

POLS 2359 – Immigration Politics
Fall 2020
Mondays/Thursdays 11:45 AM – 1:25PM
(Monday meetings asynchronous)

Instructor: Colin M. Brown

Phone: (XXX) XXX-XXXX

E-mail: colin.brown@northeastern.edu

Office Hours: E-mail Office Hours Weds. 8-9pm; One-on-one Office Hours by appointment (see policies below)

Overview

This course provides an overview of immigration politics in a comparative perspective. Students will learn about the history of immigration to the United States and Europe, focusing on the policies put in place to either encourage or discourage migration, naturalization, assimilation, and/or integration—as well as the political processes that have led to specific policies in different places and at different times.

Migration has been a central issue to politics and policymaking in many countries over the last decade or two, and an increasing percentage of foreign-born residents make up the population of the United States (13.7%) and the European Union (~7%: 3% from other EU states and 4% from outside the EU). In the US, present-day immigration is frequently compared with earlier eras of mass immigration—both by those advocating for more restrictive policies and by those calling for more expansive policies. In the EU, comparisons are made across states and with the US, but less frequently across history—although migration is by no means a new phenomenon in Europe.

In this course, we will learn about the history of immigration flows as well as the history of the laws and regulations that have sought to limit or encourage new migrants. After examining the origins of current policies, we will examine different theories of integration, assimilation, multiculturalism, as well as other understandings of how immigrants can politically incorporate into new societies. We will look at some of the ethical or normative claims that support limiting or expanding immigration policy. We then move onto thinking about citizenship and how understandings of immigration affect a state's understanding of what it means to be a citizen. We end by looking at two of the most prominent issues in immigration debates today: security and refugee policy.

Along the way, students will learn about policies and politics in a broadly comparative sense, but will spend some time focusing in depth on the United States, United Kingdom, and the Netherlands as countries of immigration. They will practice using

empirical evidence to determine between theoretical explanations for why policies have been enacted, as well as using data to support normative arguments about what policies they believe should be enacted. The course will require students to seek out new information and evidence in support of their own arguments around immigration policy, and introduce them to a number of helpful resources and data sources.

Course Learning Outcomes

Students will be able to:

- Describe the patterns of immigration that have shaped world politics in the past few decades, as well as current theories for how these patterns evolved
- Compare and categorize immigration and integration policies as they exist in European, American, and other contexts
- Outline the ethical claims made in favor of and against immigration and citizenship policies, and use evidence to defend their own stances on at least some issues related to immigration
- Explain how political, economic, and security issues have affected immigration and citizenship policies at different points in time.
- Evaluate contemporary debates about immigration in terms of broader trends, and assess the strength of existing theories in light of current events.
- Search for and find relevant academic texts in political science, and assess the value of original and secondary sources of argumentation and evidence.
- Summarize academic writing in political science, explain the arguments within to others, and highlight unresolved questions in the existing literature.
- Reflect on their own attitudes toward and knowledge of immigration policy, argue for their own positions orally and in written communication, and explain their own positionality relative to the topic.

Assignments

- **Participation – 20%:** Students are expected to attend all class sessions, and to contribute to the class by an active combination of asking questions during seminar-style sessions, participating in classwide discussions, contributing to small-group in-class work, and staying proactively in communication with the instructor to discuss learning obstacles and how to overcome them.
 - Small-group presentations on Nov. 23 are included here, worth ~5%
- **Preflection/Reflection Paper – 5%/10%:** Students will write a short preflection on what they already know about the topic at the beginning of the course, as well as their position relative to the topic. At the end of the semester, students will submit a written reflection on how their perspectives have changed in regard to their knowledge and positionality.
 - Preflection (500-750 words) due Sept. 17 (*Non-graded; full points given for any reasonable submission*).
 - Reflection (1000 to 1500 words) due Dec. 3 (*Graded*)
- **Leading Discussion – 10%:** Students will be expected to lead 20-30 minutes of seminar-style discussion once in the semester, and to write a 2-3 page précis afterward that summarizes the key points discussed in their focus article and during our discussion (to be shared with the class as a study guide)
 - Sign up for preferred week/topic no later than Sept. 15
 - Submit your précis within a few (3-4) days of leading discussion
- **Response Papers– 15%:** Students will write a 500-750 word response reflecting on two readings that capture their interest. One must be from Weeks 2-6, the other from the following weeks. (*Non-graded; full points given for any reasonable submission*).
 - Due no later than Oct. 19 and Dec. 10, earlier submission encouraged.
- **Draft Independent Study Proposal – 15%:** Students will analyze an academic article of their interest on a topic related to the course, develop a research question that the article leaves open, and write a reading list that would help them with future research on the topic.
 - Due Dec. 10
- **Group Paper – 25%:** Students will work in small groups to write an evidence-based policy paper (~15 pages) recommending a change in immigration, naturalization, integration, or some other policy for a country other than their own countries of citizenship.
 - Due Dec. 17

Final course grades will be calculated from total percentages, without rounding —

- A: 94% or above%, A-: 90% to 93.99%,
B+: 87% to 89.99%, B: 83% to 86.99%, B-: 80% to 82.99%,

C+: 77% to 79.99%, C: 73% to 76.99%, C-: 70% to 72.99%,
D+: 67% to 69.99%, F: 66.99% or below.

Texts Required for Purchase:

- Sasha Polakow-Suransky, Go Back To Where You Came From: The Backlash Against Immigration and the Fate of Western Democracy (Bold Type Books, 2017)
- For the Week of Nov. 16, expect to purchase an additional novel or to rent/purchase two movies (expected cost \$10-40)

Reading Schedule

Readings should be completed no later than the Thursday of the week assigned. Unless otherwise indicated, Monday meetings will be asynchronous with lectures posted as far in advance as possible. Thursday meetings will be synchronous (meeting online at the assigned time) and will be largely student-led, centered on discussions of the assigned readings.

IMPORTANT: Note that we are not meeting in real-time on one Thursday (Oct. 1) and we are meeting in real-time on one Monday (Oct. 26)

*Starred readings will be the focus of student-led discussions during our class meetings (see assignment; readings with **two stars will have two discussants)

Sept. 10: Introduction/History of Migration

- OECD International Migration Outlook (latest edition, likely 2019), Chapter 1
 - *Note: just skim the first chapter of this report for general trends; no need to read in-depth or for specific details*
- Donna Gabaccia, "Is Everywhere No Where? Nomads, Nations, and the Immigrant Paradigm of American History," *Journal of American History*, 86:3 (1999): 1115-34
- Andrew Geddes and Peter Scholten, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (2nd ed.), Sage: 2016, Chapter 1

Sept. 14 and 17: History of US Migration Policy

Preflection Paper Due

- Alejandro Portes & Rubén G. Rumbaut, Immigrant America: A Portrait (4th Edition) University of California: 2014, Chapter 1 "The Three Phases of US-Bound Immigration" pp 1-47
- Daniel Tichenor, Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America, Chapters 2, 5, and 8, pp. 16-45, 114-149, 219-241
- Roberto G. Gonzales, Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America. University of California: 2015, pp. 208-235

Sept. 21 and 24: Assimilation and Integration in the US Context

- Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race, (Scribner's, 1918), Chapter 1: "Race and Democracy"
 - *Note: read this as a historical artifact, not for facts! (this is a founding document of the eugenics movement)*
- Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History*, 84:2 (1997), 524-558
- **Richard Alba and Victor Nee, Remaking the American Mainstream, Pages 17-59, 282-292
- *Daisy Verduzco Reyes, "Inhabiting Latino Politics: How Colleges Shape Students' Political Styles," *Sociology of Education*, 88:4 (2015): 302-319
- Kelly Birch Maginot, "Effects of Deportation Fear on Latinxs' Civic and Political Participation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2020.
 - *Note: no statistical methods background is assumed in this class; for this and any other papers that employ advanced statistics, you should understand where they got their data from, but you can then skip over the results to the analysis/discussion.*

Sept. 28 and Oct. 1: History of European Migration Policy

NOTE: No Synchronous Class on Oct. 1

- Peter Gatrell, The Unsettling of Europe, Basic Books: 2019, pp. 1-15
- Hans van Amersfoort & Mies van Niekerk, "Immigration as a Colonial Inheritance," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2006.
- Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics* 50 (1998): 266-293.
- Philipp Lutz, "Variation in Policy Success: Radical Right Populism and Migration Policy," *West European Politics*, 42:3 (2019), 517-544

Oct. 5, 8, and 15: Assimilation and Integration in the European Context

- Sasha Polakow-Suransky, Go Back to Where You Came From, 2017, pp. 1-44, 63-80, 101-128
- Leo Lucassen, David Feldman, and Jochen Oltmer, Paths of Integration, 2006
 - Lucassen, Feldman and Oltmer: "Immigration in Western Europe, Then and Now" pp. 7-21
 - *Lucassen, "Poles and Turks in the German Ruhr Area: Similarities and Differences" pp. 27-43

- *Laurence Brown, "Afro-Caribbean Migrants in France and the United Kingdom" pp. 177-195
- *Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, "Comparing Immigrant Integration in North America and Western Europe: How Much Do the Grand Narratives Tell Us?" *International Migration Review* 48 (2014): 263-291
- Rafaela Dancygier, *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*, 2017, pp. 141-169
- *Timothy Hellwig and Abdelkader Sinno, "Different Groups, Different Threats: Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43 (2017): 339-358

Oct. 19 and 22: Multiculturalism

Response Paper 1 Due 10/19

- Augie Fleras, *The Politics of Multiculturalism*, Palgrave MacMillan: 2009, Chapters 3 & 4, pp. 55-88
- *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
- *Paul Scheffer, *Immigrant Nations*, Polity: 2011. Chapter 1, pp. 1-33
- Han Entzinger, "The Growing Gap Between Facts and Discourse on Immigrant Integration in the Netherlands," *Identities*, 2014

October 26 and 29: The Ethics of Immigration

NOTE: Additional (Monday) Synchronous Class on Oct. 26 – No Asynchronous Lecture

- 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
- **Ayelet Shachar, *The Birthright Lottery*, Cambridge: Harvard University: 2009, pages 1-15. 134-190
- **David Frum, "If Liberals Won't Enforce Borders, Fascists Will," *The Atlantic*, April 2019
- Shikha Dalmia, "Restrictionism Is the Road to Fascism in America, Not Open Door Policies," *Reason*, March 29, 2019
- Radley Balko, "For Immigration Opponents, Any Old Argument Will Do," *The Washington Post*, March 13, 2019

Nov. 2, 5, 9, and 12: Citizenship and Citizenship Policy

- Christian Joppke, Citizenship and Immigration, Polity: 2010. Chapter 1.
- *Sofya Aptekar, The Road to Citizenship, New Brunswick: Rutgers 2015, pp. 13-45
- IntelligenceSquared US: "Motion: Give Undocumented Immigrants a Path to Citizenship"
 - Note: Shorter podcast version required; longer video version optional but recommended
- Podcast: "For Whom the Cowbell Tolls," *Radiolab*, 2019.
- **Irene Bloemraad, Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada. University of California: 2006, pp. pp. 1-15, 65-66, 73-98, 102-110, 114-137.
 - *Katia Pilati and Laura Morales: "Ethnic and Immigrant Politics vs. Mainstream Politics," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39:15 (2016), 2796-2817

Nov. 16, 19, and 23: Immigration in Culture

Note: No additional asynchronous material for these weeks apart from the student presentations due Nov. 23

Students will work in small groups and will choose from the following materials (or some other similar choice of interest to the group; it just needs to be approved in advance to make sure it connects to the material!)

- Novel: Anna Seghers, Transit
- Movies: Godfather Part II & Man Push Cart
- Novel: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Americanah
- Memoir: Francisco Cantu, The Line Becomes a River
- Novel: Laila Lalami, The Other Americans
- Movies: Welcome to the Hartmanns and Stranger in Paradise

Nov. 30, and Dec. 3: Refugees and Asylum

Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 & 1967

- **David Haines, Safe Haven? A History of Refugees in America, pp. 1-20; 57-75
- Sasha Polakow-Suransky, Go Back to Where You Came From, pages TBD
- *Academic piece on determinants of refugee policy post-2015 TBD*

Dec. 7 – Conclusions

NOTE: Additional (Monday) Synchronous Class on Dec. 7 – No Asynchronous Lecture

- *Elizabeth F. Cohen, "The Political Economy of Immigrant Time: Rights, Citizenship and Temporariness in the Post-1965 Era," *Polity*, 47:3 (2015), 337-351

Policies

Office Hours

Office Hours are your chance to ask questions, get to know me as an instructor/researcher, talk about related issues not covered by the class...whatever is useful for you. You don't need to have specific questions, and as long as we're talking about something vaguely related to our course or to your development as a student and/or as an intellectual, it's a good use of our time. There are three kinds of office hours:

- Open Office Hours - I will be stay on Zoom for 15 minutes after every live course meeting; anyone can come and this will be more of a group conversation
- Individual Office Hours - Please e-mail me at any time to set up a one-on-one Zoom or phone call, with 2-3 days notice if at all possible. When you e-mail me, let me know generally what topics you want to talk about and how long you think you'll need, as well as some times that work.
- E-mail Office Hours - Wednesdays from 8-9, I will be actively checking my e-mail and I will reply as quickly as possible to any e-mails sent during that time. (Think of this time like texting, but for old people like me).

Late Assignment Policy

It is understood that students have a high workload and many different priorities during the semester. Therefore, any one of the individual assignments (preflection, reflection, response paper, or proposal) may be turned in up to 24 hours late with no penalty OR up to one week late with a penalty equal to one letter grade. If you need to take this extension, simply e-mail the instructor before the due date indicating that your paper will be late (you do not need to give a reason!). Papers received more than one week late or without notification will not receive credit and may not receive instructor feedback.

(Other extensions may be possible and/or the late penalty may be waived but you must check in with me so we can come up with a solution that best fits our schedule and your own constraints. Don't hesitate to ask)

The précis does not have a strict due date but for your classmates' sake, please submit it within a few (3-4) days after your turn to lead discussion.

The group final paper is due as late as possible to meet Northeastern's grading deadlines and cannot be turned in late except for exceptional circumstances and will require a short-term incomplete grade. This is not completely impossible but is strongly discouraged.

Academic Integrity

The Department of Political Science takes very seriously the issue of academic honesty, and as set forth in Northeastern University's principles on Academic Honesty and Integrity Policy (the complete text can be found at [Northeastern University's Office of Student Conduct and Conflict Resolution](#)). Any student who appears to violate these principles will fail the course and will be put on academic probation. Individual faculty, with the support of the Department, can impose harsher penalties and as they deem necessary. *Cheating* is one example of academic dishonesty, and which is defined as using or attempting to use unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in any academic exercise. When completing any academic assignment, a student shall rely on his or her own mastery of the subject. Cheating includes *plagiarism*, which is defined as using as one's own the words, ideas, data, code, or other original academic material of another without providing proper citation or attribution. Plagiarism can apply to any assignment, either final or drafted copies, and it can occur either accidentally or deliberately. Claiming that one has "forgotten" to document ideas or material taken from another source does not exempt one from plagiarizing. Your instructor will clarify specific guidelines on fair use of material for this class.

Correct citation practices and academic honesty are an expectation of this course, but are also a skill students need to learn (and often need guidance on). If you are uncertain what to do in a situation, do not hesitate to ask the instructor beforehand to avoid creating a larger issue later.

Learning in a Pandemic

This class is happening in the context of a pandemic—while some of us are "OK," very few of us are really OK. Chances are that a lot of you know people who have lost their jobs, have tested positive for COVID-19, have been hospitalized, or perhaps have even died. You all likely have work responsibilities and family care responsibilities that have been altered beyond what you have wanted or planned for—whether those are increased burdens or the burden of decreased interpersonal connections and too much free time.

My primary goal is to help you learn everything you were hoping to learn from this class, or as close as we can get to that! I will make whatever accommodations I am able to, to help you finish and do well on your assignments in the interest of learning and understanding the class material. Under ordinary conditions, I do my best to be

flexible with grading and course expectations when students face difficult challenges. Under pandemic conditions, that flexibility and leniency is intensified.

If you tell me you're having trouble, I will not judge you or think less of you. (I hope you'll extend me the same respect.) You need to check in with me and let me know *that* you need accommodation, but you *never* owe me personal information about your health (mental or physical). That is why we are trying to build a culture of trust in this course. You are *always* welcome to talk to me about things that you're going through, though, whether you think I can help directly, refer you to someone, or just provide you a space to talk that you don't otherwise have.

If you need extra help, or if you need more time with something, or if you feel like you're behind or not understanding everything, **do not suffer in silence!** Talk to me! I will work with you.

(adapted from language by Andrew Heiss, Georgia State University)

Resources

Campus Resources & Services

Students may face many barriers to learning in the course of their education, such as anxiety, depression, substance abuse, strained familial or romantic relationships, and others. Northeastern University provides you with a number of resources that may help you in whatever challenges you face, and help you find the space to succeed in your studies. [University Health and Counseling Services](#) (617-373-2772) has a wide variety of resources open to you, as do the centers and offices below:

- [Center for Spirituality, Dialogue & Service](#)
- [Dolce Center for the Advancement of Veterans and Servicemembers \(CAVS\)](#)
- Global Student Success, including the [International Tutoring Center](#) for help with English-language learning and academic success, [Language & Culture Workshops](#), and [Reading Workshops](#)
- [Northeastern University Police Department](#)
- [Northeastern Writing Center](#) for help with written work at any stage or type of assignment
- [Peer and Alumni Mentoring](#)

Accommodations

Northeastern is fully committed to creating a community characterized by inclusion and diversity. As part of this commitment, it upholds the American with Disabilities Act as Amended of 2008 and the American with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of Rehabilitation Act, referred to collectively as the ADA. The ADA requires Northeastern to provide reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities unless doing so would

create an undue hardship, compromise the health and safety of members of the university community, or fundamentally alter the nature of the university's employment mission. Students seeking information regarding ADA accommodations should review the University's ADA Information and Resources Procedure available [here](#).

Title IX

Northeastern is committed to providing equal opportunity to its students and employees, and to eliminating discrimination when it occurs. In furtherance of this commitment, the University strictly prohibits discrimination or harassment on the basis of race, color, religion, religious creed, genetic information, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, national origin, ancestry, veteran, or disability status. The Northeastern University [Title IX policy](#) articulates how the University will respond to reported allegations of sexual harassment involving students, including sexual assault, and provides a consolidated statement of the rights and responsibilities under University policies and Title IX, as amended by the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013.

Northeastern understands that some survivors of harassment, discrimination, sexual misconduct or other violations of this policy may not be ready or willing to report through a channel (such as to the Title IX Office or your instructor that could result in university action. For such individuals, the following confidential resources are available:

- [ViSION Resource Center \(VRC\)](#): (617) 373-4459
- University Health and Counseling Services (UHCS)
- Clergy in the Center for Spirituality, Dialogue and Service