in U.S. immigration policies and their historical antecedents.
- 3) Explore the emerging challenges faced by Western democracies seeking to balance migration control and the acquisition of human capital.
- 4) Develop skills in arguing from evidence. Students will practice the use of data and other research findings as instruments of persuasion.
- 5) Develop skills in the art of framing and coupling--defining a policy challenge so that the proposed solution seems to flow from it.
- 6) Developing skills in writing short.

### Course notes

- All class sessions will follow the same format.
  - Each class will begin with a 15 to 20 minute discussion of the news blog.
  - Over the course of the next hour the instructor will lecture or will interview a guest speaker.
  - There will be a 15 minute break no later than 3:30
  - Students will complete two classroom activities each lasting about an hour. These activities will include seminars and debates based on previously assigned readings. Data exercises. Student presentations assigned in advance. Peer review of previous assignments and collaborative work on upcoming assignments.
- Students will not be permitted to use laptops, tablets or smartphones during lectures or interviews with guest speakers. All students must be prepared to take notes by hand for all class sessions.
- Active and continuous engagement in classroom activities is an essential aspect of the coursework. The instructor will monitor and evaluate the degree and the quality of each student's participation.
- Grading for this course will be on the standard USC letter grade system.
- Blackboard (BB) will serve as the sole point of official communication from the instructor to students. Updates and advisories regarding class activities and assignments will be disseminated via Blackboard. Students will be responsible for daily monitoring the email address associated with them on Blackboard.
- Most readings will be posted on Blackboard along with all other instructional materials such as PowerPoint presentations used in lectures and handouts. Other readings will be posted on the USC Libraries electronic course reserve system, ARES, or will be distributed in class.
- All written assignments must be submitted through the specific utility created for that assignment on BB. No assignments will be accepted through any other medium, including email. Other than blog posts, all written assignments must be submitted as a word processor document. Assignments submitted in Portable Document Format (pdf) will not be accepted.
- Any student unable to complete an assignment on schedule must seek an extension from the instructor via email prior to the assignment deadline.

Extensions will be granted only under specific circumstances such as illness, family emergencies or unexpected professional obligations. A late assignment will be penalized by half a grade over the first 24 hours and a full grade thereafter. The instructor will not notify students that assignments are late; BB will. Penalties will accrue on the clock for unexcused late assignments.

- Every student is expected to come to the instructor's office hours twice during the term. The first visit should take place prior to October 7 which is the mid-way point of the course. The second will provide an occasion to discuss the final policy memo.
- Students should assume that all written work may be shared with the rest of the class for critique and discussion.

## Written Assignments

With the exception of the News Blog all of the written assignments for this course will be in the form of a memorandum. One of the major objectives of this course is to hone skills in the preparation of communications for use in non-academic settings in which professionals are working to influence, make or execute public policy. Students will receive very precise instructions on the form and content of each written assignment. All assignments will be discussed extensively in class both before and after execution. Every assignment will be subject to peer review by other members of the class in addition to evaluation by the instructor, and students will have the opportunity to revise every assignment.

Three key tasks will be at the heart of every assignment: The written work in this course is meant to be terse and persuasive. It will develop skills in synthesizing evidence from several sources. It will test abilities to advocate and analyze. Students should assume they are addressing a motivated, intelligent but non-scholarly audience, an audience with a short attention span. Think in terms of the board of directors of a foundation, an agency head, or senior staff of a congressional committee.

While the goal is to produce documents meant for a professional setting, students will be obliged to substantiate and attribute every claim, every data point, every historical fact, every idea that is not their own. This will be accomplished through the very extensive use of endnotes. Indeed, the notes may well be longer than the documents themselves. The Chicago Manual of Style will serve as the class standard for the format of references. Endnotes will not be counted against the assigned lengths of the memos.

Students will receive an initial evaluation from the instructor on the first draft of every memo. The assignments will then be discussed in class and will be subject to a peer review. Students will then have an opportunity to revise the memo according to a timetable that will be determined by the instructor. The grade on the assignment will be based on the final version of the memo submitted.

Memos will be graded primarily according to whether the work responds to the terms of the assignment both in content and form. Each assignment will be discussed extensively in class before students start writing, and there will be

abundant opportunities for students to discuss assignments in person with the instructor. Hence it will be the student's responsibility to ensure they fully understand the terms of the assignment.

In evaluating all student work and especially the memos, argumentation and substantiation will be weighed in equal measures. In other words analytical findings are only as good as the evidence presented to support them. A great deal of time will be spent on developing skills in linking the two.

Failure to provide adequate attribution via endnotes will result in the deduction of a half grade or a full grade depending on the severity of the issue.

Students are responsible for presenting written work with proper spelling and grammar. The instructor will note deficiencies but not correct them. Errors in spelling and grammar will result in a penalty of a half grade or a full grade depending on the severity of the offense.

### ***Memo 1: Research Brief***

Each student will write a 1,000 word memo summarizing the findings and policy relevance of a research paper and will then present that summary in a five to seven minute presentation in class. The instructor will provide a list of potential papers for this exercise and students will be free to nominate their own. The papers will be journal articles or think tank reports that focus on empirical findings. This assignment requires a succinct summary of the researcher's credentials, methodology and results but that will not be sufficient. The key to the memo will be formulating an argument about the relevance of the research to a specific point of policy.

All of the memos will be due on September 23. Students' classroom presentations will then be staggered across the rest of the term according to a schedule determined by the instructor. For each presentation two students additional students will be assigned to read the underlying paper as well as the memo and will then lead questioning and discussion that will follow the presentations.

### ***Memo 2: Advocacy Memo***

Each student will write a 1,500 memo on the topic of temporary workers. As assigned by the instructor, students will assume the role of an analyst for a major actor in the immigration policy debate—a labor union federation, a corporate umbrella group, immigrant rights advocates, etc. The assignment will be to make recommendations on how to improve on the temporary workers program in the reform legislation passed by the Senate in 2013. The first step will be to assess the status quo and how it would have changed under the Senate bill. Then students will explain how the changes would work to the advantage or disadvantage of their client and offer suggestions on future advocacy. This is an exercise in understanding how various interest groups develop widely differing positions on the details of a single immigration policy issue. Temporary workers will be the topic of the class session on September 30 and students working in teams will have a chance to

discuss and test ideas on the positions held by interest groups in that class session and the following week. The memos will be due October 14.

### ***Memo 3: Full Policy Memo***

The course capstone project will be a package of policy memos covering most of the major controversies surrounding U.S. immigration policy. Our objective will be to cover enough topics well enough to spend the final class session discussing a comprehensive set of recommendations that could be presented to a presidential candidate. The class will collectively develop a list of pertinent topics, and students will be free to choose their focus—subject to the instructor’s approval—while keeping the overall objective in mind. More than one student can write on the same topic, particularly if they focus on different policy mechanisms or take different points of view, but generally the class will benefit if students tackle a broad array of topics.

The target length for the full policy memo will be 5,000 words. This will include a one-page executive summary and other components that will be discussed extensively in class. The first task will involve assessing current policies on a major topic, e.g. detention and removal of criminal aliens, high-skilled temporary worker programs, the use of physical barriers on the border etc. The key research challenge will involve formulating an evaluation of those policies and their implementation. Students will then weigh the major controversies regarding alternative policies and make recommendations for future action.

These memos will advocate for specific policy options based on a research-based diagnosis of a problem and an analysis of alternative solutions already available in existing policy debates. Students should not attempt to devise new policy mechanisms. This is not an exercise in innovation. There are three key elements to this assignment: the use of evidence, the definition of the problem and of the desired outcomes and the argumentation in favor of the proposed solutions. The format for the policy memos will be discussed in detail in class.

### ***News Blog***

Immigration policy is hot topic in the U.S. presidential campaign and may be on Congressional agenda as well. Meanwhile, a migration emergency of historic proportions is unfolding in the Mediterranean and across Europe, and Southeast Asia is contending with the Rohingya refugee crisis. We will spend part of every class session, typically the first 15 or 20 minutes, assessing recent events in the context of the concepts, findings and frameworks we are developing in the course. And, we will refer back to these events as relevant throughout our discussions. To keep track of events and provide a basis for class discussions, students will maintain a group blog about relevant developments. Moreover, the blog serves as a vehicle for students to set the agenda for class discussions.

Blog posts should be brief (100 to 200 words) comments on a news article, the release of a report or study, a speech or the announcement of a proposal, etc. Ideally, the posts should seek to provoke classroom conversation by raising a

question or suggesting a connection to a concept that has come up elsewhere in the course. Posts should always include a link to a relevant news item or document.

Comments on posts can be even briefer (50 to 100 words) and can comprise an observation or an argument or a link to an additional development that furthers discussion of a post.

Students will be responsible for originating eight posts and seven comments. Posts will follow a schedule set by the instructor.

All students should be prepared to discuss the latest traffic on the blog at every class session.

### Grading

Class Participation	15
News Blog	15
Memo 1- written presentation	10
Memo 2	20
Memo 3	30
Total	100

### Class Schedule and Readings:

Notes:

--Invitations are pending with several guest speakers, and the order of classes may be changed to accommodate them.

--All readings will be posted to BB unless otherwise indicated. ARES is the USC Libraries electronic course reserve.

--Instructors will post weekly memos on BB posing questions and making suggestions to guide reading.

### August 26: Introduction to the course

### September 2: U.S. Immigration Policy Frameworks and Immigration Theory

Half the class (TBD) each:

- Massey, D.S., et al. "[Theories Of International Migration - A Review and Appraisal.](#)" *Population and Development Review* 19.3 (1993): 431-66.
- Castles, Stephen et al. "Chapter 2: Theories of Migration." In *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. 2014. Fifth Edition. Guilford: London (ARES)

Everyone:

- Martin, Phillip L. et al. "Chapter 2: The United States." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* edited by James F. Hollifield et al. 2014. Third Edition. Stanford U. Press: Stanford. (ARES)

### **September 9: The Challenge of Selection**

- Massey, Douglas S. "America's Immigration Policy Fiasco: Learning from Past Mistakes." 2013 Daedalus. American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- Hollifield, James F. "[The Emerging Migration State.](#)" *International Migration Review* 38.3 (2004): 885-912.
- "Modernizing & Streamlining Our Legal Immigration System for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." The White House. July 2015
- Wasem, Ruth Ellen. "U.S. Immigration Policy on Permanent Admissions." Congressional Research Service. RL32235. April 1, 2010

### **September 16: The Challenge of Control**

- Tichenor, David J. "The Politics of Immigration Control." Chapter 2 of *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, 2002. (ARES)
- Ngai, Mae M. "Introduction –Illegal Aliens: A Problem of Law and History" pp. 1 – 14. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton U.P. 2004. [Available as an e-book through the USC Library]
- --Meissner, Doris et al. "[Immigration Enforcement in the U.S.: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery.](#)" Migration Policy Institute, 2013.

### **September 23: The Challenge of Integration**

- Bean, Frank D. and Gillian Stevens. "[The New Immigrants and Theories of Incorporation.](#)" in *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*. Russell Sage Foundation. (2003)
- Schumacher-Matos, Edward. "Consensus, Debate and Wishful Thinking: The Economic Impact of Immigration." in *Writing Immigration*, Suarez-Orozco et al. eds. (2011) (ARES)
- Chiswick, Barry R. "The Top Ten Myths and Fallacies Regarding Immigration." in *Writing Immigration*, Suarez-Orozco et al. eds. (2011) (ARES)
- Waters, Mary C. "Debating Immigration: Are We Addressing the Right Issues?" in *Writing Immigration*, Suarez-Orozco et al. eds. (2011) (ARES)

### **September 30: Temporary Workers**

- Theodore, Nik and Eric. A Ruark "Temporary Workers" in Debates on U.S. Immigration. Gans, Judith et al eds. Sage. 2012. [Available as an e-book through the USC Library also pdf on BB]

- Motomura, Hiroshi. "Designing Temporary Worker Programs." The University of Chicago *Law Review*. 263-88, February 12, 2013.
- Meyers, Deborah Waller. [Temporary Worker Programs: A Patchwork Policy Response](#). Migration Policy Institute. January 2006
- Bruno, Andorra. [Immigration: Policy Considerations Related to Guest Worker Programs](#). Congressional Research Service. RL32044. March 16, 2010

### **October 7: Integration as a Municipal Strategy**

- Executive Order 13166: ["Improving Access to Services for Persons with Limited English Proficiency"](#) Federal Interagency Website on LEP
- Omdivar, Ratna et al. ["Practice to Policy: Lessons from Local Leadership on Immigrant Integration."](#) The Maytree Foundation. 2012.
- Turner, Kim et al. ["United States: Good Ideas from Successful Cities."](#) The Maytree Foundation.
- Benton M. et al. ["Into the Mainstream: Rethinking Public Services for Diverse and Mobile Populations."](#) Migration Policy Institute. June 2015.

### **October 14: Enforcement and Legalization**

- Rosenblum, Marc R. ["U.S. Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform."](#) Migration Policy Institute. (2011)
- Suro, Roberto. "The Power of the Latino Vote: Instant History, Media Narratives, and Policy Frameworks," in *Hidden Lives and Human Rights in America: Understanding the Controversies and Tragedies of Undocumented Migration*," Ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen, 2014, Praeger Press, New York
- Tichenor, David J. ["Navigating an American Minefield: The Politics of Illegal Immigration."](#) Forum-A Journal Of Applied Research In Contemporary Politics 7.3 (2009).
- Kim, Sung Min and Carrie Budoff Brown. "How Immigration Reform Died." June 27, 2014. Politico.
- Motomura, Hiroshi. Introduction and Chapter 1. *Immigration Outside the Law*. Oxford. 2014. (ARES)

### **October 21: Immigration Federalism**

- Suro, Roberto. ["California Dreaming: The New Dynamism in Immigration Federalism and Opportunities for Inclusion on a Variegated Landscape."](#) Journal on Migration and Human Security. January, 2015
- Ramakrishnan, Karthick and Allan Colbern. ["The California Package: Immigrant Integration and the Evolving Nature of State Citizenship."](#) Policy Matters. UC Riverside School of Public Policy. Vol 3. Issue 3 Spring 2015
- Motomura. Chapter 2 (ARES)

--Passel, Jeffrey S. et al. "As Growth Stalls, Unauthorized Immigrant Population Becomes More Settled." 2014. Pew Research Center.

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/09/03/as-growth-stalls-unauthorized-immigrant-population-becomes-more-settled/>

--Blackboard file: Documents and news coverage related to President Obama's 2014 executive action on immigration.

### **October 28: High Skilled Migration**

- Sumption, Madeline and Claire Bergeron. [Remaking the US Green Card System: Legal Immigration under the Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act of 2013](#). Issue Brief. Migration Policy Institute. June 2013
- Bergeron, Claire. [Going to the Back of the Line: A Primer on Lines, Visa Categories and Wait Times](#). Issue Brief. Migration Policy Institute. March 2013
- Haines, David and Madeline Sumption. "Legal Immigration Selection System" in Debates on U.S. Immigration. Gans, Judith et al eds. Sage. 2012. [Available as an e-book through the USC Library also pdf on BB]
- Immigration Policy Center. "Defining 'Desirable' Immigrants: What Lies Beneath the Proposed Merit-Based Point System?" May 2013
- Hacker, Andrew. "[The Frenzy About High-Tech Talent](#)." The New York Review of Books. July, 2015.

### **November 4: Public Opinion, the Media and the Social Impact of Immigration**

- Suro, Roberto. "Promoting Stalemate: The Media and U.S. Policy on Migration" in Migration, Public Opinion and Politics. The Transatlantic Council on Migration and the Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2010, Güttersloh ( pp.185-221)
- Suro, Roberto. "The Power of the Latino Vote: Instant History, Media Narratives, and Policy Frameworks," in *Hidden Lives and Human Rights in America: Understanding the Controversies and Tragedies of Undocumented Migration*," Ed. Lois Ann Lorentzen, 2014, Praeger Press, New York
- Westen, Drew. "Immigrating from Facts to Values: Political Rhetoric in the U.S. Immigration Debate." Migration Policy Institute. 2009
- Lakoff, George and Sam Ferguson. "The Framing of Immigration." May 22, 2006.
- Lake, Celinda, Frank Sharry et al. New Messaging on Immigration: How to talk about immigrants in America. (Messaging strategy memo for advocates of Comprehensive Immigration Reform) 2012

### **November 11: The Mobility Agenda: Migration and Development**

- Mukand, Sharun. International Migration, Politics and Culture: the Case for Greater Labour Mobility. CAGE-Chatham House. October 2012

- United Nations Human Development Programme (UNDP) “Overcoming barriers: Human Mobility and Development.” Human Development Report 2009
- De Haas, Hein. “Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective.” *International Migration Review*. Vol 44. Is. 1 Spring 2010
- Alonso, Jose Antonio. “[International Migration and Development: A Review in Light of the Crisis](#).” Committee on Development Policy Background Paper. United Nations Human Development Programme (UNDP). December, 2011.

### **November 18: Transnationalism, Diasporas and Sending Country Policies**

- Munoz, Jose A. and Jose L. Collazo. “Looking Out for Paisanos: Latino Hometown Associations as Transnational Advocacy Networks.” *Migration and Development*. Vol 3 Issue 1, 2014.
- Delano, Alexandra. *Mexico and its Diaspora in the United States*. Cambridge. 2012. Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 6 and Conclusion. (ARES)

### **December 2: Task Force Meeting**

## **Statement on Academic Conduct and Support Systems**

### **Academic Conduct**

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* <https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/>. Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, <http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu/> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://capsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety/online-forms/contact-us>. This is important for the safety whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. *The Center for Women and Men* <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/> provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage [sarc@usc.edu](mailto:sarc@usc.edu) describes reporting options and other resources.

### **Support Systems**

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. *The Office of Disability Services and Programs* [http://sait.usc.edu/academicssupport/centerprograms/dsp/home\\_index.html](http://sait.usc.edu/academicssupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html) provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant

accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* <http://emergency.usc.edu/> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.