

The Politics of Citizenship and Naturalization

GOVT-E 1009 - Spring 2017

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Anyone born in the United States is automatically an American citizen. In most European countries, birthright citizenship is rarely guaranteed unless one's parents are already citizens. The Netherlands and Germany have recently made it easier to become German and Dutch nationals, while one of the few European countries that had birthright citizenship (Ireland) abandoned it at around the same time. And, try as one might, it is very difficult to give up Moroccan citizenship, even when one wants to!

This course seeks to examine the very different conceptions of citizenship in different states and at different times, particularly through the lens of migration. What does being a citizen of a state mean in a modern sense, and why is it the focus of so much of the current European and American debate over migration? How are policies about who belongs and who becomes a citizen determined? How has naturalization policy changed over time, and how have debates over citizenship and migration changed the overall political system?

Course Objectives:

The course begins with background on immigration and immigration politics, and then moves into the different understandings of citizenship that exist in the U.S. and Europe. From there, it examines the different ways that policies are implemented, as well as the way that these policies are debated in the political sphere. Multiculturalism and its effects on the citizenship debate are also examined, and the course ends with a look at transnationalism and other phenomenon that may continue to change the face of migration and citizenship. Readings focus on citizenship from an institutional or state perspective, rather than the individual experience of acquiring citizenship, but it is expected (and encouraged) that these perspectives will also come up in discussions and student writing.

Students should leave the course with an understanding of the varieties of citizenship that exist across the world, and how those policies have been debated in the political arena. They should be able to make normative claims for and against expanded citizenship, and understand the costs and benefits of naturalization policies for countries. Lastly, they should be able to understand the historical development of these policies, and be able to anticipate or understand future developments in countries' citizenship regimes.

Requirements:

It is assumed that students will have done the readings prior to class, and this will be a discussion-oriented seminar. To facilitate this, students will be required to submit brief, 1-page response papers for 9 of the 12 weeks following the shopping week.

There will be four exam-style prompts assigned, one each at the end of Unit 2, 3, 4 and 5. A 3-4 page response will be due at the beginning of the following class, and students are required to complete **any two** of the four assignments. These should be well-edited, should argue a clear thesis, and should answer the prompt given. Students may submit one additional paper for extra credit (at half the weight of the required papers).

Students will work with the instructor to find an additional manuscript to the student's interest, and will write one 800-1000 word critical book review, due by the final class session.

Students will have two options for the final assignment and need only do one of the following; all will be weighted equally:

1. An 18-20 page term paper on the topic of the student's choice (to be arranged with the instructor)
2. A 12-15 page draft thesis prospectus, on a topic related to the course, including an extended bibliography

Grading:

Grades will be assigned as follows: Class Participation (including collaborative reading online): 20%; Response Papers: 15%; Short Essays: 15%; Book Review: 10%; Final Assignment: 40%. Late assignments will not be accepted barring exceptional circumstances.

Accommodations for students with disabilities

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner.

Collaboration Policy

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For response papers, book reviews and the final paper in this course, you are encouraged to consult with your classmates on the choice of topics, to share sources, and to engage in peer review. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in this discipline and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc), you must also acknowledge this assistance in the submitted paper. Help from resources like the College Writing Center and the Departmental Writing Fellow are also encouraged, but this assistance must also be acknowledged. **The exams at the end of each unit are not meant as collaborative assignments, however, and students must not discuss these with each other while working on them.** Students who acknowledge they have read and agree to this collaboration policy by e-mailing the instructor with a list of which course assignments allow and do not allow collaboration, by the beginning of the second class section, will receive a small (edible) reward during that class; students who do not get nothing but a disapproving look from the instructor.

Required Books (available at the Coop):

- Marc Morjé Howard: The Politics of Citizenship in Europe. Cambridge: 2009
- Irene Bloemraad: Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada, California 2006
- Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Harvard: 1994

Course Schedule

Note: The electronic syllabus on Canvas will always be the most-up-to-date version of this schedule.

Unit 1: Background

**What are the current trends in migration, and to whom do current citizenship policies apply?
What is the current political atmosphere surrounding migration and citizenship?**

Jan. 25 (Shopping Week): Immigration Trends in the United States and Europe

- Klaus Bade, Migration in European History, Blackwell 2003. Chapters 4&5, pp. 217-234, 262-300, 323-333
- OECD International Migration Outlook 2016, Chap. 1, pp 7-8, 13-52 (read for big picture and broad view of data; don't worry about specific details yet)
- Christian Joppke, Immigration and the Nation State, Oxford: 1999. Chapter 2, pp. 23-61

Feb. 1: Immigration Politics in the United States and Europe

- Sara Wallace Goodman, Immigration and Member Politics in Western Europe, Oxford: 2014. pp. 1-36
- Martin Schain, The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and Germany, Chapters 8 & 10, pp. 181-206, 237-274
- Yascha Mounk, "Why I Still Want to Be an American Citizen," Slate, 12/6/16

Unit 2: The Meaning of Citizenship

How do states and polities determine what citizenship should mean? How has this changed across time? How have nationalism and discourses about human rights affected citizenship and naturalization policies?

Feb. 8: What is Citizenship? Part 1

- Howard, pp. 1-16
- Christian Joppke, Immigration and Citizenship, Polity: 2010, Chapter 1, pp. 1-33
- Peter H. Shuck, "Carved from the Inside Out", in Debating Immigration, Carol Swain, editor. pp. 32-45
- Smith, Rogers. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 549-66.
- Brubaker, pp. 1-34

Feb. 15: What is Citizenship? Part 2

- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, Verso: 2006 (Revised Edition), Chapters 2&3, pp. 9-48
- Michael Walzer, "Membership," in The Immigration Reader, David Jacobson, ed. Chapter 16, pp. 341-364
- Joseph Carens, The Ethics of Immigration, Oxford: 2013. Chapters 2 & 3, pp. 19-61
- Brubaker, pp. 35-84
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p03njc35> - Sandel on Borders

Unit 3: Types of Citizenship Policy

How have citizenship policies been amended during current waves of immigration? What approaches have been adopted? How have they affected migrants? How have they affected countries' political debates?

Feb. 22: Trends in Citizenship Policy, Part 1

Unit 2 Paper Due

- Howard, Chapters 2 & 3, pp. 37-70
- "Overview of INS History," U.S Customs and Immigration Service, 2012

- Michael Janoski, The Ironies of Citizenship, Cambridge: 2010, Chapter 4 "From Manifest Destiny to Multicultural Diversity in the Settler Countries," pp. 89-123
- *Tuaua v United States* (D.C. Cir. 2015)

March 1: Trends in Citizenship Policy, Part 2

- Howard, Chapters 4-7, pp. 73-168
- Peter H. Schuck, "Immigrants' Political and Legal Incorporation in the United States after 9/11: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back" in Bringing Outsiders In, Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf, eds., Cornell: 2009 pp. 158-175
- Edward Eler, "Trump's Critics Are Wrong about the 14th Amendment," and John Yoo, "On Citizenship, the 'Birthers' Are Right," *National Review*, August 2015
- Ahmet İcduygu and Damla B. Aksel "Migration Realities and State Responses: Rethinking International Migration Policies in Turkey," in *Social Transformation and Migration*, Stephen Castles, Derya Ozkul, and Magdalena Arias Cubas, eds. Palgrave Macmillan: 2015, 115-129

March 8 : Citizenship, Integration and Incorporation

- Bloemraad, Introduction and Chapters 1, 2, and 4, pp.1-101, 138-160

Q & A with Immigration Attorney, Details TBA

March 22: Debating Naturalization Policy

1-2 Page Final Paper Proposal Due!

- Sara Wallace Goodman, Immigration and Membership Politics in Western Europe, Cambridge: 2014, Chapter 5, pp. 118-160.
- Betty de Hart, "The End of Multiculturalism: The End of Dual Citizenship?" in Dual Citizenship in Europe, Thomas Faist, ed. Ashgate: 2007, pp.77-102
- Readings on DREAM ACT/DACA (TBD)
- Saharso, Sawitri, and Doutje Lettinga. "Contentious citizenship: Policies and debates on the veil in the Netherlands." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 15(4), 2008: 455-480.

Unit 4: Multiculturalism and Citizenship

What is multiculturalism, and is it still a relevant concept? What normative arguments have been made for and against multiculturalism as a policy? Why has so much of the multiculturalism debate in Europe focused on Islam, and should it have?

March 29: Origins of Multiculturalism

Unit 3 Paper Due

- Augie Fleras, The Politics of Multiculturalism, Palgrave MacMillan: 2009, Chapters 3 & 4, pp. 55-112
- Han Entzinger, "The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: The Case of The Netherlands" in Towards Assimilation and Citizenship, Christian Joppke and Eva Morawska, eds., Palgrave MacMillan: 2003, pp. 59-86
- Ruud Koopmans "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39 (2013):147-169

April 5: The Backlash

- Will Kymlicka, "The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism?" in The Multiculturalism Backlash, Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, eds., Routledge: 2010. pp. 32-49
- Paul Scheffer, Immigrant Nations, Polity: 2011. Chapter 1, pp. 1-39
- Tariq Modood. "Muslims and the Politics of Difference." *The Political Quarterly* 74.s1 (2003): 100-115
- Christopher Caldwell, Reflections on the Revolution in Europe, Chapter 6
- Kyung Joon Han, "The Impact of Radical Right-Wing Parties on the Positions of Mainstream Parties Regarding Multiculturalism" West European Politics 38 (2015) pp. 557-576

Unit 5: The Future of Citizenship?

What other trends are emerging in citizenship policy, and how might these debates develop in the future?

April 12: Transnationalism

Unit 4 Paper Due

- Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy. Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe. Minnesota: 2005 Chapter 3, pp. 107-145
- Roger Waldinger, "Immigrant Transnationalism" Current Sociology 61 (2013), pp. 756-777
- Eva Østergaard-Nielsen, "The End of Closet Political Transnationalism" in Bringing Outsiders In, Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf, eds., Cornell: 2009, pp. 195-210
- Yasemin Soysal. 1994. Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. University of Chicago Press, Chaps. 1, 2, & 8

April 19: Refugees and Asylum Seekers

- Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 & 1967
- David Haines, Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in America, pages TBD
- Christina Boswell, "The 'External Dimension' of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy," International Affairs 79, no. 3 (2003): 619-638
- Reading on Refugee Crisis, German Perspective, TBD
- Reading on Refugee Crisis, SE Europe Perspective, TBD

Q & A with Prof. Jill Goldenziel, Marine Corps University, Details TBA

April 26: Future Trends

Critical Book Review due by beginning of class!

- Ron Hayduk, Democracy for All, Routledge: 2006, Chapter 4, pp. 57-86
- Ayalet Sachar, The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality, Harvard: 2009, "Introduction," pp. 1-15
- Linda Bosniak, John Echeverri-Gent, Terri Givens, Jane Junn: "Symposium: The Birthright Lottery," Perspectives on Politics 9(3): 621-637
- Sandra Lavenex: "Shifting up and out: The foreign policy of European immigration control," West European Politics 29 (2) 329-350
- Additional readings as events warrant

Unit 5 Paper due Wednesday, May 3 at 5:01pm.

Final Assignments due Thursday, May 11 at 12:01pm.