

IMMIGRATION AND POLITICS IN WESTERN EUROPE

V53.0511, Spring 2014
V42. 0511
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Room:
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In this course we will explore the politics and policies of immigration in Western Europe in comparative perspective (mostly with the United States). Since the early 1960s immigration has transformed European countries into multi-racial and multi-ethnic societies. We will first explore how public policy contributed to this transformation, how it was structured by different concepts, traditions and laws on citizenship, and how it was related to transformation of the party system and the emergence of the extreme right and “identity politics” in Western Europe. Then we will analyze the impact of this transformation on attempts by European states first to maintain control of their frontiers, and then to incorporate immigrants into the national community. Finally, we will explore the emerging movement within the European Union to develop harmonized policies for asylum seekers and immigration at a time when there are growing pressures for increased immigration in Western Europe.

Course Requirements

This course will include lectures and discussion. There will be a mid-term examination on **March 27** (25% of your grade) and a final **date TBA** (50% of your grade). In addition, you will be required to submit two short papers that deal with issues of immigration:

The papers should be two 4-5 page policy papers directed to the president of the United States:

The first (**due on March 4**) should explain to the president (1) how leaders of France and Britain understand the problem of immigration; and (2) how this understanding is different from that of the United States.

The second (**due on April 17**) should explain to the president (1) the impact of immigration on political parties and elections in France and Britain; and (2) how this impact is different from that in the United States.

Required Texts:

Martin Schain, The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States: A Comparative Analysis (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012)

Anthony Messina and Gallya Lahav, The Immigration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies (Lynne Reiner/2006)

Outline of the Semester (* indicates that this reading is on *Classes* for this course)

January 28: Introduction: *What do we mean by the politics of immigration?*

I. January 30/February 4: The Problem: Immigration and The Demographic Challenge

Readings:

Messina and Lahav, chapters 2 and 9
Phillip Longman, *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004*
Caplow, "The Puzzling Difference..."*

Recommended:

Jared Diamond, "What is Your Consumption Factor," NYT
Russell Shorto, "Childless Europe," NYT

II. February 6/11: The Challenge to the State: The Case of France and the Nation-State

Readings:

Schain, Chs. 2 and 3: the case of France
Messina and Lahav, Chapter 12
Schain, review of Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State**

Recommended:

Rey Koslowski, *Migrants and Citizens: Demographic Change in the European State System*, Ch. 6
Guiraudon and Lahav, "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate"*

III. February 13/18: Immigration and the Challenge to Citizenship: The U.K. and the End of Empire

Readings

Schain, Chs. 5 and 6: The case of Britain
Messina and Lahav, sections 11.1-11.3, 14.2

Recommended:

Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration*, Chs. 1, 2
Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Ch. 4-8

Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, Ch. 7
Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, Chs. 1, 7-9
Hansen and Weil, *Dual Nationality, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the United States and Europe*, Chs. 1-3*

IV. February 20/25: The Challenge of the Border: The United States—regular and irregular Immigration

Required Readings:

Schain, Chs. 8 and 9: the case of the United States
Messina and Lahav: 3.2, 3.3, 4.2, 5.3

Recommended

Martin, “Unauthorized Migration: US Policy Responses in Comparative Perspective”*

MARCH 4: FIRST PAPER DUE

V. February: 27/March 4 The Politics of Immigration: How Can We Understand Differences in Policy Among Countries?

Readings:

Money, *Fences and Neighbors*, Chs. 1*
Schain, Chapter 1
Messina and Lahav: 5.1, 5.2, 7.1, 7.4

Recommended

Tichener, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*, pp. 242-46; 267-88*
Sassen, *Guests and Aliens*, Ch. 7.
Hansen and Weil, *Dual Nationality, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the United States and Europe*, Introduction

VI. March 6/11: The Politics of Immigration: Why do policies change?

Readings:

Schain, Chapter 7 and 10: the cases of Britain and the United States
Money, *Fences and Neighbors*, Chs. 2, 4 and 5.*

Recommended

King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*, Chs. 1-3; 4, 5, 7
Tichener, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America*, Ch. 5 *
Haus, “Opening in the Wall” *International Organization*, 49/2, Sp/95 (JSTOR)

VII. March 13/25: *Questions of Race and Multi-culturalism: How is Immigration Linked to the New Racism?*

Readings:

Schain, Chapter 4: The case of France

Huntington, "The Erosion of American National Interests," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1997*

Patrick Weil, "Lifting the Veil," *French Politics, Culture and Society*, fall 2004*

Recommended:

Lamont, *The Dignity of Working Men*, Introduction and Chs., 2-3, 4-6

King, *Making Americans*, Ch. 6

Chapman and Frader, *Race in France*, Ch. 8 (Leiberman)*

Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France*, Chs. 7-8.*

March 27: Midterm Examination

VIII. April 1/3: *Immigration and the Rise of the Extreme Right in Western Europe: Immigration and Identity Politics*

Readings:

Messina and Lahav, Chapter 10

Schain, "The Extreme Right and Immigration Policy-making..."*

Mudde, , *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, chs. 9 and 10*

Recommended

Virginie Guiraudon, "Between Law and Politics: the rutted path of foreigners' rights"

Schain, Zolberg and Hossay, *Shadows Over Europe*

IX. April 8/10: *How Can We Understand Varieties in Policies of Integration and Incorporation?*

Readings:

Messina and Lahav: 11.4-11.5

Joppke and Lukes, *Multicultural Questions*, Chs. 10, 12*

From CEP, special issue on "models of integration": Duyvendak and Scholten, Bowen, Schain*

Recommended:

Pickus and Smith, *Immigration and Citizenship in the 21st Century*, Chs. 1,3 and 5.

Jane Kramer, "The Dutch Case," *The New Yorker*, April 3, 2006

APRIL 17: SECOND PAPER DUE

X. April 15/17: *The Question of Secutity: Immigrants and Islam*

Readings:

Chebel d' Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear...*,_ Intro.*

Messina and Lahav; 13.5

Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*, Introduction and Chs. 1-3*

Recommended:

Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam*, Chapter 10*

XI. April 22/24: *Immigration and Development of European Unity: The Emerging Issues for Europe*

Readings:

Geddes, *Immigration and European Integration*, Ch. 2*

Guiraudon, "European integration and migration policy: vertical policy-making as venue shopping." *

Gallya Lahav, *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe*, Ch. 2

Recommended:

Kastoryano, *Negotiating Identities*, Introduction, Ch. 8

Hansen and Weil, *Dual Nationality, Social Rights and Federal Citizenship in the United States and Europe*, Chs. 13, 14.

XII. April 29/May 1: *The Borders of Europe: Schengen and Policy Harmonization*

Readings:

Schain, "The Border..."*

Chebel d' Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear...*, Ch. 4*

Recommended:

Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, Chs. 8-9

T. Givens, A Luedtke , "The Politics of European Union Immigration Policy: Institutions, Saliency, and Harmonization," *Policy Studies Journal*. (2004) Volume 32, Issue 1.

XIII. May 6/8: The Future of Immigration Policy

Readings:

Schain, Chapter 11

Special section in the *Economist*, January 3, 2008 on Immigration*

Judt, "The Social Question Redivivus," *Foreign Affairs*, September-October, 1997 *

Nelkin and Michaels, "Biological Categories and Border Controls: The Revival of Eugenics in Anti-Immigration Rhetoric" *