

# GOVT 414: Migration and Citizenship in a Global World

Fall 2006

Mondays 4:15 – 6:05 pm, ICC 211B

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Office Hours: Mondays, 12 to 2pm or by appointment

## Course Description

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Migration has become one of the most prominent political themes and controversial issues of the past few decades, and this course looks at these profoundly influential politics and policies in immigrant-receiving countries during the post-war period. We will address the existing and emerging institutional nexuses into which immigrants enter, including: immigration, citizenship and integration policies; public opinion, with a particular focus on manifestations of xenophobia; and the relationship between migration and security. Geographically, the course focuses on cases in Western Europe and the United States, but there will be readings and opportunities to examine other regions through the lenses of our course's themes. The class is an upper-level seminar, and will be structured around active student participation and discussion.

## Course Goals

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- To develop a sound understanding of the thematic and conceptual debates in migration and citizenship studies.
- To assess normative immigration and integration debates with an eye toward both historical and comparative contexts.
- To foster individual student interests in specific, empirical aspects of immigration in the context of larger, academic debates.
- To strengthen student writing and research skills.

## Course Requirement

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This course is a seminar, which means that while I will offer introductory comments to set up some of the main themes and debates in the assigned weeks readings, student participation is integral to the success of this course. Students are expected (1) to attend class and be prepared for discussion by completing the assigned readings; (2) actively participate in each week's discussion; (3) lead a discussion session (we will talk more about this at the beginning of the semester); (4) be prepared for occasional pop quizzes on the readings; (5) write a 5-7 pp. response paper on one or a series of readings from one of the thematic groupings in our course, these papers are due (submitted on Blackboard) to the instructor and class by 5pm on the Sunday before the class on your topic; and, (6) write a 16-20 pp. research paper on a topic of your choosing but related to course themes.

The research paper is the culmination of a substantial research project undertaken by the student on an area of interest related to course themes. As the final project of the course, I have built in intermediate deadlines for parts of the paper, including a *paper proposal and outline*, along with

a *bibliography*, which the student and instructor will review together in an out-of-class appointment, a *rough draft* with a well-articulated thesis and evidence to back up your argument, and the final due date of the *research paper*. These intermediate deadlines are just as important, and indeed, integral to your final product. These earlier preparations will count towards approximately 20% of the research paper grade.

A word on deadlines: To ensure that I can comment on and grade your assignments in a timely fashion (and for fairness), material turned in late will be docked a third of a letter grade for each 24 hour period it is due.

Success in this course will come with *participation, attendance, meeting deadlines*, and the production of *quality work*.

Course grades will be determined as follows:

- 20% - Class participation (attendance, discussion-leading, participation)
- 15% - Quizzes
- 15% - Response Paper
- 50% - Research Paper

## Readings

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The following books are available for purchase at the Georgetown University Bookstore (and on reserve at Lauinger Library):

T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002)

Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: The Guilford Press, 2003)

Wayne A. Cornelius, Takeyuki Tsuda, Philip L. Martin and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (London: Sage Publications, 2003)

Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship : Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995)

All other readings are available on Blackboard [Bb] under “Course Documents.” I may also distribute timely newspaper or journal articles as they relate to our discussions, and I encourage you to do so as well.

You should also keep up with the current research on immigration and citizenship that can be found in journals like *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *International Migration Review*, and *Journal of*

*Ethnic and Migration Studies*. This is not required reading, of course, but will help you to apply theoretical debates to empirical contexts, and even may even spark some research ideas for your final paper!

Finally, there are internet websites which can augment your reading in useful ways, and alongside encouraging you to keep up-to-date on current news and magazine articles relating to class themes, I would point you to the following websites as a starting point:

ECOMER: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (Utrecht)  
[www.ercomer.org](http://www.ercomer.org)

COMPAS: The Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (Oxford)  
[www.compas.ox.ac.uk](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk)

IMES: Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (Amsterdam)  
<http://www.fmg.uva.nl/english/home.cfm>

Migration Policy Group (Brussels)  
[www.migpolgroup.com](http://www.migpolgroup.com)

Migration Policy Institute (Washington)  
[www.migrationpolicy.org](http://www.migrationpolicy.org)  
[www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)

Center for Immigration Studies (Washington)  
[www.cis.org](http://www.cis.org)

## Course Schedule

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*Dates are subject to change.*

### **September 4: Labor Day (no class)**

**NOTE:** I will be sending you the syllabus via email and it will be available through the registrar. Please be prepared for our first meeting to discuss the readings. The readings are up on Blackboard and hard copies are on reserve at Lauinger. The instructor will lead the first discussion.

## **PART I: CONCEPTS AND THEORIES**

### **September 11: Migration in Historical Perspective**

Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, Chs. 1-4 (pp. 1-93)

Anthony M. Messina, "The Not So Silent Revolution: Postwar Migration to Western Europe," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No.1 (1996), pp. 130-154. [Bb]

David M. Kennedy, "Can We Still Afford to Be a Nation of Immigrants?" in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 278, No. 5 (November 1996), 10 pp. [Bb]

## September 18: Theories of Migration

*Why does immigration occur? Why do patterns and differences emerge?*

Cornelius et al., *Controlling Immigration*, Ch. 1 (pp. 3-48)

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*, Ch. 1 (pp. 1-28)

Douglas Massey, "International Migration at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: The Role of the State," in *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1999), pp. 303-322 [Bb]

Borjas, G.J. (1989) 'Economic Theory and International Migration', *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp.457-485. *Skim.* [Bb]

UN Report, International migration and development. Report of the Secretary-General. *Skim.* [Bb]

## September 25: Immigration policymaking and the State

*Can/do/should states control immigration? What determines migration policy?*

Gary P. Freeman, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States," in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1995), pp. 881-913 [Bb]

Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," in *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1998), pp. 266-293 [Bb]

Jeannette Money, *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 1-13, 47-65 [Bb]

Virginie Guiraudon and Gallya Lahav, "A Reappraisal of the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33, No.2 (March 2000), pp. 163-195. [Bb]

*Optional:* Saskia Sassen, "Beyond Sovereignty: De-Facto Transnationalism in Immigration Policy," *European Journal of Migration and Law* Vol.1, No. 2 (1999): 177-198.

## October 5: Theories of Citizenship [WAL 499; 6 to 8 pm]

*What is the connection between the citizen and the nation-state? Do legacies matter?*

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Introduction, Ch. 1, and Conclusion (pp. 1-34, 179-189) [Bb]

Yasemin Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, Chs. 1, 7-9 (pp. 1-12, 119-167)

Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chs. 1 and 8 (pp. 1-13, 260-280) [Bb]

Seyla Benhabib, "Borders, Boundaries, and Citizenship," *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol. 38, No. 4(October 2005), pp. 673-678. [Bb]

**October 9: No class, Columbus Day**

**October 11: Modes of Citizenship [ICC 662; 4 to 6 pm]**

*How has post-war migration shaped citizenship?*

Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, *Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration* (entire book—77 pp.)

Marc Morjé Howard, "Variation in Dual Citizenship Policies in the Countries of the EU," in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (2005), pp. 697-720 [Bb]

Marc Morjé Howard, "Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research," forthcoming in *Perspectives on Politics* (2006) [Bb]

Miriam Feldblum, "Reconfiguring Citizenship in Western Europe," in Christian Joppke (ed) *Challenge to the Nation-State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 231 – 270 [Bb]

**October 16: Integration**

*What do we mean by "integration?" Do citizenship policies promote or prevent integration?*

Yasemin Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, Chs. 3, 4, 5 (pp. 29-83).

Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in Britain and France*. 2nd edition, (2001), pp. 1-7, 22-39. [Bb]

Christian Joppke, "The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy," *British Journal of Sociology* 55(2), 237-257. [Bb]

Patrick Ireland, *Becoming Europe: Immigration, Integration and the Welfare State* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004), Introduction and Conclusion (pp.1-26, 210-234) [Bb]

**Research Paper Proposals and Bibliography due on OCTOBER 27<sup>th</sup> by 5:00 pm**

<b>PART II. EXAMINING STATE MODELS</b>
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**October 30: North America: "A Nation Divided into Nations"?**

Philip L. Martin, "The United States: The Continuing Immigration Debate," in Cornelius et al., *Controlling Immigration*, Ch. 2 (pp. 51-85)

Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), Ch. 1 (pp. 3-14) [Bb]

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Hispanic Challenge," in *Foreign Policy*

(March/April 2004), pp. 30-45 [Bb]

Roger Lowenstein, "The Immigration Equation," *The New York Times Magazine*, 9 July 2006 [Bb]

*Optional:*

Helen B. Marrow, 2005. "New Destinations and Immigrant Incorporation." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(4): 781-99. [Bb]

**[Videos: "ABC Special: Facing Up to Illegal Immigration" and "The Other Side"]**

### **November 6: Great Britain: *Managing Migration?***

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Integration in Europe*, Ch. 2: "Maintaining Fortress Britain," (pp. 29-51)

Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Ch. 1, 11 (pp. 1 – 34 and 244-264) [Bb]

Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration*, Ch. 6 "Britain into the 1990s," (pp. 200-239). [Bb]

Selection from "Life in the UK: A Journey to Citizenship" [Bb]

*Explore Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) websites*

**[video: "My New Home"]**

### **November 13: France: Still a model of Republican Individualism?**

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Integration in Europe*, Ch. 3: "France: Still the One and Indivisible Republic?" (pp. 52-78).

James F. Hollified, "France: Republicanism and the Limits of Immigration Control," in Cornelius et al., *Controlling Immigration*, Ch. 5 (pp. 183-214)

Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration*, Ch. 5 "France into the 1990s," (pp. 150-199). [Bb]

Elaine R. Thomas, "Competing Visions of Citizenship and Integration in France's Headscarves Affair," *Journal of European Area Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (2000), pp. 167-185. [Bb]

**[video TBA]**

### **November 20: Germany: Legacies of ethnoculturalism**

Andrew Geddes, *The Politics of Migration and Integration in Europe*, Ch. 4: "Germany: Normalized Immigration Politics?" (pp. 79-101).

Philip L. Martin, "Germany: Managing Migration in the Twenty-First Century, in Cornelius et al., *Controlling Immigration*, Ch. 6 (pp. 221- 253)  
Simon Green, "Beyond Ethnoculturalism? German Citizenship in the New Millennium," in *German Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (2000), pp. 105-24 [Bb]  
Christian Joppke, *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), Ch. 4: "Resilience versus Demise in the Diaspora Constellation: Israel and Germany" (pp. 157- 218).

**[Videos: "Frankfurt: The Euro-City" and "Farewell GDR"]**

**Rough draft papers due on NOVEMBER 22<sup>th</sup> by 5:00 pm**

<b>PART III. POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION</b>
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**November 27: Looking at Public Opinion**

Gallya Lahav, *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe: Reinventing Borders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chs. 3 and 4 (pp. 69-148) [Bb]  
Erik Bleich, *Race Politics in Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) Ch. 7, 8 (pp. 168-208) [Bb]  
European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, "Attitudes towards Minority Groups in the European Union," a special analysis of the Eurobarometer 2000 survey, pp. 1-66, *Skim*. [Bb]  
Timothy Savage, "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No.3 (2004), pp. 25-50. [Bb]

**[Videos: "Dispatches: What Muslims Want" and, maybe, "Submission"]**

**December 4: Security dimensions**

John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Introduction and Conclusion (pp. 1-20, 158-167) [Bb]  
Robert O'Harrow, Jr. and Scott Highman, "U.S. Border Security at a Crossroads," *The Washington Post*, May 23, 2005, A1. [Bb]  
Christopher Rudolph, *National Security and Immigration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), Introduction, Ch.1, and Conclusion (pp. 1-40. 199-216).

*Optional:*

Fiona B. Adamson, "Cross Borders: International Migration and National Security," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 165-199.

**Research Paper due DECEMBER 15<sup>th</sup> at 5:00 p.m.**