

POL410/2391
The Politics of Immigration in Europe and North America

University of Toronto
CERES / Department of Political Science
Winter 2014

Monday, 12:00 - 2:00 PM, Room UC 148

Instructor: Dr. Phil Triadafilopoulos
Office: SPPG, 61B
Telephone: (416) 978-7035
E-mail: t.triadafilopoulos@utoronto.ca
Office Hours: Monday 2:00-3:00 PM, Friday 1:00-2:00 PM, or by appointment

Course Description and Objectives

International migration prompts policy questions of the highest order: Who shall be admitted? According to what criteria? And toward which ends and to whose advantage? And once admitted what, if any, access should migrants have to citizenship? This course aims to provide students with the theoretical and empirical knowledge needed to grapple with these questions intelligently. We will critically review literature from multiple disciplines with an eye to better understanding both why immigration has become such a dominant issue in contemporary politics and governance and how the challenges it provokes have been addressed by liberal-democratic states in Europe and North America.

We begin by clarifying why human mobility has become such a contested topic in contemporary politics. After surveying theories of immigration policymaking we consider responses to different modes of international migration, including refugee flows, temporary foreign workers, and highly skilled immigrants. The final part of the course considers debates sparked by the pluralization of industrialized societies after WWII, including: the regulation of citizenship, the accommodation of religious minorities, and the fierce battle over multiculturalism and competing modes of immigrant integration.

Required, Recommended and Background Readings

All required and recommended readings are posted on the course Blackboard page. Please let me know if you have any trouble accessing any of the readings. Those interested in a useful primer for background might consider purchasing James Hamphsire, *The Politics of Immigration* (Oxford: Polity, 2013) through Amazon.com or another online retailer. I also strongly encourage you to keep abreast of migration related news stories through newspapers, magazines, and other media sources.

Course Requirements and Grading

Grades for this course will be based on four requirements:

▪ Attendance and Participation	Cumulative	20%
▪ Reading Responses	5 responses x 5% each	25%
▪ Research Paper Proposal	Due in class February 3	20%
▪ Research Paper	Due in class March 24	35%

Attendance and Participation:

This course is an advanced, reading- and discussion-intensive seminar. You are expected to complete each week's required readings in advance, attend every class, and contribute actively to class discussions. In order to ensure all students contribute to the class, attendance will be taken. It is your responsibility to account for any absences, as unexplained and unexcused absences will result in a grade of zero (0) for that class and will be taken into account in calculating the class participation grade.

In addition to steady attendance, the participation grade will be based on consistent, constructive, high-quality interventions in seminar discussion. The breakdown of the seminar participation grade will be as follows: one-third for attendance, one-third for the quantity of participation, and one-third for the quality of participation. Factors to be taken into consideration in evaluating the quality of your participation include being prepared for class, being attentive to class discussion, raising thoughtful comments and questions in class, and providing insight and analysis to the readings and discussions.

Reading responses:

Beginning in week two, you will prepare a one-page (typed, single-spaced, 12 point font) response to the required readings for five of the remaining 11 weeks of class. You must prepare one response for each of weeks 2-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12 (select one week from each five groupings for a total of five responses).

Your responses must be submitted to me in hard copy before the beginning of the class which the readings were assigned for. Missed responses will receive a grade of zero (0).

Your responses should summarize the most important points of that week's readings. This entails identifying the central points of the readings and critically analyzing and evaluating them. Each of the responses will be assigned a grade out of 5 and the cumulative grade will comprise 25% of the course grade. I will base my evaluation on the clarity, insightfulness and originality of your responses to the week's readings. This is a difficult exercise, so be sure to allot sufficient time to prepare your submissions.

Research Paper and Proposal:

The major writing requirement is a 5000-word paper (4000-words for undergraduates). You are expected to identify an issue relating to the themes covered in the seminar, formulate a research question, conduct the research needed to begin to answer this question, and present your answers in a paper. The scope of the assignment is wide ranging. Among other options, your paper may focus on a particular immigration policy challenge in one or more country; examine an immigration policy related issue not covered in the course; or probe philosophical debates concerning the ethics of migration and membership. I am open to considering other options as well; please consult with me in person during office hours to ensure that your paper topic is appropriate.

A paper proposal outlining your question and research plan is also required. The proposal should be five double-spaced-pages and include:

- A title that describes the research project
- An outline of the project which:
 - describes your topic
 - provides an review of the relevant literature you have consulted to date
 - provides a tentative thesis statement and a description of how you plan to defend your argument
 - discusses any problems you are having or foresee having with the research
- A working bibliography

Policy on Absences

As noted above, you will receive a zero for any missed classes, unless you provide proof of medical or familial emergency (a doctor's note or death certificate). Given that attendance and participation count for 20 per cent of your final grade, it is in your interest to attend all classes without fail.

Late Penalties for Written Work

Late proposals and research papers will be penalized **5 per cent per day** (including weekends). There is no penalty for late reading responses: assignments that are not submitted on time will receive a grade of zero (0). You are strongly advised to keep electronic and hard copies of your responses, proposals, and papers. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Academic Integrity

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. The more obvious instances of plagiarism include

copying material from another source (book, journal, another student, and so on) without acknowledging the source, presenting an argument as your own – whether or not it is a direct quotation – rather than fully acknowledging the true originator of the idea, having another person help you to write your essay, and buying an essay. Taking materials from the internet without acknowledging the source is plagiarism. All of these are instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously and they will result in academic penalty. Those penalties can range from failing the assignment, failing the course, having a notation on your academic transcript, and/or suspension from the university. For your information, an excellent website is “How Not to Plagiarize,” by Margaret Procter, Coordinator of Writing Support (U of T): <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

Accessibility Services

Students requiring assistance because of a disability should inform me and contact U of T Accessibility Services (<http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>) as soon as possible.

E-Mail Policy

Please be sure to use your University of Toronto e-mail accounts for all course related correspondence. Please also note the course code (POL410/2391) in the subject line of your messages. I will do my best to respond to e-mail within 48 hours of receiving messages. E-mail received during weekends and holidays may take longer to answer. Please do **not** submit course assignments via e-mail; all assignments must be submitted to me in class. If you are unable to submit your assignments in class, get in touch with me (during office hours, by phone, or via e-mail) to make alternative arrangements.

Blackboard and Internet Resources

Please consult the course Blackboard site daily, as I will post the syllabus, required and recommended readings, discussion topics, media reports, announcements of relevant events, and important reminders. You should also familiarize yourself with data related to international migration. Useful on-line resources include:

- <http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/index.php?id=4&L=1> (Focus Migration)
- <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home.html> (IOM)
- <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/> (UN Population Division)
- <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/tehis/vtx/home> (UNHCR)
- <http://www.ilo.org/migrant/lang--en/index.htm> (ILO - Migration Branch)
- <http://www.migrationinformation.org> (Migration Policy Institute)
- www.mipex.eu (Migrant Integration Policy Index)
- <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/global-bilateral-migration-database> (World Bank)
- <http://www.imldb.iom.int/section.do> (International Migration Law database)

Outline of Topics and Readings

January 6 – Seminar 1: Course Introduction

I will provide an overview of the course's objectives, requirements and expectations. We will also begin to think about the politics of membership prompted by international migration.

Recommended:

- OECD, "Executive Summary" and "Recent Developments in International Migration Movements and Policies," in *International Migration Outlook 2013* (OECD Publishing, 2013): pp. 11-13, 15-62, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2013-en.
- Review the Multiculturalism Policy Index (<http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/index.html>) and the Migrant Integration Policy Index (www.mipex.eu)

January 13 – Seminar 2: Human Mobility in a World of Nation-States

How has the organization of the world into nation-states influenced our understanding of human mobility and political membership? How have states imposed a monopoly on the "legitimate means of movement"? What are the origins of contemporary forms of "wanted" and "unwanted" migration?

Required Reading:

- Aristide R. Zolberg, "International Migrations in Political Perspective," in *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements*, ed. Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Keely and Silvano M. Tomasi (New York, 1981): pp. 3-27.
- John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'," *Sociological Theory* VOL. 16, No. 3 (1998): pp. 239-259.
- Adam McKeown, "Introduction," in *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008): pp. 1-18.
- Adam McKeown, "Global Migration: 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* VOL. 15, No. 2 (2004): pp. 155-189.

Recommended:

- Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration, and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* VOL. 2, No. 4 (2002): pp. 301-334.

January 20 – Seminar 3: The Ethics of Migration Control

Are migration controls compatible with liberal-democracy? Do migrants have a moral claim to membership in receiving countries?

- Michael Walzer, “The Distribution of Membership,” in *Boundaries: National Autonomy and Its Limits*, ed. Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981): pp. 1-36.
- Joseph Carens, “Aliens and Citizens,” *Review of Politics* 49 (1987): pp. 251–73.
- Michael Blake, “Immigration, Jurisdiction and Exclusion,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* VOL. 41, No. 2 (2013): p. 103-130.

Recommended:

- Arash Abizadeh, “Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Border,” *Political Theory* 36 (2008): pp. 37–65
- David Miller, “Why Immigration Controls Are Not Coercive: A Reply to Arash Abizadeh,” *Political Theory* 38 (2010): pp. 111–20.

January 27 – Seminar 4: Theorizing the Politics of Immigration Policymaking

How do states respond to international migration politically? What are the political drivers of immigration policy? What is the relation among ideas/norms, interests and institutions? What explains Canadian political parties’ continuing support for high levels of immigration, a liberal citizenship regime, and a policy of official multiculturalism?

Required Reading:

- Gary P. Freeman, “Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic Societies,” *International Migration Review* VOL. 29, No. 4 (1995): 881-902.
- Christian Joppke, “Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration,” *World Politics* VOL. 50, No. 2 (1998): pp. 266-293.
- Christina Boswell, “Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?” *International Migration Review* VOL. 41, No. 1 (2007): 75-100.
- Inder Marwah, Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos and Steven White, “Immigration, Citizenship and Canada’s New Conservative Party,” in *Conservatism in Canada*, ed. David Rayside and James Farney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013): pp. 95-119.

Recommended:

- Wayne A. Cornelius and Marc R. Rosenblum, "Immigration and Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): pp. 99-119.
- Aristide Zolberg, "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy," in *How Many Exceptionalisms? Explorations in Comparative Macroanalysis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008): pp. 250-286.

February 3 – Seminar 5: Refugees and the Politics of Asylum

- N.B.: Paper proposals due in class!

Who is a refugee? What are the origins of the contemporary refugee system? How is the politics of asylum changing? What policy responses are available to decision-makers? Are their policy choices in line with the 1951 Refugee Convention?

Required Reading:

- Aristide Zolberg, Astri Suhrke and Sergio Aguayo, "Who Is a Refugee?" in *Escape From Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989): pp. 3-36.
- Matthew E. Price, "Persecution Complex: Justifying Asylum Law's Preference for Persecuted People," *Harvard International Law Journal* VOL. 47, No. 2 (2006): pp. 413-466.
- Lena Karamanidou and Liza Schuster, "Realizing One's Rights Under the 1951 Convention 60 Years On: A Review of Practical Constraints on Accessing Protection in Europe," *Journal of Refugee Studies* (2011): doi: 10.1093/jrs/fer053.

Recommended:

- Timothy J. Hatton, "The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?" *The Economic Journal* 119 (2009): F183-F213.
- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, "Definition and Descriptions," in *The Refugee in International Law*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996): 3-32.

February 10 – Seminar 6: Temporary Foreign Workers

What are the fundamental features of temporary foreign worker schemes? Are they an effective means of globalizing labour markets? Are temporary foreign worker schemes ethical?

Required Reading:

- Cindy Hahmovitch, “Creating Perfect Immigrants: Guestworkers of the World in Historical Perspective 1,” *Labour History* VOL. 44, No. 1 (2003): pp. 69-94.
- Lant Pritchett, “Bilateral Guest Worker Agreements: A Win-Win Solution for Rich Countries and Poor People in the Developing World,” *CGD Brief* (Washington: D.C.: Center for Global Development, March 2007): pp. 1-4.
- Martin Ruhs and Philip Martin, “Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs,” *International Migration Review* VOL. 42, No. 1 (2008): pp. 249-265.
- Joseph H. Carens, “Live-in Domestic, Seasonal Workers, and Others Hard to Locate on the Map of Democracy,” in *Population and Political Theory*, ed. James S. Fishkin and Robert E. Goodin (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010): pp. 206-234.

Recommended:

- Stephen Castles, “Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection?” *International Migration Review* VOL. 40, No. 4 (2006): p. 741-766.
- Aristide R. Zolberg, “Wanted But Not Welcome: Alien Labor in Western Development,” in *Population in an Interacting World*, ed. William Alonso (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987): pp. 36-73.

February 17 – No Class: Family Day/ Reading Week

February 24 – Seminar 7: Citizenship

What is citizenship? What factors influence states’ choice of citizenship regimes? How amenable are these regimes to change? How has the linkage between citizenship, state, and nation changed since WWII? What factors explain the growing importance of political rights for non-nationals in liberal-democratic states?

Required Reading:

- Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): pp. 1-34, 179-190.

- Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): pp. 136-162.
- Marc Morjé Howard, "The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 36, No. 5 (2010): pp. 735-751.
- David Earnest, "Neither Citizen nor Stranger: Why States Enfranchise Resident Aliens," *World Politics* VOL. 58, No. 2 (2006): pp. 242-275.

Recommended:

- Marc Morjé Howard, *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Thomas Janoski, *The Ironies of Citizenship: Naturalization and Integration in Industrialized Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Thomas Faist, Jürgen Gerdes, and Beate Rieple, "Dual Citizenship as a Path-Dependant Process," *International Migration Review*, VOL. 38, No. 3 (2004): pp. 913-944.

March 3 – Seminar 8: Migration and Citizenship in the European Union

What is distinctive about migration policymaking in the EU? To what extent does EU citizenship differ from traditional nation-state citizenship?

Required Reading:

- Virginie Guiraudon, "The Constitution of a European Immigration Policy Domain: A Political Sociology Approach," *Journal of European Public Policy* (2003): pp. 263-282.
- Georg Menz, "Stopping, Shaping and Moulding Europe: Two-Level Games, Non-state Actors and the Europeanization of Migration Policies," *Journal of Common Market Studies* VOL. 49, No. 2 (2011): pp. 437-462.
- Willem Maas, "Migrants, States, and EU Citizenship's Unfulfilled Promise," *Citizenship Studies* VOL. 12, No. 6 (2008): pp. 583-596.

Recommended:

- Lucie Cerna, "Understanding the Diversity of EU Migration Policy in Practice: The Implementation of the Blue Card Initiative," *Policy Studies* VOL. 34, No. 2 (2013): pp. 180-200.

- Adrain Favell and Randall Hansen, "Markets Against Politics: Migration, EU Enlargement and the Idea of Europe," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 28, No. 4 (2002): pp. 1-21.
- Virginie Guiraudon, "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping," *Journal of Common Market Studies* VOL. 38, No. 2 (2000): pp. 251-271.

March 10 – Seminar 9: Integration Policies and “National Models”

Are distinctive national models of immigrant integration converging toward a similar form of “civic integrationism”? What are the aims of immigrant integration policies?

Required Reading:

- Stephen Castles, "How Nation-States Respond to Immigration and Ethnic Diversity," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 21, No. 3 (1995): pp. 293-308.
- Christian Joppke, "Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe," *West European Politics* VOL. 30, No. 1 (2007): 1-22.
- Sarah Wallace Goodman, "Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe," *World Politics* VOL. 64, No. 4 (2012): pp. 659-658.

Recommended:

- Christophe Bertossi, "National Models of Integration in Europe: A Comparative and Critical Analysis," *American Behavioral Scientist* VOL. 55, No. 12 (2011): pp. 1561-1580.
- Sara Wallace Goodman, "Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 36, No. 5 (2010): 753-772.

March 17 – Seminar 10: The Multiculturalism Debate

What accounts for the strong rejection of multiculturalism in several European countries? Has the “backlash” against multiculturalism had a significant policy effect?

Required Reading:

- Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash Against Multiculturalism in Europe," in *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, ed. Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (New York: Routledge, 2010): pp. 1-31.

- Banting and Kymlicka, “Is There Really a Backlash Against Multiculturalism Policies? New Evidence from the Multiculturalism Policy Index,” Paper presented to the ECSA-C 9th Biennial Conference, Ottawa, 26-28 April 2012.
- Matthew Wright and Irene Bloemraad, “Is There a Trade-off between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration? Policy Regimes and Immigrant Incorporation in Comparative Perspective,” *Perspectives on Politics* VOL. 10, No. 1 (2012): pp. 77-95.
- Ruud Koopmans, “Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison,” *Annual Review of Sociology* VOL. 39 (2013): pp. 147-169.

Recommended:

- Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, “Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates,” *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, VOL. 23, No. 1 (2010): pp. 43-72.
- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, “Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, VOL. 37, No. 6. (2011): pp. 861-880.

March 24 – Seminar 11: Governing Religious Diversity I (The ‘Limits of Toleration’)

- N.B.: Papers due in class!

How ought liberal-democratic states to balance their respect for freedom of conscience, association and religious expression with their commitment to advancing individual autonomy and equality? What are the limits of toleration in liberal-democratic polities?

Required Reading:

- Susan Moller Okin, “Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions,” *Ethics* VOL. 108, No. 4 (July 1998): pp. 661-684.
- Joseph H. Carens, “Muslim Minorities in Contemporary Democracies: The Limits of Liberal Toleration,” chapter in *Culture, Citizenship, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): pp. 140-160.
- Christian Joppke and John Torpey, “‘Reasonable Accommodation’ and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Canada,” in *Legal Integration of Islam: A Transatlantic Comparison* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013): pp. 89-113.

Recommended:

- Christian Joppke, “State Neutrality and Islamic Headscarf Laws in France and Germany,”

Theory and Society, VOL. 36, No. 4 (2007), pp. 313-342.

- Bikku Parekh. "Minority Practices and Principles of Toleration" *International Migration Review* Vol.30, No.1 (Spring 1996): pp. 251-284.

March 31 – Seminar 12: Governing Religious Diversity II (Macro-Institutional Change)

How are the institutions that have long governed church-state relations in immigrant receiving countries adapting to the presence of new religious minorities? How can we explain variation in policy trajectories and outcomes across states?

Required Reading:

- Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon "Why Islam is Like Spanish," *Politics and Society* 27 (1999): pp. 5-38.
- J. Christopher Soper and Joel S. Fetzer, "Religious Institutions, Church-State History and Muslim Mobilization in Britain, France and Germany," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 33, No. 6 (2007): pp. 933-944.
- Jonathan Laurence, *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State's Role in Minority Integration* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012): pp. 1-29, 163-197.

Recommended:

- Micheline Milot, "Modus Co-Vivendi: Religious Diversity in Canada," in *International Migration and the Governance of Religious Diversity*, ed. Paul Bramadat and Matthias Koenig (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009): pp. 105-130.
- Claus Hofhansel, "Accommodating Islam and the Utility of National Models: The German Case," *West European Politics* VOL. 33, No. 2 (2010): 191-207.