

JRA 402 H1S/POL 2391 H1S:**TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS I
Citizenship and Immigration in Europe and North America****Department of Political Science, University of Toronto**
Professor Randall Hansen©SEMINAR ROOM: UC 65MEETING TIME: TUESDAY, 2-4 PMOFFICE: MUNK N 126OFFICE HOURS: WEDNESDAY, 2-4 PM**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. Questions of migration incorporation in Europe since 9/11; 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 current international competition for skilled migration; the post-2001 linkage of immigration and security; and the post-2011 global refugee crisis 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 stay there.

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.

PREREQUISITES AND REQUIRED TEXTS: Two courses in comparative politics.

There are is one required book for the course, available at the U of T bookstore:

James Hollifield, Philip Martin and Pia Orrenius, *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford University Press, 2014.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

The course has four requirements:

1. 1-page research proposal (10%)

Due date: February 7, 2016

2. 2000-word research paper: (55%)

Due date: March 14, 2016

3. Take-home final exam (25%)

Pick-up date: April 2, 2016

Due date: April 4th, 5pm (in class)

4. Participation: (10%)

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

PRESS AND SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

The major quality dailies (*Globe and Mail, New York Times, Financial Times, Guardian, Telegraph, Le Monde, Süddeutsche Zeitung*) 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 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 excellent work, particularly on Europe.

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READING

Course readings, other than the textbook, are available at:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B0w9W28PMIORWE05LTFkc2JqSG8>

PART I: IMMIGRATION POLICY: THEORY AND OUTCOMES**JANUARY 10: INTRODUCTION****JANUARY 17: IMMIGRATION POLICY IN THE CLASSIC COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION**

Hollifield, Chapters on the US, Australia, & Canada and Commentaries

JANUARY 24: IMMIGRATION POLICY IN EUROPE

Hollifield, Chapters on France, Germany & Britain and Commentaries

January 31: ASYLUM & REFUGEES: BACKGROUND

Aristide Zolberg et al., "Who is a Refugee?" in *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (OUP, 1989): 3-36.

Milton, Daniel, Megan Spencer, & Michael Findley. 2013. "Radicalism of the Hopeless: Refugee Flows and Transnational Terrorism," *International Interactions* 39(5): 621-645.

Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen, 'Asylum Policy in the West: Past Trends and Future Possibilities,' George Borjas and Jeffrey Crisp (eds.), *Poverty, International Migration and Asylum* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2005).

Timothy J. Hatton, "The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?" *The Economic Journal* 119 (2009): 183-213.

February 7: The Current Refugee Crisis

Randall Hansen, "Population Displacement & the Global Refugee System," Paper presented at the "Congress of Vienna 2015: In Search of Principles for a Stable World Order," Vienna, October 22-25, 2015.

February 14: THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION I: POSTNATIONALISM AND ITS CRITICS

Yasemin Soysal, *The Limits of Citizenship*, introduction and conclusion.

Christian Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-State*, introduction.

Randall Hansen, 'The poverty of postnationalism: Citizenship, immigration and the new Europe,' *Theory and Society* (Vol. 38, No. 1, 2009), 1-24.

David Jacobson, "Citizenship redux: why citizenship remains pivotal in a globalizing world," *Political Power & Social Theory* 20 (2009): 281-286.

READING WEEK (FEBRUARY 20-24)**FEBRUARY 28: THEORIES OF IMMIGRATION II: INSTITUTIONAL THEORIES**

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

Virginie Guiraudon, "Citizenship rights for non-citizens," in Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-state*.

Nicholas van Hear, "Theories of Migration and Social Change," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36/10 (2010).

PART II: INTEGRATION & CITIZENSHIP: THEORY & OUTCOMES**MARCH 7: CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONHOOD IN FRANCE, BRITAIN AND GERMANY**

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, introduction and conclusion

Political Quarterly, special issue on British citizenship

Christian Joppke, *Citizenship and Immigration* (Polity, 2010): chapters 4 & 5.

MARCH 14: PAPER DUE AT THE MUNK SCHOOL RECEPTION (NO CLASS)

MARCH 21: INTEGRATION OUTCOMES & MULTICULTURAL POLICY IN THE CLASSIC COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION: CANADA & AUSTRALIA

Will Kymlicka, "Multiculturalism: Success, Failure and the Future," *Migration Policy Institute Report* (2012), available at:

file:///C:/Users/Randall%20Hansen/Downloads/TCM-Multiculturalism-Web.pdf

Jeffrey Reitz, "Diversity, Inequality, and the Cohesion of Canadian Society"

Randall Hansen, "Assimilation by Stealth: Why Canada's Multicultural Policy Is Really a Repackaged Integration Policy," in Jack Jedwab (ed.), *The Multiculturalism Question: Debating Identity in 21st Century Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 2014).

MARCH 28: THE ECONOMICS OF IMMIGRATION: GEORGE BORJAS AND HIS CRITICS

George Borjas, *At Heaven's Door* (Princeton University Press, 2001), introduction and conclusion.

Christian Dustmann et al, "The Effect of Immigration along the Distribution of Wages," available at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/~uctpb21/Cpapers/CDP_03_08.pdf

Christian Dustmann and Tomas Frattani, "The Fiscal Effects of Immigration to the UK," (2014): Available at: <http://www.cream-migration.org/files/FiscalEJ.pdf>.

Peter Brimelow, "Economics of immigration and the course of the debate since 1994," in Carol Swain, *Debating Immigration* (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

APRIL 4, 5:00PM: TAKE-HOME EXAM DUE AT THE MUNK SCHOOL RECEPTION

Pol 443/2321: Essay Questions

1. Did Angela Merkel open Germany's door to refugees? If so, why and with what effect?
2. The 1951 Refugee Convention is entirely outdated given current forced migration flows. Discuss.
3. The refugee crisis will be solved not in the global north but in the global south. Discuss.
- 4.
5. How do you explain the turn to civic integration in Europe?
6. Explain the trajectory of citizenship policy in Europe.
7. Is it impossible to have immigration and a welfare state?
8. What is integration? When are migrants integrated and when are they not?
9. Compare immigration policy outcomes in three countries

10. Explain the divergent trajectory of asylum and refugee policy in at least two countries.
11. Explain the causes of the 2011-present asylum crisis and Europe or North America's response to it.
12. "Multicultural in theory, liberal in practice." Is this a correct interpretation of immigration and integration policy in Canada?
13. Why did Europe become multicultural when no one wanted it to?
14. Explain the turn to temporary migration policies in at least two countries.