

PLAD 4500  
**US Immigration Policy In Real Time**  
Spring 2025

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 3.00-4.30 and by appointment

Description

Donald Trump ran for President in 2024, as he did in 2016, on a promise to close the border, deport migrants, and decrease immigration. He has promised to start deportation proceedings, to end birthright citizenship, and to undertake massive changes to US immigration policy. This class will follow these policy announcements and policy enactments. We will spend time working through historical and theoretical materials in order to help us make sense of unfolding policies. This will require a very close attention to a wide variety of new sources, an ability to engage with various data sources, and, critically, a willingness to be flexible.

Course materials are arranged in modules and at the time of this writing (December 2024) the order of topics flows in a largely coherent manner. But we are going to follow policies as they unfold so after the first week of class (the week before inauguration) be prepared for things to shift around. We will be discussing and analyzing topics that are difficult for some people; your ability to approach these topics as social scientists – an effort to understand the nature of the policies and their effects analytically and not normatively – will be crucial as will your willingness to appreciate deep differences of opinion.

I will approach this class as a research seminar where we, as a class, are doing a group project. Collaboration both inside and outside of class will be essential as all assignments will be group assignments.

Evaluation

Participation	30%
Weekly updates to class dashboard:	10 @ 2% each = 20%
Project: Blog, podcast, video, research brief:	2 @ 25% each = 50%

More details will be shared once after we meet on day one and better understand the range of skills and interests students are bringing to the class. But the basic idea is that we want to take academic research on any particular topic and (a) use it to inform specific policy issues that are being proposed/implemented during the semester and (b) share those insights with a non-expert population. Basically, engage in translational social science in the area of US immigration policy. That may take the form of a policy/research brief, a public blog, a podcast, a video, or any other dissemination vehicle. We also want to make sure that the data and analysis that we are tracking is publicly available via data dashboards.

Readings

There are no required books; all readings will be available on the canvas site. But, note, that there will be a large number of supplementary required readings that will be added as the semester unfolds. Those will be linked to a page on the canvas site as well. You should follow these blogs as well:

- a. [WOLA](#)
- b. [Americas Migration Brief](#)
- c. <https://immpolicytracking.org/about/>

Each day the seminar will be structured as follows:

1. Update on immigration news/policies of the last week
2. Theoretical/historical/empirical background
3. Group work on projects

We will be building dashboards:

1. Data from CBP, Mexico, Darien, ICE
2. Twitter posts from Trump, Holeman, Musk, Ramaswamy, Miller, etc.

The goal of these trackers is to see where policy and rhetoric collide. Can we build out any systems that will inform us about probable action in different policy areas and across geographic areas (cities, states, borders, neighboring countries, etc)? How can this information inform our research?

Issue briefs: Review "[how to write a policy brief](#)" summary by the International Development Research Centre, Canada for a good introduction and template.

## Topics and (Very) **Tentative** Reading List

**January 14** Introduction, Course Requirements, and Background on Trump & Biden Policies

Julie Hirschfeld Davis and Michael Shear. 2019. *Border Wars: Inside Trump's Assault on Immigration*. New York: Simon & Schuster. Pages 1-55.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/biden-immigration-legacy?eType=EmailBlastContent&eld=45da1913-acbb-4ea2-8da9-cd801fb2c9fb>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/12/11/briefing/us-immigration-surge.html>

**January 21** What happened on Inauguration Day; Role of President in Immigration Policy

Mae Ngai. 2022. "Immigration Policy and Politics under Trump," in Julian Zelizer (ed). *The Presidency of Donald J Trump*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Adam Cox and Cristina Rodriguez. 2020. *The President and Immigration Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pages 1-44

Catherine Osborn. 2024. "[How Migration Became a US Foreign-Policy Priority.](#)" Foreign Policy October 9.

Paul Dans and Steven Groves (eds.). 2024. *2025: Mandate for Leadership, The Conservative Promise*. Washington, DC: The Heritage Foundation. Chapter 5.

## Revision as of March 10, 2025

### March 18 **Deportations**

Christian Ambrosius and Andrea Velasquez. 2024. "[Large-Scale Deportations May Have Unintended Consequences.](#)" Migration Information Source. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Chloe East. 2024. "[The Labor Market Impact of Deportations.](#)" Washington, DC; Brookings Institution.

Christian Ambrosius and David Leblang. 2024. "[A Deportation Boomerang? Evidence from US Removals to Latin America and the Caribbean.](#)" Forthcoming, *Demography*.

Rachel Leingang. 2024. "[How would Donald Trump carry out his mass deportation scheme?](#)" The Guardian, December 4, 2024.

### March 25 **Foreign Aid and Trade – with a focus on Mexico as a Partner**

David Bacon. 2014. "[Globalization and NAFTA Caused Migration from Mexico,](#)" Political Research Associates.

Michael Clemens and Hannah Postel. "[Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries.](#) *Population and Development Review*. 2018 44(4):667-693

Mauro Lanati and Rainer Thiele. "[The Impact of Foreign Aid on Migration Revisited.](#)" *World Development* 2018 111:59-74

Natalie Sears. 2014. "[NAFTA and Its Twenty-Year Effect on Immigration](#)," 20 LAW & BUS. REV. AM. 669

## **April 1      Immigration Federalism and Sanctuary Cities**

Lim, S., & Paik, S. (2022). The impact of immigration enforcement on agricultural employment: evidence from the US E-Verify policy. *Applied Economics*, 55(19), 2223–2259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2022.2102135>

Butz, Adam M., Kehrberg, Jason E. 2019. [Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Adoption of State Immigration Policy](#). *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 47, Issue. 3, p. 605

O'Brien, B. G., Collingwood, L., & Paarlberg, M. A. (2023). Sanctuary Policies and the Influence of Local Demographics and Partisanship. *Urban Affairs Review*, 60(1), 49-72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10780874231152786>

Pia Orrenius, Madeline Zavodny, and Chloe Smith. 2024. "[Labor Market Effects of Worker- and Employer-Targeted Immigration Enforcement](#)," Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Working Paper 2413.

McCann, W., Chenane, J.L., Rollins, S. *et al.* An Analysis of 287(g) Program Adoption and Support for Sanctuary Policies. *Int. Migration & Integration* 25, 1761–1795 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-024-01141-0>

## **April 8      Border enforcement & Family Separation**

Edward Alden. 2017. "[Is Border Enforcement Effective? What We Know and What It Means](#)," *Journal of Migration and Human Security* 5(2):481-90.

Victoria Vernon and Klaus Zimmermann. "[Walls and Fences: A Journey Through History and Economics](#)." GLO Discussion Paper #330.

Massey, Douglas. 2005. "[Backfire at the Border: Why Enforcement without Legalization Cannot Stop Illegal Immigration](#),"

Yael Schacher. 2020. "[Family Separation and Lives in Limbo: US Immigration Policy in the 1920s and during the Trump Administration](#)." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 690: 192-199.

Abby Cordova, Jonathan Hiskey, Mary Malone, and Diana Orces. 2024. "[Undeterred: Understanding Repeat Migration in Northern Central America](#)," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* 12(3) 160–181

**April 15 High Skilled Migration**

Wasem, R. E., and C. C. Haddal. 2007. "[Point Systems for Immigrant Selection: Options and Issues](#)." In Congressional Research Service Reports for Congress.

American Immigration Council. 2024. "[The H-1B Visa Program and Its Impact on the U.S. Economy](#)."

Miranda Dixon-Luinenburg. 2022. "[America has an innovation problem. The H-1B visa backlog is making it worse](#)." VOX, June 13

Noah Smith. 2024. "[Indian Immigration is Great for America](#)." Noahpinion.

<https://www.epi.org/blog/the-h-1b-visa-program-remains-the-outsourcing-visa-more-than-half-of-the-top-30-h-1b-employers-were-outsourcing-firms/>

**April 22 Student Presentations**

**April 29 Student Presentations**

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\*\*\*\*\* Original Syllabus \*\*\*\*\*  
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***Topics that follow are modular and will likely be rearranged and readings added/subtracted.***

**January 28 Economic Effects of legal and undocumented migrants**

Francine Blau and Christopher Mackie (eds). 2017. The Economic and Fiscal Consequences of Immigration: A Report of the National Academies of Sciences. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. Chapters 5 & 8.

Pia Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny. "Less-Skilled Immigration: Economic Effects and Policy Responses." In Michael Strain (ed) [The US Labor Market: Questions and Challenges for Public Policy](#). American Enterprise Institute. 2016.

Tooze, Adam. 2021 (October 12). "[Of Scarface and the Nobel – The Double Life of Mariel](#)." Chartbook blog.

Clemens, Michael A, Ethan G Lewis, and Hannah M Postel, "[Immigration restrictions as active labor market policy: Evidence from the mexican bracero exclusion.](#)"

American Economic Review, 2018, 108 (6), 1468–87.

East, Chloe, Hines, Annie L., Luck, Philip, Mansour, Hani and Velasquez, Andrea, (2023), [The Labor Market Effects of Immigration Enforcement](#), *Journal of Labor Economics*, **41**, issue 4, p. 957 - 996.

Kostandini, Genti, Elton Mykerezi, and Cesar Escalante, "[The impact of immigration enforcement on the US farming sector](#)," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 2013, 96 (1), 172–192.

#### **February 4 Social and Political Effects of Undocumented Migrants**

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Boustan, Elisa Jácome, Santiago Pérez, and Juan David Torres. 2024. "[Law-Abiding Immigrants: The Incarceration Gap between Immigrants and the US-Born, 1870–2020](#)." *American Economic Review: Insights*, 6 (4): 453–71.

Amuedo-Dorantes, C., Bansak, C., & Pozo, S. (2021). [Refugee Admissions and Public Safety: Are Refugee Settlement Areas More Prone to Crime?](#) *International Migration Review*, 55(1), 135-165.

D. Masterson and V Yassenov. [Does Halting Refugee Resettlement Reduce Crime? Evidence from the US Refugee Ban](#). *American Political Science Review*. 2021;115(3):1066-1073.

Miles, Thomas J and Adam B Cox, "[Does immigration enforcement reduce crime? evidence from secure communities](#)," *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 2014, 57 (4), 937–973.

David Bier. 2024. "[Connection Between Immigration and Fentanyl Deaths is Weak](#)." CATO Institute.

Michael Light and Julia Thomas. 2021. "[Undocumented Immigration and Terrorism: Is there a Connection?](#)" *Social Science Research* 94:

<https://www.laurenpolicy.com/p/immigration-and-crime-in-the-united>

#### **February 11 Deportations**

Adam Goodman. 2022. "Mexican Migration to the United States and the Rise of the Deportation Machine," in Andreas Feldmann, Xochiti Bada, Jorge Durand, and Stephanie Schutze (eds) *The Routledge History of Modern Latin American Migration*. New York: Routledge.

Christian Ambrosius and Andrea Velasquez. 2024. "[Large-Scale Deportations May Have Unintended Consequences](#)." Migration Information Source. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Muzaffar Chishti and Kathleen Bush-Joseph. 2024. "[The Biden Administration is on Pace to Match Trump Deportation Numbers – Focusing on the Border, Not the US Interior](#)," Migration Information Source. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Chloe East. 2024. "[The Labor Market Impact of Deportations](#)." Washington, DC; Brookings Institution.

Dara Lind. 2016. "[The disastrous, forgotten 1996 law that created today's immigration problem](#)," VOX

David Bier. 2024. "[The Math on Mass Deportation Doesn't Add Up](#)." Reason Magazine.

Christian Ambrosius and David Leblang. 2024. "[A Deportation Boomerang? Evidence from US Removals to Latin America and the Caribbean](#)." Forthcoming, *Demography*.

American Immigration Council. 2024. [Mass Deportation: Devastating Costs to America, Its Budget and Economy](#).

Rachel Leingang. 2024. "[How would Donald Trump carry out his mass deportation scheme?](#)" The Guardian, December 4, 2024.

## **February 18 Internal/State Level & Workplace Enforcement**

Tara Watson and Kalee Thompson. 2022. *The Border Within: The Economics of Immigration in an Age of Fear*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Part 2, pp 89-

VARSANI, M. W. (2012). [A multilayered jurisdictional patchwork: Immigration federalism in the united states](#). *Law & Policy*, 34(2), 138-158.

Karthick Ramakrishnan and Pratheepan Guiasekaram. 2014. [Understanding Immigration Federalism in the United States](#). Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.

Ayromloo, Shalise, Benjamin Feigenberg, and Darren Lubotsky, "[States Taking the Reins? Employment Verification Requirements and Local Labor Market Outcomes](#)," Working Paper 26676, National Bureau of Economic Research January 2020.

Lim, S., & Paik, S. (2022). The impact of immigration enforcement on agricultural employment: evidence from the US E-Verify policy. *Applied Economics*, 55(19), 2223–2259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2022.2102135>

Butz, Adam M., Kehrberg, Jason E. 2019. [Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Adoption of State Immigration Policy](#). *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 47, Issue. 3, p. 605

Pia Orrenius, Madeline Zavodny, and Chloe Smith. 2024. "[Labor Market Effects of Worker- and Employer-Targeted Immigration Enforcement](#)," Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, Working Paper 2413.

Pia M. Orrenius & Madeline Zavodny, 2015. [The Impact of E-Verify Mandates on Labor Market Outcomes](#), 81 SOUTHERN ECONOMIC JOURNAL 947.

## **February 25 Border enforcement & Family Separation**

Edward Alden. 2017. "[Is Border Enforcement Effective? What We Know and What It Means](#)," *Journal of Migration and Human Security* 5(2):481-90.

Victoria Vernon and Klaus Zimmermann. "[Walls and Fences: A Journey Through History and Economics](#)." GLO Discussion Paper #330.

Massey, Douglas. 2005. "[Backfire at the Border: Why Enforcement without Legalization Cannot Stop Illegal Immigration](#),"

Alberto Davila, Jose Pagan, and Gokce Soydemir. 2002. "The Short-Term and Long-Term Deterrence Effects of INS Border and Interior Enforcement on Undocumented Immigration," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 49:459-72.

Yael Schacher. 2020. "[Family Separation and Lives in Limbo: US Immigration Policy in the 1920s and during the Trump Administration](#)." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 690: 192-199.

Eunice D Vargas Valle, Erin Hamilton, and Pedro Orraca Romano. 2022. "[Family Separation and Remigration Intentions to the USA among Mexican Deportees](#)," International Migration 60:139-153.

Mariela Olivares. 2022. "[Family Detention and Family Separation: History, Struggle, and Status](#)," Belmont Law Review 9(2):512-33.

Abby Cordova, Jonathan Hiskey, Mary Malone, and Diana Orces. 2024. "[Undeterred: Understanding Repeat Migration in Northern Central America](#)," Journal on Migration and Human Security 12(3) 160–181

#### **March 4      Birthright Citizenship**

Alexandra M. Wyatt. 2015. "[Birthright Citizenship and Children Born in the United States to Alien Parents: An Overview of the Legal Debate](#)". Congressional Research Service 7-5700.

Maria Enchautegui and Linda Giannarelli. 2015. "[The Economic Impact of Naturalization on Immigrants and Cities](#)." Research Report, the Urban Institute and The NYC Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs.

Cecilia Rouse, Llsa Barrow, Kevin Rinz, and Evan Soltas. 2021. "[The Economic Benefits of Extending Permanent Legal Status to Unauthorized Immigrants](#)," Council of Economic Advisors Blog.

Bernt Bratsberg, James Ragan, Jr, and Zafar Nasir. 2002. "[The Effect of Naturalization on Wage Growth: A Panel Study of Young Male Immigrants](#)," Journal of Labor Economics 20(3)568-597.

J. Hainmueller, D. Hangartner, G. Pietrantuono, [Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants](#), *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 112 (41) 12651-12656,

J. Hainmueller, D. Hangartner, G. Pietrantuono. [Catalyst or Crown: Does Naturalization Promote the Long-Term Social Integration of Immigrants?](#) American Political Science Review. 2017;111(2):256-276.

Felfe de Ormeño, Christina; Rainer, Helmut (2020) : [Intended and Unintended Consequences of Birthright Citizenship](#), CESifo Forum, ISSN 2190-717X, ifo Institut - Leibniz-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung an der Universität München, München, Vol. 21, Iss. 04, pp. 14-18

#### **March 11      Spring Break**

**March 18**      **Third Country Agreements/Externalization**

Martínez Flores, Fernanda (2018) : [The deterrence effect of immigration enforcement in transit countries: Evidence from Central American deportees](#), Ruhr Economic Papers, No. 749, ISBN 978-3-86788-870-7, RWI - Leibniz-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, Essen, <https://doi.org/10.4419/86788870>

Lena Laube. 2021. "[Diplomatic Side-Effects of the EU's Externalization of Border Control and the Emerging Role of "Transit States"](#) in Migration Diplomacy," Historical Social Research 46(3)78-105.

**March 25**      **Foreign Aid and Trade – with a focus on Mexico as a Partner**

Mathias Czaika and Hein De Haas. "[The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies.](#)" *Population and Development Review*. 2013 39(3):487-508.

Michael Clemens and Hannah Postel. "[Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries.](#) *Population and Development Review*. 2018 44(4):667-693

Mauro Lanati and Rainer Thiele. "[The Impact of Foreign Aid on Migration Revisited.](#)" *World Development* 2018 111:59-74

Natalie Sears. 2014. "[NAFTA and Its Twenty-Year Effect on Immigration,](#)" 20 LAW & BUS. REV. AM. 669

David Bacon. 2014. "[Globalization and NAFTA Caused Migration from Mexico,](#)" Political Research Associates.

Martin, P. L. (1993). Trade and Migration: The Case of NAFTA. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 2(3), 329-367.

**April 1**      **Policy: Legalization and Alternative Legal Pathways**

Pia Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny. 2012. "[The Economic Consequences of Amnesty for Unauthorized Immigrants,](#)" CATO Journal 32(1):85-106.

Robert Lynch and Patrick Oakford. 2013. "[The Economic Effects of Granting Legal Status and Citizenship to Undocumented Immigrants.](#)" Center for American Progress.

Francesc Ortega, Ryan Edwards, and Amy Hsin. 2019. "[The Economic Effects of Providing Legal Status to DREAMers,](#)" IZA Journal of Labor Policy 9(5).

Michael Clemens and Kate Gough. "[Can Regular Migration Channels Reduce Irregular Migration?](#)" Center for Global Development Brief, February 2018.

Benjamin Helms, David Leblang. 2022. "[Labor Market Policy as Immigration Control: The Case of Temporary Protected Status](#)", *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 66, Issue 3, September.

**April 8 High Skilled Migration**

Wasem, R. E., and C. C. Haddal. 2007. "[Point Systems for Immigrant Selection: Options and Issues](#)." In Congressional Research Service Reports for Congress.

Congressional Research Service. 2021. "[Primer on US Immigration Policy](#)."

American Immigration Council. 2024. "[The H-1B Visa Program and Its Impact on the U.S. Economy](#)."

Miranda Dixon-Luinenburg. 2022. "[America has an innovation problem. The H-1B visa backlog is making it worse](#)." VOX, June 13

Richard Sanders. 2020. "[A Layered Look at Canadian and U.S. Immigration](#)," Wilson Center Reports

Noah Smith. 2024. "[Indian Immigration is Great for America](#)." Noahpinion.

<https://media4.manhattan-institute.org/wp-content/uploads/reducing-visa-waste-model-legislation-to-promote-high-skilled-immigration.pdf#page=10>

<https://www.epi.org/blog/the-h-1b-visa-program-remains-the-outsourcing-visa-more-than-half-of-the-top-30-h-1b-employers-were-outsourcing-firms/>

**April 15 TBD**

**April 22 TBD**

**April 29 TBD**

The media studies class I'm currently in is called Podcasting Radio Sound with Elliot Majerczyk. If you want to assign a podcast project for your class, I would highly highly recommend reaching out to Jason from the Robertson Media Center. Our class had a session at the beginning of the semester with him and he walked us through the technical steps in making a podcast. He is so passionate about audio and helping students bring their visions and life. His email is [emj8ym@virginia.edu](mailto:emj8ym@virginia.edu)

The Robertson Media Center has a ton of recording equipment that can be checked out on demand. They even have a whole recording studio but it needs to be reserved ahead of time. Let me know if you have any other questions!

<https://www.npr.org/2025/04/17/1245273514/alien-enemies-act>

Charlotte project technologies

<https://lovo.ai/>

<https://www.doodly.com/>

Substack: place for individual opinions.