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— for the Study of Race and Ethnicity —

United States Immigration: Annotated Bibliography 1995-2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u><i>THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ISSUES AND LAWS ON NON-IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES</i></u>	3
<u>ARTICLES</u>	3
<u>BOOKS</u>	17
<u><i>THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON MULTI-RACIAL AND MULTI-ETHNIC COALITION BUILDING</i></u>	17
<u>ARTICLES</u>	17
<u>BOOKS</u>	21
<u><i>THE FRAMING OF IMMIGRATION ISSUES IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE</i></u>	22
<u>ARTICLES</u>	22
<u>BOOKS</u>	24

THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ISSUES AND LAWS ON NON-IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLES

Baker, Susan Gonzalez. 1997. "The 'amnesty' aftermath: current policy issues stemming from the legalization programs of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act." *International Migration Review*, 31: 5-27.

The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) created two one-time only legalization programs affecting nearly 3 million undocumented immigrants. Legalization has produced important changes among immigrants and in immigration policy. These changes include new patterns of immigrant social and economic adaptation to the United States and new immigrant flows through family ties to IRCA-legalized aliens. The heightened salience of immigration, produced in part by legalization, has also generated a wave of "backlash" policymaking at the state and local levels in high-immigration sites. This article combines data from a longitudinal survey of the IRCA-legalized population with qualitative field data on current immigration issues from key informants in eight high-immigration metropolitan areas. It reviews the political evolution and early implementation of legalization, the current socioeconomic position of legalized aliens, and changes in the immigration "policy space" resulting from legalization. Although restrictive policies have again captured public attention, legalization has also sparked renewed efforts at immigration advocacy, particularly where immigrants who adjust to U.S. citizenship hold the potential for influencing local politics.

Barry, Tom. 2005. "Anti-Immigrant Backlash on the 'Home Front'." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 38(6): 28-32.

This is part of a special section on the implications for the Americas of the war on terror. Restrictionist groups in the U.S. that are demanding a clampdown on illegal and legal immigration are framing the debate in a way that forces those involved to clearly state their position on the issue--pro- or anti-immigration. This restrictionist movement is being driven by a nationwide network of policy institutes, think tanks, and statewide mobilizing and lobbying campaigns. Most supporters of the movement insist that the war on terror cannot be successfully waged until the U.S. secures complete control over its borders, reduces its immigrant population, and limits new immigration. The trend of scapegoating immigrants for so many of the country's ills is generating a divisive backlash and obscuring the more fundamental causes of socioeconomic decline.

Borjas, George. 2002. "Welfare Reform and Immigrant Participation in Welfare Programs." *International Migration Review*, 36(4):1093-123.

This article examines the impact of the 1996 welfare reform legislation on welfare use in immigrant households. Although the data indicate that the welfare participation rate of immigrants declined relative to that of natives at the national level, this national trend is entirely attributable to the trends in welfare participation in California. Immigrants living in California experienced a precipitous drop in their welfare participation rate (relative to natives). Immigrants living outside California experienced roughly the same decline in participation rates as natives. The potential impact of welfare reform on immigrants residing outside California was neutralized because many state governments responded to the federal legislation by offering

state-funded programs to their immigrant populations and because the immigrants themselves responded by becoming naturalized citizens. The very steep decline of immigrant welfare participation in California is harder to understand, but could be a by-product of the changed political and social environment following the enactment of Proposition 187.

Briggs, Vernon Jr. 2003. "The Economic Well-Being of Black Americans: The Overarching Influence of U.S. Immigration Policies." *Review of Black Political Economy*, 31(1-2): 15-42.

Taken from the text:

"Of the myriad public policies that have impinged on the economic well being of black Americans over the years, none has had more overarching and continuous effects than those pertaining to immigration. Immigration policies and trends have set the stage that has allowed other outcomes to happen... Given the harrowing experiences of black Americans as the only racial or ethnic group to have ever been collectively subjected to both enforced slavery and de jure segregation, no form of public policy should be allowed to do harm to their quest to overcome these imposed handicaps. Unfortunately, U.S. immigration policy has not held to that standard. The burden of this neglect continues to this day."

Briggs, Vernon Jr. 2003. "Immigration and Poverty Reduction: Policy Making on a Squirrel Wheel." *Journal of Economic Issues*, 37(2): 325-31.

While the percentage of the poverty population in the U.S. has fallen over the years, the absolute size of the poverty population itself has hardly declined. In 1964, when the War on Poverty in the U.S. was launched, there were 36.4 million people living in poverty, accounting for 19 percent of the population. The numbers living in poverty in 2001 totaled 32.9 million, or 11.7 percent of the population. One factor that has emerged since 1964 is the impact of the revival of mass immigration, due to federal policies enacted since 1965. Any serious attempt to reduce poverty must incorporate reform of immigration policies, including lowering the level of legal immigration and reducing the emphasis on family reunification, both recommended by the 1997 U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform.

Brownell, Peter. 2001. "Border militarization and the reproduction of Mexican migrant labor." *Social Justice*, 28(2): 69-92.

This is part of a special issue on immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization. The writer discusses border militarization and the reproduction of Mexican migrant labor. He notes that there was a shift in U.S. border policy in September 1993, when the Immigration and Naturalization Service initiated its "Comprehensive Southwest Border Enforcement Strategy." He argues that this shift was an attempt to deal with the economic worries of the U.S. electorate. However, he contends that the change in policy not only failed to resolve the issues underlying these concerns, but it may also have exacerbated them. He asserts that the consensus is that the INS has not effectively stemmed the flow of illegal migration, and that migration continues to grow despite unprecedented levels of staffing and capital expenditure on patrolling the border. He concludes that the outcome is a system of undocumented temporary labor migration on which the U.S. agribusiness relies, because it has been unable to get guest-worker proposals passed by Congress.

Carter, Bob; Marci Green; Rick Halpern. 1996. "Immigration policy and the racialization of migrant labor: the construction of national identities in the USA and Britain." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19: 135-57.

This article is a comparative study of the racialization of migrant labor. Taking the USA 1900-1925 and Britain 1948-1962 as case-studies, we examine the role of the state in constructing migration in 'race terms and shaping the conditions under which certain categories of migrant workers participate in the labor market. We focus on debates over immigration and citizenship policy because these are key moments in the 'race making process and the construction of national identities. Through an investigation of government discourses surrounding restrictive legislation in both countries, we argue firstly, that notions of 'race, nation and national identity are political constructs that require constant policing and refurbishment. Secondly, we contend that the state plays a key role in the racialization of populations through immigration and nationality controls. Thirdly, the racialized nature of immigration regulation both structures the way in which migrants are situated within the labor market and valorizes notions of 'race difference. Despite significant differences in the way in which these processes developed in the USA and Britain, comparative analysis points to important similarities. In both social formations the reconstitution of national identities was articulated through concepts of 'race, in which color remained a key signifier of difference. Through immigration and nationality laws, governments ranked human populations into hierarchies of assimilability, in which some groups were regarded as more likely to 'fit in than others. Once racialized in this way, migrant workers found themselves allocated to particular areas of the labor market and confined to particular positions within the labor process.

Citrin, Jack; Donald Green; Christopher Muste. 1997. "Public opinion toward immigration reform: the role of economic motivations." *The Journal of Politics*, 59: 858-81.

The writers examine the impact of economic factors on public opinion toward immigration policy in the U.S. Drawing on data from the 1992 and 1994 National Election Study surveys, they use probit models to examine varying conceptualizations of the impact of economic adversity and anxiety on opposition to immigration. They discover that individual economic circumstances are not significant in opinion formation but that views about the state of the national economy, concern over taxes, and generalized feelings about Asians and Hispanics, the biggest immigrant groups, are all significant determinants of restrictionist feelings. They conclude that this restricted role of economic factors based on one's personal situation applies to ethnic groups, to residents in communities with varying numbers of foreign-born, and to both 1992 and 1994.

Coutin, Susan-Bibler. 2003. "Cultural logistics of belonging and movement: Transnationalism, naturalization, and U.S. immigration politics." *American Ethnologist*, 30(4): 508-26.

In the United States, unprecedented high numbers of naturalization applicants, the adoption of restrictive immigration policies, changing demographics, and the 1996 presidential election coalesced in the mid-1990s to make naturalization simultaneously a high priority and problematic. Salvadorans who had immigrated during the 1980s and who were still struggling for the opportunity to naturalize were caught up in these dynamics. A juxtaposition of their struggles against exclusion and of naturalization ceremonies' rhetoric of inclusion elucidates complex and paradoxical connections between naturalization and transnationalism.

Craig, Larry. 2005. "Should the Senate Approve the Agricultural Job Opportunity, Benefits, and Security (AgJOBS) Act?" *Congressional Digest*, 84(6): 184, 186, 188

This is part of a special issue on devising a new immigration policy for guest workers in America. In an address delivered during the April 18 Senate floor debate on amendments to HR 1268, Senator Larry Craig of Idaho argues in favor of the Agricultural Job Opportunities, Benefits, and Security Act (AgJOBS). He maintains that this bipartisan bill builds upon years of discussion among growers, farm worker proponents, Latino and immigration issue advocates, members of both parties in both Houses of Congress, and other people. He contends that AgJOBS is humane in that it allows legal workers to demand a living wage and to claim legal rights denied to undocumented workers who are smuggled into the country and kept "underground."

DeGenova, Nicholas. 2002. "Migrant "Illegality" and Deportability in Everyday Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31: 419-47.

This article strives to meet two challenges. As a review, it provides a critical discussion of the scholarship concerning undocumented migration, with a special emphasis on ethnographically informed works that foreground significant aspects of the everyday life of undocumented migrants. But another key concern here is to formulate more precisely the theoretical status of migrant "illegality" and deportability in order that further research related to undocumented migration may be conceptualized more rigorously. This review considers the study of migrant "illegality" as an epistemological, methodological, and political problem, in order to then formulate it as a theoretical problem. The article argues that it is insufficient to examine the "illegality" of undocumented migration only in terms of its consequences and that it is necessary also to produce historically informed accounts of the sociopolitical processes of "illegalization" themselves, which can be characterized as the legal production of migrant "illegality."

Diamond, Jeff. 1998. "African-American attitudes towards United States immigration policy." *International Migration Review* 32(2): 451-70.

African-American attitudes have been divided over the issue of U.S. immigration policy for almost two centuries. Racism, combined with African-Americans' otherwise weak socioeconomic position in the U.S. forced them to repeatedly bear the cost of liberal immigration policies. In some cases, African-Americans were actually displaced by various immigrant groups, and in others, potential opportunities never materialized. However, many blacks have historically viewed the advancement of their race as being tied to the acceptance in U.S. society of universal principles of fairness or justice, making it difficult to refuse others the opportunity to escape poverty or oppression that blacks themselves have sought for so long. Recently, the issue has been further complicated by political alliances between black leaders and organizations and the leadership of increasingly numerous and powerful Hispanic communities. Such conflicting factors are likely to continue to shape African-American attitudes toward immigration policy in the future.

Enchautegui, Maria. 1995. "Effects of immigrants on the 1980-1990 U.S. wage experience." *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 13: 20-38.

A study was conducted to examine the view that U.S. immigration should be reduced because the economy can no longer absorb immigrants as it has in the past. An analysis of male hourly wages demonstrated that the impact of immigration on wages did not alter between 1980 and 1990 and that immigration had no negative effects on wages in 1980 or 1990. These findings

suggested that the ability of the labor market to absorb immigrants had not been decreased. Further analysis revealed that, controlling for personal characteristics, the hourly wages of the average native and immigrant worker in areas of high and medium immigration relative to areas of low immigration rose between 1980 and 1990. It was observed, however, that Latino immigrants were affected negatively by immigration.

Espenshade, Thomas. 1995. "Unauthorized immigration to the United States." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21: 195-216.

This paper surveys research on the size of the undocumented immigrant population in the United States, the causes and consequences of illegal migrant flows, public attitudes toward unauthorized migrants, and the history of attempts to control the volume of undocumented migration. It concludes that there are powerful push and pull factors that create and sustain the volume of unauthorized migration, that there is little evidence that undocumented migrants have negative labor market consequences despite what the general public thinks, that US policy has been largely powerless to make a permanent dent in undocumented immigration, and that the current level of clandestine US immigration may not be far from what society might view as socially optimal.

Espenshade, Thomas; Jessica Baraka; Gregory Huber. 1997. "Implications of the 1996 welfare and immigration reform acts for US immigration." *Population and Development Review*, 23(4): 769-801.

Major changes in non-citizen eligibility for welfare and in US immigration policy are contained in two pieces of federal legislation signed into law in 1996. The first, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, reforms the entitlement policy for poor families and imposes new limits on alien access to welfare benefits and other social services. The second, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, strengthens efforts to combat illegal immigration and creates higher standards of financial self-sufficiency for the admission of sponsored legal immigrants. The authors suggest that these reforms will produce unintended, and possibly undesirable, consequences. They argue in particular that the 1996 reform measures, instead of preserving legal immigration and discouraging illegal immigration, are more likely to reduce the former and expand incentives for the latter. In addition, the Personal Responsibility Act creates added pressures for eligible legal immigrants to apply for US citizenship. To the extent that higher rates of naturalization were unanticipated by reformers of welfare policy, the actual cost savings attributable to reduced benefits for non-citizens will be smaller than expected.

Fairchild, Amy. 2004. "Policies of Inclusion: Immigrants, Disease, Dependency, and American Immigration Policy at the Dawn and Dusk of the 20th Century." *American Journal of Public Health*, 94(4): 528-39.

The racial politics of immigration have punctuated national discussions about immigration at different periods in US history, particularly when concerns about losing an American way of life or American population have coincided with concerns about infectious diseases. Nevertheless, the main theme running through American immigration policy is one of inclusion. The United States has historically been a nation reliant on immigrant labor and, accordingly, the most consequential public policies regarding immigration have responded to disease and its economic burdens by seeking to control the behavior of immigrants within our borders rather than excluding immigrants at our borders.

Feinstein, Diane. 2005. "Should the Senate Approve the Agricultural Job Opportunity, Benefits, and Security (AgJOBS) Act?" *Congressional Digest*, 84(6): 179, 181, 183, 185.

This is part of a special issue on devising a new immigration policy for guest workers in America. In an address delivered during the April 18 Senate floor debate on amendments to HR 1268, Senator Dianne Feinstein of California argues against the AgJOBS bill. She maintains that it is wrong to pass the bill on an emergency supplemental that is designed to provide help for America's military, fighting in extraordinary circumstances. She also contends that a bill that attracts large additional numbers of illegal immigrants would have a detrimental effect on society, given that an influx of such immigrants would flood the labor market, make jobs harder to find, and push down wages.

Flores, Lisa. 2003. "Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 20(4): 362-387.

The writer explores the interconnections among race, nation, and immigration and examines the rhetorical dynamics through which symbolic borders emerge and change, in part through national debates over immigrants. Focusing on the mediated representations in America of Mexican immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, she argues that Mexican immigrant bodies were used as rhetorical space for a national discussion of race and nation. She pays particular attention to a deportation drive and repatriation campaign, which was concentrated in Los Angeles in 1931, that resulted in the mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

Freeman, Gary; Bob Birrell. 2001. "Divergent Paths of Immigration Politics in the United States and Australia." *Population and Development Review*, 27(3): 525-551.

The United States and Australia converged by the mid-1980s on receptive and expansive immigration policies reflecting "client" politics. Australia has since pursued a more restrictive and selective course while the United States has resisted pressures toward such a stance. The authors account for these differences by assessing the theoretical perspectives of interests, rights, and states. Conflicts among groups with direct interests in policy outcomes are the principal source of immigration politics, but a comparison of the roles of rights and state institutions helps explain peculiarities of the two cases. The distinctive Australian policy trajectory is shaped by greater volatility of public opinion about immigration and multiculturalism, and by political institutions that are more responsive to popular sentiment.

"Gatekeeper's state: immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization." 2001. *Social Justice*, 28(2): 1-156.

A special issue on immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization. Topics discussed include the human rights implications of border militarization via drug and immigration enforcement; rape as a weapon of war and the need to advance human rights for women along the U.S.-Mexico border; a multifaceted operation, called Operation Gatekeeper, conducted by the U.S. along a 66-mile stretch of its border with Mexico, and aimed at preventing illegal immigration; border militarization and the reproduction of Mexican migrant labor; the attitude of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to community and labor relations; the abuses carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service along the U.S.-Mexican border and the contextual dimension that fosters and sustains such abuses; how nongovernmental

organizations deal with globalization, migration, and militarization; and boundary and immigration enforcement along the U.S.-Mexican border in an age of intensifying globalization.

Goldsborough, James. 2000. "Out-of-control immigration." *Foreign Affairs*, 79(5): 89-101.

Despite the fact that immigration into the United States is at its highest absolute levels in history, congressional interest in the issue has diminished. The current immigration policy pursued by the government is driven by the fact that U.S. economic growth is about 5 percent annually and employment levels are at an uncommonly low 4 percent, which has increased the need for workers in all sectors. The question of what will happen to immigrants when the economy slows down has not been considered, however. In addition to sowing the seed for problems in the future, high immigration is at present causing imbalances in education, income distribution, employment, and welfare demands. The writer discusses the history of immigration into the United States and analyzes how Congress should tackle present immigration issues.

Green, Allison; Jack Martin. 2004. "Uncontrolled Immigration and the U.S. Health Care System." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 29(2): 225-41.

The authors argue that the rising pressure of illegal and legal immigration into the United States is a major contributor to the current financial crisis that threatens the U.S. health care system. They produce evidence to show that in some hospitals, as much as two-thirds of total operating costs are for uncompensated care for illegal aliens, and that the massive volume of both legal and illegal immigration is responsible for an estimated national total of unreimbursed medical expenses that exceeds one billion dollars annually.

Hagan, Jacqueline; Nestor Rodriguez; Randy Capps. 2003. "The Effects of Recent Welfare and Immigration Reforms on Immigrants' Access to Health Care." *International Migration Review*, 37(2): 444-63.

This study investigates the impact of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, both passed in 1996, on the use of health-care services in immigrant communities in five Texas counties. The study presents findings of interviews with public agency officials, directors of community-based organizations, and members of 500 households during two research phases, 1997-1998 and 1998-1999. In the household sample, 20 percent of U.S. citizens and 30 percent of legal permanent residents who reported having received Medicaid during the five years before they were interviewed also reported losing the coverage during the past year. Some lost coverage because of welfare reform restrictions on noncitizen eligibility or because of changes in income or household size, but many eligible immigrants also withdrew from Medicaid "voluntarily."

Heyman, Josiah. 2001. "Class and classification at the U.S.-Mexico border." *Human Organization*, 60(2): 128-40.

U.S. immigration and nationality law is viewed as a set of classifications that contribute to the transfer of value between classes. An anthropological approach to the symbolic classificatory process is outlined, emphasizing its performance in situations of state power. Ethnographic observations document the actual practice of Immigration and Naturalization Service classification and reveal covert symbolic categories and plausible constructs about migrants. However, migrants are accorded an active role in struggling with and responding to dominant classifications. Three important results of immigrant classification are the increased exploitation of undocumented immigrants, categorized as outlaws and obliged to undertake the risk of

crossing a heavily enforced boundary; the complex maneuvering and segmentation within immigrant communities induced by the rewards of legal visa categories; and the confirmation of stereotypes about migrants in the dominant society that underwrite their employment as inexpensive labor.

Hood, M.V., III; Irwin Morris; Kurt Shirkey. 1997. “‘Quedate o vente!’: uncovering the determinants of Hispanic public opinion toward immigration.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 50: 627-47.

Why do some Hispanic-Americans support (Vente) and others oppose (Quedate) the liberalization of immigration policies? In this study we attempt to ascertain which combination of demographic, attitudinal, and contextual factors determines Hispanic public opinion toward legal immigration. In a departure from previous research, we conduct an advanced multivariate analysis and utilize an existing national-level sample of Hispanics. While we find only limited evidence that Hispanic public opinion on immigration varies among nationalistic subgroups (e.g., Cuban-Americans, Mexican-Americans, etc.), we do find that level of acculturation and perceived economic threat influence Hispanic opinion on legal immigration. We also find that Hispanics residing in areas with large illegal migrant populations, and those with more negative attitudes toward the impact of Hispanics on American society, tend to favor more restrictive immigration policies. Finally, we examine the implications of these findings for future studies of public opinion toward immigration and for the development of immigration policy.

Huspek, Michael. 2001. “Production of state, capital, and citizenry: the case of Operation Gatekeeper.” *Social Justice*, 28(2): 51-68.

This is part of a special issue on immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization. The writer discusses a multifaceted operation, Gatekeeper, conducted by the U.S. along a 66-mile stretch of its border with Mexico and aimed at preventing illegal immigrants from entering the country. He examines the practices employed by the government to run the operation, how these practices affect those targeted by the scheme, and the responses of those who are targeted. Furthermore, he discusses how these practices affect the workings of the state and its influence on the public and capital.

“The Impact of Immigration Policy on Communities.” 2002. *Policy Studies Journal*, 30(1): 51-146.

This is a special section on the impact of immigration policy on communities. Topics discussed include immigrant needs and local government services; the dynamics of immigration and local government in Santa Ana, California; immigration and net migration in New York City from 1980 to 1999; and immigrant economic performance in big city labor markets.

Jonas, Susanne; Catherine Tactaquin. 2004. “Latino Immigrant Rights in the Shadow of the National Security State: Responses to Domestic Preemptive Strikes.” *Social Justice*, 31(1-2): 67-91.

This is part of a special issue on resisting militarism and globalized punishment. Issues relating to, and struggles for, immigrant rights that oppose the U.S.-centric "national security" mentality that has developed since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S. are discussed. Emphasis is placed on the rights of Latino immigrants. It is argued that the way in which immigrants in the U.S. are treated will shape the future of democracy in all areas of the Americas.

Joppke, Christian. 2005. "Are "Nondiscriminatory" Immigration Policies Reversible? Evidence from the United States and Australia." *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(1): 3-25.

Evidence from the U.S. and Australia is presented to demonstrate that the commitment to nondiscrimination in immigration policy has consolidated into a structural feature of liberal democracy. Three factors are identified that shore up nondiscriminatory immigration policies: the general acceptance of the nondiscrimination norm, even by those who are against some of its effects; the reduced demographic possibility of circumventing the nondiscrimination norm in practice through manipulating formally neutral selection criteria; and the immediately mobilizable memory of settler states' own discriminatory pasts.

Kim, Rebecca. 2001. "Welfare reform and "ineligibles": issue of constitutionality and recent court rulings." *Social Work*, 46(4): 315-23.

In 1966 welfare legislation made lawful immigrants, with a few exemptions, categorically ineligible for most forms of public assistance. This legislation had led affected immigrants and their advocacy groups to file lawsuits to challenge the constitutionality of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act. This article reviews recent court rulings that have upheld the act and examines court decisions in light of two constitutional principals (the Equal Protection and Supremacy clauses), which traditionally have been applied to the issue of aliens' eligibility for welfare benefits. The author finds inconsistent outcomes between federal and state legislation in the judicial review process. To resolve this inconsistency, the author suggests several policy changes in the distribution of welfare benefits concerning eligibility of lawful immigrants. The implications for social work practice are discussed.

Kochhar, Rakesh. 2006. "Growth in the Foreign-Born Workforce and Employment of the Native Born." *Pew Hispanic Center Report (August 10, 2006)*.

Rapid increases in the foreign-born population at the state level are not associated with negative effects on the employment of native-born workers, according to a study by the Pew Hispanic Center that examined data from both the boom years of the 1990s and the period of recession and gradual recovery after 2000. An analysis of the relationship between growth in the foreign-born population and employment outcomes of native-born workers revealed wide variations and no consistent pattern across the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Nearly 25% of native-born workers lived in states where rapid growth in the foreign-born population between 1990 and 2000 was associated with favorable outcomes for the native born in 2000. Only 15% of native-born workers resided in states where rapid growth in the foreign-born population was associated with negative outcomes for the native born. The remaining 60% of native-born workers lived in states where the growth in the foreign-born population was below average, but those native workers did not consistently experience favorable employment outcomes. Similar results emerged from the analysis for the 2000 to 2004 time period. The size of the foreign-born workforce is also unrelated to the employment prospects for native workers. The relative youth and low levels of education among foreign workers appear to have no bearing on the employment outcomes of native workers of similar schooling and age.

Lofstrom, Magnus; Frank Bean. 2002. "Assessing Immigrant Policy Options: Labor Market Conditions and Postreform Declines in Immigrants Receipt of Welfare." *Demography*, 39(4): 617-37.

Researchers infrequently have focused on assessing the degree to which the changes in welfare policy legislated during the 1990s have affected immigrants' receipt of welfare. Using data from the March Current Population Survey, we analyze the contribution of local labor market conditions to the explanation of relative declines in immigrants' receipt of welfare from 1994 to 2000. The results of a series of models that included labor market-area and state fixed effects indicate that employment and unemployment rates across metropolitan statistical areas and states account for at least one-third of the observed relative decrease among immigrants. The policy implications of the findings are discussed.

Massey, Douglas. 1998. "March of folly: U.S. immigration policy after NAFTA." *American Prospect*, 37: 22-33.

This is part of a special section on how globalism is fighting back. The writer discusses U.S. immigration policy after the North American Free Trade Agreement created a free trade zone stretching from the Guatemala border to the Arctic Ocean. With this policy, the U.S. wanted to create a continent-wide free trade zone for goods, capital, and information, but within this integrated market, it wants no movement of labor. However, this contradictory policy is backfiring, and the North American market will promote rather than preclude emigration from Mexico. U.S. attempts to suppress the resulting migratory flows will make matters worse, contributing to continued immigration, stagnant wages, declining labor standards, and growing numbers of poor, unhealthy, and badly educated Mexican Americans.

McCue, Clifford; Dorothy Norris-Tirrell. 2002. "The Impact of Immigration Policy on Communities: An Introduction to the Symposium." *Policy Studies Journal*, 30(1): 53-7.

This is part of a special section on the impact of immigration policy on communities. The fiscal and individual impact of immigration is examined, in cities and areas with a long history of serving as host or gateway communities, and also in those for which it is a relatively new phenomenon. Issues raised in the articles in this special issue include the inability of many municipalities and counties to provide needed services to immigrants; the displacement effect caused by immigrants in certain communities; the development of "tertiary" labor markets in which human capital is not rewarded; and the question of whether country of origin is a useful predictor of immigrant utilization of local services. The focus is on the impact of immigration at a local level, a perspective which is regarded as being essential to informing the national and subnational debate on immigration.

Meissner, Doris M. 1995. "U.S. greets wave of immigrants, examines issues." *Forum for Applied Research and Public Policy*, 10: 39-44.

Recent changes in American immigration policy are responsible for an influx of 8.9 million immigrants in the past decade, states Doris M. Embosser, commission of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington. These new immigrants typically have clustered in a few states: California, Texas, New York, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois. The concentration of migrants in certain states and cities creates disproportionate impacts on those areas and puts additional pressures on local services, including health care, welfare, housing, education, and the criminal justice system. These factors have raised public concerns about the recent onrush of immigrants. According to Meissner, we can defuse tensions over the immigration issue by aggressively encouraging naturalization. "When people become citizens, they are buying into what America represents," she says. NAFTA can also help to ease immigration pressures, she

says, by improving job prospects for Mexicans in the long term and thus relieving some of the pressures they now face to migrate to the United States in search of employment. Accepting and integrating newcomers has never come easily, says Meissner, but an effective government presence can help reduce the tensions that inherently surround immigration.

Mills, Nicolaus. 1996. "Lifeboat ethics and immigration fears." *Dissent*, 43: 37-44.

America has become increasingly worried about the arrival of more than 1 million immigrants annually and increasingly cynical about the arguments for continuing immigration at that rate. What is at work today in the immigration backlash and the culture of meanness that it has helped foster is not only a fear of newcomers but a lifeboat ethics that says that America as a nation is not doing well and that taking on more immigrants can only make current national problems worse. The most dramatic example of how anti-immigration fears are overwhelming all other considerations and changing the political climate was the passing of Proposition 187 in California during the 1994 midterm elections. This initiative is designed to terminate virtually all state aid, except for emergency hospital care, to illegal aliens. The history of immigration to the U.S., the fact that affirmative action in the 1990s is open to recent immigrants as well as historic victims of racial and sexual discrimination, and the stance taken by conservative defenders of immigration are discussed.

Nackerud, Larry; Alyson Springer; Christopher Larrison. 1999. "The end of the Cuban contradiction in U.S. refugee policy." *International Migration Review*, 33(1): 176-92.

The nearly automatic acceptance of Cubans into the United States as political refugees for 35 years represents a contradiction which lingered in U.S. refugee policy. This article provides a description and analysis of the 1994 Cuban Balsero (rafter) Crisis that prompted a decision by the Clinton administration on May 2, 1995, to officially end the open door era for Cuban acceptance into the United States. The resulting policy change 1) terminated the indefinite detention of over 28,000 Cubans held in safe haven camps, 2) repealed the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, 3) put severe new restrictions on travel to Cuba, 4) prohibited the sending of monetary remittances to Cuba, 5) equalized the number of annual visas for Cuba with the other countries of the world, and 6) legalized the return of Cubans intercepted at sea. The authors examine the interaction of variables that set the stage for the Balsero Crisis and analyze how and why its resolution catalyzed the historic policy change. Implications of the resolution of the Balsero Crisis upon problems underlying U.S. relations with Cuba are discussed.

Palafox, Jose. 2001. "Introduction to 'Gatekeeper's state: immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization'." *Social Justice*, 28(2): 1-6.

This is part of a special issue on immigration and boundary policing in an era of globalization. The writer introduces the articles in this special issue, notes that they examine the intricacy of U.S.-Mexico border policing in terms of the effects of U.S. immigration and border policy on illegal migrants and on the well-being of American citizens.

Pratto, Felicia; Anthony Lemieux. 2001. "The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for promoting immigration policy." *The Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3): 413-30.

Immigration can invoke two recurring and contradictory social psychology situations: group inclusion and group threat. This ambiguity implies that immigration can bring out either people's

communal, egalitarian natures, or their prejudicial, oppressive natures. Further, it means that immigration policies can be framed in ways that appeal to one psychological orientation or the other. Using this perspective, we examined Californians' attitudes toward a fictitious immigration policy. The policy was framed in one of two ways, and participants' values concerning group equality versus group dominance were measured. Results showed that framing the policy as a way of maintaining dominance over immigrants appealed to those high in social dominance orientation, whereas framing the policy as a way of increasing equality between immigrants and members of the receiving society appealed to those low on social dominance orientation. The practical political aspects of promoting immigration policy are discussed.

Sassen, Saskia. 2000. "Regulating immigration in a global age: a new policy landscape." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 570: 65-77.

This is part of a special issue on dimensions of globalization. The writer discusses regulating immigration in a global age. She contends that the transformations in the state and interstate system have brought about new constraints and opportunities in the handling of immigration. She presents a critical examination of three key features of current immigration policy in the U.S.: the handling of immigration as a process that is autonomous from other processes and policy domains; as a unilateral sovereign matter; and as operating in a context where the state is a given and is untouched by the huge domestic and international transformations that are increasingly reconfiguring states and the interstate system. She argues that immigration policymaking must recognize interaction effects, develop multilateral approaches, and factor in the transformed character of unilateral sovereign authority.

Sierra, Christine Marie; Teresa Carrillo; Louis DeSipio. 2000. "Latino Immigration and Citizenship." *PS, Political Science and Politics*, 33(3): 535-40.

This is part of a special section on Latino politics in the U.S. The writers consider how U.S. immigration policies have shaped Latino demographics and influenced Latino immigrants' status; how patterns of immigration have affected political participation among members of the Latino community; and how Latino immigration has influenced relations among sending states, particularly Mexico, and the U.S. They note that as public debate over immigration intensified during the 1990s, Latinos increasingly came together to express concern over and opposition to anti-immigrant attitudes and measures through their behavior at the ballot box, grassroots protest, and their pursuit of citizenship through naturalization. They consider the demographics of immigration, the political participation of Latino immigrants, and the limitations of working within an outdated framework of national politics to address a transnational phenomenon such as immigration.

Skerry, Peter. 1995. "Many borders to cross: is immigration the exclusive responsibility of the federal government?" *Publius*, 25: 71-85.

At a time when many policy makers in Washington are trying to push an unprecedented number of programs and functions back to state and local jurisdictions, immigration stands out as a policy area that is universally considered the exclusive domain of the federal government. The writer challenges this pervasive understanding of policies toward legal and illegal immigrants by analyzing the historical evolution of state-federal responsibilities in this area and by then examining contemporary evidence of state and local attempts to influence immigration flows. In addition, he outlines the unique political dynamics of immigration in order to explain why this

one-sided perception of state-federal responsibilities continues in this increasingly explosive political area. He concludes that immigration has never been, nor is it currently, the sole responsibility of the federal government and that this should not come as a surprise--state and locality political and economic interests are not only burdened by immigration, they benefit from it.

Storesletten, Kjetil. 2000. "Sustaining fiscal policy through immigration." *Journal of Political Economy*, 108(2): 300-23.

Using a calibrated general equilibrium overlapping generations model, which explicitly accounts for differences between immigrants and natives, this paper investigates whether a reform of immigration policies alone could resolve the fiscal problems associated with the aging of the baby boom generation. Such policies are found to exist and are characterized by an increased inflow of working-age high- and medium-skilled immigrants. One particular feasible policy involves admitting 1.6 million 40-44-year-old high-skilled immigrants annually. These findings are illustrated by computing the discounted government gain of admitting additional immigrants, conditional on their age and skills.

Tolbert, Caroline; Rodney Hero. 1996. "Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative" *The Journal of Politics*, 58 (3): 806-818.

This article examines the role of racial/ethnic diversity in county-level support for California's illegal immigration initiative (Proposition 187). We conceptualize California counties in terms of their homogeneous, heterogeneous, or bifurcated racial/ethnic composition. We argue racial/ethnic context is critical beyond individual-level factors; this context is central in explaining public policy, especially policies that affect minority groups. The vote for Proposition 187 is expected to be the highest in "bifurcated" counties with large Latino populations. Regression analysis is used to statistically model the county-level vote for the initiative relative to the size of racial/ethnic populations, economic conditions, and party. Bifurcated counties with large Latino populations strongly supported Proposition 187, as well as homogeneous counties with predominately white and very small minority populations. California's white/Latino bifurcated racial/ethnic composition may parallel the white/black bifurcation of the deep South in an earlier era. The importance of the theory and empirical findings presented extend beyond California to national and subnational politics.

Van Hook, Jennifer. 2003. "Welfare Reform's Chilling Effects on Noncitizens: Changes in Noncitizen Welfare Reciprocity or Shifts in Citizenship Status?" *Social Science Quarterly*, 84(3): 613-631.

Objective: In the mid-1990s, welfare usage declined disproportionately among noncitizens, prompting some policy analysts to argue that the 1996 Welfare Reform Act (PRWORA) had a "chilling" effect on welfare receipt among eligible noncitizens. However, naturalization among noncitizen welfare recipients could account for the disproportionate decline. This article evaluates the role of naturalizations in producing the so-called chilling effect. Methods: The research uses longitudinal data (the Survey of Program Dynamics) to decompose changes in citizen and noncitizen welfare receipt into parts due to shifts in citizenship status and shifts in welfare receipt. Results: A substantial portion of the relative decline in welfare usage among noncitizens can be explained by shifts in naturalization. Conclusions: A more cautious

interpretation of results about the effects of welfare reform on immigrants is called for, particularly results of analyses that use cross-sectional data and disaggregate the change in welfare receipt by citizenship status.

Welch, Michael. 2004. "Quiet Constructions in the War on Terror: Subjecting Asylum Seekers to Unnecessary Detention." *Social Justice* 31(1-2): 113-129.

This is part of a special issue on resisting militarism and globalized punishment. The unnecessary detention of asylum seekers entering the U.S., in particular, since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S., is discussed. It is argued that this aspect of the war on terror is being used more to control immigration than to address crime, as the detention of asylum seekers is not an efficient way of dealing with terrorism.

Wells, Miriam. 2004. "The Grassroots Reconfiguration of U.S. Immigration Policy." *International Migration Review*, 38(4): 1308-47.

Despite the increasing constriction of immigrants' rights at the federal level, local responses have been much more varied, countering, compensating for, even transforming policies originating from the national core. This article attributes this divergence in part to the multi-layered, ambiguous, and contradictory structure of the U.S. nation-state in the context of a transnational economy and society. It shows how three facets of state structural complexity -- its multiple levels, diverse administrative branches, and decentralized agencies -- have created openings for local actors, deploying normative arguments as to the issues at stake, to reshape the outcomes of U.S. immigration policy on the ground.

Wilson, Thomas C. 2001. "Americans' Views on Immigration Policy: Testing the Role of Threatened Group Interests." *Sociological Perspectives*, 44(4): 485-501.

This study uses data from the 1994 General Social Survey to test the hypothesis drawn from group threat theory that Americans' perception of threatened group interests increases their opposition to policies benefiting immigrants. It extends previous studies in several ways: by addressing policy views toward undocumented immigrants as well as legal immigrants, by considering a broader range of group threats, and by distinguishing group threat from threat to self-interest. Findings show that Americans' perceptions of threats to their economic and cultural interests may exert appreciable influences on their policy preferences and that these influences are independent of self-interest, anti-immigrant prejudice, conservatism, and economic outlook. Implications are drawn for immigration policy reform and for the general applicability of group threat theory.

Wyden, Ron. 2005. "Should the Senate Approve the Agricultural Job Opportunity, Benefits, and Security (AgJOBS) Act?" *Congressional Digest*, 84(6): 188, 190.

This is part of a special issue on devising a new immigration policy for guest workers in America. In an address delivered during the April 18 Senate floor debate on amendments to HR 1268, Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon argues in favor of the AgJOBS amendment. He contends that the aim of the legislation is to remove some of the uncertainty and the lack of predictability associated with the H-2A program, which it does for both growers and workers. He maintains that the bill does not encourage illegal immigration, because it requires agricultural workers to show that they are legally in the United States in order to collect the benefits available under the

program, such as housing, transportation, and the civil right to sue employers for back wages or wrongful dismissal.

BOOKS

Borjas, George J. 2001. *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

The U.S. took in more than a million immigrants per year in the late 1990s, more than at any other time in history. For humanitarian and many other reasons, this may be good news. But as George Borjas shows in *Heaven's Door*, it's decidedly mixed news for the American economy--and positively bad news for the country's poorest citizens. Widely regarded as the country's leading immigration economist, Borjas presents the most comprehensive, accessible, and up-to-date account yet of the economic impact of recent immigration on America. He reveals that the benefits of immigration have been greatly exaggerated and that, if we allow immigration to continue unabated and unmodified, we are supporting an astonishing transfer of wealth from the poorest people in the country, who are disproportionately minorities, to the richest.

Rubio-Marín, Ruth. 2000. *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Immigration raises a number of important moral issues regarding access to the rights and privileges of citizenship. At present, immigrants to most Western democracies do not enjoy the same rights as citizens, and must satisfy a range of conditions before achieving citizenship. Ruth Rubio-Marín argues that this approach is unjust and undemocratic, and that more inclusive policies are required. In particular, she argues that liberal norms of justice and democracy require that there should be a time threshold after which immigrants (legal and illegal) should either be granted the full rights of citizenship, or should be awarded nationality automatically, without any conditions or tests. The author contrasts her position with the constitutional practice of two countries with rich immigration traditions: Germany and the United States. She concludes that judicial interpretations of both constitutions have recognized the claim for inclusion of resident aliens, but have also limited that claim.

THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION ON MULTI-RACIAL AND MULTI-ETHNIC COALITION BUILDING

ARTICLES

Alba, Richard D.; Rubén G. Rumbaut; Karen Marotz. 2005. "A Distorted Nation: Perceptions of Racial/Ethnic Group Sizes and Attitudes toward Immigrants and Other Minorities" *Social Forces*, 84(2): 901-919.

Using a special module (MEUS) of the 2000 General Social Survey, we investigate Americans' perceptions of the racial and ethnic composition of the United States. We show that, because of innumeracy, it is critical to gauge perceptions through relative, rather than absolute, group sizes. Even so, it appears that, as of 2000, roughly half of Americans believed that whites had become a numerical minority; such perceptions were even more common among minority-group members than among whites. Majority-group respondents' perceptions of the relative sizes of minorities affect their attitudes towards immigrants, blacks and Hispanics, with those having the most distorted perceptions holding the most negative attitudes. Although perceptions of group

sizes in the nation are linked to the perceived racial/ethnic composition of the communities where respondents reside, the effects of the former on attitudes are largely independent of the latter. Our findings highlight the frequently overlooked value of an old bromide against prejudice: education.

Alvarez, Michael; Tara Butterfield. “The Resurgence of Nativism in California? The Case of Proposition 187 and Illegal Immigration.” *Social Science Quarterly*, 81(1): 167-95.

Theory: We argue that support among California voters for Proposition 187 in 1994 was an example of cyclical nativism. This nativism was provoked primarily by California's economic downturn during the early 1990s.

Hypotheses: We develop four specific hypotheses to explain how poor economic conditions in California and the consequent nativistic sentiments would result in support for Proposition 187:

1. voters who believe that California's economic condition is poor will be more likely to support Proposition 187;
2. voters who perceive themselves as being economically threatened by illegal immigrants will be more likely to support Proposition 187;
3. voters with lower levels of education are more economically vulnerable and will be more likely to support Proposition 187;
4. voters in Southern California feel more directly affected by illegal immigration and will be more likely to support Proposition 187.

Methods: To test these hypotheses, we analyze voter exit poll data from the 1994 California election. We utilize a two-stage probit model to allow for the endogeneity which results from the politicization of illegal immigration during this election.

Results: We find support for our hypotheses in the data. These findings cause us to conclude that nativism, fueled by economic conditions, was a salient factor leading many Californians to support Proposition 187.

Bauer, Thomas; Magnus Lofstrom; Klaus F. Zimmermann. 2000. “Immigration Policy, Assimilation of Immigrants and Natives' Sentiments towards Immigrants: Evidence from 12 OECD-Countries.” *Swedish Economic Policy Review*, 7(2): 11-53.

As in the U.S. and Canada, migration is a controversial issue in Europe. This paper explores the possibility that immigration policy may affect the labor market assimilation of immigrants and hence natives' sentiments towards immigrants. It first reviews the assimilation literature in economics and the policy approaches taken in Europe and among the traditional immigration countries. Second, a new analysis of individual data from the OECD countries studies sentiments concerning immigration and the determinants of these sentiments is presented. Natives in countries that receive predominantly refugee migrants are relatively more concerned with immigrations impact on social issues such as crime than on the employment effects. Natives in countries with mostly economic migrants are relatively more concerned about losing jobs to immigrants. However, the results also suggest that natives may view immigration more favorably if immigrants are selected according to the needs of the labor markets. Possible benefits of such a policy are that it may moderate social tensions in regards to migration and contribute to a better economic performance of the respective countries.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2001. "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4): 531-48.

This article argues that the massive differentialist turn of the last third of the twentieth century may have reached its peak, and that one can discern signs of a modest "return of assimilation". The article presents evidence of this from the domain of public discourse in France, public policy in Germany, and scholarly research in the US. Yet what has "returned" is not the old, analytically discredited and politically disreputable "assimilationist" understanding of assimilation, but a more analytically complex and normatively defensible understanding. The article concludes by specifying the ways in which the concept of assimilation has been transformed.

Burns, Peter; James G. Gimpel. "Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy." *Political Science Quarterly*, 115(2): 201-225.

Taken from the text:

From the content of elite discourse and from rich academic debate on the costs and benefits of immigration, observers would likely conclude that the main rationale for restricting immigration was an economic one. But what lies at the bottom of mass attitudes toward immigrants and immigration? In this article, we use public opinion data to investigate the extent to which economic circumstances and prejudicial stereotypes serve as explanations for attitudes in a highly controversial policy domain.

Espenshade, Thomas; Katherine Hempstead. 1996. "Contemporary American Attitudes Toward U.S. Immigration". *International Migration Review*, 30(2): 535-570.

This article aims to contribute to an understanding of contemporary American attitudes toward immigration. It extends work by Espenshade and Calhoun (1993) who analyzed data from a southern California survey in June 1983 about the impacts of undocumented migrants and illegal immigration. There has not been a follow-up study that evaluates more recent evidence to see how residents throughout the United States feel about overall levels of immigration (legal and undocumented). The paper uses data from a CBS News/New York Times poll conducted in June 1993. Respondents were asked whether they would like to see the level of immigration to the United States increased, decreased or kept the same. We test several hypotheses about factors influencing respondents' attitudes, including the importance of previously unexamined predictors. These new hypotheses relate to views about the health of the U.S. economy, feelings of social and political alienation, and isolationist sentiments concerning international economic issues and foreign relations. One important discovery is the close connection between possessing restrictionist immigration attitudes and having an isolationist perspective along a broader array of international issues.

Esses, Victoria, John Dovidio; Gordon Hodson. 2002. "Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States and Canada in Response to the September 11, 2001 'Attack on America'." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 2(1): 69-85.

In this paper, we describe recent trends in attitudes toward immigration in North America, and we suggest how these attitudes are likely to be affected by the September 11, 2001 "Attack on America." We begin by explaining why public attitudes toward immigration are important, and describe recent trends in these attitudes in the United States and Canada. Then, we apply psychological perspectives to predicting how these attitudes are likely to change in response to

the events of September 11th. In particular, we describe expected short-term changes in immigration attitudes and expected long-term trends. We conclude by suggesting that an understanding of the psychological processes underlying unfavorable attitudes may assist in counteracting these effects; we also suggest that policy makers will be faced with the difficult task of balancing the need for a sense of security for members of the national group, and maintenance of the positive features of current immigration policies.

Esses, Victoria; John Dovidio; Lynne Jackson; Tamara Armstrong. 2001. "The Immigration Dilemma: The role of Perceived Group Competition, Ethnic Prejudice, and National Identity. In V.M. Esses, J.F. Dovidio, & K.L. Dion (Eds.), *Immigrants and Immigration*. Journal of Social Issues, 57: 389-412.

In this article, we discuss the role of perceived competition for resources in determining negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in North America. We first provide background information on immigration policies and levels of immigration to Canada and the United States. Following an overview of our theoretical perspective, we then describe the research we have conducted in Canada and the United States indicating that perceived zero-sum competition between groups, whether situationally induced or a function of chronic belief in zero-sum relations among groups, is strongly implicated in negative immigration attitudes. In addition, we describe our recent attempts to improve attitudes toward immigrants and immigration through the targeting of zero-sum beliefs and through manipulations of the inclusiveness of national identity.

Hood, M. V., III; Irwin L. Morris. 1998. "Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,... But Make Sure They Have a Green Card: The Effects of Documented and Undocumented Migrant Context on Anglo Opinion toward Immigration." *Political Behavior*, 20(1): 1-15.

Although few controversies in our political environment are as contentious as the current debate over immigration policy, the research on public opinion toward immigration is quite limited. In particular, we know relatively little about the contextual determinants of opinions on immigration issues. We address this issue by investigating the impact of migrant context on Anglo opinions toward immigration. We find that Anglo support for increased immigration is directly related to the size of the documented migrant population. Conversely, as the relative size of the undocumented migrant population increases, Anglo support for increased immigration decreases. We conclude with a discussion of the relevance of our findings for the study of immigration opinion, in particular, and the study of intergroup relations more generally.

Kessler, Alan. 2001. "Immigration, Economic Insecurity, and the 'Ambivalent' American Public." Working Paper No. 41. Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, UCSD.

Are public attitudes toward immigration policy in the United States driven by economic or non-economic concerns? Though systematic analyses are few, a burgeoning literature suggests that cultural norms and enduring values, rather than calculations of self-interest, determine immigration policy preferences. This paper challenges the contention that economic motivations play little or no role in the formation of immigration policy preferences. Drawing on recent work in political economy, I argue that individual preferences over immigration policy reflect economic and non-economic concerns – both broadly rooted in considerations of individual self-interest. While affective orientations toward ethnic groups and prejudice clearly underlie public attitudes toward immigration policy, analysts err in discounting an economic interpretation of

immigration policy preferences. In fact, multivariate analysis of 1992 through 2000 National Election Study surveys reveals a robust link between an individual's position in the labor market and immigration policy. Respondents at the lower end of the nation's occupational and/or educational distribution are more likely to oppose increased immigration, as the Heckscher-Ohlin model of international trade implies.

Olzak Susan; Suzanne Shanahan. 2003. "Racial Policy and Racial Conflict in the Urban United States, 1869-1924." *Social Forces*, 82(2): 481-517.

This article extends existing explanations of racial conflict by suggesting how legislation and court rulings instigate processes of legitimation and competitive exclusion, which in turn affect the likelihood of racial violence. We argue that federal legislation and court cases that reinforced the white-nonwhite racial boundary stigmatized nonwhites and prompted whites to attack nonwhites. However, legislation and court rulings that dismantled segregation and eradicated discrimination against racial minorities also instigated racial violence, as whites mobilized efforts to contain competition. A final argument suggests that when legislation successfully restrains competition from a specific population, collective violence against that group will diminish. Using data on collective violence against Asians and African Americans from the 76 largest cities in the U.S. from 1869 through 1924, we find support for these three claims. In particular, we find that while immigration and economic competition raise levels of racial conflict, state policies concerning race also increase the rate of racial violence significantly.

Sanchez, George. 1997. "Face the Nation: Race, Immigration, and the Rise of Nativism in Late Twentieth Century America." *International Migration Review*, 31 (4): 1009-1030.

This article examines the rise of nativism directed at Asian and Latino immigrants to the United States in contemporary American society. By focusing on the Los Angeles riots and other evidence of the rise of anti-immigrant feelings among the population, this study reveals that a racial nativism has arisen which intertwines a new American racism with traditional hostility towards new immigrants in a variety of ways. Both recent scholarship on race and John Higham's classic work on nativism are utilized to provide a conceptual framework for understanding our multiracial contemporary setting. Tellingly, this new racial nativism emerges from both sides of the political spectrum, and is evident in attempts to keep discussions of race focused on solely white/black national construction. Finally, the study explores how immigrants themselves have responded to these attacks by increasing naturalization rates and political activity, forming a newfound ambivalent Americanism.

BOOKS

Fetzer, Joel S. 2000. *Public Attitudes Toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany explores the causes of public opposition to immigration and support for anti-immigrant political movements in the three industrialized Western countries. Combining sophisticated modeling of recent public-opinion data with analysis of the last 110 years of these nations, immigration history, the book evaluates the effects of cultural marginality, economic self-interest, and contact with immigrants. Though analysis partly confirms each of these three explanations, the author

concludes that being a cultural outsider usually drives immigration-related attitudes more than economics or contact do.

THE FRAMING OF IMMIGRATION ISSUES IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE

ARTICLES

Domke, David; Kelley McCoy; Marcos Torres. 1999. "News Media, Racial Perceptions, and Political Cognition." *Communication Research*, 26(5): 570-607.

This study theorizes that news coverage of political issues not only influences people's thinking about the issues but also activates associated racial or ethnic stereotypes held by individuals and influences whether these perceptions are applied in politically meaningful ways, such as in the formation of issue positions or evaluations about whether certain political, economic, or legal outcomes are positive for U.S. society. To test these ideas, an experiment was conducted in which the news frame of immigration was systematically altered—as either material or ethical in nature—within controlled political information environments to examine how individuals process, interpret, and use issue information in forming political judgments. The findings provide strong support for the perspective that news coverage of issues, by priming subjects to focus on some considerations and relationships and not others, influences the strength of the associations between individuals' racial cognitions and their political evaluations.

Tolbert, Caroline; Rodney Hero. 1996. "Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative" *The Journal of Politics*, 58 (3): 806-818.

This article examines the role of racial/ethnic diversity in county-level support for California's illegal immigration initiative (Proposition 187). We conceptualize California counties in terms of their homogeneous, heterogeneous, or bifurcated racial/ethnic composition. We argue racial/ethnic context is critical beyond individual-level factors; this context is central in explaining public policy, especially policies that affect minority groups. The vote for Proposition 187 is expected to be the highest in "bifurcated" counties with large Latino populations. Regression analysis is used to statistically model the county-level vote for the initiative relative to the size of racial/ethnic populations, economic conditions, and party. Bifurcated counties with large Latino populations strongly supported Proposition 187, as well as homogeneous counties with predominately white and very small minority populations. California's white/Latino bifurcated racial/ethnic composition may parallel the white/black bifurcation of the deep South in an earlier era. The importance of the theory and empirical findings presented extend beyond California to national and subnational politics.

Lakoff, George; Sam Ferguson. 2006. "The Framing of Immigration." *The Rockridge Institute*.

Framing is at the center of the recent immigration debate. Simply framing it as about "immigration" has shaped its politics, defining what count as "problems" and constraining the debate to a narrow set of issues. The language is telling. The linguistic framing is remarkable: frames for illegal immigrant, illegal alien, illegals, undocumented workers, undocumented immigrants, guest workers, temporary workers, amnesty, and border security. These linguistic expressions are anything but neutral. Each framing defines the problem in its own way, and

hence constrains the solutions needed to address that problem. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, we will analyze the framing used in the public debate. Second, we suggest some alternative framing to highlight important concerns left out of the current debate. Our point is to show that the relevant issues go far beyond what is being discussed, and that acceptance of the current framing impoverishes the discussion.

Mehan, Hugh. 1997. "The Discourse of the Illegal Immigration Debate: A Case Study in the Politics of Representation." *Discourse and Society*, 8(2): 249-270.

It is the proposition of this paper that our search for enemies is turning inward now that the Cold War is over. The State, in alliance with business and other elite interests, is encouraging citizens to treat the immigrant, the poor, the unfortunate as the enemy. The discourse strategies that fabricated the immigrant as the enemy are analyzed in the debate over California's Proposition 187, which would exclude undocumented immigrant children from public schools and health care facilities. In the unsettling climate of California's economic uncertainty and perceived loss, powerful voices, including the State, successfully blamed the crisis on undocumented immigrants. By framing the debate in us v. them terms, presenting compelling anecdotes of illegal aliens taking jobs and abusing social services and appealing to the self-interest of disaffected citizens, proponents of Proposition 187 successfully countered universalistic appeals to the general good, a higher morality and universal human rights. In short, human rights lost in this election to self interest.

Pratto, Felicia; Anthony F. Lemieux. 2001. "The Psychological Ambiguity of Immigration and Its Implications for Promoting Immigration Policy." *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3): 413-430.

Immigration can evoke two recurring and contradictory social psychology situations: group inclusion and group threat. This ambiguity implies that immigration can bring out either people's communal, egalitarian natures, or their prejudicial, oppressive natures. Further, it means that immigration policies can be framed in ways that appeal to one psychological orientation or the other. Using this perspective, we examined Californians' attitudes toward a fictitious immigration policy. The policy was framed in one of two ways, and participants' values concerning group equality versus group dominance were measured. Results showed that framing the policy as a way of maintaining dominance over immigrants appealed to those high in social dominance orientation, whereas framing the policy as a way of increasing equality between immigrants and members of the receiving society appealed to those low on social dominance orientation. The practical political aspects of promoting immigration policy are discussed.

Wright, Richard; Mark Ellis. 2000. "Race, Region and the Territorial Politics of Immigration in the US." *International Journal of Population Geography*, 6(3): 197-211.

Zelinsky and Lee (1998) recently unveiled a model of the sociospatial process of immigrant settlement designed to augment and possibly supplant the well-known theories of assimilation and pluralism. Although in some ways new, their work continues a tradition in social science that treats the settlement geography of immigrants as a measure of their more general fit into American society. We question the prevailing assumption that immigrant settlement patterns represent a barometer of their adaptation, or lack thereof, to a host society. This critique of the concepts of assimilation, pluralism and Zelinsky and Lee's alternative 'heterolocal' model of immigrant settlement pivots around the issues of spatial scale and race. We argue that the

contestations over immigration and how well immigrants fit into society are increasingly constructed at the regional scale. We also assert that questions race infuse almost all aspects of these debates. The transformation of America's largest city-regions into places of non-white immigrants, and the shifting political balance of power to states like California through immigration-driven reapportionment, are touchstones for anti-immigration initiatives and associated local and national debate. Fear of racial regional changes underpins an increasingly powerful response to immigration. The reactions elicited by these settlement geographies fall under the heading we call the "territorial politics of immigration".

BOOKS

Borjas, George J. 2001. *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

The U.S. took in more than a million immigrants per year in the late 1990s, more than at any other time in history. For humanitarian and many other reasons, this may be good news. But as George Borjas shows in *Heaven's Door*, it's decidedly mixed news for the American economy--and positively bad news for the country's poorest citizens. Widely regarded as the country's leading immigration economist, Borjas presents the most comprehensive, accessible, and up-to-date account yet of the economic impact of recent immigration on America. He reveals that the benefits of immigration have been greatly exaggerated and that, if we allow immigration to continue unabated and unmodified, we are supporting an astonishing transfer of wealth from the poorest people in the country, who are disproportionately minorities, to the richest.

Chavez, Leo. 2001. *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press.

On October 17, 1994, *The Nation* ran the headline "The Immigration Wars" on its cover over an illustration showing the western border of the United States with a multitude of people marching toward it. In the foreground, the Statue of Liberty topped by an upside-down American flag is joined by a growling guard dog lunging at a man carrying a pack. The magazine's coverage of emerging anti-immigrant sentiment shows how highly charged the images and texts on popular magazine covers can be. This provocative book gives a cultural history of the immigration issue in the United States since 1965, using popular magazine covers as a fascinating entry into a discussion of our attitudes toward one of the most volatile debates in the nation.

Leo Chavez gathers and analyzes over seventy cover images from politically diverse magazines, including *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Business Week*, *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, and *American Heritage*. He traces the connections between the social, legal, and economic conditions surrounding immigration and the diverse images through which it is portrayed. *Covering Immigration* suggests that media images not only reflect the national mood but also play a powerful role in shaping national discourse. Drawing on insights from anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies, this original and perceptive book raises new questions about the media's influence over the public's increasing fear of immigration.

Tichenor, Daniel J. 2002. *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Immigration is perhaps the most enduring and elemental leitmotif of America. This book is a study of the politics and policies it has inspired, from the founders' earliest efforts to shape

American identity to today's revealing struggles over Third World immigration, noncitizen rights, and illegal aliens. Weaving a robust new theoretical approach into a sweeping history, Daniel Tichenor ties together previous studies' idiosyncratic explanations for particular, pivotal twists and turns of immigration policy. He tells the story of lively political battles between immigration defenders and doubters over time and of the transformative policy regimes they built.