THE COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

Note: This course has an optional Community Based Experiential Learning (CBEL) component

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 12.30- 2pm
in Buch A 104

Professor Antje Ellermann
Buchanan C 306
(604) 822-4359
antje.ellermann@ubc.ca

Teaching Assistant
Camille Desmares
cml.desmares@gmail.com
Office hours (for CBEL related matters) by appointment

Office Hours
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2-3pm
and by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The United Nations estimates that, until 2050, over 2.2 million migrants will arrive in the Global North every year. This historically unprecedented level of mass migration presents the rich democracies of Western Europe, North America, and the South Pacific with a complex policy dilemma. On the one hand, immigrant recruitment presents policymakers with possible solutions to domestic labour shortages and the fiscal pressures of aging populations. The normative and legal obligations of liberal states also commit their governments to protect those fleeing political persecution and reunite families. On the other hand, public concern about the cultural integration of diverse migrant populations often renders immigrant admission and settlement a politically risky undertaking. In many liberal democracies, anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise, as citizens question the capacity of newcomers to become fully integrated into their host societies.

This course will provide students with the analytical tools to understand the dynamics driving the politics of immigration in advanced democracies, focusing mostly on Canada, the United States, and Western Europe, with some references to Australia. Part I examines the dynamics driving crossborder migration. In Part II, we will study the factors that shape the making of immigration policy: history and culture, public opinion and the media, political actors ranging from interest groups and courts to political elites, and the institutions that mediate the interactions among these actors. In Part III we will engage with the normative question of whether liberal democracies should have the right to close their borders and exclude non-citizens from access to their territory. Part IV grapples with the challenge of immigration control. We will take a look at how states try to control their borders, and what the
consequences of these control efforts have been. We will pay particular attention to states’ attempts to control the entry of asylum seekers—one of the most contested immigration issues in Europe and the South Pacific.

In the final weeks of the course we will focus our attention on the politics of integration. What is the meaning of citizenship? How can we explain crossnational variation in citizenship acquisition by immigrants? We will examine the economic, social, and cultural integration of immigrants and grapple with the challenges that linguistic and religious diversity poses to host societies. We end the course with a discussion of multiculturalism and the questions the paradigm raises for our understandings of membership, identity, and integration.

Format

While the course is lecture-oriented, student participation is strongly encouraged and welcome. Class discussion is an integral part of the course. We will also watch a range of immigration documentaries that focus on the lived experiences of immigrants and their host communities.

Community Based Experiential Learning (CBEL)

The course features an optional Community Service Learning (CBEL) component. CBEL is a model of experiential learning that combines classroom teaching with community placements. Being embedded in a particular organizational context, students will become familiar with the distinct perspectives of political actors (such as NGOs) engaged in the politics of immigration. Through critical reflection activities, students will use this knowledge to challenge and build on existing academic theory.

This semester, placement opportunities exist in several organizations that provide services to sponsored refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants. (Students will receive separate handouts with detailed information about these organizations, placements, and academic CBEL assessment).

Community-based placements are optional and will require an extra level of commitment by students. Participating students can expect to spend a total of approx. 20 hours in placement (not including travel time). While on placement, you can draw on the support of Camille Desmares and Prof. Ellermann.

CBEL assessment will take two forms. First, placement organizations will evaluate the degree of personal commitment and professional conduct you bring to your placement. This professional assessment will account for 10% of your final grade. Second, your academic CBEL assessment will take the form of a reflective journal that you will keep throughout the period of placement and that will account for 40% of your final grade. Here we evaluate the thinking that you do about your placement, not the service itself. This means that even if the placement does not go as planned, you can still produce a reflective assessment of the experience. An early draft submission is due on February 12, 5pm, the completed journal is due April 12, 5pm. All CBEL students are required to write a reflective journal (CBEL students will not write the research paper). In recognition of the extra level of commitment required of placement students, CBEL students will only write one (instead of two) response papers.

Respectful Course Environment

UBC recognizes that “the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued.” The full UBC Statement on Respectful
Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff can be found at http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct (http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0).

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of other students or of the instructor. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will be professional and respectful in all their exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, please raise them with the instructor. You also have the options of contacting the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC’s Equity and Inclusion Office (http://equity.ubc.ca), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students (http://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca/contactus/).

Readings

- The book chapter by Michael Walzer (assigned for February 23) is on 2-hour reserve at Koerner Library. I strongly recommend you access this reading well ahead of time to make sure it is available (note that it is assigned for the Tuesday right after reading week).

- All other readings are electronically available on the UBC CONNECT course website.

Top Hat

We will be using the Top Hat (www.tophat.com) classroom response system in class. You will be able to submit answers to in-class questions (quizzes) using Apple or Android smartphones and tablets, laptops, or through text message.

You can visit tinyurl.com/TopHatStudentGuide for the Student Quick Start Guide which outlines how you will register for a Top Hat account, as well as providing a brief overview to get you up and running on the system. An email invitation will also be sent to your school email account (if you don’t receive this email, you can register by visiting our course website https://app-ca.tophat.com/e/686744).

Top Hat will require a paid subscription, and the standard pricing for the cheapest option is $24 for 4-months of unlimited access. For a full breakdown of all subscription options available please visit www.tophat.com/pricing.

Connect Website

You can find the course website on UBC CONNECT (http://elearning.ubc.ca/connect) where you can log on with your Campus-Wide Login (CWL). The website includes the course syllabus, lecture slides (which will be posted after lecture), and assignment instructions (other than quizzes).
The website also features a discussion forum for instructor-initiated class discussions. Discussions will build on in-class discussions and documentaries. All students are encouraged to contribute to these discussions in a respectful manner. Regular and thoughtful contributions will be recognized with a participation bonus of up to 2% (mark-up of final grade) (see below).

**REQUIREMENTS**

1. *Make a name sign* for your desk that is clearly legible from the front of the room. This will help me to learn your name.

**Readings**

2. Students are expected to come to class having completed all the assigned readings. The average reading load for each week is 50 pages. Classes with an above average reading load are marked as “reading intensive.” To compensate, there will be several classes without assigned readings. Keeping up to date with the readings is essential for understanding the lectures and for completing the written assignments.

   Students are strongly encouraged to regularly read non-tabloid newspapers with coverage of Europe and North America. Good sources are the *Financial Times* and the *New York Times* (both available free online), the online BBC news service or *The Economist*. Staying on top of current affairs will deepen your understanding of the arguments discussed in class by applying them to real-world politics. I also recommend the following immigration-specific news services:

   - Migration Information Source: [http://www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)

**Attendance**

**Lectures**

3. I expect students to attend all lectures and to arrive to class on time. While the lectures will address the assigned readings, they will also cover important concepts, theories, and empirical cases not covered in the texts. In evaluating written assignments, I will assume that students are familiar with all materials (including documentaries) discussed in class. I normally make announcements concerning deadlines and assignments at the beginning of class.

4. Students who use laptops in class must do so exclusively for the purpose of note taking. Arriving late, sending text messages, surfing the web, emailing, or playing computer games in class conveys disrespect to your fellow students, teaching assistants, and instructor.

**Assignments**

5. 20% of your grade will be determined by class attendance and knowledge of the assigned readings. This assessment will take the form of an in-class multiple choice quiz to be answered on Top Hat (see above).
Your grade will be based on 22 quizzes, and there will be a total of 24 quizzes. This means that you can miss 2 quizzes and still receive maximum points on attendance. You can also choose to take more than 22 quizzes. In this case, grading will be based on your 22 strongest quizzes.

Each quiz will take the form of two multiple choice questions. You are required to answer both questions. Questions will focus on the readings assigned for a given class. If no readings are assigned, they will focus on the readings assigned for the previous class.

The timing of the quiz for each class will vary in order to best accommodate the lesson plan. It is the responsibility of each student to arrive to class on time. If a student misses a class or arrives to class after the quiz there will be no make-up quiz (note that the 22:24 policy allows for 2 missed quizzes without penalty).

Should you need to miss class for longer than a week for medical or other reasons that typically qualify for an extension, please contact me right away and provide relevant documentation so that we can figure out a way of accommodating you.

Quiz assessment:

- Failure to participate in the quiz indicates non-attendance and will result in 0 points.
- Each wrong answer will receive 1 point.
- Each correct answer will receive 2 points. The maximum score per quiz is 4.

Quiz grade:

Your grade will be calculated by multiplying the number of quiz points by 1.1. Please note that the score goes down all the way to 0, which places a high premium on attendance (see bolded bullet point below). To illustrate:

- Perfect (22) attendance and perfect answers (2 correct answers for all 22 quizzes = 88 points x 1.1) = 97 (A+)
- Perfect attendance and 75% correct answers = 85 (A)
- Perfect attendance and 50% correct answers = 77 (B+)
- 75% attendance and 100% correct answers = 75 (B)
- 75% attendance (17 classes), 75% correct answers = 66 (C+)
- **50% attendance and 100% correct answers = 48 (F)**
- No attendance = 0 (F)

6. Over the course of the semester, you are required to write 2 (CBEL students: 1) response papers. Response papers are short (no more than 4 pages double-spaced) papers that ask you to critically engage with a particular set of arguments advanced in the course readings. For instance, a paper may ask you to adjudicate between competing arguments, and to clearly justify your own positioning. You may also be asked to reference current affairs and to reflect on ways in which readings may help you understand current affairs. You are not expected to draw on any academic readings other than those covered in the course. However, you are expected to draw on news media for paper assignments that ask you to discuss current affairs.
Each response paper assignment (including submission instructions) will be distributed 2 weeks before the submission deadline. There are 3 response paper assignment/dates to choose from. Non-CBEL students will chose 2, CBEL students 1. The 3 dates are: January 21, February 23, March 24. Each response paper will account for 20% of your grade (Non-CBEL students: 40%, CBEL students: 20%).

7. Unless you choose to take part in the course’s Community Based Experiential Learning component, you will be required to write a research paper (10-12 pages, double-spaced, 12 point font with standard margins).

Your paper will examine how two countries of your choice have responded to a comparable immigration issue in different ways. Your paper will (1) describe the immigration issue you examine, (2) carefully outline and situate the policy response of each country, and (3) discuss the implications of each policy response for immigrants and host societies.

A more detailed assignment will be distributed and discussed later in the term. The paper, which will account for 40% of your final grade, is due at 12.30pm, April 7. You need to submit three electronic copies of the paper:

1. Email an electronic copy to your TA Camille Desmares. Please note that electronic submission to Camille will serve as your official submission date/time. If you do not receive a reply email confirming receipt within 24 hours, please follow up with Camille immediately.
2. Email a second copy to your instructor
3. Upload a third copy to turnitin.com (see below)
INSTRUCTOR AVAILABILITY

Both your instructor and Teaching Assistants are available to meet with you, should you have any further questions or want to discuss any issues or concerns relating to this course.

☐ For questions related to CBEL and reflective journals, please first contact Camille
☐ For questions related to the course readings, quizzes, response papers, and research paper, please contact Prof. Ellermann

My office hours are on Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2-3pm, in Buchanan C306 (third floor in Block C of the Buchanan building). If you cannot attend my office hours, see me after class or email me to make an appointment. Email is generally the best way to reach me.

Camille will hold office hours for CBEL students by appointment. Please email Camille to arrange for a time.

Email

Because emailing has become such a common form of student-instructor interaction, I have instituted a number of email policies that you should be aware of:
1. During the work week, I generally respond to student emails in a timely manner (usually within 48 hours).

2. On weekends, I do not check email regularly. Please do not expect a response before the beginning of the work week.

3. **I do not respond to substantive questions related to course papers in the last 24 hours before an assignment deadline.** You are expected to start work on assignments well ahead of time, so that any last minute email should be limited to emergencies.

4. Like face-to-face conversations, emails should convey mutual respect. Specifically, any email should start out addressing the recipient by name (e.g., “Prof. Ellermann” or “Dr. Ellermann”) and should end with the name of the addressee (i.e., your name).

**ASSESSMENT AND GRADES**

**Distribution of marks**

*Non-CBEL students*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 response papers</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research paper</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance and quizzes</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*CBEL students*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 response paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflective journal</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement organization assessment</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance/ quizzes</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Any student may receive a participation bonus, based on participation in web-based discussions.

1% bonus (mark-up of final grade):

Students
- who participate regularly (and in at least 50% of web-based discussions)
- whose contributions are thoughtful

2% bonus (mark-up of final grade):
Students
- who participate regularly (and in at least 75% of web-based discussions)
- whose contributions are of reliably high quality
  whose contributions reflect knowledge of the assigned readings

Grading

UBC courses are graded on a percentage basis; corresponding letter grades will be assigned by the Registrar automatically. Grades will be assigned according to the following criteria:

80% to 100% (A- to A+)
*Exceptional performance:* exceptional original thinking, superior understanding of subject matter, strong and consistent evidence of ability to critically evaluate, superior capacity to synthesize materials, excellent organization of materials. Work at this level will be clearly written, with no spelling or grammatical mistakes.

68% to 79% (B- to B+)
*Competent performance:* evidence of original thinking, good grasp of subject matter, ability to critically evaluate, capacity to synthesize and critically compare arguments, good organization of materials. Work at this level will generally be clearly written, containing at most a few, if any, spelling and grammatical mistakes.

50% to 67% (D to C+)
*Adequate performance:* adequate understanding of subject matter, some ability to critically evaluate, ability to sum up arguments but not always able to make connections between them, adequate organization of materials, some evidence of original thought. Work at this level is sometimes unclear, and contains some spelling and grammar problems.

0% to 49% (F)
*Inadequate performance:* little or no evidence of original thought, little or no evidence of understanding of subject matter, little or no critical analysis, limited or irrelevant use of the literature, poor organization of materials. Work at this level is usually poorly written, with numerous spelling and grammar problems.

Penalties for Lateness

Late assignments will incur a penalty of 2% for each day, including weekend days. The first day's penalty will be incurred by papers that are handed on the day of the deadline but after the time indicated.

Extensions

Extensions will only be granted to students with documented medical problems or in case of serious personal emergency. In case you require an extension because of a medical or serious personal problem you need to contact me before the deadline and as soon as the problem arises. Requests for extensions made after the deadline will not generally be considered.
Better safe than sorry

Computers crash, bags get stolen, we’ve all had our share of bad luck. The loss of your course paper will likely cause you some sleepless nights. Therefore: back-up, back-up, back-up. Back-up your work regularly (I suggest at least once an hour) either on a USB stick or, preferably, on a server. You should make use of free back-up services, such as Dropbox. You can also keep copies in your email account.

Records

Students should keep a copy of all submitted assignments (in case of loss). You should also retain copies of all marked assignments in case you want to apply for a Review of Assigned Standing.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Plagiarism

The Faculty of Arts considers plagiarism to be the most serious academic offence that a student can commit. Regardless of whether or not it was committed intentionally, plagiarism has serious academic consequences and can result in expulsion from the university. Plagiarism involves the improper use of somebody else's words or ideas in one's work. It is your responsibility to make sure you fully understand what plagiarism is. Many students who think they understand plagiarism do in fact commit what UBC calls "reckless plagiarism." Below is an excerpt on reckless plagiarism from UBC Faculty of Arts' leaflet, "Plagiarism Avoided: Taking Responsibility for Your Work" (http://www.arts.ubc.ca/arts-students/plagiarism-avoided.html).

"The bulk of plagiarism falls into this category. Reckless plagiarism is often the result of careless research, poor time management, and a lack of confidence in your own ability to think critically. Examples of reckless plagiarism include:

- Taking phrases, sentences, paragraphs, or statistical findings from a variety of sources and piecing them together into an essay (piecemeal plagiarism);
- Taking the words of another author and failing to note clearly that they are not your own. In other words, you have not put a direct quotation within quotation marks;
- Using statistical findings without acknowledging your source;
- Taking another author’s idea, without your own critical analysis, and failing to acknowledge that this idea is not yours;
- Paraphrasing (i.e. rewording or rearranging words so that your work resembles, but does not copy, the original) without acknowledging your source;
- Using footnotes or material quoted in other sources as if they were the results of your own research; and
- Submitting a piece of work with inaccurate text references, sloppy footnotes, or incomplete source (bibliographic) information." (My comment: Please note that every verbatim citation requires the use of quotation marks.)
Bear in mind that this is only one example of the different forms of plagiarism. Before preparing for their written assignments, students are strongly encouraged to familiarize themselves with the following sources on plagiarism:

- the Faculty of Art's online booklet on plagiarism at http://www.arts.ubc.ca/arts-students/plagiarism-avoided.html
- the discussion of Academic Integrity on http://www.arts.ubc.ca/faculty-amp-staff/resources/academic-integrity.html
- the library’s resources at http://clc.library.ubc.ca/airc.html#Research. This website includes helpful tutorials on how to avoid plagiarism.

If after reading these materials you still are unsure about how to properly use sources in your work, please ask me for clarification.

**Turnitin.com**

Students are required to upload their papers by the deadline to turnitin.com to check for instances of plagiarism. Papers who have not been submitted to turnitin.com will not be graded, except in exceptional circumstances.

Note: Submitting students' written work to turnitin.com is official policy of the Department of Political Science. Submission to turnitin.com is only one way of checking for plagiarism. Moreover, decisions on suspected cases of plagiarism will never exclusively rely on use of turnitin.com.

**ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION**

Students have the right to an education free of discrimination and harassment. UBC has a policy on discrimination and harassment that applies to all members of the university community and which can be found in the UBC policy handbook.

The University accommodates students with disabilities who have registered with the Disability Resource Centre. The University accommodates students whose religious obligations conflict with attendance, submitting assignments, or completing scheduled tests and examinations. Please let me know in advance, preferably in the first week of class, if you will require any accommodation on these grounds.

Students who will have difficulty completing assignments because of varsity athletics, family obligations, or other similar commitments, cannot assume they will be accommodated, and should discuss their commitments with me before the course drop date.
COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

January 5   Introduction

In-class video
National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (28 min)

PART I   EXPLAINING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

January 7   Why do People Migrate? Economics & Social Networks

Including presentation on Community Based Experiential Learning placements


January 12   Forced Migration and the International Refugee Regime


In-class video
Documentary *God Grew Tired of Us: The Story of Lost Boys of Sudan* (2007)
Directed by Christopher Dillon Quinn and Tom Walker (86 min)

January 14   Refugee Resettlement


In-class video
Documentary *God Grew Tired of Us* (continued)
January 19  Current Affairs: The Syrian Refugee Crisis


PART II  THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

January 21  Public Attitudes toward Immigration (READING INTENSIVE)

FIRST RESPONSE PAPER DUE


January 26  Public Attitudes toward Immigration (continued)


In-class video
BBC documentary about British MP Enoch Powell’s infamous anti-immigration speech.

January 28  Media Representations of Immigration

**February 2**  
**Anti-Immigrant Mobilization**


**February 4**  
**NO CLASS (and no instructor office hours)**

**February 9**  
**Voters and Interest Groups**


**February 11**  
**Policy Venues and the Courts**


**REFLECTIVE JOURNAL EARLY DRAFT DUE February 12, 5pm**

**February 16 & 17**  
**NO CLASS – READING WEEK**

- Make sure to access the Walzer reading for the February 23 reading-intensive class if you want to read if over reading week and are leaving town (it is not electronically available, go to Koerner reserve to access it)

---

**PART III**  
**THE ETHICS OF IMMIGRATION**

**February 23**  
**Liberalism, Communitarianism, and the Ethics of Borders (READING INTENSIVE)**

**SECOND RESPONSE PAPER DUE**


February 25  Class canceled

March 1  Admissions Dilemmas

March 3  Guest Lecture on Forced Migration

Dr. Sarah Deardorff Miller, Franklin Fellow, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor’s African Affairs, U.S. State Department

PART IV  THE POLITICS OF INTEGRATION

March 8  Comparative Citizenship


March 10  Labor Market Integration and the Economic Impact of Immigration


March 15  Temporary Worker Recruitment and the Question of Integration


In-class video
Documentary *H-2 Worker* (1990)
Produced and directed by Stephanie Black (70 mins)

March 17 Language and the Politics of Identity


In-class video
Produced and directed by Carlos Sandoval and Catherine Tambini (79 mins)

March 22 Religion and Cultural Integration


In-class video
*Farmingville*

March 24 Is Multiculturalism Bad for Integration?

THIRD RESPONSE PAPER DUE

- Wright, Matthew and Irene 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

In-class video
*Farmingville*

PART V THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION CONTROL

March 29 Can States Control Immigration? (READING INTENSIVE)


In-class video
Documentary *New World Border* (2001)
Directed by Casey Peek and Jose Palafox, Peek Media (28 min)

March 31 Human Costs of Border Control


In-class video
Documentary *Living with Illegals* (2006)
Written and presented by journalist Sorious Samura; filmed and directed by Elizabeth C. Jones (Insight News TV for Channel 4 in association with Canadian Broadcasting Corporation TV News) (40mins)

April 5 The Politics of Asylum Control


In-class video
Written, produced, and directed by Peter Cohn, Hillcrest Films, 2006 (70mins)

April 7 Concluding Discussion

RESEARCH PAPER DUE

No readings!

REFLECTIVE JOURNAL DUE April 12, 5pm