

Interdisciplinary Programmes (MINT)

Academic year 2018 - 2019

The Politics of Immigration Control

MINT094- Autumn- 6 ECTS

Course Description

This class seeks to examine issues of and rationales for immigration policy from a comparative perspective, privileging questions on how countries can manage (or fail to manage) migration. By doing so, this class brings together insights from a variety of social science disciplines including political science, sociology, economics, and law. The first part of the class explores the sources and processes of policy-making. The second part expands on this by discussing specific types of migration streams in detail. Finally, the third part focuses on critical examinations of contemporary issues. In all of these parts the role of policy instruments, institutions and actors will receive particular attention. This seminar also features many empirical research articles, making prior knowledge and/or interest in empirical research a desirable (but not necessary) precondition for taking this class.

> PROFESSOR

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Syllabus

The course will meet each Tuesday from 16:15 – 18:00 in Room S2, unless otherwise stated in the syllabus. All required articles and book chapters are provided in electronic format on Moodle. Readings that are recommended will be available over the library reserve. I may occasionally send you additional readings.

Course Objectives

The primary goal of this course is to provide students with the conceptual background of different issues related to the politics and practices of immigration control, and prepare them for their Master's thesis. Furthermore, the course is designed to give a broad theoretical architecture for thinking about the following main questions that will pervade all substantive topics:

1. What are important actors, processes, discourses, and institutions shaping immigration control policy?
2. To what extent is state policy effective in controlling and regulating migration?
3. What issues are the most pressing and what would likely policy responses have to address?

In addition, the course is supposed to help students improve their critical reading and writing of academic work, to bring them up to the present on some of the important intellectual work being done, and equip them to understand and critically evaluate new developments in immigration control relevant to their future policy or academic careers. Upon completion of this course, students should be able to:

- Have a solid understanding of basic immigration patterns, legal structures, and academic debates.
- Identify what core concepts, relationships, and issues are involved in immigration policy making.
- Apply new won insights on cases encountered outside of class.
- Analyze approaches and articles, and identify weaknesses, using their own insights or those of other approaches.
- Criticize and evaluate political outcomes related to immigration policy.

How to Maximize Your Learning Experience

1. Be prepared to read, think and discuss... A LOT.
2. Know that I have very high expectations of your work and that you should as well.
3. Schedule appointments to meet with the TA or me to discuss your progress and understanding of course material. **We are always willing to help.**
4. Plan to come to class every day, and remember: "To be 'early' is to be on time, to be 'on time' is to be late, and to be 'late' is unacceptable."

Course Format

Interactive Lecture

A major feature of this class will be class participation in form of discussing the assigned articles, critically reflecting on theoretical approaches, and actively engaging with your peers. Thus, it will be essential that you carefully read the assigned required readings prior to class. I will lecture only to convey general theoretical and topical overviews, as well as key terms and principles that are covered in the readings. You are expected to complete all required readings by the date listed, which will help you contribute to class discussion.

To read efficiently, avoid a careful, one-time, word-by-word reading of the text. Instead, skim the introduction and conclusion, where available, to identify the author's main argument(s). Then scan section headings (or the first sentence in each paragraph) to see how the author develops and supports their argument. Finally, reserve detailed reading for those sections that clarify the argument or provide supporting evidence. If you are spending more than three hours on a set of readings, you are reading too closely.

Furthermore, spend some time thinking about the reading:

- What is the author's main argument?
- What evidence is used to support the argument?
- Is the argument and evidence compelling? Are there alternative explanations?
- How does the reading relate to previous ones covered in the course?
- Why are we reading this?

Participation

Participation is an essential and mandatory component of this course. You are expected to (1) come to class having read the assigned material and contribute meaningfully to class discussions, (2) follow news pertinent to our topics, and (3) critically reflect on concepts and articles we encounter. Turning any class from a 'dry' lecture into an exciting, but insightful seminar requires collective and interactive participation of each student. Thus, the quality of your learning experience is determined by lively and polite exchange of thoughts and criticisms.

The grade you earn will reflect the amount and quality of your participation, as well as your attendance. It should be common sense that you cannot earn a great participation grade if you are not attending class. Below I defined what reflects different qualities of comments.

Comment Quality:

- “High”: Comments show reflection about the reading or the discussion at hand, contribution through strong points and/or adding value to the discussion by stating their opinion based on factual knowledge.
- “Satisfying”: Comments show engagement in class discussion, willingness to “take a guess”, and ability to link previous lecture material to discussions at hand, as well as expressing opinions.
- “Low”: Comments show engagement in class discussion, but student never contributes to the added value or demonstrates knowledge from the readings – they are just working for that tick mark

Assessments

1. Weekly Response Papers

Each student is required to submit 8 weekly short response papers (starting from session 2 on) based on the assigned required readings, **due the day before each class by 6 PM** (i.e. Monday by 6 PM) **via Moodle**. Every week 2-3 core questions are posed per unit that should be addressed in composing the response paper. The goal is to demonstrate that you did the readings, can synthesize key information and are prepared for the class discussion based on the outlined core questions. The response paper should be between 2 and 3 pages but not shorter. The paper will be evaluated based on its quality and number of readings incorporated. Response papers cannot be handed in retrospectively, but additional response papers can replace earlier (weaker) ones. Sessions where no papers are due are Session 1 and Session 14.

2. Case Study Report

Students are asked to work in a small group of 3-4 and present a current case of immigration policy issue that falls within the provided topics outlined below. The case study should present key facts and issues and be followed by 2-3 discussion questions. Details on how to structure the report will be provided in class. All groups are required to meet with the instructor and discuss their ideas prior to their respective presentation. There are 6 different broad topics available:

- Labor migration in the Middle East;
- The ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe;
- Forced migration in Asia;
- Irregular migration in North Africa;
- The ‘Global Compact on Migration’;
- The securitization of migration in Europe;
- The migration industrial-complex in the Americas.

3. Policy Briefs

Students are asked to turn in a collection of policy briefs outlining what they consider to be the most pressing issues in regard to managing migration from different regional perspectives. Students should write two, 4-6 page long briefs on two different regions (students are welcome to choose the regions themselves). Details on how to structure the briefs will be provided in class. This assignment is **due December 14, by 6:00 pm** on Moodle, because the policy briefs will be distributed in small groups of 3-4 students to facilitate discussion in class on December 18.

The breakdown of your grade will be as follows:

- 20% = attendance and class participation
- 25% = weekly response papers
- 15% = case study report
- 40% = policy briefs

To help you research, please find below a very brief list of useful websites for policy and current events-related migration news, research, and data:

- Migration Policy Institute: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/>
- Refugee Studies Center (Oxford): <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/>
- International Migration Institute (Oxford): <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/>
- Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS): <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/>
- Migration Policy Center: <http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/>
- CARIM-East (focusing on the post-Soviet world): <http://www.carimeast.eu/>
- Center for Immigration Studies: <http://www.cis.org/>

Classroom Policies

Use of Laptops & Other Electronic Devices

All class material will be provided electronically, so extensive use of laptops to take notes is theoretically not necessary and can be done by hand. However, for the purpose of opening and following class readings/notes on readings, the use of laptops is permitted. I reserve the RIGHT TO BAN ALL LAPTOP USE (except for medical needs) if class participation is low and the distraction level through other laptop uses is high (checking emails, surfing the web, chatting, etc.).

In addition, students caught consistently not following lecture will receive a 0.25 grade points lower attendance and participation grade for each offense. Lastly, smart/cell phones should be set to silent, not vibrate.

Attendance and Absences

You are allowed two absences for whatever reason during the semester. Beyond that you must provide proper documentation addressing the absence. If you plan to/know you will miss class and have a valid official excuse (e.g., medical, academic) or case of hardship (e.g., eviction from your place of residence or attendance at a funeral), please contact me ahead of time and provide me with proper documentation in each and every case. If you plan on observing religious holidays, please talk to me after our first session. Undocumented absences, as well as repeated tardiness (i.e. being more than 10 minutes late) will result in a 0.25 grade points lowered participation grade for every offense. If you chose to take one of your 'free' absences, please keep in mind that you are responsible for all lecture material, handouts, announcements, explanations of assignments, and other relevant details that you missed. Furthermore, if you come more than 20 minutes late to class, I will ask you to leave the room and you will be counted as absent.

Deadlines

The above outlined deadlines are absolute – NO EXTENSIONS ARE GIVEN. Failure to turn in any of the assignments by the due date will result in a grade of 1.0 for that particular assignment. In order to avoid a penalty for late submission of a paper or assignment, you must have evidence of extenuating circumstances (e.g., a doctor's note for illness). This must be submitted to the professor prior to the time of the deadline.

Grade Appeal

If you feel that an assessment was graded incorrectly, submit a written appeal to me within three days after the assessment in question was returned. Appeals or complaints submitted later cannot be

accommodated. The instructor will take your comments into consideration and re-read your assignments. However, be aware that a new grade could not be the same as you originally received; it could be higher, but it could also be lower. Students should keep copies of the assignments they turn in and retain graded papers until they receive their final course grade.

Moodle Use

Assignments, articles, announcements, and grades can be accessed via the Moodle course page. Assignments should be submitted via Moodle, unless otherwise specified.

Academic Honesty

As a student of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies you have agreed to abide by the Institute's academic honesty policy. All academic work must meet the standards described in "Institute's Internal Guidelines Governing Citation of Sources and Plagiarism." Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Final assignments, in this case policy briefs, will be analyzed via Turnitin. Please contact me any time you have questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy.

Bilingual Policy

Although the class will be held in English, students are welcome to ask questions and submit their written assessments in French.

Tentative Schedule and Reading Assignments

September 18: Session 1 Introduction

September 25: No session

October 2: Session 2 The Emergence of Immigration Control

Central Questions: Why is there a need to 'manage' migration? Has the state always been in control of migration?

Required:

Torpey, John. 2000. "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate Means of Movement." In Torpey, John. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1-20.

Kalm, Sara. 2010. "Liberalizing Movements? The Political Rationality of Global Migration Management." In Geiger, Martin and Antoine Pécoud (eds.). *The Politics of International Migration Management*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 21-44.

Hollifield, James F. 2004. "The Emerging Migration State." *International Migration Review* 38(3):885-912.

Carens, Joseph. 1987. "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders." *The Review of Politics* 49(2): 251-273.

Recommended:

Zolberg, Aristide. 2008. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. Harvard University Press, New York; Held, David et al. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture*. Stanford University Press: chapter 6; Massey, Douglas, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Malone. 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*. Russell Sage Foundation: chapter 2.

(!) October 3: Session 3 (8:15 in S4) The Making of Immigration Policies: Theories and Models

Central Questions: What are the dominant approaches to migration policy-making, and what are their advantages and disadvantages? What considerations determine preferences towards migration policy?

Required:

Freeman, Gary. 2006. "National Models, Policy Types and the Politics of Immigration in Liberal Democracies." *West European Politics* 29(2): 227-247.

Zolberg, Aristide. 1999. "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy." In Hirschman, Charles et al., *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. Russell Sage, New York: 71-93. (note: Skim the American immigration examples, focus on p. 81-93 in particular).

Boswell, Christina. 2007. "Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?" *International Migration Review* 41(1): 75-100.

Money, Jeanette. 1999. *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control*. Cornell University Press: chapter 3.

Recommended:

Berg, Linda and Andrea Spehar. 2013. "Swimming Against the Tide: Why Sweden Supports Free Labour Mobility Within and From Outside the EU?" *Policy Studies* 34(2): 142-161; Watts, Julie R. 1998. "Strange Bedfellows: How Spanish Labor Union Leaders and Employers Find Common Ground on Immigration." *Policy Studies Journal* 26(4): 657-675; Meyers, Eytan. 2000. "Theories of International Immigration Policy - A Comparative Analysis." *International Migration Review* 34(4): 1245-1282; Caviedes, Alexander. 2010. "The Sectoral Turn in Labour Migration Policy." In Georg Menz and Alexander Caviedes (eds.), *Labour Migration in Europe*. Palgrave MacMillan: 54-75. Freeman, Gary and Alan Kessler. 2008. "Political Economy and Migration Policy." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(3): 655-678; Hollifield, James F. and Tom K. Wong. 2014. "The Politics of International Migration: How Can We Bring the State Back In?" In Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (3rd edition). Routledge: chapter 6; Freeman, Gary. 1995. "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States." *International Migration Review* 29(4): 881-902.

October 9: Session 4 The Making of Immigration Policies: Policy Gaps and Their Causes

Central Questions: What explains differences between policy intentions and outcomes (aka policy gaps)? What complications do actors on different political levels introduce to the policy process?

Required:

Lahav, Gallya and Virginie Guiraudon. 2006. "Actors and Venues in Immigration Control: Closing the Gap between Political Demands and Policy Outcomes." *West European Politics* 29(2): 201-223

Cornelius, Wayne and Takeyuki Tsuda. 2004. "Controlling Immigration: The Limits of Government Intervention," in Wayne Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin, and James F. Hollifield (eds.). *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (2nd edition). Stanford University Press, Stanford: 3-43.

Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration." *World Politics* 50(2): 266-293.

Recommended:

Czaika, Mathias and Hein de Haas. 2013. "The Effectiveness of Immigration Policies." *Population and Development Review* 39(3): 487–508; Hollifield, James F., Philip L. Martin, and Pia M. Orrenius. 2014. "The Dilemmas of Immigration Control." In James F., Philip L. Martin, and Pia M. Orrenius (eds.). *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (3rd edition). Stanford University Press: 3-34. Cornelius, Wayne and Marc Rosenblum. 2005. "Immigration and Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1): 99-119; Menz, Georg. 2009. "National Actors and European Solutions: The Contours of Conflict." In Menz, Georg. *The Political Economy of Manage Migration: Nonstate Actors, Europeanization, and the Politics of Designing Migration Policies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 76-124; Scholten Peter, and Rinus Penninx. 2016. "The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration." In: Garcés-Mascareñas B., Penninx R. (eds). *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. Springer: 91-108.

October 16: Session 5 Labor Migration Policy in Europe

Central Questions: What has been Europe's past experience with labor migration and what has changed?

Required:

Castles, Stephen. 2006. "Guest Workers in Europe: A Resurrection?" *International Migration Review* 4(4): 741-766.

Ruhs, Martin and Philip Martin. 2008. "Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs." *International Migration Review* 42(1): 249-265.

Marino, Stefania, Rinus Penninx and Judith Roosblad. 2015. "Trade Unions, Immigration and Immigrants in Europe Revisited: Unions' Attitudes and Actions under New Conditions." *Comparative Migration Studies* 3(1): open access.

Recommended:

Ellerman, Antje. 2015. "Do Policy Legacies Matter? Past and Present Guest Worker Recruitment in Germany." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(8): 1235-1253; Kuptsch, Christiane and Philip Martin. 2011. "Low-Skilled Labour Migration." In Alexander Betts (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 34-59; Castles, Stephen. 1986. "The Guest Worker in Western Europe – An Obituary." *International Migration Review* 20(4): 761-778; Ruhs, Martin. 2014. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton University Press.

October 23: Session 6 Labor Migration Policy in Comparative Perspective

Central Questions: How has immigration policy changed over time and across regions? How is labor migration regulated (or not regulated) outside of the Western democratic context?

CASE STUDY 1: LABOR MIGRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Required:

De Haas, Hein, Katharina Natter, and Simona Vezzoli. 2016. "Growing Restrictiveness or Changing Selection? The Nature and Evolution of Migration Policies." *International Migration Review*, Fall, 1-44.

Shin, Adrien J. 2017. "Tyrants and Migrants: Authoritarian Immigration Policy." *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(1):14-40.

Frantz, Elizabeth. 2013. "Jordan's Unfree Workforce: State-Sponsored Bonded Labour in the Arab Region." *Journal of Development Studies* 49 (8): 1072-1087.

Recommended:

Panizzon, Marion, et al. 2015. *Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke; Freeman, Gary P. and David K. Hill. 2006. "Disaggregating Immigration Policy: The Politics of Skilled Labor Recruitment in the U.S." In Michael P. Smith and Adrian Favell (eds.). *The Human Face of Global Mobility: International Highly Skilled Migration in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific*. Transaction Publishers: 103-129; Boeri, Tito, et al. 2012. *Brain Drain and Brain Gain: The Global Competition to Attract Highly-Skilled Migrants*. Oxford University Press; Chaloff, Jonathan, and Georges Lemaitre. 2009. "Managing Highly-Skilled Labour Migration: A Comparative Analysis of Migration Policies and Challenges in OECD Countries." OECD: <https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/46656535.pdf>; Parsons, Christopher R., et al. 2014. "Conceptualising International High-Skilled Migration." IMI Working Paper 104.

October 30: Session 7 Forced Migration Policy in Europe

Central Questions: What factors have shaped asylum policy-making and regional cooperation in Europe before and after the refugee crisis?

CASE STUDY 2: THE 'REFUGEE CRISIS' IN EUROPE

Required:

Schuster, Liza. 2000. "A Comparative Analysis of the Asylum Policy of Seven European Governments." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13(1): 118-132.

Thielemann, Eiko R. 2003. "Between Interests and Norms: Explaining Burden-Sharing in the European Union." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16(3): 253-273.

Zaun, Natascha. 2018. "States as Gatekeepers in EU Asylum Politics: Explaining the Non-Adoption of a Refugee Quota System." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(1): 44-62.

Recommended:

Bakewell, Oliver. 2011. "Conceptualizing Displacement and Migration: Processes, Conditions, and Categories." In Koser, Khalid & Susan Martin (eds.). *The Migration-Displacement Nexus, Patterns, Processes and Policies*. Berghahn Books: 14-28; Neumayer, Eric. 2004. "Asylum Destination Choice: What Makes Some West European Countries More Attractive Than Others?" *European Union Politics* 5(2): 155-180; Moore, Will H. and Stephen M. Shellman. 2006. "Refugee or Internally Displaced Person?: To Where Should One Flee?" *Comparative Political Studies* 39(5): 599-622; Neumayer, Eric. 2005. "Bogus Refugees? The Determinants of Asylum Migration to Western Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 389-409; Adhikari, Prakash. 2013. "Conflict-Induced Displacement, Understanding the Causes of Flight." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 82-89; Davenport, Christian A., Will H. Moore, and Steven C. Poe. 2003. "Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Domestic Threats and Forced Migration, 1964-1989." *International Interactions* 29(1): 27-55.

November 6: Session 8 Forced Migration Policy: New Frontiers

Central Questions: What new challenges and differing contexts inform or complicate forced migration policy and politics?

CASE STUDY 3: FORCED MIGRATION IN ASIA

Required:

Hamlin, Rebecca. 2012. "Illegal Refugees: Competing Policy Ideas and the Rise of the Regime of Deterrence in American Asylum Politics." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31(2): 33–53.

Piguet, Etienne, Pecoud Antoine, and de Guchteneire, Paul. 2011. "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 30(3): 1-23.

Milner, James. 2009. "The Politics of Asylum in Africa." In Milner, James. *Refugees, the State, and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan: 161–188.

Recommended:

Jacobsen, Karen. 1996. "Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes." *International Migration Review* 30(3): 655–678; Boswell, Christina. 2003. "The 'External Dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy." *International Affairs* 79 (3): 619–63; Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas. 2014. "International Refugee Law and Refugee Policy: The Case of Deterrence Policies." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 27 (4): 574-595; White, Gregory. 2017. "Environmental refugees." In Bourbeau, Philippe. *Handbook on Migration and Security*. Edward Elgar: 175-190; Marx, Reinhard. 1995. "Non-refoulement, Access to Procedures, and Responsibility for Determining Refugee Claims." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 7(3): 383-406; Moore, Will H., and Stephen M. Shellman. 2004. "Fear of Persecution: Forced Migration, 1952–1995." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(5): 723–745; Hatton, Timothy J. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2005. "Global Migration and the World Economy." *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. MIT Press: chapter 13; Alexander Betts. 2009. *Forced Migration and Global Politics*. Wiley-Blackwell; Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (4th edition). Palgrave Macmillan: 188-195.

November 13: Session 9 Irregular Migration

Central Questions: What makes irregular migration a tricky issue to deal with? Do deterrence strategies abet illegal immigration?

CASE STUDY 4: IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN NORTH AFRICA

Required:

Düvell, Franck. 2008. "Clandestine Migration in Europe." *Social Science Information* 47(4): 479-497.

Cornelius, Wayne. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.

Czaika, Mathias and Mogens Hobolth. 2016. "Do Restrictive Asylum and Visa Policies Increase Irregular Migration into Europe?" *European Union Politics* 17(3): 345-365.

Recommended:

Düvell, Franck. 2011. "Irregular Migration." In Alexander Betts (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press: 78-108; Collet, Elizabeth. 2016. "Unauthorized Maritime Migration in Europe and the Mediterranean Region." In Newland, Kathleen et al. (eds.). *All At Sea: The Policy Challenges of Rescue, Interception and Long-Term Response to Maritime Migration*. Migration Policy Institute: Washington D.C.: 43-98; Orrenius, Pia M. and Madeline Zavodny (2003). "Do Amnesty Programs Reduce Undocumented Immigration? Evidence from IRCA." *Demography* 40(3): 437-450; Tichenor, Daniel J. 2009. "Navigating an American

Minefield: The Politics of Illegal Immigration." *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics* 7(3): 1-21; Hanson, Gordon H. 2007. *The Economic Logic of Illegal Immigration*. Council on Foreign Relations Press; Düvell, Franck. 2011. "Irregular Migration." In Alexander Betts (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press: 78-108; Koser, Khalid. 2006. Irregular Migration. In Marshall, Barbara. *The Politics of Migration: A Survey*. Routledge: 44-57

November 20: Session 10 Interdependence and Immigration Control

Central Questions: What factors add greater complexity (read: constraints) to national immigration control policy? How does foreign policy and trade policy interact with immigration control?

Required:

Tsourapas, Gerasimo. 2018. "Labor Migrants as Political Leverage: Migration Interdependence and Coercion in the Mediterranean." *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming.

Guiraudon & Lahav. 2000. A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control, *Comparative Political Studies* 33(2): 163-195.

Peters, Margaret. 2015. "Open Trade, Closed Borders: Immigration in the Era of Globalization." *World Politics* 67(1): 114–154.

Recommended:

Sassen, Saskia. 1998. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York Press: chapter 2; Cerna, Lucie, James Hollifield and William Hynes. 2015. "Trade, Migration and the Crisis of Globalization." In Panizzon, Marion et al. *The Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 17-40; Caviedes, Alexander. 2004. "The Open Method of Co-ordination in Immigration Policy: A Tool for Prying Open Fortress Europe?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(2): 289-310; Hatton, Timothy J. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. 2005. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. MIT Press: chapter 10; Massey, Douglas et al. 1998. *Worlds in Motion*. Oxford University Press: 62-69; Sassen, Saskia. 1996. *Losing Control: Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization*. Columbia University Press.

(!) November 28: Session 11 (8:15 in S4) Issues in European and International Governance

Central Questions: How and to what extent is (or isn't) migration globally governed?

CASE STUDY 5: THE GLOBAL COMPACT ON MIGRATION

Required:

Betts, Alexander. 2011. "Introduction: Global Migration Governance." In Betts, Alexander (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 1-33.

Greenhill, Kelly M. 2016. "Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis." *European Law Journal* 22 (3): 317–332

Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2017. "Governing Migrant Smuggling." In Bourbeau, Philippe. *Handbook on Migration and Security*. Edward Elgar: 210-231.

Recommended:

Castles, Stephen and van Hear, Nicholas. 2011. "Root Causes." In Betts, Alexander (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 287-305; Chetail, Vincent.

2016. "Looking Beyond the Rhetoric of the Refugee Crisis: The Failed Reform of the Common European Asylum System." *European Journal of Human Rights*: 584-602; Thielemann, Eiko. 2011. "How Effective are Migration and Non-Migration Policies that Affect Forced Migration." Migration Studies Unit Working Paper 14: 1-14; Thielemann, Eiko and Armstrong, Carolyn. 2013. "Understanding European Asylum Cooperation under the Schengen/Dublin System: A Public Goods Framework." *European Security* 22 (2): 148-164; Loescher, Gil and James Milner. 2011. "UNHCR and the Global Governance of Refugees" In Betts, Alexander (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 189-209 OUP; Georgi, Fabian. 2010. "For the Benefit of Some: The International Organization for Migration its Global Migration Management." In Geiger, Martin and Antoine Pécoud (eds.). *The Politics of International Migration Management*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke: 45-72; Castles, Stephen and Nicholas Van Hear. 2011. "Root Causes" In Betts, Alexander (ed.). *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford: 287-306.

December 4: Session 12 Securitization of Migration

Core Questions: How are migration and security linked? What are the consequences of securitizing discourses for immigration policy?

CASE STUDY 6: THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION IN EUROPE

Required:

Bourbeau, Philippe. 2011. *The securitization of migration: a study of movement and order*. Routledge: chapter 3.

Messina, Anthony M. 2014. "Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror." *World Politics* 66(3): 530-559;

Leonard, Sarah. 2010. "EU Border Security and Migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and Securitization through Practices." *European Security* 19(2): 231-254.

Recommended:

Boswell, Christina. 2007. "Migration Control in Europe After 9/11: Explaining the Absence of Securitization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(3): 589-610; Huysmans, Jef and Vicki Squire. 2010. "Migration and Security." In Cavelti, Myriam D. and Victor Mauer. *Handbook of Security Studies*. Routledge, Milton Park: 169-179; Hammerstad, Anne. 2014. "The Securitization of Forced Migration." In Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. OUP: 265-277; Geigern, Martin and Antoine Pecoud. International organizations an the securitization of migration. Chapter 17; Bourbeau, Philippe. 2015. "Migration, Resilience and Security: Responses to New Inflows of Asylum Seekers and Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(12): 1958-1977; Bigo, Didier. 2002. "Security and Immigration: Toward a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease." *Alternatives* 27: 63-92; Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane. 2012. *Frontiers of Fear*. Cornell University Press; Buofino, Alessandra. 2004. "Between unity and plurality: the politicization and securitization of the discourse of immigration in Europe." *New Political Science* 26(1): 23-49; Ceyhan, Ayse and Anastassia Tsoukala. 2002. "The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies: Ambivalent Discourses and Policies." *Alternatives* 27: 21-39; Diez, Thomas and Vicki Squire. 2008. "Traditions of Citizenship and the Securitisation of Migration in Germany and Britain." *Citizenship Studies* 12(6): 565-581; Doty, Roxanne. 2011. "Bare Life: Border-crossing Deaths and Spaces of Moral Alibi", in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29: 599-612; Hampshire, James. 2009. "Disembedding Liberalism? Immigration Politics and Security in Britain since 9/11." In Givens, Terri, Gary Freeman and David Leal (eds.) *Immigration Policy and Security: U.S., European, and Commonwealth Perspectives*. Routledge: New York & London: 109-129; Heisler, Martin and Zig Layton-Henry. 1993. "Migration and the links

between social and societal security.” In Waever, Ole et al. *Identity, Migration and the Security Agenda in Europe*. Pinter Publishers Ltd: London: 148-166. Karyotis, Georgias. 2012. “Securitization of Migration in Greece: Process, Motives, and Implications.” *International Political Sociology* 6: 390-408; Lazardis, Gabriella (ed.). *Security, Insecurity and Migration in Europe*. Ashgate: Farnham.

December 11: Session 13 Migration as a Business

Core Questions: What factors influence the development of migration as a “business?” In how far do intermediary private actors challenge or affirm the state as a sovereign power controlling migration?

CASE STUDY 7: THE MIGRATION-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE AMERICAS

Required:

Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen. 2013. “Introduction.” In Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen (eds.). *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. Routledge, New York: 1-23;

Doty, Roxanne L., and Elizabeth Shannon Wheatley. 2013. “Private Detention and the Immigration Industrial Complex.” *International Political Sociology* 7: 426-443.

Menz, Georg. 2011. “Neoliberalism, Privatisation and the Outsourcing of Migration Management: A Five Country Comparison.” *Competition and Change* 15(2):116-135.

Recommended:

Doty, Roxanne L. 2017. “Families in detention in the United States.” In Bourbeau, Philippe. *Handbook on Migration and Security*. Edward Elgar: 161-174; Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas. 2013. “The Rise of the Private Border Guard: Accountability and Responsibility in the Migration Control Industry.” In Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen (eds.). *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. Routledge, New York: 128-151; Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen (eds.). *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. Routledge, New York; McKeown, Adam. 2012. “How the Box Became Black: Brokers and the Creation of the Free Migrant.” *Pacific Affairs* 85(1): 21-45; Xiang, Biao. 2012. “Predatory Princes and Princely Peddlers: The State and International Labour Migration Intermediaries in China.” *Pacific Affairs* 85(1): 47-68; Trujillo-Pagan, Nicole. 2014. “Emphasizing the ‘Complex’ in the ‘Immigration Industrial Complex.’” *Critical Sociology* 40(1): 29-46; Lemberg-Pedersen, Martin. 2013. “Private Security Companies and the European Borderscape.” In Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen (eds.). *The Migration Industry and the Commercialization of International Migration*. Routledge, New York.

December 18: Session 14 Conclusion

Discussion of policy briefs and wrap-up