CONFERENCE

CRIMINALIZING IMMIGRANTS

BORDER CONTROLS, ENFORCEMENT, & RESISTANCE

NOVEMBER 9-10, 2017

ORGANIZED BY FILIZ GARIP, SHANNON GLEESON, & MATTHEW HALL
HOSTED BY THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF INEQUALITY & THE CORNELL POPULATION CENTER
WITH SUPPORT FROM THE ATLANTIC PHILANTHROPIES & FRANK H. T. RHODES ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM FUND

CORNELL POPULATION CENTER
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ABOUT US

CORNELL POPULATION CENTER

The Cornell Population Center (CPC) serves as the intellectual hub for demographic research and training at Cornell University. It supports demographic research relating broadly to four core themes: (1) families and children; (2) health behaviors and disparities; (3) poverty and inequality; and (4) immigration and diversity. CPC is a university-wide program serving 116 faculty and 86 student affiliates from 23 departments and programs. Kelly Musick is CPC Director.

Mission

CPC coordinates and promotes national and international population research, encourages cross-disciplinary innovation, facilitates research funding, strengthens interdisciplinary training, and translates academic studies into policy recommendations and guidance for practitioners.

Grant Development Program

CPC’s Grant Development Program supports the development and submission of grant proposals to population-related external funding agencies through mentorship, training, and feedback on work-in-progress.

Seminar Series and Events

CPC expands networks of population research. It hosts a seminar series that brings innovations in population science to campus. Other events include an annual conference developing CPC’s core themes and an annual workshop for population scholars from Upstate New York.

Undergraduate and Graduate Demography Minors

CPC’s multidisciplinary training program provides students with opportunities to develop fundamental demographic tools and insights from a range of perspectives.

Frank H. T. Rhodes Fellowship Program

CPC runs a postdoctoral training program with generous support from the Atlantic Philanthropies’ endowment in honor of former Cornell president, Frank H. T. Rhodes.

CORNELL POPULATION CENTER

2301B MVR Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853
Contact: Meg Cole | mc129@cornell.edu | 607-255-1960
The Center for the Study of Inequality (CSI) at Cornell University fosters new and cutting-edge research, trains undergraduate and graduate students, encourages the exchange of ideas among inequality researchers, and disseminates research findings to a broader public. CSI is based in the Sociology Department in the College of Arts and Sciences, but has more than 100 Faculty Affiliates from around campus studying a diverse range of topics. Kim Weeden is the director of CSI.

**Mission**
CSI is devoted to understanding patterns, causes, and consequences of social and economic inequality. It supports research and knowledge that is evidence-based and systematic, whether it is “basic” research that develops formal models of the social processes that underpin inequality or “applied” research that assesses the intended or unintended consequences of policies that affect equality of opportunity.

**Undergraduate Training**
CSI is the institutional home for the Minor in Inequality Studies, an interdisciplinary minor open to all Cornell undergraduate students with around 300 currently enrolled in the program. The minor helps students navigate scholarship on inequality in a variety of disciplines, and allows them to tailor their minor to their own interests. The minor also benefits students interested in public and private sectors, policy, and civic society, and students who wish to pursue graduate and professional degrees. Since the program’s inception in 2003, over 750 undergraduates have earned the Minor in Inequality Studies.

**Graduate Training**
Student affiliates of CSI benefit from a vibrant and supportive community of faculty and graduates students working on inequality topics. CSI provides seed grants to Cornell University graduate students who carry out research on inequality-relevant topics. Grants are open to PhD students in any social science discipline at Cornell. Awards help procure research materials and equipment, software and data, undergraduate research assistance, and research-related travel.

**Exchanging Ideas, Disseminating Knowledge**
CSI sponsors lectures and conferences that feature world-renowned scholars and that draw attention to the most pressing problems and controversies in the field. CSI offers Faculty Research Seed Grants for Cornell University faculty. A bimonthly discussion group brings together Cornell faculty and graduate student affiliates from around campus to discuss and improve their in-progress research. CSI is honored to receive a 10 million dollar grant from The Atlantic Philanthropies to advance inequality research at Cornell University.
CONFERENCE PROGRAM

CRIMINALIZING IMMIGRANTS
Border Controls, Enforcement, and Resistance

November 9, 2017 – November 10, 2017
Statler Hotel, Cornell University

Hosted by the Center for the Study of Inequality and the Cornell Population Center with support from the Atlantic Philanthropies and Frank H. T. Rhodes Annual Symposium Fund

Organized by Filiz Garip (Professor of Sociology), Shannon Gleeson (Associate Professor of Labor Relations, Law, and History), and Matthew Hall (Associate Professor of Policy Analysis and Management; Training Director of the Cornell Population Center)

Thursday, November 9

4:30pm
Opening Keynote Address and Panel
Biotechnology Building, Room G10

Welcome and Introductions
Kim Weeden (Jan Rock Zubrow ’77 Professor of the Social Sciences; Chair of Sociology; Director of the Center for the Study of Inequality)
& Shannon Gleeson (Associate Professor of Labor Relations, Law, and History)

Keynote Address
How Nation-States Enforce Boundaries: The Reconciliation of People and Markets through Migration Policy
David Cook-Martín (Professor of Sociology; Program Head for Social Research and Public Policy, NYU-Abu Dhabi)

Panel Introduction
Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue (Professor and Chair of Development Sociology; Associate Director of the Cornell Population Center)

Faculty Panel
Mathew Coleman (Associate Professor of Geography, Ohio State University)
& Stephen W. Yale-Loehr (Professor of Immigration Law Practice, Cornell University).
Moderated by Shannon Gleeson.

6:30pm
Dinner for conference participants and CSI/CPC affiliates
Terrace Lounge, Statler Hotel
Friday, November 10

7:30am - 8:30am
Breakfast and Check-in
Conference Foyer & Amphitheater, Statler Hotel (as for all conference proceedings)

8:30am - 9:30am
Morning Keynote
Keynote Introduction: Jamie Winders (Professor of Geography, Syracuse University & Editor of the International Migration Review)

“Cold casing” Racialized Police Power and the Closure of Law Enforcement
Mathew Coleman (Associate Professor of Geography, Ohio State University)

9:30am - 9:45am Break

9:45am - 11:00am
Session 1: Determinants of Immigration Enforcement and Impacts on Immigrant Well-Being
Panel Discussant: Jennifer Ifft (Assistant Professor of Agribusiness and Farm Management, Cornell University)

Immigration Enforcement and Foster Care Placements
Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes (Professor of Economics, San Diego State University)

Margot Moinester (PhD Student in Sociology, Harvard University)

11:00am - 11:15am Break

11:15am - 12:45pm
Session 2: Race, Detention and Deportations Practices, and the Courts
Panel Discussant: Ben Rissing (Assistant Professor of Organizational Behavior, Cornell University)

Inequalities in U.S. Immigration Detention: A National Study
Emily Ryo (Associate Professor of Law and Sociology, University of Southern California)

Immigration Court and the Social Processes of Judicial Decision-Making
Asad L. Asad (Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Inequality)

1:00pm - 2:00pm
Buffet Lunch for conference participants
Taylor Room, Statler Hotel (2nd Floor)
2:15pm – 3:30pm
Session 3: Family Impacts on Deportation and Immigrant Experiences of Crime
Panel Discussant: Steven Alvarado (Assistant Professor of Sociology, Cornell University)

The Collateral Consequences of Mass Deportation: A Study of the Family Members of Deportees in the Central Valley of California
Tanya Golash-Boza (Professor of Sociology, University of California Merced)

Immigrants & Justice: Perceptions of Vulnerability among Latino Immigrants in Philadelphia
Amada Armenta (Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania)

3:30pm – 3:45pm Break

3:45pm – 5:00pm
Session 4: Temporary Migration Regimes
Panel Discussant: David Cook-Martin (Professor of Sociology; Program Head for Social Research and Public Policy, NYU-Abu Dhabi)

The Spatial Segregation and Surveillance of Migrants: The Case of Qatar
Natasha Iskander (Associate Professor of Public Policy, New York University)

Temporary Foreign Worker Programs: Expansion and Exploitation Under Trump?
Daniel Costa (Director of Immigration Law and Policy Research, Economic Policy Institute)

5:00pm – 5:15pm
Discussion and Closing Remarks

6:15pm
Dinner for conference organizers, presenters, and discussants
Mia Restaurant, Ithaca Commons

5:40pm: Meet in Statler Lobby and ask front desk to call a cab for those who wish to ride, or for those who wish to walk, plan on a 25-minute walk down the hill.
**PRESENTER & DISCUSSANT BIOS**

**David Cook-Martín** is a Professor of Sociology and Program Head for Social Research and Public Policy at NYU-Abu Dhabi. His work focuses on international migration, race, citizenship, and law. His most recent book, *The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants*, received the ASA’s Thomas & Znaniecki Best Book on International Migration Award in 2014.

**Mathew Coleman** is an Associate Professor of Geography at The Ohio State University. As a political and legal geographer, his current research focuses on the U.S.-Mexico border, interior immigration enforcement, critical geopolitics, political geography, states and statecraft, geographies of power, and resistance.

**Stephen W. Yale-Loehr** is a Professor of Immigration Law Practice at Cornell Law School and Attorney of Counsel at Miller Mayer LLP. He is also the co-author of *Immigration Law and Procedure*, a 21-volume treatise on U.S. immigration law.

**Jennifer Ifft** is an Assistant Professor and Mueller Family Sesquicentennial Faculty Fellow in Agribusiness and Farm Management at Cornell’s Dyson School. Professor Ifft leads a USDA-funded crop insurance and risk management education program for New York State. In addition to outreach, her current research focuses on how public policies affect farm labor and farmland values.

**Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes** is the chair of the Department of Economics at San Diego State University. Her areas of interest include international migration, remittances, and immigrant labor economics. Her current research examines U.S. state and local immigration policies’ impacts on undocumented people’s employment, education, and human rights.

**Margot Moinester** is a PhD student in Sociology and a Doctoral Fellow in the Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School. Moinester is also co-founder of Manos de Madres, a women’s development non-profit organization. Her research interests encompass immigration policy and enforcement, health inequalities, and crime and punishment.

**Ben Rissing** is an Assistant Professor of Organizational Behavior at Cornell’s ILR School whose research focuses on employment-relevant decisions in businesses, government, and academic institutions. Drawing from work in sociology, industrial relations, and labor economics, he examines settings including immigrant work authorization decisions, university admissions assessments, and voluntary codes of conduct.
Emily Ryo is an Associate Professor of Law and Sociology at the University of Southern California as well as an Andrew Carnegie Fellow. Ryo’s work has been supported by organizations including the National Science Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Haynes Foundation. Her current research focuses on immigration detention, criminal justice, and the legal attitudes and legal noncompliance of noncitizens.

Asad L. Asad is a Postdoctoral Fellow at Cornell University’s Center for the Study of Inequality. Asad’s primary research agenda explores how recent changes to the enforcement of American immigration law contribute to multiple forms of social inequality, usually with a focus on the experiences of Hispanic-origin immigrants.

Steven Alvarado is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Cornell University whose work has been featured in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science and Social Forces, Social Science Research, Race and Social Problems. His research focuses include race and ethnicity, neighborhoods, health, immigration, and criminal justice contact in the U.S.

Tanya Golash-Boza is a Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of California Merced. Golash-Boza’s work explores racial and ethnic identities in the United States and Latin America as well as the racial disparities and human rights implications of U.S. immigration policy. Her book, Immigration Nation: Raids, Detentions and Deportations in Post-9/11 America, examines the consequences of mass deportation.

Amada Amenta is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. Amenta’s research examines how policies and practice of law enforcement in Nashville, Tennessee, relate to federal deportation policy. Her work has been featured in Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, Annual Review of Law and Social Science, and Social Problems.

Natasha Iskander is an Associate Professor of Public Policy at NYU Wagner. Her work focuses on the relationship between migration and economic development. Her book, Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico, investigates ways in which immigrants worked with government to create policies that link labor emigration and labor development. Iskander’s research has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the Qatar National Research Foundation.

Daniel Costa is the Director of Immigration Law and Policy Research at the Economic Policy Institute and an affiliated scholar at the University of California Merced. As an attorney, his research focuses on labor migration issues including management of foreign worker programs, skilled and less-skilled labor, immigrant worker rights, and forced migration. Costa has testified on Immigration before the U.S. Congress and has been quoted by news outlets such as The New York Times, Roll Call, La Opinión, and The Sacramento Bee.
**ORGANIZER BIOS**

**Filiz Garip** is a Professor of Sociology at Cornell University. Filiz Garip’s research lies at the intersection of migration, economic sociology and inequality. Within this general area, she studies the mechanisms that enable or constrain mobility and lead to greater or lesser degrees of social and economic inequality. Her articles have been published in *Population and Development Review, Demography, Social Forces* and *the American Journal of Sociology*. Her book, *On the Move: Changing Mechanisms of Mexico-U.S. Migration* is in print at Princeton University Press; it characterizes the diversity of the Mexican migrant population in the United States.

**Shannon Gleeson** is an Associate Professor of Labor Relations, Law & History at Cornell’s ILR School. Gleeson’s recent collaborative project examines the Mexican Consulate’s role in protecting the rights of immigrant workers. She is the author of *Precarious Claims: The Promise and Failure of Workplace Protections in the United States, The Nation and Its Peoples: Citizens, Denizens, Migrants, and Conflicting Commitments: The Politics of Enforcing Immigrant Worker Rights in San Jose and Houston.*

**Matthew Hall** is an Associate Professor of Policy Analysis & Management and (by courtesy) Sociology, and the Training Director for the Cornell Population Center. A sociologist and demographer by training, Hall’s research focuses on racial/ethnic inequality, immigration, and neighborhood change. He has contributed to research assessing the economic and social impacts of unauthorized migration, to work on the emergence of Latino boom towns and other new destination areas where immigration has been recent and rapid, and to research exploring the changing nature of racial stratification and segregation in housing and neighborhoods.
How Nation-States Enforce Boundaries: The Reconciliation of People and Markets through Migration Policy

David Cook-Martín (Professor of Sociology; Program Head for Social Research and Public Policy, NYU-Abu Dhabi)

In a recent interview with The Economist, President Trump expressed admiration for Canadian and Australian immigration policies that function “on merits” (May 13, 2017). Programs that admit foreign workers on a temporary basis are a key element of these countries’ migration management systems and they are making a comeback. Canada’s Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) has been in effect since 1973 and, while currently embattled, is often touted as an exemplar. It began with a focus on highly skilled workers but opened to less-skilled ones in 2002. The United States has an extensive non-immigrant visa program for unskilled (H2 visa) and highly skilled workers (H1B visa), and policymakers have proposed a new system of nonpermanent migration influenced to some extent by the Canadian model (SB 774, 2012). European countries have been experimenting with temporary migration programs that make permanence in a national territory dependent on a specific job contract. Spain in particular has developed a temporary migration system that purportedly overcomes discrimination and other limits on people’s rights associated with similar programs of the past. In the 1970s, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) - an absolute monarchy - adopted a temporary guest worker program called the Kafala Sponsorship System which recruits domestic service and less-skilled workers primarily from the Middle East and North Africa as well as from India and Bangladesh, and highly skilled workers from Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Western Europe. All but the last example represent a “return” of temporary migration programs because the arrangement has precursors dating to the postwar period. The latter include the U.S. Bracero (1942-1964) and the European guestworker (c. 1950-1985) programs, both of which had significant negative consequences for participants and their children.

Why do countries adopt programs and practices that admit workers for a limited time despite precursors which resulted in exploitation and unequal treatment? In this chapter, I explore economic, political-ideological, and institutional explanations for temporary migration regimes by examining the United States, Canada, Spain, and the United Arab Emirates since World War II. I argue that temporary migration regimes have consistently played the discursive role of reconciling countervailing forces of economic globalization and nationalism, especially in democratic contexts. In practice, temporary workers continue to be discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, and skills. I also link the rise of temporary worker regimes to a concurrent closure of permanent statuses like “resident” and “citizen,” except for the wealthiest migrants. The construction of legal categories that try to reconcile economic and identitarian concerns implicitly reproduces racial orders and systems of inequality. Policy makers who are considering a doubling down on temporary migration regimes in the current climate of retrenchment would do well to examine the outcomes of similar efforts in the past.
Morning Keynote Address

“Cold Casing” Racialized Police Power and the Closure of Law Enforcement
Mathew Coleman (Associate Professor of Geography, Ohio State University)

In this presentation I briefly review core fieldwork findings from Georgia and North Carolina on the intersection of traffic policing and immigration enforcement with the goal of opening up a larger set of questions about how critical researchers might approach the problem of racial profiling. As I explain, racial profiling is a difficult standard to meet for critical researchers. This is especially so for those hoping to make use of accepted methods in the police sciences in order to prove the existence of racial profiling. Among other things, the police sciences are dominated by a liberal lens on the police as objectively reactive to the problem of crime which glosses over the productive or legislative aspects of police power (Neocleous 2006; Valdez, Coleman, and Akbar 2017) and which makes ‘proving’ racial profiling very difficult. Indeed, I argue that best practices in the police sciences with respect to researching and writing about racial profiling enact what we might call a ‘closure of law enforcement’. By this phrase, borrowing from Nick Blomley’s now classic comments on the “closure of law” as an autonomous field of facts (Blomley 1994), I mean that policing is bracketed as a somehow rational, benign, objective, and racially-neutral undertaking. I argue that this approach to the police will leave critical scholars ‘cold casing’ the problem of police power, or trying to reconstruct racialized police practice after (and against) the facts, and unsuccessfully. Moreover, I argue that best practices regarding racial profiling in the police sciences constitute "state power in blue" (Coleman 2016).

Ultimately I argue for the abandonment of racial profiling as the ‘gold standard’ of critical research on policing and immigration enforcement, and argue instead that critical researchers focus on the problem of racially discrepant police practices and in particular on the routine devaluation of non-white spaces in police work.

References
Session 1: Determinants of Immigration Enforcement and Impacts on Immigrant Well-Being

Immigration Enforcement and Foster Care Placements
Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes (Professor of Economics, San Diego State University)

Tougher immigration enforcement has been responsible for approximately 1.8 million deportations between 2009 and 2013 alone. Children enter the foster care system when their parents are apprehended, deported and unable to care for them. We find that the average yearly increase in interior immigration enforcement over the 2001 through 2015 period contributed to raising the share of Hispanic children in foster care anywhere between 15 and 21 percent. The effects appear to be driven by the implementation of police-based local initiatives linked to deportations, as in the case of the Secure Communities program. Given the revival of police-based immigration enforcement by President Donald Trump, further analyses of its consequences on families are well-warranted.

Margot Moinester (PhD Student in Sociology, Harvard University)

While the growth in immigration enforcement within the interior of the U.S. over the past several decades has been widely discussed, little is known about changes in inequality in enforcement. This paper begins to fill this gap by focusing on disparities in enforcement by nationality. Combining administrative records of immigration court proceedings and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) removals with Census data, I examine how the risks of apprehension, detention and deportation for noncitizens residing in the U.S. are stratified by nationality. I further examine how these risks change over time and link these changes to shifts in federal policy.
Session 2: Race, Detention and Deportations Practices, and the Courts

Patrolling Territorial Borders, Negotiating Symbolic Boundaries: How Latino Border Patrol Agents Grapple with their Racialized Mandates
Irene Vega (University of California Irvine Chancellor’s Postdoctoral Fellow in Criminology, Law and Society)

This article draws on semi-structured interviews with sixty active Border Patrol agents (thirty-seven of them Latinos), to examine how race/ethnicity shapes their professional narratives and their work. I demonstrate that Latino Border Patrol agents experience social sanctions by migrants and people in their personal networks for transgressing an expectation of ethnic solidarity on the issue of immigration. Although there is little variation in Latinos’ boundary-making responses to these sanctions, their ideas about whether/how their background should shape their job performance cluster in two patterns. I refer to these patterns as modes of professionalism and I identify two types: impartial and compassionate professionalism. Agents who adopt an impartial professionalism discount the relevance of race/ethnicity at work and adhere to strict ideas about equal treatment; agents in the second category harness certain cultural competencies to do their job “better” than non-Latinos. My findings suggest that some Latinos, especially those with more meaningful attachments to the ethnic community, attempt to improve the qualitative character of migrants’ custodial experiences, while simultaneously (re)producing the government’s racialized immigration control outcomes. I discuss my findings in relation to the literature on representative bureaucracy, which examines whether having a racially diverse government workforce improves the services that marginalized groups receive in their interactions with the state. I also relate them to President Trump’s recent commitment to grow the federal immigration control apparatus by 5,000 Border Patrol agents and 10,000 Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers over the next ten years.

Inequalities in U.S. Immigration Detention: A National Study
Emily Ryo (Assistant Professor of Sociology and Law, University of Southern California)

Drawing on data pertaining to all noncitizens held in immigration detention in the United States in fiscal year 2015, this study offers the first comprehensive analysis of inequalities in detention. First, we find that men and Mexicans constituted the bulk of the detainee population. Second, a majority of detainees were confined at least once in privately-operated facilities, and in relatively remote areas. Third, we examine detention lengths across three major release categories: removed, granted relief from removal, and temporarily released during the pendency of removal proceedings. We find that whereas women faced longer detention than men before being removed, they experienced shorter detention before obtaining relief from removal, and before a temporary release. Across the three release categories, detainees from Africa (and to a lesser extent, those from Latin America and Asia Pacific regions) generally experienced the longest detention, whereas Mexican detainees generally experienced the shortest detention. Finally, across all three release categories, confinement in privately-operated facilities and in facilities far away from legal services were associated with longer detention lengths. Taken together, these findings suggest that both detainee and facility characteristics are important to understanding patterns of inequality in immigration detention.
Immigration Court and the Social Processes of Judicial Decision-Making
Asad L. Asad (Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for the Study of Inequality)

How detention and deportation court proceedings impact noncitizens is central to debates about the criminalization of immigrants, but little is known about how immigration courts operate on the ground. Even less is known about the decision-making processes of immigration judges, who ultimately determine the removal of noncitizens. This article draws on ethnographic observations in five immigration courtrooms in one immigration court in Dallas, Texas, as well as archival documents, to uncover how immigration judges’ understandings of the law impact detention and removal decisions. Faced with full dockets and an unprecedented backlog of cases, the judges I observed delivered what I term “scripted justice,” reciting well-rehearsed legal scripts regarding the limited rights and legal remedies available to the noncitizens before them. This scripted justice resulted in the almost-turnkey removal of most of the noncitizen cases I witnessed, irrespective of which immigration judge sat on the bench. However, when the particulars of a case were seen as deviating from those on the turnkey docket, judges delivered what I term “extemporaneous justice”: They acknowledged in open court the personal or social “worthiness” of the noncitizen—often providing lifestyle advice to individual defendants—even as they ordered noncitizens removed. Judges described how immigration law constrains their discretionary authority in detention and deportation proceedings, particularly when it comes to considering a noncitizen’s criminal record. In so doing, immigration judges foreground how the primacy of criminal law in the administration of immigration law brings about the removal of even the “worthiest” of noncitizens. These findings suggest that the organizational structure of immigration law and enforcement, rather than the individual proclivities of judges to exercise crime control, delimits the legal remedies available to noncitizens and contributes to their ultimate removal from the U.S. In this way, the law—and not simply the attitudes or motivations of its enforcers—creates the conditions that reproduce social inequality.
Session 3: Family Impacts on Deportation and Immigrant Experiences of Crime

The Collateral Consequences of Mass Deportation: A Study of the Family Members of Deportees in the Central Valley of California
Tanya Golash-Boza (Professor of Sociology, University of California Merced)

This article draws from studies of the collateral consequences of mass incarceration to ask: is the loss of a family member to deportation akin to family separation caused by imprisonment? When a family member is incarcerated, often legally innocent people have to change their behavior, expectations, and living arrangements. They also may suffer emotional or health-related consequences (Comfort 2007). The incarceration of a parent—usually a father—often has financial consequences for a household. Families with an incarcerated member often have to change residence because of the loss of an income. This affects family members’ access to neighborhood support networks, and children may be forced to change schools (Geller, Garfinkel, Cooper, and Mincy 2009). This article considers whether or not family members of deportees face similar obstacles. Incarceration of a parent leaves the other parent with less time and money to invest in their children. Children may bear new responsibilities as well—from caring for younger siblings to housework to earning money (Foster and Hagan 2009). There may be parallels with deportees as families must implement new strategies to survive. Children with incarcerated parents have been found to suffer mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, and aggressiveness. Some even exhibit symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (Comfort 2007). There may be similar consequences for the children of deportees. This article is based on interviews with 20 people who live in the Central Valley of California who experienced the deportation of a family member. Preliminary analysis of these interviews reveals that the consequences of deportation for family members include financial and emotional strain, residential and familial instability, and the need to develop coping mechanisms to survive – indicating that there are parallels between the collateral consequences of deportation and incarceration.

Immigrants & Justice: Perceptions of Vulnerability among Latino Immigrants in Philadelphia
Amada Armenta (Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania)

Although decades of empirical research finds no relationship between immigrants and crime, the presumed criminality and “illegality” of immigrants is a regular part of American political discourse. “Illegality” is also central to understanding immigrants’ social vulnerability; unauthorized immigrants are at high risk of wage theft, robbery, and street crime, because of the real or perceived perception that they will not report their victimization to authorities. This qualitative project relies on in-depth and group interviews with Latino immigrants, local stakeholders, and police officials to examine crime, policing, and victimization among Latino immigrants with precarious legal status in Philadelphia. Given that most work in this area has examined “new immigrant destinations” that have responded to Latino immigrant communities with hostility, Philadelphia is an interesting site for comparison because of its generally inclusive policies towards unauthorized immigrants.
Session 4: Temporary Migration Regimes

The spatial segregation and surveillance of migrants: The case of Qatar
Natasha Iskander (Associate Professor of Public Policy, New York University)

All around the world, the movement of migrants and refugees has been subject to increasing controls. Borders have been erected and militarized; migrants have been confined to camps that are cordoned off and have been removed and deported from spaces where they are deemed illegal; and the surveillance and policing of public spaces has intensified as migration has been cast as a security risk. These efforts have redrawn built environments at the border and far beyond. This paper considers the case of Doha, Qatar, a city where close to ninety percent of the residents are migrants, and where the control of migrants has structured the spatial organization of the city. While all migrants are subject to rigorous visa controls, those employed in blue-collar jobs are barred from certain areas of the city, as well as from most public spaces. The government of Qatar has invested heavily in construction for the purpose of physically segregating workers in Doha: it is currently building gated labor camps outside the city limits slated to house a quarter of a million migrants and has contracted for the construction of separate public facilities, from malls to health clinics, for laborers. Employers have augmented this system of spatial segregation by installing GPS systems that monitor the movement of their workers, on and off the job site. Qatar can be considered a dystopian borderline case, but similar, if modulated, strategies for the control of migrants and refugees have been adopted in the United States and Europe. Because the built expression of strategies for the surveillance and control of migrants have emerged in an amplified form in Qatar, this case offers the opportunity to consider the spatial and political implications of strategies that are being enacted in more nuanced versions around the globe.

Temporary Foreign Worker Programs: Expansion and Exploitation Under Trump?
Daniel Costa (Director of Immigration Law and Policy Research, Economic Policy Institute)

Temporary foreign worker programs — commonly referred to as "guestworker" programs — allow foreign citizens to work in the United States temporarily on nonimmigrant visas, but are problematic from a human rights perspective: Guestworkers are often virtually indentured to their employers, can legally be paid less than the going rate for their labor—and because they often pay hefty fees to recruiters to obtain U.S. jobs and their visas tie them to a single employer—are left without the practical ability to report wage and hour or other safety and labor violations in the workplace.

Guestworker programs have often been hotly debated in Congress, a trend that’s continued during the Trump era, albeit with new tactics and avenues for reform and poorly understood political dynamics. Much of the immigration policy debate between now and 2020 at least will involve political negotiations over guestworker programs and federal actions at the agency level because there is very little chance of a comprehensive immigration reform package passing Congress in the next few years. The current and near-future political battles over immigration will include more targeted legislation and appropriations riders focused on guestworker programs and regulatory reforms. Nevertheless, compared to other aspects of the U.S. immigration system, guestworker programs have traditionally received relatively little critical attention from the media and scholars.

Abstract continues onto next page
What is the nature and purpose of guestworker programs, who or what are the political forces that advocate for these programs, and why haven’t they been reformed? Costa will present the latest data and trends and discuss the policies that have been implemented or proposed by the Trump administration relating to guestworker programs, as well as the debates and legislative proposals coming from Congress, and the influence of grassroots movements and corporate lobbying.