The Politics of Immigration Control, Spring 2015
PLS 446/546
Thursdays, 4:30-7:20 p.m. Rm. 8.310
Prof. Caress Schenk
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Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday 11:00-12:00 p.m. and 2:00-3:00, Thursday 3:00-4:00, or by appointment.

How do states respond to increasing pressure from transnational migration? How do immigrant receiving countries balance economic demand for immigrant labor against populations that want to limit immigrant flows? How do states justify limiting the number of refugees they receive? Why are states more willing to admit co-ethnics than other migrants? What is the obligation of the state once immigrants are admitted? These are but some of the questions we will address in the Politics of Immigration Control. While we will address the entire migration context, assessing reasons why people move all the way to how they achieve full integration through citizenship, the main focus of the course will be the various responses of immigrant receiving states. We will discuss the range of policies present in the US, Russia, Canada, Japan, various European countries, and Kazakhstan, asking if policy choice can be predicted by factors such as regime type, economic development, ethnic homogeneity, political ideology, and/or a commitment to international norms. We will assess the various methods of control that states employ to control the immigration process, including visa requirements, border barriers, quotas, and restriction of migrant rights once they have arrived.

This course will apply core concepts of comparative politics (i.e. state capacity, national identity, state-society relations, models of the welfare state, state management of economies) to the policy area of immigration. It will thus be a survey of the field of comparative politics at the same time as it applies comparative analysis and methodologies to public policy.

As such, this is a very specific and narrow focus on issues related to migration. There are many, many aspects of migration studies that we will not cover. Migration is a very interdisciplinary field of study, drawing on history, sociology, anthropology, demography, geography, economics, and others. Each discipline brings its own interesting questions and findings to the field of migration studies. Unfortunately we cannot cover all of these in one semester of study. Therefore we will leave aside questions of why migrants move in the first place, what networks migrants forge both among other migrants and with people in the home country, and other important questions that are nevertheless outside the scope of the course. We will rather focus on methods and mechanisms the state uses to control immigration, the reasons they adopt certain strategies, and the outcomes that occur.

Students are required to:

- Attend and participate in all class sessions
- Read all course material
- Complete all assignments
- Put forward your best effort on all class-related activities and engage the material, the instructor and colleagues with an open mind.
Final Grades will be comprised of:

For undergraduate students (PLS 446)
- Class participation: 20%
- Seminar presentations (2): 10%
- Seminar papers (6): 20%
- Annotated bibliography: 20%
- Policy paper: 30%

For graduate students (PLS 546)
- Class participation: 20%
- Seminar presentations (2): 10%
- Seminar papers (6): 20%
- Literature review: 20%
- Policy paper: 30%

Grading scale

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<th>Grade</th>
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Attendance will be taken at each class meeting and unexcused absences will count against your participation grade. You will not succeed in this course if you are absent.

The required reading for this course can be found in the textbooks and on Moodle.
- Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration (2012), available on Moodle (henceforth labeled HANDBOOK)
- Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective (2004), available on Moodle and/or library website (henceforth labeled CONTROLLING)
- Debating Immigration (2007) (henceforth labeled DEBATING)

Additional readings will be placed on Moodle.

A very brief list of useful websites for policy and current events-related migration news, research, and data:
- News digests and updates:
  - American University at Central Asia’s News Digests on Migration in Central Asia (includes Russia): http://auca.kg/en/news_digest/
  - http://migration.ucdavis.edu/mn/
Think tanks and research centers:
  o Migration Policy Institute: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/
  o Refugee Studies Center (Oxford): http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/
  o International Migration Institute (Oxford): http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/
  o Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS): http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/
  o Migration Policy Center: http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/ and especially the CARIM-East research area (focusing on the post-Soviet world): http://www.carim-east.eu/ (though they have many ongoing research areas that could be useful depending on what you want to focus on)
  o Center for Immigration Studies: http://www.cis.org/

Projects and databases:
  o On migration integration: http://www.mipex.eu/

Various blogs of migration scholars:
  o http://heindehaas.blogspot.de/
  o http://www.immigrationtexas.org/

Learning through participation is a key goal for this course. This course will be discussion-driven, so you need to come to class prepared to interact and reflect on the things you have read. You must prepare to discuss each reading. In class, you will be expected to have a copy of the reading with you that you can refer to. You need to refer to specific page numbers. You need to know the name of each author so you can refer to them as you go. The participation grade includes attendance, being involved in class discussions based on the readings and lectures, and being an active participant in all class activities. An A for participation requires: regular attendance and contribution to the learning environment of the course by asking thoughtful questions (in response to readings, lectures and class discussions), offering comments on course material that show insightful reflection, analysis of material and synthesis of concepts, demonstrating an ability to link theory to cases and current events, etc. To receive a B for participation, students must: attend regularly and show a mastery of assigned readings. A participation grade of C will be assigned for regular attendance without the above-stated contributions to class discussions. Students will receive a D for participation for excessive absences regardless of the quality of contributions to class discussions.

Twice during the semester, students will present the readings for the day in a seminar presentation of 10-15 minutes. Your presentations should accomplish several purposes: give a context for the readings, organize the day’s readings into logical categories by drawing out common themes and demonstrating how the readings contribute to the day’s topic (the readings are presented chronologically in the syllabus, during your presentation you should organize them in a more thematic or theoretical fashion), address questions posed in the syllabus, making connections between the week’s readings and previous weeks’ readings, highlighting interesting aspects of the readings (i.e. contending perspectives, issues left unaddressed, etc.), etc. Of course, you will not be able to present every aspect of every reading, nor will you be able to address every question/purpose I’ve listed above. You will need to make strategic choices about what is most important. On the days you are to present the readings, you may find that you need to do some background research (i.e. reading articles other than those assigned, defining key terms, etc.) in order to give a competent presentation.

You should write six seminar papers of 450-500 words each during the semester (the lowest grade will be dropped and only five papers will count toward the final grade). The papers should be a concise and critical assessment of the readings for the day. They should not be summaries, nor should they merely address each reading in succession. Rather, they should focus on how readings are related and what different aspects of the day’s topic the readings highlight. You must touch on all of the readings in your
paper. Again, you will need to make strategic choices about what to focus on since you cannot cover all aspects of the day’s readings in a short paper such as this. Seminar papers are due at 4:30 Thursday (by the beginning of class) on Moodle each week (of the weeks you choose to submit papers).

Undergraduate students will write a 20 source annotated bibliography on one aspect of the course material. You should take one of the topics on the syllabus and, starting with the readings assigned, delve further into the literature on that issue. ALL OF YOUR RESOURCES SHOULD BE FROM SCHOLARLY (peer reviewed) BOOKS/JOURNALS. An annotated bibliography includes the source and a short (300-500 word) synopsis of each of the articles. For your synopsis, please include. 1. The main research questions or hypotheses of the research. 2. The method used (surveys, interviews, observations). 3. The findings and/or conclusions. Due May 8.

Graduate students will write a 20 source literature review of 5-7 pages. Unlike an annotated bibliography (see above), which treats each source separately, a literature review looks at the major contours of a group of writings as a whole. ALL OF YOUR RESOURCES SHOULD BE FROM SCHOLARLY (peer reviewed) BOOKS/JOURNALS. Please do not simply summarize each article in succession. You should pull out major themes, arguments and counter-arguments, and identify potential gaps and weaknesses in the literature as a whole. Please refer to http://writingcenter.unc.edu/handouts/literature-reviews/ and http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/specific-types-of-writing/literature-review for tips on how to write a literature review. Due May 8.

All students will write a policy paper of 5-6 pages (8-10 pages for graduate students) addressing a specific area of immigration policy in one country. Your policy paper should include a summary of the current situation, problems with current policies, and recommendations for improving the policy situation. You may refer to http://www.fao.org/docrep/014/i2195e/i2195e03.pdf for tips on constructing policy papers. Final policy papers are due April 2.

Class policies

- You should follow all instructions specified in the syllabus.
- If you bring a laptop, mobile phone or other mobile device to class it must be used strictly for class purposes (taking notes and accessing readings). I reserve the right to garnish your final course grade 5% for violations.
- All assignments should be submitted in class or on Moodle unless otherwise specified. Assignments submitted via email will not be accepted. Keep in mind that when you submit assignments to Moodle, you should not wait until the last minute because the system sometimes gets overloaded.
- While you are welcome to email anytime about any issue you may be having in the class, please use proper email etiquette. Do not start your email “Hey Dr. Schenk,” or “Hey” or “Professor” or “Mrs. Schenk” or without a salutation. Instead, “Dear Dr. Schenk,” or “Dear Professor Schenk,” should be used for initial contact. I will not answer emails that use an improper salutation.
- I will also not answer emails that can be answered by looking at the syllabus.
- Late assignments turned in more than 5 minutes late on the due date will receive half credit. Assignments turned in past the due date will receive no credit.
- There will be no make-ups for quizzes or in class assignments.
- Tests may only be made up if prior arrangements have been made.
- There will be no extra credit offered for this class.
• Plagiarism will not be tolerated including self-plagiarism (submitting the same assignment to multiple courses/professors). Any plagiarism will result in an automatic zero for the assignment and will be reported to the dean to be placed on your permanent record. Violations could result in an F for the course.
• Cheating will not be tolerated. Any behavior that even hints of cheating will be reported to the school disciplinary committee and will result in an automatic F for the assignment and/or course.
• Office hours are listed at the beginning of the syllabus. **I cannot guarantee that I will be in my office outside posted office hours.** If you need to meet with me at a different time, send me an email and I will be glad to make arrangements with you. (What this really means: **DO NOT** complain to me that you were looking for me but I wasn’t in my office if you are looking for me at a time outside my office hours!)
• I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus as needed, including adding and subtracting assignments and changing due dates. I will notify you in class or via email about changes (this means you are responsible for checking your email and for being in class to hear about changes).

Course Outline.

Session one (15 January): **The Politics of Immigration Control as Comparative Politics.** How does immigration control act as a public policy area that we can use to bring together all of our learning about comparative politics? How does immigration relate to the themes of comparative politics (i.e. the state, national identity, political economy, regime type, political attitudes/ideologies, party politics, civil society etc.)?
  • Myth 18 and 19 (CHOMSKY) (13)

Session two (22 January): **Theories of Migration Policymaking.** How do states decide on immigration policy? What questions are not addressed by the literature?

Session three (29 January): **Immigration Policy and Regime Type.** Do (liberal) democracies create different policies than non-democracies?

Session four (5 February): Immigration Policy in Practice. US and Canada
• Chapters 2 and 3 + commentaries (CONTROLLING) (90)

Session five (12 February): Immigration Policy in Practice. Europe
• Chapters 5, 6, and 9 + commentaries (CONTROLLING) (122)

Session six (19 February): Immigration Policy in Practice. The non-Western world
• Chapter 11 + commentary (CONTROLLING) (42)
• http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/labor-migration-united-arab-emirates-challenges-and-responses

Optional
• http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/north-korea-understanding-migration-and-closed-country

Session seven (26 February): Determinants of Immigration Policy. Economic factors. How do migrants impact the labor market (do they take jobs, drive down wages, etc.)? Are migrants a drain on the welfare system? Are migrants good for the economy? Why do policymakers prefer highly-skilled migrants? Is immigration driven by demand or by economic lobbies?
• Myths 1-6 (CHOMSKY) (50)
• http://heindehaas.blogspot.de/2012/03/migration-its-economy-stupid.html

Optional
• Peters, Margaret. 2015. “Open Trade, Closed Borders.” World Politics. (MOODLE)

Session eight (5 March): Determinants of Immigration Policy. Voting, Lobbies, and Public Opinion. What public voices and perspectives must policy makers consider as they are creating policies? What are the different channels people use to make their opinions heard? Which voices are loudest? What are some of the common objections to immigration? Are they based in reality? Why might publics be prone to believing common immigration myths?
Session nine (12 March): **Determinants of Immigration Policy. Security Considerations.** What are the common security myths about immigration? Why do governments frame their justifications of further immigration control in security terms? What are the negative consequences of securitizing immigration control? What security concerns are legitimate when considering immigration control?

- Myth 19 (CHOMSKY) (4)
- Alexseev, Mikhail. 2005. Chapter 1 and 7 of *Immigration Phobia and the Security Dilemma.* (MOODLE) (60)

Session ten (19 March): **Scope of Immigration Policy. The Problem of Illegal Immigration.** What causes illegal immigration? How should we refer to migrants without documents (what should we call them)? How should these migrants be treated? What rights (if any) should they have?

- Myth 20 (CHOMSKY) (4)
• http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/17/illegal-undocumented-unauthorized-news-media-shift-language-on-immigration/

Optional:
• Massey, Douglas. 2007. “Borderline Madness.” (DEBATING)

Spring break 23-27 March

Session eleven (2 April): Mediating Immigration Policy. Diasporas, NGOS, middlemen, and private enforcement. How do migrants experience immigration policy? Who do they turn to for assistance in their attempts to navigate the legal landscape? What are the tradeoffs when seeking help from different (types of) groups? What are the greatest threats to migrants? Can we draw firm lines around those who would exploit and those that would help migrants?
• Handbook for Migrants in Russia “Справочник трудового мигранта” (MOODLE) (48)
• http://www.thenyic.org/who-we-are
• http://refugee.ru/ob-organizatsii/
• http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/10/us-usa-immigration-militia-idUSKBN0H50VA20140910
• http://rbth.com/articles/2012/08/08/cossacks_to_control_migration_in_southern_russia_17163.html

Session twelve (9 April): Policy Outputs. Choosing Who Gets In and Who Gets Rights. What types of migrants are given preference? Can we see patterns across countries in terms of certain types of countries preferring certain types of migrants? What are the important points of variance when deciding who gets in?
• http://www_migrationpolicy.org/article/family-reunification
Session thirteen (16 April) **Policy Outputs. Document, Labor Market, and Border Control.** What mechanisms do states use to screen and/or limit migrants? Which mechanisms are most effective? Which are most just? What are the limits of these controls?

- OECD. 2006. “Managing Migration—are quotas and numerical limits the solution?” *International Migration Outlook.* (MOODLE) (28)
- Joppke, Christian. 2007. “Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe.” *West European Politics* 30 (1). (MOODLE) (22)

Session fourteen (23 April): **Policy Outputs. Structures and Institutions of Bureaucratic Control.** How do countries structure their efforts to control immigration processes? What are the concrete methods, strategies, and practices they use? How does the behavior at the level of bureaucratic actors impact the migration experience? How do differences across countries matter?

- Codo, Eva. 2008. Chapter 1 and 2 of *Immigration and Bureaucratic Control* (MOODLE) (66)
- “Building the Homeland Security State” (MOODLE) (7)
- European Migration Network. 2010. “Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in the EU Member States.” (MOODLE) (49) (focus your attention on the institutional aspects, especially how the ministries and offices are organized variously across countries)

Session fifteen (30 April): **Comparative Methodology and the Study of Immigration Policy.** How do we assess immigration policies in comparative perspective? What are some of the trade offs involved in choosing a particular methodological focus? What are the pitfalls we encounter when trying to compare policies across countries?

- APSA Migration and Citizenship newsletter. 2013. Symposium: How to Measure Immigration Policy. pp. 4-54 (MOODLE) (50)
- Money, Jeannette. “Comparative Immigration Policy” (MOODLE) (30)