

## POLS 43Q: Immigration Crisis? Policy Dilemmas in the US and Europe

Pete Mohanty, PhD (pmohanty@stanford.edu)

Sweet Hall 217C (Office Hours by Appointment)

This Sophomore Seminar fulfills **Engaging Diversity** and **Social Inquiry** WAYS requirements.

Immigration is a hotly contested social, economic, and political phenomenon in countries throughout the world. People migrate for many reasons, including the desire to start careers, reunite families, and escape oppression. While each story of migration is unique, migration in the modern world show certain patterns, and these patterns often manifest as political conflict. For example, labor migration promises economic efficiency but may threaten existing social welfare guarantees to natives. Facilitating migration from failed nation-states may protect the human rights of migrants but introduce security concerns for years to come. In the 21st century, the world has witnessed political violence—by natives and migrants, both first and second generations—including the September 11th attacks, the London bombings, the mass killings in Norway, and the Paris and Brussels attacks.

How can policymakers harness the promises of immigration without succumbing to its pitfalls? Why do some countries (and cities) respond so differently than others in similar circumstances? When does the meaning of citizenship evolve and when does it stay the same? What lessons do other countries have for the United States as it considers immigration reform?

This seminar is designed to provide you with an overview of immigration law and politics in the United States and other countries, particularly in the European Union. You will develop the necessary tools to critically analyze immigration policies, starting with the historical evolution of immigration policy in the United States. We will visit Angel Island and discuss the legacy of the Chinese Exclusion Act before turning to immigration politics in San Francisco today. There will also be a screening on *La Haine* (Hate), an acclaimed French film which chronicles the challenges of immigrant integration. You will study the economics of immigration and the politics of refugees in the context of post-9/11 security dilemmas. Along with a team of your peers, you will also design a concrete immigration policy proposal of your own.

**Bio:** Pete Mohanty, a Thinking Matters Fellow who's originally from Stony Brook, NY, holds a PhD in political science from the University of Texas at Austin. Having studied in France and Germany, his research compares immigration politics in different countries and emphasizes the intersections of xenophobia and Islamophobia with economic, cultural, and security concerns.

### Texts

Adida, Laitin & Valfort, *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies* (Harvard 2016)

De Graauw, Els, *Making Immigrant Rights Real: Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco* (Cornell 2016)

Givens, Freeman & Leal, *Immigration Policy and Security: U.S., European, and Commonwealth Perspectives*

Hollifield, Martin & Orrenus, *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., paperback) (Stanford 2014)

Laurence, Jonathan. *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims* (Princeton 2012)

Tichenor, Daniel. *Dividing Lines: the Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton 2002)

[Online documents]

## Grading & Assignments

There are four components to the grade for this course: *participation* (25%), *journals* (25%), *midterm writing assignment* (25%), and *final writing assignment* (25%).

- Regarding the *participation* grade, as a sophomore seminar, it is the expectation of this course that students come prepared to each seminar to engage in thoughtful discussion of the ongoing themes of the course in light of the readings. The course will be driven by discussion, which means that students are to respectfully engage each other's comments so that our ongoing conversation may serve as a springboard to productive research and writing.
- There will be four short *journals* throughout the term (between 500 and 750 words each) which will give students an opportunity to respond to course material. Journals are on due on Canvas Mondays at noon. Students must write two journals between Week 2 and Week 5 and two journals between Week 6 and Week 9 but may choose which weeks. (See Canvas for details.)
- The *midterm writing assignment* is to analyze an aspect of contemporary US immigration policy with course readings and outside research (about 2,000 words). Students are encouraged to choose a topic on which they may want to make their own policy proposal as part of the final.
- The *final writing assignment* is to make an original policy proposal; the final project will be a group project (ideally three students each). The proposal will focus on a particular policy arena and justify the need for reform. Each team will outline likely costs and benefits of their proposal in light of cross-national comparisons between the US, Canada, and Europe. The final proposal is expected to be 4,000 to 5,000 words and will draw on course readings, outside research, and original analysis. Teams will present their projects as works in progress in the second half of the term and then hand in the final product during finals week.

The visit to Angel Island (Saturday April 29th) and the film screening of *La Haine* (Thursday May 9th at 7pm) are required. Students with genuine scheduling conflicts (such as varsity athletic events) should notify Dr. Mohanty as soon as possible for details on make up assignments, which take a comparable amount of time as the activities.

## THE HONOR CODE

Violating the Honor Code is a serious offense, even when the violation is unintentional. The Honor Code is available at: <http://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/communitystandards/honorcode>. Students are responsible for understanding the University rules regarding academic integrity. In brief, conduct prohibited by the Honor Code includes all forms of academic dishonesty, among them copying from another's exam, unpermitted collaboration, and representing as one's own work the work of another.

## PROVOST'S STATEMENT CONCERNING STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Students who have a disability which may necessitate an academic accommodation or the use of auxiliary aids and services in a class must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education's Disability Resource Center (DRC). The DRC will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend appropriate accommodations, and prepare a verification letter dated in the current academic term in which the request is being made. Please contact the DRC as soon as possible; timely notice is needed to arrange for appropriate accommodations (phone 723-1066; TDD 725-1067).

**FERPA:** Student Record Privacy Policy ([studentaffairs.stanford.edu/registrar/students/ferpa](http://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/registrar/students/ferpa))

# COURSE OUTLINE

Readings without a link that are not found in the book list above will be made available on Canvas.

## **Week 1 (Monday April 3rd): Immigration in the U.S. and the World**

*Class 1* Class Introduction: Major Themes

*Class 2* Major Immigration Issues in the U.S. and Europe

- United Nations: What is a Refugee? ([link](#))
- The Atlantic: “How Trump’s Travel Ban Could Still Be Upheld” by Matt Ford ([link](#))
- Gallup: “Islamophobia: Understanding Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West” ([link](#))
- The Guardian: “Europe: Immigrants Under Pressure” (read three articles from [here](#))
- The Guardian: “Marine Le Pen and Emmanuel Macron face off for the soul of France” ([link](#))
- Slate: “Why Immigration Pushed Britons to Brexit” by Reihan Salam ([link](#))

## **Week 2 (Monday April 10th): The History of Immigration in the United States**

Journal #1 due on Monday April 11th at Noon on Canvas

*Class 3* Immigration after Independence

- Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals* (excerpts)
- “The Politics of Immigration Control,” Tichenor, Intro + Chapter 2

*Class 4* Nativism, Chinese Exclusion, and the National Origins Act

- Tichenor, Chapter 3-6
- Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project at Stanford University ([link](#))

## **Week 3 (Monday April 17th): American Immigration Politics I**

*Class 5* Postwar Immigration Politics & The Rights Revolution

- Tichenor, Chapter 7-10
- De Graauw, pages 1-80

*Class 6* Contemporary Immigration Politics

- Freeman 1996 Client Politics
- Cornelius, “Controlling ‘Unwanted’ Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004”
- Martin’s chapter in *Controlling Immigration*
- De Graauw, Chapters 3-5

----- Field Trip to Angel Island April Saturday April 22nd -----

## Week 4 (Monday April 24th): American Immigration Politics II

### Class 7 Immigration & Security since 9/11

- Migration Policy Institute: “Major Immigration Policy & Program Changes since 9/11” ([link](#))
- Intro, chapters 1, 2, 3 of *Immigration Policy & Security*
- Chapter 1 of *Controlling Immigration*

### Class 8 Immigration, Public Opinion, and American Elections

- Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015. “The Hidden American Immigration Consensus: A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes toward Immigrants.” *AJPS* 59(3): 529-48.
- American Immigration Council: “Who and Where the DREAMers Are” ([link](#))
- Monnat, Shannon M. “Deaths of Despair and Support for Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election” ([link](#))

----- Midterm Due Friday April 28th at 7 PM on Canvas -----

## Week 5 (Monday May 1st): Commonwealth Immigration Politics

### Class 9 Canada

- Reitz’s chapter in *Controlling Immigration*
- Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (excerpts)
- The Guardian: “Canadian election: vote hinges on immigrants at center of rights debate” ([link](#))
- Final Project outlined, team building in class

### Class 10 Great Britain

- Hansen’s chapter in *Controlling Immigration*
- Security challenges: chapters 6-8, 10 in *Immigration Policy & Security*
- Laurence, excerpts
- BBC: EU Referendum: the Result in Maps and Charts ([link](#))

## Week 6 (Monday May 8th): France & Islam

### Class 11 French Immigration Politics

- Hollifield’s chapter in *Controlling Immigration*
- Laurence, excerpts
- Givens, *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*, brief excerpt
- Readings about the French Presidential election, TBA

### Class 12 Disentangling Race & Religion

- Adida, Laitin & Valfort

----- Thursday May 9th at 7 pm, *la Haine* (Film Screening, Location TBA) -----

## Week 7 (Monday May 15th): Germany & Switzerland

### Class 13 German Immigration Politics & the Legacy of Postwar Migration

- Arendt, brief excerpt on the 'Right to Have Rights' from *Origins of Totalitarianism*
- Martin's and D'Amato's chapters in *Controlling Immigration*
- *Der Spiegel*: "Fear, Anger and Hatred: the Rise of Germany's New Right" ([link](#))
- *The Guardian*: "Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has utterly failed" ([link](#))

### Class 14 Politicized Belonging

- Hainmueller & Hangartner. 2013. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *APSR*. February, 1-29.
- Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany"
- *The Economist*: "The Indispensable European" ([link](#))

----- Final Project Proposal due Monday May 22nd at Noon on Canvas -----

## Week 8 (Monday May 22nd): Immigration Politics in the Mediterranean

### Class 15 Italy, Spain, and Greece in the Wake of the Euro Crisis

- Perlmutter and Hazan chapters from *Controlling Immigration*
- Migration Policy Institute: "Greece: Illegal Immigration in the Midst of Crisis" ([link](#))
- *The New York Times*: "An Overview of the Euro Crisis" ([link](#))

### Class 16 Team Meetings in class

## Week 9 (Memorial Day Monday): Europe without Borders?

### Class 17 (Wednesday May 31) Immigration & Citizenship in the EU

- Chapter 9 of *Immigration Politics & Security*
- Chapter 14 of *Controlling Immigration*
- *BBC*: "Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts" ([link](#))
- Betts, *Survival Migration* (excerpts)

## Week 10 (Monday June 5): What's Next?

### Class 19 The Future of Citizenship

- Bloemraad. 2004. "Who claims dual citizenship? The limits of postnationalism, the possibilities of transnationalism, and the persistence of traditional citizenship." *IMR*, 3(8): 389-426.
- Wright & Bloemraad, 2012. "Is There a Trade-off Between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration? Policy Regimes and Immigrant Incorporation in Comparative Perspective." *Perspectives on Politics*. 10(1): 77-95.
- Groenendijk, 2008, "Local Voting Rights for Non-Nationals: What We Know and What We Need to Learn" (*Migration Policy Institute*)

### Class 20 Team Presentations of Final Projects

----- Final Project Due Monday June 12th at 6:30pm on Canvas. Late papers not accepted. -----