

Rice University's Baker Institute

**LATIN AMERICA** INITIATIVE

RICE UNIVERSITY'S **20** YEARS  
BAKER INSTITUTE | 1993–2013



# IMMIGRATION REFORM

A SYSTEM FOR THE 21st CENTURY



**TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 2013**  
8:00 AM – 6:00 PM

**JAMES A. BAKER III HALL**  
RICE UNIVERSITY





## About the Event

The November 2012 elections sent a clear message to the White House and Congress: The time for immigration reform is now. Democrats and Republicans have now largely agreed on the need for change. The fate of immigration reform, however, revolves around specific issues that include the changing demographics of the nation, the state of the economy and the American labor force, border security, the presence of millions of undocumented migrants throughout the country, and the political obstacles to be overcome in the finer details of the future law. The conference “Immigration Reform: A System for the 21st Century” brings together leading U.S. immigration experts as well as key public policy figures involved in this debate to discuss issues and solutions to these crucial questions surrounding immigration reform today.

## Organizing Partners

### Rice University’s Baker Institute

The mission of the Baker Institute is to help bridge the gap between the theory and practice of public policy by drawing together experts from academia, government, media, business and nongovernmental organizations. By involving policymakers and scholars, as well as students (tomorrow’s policymakers and scholars), the institute seeks to improve the debate on selected public policy issues and to make a difference in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policy, both domestic and international. The Baker Institute is an integral part of Rice University, one of the nation’s most distinguished institutions of higher education. The efforts of Baker Institute fellows and affiliated Rice faculty focus on several ongoing research projects, details of which can be found on the institute’s website, [www.bakerinstitute.org](http://www.bakerinstitute.org).

### Baker Institute Latin America Initiative

The Baker Institute is embarking on a new campus-wide Latin America Initiative that will involve research on Brazil’s emerging economic and political roles in the international community, as well as state building in the region’s increasingly violent climate amid escalating organized crime. An important part of this initiative is the participation of the institute’s senior fellow for Latin America, former Gov. Bill Richardson. The current mission of the Latin America Initiative is to provide a forum that fosters a better understanding of the cultures, economies, histories and contemporary affairs of Latin America. Through its main programs — the Americas Project, the U.S.-Mexico Border Program and the Vecinos Lecture Series — the Latin America Initiative brings together leading stakeholders from government, the private sector, academia and civil society to exchange their views on pressing issues confronting the region. Additionally, this initiative sponsors research, publications and regular forums addressing social, political and economic aspects of the hemisphere, as well as the relationships between Latin American countries and the United States. Support for the Latin America Initiative immigration research project was generously provided by the Ray C. Fish Foundation.

The **Ray C. Fish Foundation** was established in 1957, and has since provided support to more than 350 Texas institutions, including universities and colleges, hospitals, medical research programs, children’s aid groups, museums, schools, libraries, parks and many others. Under the terms of its charter, grants are limited to qualified charitable purposes for the support, operation, establishment or advancement of any exclusively educational, scientific or other charitable activity in the State of Texas. Education and health care are the foundation’s primary focus. The first major gift of \$5 million was the seed money for Houston’s Texas Heart Institute. Many education and health programs have benefited from the legacy of the Ray C. Fish Foundation and its founder’s desire to help people develop their talents to better themselves and the communities in which they live.





## Conference Agenda — Tuesday, April 9, 2013

- 8:00 am Registration and Breakfast
- 8:30 am **Welcoming Remarks**  
The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian  
*Rice University's Baker Institute*
- 8:35 am **Overview**  
Marc R. Rosenblum, Ph.D.  
*Congressional Research Service*

### Panel I — Immigration and the Face of America

Discussant: Jason Marczak, Americas Society and Council of the Americas

- 9:00 am **Latino Issue Priorities and Political Behavior Across U.S. Contexts**  
Ali A. Valenzuela, Ph.D.  
*Princeton University*  
Sarah K. Stein  
*Federal Reserve Bank of New York*
- Latinos, Public Opinion and Immigration Reform**  
David L. Leal, Ph.D.  
*The University of Texas at Austin*
- U.S. Immigration, Demography and Citizenship in a Digital Age**  
Jason Ackleson, Ph.D.  
*New Mexico State University*
- Immigration Policies Hurt Families More Than They Help**  
Shannon Gleeson, Ph.D.  
*University of California, Santa Cruz*  
Leisy J. Abrego, Ph.D.  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

- 10:30 am Coffee Break

## Conference Agenda (continued)

### Panel II – Security, the Economy and Immigration

Discussant: Andrew Selee, Ph.D., Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

10:45 am      **Security and United States Immigration Policy: Two American Immigration Security Traditions and an Analytical Framework of National Security and U.S. Immigration Policy**

Robbie J. Totten, Ph.D.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

**Ctrl+Alt+Del: Rebooting Immigration Policies Through Socio-technical Change**

Rodrigo Nieto-Gómez, Ph.D.

*Naval Postgraduate School*

**Immigrants in the U.S. Labor Market**

Pia M. Orrenius, Ph.D.

*Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas*

Madeline Zavodny, Ph.D.

*Agnes Scott College*

**The Costs and Benefits of Immigration Enforcement**

Raúl Hinojosa-Ojeda, Ph.D.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

12:15 pm      Lunch

### Keynote Speaker

1:00 pm      Demetrios Papademetriou, Ph.D.

*Migration Policy Institute*

### Panel III – Dealing With Immigration at the Local Level

Discussant: Alberto P. Cárdenas Jr., Vinson and Elkins LLP

2:00 pm      **The Immigration Debate in Texas**

Tony Payan, Ph.D.

*Rice University's Baker Institute*

**State and Local Responses to Immigration**

Mark P. Jones, Ph.D.

*Rice University's Baker Institute*

Benjamin Chou

*Rice University*

**Houston, Immigration and Market Distortions**

Stan Marek

*Texans for Sensible Immigration Policy*

**U.S. Immigration Policy in the 21st Century, With Special Reference to Education: Examining the Crossroads of Nativist and Accommodationist Policymaking**

Michael A. Olivas, Ph.D.

*University of Houston Law Center*

# IMMIGRATION REFORM A SYSTEM FOR THE 21st CENTURY



3:30 pm Coffee Break

## Panel IV — Moving Forward on Immigration

Discussant: Marc R. Rosenblum, Ph.D., Congressional Research Service

3:45 pm **U.S. Newspapers and the Immigration Debate**

Erika de la Garza  
*Rice University's Baker Institute*

Patricia Gras  
*Gras Productions LLC*

Arianna Hatchett  
*Rice University's Baker Institute*

**The Legal and Philosophical Framework of Immigration Reform**

Charles C. Foster  
*FosterQuan LLP*

**The Congressional Dynamics of Immigration Reform**

Daniel J. Tichenor, Ph.D.  
*University of Oregon*

**U.S. Immigration Reform**

Susan F. Martin, Ph.D.  
*Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University*

5:30 pm Closing Remarks





## *Participant Biographies*

### *Welcoming Remarks*

**The Honorable Edward P. Djerejian** served in the U.S. Foreign Service for eight presidents, from John F. Kennedy to William J. Clinton (1962–1994). Prior to his nomination by President Clinton as U.S. ambassador to Israel (1993–1994), he was assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs in both the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations (1991–1993). He was the U.S. ambassador to the Syrian Arab Republic (1988–1991). He also served as special assistant to President Ronald Reagan and deputy press secretary for foreign affairs in the White House (1985–1986). After his retirement from government service in 1994, he became the founding director of Rice University’s Baker Institute. His book “Danger and Opportunity: An American Ambassador’s Journey Through the Middle East” was published by Simon & Schuster Threshold Editions in September 2008. He has been awarded the Presidential Distinguished Service Award, the Department of State’s Distinguished Honor Award and numerous other honors, including the Ellis Island Medal of Honor and the Anti-Defamation League’s Moral Statesman Award. He is also a recipient of the Association of Rice Alumni’s Gold Medal, the group’s most prestigious award, for his service to Rice University. In 2011, Djerejian was elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and named to the board of trustees of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

### *Overview*

**Marc R. Rosenblum, Ph.D.**, is a specialist in immigration policy for the Congressional Research Service. He is the author of “The Transnational Politics of U.S. Immigration Policy” (University of California, San Diego, Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, 2004) and has also published more than 20 academic journal articles, book chapters and policy briefs on immigration, immigration policy and U.S.–Latin American relations. His book “Defining Migration: America’s Great Debate and the History of U.S. Immigration Policy” (2009) analyzes U.S. immigration policy since the Civil War, with a focus on the post-Immigration Reform and Control Act and post-9/11 periods; and he is the co-editor (with Daniel Tichenor) of “The Oxford Handbook of International Migration” (Oxford University Press, 2012). Rosenblum also is currently an associate professor of political science and the Robert Dupuy Professor of Pan-American Studies at the University of New Orleans. Previously, he served as a senior policy analyst at the Migration Policy Institute, where he worked on the Labor Markets Initiative, U.S. immigration policy and Mexico–U.S. migration issues. He was a Council on Foreign Relations fellow detailed to the office of U.S. Sen. Edward “Ted” Kennedy, D–Mass., during the 2006 Senate immigration debate, and was involved in crafting the Senate’s immigration legislation in 2006 and 2007. He also served as a member of President Barack Obama’s Immigration Policy Transition Team in 2009. Rosenblum earned his B.A. from Columbia University and his Ph.D. from the University of California, San Diego.

### *Panel I: Immigration and the Face of America*

**Ali A. Valenzuela, Ph.D.**, is an assistant professor in the Department of Politics at Princeton University. His research and teaching focus on American electoral politics, with emphasis on Latino public opinion, voter turnout, and religious and ethnic identity politics in the United States. His work has been published in several academic journals, including *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, and the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*. He earned his Ph.D. in political science from Stanford University and his B.A. from the University of California, Los Angeles.

**Sarah K. Stein** is a research associate in the Macroeconomic and Monetary Studies Group at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. She received her undergraduate degree from Brown University, and will begin working toward a graduate degree in economics in fall 2013.

## *Participant Biographies (continued)*

**David L. Leal, Ph.D.**, is an associate professor of government, director of the Irma Rangel Public Policy Institute, director of the Immigration Studies Initiative and faculty associate of the Center for Mexican–American Studies at The University of Texas at Austin. His primary academic interest is Latino politics, and his research explores questions involving public policy, public opinion and political behavior. He has published more than three dozen journal articles and is the co-editor of seven books, including the recent “Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies” (Routledge, 2013) and “Latinos and the Economy” (Springer, 2011). Leal is a member of the editorial boards of *American Politics Research*, *Social Science Quarterly*, and *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, and he was an American Political Science Association (APSA) congressional fellow (1998–99) and a member of the APSA Task Force on Religion and American Democracy (2006–08). He received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University in 1998.

**Jason Ackleson, Ph.D.**, is an associate professor of government at New Mexico State University. He currently resides in Washington, D.C., working in the Office of Policy and Strategy at U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services on major immigration policy research and assessment programs. Over 10 years in the academic sector, he published more than 25 articles, book chapters, reports and other publications on questions of security, borders, immigration and globalization. During that time, he received and administered more than \$1.5 million in externally supported research and education grants, many of which were supported by the Department of Homeland Security’s S&T Centers of Excellence Program. He has taught courses on U.S. national security policy, foreign policy, international relations and border security. For five years, Ackleson also served as an associate dean of the Honors College at New Mexico State University, successfully transitioning an academic unit into a full college while mentoring top students for prestigious postgraduate scholarships. During this period, his students won in excess of \$1 million in externally funded scholarships. As a Truman and British Marshall Scholar, Ackleson earned his Ph.D. in international relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science. In 2009–10, he was an American Political Science Association congressional fellow in the U.S. Senate, advising Sen. Jeff Bingaman, D–N.M., on health care, border and immigration issues.

**Shannon Gleeson, Ph.D.**, is an associate professor of Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Her research focuses on the workplace experiences of immigrants, the role of documentation status and the processes of legal mobilization. She also has conducted research on immigrant civic engagement in Silicon Valley and the bureaucratic processes of labor standards enforcement. Her book “Conflicting Commitments: The Politics of Enforcing Immigrant Worker Rights in San José and Houston” was published in 2012 by Cornell University Press. Gleeson received her Ph.D. in 2008 in sociology and demography from the University of California, Berkeley.

**Leisy J. Abrego, Ph.D.**, is an assistant professor in the César E. Chávez Department of Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. Trained as a sociologist, Abrego is interested in the study of families, Central American immigration and Latino immigrants’ lived experiences of U.S. immigration laws. Her research investigates the opportunities for mobility and well-being of immigrants and their families in the home country, particularly as these are shaped by immigration policies and gendered expectations. Abrego’s first book-length project highlights the role of gender and legal status in creating inequalities among Salvadoran transnational families. Her work on undocumented youth and transnational families appears in *Latino Studies*, *Law & Social Inquiry*, the *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Law & Society Review*, and the *American Journal of Sociology*. She received her Ph.D. in sociology from UCLA in 2008, and is currently a Ford Postdoctoral Fellow associated with Arizona State University.

### *Discussant*

**Jason Marczak** is director of policy at Americas Society and Council of the Americas (AS/COA). He is also senior editor of the AS/COA policy journal *Americas Quarterly*, and oversees the magazine’s online content as managing editor of AQ Online. At AS/COA, he leads select working groups of business members, with current initiatives focusing on



Latino integration and immigration as well as security and violence prevention in Central America. Marczak recently co-authored a white paper titled “Security in Central America’s Northern Triangle: Violence Reduction and the Role of the Private Sector in El Salvador” (December 2012). Prior to joining AS/COA in 2006, he was a program officer with Partners of the Americas’ Center for Civil Society. From 1999 to 2001, he was a legislative aide for U.S. Rep. Sam Farr, D-Calif., with a portfolio including trade, technology and small business issues. He is a contributing blogger to AQ Online and has written for publications such as El Universal, World Politics Review, Foreign Affairs, El Diario, Houston Chronicle, O Estado de São Paulo and The Miami Herald. Marczak received a B.A. from Tufts University and an M.A. from the Johns Hopkins University Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. Marczak is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a committee member of the Qualitas of Life Foundation.

## *Panel II: Security, the Economy and Immigration*

**Robbie J. Totten, Ph.D.**, is a lecturer in the UCLA Department of Political Science. He was the 2011–12 predoctoral fellow at the UC San Diego Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, and his research has appeared in *Diplomatic History* and *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Totten recently completed his dissertation, “Security and United States Immigration Policy,” from UCLA and he teaches classes on immigration, international relations and U.S. foreign policy.

**Rodrigo Nieto-Gómez, Ph.D.**, is a professor in the Center for Homeland Defense and Security at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, Calif. His fields of research include the geopolitical effects of homeland security/defense and national security, with a regional focus on North America; border security; discourse analysis; and the implications of new technologies for security and defense policies. His research on homeland security issues has led to travel all along the U.S.–Mexico border to interview political actors, intellectuals and authorities. In some of his recent work, Nieto has focused on the relation between the accelerating pace of technology and innovation and homeland security and defense policies. Nieto obtained his Ph.D. in geopolitics at the Institut Français de Géopolitique of the University of Paris and his J.D. from the State University of San Luis Potosí in Mexico.

**Pia M. Orrenius, Ph.D.**, joined the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas in 1999. As a labor economist and member of the regional group, she analyzes the regional economy, with special focus on the border region. Her research also focuses on the causes and consequences of Mexico–U.S. migration, unauthorized immigration and U.S. immigration policy. Orrenius spent the 2004–05 academic year as senior economist on the Council of Economic Advisers in the Executive Office of the President in Washington, D.C., where she advised the Bush administration on labor, health and immigration issues. Orrenius is affiliated with several academic institutions. She is a Tower Center Fellow at the Tower Center for Political Studies at Southern Methodist University and a research fellow at the IZA Institute of Labor in Bonn, Germany. Orrenius is also an adjunct professor at Baylor University (Dallas campus), where she teaches in the executive MBA program. She holds a Ph.D. in economics from UCLA and bachelor’s degrees in economics and Spanish from the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign.

**Madeline Zavodny, Ph.D.**, is a professor of economics at Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Ga. She previously has been an associate professor of economics at Occidental College, a senior economist and policy adviser with the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and an economist with the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. Her research interests include immigration, fertility behavior and the minimum wage. She joined the Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) in Bonn, Germany, as a research fellow in June 2006. She received a Ph.D. in economics from MIT in 1996 and a B.A. in economics from Claremont McKenna College in 1992.

## *Participant Biographies (continued)*

**Raúl Hinojosa-Ojeda, Ph.D.**, is an associate professor of Chicana and Chicano studies as well as the founder and director of the North American Integration and Development Center at UCLA. He also teaches international and regional development in the School of Public Policy and Social Research in the UCLA Department of Urban Planning. He is the author of numerous articles and books on the political economy of regional integration in various parts of the world, including trade, investment and migration relations between the United States, Mexico, Latin America and the Pacific Rim. Together with former Rep. Esteban Torres, D-Calif., and others, Hinojosa-Ojeda also was the originator of the proposal for the North American Development Bank, which was created by the U.S. and Mexican governments in 1994. He is a board member of the Los Angeles Community Development Bank and has recently been appointed to the Economic Strategies Panel of the State of California. Born in Mexico and raised in Chicago, Hinojosa-Ojeda received his B. A. (economics), M. A. (anthropology) and Ph.D. (political science) at The University of Chicago.

### *Discussant*

**Andrew Selee, Ph.D.**, became vice president for programs at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in April 2012; he served as the founding director of the Center's Mexico Institute from 2003 to 2012. Currently, Selee also is an adjunct professor of government at Johns Hopkins University and of international affairs at George Washington University, and has been a visiting professor at El Colegio de México. He is the author and co-editor of articles, books and journalistic pieces on the U.S.-Mexico relationship. He is also co-director of the Regional Migration Study Group, convened by the Migration Policy Institute and the Wilson Center, and was also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on Immigration. Selee is a longtime volunteer at the YMCA and has served on the YMCA of the USA's national board international committee. Prior to joining the Wilson Center as a program associate, he was a professional staffer in the U.S. House of Representatives and worked for five years with the YMCA of Baja California in Tijuana, Mexico. Selee obtained his Ph.D. in policy studies from the University of Maryland; an M.A. in Latin American studies from the University of California, San Diego; and a B.A. in Latin American studies from Washington University in St. Louis.

### *Keynote*

**Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Ph.D.**, is president and co-founder of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), a Washington, D.C.-based think tank dedicated to the study of international migration. He is also president of MPI Europe, a nonprofit, independent research institute in Brussels that aims to promote a better understanding of migration trends and effects within Europe; and serves on MPI Europe's administrative council. He is the convener of the Transatlantic Council on Migration, as well as the convener and co-director the Regional Migration Study Group. Papademetriou is also co-founder and international chair emeritus of Metropolis, an international forum for research and policy on migration and cities, and has served as chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Migration (2009-2011); chair of the Migration Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); director for immigration policy and research at the U.S. Department of Labor and chair of the Secretary of Labor's Immigration Policy Task Force; and executive editor of the *International Migration Review*. He has published more than 250 books, articles, monographs and research reports on migration topics and advises senior government and political party officials in more than 20 countries. His most recent books include "Migration and the Great Recession: The Transatlantic Experience" (co-author and co-editor, 2011) and "Immigration Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany: Negotiating Membership and Remaking the Nation" (co-author, 2010). Papademetriou holds a Ph.D. in comparative public policy and international relations (1976) and has taught at the University of Maryland, Duke, American and New School for Social Research.



## *Panel III: Dealing with Immigration at the Local Level*

**Tony Payan, Ph.D.**, is a visiting Baker Institute Scholar for Immigration and Border Studies with the Latin America Initiative. He is an associate professor of political science at The University of Texas at El Paso. He also serves on the graduate faculty at the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez. Payan's research focuses on the applicability of international relations theories to the U.S.–Mexico border and other border environments. His work theorizes on various topics regarding international borders, including border governability, foreign policy attitudes on the border and the manifestation of U.S. foreign policy at its borders. Payan's publications include two books: "Cops, Soldiers and Diplomats: Understanding Agency Behavior in the War on Drugs" and "The Three U.S.–Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration and Homeland Security." He has also co-edited three other volumes: "Gobernabilidad e Ingovernabilidad en la Región Paso del Norte," "Human Rights Along the U.S.–Mexico Border: Gendered Violence and Insecurity" and "De Soldaderas a Activistas: La mujer chihuahuense en los albores del Siglo XXI." A more recent co-edited manuscript, "A War That Can't Be Won: Binational Perspectives on the War on Drugs," is forthcoming by The University of Arizona Press. He has also authored numerous book chapters and academic articles. Payan earned his B.A. in philosophy and classical languages (Greek and Latin) from the University of Dallas and his MBA from the University of Dallas Graduate School of Management. He received his doctorate degree in international relations from Georgetown University in 2001.

**Mark P. Jones, Ph.D.**, is the fellow in political science at the Baker Institute and the Joseph D. Jmail Chair in Latin American Studies at Rice University. He also currently serves as the chair of Rice's Department of Political Science. His research focuses on the effect of electoral laws and other political institutions on governance, representation and voting. He has received substantial financial support for this research, including two grants from the National Science Foundation. His research has been published in journals such as the American Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Electoral Studies and the Journal of Politics, as well as in edited volumes published by Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, Penn State University Press and the University of Buenos Aires Press, among others. Jones regularly advises U.S. government institutions on economic and political affairs in Argentina and has conducted research on public policy issues in Latin America and Texas for numerous international, national and local organizations, including the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, the United States Department of Defense and the City of Houston. He currently is working on two principal research agendas, one which examines the impact of political institutions on politics and public policy in Latin America, and the other which analyzes the evolution of partisan politics in Texas over the past 40 years. Jones received his doctorate from the University of Michigan and his bachelor's degree from Tulane University.

**Benjamin Chou** is a senior at Rice University majoring in political science, energy policy studies and Asian studies. He is a Harry S. Truman Scholar as well as a Morris K. and Stewart L. Udall Scholar. Chou has extensive experience working on political campaigns and is a Democratic Party precinct chair in Fort Bend County, Texas. He also served as a national delegate to the 2012 Democratic National Convention.

**Stan Marek** is the co-founder of Texans for Sensible Immigration Policy. His focus for the past three years has been comprehensive immigration reform, and he serves as a member of the Greater Houston Partnership's task force, Americans for Immigration Reform. Marek's working career began in the drywall industry during summers in high school, which continued part-time until he completed his active duty tour with the United States Marine Corps Reserves. In 1970, Marek worked as a journeyman carpenter and spent the next two years on large commercial projects throughout the Houston. He then worked for The Marek Companies as a project manager, estimator and sales manager. In 1982, he became president and CEO of the Marek Family of Companies, one of the largest interior contractors in the Southwest, with offices in Houston, Dallas, Ft. Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Harlingen and Atlanta. A Texas native, Marek attended Texas A&M University and graduated in 1969 with a BBA in finance.

## *Participant Biographies (continued)*

**Michael A. Olivas, Ph.D.**, is the William B. Bates Distinguished Chair in Law at the University of Houston (UH) Law Center and director of the Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance at UH. From 1983 to 1987, he also chaired the UH graduate program in higher education. Before joining the faculty, Olivas held teaching and research positions at Ohio State University and Howard University. He served as director of research for the League of United Latin American Citizens from 1979 to 1982. In 1989–90, he was a visiting professor of law at the University of Wisconsin, as well as special counsel to then-Chancellor Donna Shalala. In 1997, he held the Mason Ladd Distinguished Visiting Chair at the University of Iowa College of Law. Olivas is the author or co-author of 15 books, including “No Undocumented Child Left Behind: Plyler v. Doe and the Education of Undocumented Children” (2012) and “Suing Alma Mater: Higher Education and the Courts” (2013), and he is the editor of the collection “In Defense of My People: Alonso S. Perales and the Development of Mexican–American Public Intellectuals” (2013). He has published widely in higher education journals and law reviews, and has served on the editorial boards of more than 20 scholarly journals. Olivas has been elected to membership in the American Law Institute and the National Academy of Education, and he served two terms as general counsel to the American Association of University Professors. In 2011–12, he served as the president of the Association of American Law Schools. Olivas has been awarded the Special Merit Award by the Association for the Study of Higher Education the Esther Farfel Award by UH. He has been designated as a fellow by the the American Educational Research Association and the National Association of College and University Attorneys. He holds a B.A., magna cum laude, from the Pontifical College Josephinum, an M.A. and Ph.D. from the Ohio State University, and a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center.

### *Discussant*

**Alberto P. Cárdenas Jr.** is counsel at Vinson and Elkins LLP (V&E). He focuses his practice on legislative matters at a state and federal level. His public policy efforts consist of serving as counsel to business interests affected by America’s immigration laws, and corporate and academic clientele seeking resolution on statutory and regulatory issues. He has extensive experience in working with clients to draft legislative solutions addressing diverse matters. In his public finance practice, Cárdenas assists the team of V&E attorneys with bond counsel, underwriter’s counsel and disclosure counsel in public finance transactions for cities, counties, school districts and corporations. During the 109th and 110th Congress, he served as general counsel to the senior U.S. senator from Texas, The Honorable Kay Bailey Hutchison, advising her on judicial appointments, legal affairs and legislative matters. Prior to joining Sen. Hutchison’s senior staff, Cárdenas was employed by the Texas Tech University System as the special assistant to the chancellor and director of federal relations. In his capacity with Texas Tech, he coordinated federal research initiatives and served as a liaison with members of Congress, executive agencies, respective campus administrators and the system’s board of regents. Cárdenas is a frequent speaker at U.S. as well as international conferences on immigration policy and the legislative process. He has been quoted as an authority in the National Journal Daily, the Houston Chronicle and the Associated Press, and has been a special guest on “Lou Dobbs Tonight” on Fox Business News. As a result of his work, Cárdenas has been recognized as one of “Five Outstanding Young Houstonians” in 2009 and by Hispanic Business Magazine as one of the Top 100 most influential Hispanics in the United States.

### *Panel IV: Moving Forward on Immigration*

**Erika de la Garza** is the program director of the Latin America Initiative at the Baker Institute. She is in charge of the Latin America Initiative programs, which include the Americas Project, the U.S.–Mexico Border Program and the Vecinos Lecture Series. Her chief areas of interest include U.S.–Latin America relations; emerging leadership; coalition building between public, private and civil society actors; and trade and business development in Latin America. She conducts research on current events facing the region and organizes lectures and programs to increase awareness about Latin America and to foster a better understanding between the countries of this hemisphere. Prior to joining the institute, she worked for several years encouraging foreign direct investment

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in Costa Rica, her home country. De la Garza has also taught in the Department of International Studies at the University of St. Thomas. She holds a master's degree in international affairs from Columbia University in New York and a master's degree in diplomacy from the University of Costa Rica.

**Patricia Gras** is the owner of the media, television and video production company Gras Productions LLC. Before pursuing a career in television journalism, she worked as a marketing executive for Ralston Purina in Spain and as a market researcher with Duquesne Purina in Paris. In 1987, Gras returned to Houston and decided to change careers. Her first job in television was with Telemundo's Channel 48, which produced the city's first Spanish-language newscast. Later, she began working for Houston Public Television. In her 22 years there, she won over 170 broadcasting awards, including 7 regional Emmys, 16 national Tellys, and over 10 international film awards for her work. Gras received her bachelor's degree at Texas A&M University, and holds master's degrees from the Thunderbird School of Global Management, the ESADE in Barcelona, Spain, and a master's degree in journalism from Columbia University. She speaks Spanish, English, French, Italian and Catalan.

**Arianna A. Hatchett** is a research associate for the Baker Institute Latin America Initiative. Her research interests include U.S.-Latin America relations and political extremism in Western Europe. She was a member of the pilot research group from Rice University that traveled to Cuba for 10 days as part of the 2012 spring seminar "A Revolution from Within: Trends in Contemporary Cuban Culture." Prior to joining the Baker Institute, Hatchett worked in the Rice University Information Technology Department as a marketing and communications specialist. Her areas of focus were in social media, Web content management and graphic design. Hatchett graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in political science and Hispanic studies from Rice. She speaks Spanish and Russian.

**Charles C. Foster** is co-chairman of Foster Quan LLP (formerly Tindall & Foster P.C.), one of the largest global immigration law firms. He is the founding chairman of the State Bar of Texas' Immigration and Nationality Law Section; a board member and past national president of the American Immigration Lawyers Association; and chairman of the American Bar Association Coordinating Committee on Immigration Law. Foster served as the principal adviser to President George W. Bush on U.S. immigration policy during the 2000 and 2004 presidential campaign, and was an adviser on immigration policy issues to President Barack Obama in the 2008 campaign. He is chairman of Americans for Immigration Reform, a 501(c)(3) affiliate of the Greater Houston Partnership (GHP), as well as the GHP's Immigration Task Force. He has been designated a "Texas Super Lawyer" by Texas Monthly magazine since 2003; the "Top Notch Lawyer in Immigration" in the Texas Lawyer "Go To Lawyers Guide," published every year; the #1 ranked immigration lawyer in Texas according to Chambers USA, 2006-2011; and he was listed as one of the nation's "20 Most Powerful Employment Attorneys" for immigration by Human Resource Executive in June 2011. Foster received his bachelor's degree from The University of Texas and his J.D. from The University of Texas School of Law.

**Daniel J. Tichenor, Ph.D.**, is the Philip H. Knight Professor of Social Science and senior faculty fellow at the University of Oregon's Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics. He has published extensively on immigration politics and policy, the American presidency, civil liberties, interest groups, social movements, political parties and U.S. political development. He has been a faculty scholar at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University, research fellow in governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, Abba P. Schwartz Fellow in Immigration and Refugee Policy at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, research scholar at the Eagleton Institute of Politics, a visiting scholar at Leipzig University and a faculty associate at Princeton's Center for Migration and Development as well as the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Tichenor's book "Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America" (Princeton University Press) won the American Political Science Association's Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best book in American national policy. He also has received the Jack Walker Prize, the Mary Parker Follett Award, the Polity Award, the Parties and Political Organization

## *Participant Biographies (continued)*

Section's Emerging Scholar Award and awards for his teaching and mentorship. He recently edited "A History of the U.S. Political System," a three-volume set examining the development of American political thought, institutions, behavior and public policy. He also has written essays for popular journals like *The Nation* and *The Utne Reader*, regularly gives public lectures, and has testified and provided expert briefings to Congress on immigration policy and immigrant integration. He is currently completing a book on the origins and development of unauthorized immigration as an American political dilemma, as well as another on war, presidential emergency power and civil liberties.

**Susan F. Martin, Ph.D.**, holds the Donald G. Herzberg Chair in International Migration and serves as the director of the Institute for the Study of International Migration in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Previously, she served as the executive director of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, established by legislation to advise Congress and the president on U.S. immigration and refugee policy. Prior to joining the commission's staff, Martin was the director of research and programs at the Refugee Policy Group, a Washington-based center for analysis of U.S. and international refugee policy and programs. She has also served as an assistant professor in the American Studies Department of Brandeis University and lecturer in the History of American Civilization Department at the University of Pennsylvania. Her recent publications include "A Nation of Immigrants"; "The Migration-Displacement Nexus: Patterns, Processes and Policies" (ed.); "Managing Migration: The Promise of Cooperation"; "Mexico-U.S. Migration Management: A Binational Approach" (ed.); and "Refugee Women." Martin is the past president of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration and serves on the U.S. comptroller general's advisory board, the academic advisory board of the International Organization for Migration, and the boards of the Advocacy Project and DARA-US. She earned her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania and her B.A. from Douglass College, Rutgers University.

*Discussant*

**Marc R. Rosenblum, Ph.D.** — See Overview listing.



## Research Abstracts

### *Panel I: Immigration and the Face of America*

#### **Latino Issue Priorities and Political Behavior Across U.S. Contexts**

Ali A. Valenzuela, Ph.D., Princeton University  
Sarah K. Stein, Federal Reserve Bank of New York

To what extent and in which contexts is the issue of immigration salient to Latino voters and linked to their partisan attachments and voting behavior? In this study, we merge four surveys of Latino voter opinion, collected in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012, with U.S. Census demographics and election results in order to assess how Latino issue priorities vary by individual attributes and local contextual conditions. In particular, we ask how changes in the rate of growth and size of the local Latino population interact with political competition to shape the salience of immigration among Latino voters. We argue that the process linking demographic change to issue priorities is conditioned by the degree of two-party competition. In addition, we explore links between the importance that Latinos place on immigration reform and their support for the Democratic Party and President Barack Obama in 2012. We find that immigration issue salience declines with increasing Latino population proportions, controlling for a number of individual characteristics. In addition, the issue of immigration is predictive of Democratic Party identification and voting preference for President Obama over former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney. These analyses generate insight about the impact of demographic context and the composition of local populations on the salience of immigration among Latino voters, as well as how the political environment works to politicize (or not) the issue of immigration and its connection to Latino political behavior.

#### **Latinos, Public Opinion and Immigration Reform**

David L. Leal, Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin

This paper discusses the Latino dimension of contemporary immigration policy debates, particularly how the American public views immigration reform options and immigrants themselves. It begins with an overview of public opinion data, compares the attitudes of Latinos and non-Latinos, and discusses how the politicized nature of the immigration debate shapes Latino opinions. I also review the social science literature on immigration attitudes for practical insights into contemporary debates. For instance, to what degree do attitudes toward immigration reform actually reflect attitudes toward Latinos? Lastly, the paper explores the role of the immigration issue in congressional and presidential elections, the implications for Latino partisanship and vote choice, and the future of “blue” vs. “red” contestation at state and national levels.

#### **U.S. Immigration, Demography and Citizenship in a Digital Age**

Jason Ackleson, Ph.D., New Mexico State University

What role has immigration played in crafting the current demographic fabric of the United States? What will future flows of the foreign-born mean for the makeup of the country? To what degree are new foreign-born arrivals to the United States becoming citizens — a key indicator of integration? What does citizenship mean for immigrants and the country in the digital age? Answers to these and other related questions are central to understand immigration policy reform in the United States. Blending public-use data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, this paper presents a snapshot of demographic profiles and trends among the foreign-born (immigrant) population in the United States. The paper also examines U.S. naturalization patterns as an indicator of civic integration of the foreign-born and discusses a set of barriers to naturalization within the framework of new scholarship on “digital citizenship.” The paper concludes by exploring several key implications of these findings by sketching two divergent potential immigration and citizenship policy pathways.

## *Research Abstracts (continued)*

### **Immigration Policies Hurt Families More Than They Help**

Shannon Gleeson, Ph.D., University of California, Santa Cruz  
Leisy J. Abrego, Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles

This paper will examine how the current immigration policy context is shaping the lived experience of Latino immigrants, families and communities of various legal statuses. Specifically, we will assess how employer sanctions contribute to workplace violations and inhibit workers' ability to access formal labor rights. Because many workers are also parents, exploitation prevents entire families from thriving — in the United States and in their home countries. Immigration and education policies also deter immigrant families from incorporating fully into the country when children who are educated here cannot reap the rewards of their hard work — even in light of recent proposals for deferred action. In some of their debates, legislators propose temporary worker programs as a possible solution, but our report will reveal the problems of this approach by shining a light on the challenges facing immigrants with only Temporary Protected Status. We end by discussing the implications of the political disenfranchisement of noncitizens, and how the lack of a comprehensive immigrant integration program that supports immigrant civil society contributes to further inequality.

### *Panel II: Security, the Economy and Immigration*

### **Security and United States Immigration Policy: Two American Immigration Security Traditions and an Analytical Framework of National Security and U.S. Immigration Policy**

Robbie J. Totten, Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles

What is the relationship between security and U.S. immigration? This question is important because the volume of international migration has been rapidly rising in recent decades, and since the 9/11 attacks, leaders are increasingly called to produce policy to address its perceived security implications. This white paper assists officials with this task and answers the above question by discussing two common ways or traditions of structuring security and U.S. immigration (the national security tradition and human rights/security tradition) that often lead to distinct policy outcomes; presenting an analytical framework of national security and American immigration policy with three dimensions (domestic or internal security interests, material and military considerations, and foreign policy); and using this framework to identify metasecurity themes underlying major U.S. immigration policy decisions. The paper concludes by examining national security and post-9/11 American immigration responses and discussing the policy implications of these findings.

### **Ctrl+Alt+Del: Rebooting Immigration Policies Through Socio-technical Change**

Rodrigo Nieto-Gómez, Ph.D., Naval Postgraduate School

The immigration policy of the United States has become a dysfunctional socio-technical system where technology deployment has little relation to the way the system behaves. An escalating law enforcement narrative has encouraged the research and development of linear simple technologies to try to solve complex adaptive situations, thus remaining ineffective and actually becoming harmful to U.S. interests. It is a process that neglects the evolving nature of the immigration policy space and the desirable effects of migratory behaviors, and instead insists on the technological fortification of the borderlands to interdict the negative outcomes. It has also failed to identify counterintuitive points of intervention to improve the performance of the migration socio-technical regime. Under these conditions, most immigration technologies have demonstrated limited capacity to “pivot” and adapt to a changing environment, with the exception of the clandestine technologies developed by deviant actors to penetrate the border. The study of socio-technical systems provides a good tool to understand the limitations of the current technological architecture of the immigration policy of the United States, as well as an approach to reboot the whole system in order to update it to a more adaptive design.



## **Immigrants in the U.S. Labor Market**

Pia M. Orrenius, Ph.D., Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas  
Madeline Zavodny, Ph.D., Agnes Scott College

Immigrants supply skills that are in relatively short supply in the U.S. labor market and account for almost half of labor force growth since the mid-1990s. Migrant inflows have been concentrated at the low and high ends of the skill distribution. Large-scale unauthorized immigration has fueled growth of the low-skill labor force, which has had modest adverse fiscal and labor market effects on taxpayers and U.S.-born workers. High-skilled immigration has been beneficial in almost every way, fueling innovation and spurring entrepreneurship in the high tech sector. Highly skilled immigrants have had a positive fiscal impact, contributing more in tax payments than they use in public services. Immigration reform appears to be on the horizon, and policies such as a legalization initiative, a guest-worker program and more permanent visas for high-skilled workers would likely be an improvement over the status quo.

## **The Costs and Benefits of Immigration Enforcement**

Raúl Hinojosa-Ojeda, Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles

For more than two decades, the U.S. government has attempted to put a stop to unauthorized immigration from (and through) Mexico by implementing “enforcement-only” measures along the U.S.-Mexico border and at work sites throughout the country. These measures have not only failed to end unauthorized immigration, but also have placed downward pressure on wages in a broad swath of industries. In recent decades, the U.S. government’s avoidance of immigration reform and dependence upon enforcement-only approaches to immigration has served only to deepen a vicious cycle of underground labor markets, lower wages, lower consumption, lower tax revenue and reduced productivity. Were the government to end this failed enforcement-only crusade and create a pathway to legal status for unauthorized immigrants in the United States, as well as new legal limits on immigration that respond to market forces, it would raise the social floor for the entire U.S. economy — to the benefit of both immigrant and native-born workers.

## ***Panel III: Dealing With Immigration at the Local Level***

### **The Immigration Debate in Texas**

Tony Payan, Ph.D., Rice University’s Baker Institute

The failure of the U.S. Congress to deal with immigration reform prompted local governments to craft their own responses to the presence of undocumented immigrants. This lack of leadership from the federal government provoked localized responses that ranged from mostly protective to mostly punitive. Although some states, like Arizona, went to the extreme to create a hostile environment for undocumented migrants, others states and local governments were much more moderate. The diversity of local responses to immigration depended on a number of variables, including demographics, political leadership, economic forces and state history. The state of Texas, much like many other state and local governments, produced its own response to undocumented migration, and some counties and cities in the state joined in the heated debates with their own ordinances. Even so, Texas’ response could be considered moderate when compared to other states. This paper explores the state and local initiatives in Texas to explain why the overall environment here remained so moderate, when so many other states were responding so harshly.

## *Research Abstracts (continued)*

### **State and Local Responses to Immigration**

Mark P. Jones, Ph.D., Rice University's Baker Institute  
Benjamin Chou, Rice University

One point upon which virtually everyone can agree is that the current U.S. immigration system is broken. In response to the federal inaction in this area due to a combination of partisan gridlock and a lack of executive leadership, between 2010 and 2012, a half-dozen states took it upon themselves to draft and approve omnibus legislation designed to address the presence of undocumented immigrants within their respective borders. At the same time, in other states, similar omnibus legislation was passed by one, but not both, of the legislative chambers. This study utilizes roll-call vote data from these legislatures to examine the partisan, ethnic/racial and regional dynamics surrounding the debate over the omnibus immigration legislation in these states as well as in others where salient, albeit less comprehensive, immigration-related legislation was adopted during this time frame. Particular focus is placed on the extent to which the partisan, ethnic/racial and regional cleavages in the support for this legislation were cumulative or cross-cutting.

### **U.S. Immigration Policy in the 21st Century, With Special Reference to Education: Examining the Crossroads of Nativist and Accommodationist Policymaking**

Michael A. Olivas, Ph.D., University of Houston Law Center

In the spring of 2012, the Republican candidates for their party's presidential nomination argued over immigration policy, focusing especially on a topic that few had been aware of: whether or not the undocumented should be allowed to attend college and receive resident tuition. The topic receded, especially after Texas Gov. Rick Perry, who had borne the brunt of the disdain for his "accommodationist" policies on the subject, left the race. Yet, the higher-education debate that emerged briefly has since become a more sustained controversy, and in the summer of 2012, President Barack Obama enacted a significant policy change in the use of prosecutorial discretion concerning undocumented college students, a continuation of his 2011 review of assigning priorities to those who would be removed or deported from the United States if their status were unauthorized. Paradoxically, in the early 21st century, there has been a rise in the country's anti-immigrant sentiment, especially in the growing enactment of "restrictionist" state and local ordinances, many of which are playing out in courts and legislatures. At the same time, there have been widespread efforts to incorporate these students and undocumented families into the larger community — not just in progressive enclaves, but in surprisingly mainstream and heartland areas. This paper will examine these contradictory strains of U.S. immigration policy issues in more detail, employing the fundamental trope of education as the anchor for the good, the bad and the ugly of immigration policies and the resultant discourse.

### ***Panel IV: Moving Forward on Immigration***

#### **U.S. Newspapers and the Immigration Debate**

Erika de la Garza, Rice University's Baker Institute  
Patricia Gras, Gras Productions LLC  
Arianna Hatchett, Rice University's Baker Institute

Comprehensive immigration reform has been politically intractable for decades. Part of what has made it difficult is the influence of the media on public perceptions. Major electronic news networks, the printed press and widely circulated Internet sources have contributed to how immigration, particularly unauthorized immigration, is viewed, as well as how immigrants are perceived in American society. Media coverage, when it turns inflammatory, can be detrimental to sensible immigration reform. Conversely, it can facilitate political accord. But what exactly has the role of the media been in the immigration debate? This paper examines coverage of immigration reform by analyzing



articles from 10 newspapers in order to determine whether the media is merely a sounding box for the prevailing political discourse, or if through tone, content filtering and slant, it actually is an agenda setter. The study relies on content analysis from Jan. 1, 2012, to Jan. 31, 2013. Six of the newspapers were randomly selected through the LexisNexis database, and four were selected from major U.S. cities with significant numbers of foreign-born and Latino populations. The 2012 presidential election was used as the point of reference for pre- and post-election coverage of immigration.

## **The Congressional Dynamics of Immigration Reform**

Daniel J. Tichenor, Ph.D., University of Oregon

Unauthorized immigration and the status of millions of undocumented immigrants in the United States are subjects that for years have spurred ferocious debate over the airwaves, on campaign trails and in statehouses across the country. Yet these fiery battles stood in bold contrast to the deep freeze that enveloped comprehensive immigration reform in the halls of Congress since the start of the Obama administration. But at the start of Obama's second term, the changing demography of American democracy produced the seemingly impossible: the emergence of significant, bipartisan legislation tackling this issue. This paper focuses on the congressional dynamics of American immigration reform. How Congress shapes immigration politics and policy reflects several recurrent and emergent patterns. One of the most important dynamics is the fact that the federal courts long have granted Congress sweeping control over immigration while the issue also generates distinctive partisan and intraparty conflicts that regularly bedevil major reform efforts. These political fissures point to a second pattern: Congressional action on immigration reform typically requires the formation of "strange bedfellow" alliances that are unstable and demand "grand bargains" to address disparate goals. The result is often legislation that introduces a new set of daunting immigration policy dilemmas. Finally, one of the most crucial dynamics of congressional immigration policymaking has been a shift over time from relatively insulated client politics to increased engagement by mass publics and key voting blocs. This expanding scope of conflict and its impact on congressional immigration politics receives the most extensive attention in this essay. In the contemporary politics of immigration reform, lawmakers now balance the demands of well-organized lobbies and advocacy groups with grassroots constituency pressures and electoral calculations.

## **U.S. Immigration Reform**

Susan F. Martin, Ph.D., Institute for the Study of International Migration, Georgetown University

This paper seeks to explain the apparent paralysis that has affected efforts to address the very real immigration problems that the United States faces. The answer appears to lie in the divergence between the politics and the economics of immigration that has prevented the Congress from adopting comprehensive reforms that would rationalize an immigration system riddled with contradictions and continuing tolerance for illegal migration. The paper begins with a historical overview of immigration policy decision-making processes in the United States. It then briefly presents current immigration policies and explains their successes and failures. This section also sets out the principal policy recommendations that have been under consideration to reform immigration. The paper then discusses three factors that help explain the difficulties in enacting comprehensive reform: 1) the coalitions that form around immigration policy, which often successfully coalesce over specific provisions in the law but break apart over others; 2) public ambivalence about immigration, particularly among those who see their own immigrant forebears through rose-colored glasses but are fearful that today's immigrants will fail to adopt American norms and values; and 3) practical impediments that make effective reform difficult to achieve. The final section discusses future prospects for immigration reform and presents recommendations for steps that may help achieve that end.