THIRD ANNUAL UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION CONFERENCE

“POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE”

February 10, 2012

Weaver Conference Center
University of California, San Diego

CCIS Center for Comparative Immigration Studies
Friday, February 10

8:00-8:30am  COFFEE AND WELCOME
David FitzGerald, UC San Diego
John Skrentny, UC San Diego

8:30-10:00am  PANEL 1. Local Policy Responses
Karthick Ramakrishnan, UCR, “Polarized Change: An Evidence-Based Theory of Subnational Immigration Regulation”
Jennifer Chacon, UCI, “Overcriminalizing Immigration”
Angela Garcia, UCSD, “Return to Sender? A Comparative Analysis of Immigrant Communities in ‘Attrition through Enforcement’ Destinations”
Discussant: Zoli Hajnal, UCSD

10:00-10:30am  BREAK

10:30am-12:30pm  PANEL 2. Unauthorized Migration
Frank Bean, UCI, “Unauthorized Mexican Migration: Effects on Second-Generation Educational Attainment”
Ruben Hernandez-Leon, UCLA, “The (Undocumented) Migration Industry as a Bastard Institution”
Discussant: Esther Castillo, UCI

12:30-1:30pm  LUNCH
Roberto Suro, USC, “How about: After the Storm: The immigration policy debate in the wake of the great recession”

1:30-3:00pm  PANEL 3. Latino Politics
Cristina Mora, UCB, “Hispanic Panethnicity”
Rodney Hero, UCB, “Exploring the Strength of ‘American’ Identity among Latinos: Considering the Role of ‘Liberal’ Values, Ascriptive Factors, and Demographic Characteristics”
David Sears, UCLA, “Do national and ethnic identities collide?”
Susan Bibler Coutin, UCI, “Memory, Membership, and Rights: Activism among Salvadoran Youth”
Discussant: Susan Brown, UCI

3:00-3:30pm  BREAK

3:30-5:00pm  PANEL 4. Refugees and Security
Kate Jastram, UCB, “Seeking Asylum, Suspected of War Crimes: Weighing Persecution by the Persecuted”
Discussant: David Pedersen, UCSD

6:00pm  DINNER & KEYNOTE ADDRESS (invited panelists and discussants only)
Edward Alden is the Bernard L. Schwartz senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C., and the author of *The Closing of the American Border: Terrorism, Immigration and Security Since 9/11*, which was named a finalist for the 2009 J. Anthony Lukash Book Prize for non-fiction. He was the project director for the Council’s *Independent Task Force on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy* (2011) and for the *Independent Task Force on U.S. Immigration Policy* (2009). He is also the director of CFR’s Renewing America Publication Series. Prior to joining the Council in 2007, Mr. Alden was the Washington bureau chief for the *Financial Times*. He has written extensively about the U.S. response to globalization, focusing particularly on international trade, immigration, and homeland security. He has won several national and international awards for his reporting, and has written commentary for the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times* and many other magazines, newspapers and websites. He lives in Bethesda, Maryland with his wife and two children.

Frank D. Bean is Chancellor’s Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy at the University of California, Irvine. He is the author or editor of more than 170 scholarly articles and chapters and eighteen books. His research focuses on international migration, unauthorized migration, U.S. immigration policy, and the demography of the U.S. Hispanic population. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, he has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and numerous other Visiting Scholar awards (at the Russell Sage Foundation; the Transatlantic Academy in Washington, DC; the American Academy in Berlin; the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University; and the Center for U.S./Mexico Studies at the University of California at San Diego). In 2011, he received the Distinguished Lifetime Scholarly Career Award in International Migration at the ASA annual meetings. His most recent book, *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in 21st Century America*, received the 2011 Otis Dudley Duncan (Best Book) Award from the American Sociological Association’s Population Section for Distinguished Scholarship in Social Demography.

Susan Bibler Coutin holds a Ph.D. in sociocultural anthropology and is professor in the Department of Criminology, Law, and Society and the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine, where she also serves as Associate Dean of the Graduate Division. Her research has examined social, political, and legal activism surrounding immigration issues, particularly immigration from El Salvador to the United States. Her first book, *THE CULTURE OF PROTEST: RELIGIOUS ACTIVISM AND THE U.S. SANCTUARY MOVEMENT* (Westview 1993) analyzed how congregations that declared themselves "sanctuaries" for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees constructed a means and a language of protesting U.S. refugee and foreign policy in the 1980s. Her second book, *LEGALIZING MOVES: SALVADORAN IMMIGRANTS’ STRUGGLE FOR U.S. RESIDENCY* (U. Michigan Press, 2000), analyzed how Salvadoran immigrants negotiated their legal identities in the United States in the 1990s, a period characterized by immigration reform in the U.S. and post-war reconstruction in El Salvador. Her third book, *NATIONS OF EMIGRANTS: SHIFTING BOUNDARIES OF CITIZENSHIP IN EL SALVADOR AND THE UNITED STATES* (Cornell University Press, 2007), considers how current forms of migration challenge conventional understandings of borders, citizenship, and migration itself. She is currently completing a book manuscript that examines the experiences of 1.5 generation migrants, that is, individuals who were born in El Salvador but raised in the United States. With Justin Richland (UCI and University of Chicago) she is also conducting NSF-funded research regarding archival practices in immigrant and indigenous advocacy.
Susan K. Brown is associate professor of sociology at the University of California, Irvine. Her research focuses on the immigrant integration, particularly in the second and third generations; access to higher education; and residential mobility.

Esther Castillo is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Irvine.

Jennifer M. Chacón is a Professor of Law and former Senior Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the University of California, Irvine, School of Law. Her research, which focuses on the intersection of criminal and immigration law and policy, has been published in the Pennsylvania Law Review, the Duke Law Review and other journals. She received her A.B. with Distinction from Stanford University and her J.D. from Yale Law School. She was a law clerk to the Honorable Sydney R. Thomas of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and an attorney with the New York law firm of Davis Polk & Wardwell.

Wayne Cornelius Cornelius founded UCSD’s Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and directed it for sixteen years. In 1999 he founded the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies and directed it for ten years. From 2004-2009 he led the UCSD-based Mexican Migration Field Research and Training Program, which conducts annual, in-depth studies of migrant-sending and receiving communities in Mexico and the United States. In 2011-12 he resumed his involvement in the MMFRP as co-instructor. His most recent books include Impacts of Border Enforcement on Mexican Migration: The View from Sending Communities (co-author/editor; CCIS/Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007); Mayan Journeys: The New Migration from Yucatán to the United States (co-author/editor; CCIS/Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), Reforming the Administration of Justice in Mexico (co-author/co-editor, University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), Four Generations of Norteños: New Research from the Cradle of Mexican Migration (co-author/editor, CCIS/Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009), Migration from the Mexican Mixteca: A Transnational Community in Oaxaca and California (co-author/editor, CCIS/Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009), and Mexican Migration and the U.S. Economic Crisis: A Transnational Perspective (co-author/editor, CCIS/Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009). He is Past President of the Latin American Studies Association.
David Fitzgerald is Gildred Chair in U.S.-Mexican Relations, Associate Professor of Sociology, and Associate Director of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego. He is the author of *A Nation of Emigrants: How Mexico Manages its Migration* (University of California Press, 2009), co-editor of five books on Mexican migration, and author of articles on transnationalism, qualitative methods, and the politics of emigration and immigration. He is currently co-authoring a book tentatively titled *Calling the Masses: The Democratic Roots of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas.*

Angela S. García is a PhD candidate in Sociology at UC San Diego and a graduate student researcher at the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies. She conducts research on subnational immigration-orientated policies in the United States and Spain. Her work focuses on the variations in these policies and investigates how they are experienced by immigrant actors on the ground. Angela has published three book chapters on Mexican immigration to the U.S.

Zoltan Hajnal is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. A scholar of racial and ethnic politics, urban politics, immigration, and political behavior, Dr. Hajnal is the author of *Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure of Political Parties to Engage the Electorate* (Princeton 2011), *America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics* (Cambridge 2010) and *Changing White Attitudes toward Black Political Leadership* (Cambridge 2006) and has published in the *American Political Science Review*, the *Journal of Politics*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and numerous other journals, edited volumes, and newspaper editorial pages. Before joining the faculty at UCSD, Dr. Hajnal was a research fellow at the Public Policy Institute of California and a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at Brandeis University. He has received numerous honors for his research and writing including the Best Book and Best Paper in Urban Politics Awards from the American Political Science Association.

Rubén Hernández-León is Associate Professor of Sociology at UCLA and Director of the UCLA Center for Mexican Studies. He is the author of *Metropolitan Migrants: the Migration of Urban Mexicans to the United States* (UC Press, 2008) and co-editor of *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2005). His research focuses on new developments of Mexico-U.S. migration. He is currently working on a book based on a 15 year study of a new destination of Mexican immigration in the South and an edited volume on the migration industry in comparative perspective.
Rodney Hero is Professor and Director of Graduate Affairs at the University of California, Berkeley. Professor Hero's research and teaching focus on American democracy and politics, especially as viewed through the analytical lenses of Latino Politics, Racial/Ethnic Politics, State & Urban Politics, and Federalism. His book, *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-tiered Pluralism*, received the American Political Science Association's (APSA) 1993 Ralph J. Bunche Award. He also authored *Faces of Inequality: Social Diversity in American Politics* (which was selected for the APSA's Woodrow Wilson Award in 1999), and *Racial Diversity and Social Capital: Equality and Community in America* (2007). He is also co-author of *MultiEthnic Moments: The Politics of Urban Education Reform* (2006), *Newcomers, Insiders and Outsiders Immigrants and American Racial Politics in the Early 21st Century* (2009), and *Latino Lives in America: Making it Home* (2010). He has also authored and co-authored a number of articles in scholarly journals, and is a co-principal investigator on the Latino National Survey (completed in 2006).

Kate Jastram joined the Berkeley Law faculty in 2002. Prior to that, she was a legal advisor to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from 1991 – 2001 in Geneva and in Washington, D.C. Following graduation from Berkeley Law, she practiced immigration law in San Francisco and directed a pro bono asylum program in Minneapolis. Prof. Jastram teaches courses in refugee law, international humanitarian law, and global migration issues. Her current research on war crimes and refugee status examines the intersection of refugee law, international criminal law, and international humanitarian law. Other recent work includes organizing and chairing a conference at Berkeley Law in November 2011 on cyber warfare, as well as the publication of 'Economic Harm as a Basis for Refugee Status and the Application of Human Rights Law to the Interpretation of Economic Persecution,' a chapter in *Critical Issues in International Refugee Law* (J. Simeon, ed., Cambridge University Press, 2010). Prof. Jastram is an executive committee member of the American Society of International Law's Lieber Society on the Law of Armed Conflict. She has served as an expert on asylum issues for the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, an independent bi-partisan federal agency. She has worked on a variety of projects for UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration. Prof. Jastram has a B.A. summa cum laude from San Francisco State University, an M.A. from Sarah Lawrence College, and a J.D., from the University of California, Berkeley Law School.

G. Cristina Mora earned her PhD in Sociology from Princeton University in 2009 and completed a Provost Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Chicago from 2009-2011. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Sociology at UC Berkeley. Professor Mora's research focuses mainly on questions of racial and ethnic categorization, organizations, and culture. Her dissertation, De Muchos, Uno: the Institutionalization of Latino Panethnicity, won the 2010 ASA Distinguished Dissertation Award, and provides a socio-historical account of the emergence and diffusion of a “Hispanic/Latino” panethnic category in the United States. She is currently developing this project into a book manuscript, and plans to use some of the insight gleaned on racial/ethnic classification to shed new light on the production of medical and scientific knowledge.
**David Pedersen** is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Davis. He is also a historically-minded sociocultural anthropologist (with a joint degree in both disciplines). His research has been concerned with understanding better the material and meaningful reorganization of the hemisphere of the Americas, especially with regard to the influence of the United States. His work has concentrated on the country of El Salvador and its historical shift from being organized around the production and export of primary agricultural commodities to a country now almost singularly reliant on the money sent back by a quarter of its population living and working in major US urban areas. He also has explored the transformation of US cities over the same time period as they have shifted from centers of manufacturing to agglomerations of high and low-wage producer and consumer services, the latter sector filled with significant numbers of Salvadoran migrants. His new research project focuses on the production of US military force and the recent ascendance of counter-insurgency and "population-centric" approaches in US warfare. It examines how and why the El Salvador civil war (1980-92) and US involvement in it has provided primary content for a new model of counter-insurgency, nation-building and economic development that is being crafted and applied in Iraq, Afghanistan and throughout Latin America.

![David O. Sears](image)

**David O. Sears** received his A.B. in History (Stanford University, 1957), his Ph.D. in Psychology (Yale University, 1962), and then was appointed as Assistant Professor in Psychology at UCLA (1961) and Professor of Psychology and Political Science (1971). He has served as Dean of Social Sciences and Director of the Institute for Social Science Research at UCLA, and as President of the International Society of Political Psychology. He has co-authored *Public Opinion* with Robert E. Lane, 1964, *The Politics of Violence: The New Urban Blacks and the Watts Riot* (with John B. McConahay, 1973), *Tax Revolt: Something for Nothing in California* (with Jack Citrin, 1982), and twelve editions of *Social Psychology* (with Shelley E. Taylor and L. Anne Peplau, 1970-2005), and *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America* (with Michael Tesler, 2010), and co-edited *Political Cognition* (with Richard Lau, 1986), *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America* (with Jim Sidanis and Lawrence Bobo, 2000), and the *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (with Leonie Huddy and Robert Jervis, 2003).

![John D. Skrentny](image)

**John D. Skrentny** is Director of the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies and Professor of Sociology at the University of California-San Diego. His research focuses on immigration, politics, inequality and law. His research has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Japan Foundation’s Center for Global Partnership, as has appeared in a variety of academic journals, including *International Migration Review, American Journal of Sociology*, and *Law and Society Review*. He is the author of *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2002) and *The Ironies of Affirmative Action* (University of Chicago Press, 1996) and editor of *Color Lines* (University of Chicago Press, 2001). His most recent work is an analysis of the politics of immigration during the Obama administration, which appeared in *Reaching for a New Deal*, edited by Theda Skocpol and Larry Jacobs (Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).

![Roberto Suro](image)

**Roberto Suro** holds a joint appointment as a professor in the Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism and the School of Policy, Planning and Development at the University of Southern California. He is also director of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, an interdisciplinary university research center exploring the challenges and opportunities of demographic diversity in the 21st century global city. Suro’s latest book is *Writing Immigration: Scholars and Journalists in Dialogue* (U of CA Press, 2011) co-edited with Marcelo Suarez-Orozco and Vivian Louie. He is a non-resident Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution, where his most recent publication is "Immigration and Poverty in America’s Suburbs" (2011) with Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson.
Robbie Totten is a doctoral candidate in the UCLA Department of Political Science and the Pre-Doctoral Fellow at the U.C. Center for Comparative Immigration Studies. His dissertation is titled, "Security and United States Immigration Policy," and his research has appeared in the Journal of Interdisciplinary History and Diplomatic History. He has served as a political science instructor at the UCLA Center for Community Learning and UCLA College Summer Institute.

Philip E. Wolgin is an Immigration Policy Analyst at the Center for American Progress, and an adjunct lecturer at the University of California Washington Center. His research focuses on the development of U.S. and comparative immigration and refugee policy from World War II to the present. In addition to his scholarly research, Philip is involved with D.C.-area immigration and refugee causes, working with the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN). A native of New Jersey, Philip earned his M.A. and Ph.D. in American history from the University of California, Berkeley, and his B.A. from New York University.
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