#### POL. 443H-F TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS II

# Citizenship and Immigration in Europe and North America

# Department of Political Science University of Toronto

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#### **COURSE CONTENT & AIMS**

Immigration and citizenship raise basic normative and empirical concerns. In the former, there are questions about how open or closed the liberal democratic state's borders should be; about whether the state has any defensible right to control immigration at all; about who should be entitled to national citizenship and under what circumstances; and about liberal democracy's obligations to those seeking asylum. In the latter, immigration and citizenship have been at the centre of North American and European politics for two decades. The asylum crisis in the US in the 1980s and in Europe in the 1990s; the Rushdie affair in Britain and the headscarf affair in France; the post-Cold War emergence of international trafficking as the modern form of international slavery; the European Union's search for a common migration policy; the post-1990 international competition for skilled migration; the post-2001 linkage of immigration and security; and debates about the content of and obligations associated with citizenship in France, Britain and Germany have together placed immigration and citizenship at the top of the national, regional, and international agenda. Continuing and increasing disparities in international wealth, the unstoppable rise of international trafficking, and ageing (and in some cases declining populations) in affluent Western countries mean that they will remain pertinent issues.

Over twelve weeks, this seminar series examines some of the key normative, empirical and theoretical issues raised by immigration and citizenship. The focus will be comparative, drawing on the experiences of the major receiving countries in Europe, North America, and Australasia.

<u>Prerequisites and Required Texts</u>: There are no formal perquisites for this course, though a strong background in comparative politics would be useful. There are three books for the course, available at the U of T bookstore:

Brian Barry, Culture and Equality, Harvard, 2002.

Wayne Cornelius et al., Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective. Stanford University Press, 2004.

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship, Oxford 1995

You should also secure a copy of a fourth book, Ruud Koopmans et al *Contested Citizenship: Immigration & Cultural Diversity in Europe* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), which we will read for our last class.

### **Reading Packet**

In addition, other core reading material will be available as a reading package that can be purchased at Image Express Printers, 193 College Street (south side, just east of Beverly), 416-596-1708.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

The course has four requirements (dates to be confirmed):

1. 2-page, double spaced review of Kymlicka (10%)

Due date: October 7, 2010

2. 2-page, double spaced review of Barry (20%)

Due date: October 28, 2010

3. 2000-word research paper: (40%)

Due date: November 28, 2010

4. Take-home final exam (20%) Pick-up date: December 2, 2010 Due date: December 3, 2010

5. Participation: (10%)

The participation grade will be made up of a class presentation and regular contribution to the seminar

Penalty for late papers: 5 percent for the first day, 2 percent per day thereafter. Extensions are exceptionally granted on medical or compassionate grounds when they are requested before the essay is due. No extensions will be granted after the due date.

In medical cases, you must submit the *original copy* of a University of Toronto student medical certificate: http://www.healthservice.utoronto.ca/pdfs/medcert.htm.

A medical certificate alone does not entitle you to an extension; rather, the instructor has to be satisfied that the illness was genuine and that it prevented the student from completing the assignment.

### PRESS AND SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

The major quality dailies (Globe and Mail, New York Times, Financial Times) carry regular stories on immigration. The Guardian frequently has on-line stories on race, belonging, and identity. The weekly The Economist also frequently runs stories on immigration, always from a neo-liberal, pro-migration standpoint.

There are several journals devoted to immigration issues. The best is probably *International Migration Review*, though the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* and *Ethnic and Racial Studies* also publish good work.

### COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READING

# PART I: IMMIGRATION POLICY: THEORY AND OUTCOMES

# SEPTEMBER 16: IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE CLASSIC COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION Cornelius, Chapters on the US, Australia, & Canada and Commentaries

### **SEPTEMBER 23: IMMIGRATION POLICY IN OLD EMPIRES**

Cornelius, Chapters on France & Britain and Commentaries

#### SEPTEMBER 30: IMMIGRATION POLICY IN NON-IMMIGRATION COUNTRIES

Cornelius, Chapters on the Netherlands & Germany and Commentaries

# OCTOBER 7: THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION I: POSTNATIONALISM AND ITS CRITICS

Yasemin Soysal, *The Limits of Citizenship*, introduction and conclusion (RP) Christian Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State*, introduction (RP

Linda Bosniak, The Citizen and the Alien (RP).

Randall Hansen, "The Poverty of Postnationalism," Theory and Society (2009) (RP

### OCTOBER 14: THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION II: INSTITUTIONAL THEORIES

Gary Freeman, Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states. *International Migration Review*, 29, 4 (1995), 881-902 (RP)

Virginie Guiraudon, "Citizenship rights for non-citizens," in Joppke, Challenge to the Nation-state (RP)

# PART II: INTEGRATION & CITIZENSHIP: THEORY & OUTCOMES

# OCTOBER 21: CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONHOOD IN FRANCE, BRITAIN AND GERMANY Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany, introduction and conclusion (RP)

Biku Parekh, "British National Identity," *Political Quarterly 2001* (RP). Randall Hansen, "British Citizenship after Empire," *Political Quarterly* 2001 (RP). Patrick Weil, "Why the French Laïcité is Liberal," (RP). Christian Joppke, *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (RP).

# OCTOBER 28: INTEGRATION OUTCOMES & MULTICULTURAL POLICY IN THE CLASSIC COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION: CANADA & AUSTRALIA

Cornelius, chapters on Australia & Canada and Commentaries Jeffrey Reitz, "Racial inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada" (RP)

# NOVEMBER 4: INTEGRATION THEORY & THE TURN FROM MULTICULTURALISM IN EUROPE: THE NETHERLANDS & GERMANY

Christian Joppke, "Convergent Trends in Immigrant Integration in Western Europe" Ruud Koopmans, "Good intentions Sometimes make bad policy: A Comparison of Dutch and German Integration Policies" (RP).

Ruud Koopmans, "Tradeoffs between Equality and Difference – the Failure of Dutch Multiculturalism in Cross-National Perspective," (RP).

Christian Joppke, "Immigrants and Civic Integration in Western Europe." (RP).

# November 11: The Economics of Immigration: George Borjas and his critics George Borjas, *At Heaven's Door*.

#### **NOVEMBER 18: THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION**

Joseph Carens, "Aliens and Citizens: the case for Open Borders," *Review of Politics* 49/87 (1987), 251-73 (RP)

P. C. Meilander, "Liberalism and Open Borders: the Argument of Joseph Carens," *International Migration Review*, 33 (1999), 1062-1081

Bryan Barry, TBA (RP)

Myron Wiener, The Global Migration Crisis, introduction and conclusion (RP)

Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen, Asylum Policy in the West: Past Trends, Future Possibilities (RP)

# November 25: Getting Better or Getting Worse? Integration Outcomes in Europe

Ruud Koopmans et al Contested Citizenship: Immigration & Cultural Diversity in Europe (University of Minnesota Press, 2005)

#### **DECEMBER 2: TAKE HOME EXAM**

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