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POLITICS OF MIGRATION AND MEMBERSHIP Spring 2018

Preliminary draft syllabus

The UN estimates that there are 254 million migrants in the world and projects that the level of net migration to the world's more developed regions will remain at over 2 million per year through 2050. As the foreign-born population of the United States has reached 40 million (13% of the country's population), political candidates increasingly compete for votes in immigrant communities while other politicians call for more restrictive immigration policies and tougher border controls. Increasing migration within and to the European Union prompted cooperation to lift border controls among signatories of the Schengen convention controls and free movement provisions of European Citizenship as well as tightened asylum policies and increasing policing along the external EU border. However, rapidly increasing numbers of asylum seekers and growing numbers of intra-EU migrants have prompted the establishment of anti-immigration political parties and challenged EU cooperation on migration and asylum policies. Moreover, after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the US and the attacks in Madrid and London, international migration has been increasingly considered a security issue. As millions of refugees flee Bosnia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria, safe havens and no-fly zones are declared, economic sanctions are tightened, invasions are staged and international relief efforts are mounted.

International migration presents policy makers (and the citizens that vote for them in democracies) with difficult policy dilemmas. Immigration can address labor and human capital shortages as well as shore up public pension coffers of rapidly aging populations but liberalizing immigration policies can also trigger political backlashes driven by public concerns about economic competition and concerns over social and cultural integration of newcomers. Likewise, policymakers from states experiencing net emigration may appreciate the economic remittances that contribute to their countries' economic development (and to government revenues) but they may remain concerned about the "brain drain" of some of their most able citizens as well as "political remittances" in the form of opposition émigré political movements that can lead to violent revolution or less effective, but just as deadly, terrorist attacks.

This graduate seminar examines the domestic and international politics of migration and considers the dilemmas faced by local, national and international policymaking bodies addressing population movement. After examining the historical context and theories of international migration, we will consider comparative political analysis of labor migration to advanced industrial states, the question of state control over migratory flows, including increasing human smuggling and trafficking. We will then examine the impact of migration on international politics with particular emphasis on international security, the influence of emigrants on political change in home countries, refugee policies and the potential for international cooperation on migration. We will then shift from politics of control and security to comparative analysis of political incorporation, naturalization and citizenship rights. At the end of the course, we apply the comparative perspectives gained to an examination of the politics of U.S. immigration policy, recent efforts to enact comprehensive immigration reform and executive actions on immigration in lieu of reforms.

Prerequisites: There are no prerequisites for the course.

Required texts:

Caroline B. Brettell, James F. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2015)

Anna Boucher and Justin Gest, *Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in a World of Demographic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Recommended:

Stephen Castles, Hein De Haas and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration, International Population Movements in the Modern World* 5th edition (The Guilford Press 2014).

James Hollifield, Philip Martin, Pia Orrenius (eds.) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 3rd Edition (Stanford University Press, 2014).

Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, eds. *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006).

Additional required readings: The bulk of the readings not in the above books will be journal articles and policy reports that will be posted on Blackboard. Unless noted, all required articles can also be accessed on-line at a under “e-journals” or through Lexis/Nexis. Readings that are not available in the UAlbany e-journal collection and are marked with an asterisk (*) will be made available on Blackboard. The instructor will assign several additional readings after the course begins – refer to the syllabus posted on Blackboard for all assignments and required for each session.

Knowledge of current events related to international migration

All students should keep abreast of recent developments with respect to international migration by reading a high quality daily news source with good international coverage (e.g. *New York Times*; *Wall Street Journal*; *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*) supplemented by a weekly newsmagazine, such as the *Economist*. Additional online world news sources include: BBC World News <https://www.bbc.com/news/world>; Reuters World News <https://www.reuters.com/news/world/>; NPR World <https://www.npr.org/sections/world/>

Guest speakers: We may have guest speakers join the class throughout the semester -- mostly by Skype or Zoom but also in person. Especially given that some guests may be connecting from different time zones or may only be able to come for the day, we may not be able to arrange some of their visits to coincide with our Wednesday evening classes. Students will be asked to come to meetings with guests outside of class periods and in order for these visits to be worthwhile most students will need to commit to out-of-class-times (that will be scheduled at the most convenient times for speakers and students). For in-person visits, interested faculty and other graduate students will be invited to join as well.

Description of requirements:

1. Class participation: All students are expected to attend all classes, complete all assigned readings in advance of class and be prepared to discuss them, including cold calls. The base line grade for class participation is a D. Routine attendance with minimal participation will earn a C. Regular contributions to class discussion that are appropriate and draw on readings will earn a B. Students who are consistently well prepared to discuss the assigned readings nearly every class and actively participate in discussions will receive an A for class participation.

2. Personal statement: All students are asked to submit a 250-word statement describing their background, academic interests and research objectives as they relate to this course. These should be posted on the discussion forum on Blackboard. Although mandatory, the assignment will not be graded; its purpose is for students (and the instructor) to get to know one another better.

3. Reaction memos: Students will submit **four** brief memos (of approx. 700 words) in which student react to required weekly readings of four selected class sessions. Students need not cover each and every reading for the week in these memos. The point is to focus on and analyze what you see as important, interesting issues in the reading. The memo should be analytical, not just a summary. These reaction memos are intended generate informed class discussion, so they must be written and submitted **before** class. Students should email their memos to the instructor (must arrive in the instructor’s mailbox before class) but it would be also appreciated if students hand in a hard copy. Each reaction memo is worth 5% of the course grade. Excellent papers will receive 5 points, good 4 points, failing 3 points. A total of **four reaction memos** must be submitted for full credit. Students may choose which week’s readings to review, however, reaction memos chosen **must** be distributed in the following manner:

One on or before 2/13

One on or before 3/6
One on or before 4/10
One on or before 5/8

If students do not hand in the required reaction memo by the date specified above, the overdue memo will be considered a failed assignment. They will **not receive credit for the missing reaction memo**.

4. Team Project: TBA

5. Term paper: PhD Students are expected to write a paper of about 6,000 – 7,000 words (double-paced, 12 pt, one inch margins). PhD student papers should demonstrate a command of the theoretical literature relevant to the topic selected and develop an analytical argument related to debates in that literature. Students may do any one of the following: 1) a paper that is based on secondary sources; 2) a paper based mostly on primary sources or 3) a paper based on the analysis of existing data sets or data that the student has collected. Masters students are expected to write a paper of about 5,000 words. Masters students may opt to model their papers on policy reports published by the Migration Policy Institute, Brookings Institution, Center for Immigration Studies, etc. or articles found policy-oriented journals such as *Washington Quarterly*, etc. All students are expected to draw on material from the syllabus but students should also incorporate significant additional research on the topic chosen (which would be reflected in a majority of references to material not listed as required reading on the syllabus). All students may select a topic of their own choosing as long as it is within the confines of the course and approved by the instructor. For those students having difficulty selecting a topic, a good approach would be to consider a paper topic that delves into the details of one aspect of one of the session topics. At the very beginning of the course, students should carefully review the entire syllabus and scan readings for possible topics. Students are expected to submit a paper topic by Feb. 13. Students are expected to submit a full paper proposal comprised of a 100-150 word abstract, outline and preliminary bibliography by Feb. 27. Students should submit a rough draft of their paper (at least half the total length) by April 17. If students miss the deadline for the proposal or the rough draft, a half letter grade will be subtracted from the final grade for the paper. Students will give a brief presentation (15 minutes max) of their paper project to the class, which will contribute to the overall grade for the paper. Seminar papers are due on the last day of class, May 8.

Grading:

Reaction memos	about 20%
Team project	about 10%
Term paper	about 50%
Class participation	about 20%

Grade Scale:

A	90 and above
A-	88-89
B+	85-87
B	80-84
B-	78-79
C+	75-77
C	70-74
C-	68-69
D+	65-67
D	60-64
E	Below 60

Late assignments will be penalized.

Academic integrity

All students are responsible for understanding and following the university's rules on academic integrity (see http://www.albany.edu/eltl/academic_integrity.php.) Students must properly reference **all** sources, including assigned readings, in **all** written assignments. References to all sources must be clearly indicated. Direct quotations must be marked with double quotation marks (e.g. "...") and the source cited. Indirect quotations must have sources cited. Sources require citation each time they are referred to.

Class Schedule:

1/23 Introduction

Required:

"Crossing continents; Immigration." *The Economist*, 25 Aug. 2018, p. 16(US). *Academic OneFile*, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A551389847/AONE?u=albanyu&sid=AONE&xid=7d11785f>.

"When good men do nothing; Immigration policy." *The Economist*, 30 June 2018, p. 25(US). *Academic OneFile*, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A544637207/AONE?u=albanyu&sid=AONE&xid=94e64cf7>.

"Top 10 Migration Issues of 2018," Migration Information Source, Migration Policy Institute <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/migration-information-source/top-10-migration-issues-2018> (each issue has a short article accessible through hyperlinked title; pay special attention to issues numbered: 2,3,7,8 and 10.)

Brettell and Hollifield, "Introduction" in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, pp. 3-36.

"International Migration Report 2017 Highlights," UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ST/ESA/SER.A/404 http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017_Highlights.pdf

Read "Executive Summary," *International Migration Outlook 2018* (OECD Publishing, 2018), pp. 13-15; then browse "Table of Contents" and text at: http://www.oecd-berlin.de/download/IMO201820June_final.pdf

Browse the US DHS *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* at: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook>

1/30 Migration in World History

Required:

*William. H. McNeill, "Human Migration: A Historical Overview," in W. H., McNeill and R. S. Adams eds., *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1978.

*Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron, and Meera Balarajan, *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped our World and Will Define our Future* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), Chs. 1-3 (pp. 11-93).

Rey Koslowski "Human Migration and the Conceptualization of Pre-modern World Politics," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Sept. 2002), 375-399.

Nancy Foner, "The uses and abuses of history: understanding contemporary U.S. immigration," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45:1 (January 2019), 4-20.

Donna Gabaccia, "Time and Temporality in Migration Studies, in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, pp. 37-66.

Recommended:

Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2013)

Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Jun., 2004), pp. 155-189.

2/6 Disciplinary Perspectives on Migration Theory

Required:

Frank Bean and Susan Brown, "Demographic Analyses of Immigration"
Philip Martin, "Economic Aspects of Migration"
David Scott Fitzgerald, "The Sociology of International Migration"
James Hollifield and Tom Wong, "The Politics of International Migration"
David Abraham, "Law and Migration"
(Chs. 2,3,4,7,8 of *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*)

Stephen Castles, "Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10, (December 2010), pp. 1565-1586

Recommended:

Aristide R. Zolberg, "The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23 No. 3 (1989), pp. 403-430.

Castles, De Haas and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, Ch 2.

2/13 The Politics of Immigration Policymaking

Required:

*Aristide R. Zolberg, "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy," in Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds. *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), pp. 71-93; also in Aristide Zolberg, *How Many Exceptionalisms? Explorations in Comparative Macroanalysis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008): pp. 250-286.

Gary P. Freeman, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic Societies," *International Migration Review* Vol. 29, No. 4 (1995): 881-902.

*James Hollifield, Philip Martin, Pia Orrenius "The Dilemmas of Control," and commentaries by Marc Rosenblum and Tom Wong, in James Hollifield, Philip Martin, Pia Orrenius (eds.) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 3rd Edition (Stanford University Press, 2014), pp. 3-46.

Wayne Cornelius, "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (2005): 775-794.

Boucher and Gest, *Crossroads*, Chs. 1-3, pp. 1-65.

Recommended:

Christina Boswell, "Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?" *International Migration Review* Vol. 41, No. 1 (2007): 75-100.

Eytan Meyers, "Theories of International Immigration Policy - A Comparative Analysis," *International Migration Review* Vol 34, No. 4 (2000), pp. 1245-1282

Gary P. Freeman, 'Comparative Analysis of Immigration Politics: A Retrospective', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55 /12 (Dec. 2011): 1541-60.

Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics* Vol. 50, No. 2 (1998): pp. 266-293.

2/20 Labor Migration

Required:

Boucher and Gest, *Crossroads*, Chs. 4-5 (pp. 66-114)

Lant Pritchett, "Bilateral Guest Worker Agreements: A Win-Win Solution for Rich Countries and Poor People in the Developing World," *CGD Brief* (Washington: D.C.: Center for Global Development, March 2007): pp. 1-4.
<http://www.cgdev.org/publication/bilateral-guest-worker-agreements-win-win-solution-rich-countries-and-poor-people>

Martin Ruhs and Philip Martin, "Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs," *International Migration Review* Vol. 42, No. 1 (2008): pp. 249-265.

George Borjas, "The Case for Choosing More Skilled Immigrants," *The American Enterprise*, December 2000, pp. 30-31. http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/gborjas/publications/popular/AEI_2001.pdf

Rey Koslowski, "Selective Migration Policy Models and Changing Realities of Implementation," *International Migration*, Vol. 52, No 3 (June 2014), pp. 26-39.

Skim: "Recent Developments in International Migration Movements and Policies," *International Migration Outlook 2018* (OECD Publishing, 2018), Chapter 1, pp. 17-68, available in the UAlbany library database collection, see "OECD iLibrary."

Waleed Navarro, "Annual Flow Report, Nonimmigrant Admissions to the United States: Fiscal Year 2017," DHS Office of Immigration Statistics, October 2018
https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Nonimmigrant_Admissions_2017.pdf

Katherine Witsman, "Annual Flow Report, Lawful Permanent Residents August 2018," DHS Office of Immigration Statistics, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Lawful_Permanent_Residents_2017.pdf

Look at: European Migration Network

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/index_en.htm

Recommended:

Stephen Castles, "Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection?" *International Migration Review* Vol. 40, No. 4 (2006): p. 741-766.

Susan Martin, "U.S. Employment-Based Admissions: Permanent and Temporary," Migration Policy Institute, January 2006
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/us-employment-based-admissions-permanent-and-temporary>

2/27 Forced Migration, Asylum-seekers and Refugees

Required:

*Susan Martin, "War, Natural Disasters and Forced Migration," in Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

*Christina Boswell, "The Liberal Dilemma in the Ethics of Refugee Policy," in Anthony M. Messina and Gallya Lahav, eds. *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006)

The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Its 1967 Protocol
<https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>

UNHCR's *Global Report 2017* (pp. 1-59) at <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/the-global-report.html>

Nadwa Mossad and Ryan Baugh, *Refugees and Asylees: 2016 Annual Flow Report*, DHS Office of Immigration Statistics, Jan. 2018 at: https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Refugees_Asylees_2016_0.pdf

Doris Meissner, Faye Hipsman, and T. Alexander Aleinikoff, "The U.S. Asylum System in Crisis: Charting a Way Forward," Migration Policy Institute, Sept. 2018 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/us-asylum-system-crisis-charting-way-forward>

Recommended:

Castles, De Haas and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, pp. 221-230.

3/6 Unauthorized Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking

Required:

Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *U.S. Unauthorized Immigrant Total Dips to Lowest Level in a Decade* Pew Hispanic Center Nov. 28, 2018 at: <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2018/11/27/u-s-unauthorized-immigrant-total-dips-to-lowest-level-in-a-decade/>

Robert Warren, "US Undocumented Population Continued to Fall from 2016 to 2017, and Visa Overstays Significantly Exceeded Illegal Crossings for the Seventh Consecutive Year," Center for Migration Studies, January 16, 2019 <http://cmsny.org/publications/essay-2017-undocumented-and-overstays/>

"Irregular migration" Migration Data Portal at: <https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/irregular-migration>

*David Kyle and Rey Koslowski, "Introduction," *Global Human Smuggling in Comparative Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 1-30.

Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
<https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf> (pp. 53-67)

Bryan Baker, "Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2016," DHS Office of Immigration Statistics, December 2017
https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Enforcement_Actions_2016.pdf

"Risk Analysis for 2018," Frontex, pp. 8-42 (lots of pictures) download at: <https://frontex.europa.eu/publications/risk-analysis-for-2018-aJ5nJu>

*Louise Shelley, *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), Introduction, Ch. 1, pp. 1-58.

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
<https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf> (pp. 41-51)

2018 Global Slavery Index, "overview" of findings at:
<https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/global-findings/>

Human Smuggling and Trafficking Center <https://www.ice.gov/human-smuggling-trafficking-center>
Human Trafficking Factsheet: <https://www.ice.gov/features/human-trafficking>

Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, US Department of State <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/index.htm>
Take a look at: Trafficking in Persons Report 2018 <https://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2018/index.htm>

especially: “Methodology,” “Global Law Enforcement Data,” “TVPA Minimum Standards,” “Tier Placements and Regional Maps”

Recommended:

DHS Border Security Metrics Report FY 2017, US Department of Homeland Security, May 1, 2018.
https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/BSMR_OIS_2016.pdf

2014 Southwest Border Encounters: Three-Year Cohort Outcomes Analysis, DHS Office of Immigration Statistics,, August 2018. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/18_0918_DHS_Cohort_Outcomes_Report.pdf

Watch Kevin Bales, “How to Combat Modern Slavery” 2010 TED talk at: <http://www.kevinbales.net/videos.html>

3/13 Immigrant Policies and Political Integration

Required:

Sarah Wallace Goodman, “Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe,” *World Politics* Vol. 64, No. 4 (2012): pp. 659-658.

*Terri E. Givens, “Effects of Migration on Political Parties,” in Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Brown, Susan K., and Frank D. Bean. 2006. “Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process.” Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process>

*Louis DeSipio, “Immigrant Political Participation,” in Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Boucher and Gest, *Crossroads*, Chs. 6-8 (pp. 114-186).

John Teke, “U.S. Naturalizations: 2017 Annual Flow Report,” August 2018, DHS Office of Immigration Statistics,,
https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Naturalizations_2017.pdf

3/20 Spring Break

3/27 Homeland Political Participation and Transnationalism

*Rey Koslowski “International Migration and the Globalization of Domestic Politics: A Conceptual Framework,” in Rey Koslowski ed., *International Migration and the Globalization of Domestic Politics* (Routledge, 2005).

Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, “Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration” *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* July 1992
http://www.archivio.formazione.unimib.it/DATA/Insegnamenti/10_2246/materiale/glick%20schiller%20-%201992.pdf

“Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook” No. 29, World Bank, April 2018, pp. 1-9 at:
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29777>

*Rainer Bauböck, “Stakeholder citizenship and transnational political participation: A normative evaluation of external voting,” *Fordham Law Review* Vol. 75 No 5 (2007), pp. 2393-2447.

Recommended:

4/3 Citizenship and Dual Nationality

Required:

Rogers Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis," *International Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Dec. 1990): 379-407.

John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'," *Sociological Theory* Vol. 16, No. 3 (1998): pp. 239-259.

Rainer Bauböck, Iseult Honohan and Maarten Vink, "How Citizenship Laws Differ: A Global Comparison," Delmi Policy Brief 2018:9 (6 pp.) at: http://globalcit.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Policy_Brief_Delmi_GLOBALCIT.pdf

Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, "The Question of Birthright Citizenship," *National Affairs*, Summer 2018 at: <https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-question-of-birthright-citizenship>

Rogers M. Smith, "Citizenship and Membership Duties Toward Quasi-Citizens," in Ayelet Shachar, Rainer Bauböck, Irene Bloemraad and Maarten Vink, *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (Oxford University Press, 2017)

*Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): pp. 136-162.

Kamal Sadiq, "When States Prefer Non-Citizens Over Citizens," *International Studies Quarterly* (2005) 49, 101–122.

Peter J. Spiro, "Dual Citizenship as Human Right" *International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-CON)* 111 (2010) Posted at SSRN: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1489005

*Rey Koslowski, "Challenges of International Cooperation in a World of Increasing Dual Nationality," in Kay Hailbronner and David Martin, eds., *Rights and Duties of Dual Nationals: Evolution and Prospects* (Kluwer Law Publishers, 2003).

Highly recommended, especially for PhD students considering dissertation research on migration and citizenship:

"Symposium: Citizenship Studies and Disciplinary Conventions: (How) Do They Matter?," *Migration and Citizenship: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association Organized Section on Migration and Citizenship*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 2014), pp. 5-48, posted at: https://proportibazar.com/article/migration-and-citizenship-apsa-connect-american-political_5a843388d64ab2c53e6b5c4f.html

Recommended:

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Willem Maas, "Migrants, States, and EU Citizenship's Unfulfilled Promise," *Citizenship Studies* Vol. 12, No. 6 (2008): pp. 583-596.

David Earnest, "Neither Citizen nor Stranger: Why States Enfranchise Resident Aliens," *World Politics* Vol. 58, No. 2 (2006): pp. 242-275.

Irene Bloemraad, "Who Claims Dual Citizenship? The Limits of Postnationalism, the Possibilities of Transnationalism, and the Persistence of Traditional Citizenship." *International Migration Review* 38 (2004), no.2: 389-426.

United States Office of Personnel Management, *Citizenship Laws of the World* March 2011

<http://www.multiplecitizenship.com/documents/IS-01.pdf>

4/10 The Politics of Unauthorized Migration and Border Control

Required:

*Castles, De Haas and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, pp. 215-220,

Daniel Tichenor, "The political dynamics of unauthorized immigration: Conflict, change, and agency in time," *Polity* 47:3 (July 2015), 283-301.

Rey Koslowski, *The Evolution of Border Controls as a Mechanism to Prevent Illegal Immigration* (Migration Policy Institute and European University Institute, February 2011) posted at:

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/bordercontrols-koslowski.pdf>

Edward Alden, "Is Border Enforcement Effective? What We Know and What It Means," *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2017) pp. 481–490.

Rebecca Gambler, "Border Security: Progress and Challenges with the Use of Technology, Tactical Infrastructure, and Personnel to Secure the Southwest Border," Testimony Before the Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security, Committee on Homeland Security, House of Representatives, March 15, 2018. United States Government Accountability Office, GAO-18-397T <https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/690679.pdf>

*Camille Marienbach and Andrew Wroe, "Continuity and Change: Immigration Worksite Enforcement in the Bush and Obama Administrations," in Edward Ashbee and John Dumbrell, eds. *The Obama Presidency and the Politics of Change* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Practical Measures to Reduce Irregular Migration, European Migration Network, October 2012, read Executive Summary, skim Sections 1-7 (pp. 7-64)

http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/irregular-migration/0a_emn_synthesis_report_irregular_migration_publication_april_2013_en.pdf

Yoav H. Duman, "Reducing the Fog? Immigrant Regularization and the State," *Politics and Policy*, Volume 42, No. 2 (2014): 187-220.

Recommended:

REGINE - Regularisations in Europe: Study on practices in the area of regularisation of illegally staying third-country nationals in the Member States of the EU, Final Report, Vienna, January 2009

http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/immigration/docs/studies/regine_report_january_2009_en.pdf

GAO, "Information on the Enforcement of Laws Regarding Employment of Aliens in Selected Countries," GGD-82-86: Aug 31, 1982. <http://www.gao.gov/assets/140/138771.pdf>
(read 7 pp. cover letter; skim appendices)

4/17 Migration, Mobility and Security

Required:

Myron Weiner, "Security, Stability, and International Migration," *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter, 1992-1993): 91-126.

Fiona Adamson, "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security," *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006), pp. 165-199.

Jef Huysmans and Vicki Squire, "Migration and Security," in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer, eds. *Handbook of Security Studies* (London, UK: Routledge 2009). <http://oro.open.ac.uk/17257/2/B2FAA87.pdf>

*Rey Koslowski, "Immigration, Crime and Terrorism" in Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

Kelly Greenhill, "Migration as a Weapon in Theory and in Practice," *Military Review*, vol. 96, no. 6 (November/December 2016): 23-36.

Daniel L. Byman and Jeremy Shapiro, "Be Afraid. Be A Little Afraid: The Threat of Terrorism from Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq" Brookings Foreign Policy Paper Series, No. 33. January 2015
<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2015/01/western-foreign-fighters-in-syria-and-iraq-byman-shapiro>
(read posted summary version; read longer 35 pp. paper if interested)

Recommended:

Kelly Greenhill, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

4/24 Regional Cooperation on International Migration and Border Control

Required:

*Castles, De Haas and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, pp. 230-35.

Virginie Guiraudon, "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping," *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 38, No. 2 (2000): pp. 251-271.

Georgia Papagianni, "EU migration policy," in Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas eds., *European Immigration: A Sourcebook 2nd edition* (Routledge 2016) pp. 377-388.
<http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/30557/Chapter30.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y>

Virginie Guiraudon, "The 2015 refugee crisis was not a turning point," *European Political Science* (17) 2018

European Commission, Directorate General - Home Affairs http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/index_en.htm
(read: "who we are;" "what we do;" Polices: "Legal Migration and Integration," "Irregular Migration & Return," "Common European Asylum System," "Schengen, Borders & Visas," and "Securing EU Borders")

Frontex: European Coast Guard and Border Agency <http://frontex.europa.eu>
Read: About Frontex: "forward," "vision, mission and values" and "origin and tasks"

State of the Union 2018 – Migration https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/state-union-speeches/state-union-2018/state-union-2018-migration_en

Read fact sheets on: "A reinforced European Union Agency for Asylum," "A strengthened and fully equipped European Border and Coast Guard," "A stronger and more effective European return policy" and "Enhancing safe and legal pathways to Europe." For more details on any of the issues, take a look at the legal text and/or Q&As

Recommended:

Rey Koslowski, "European Migration Regimes: Emerging, Enlarging and Deteriorating," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct. 1998), 735-749.

Georg Menz, "Stopping, Shaping and Moulding Europe: Two-Level Games, Non-state Actors and the Europeanization of Migration Policies," *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 49, No. 2 (2011): pp. 437-462.

Lucie Cerna, "Understanding the Diversity of EU Migration Policy in Practice: The Implementation of the Blue Card Initiative," *Policy Studies* Vol. 34, No. 2 (2013): pp. 180-200.

5/1 Global Cooperation on International Migration, Refugees and Border Control

Required:

*Rey Koslowski, "Global Mobility Regimes: Re-Conceptualizing International Cooperation on Cross-Border Movements of People" in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

*Susan Martin, "International Cooperation on Migration and the UN System" in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

*Alexander Betts, "The International Refugee Regime and Issue Linkage" in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, Final Draft July 13, 2018 (34 pp.)

https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180711_final_draft_0.pdf

Global Compact on Refugees, Advance Version, July 20, 2018 (24 pp.)

<http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/events/conferences/5b51fd587/advance-version-proposed-global-compact-refugees-20-july-2018.html>

Take a look at: UN4RefugeeMigrants <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org>

Take a look at: Global Forum on Migration and Development <http://www.gfmd.org>

Take a look at: Global Migration Group <http://www.globalmigrationgroup.org>

Recommended:

Susan F. Martin, *International Migration: Evolving Trends from the Early Twentieth Century to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

*Rey Koslowski, "The International Travel Regime," in Rey Koslowski, ed. *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Randall Hansen, Jobst Koehler, Jeannette Money, eds. *Migration, Nation States, and International Cooperation* (Routledge, 2011)

5/8 Reforming US immigration Policies

Required:

Michael Jones-Correa and Els de Graauw, "Looking Back to See Ahead: Unanticipated Changes in Immigration from 1986 to the Present and Their Implications for American Politics Today," *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 16 (May 2013): 209-230.

Pia M. Orrenius and Madeline Zavodny, "Creating Cohesive, Coherent Immigration Policy," *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (March 2017), pp. 180–193.

Donald Kerwin and Robert Warren, "National Interests and Common Ground in the US Immigration Debate: How to Legalize the US Immigration System and Permanently Reduce Its Undocumented Population," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2017) pp. 297–330.

Ruth Ellen Wasem, "Immigration Governance for the Twenty-First Century," *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Vol. 6, No.1 (2018): 97-120.

Lina Newton, "Immigration Federalism as Ideology: Lessons from the States," *Laws*, Vol. 4 (2015), 729-754.
<https://www.mdpi.com/2075-471X/4/4/729>

*Rey Koslowski, "The American Way of Border Control and Immigration Reform Politics," manuscript.

Recommended:

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

Becoming an American: Immigration and Immigrant Policy, US Commission on Immigration Reform, Report to Congress, September 1997. <http://usinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/U.S.-Commission-on-Immigration-Reform.pdf>