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Political Science 474Z
MWF 1:40-2:35 PM
CH 151
Office Hours:
Wed. 11:30 AM - 1:30 PM
Humanities 16

POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Fall 2009 Preliminary syllabus

This upper level undergraduate seminar examines the domestic and international politics of migration. International migration has become an increasingly salient political issue not only in the United States but around the world. As immigration to the United States in the 1990s reached levels rivaling that of the peak years before WWI and as growing flows of skilled and unskilled workers fueled the US economy, political candidates increasingly compete for votes in immigrant communities and call for immigration policy reform. In the rest of the world, East German communism disintegrates as thousands of young East Germans leave their country via Czechoslovakia and Hungary. After the Berlin Wall falls, West Europeans brace for mass migrations from the East and increase European cooperation on border controls and asylum policy. As millions of refugees flee Iraq, Bosnia, Haiti, Cuba, Rwanda and Albania, safe havens and no-fly zones are declared, economic sanctions are tightened, invasions are staged and international relief efforts are mounted. In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the US and the attacks in Madrid and London, international migration is increasingly considered a security issue. After examining the theoretical and historical context of international migration, we will consider the politics of U.S. immigration policy and immigration reform. Comparative analysis of labor migration to advanced industrial states, the question of state control over migratory flows, increasing human smuggling and trafficking and the politics of inclusion and exclusion of migrants in host countries will then be the major focus. 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.

Prerequisites:

A background of POS 101 Introduction to American Politics and POS 102 Introduction to Comparative and International Politics is assumed, however, the courses are not strict prerequisites.

Textbooks:

Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration, International Population Movements in the Modern World* 4th. edition (The Guilford Press 2009) ISBN: 1572309008

Daniel Tichenor, *Dividing Lines : The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton University Press 2002) paperback ed. ISBN: 0691088055

David Kyle and Rey Koslowski eds. *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives* (JHU Press 2001) paperback ed. ISBN: 0801865905

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. 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.

Requirements:

Students will write a variety of papers: short documentary film reviews; Op-Ed essay; short research memo; a policy advocacy brief; a research paper and an analytical paper. All papers must be submitted electronically.

Students are expected to complete all assigned readings in advance of class and be prepared to discuss them. 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 As for class participation.

Three film reviews (500 words each)	about 15%
Op-Ed essay (600 to 750 words max.)	about 10%
Part II policy advocacy brief (1,500 words) Due: 10/2	about 15%
Short research memo (500 words)	about 5%
Part III research paper (2,500 words) Due: 11/2	about 25%
Part IV analytical paper (2,000 words) Due: 12/7	about 20%
Class participation	about 10%

Late paper policy: Late papers will be accepted provided that documentation of illness, death in the family, etc. is provided to the Dean of Students and to the instructor. Students should ask the instructor for an extension as soon as possible and must do so no later than 24 hours after the paper is due. In the case of unexcused late submissions, a penalty of one half letter grade will be assessed per day.

Policy on academic integrity: Students must properly reference all sources, including assigned readings. Plagiarism and cheating will not be tolerated. Students should refer to the academic integrity policies in the Undergraduate Catalogue for details on examples violations and corresponding penalties. Instructor will use automated tools available to detect plagiarism.

Part I Introduction and background

8/31 Introduction and overview of course

9/2 Theories of International Migration

Castles and Miller, chs. 1-2.

9/4 Migration, Colonialism and Development

Castles and Miller, chs. 3, pp. 79-87.

Part II Immigration to the United States

9/7 U.S. Immigration politics until 1900

Tichenor, chs. 1-4

9/9 National Origin Quotas and the Interwar Period

Tichenor, chs. 5-6

9/11 Cold War and Rights Revolution

Tichenor, chs. 7-8

9/14 Immigration Reforms of the 1980s and 1990s

Tichenor, chs. 9-10

US Commission on Immigration Reform (Jordan Commission) *Becoming an American: Immigration and Immigrant Policy* 1997 (Executive Summary) <http://www.utexas.edu/lbj/uscir/becoming/ex-summary.pdf>

9/16 Legal immigration

Surf US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) website: <http://www.uscis.gov/>

U.S. Legal Permanent Residents: 2008 at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/lpr_fr_2008.pdf

USCIS Strategic Plan at: http://www.uscis.gov/files/nativedocuments/USCIS_Strategic_Plan_2008-2012.pdf

(read pp. 1-16, skim rest)

(6:00 PM Screening of "Farmingville" Location: BA 214)

9/18 Debate over high-skilled migration

George Borjas, "The Case for Choosing More Skilled Immigrants," *The American Enterprise*, December 2000, pp. 30-31. http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~GBorjas/Papers/AEI_2001.pdf

"H-1B Visas by the Numbers," National Foundation for American Policy, March 2009

<http://www.nfap.com/pdf/0903h1bpb.pdf>

"H-1B Visa Numbers: No Relationship to Economic Need," Center for Immigration Studies

<http://www.cis.org/articles/2008/back708.pdf>

B. Lindsay Lowell, Micah Bump, Susan F. Martin, "Foreign Students Coming to America: The Impact of Policy, Procedures and Economic Competition" Institute for the Study of International Migration, February, 2007.

<http://isim.georgetown.edu/Publications/SloanMaterials/Foreign%20Students%20Coming%20to%20America.pdf>

"Who Pays? Foreign Students Do Not Help with the Balance of Payments," Center for Immigration Studies, June 2008 <http://www.cis.org/articles/2008/back608.pdf>

9/21 Debate over illegal migration

(Review of Farmingville due)

Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States," Research Report, Pew Hispanic Center, April 4, 2009. At: <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/107.pdf>

Apprehensions by the U.S. Border Patrol: 2005–2008 at:

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_apprehensions_fs_2005-2008.pdf

"Homeward Bound: Recent Immigration Enforcement and the Decline in the Illegal Alien Population" Center for Immigration Studies http://www.cis.org/trends_and_enforcement

Peter Andreas, "The Transformation of Migrant Smuggling Across the U.S.-Mexico Border"

David Spener, "Smuggling Mexican Migrants Through South Texas: Challenges Posed by 'Operation Rio Grande'" (Kyle and Koslowski, chs. 4, 5)

9/23 Comprehensive Immigration Reform Proposals 2006-2007

Tamar Jacoby, "Immigration Nation," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2006.

Immigration and America's Future: A New Chapter, Final report of the Independent Task Force co-chaired by Spencer Abraham and Lee H. Hamilton (executive Summary)

http://www.migrationpolicy.org/task_force/new_chapter_summary.pdf

"Immigration Reform: Brief Synthesis of Issue" Congressional Research Service, August 23, 2007

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/91856.pdf>

9/25 Border Security

Surf: US Customs and Border Protection (CBP) website: <http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/home.xml>

"Securing America's Borders at Ports of Entry," US Customs and Border Protection, at:

http://www.cbp.gov/linkhandler/cgov/border_security/port_activities/securing_ports/entry_points.ctt/entry_points.pdf

(49 pp. skim sections dealing with trade, lots of pics)

"National Border Patrol Strategy," US Customs and Border Protection, at:

http://www.cbp.gov/linkhandler/cgov/border_security/border_patrol/border_patrol_ohs/national_bp_strategy.ctt/national_bp_strategy.pdf (21 pp. lots of pics)

Secure Border Initiative (read "about SBI," skim rest) at: http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/sbi/

Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2008 at:

http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/enforcement_ar_08.pdf

9/30 Workplace Enforcement

Surf Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) website at: <http://www.ice.gov/>

"Worksite Enforcement Overview" ICE <http://www.ice.gov/doclib/pi/news/factsheets/worksite.pdf>

"Worksite Enforcement Strategy" ICE http://www.ice.gov/doclib/pi/news/factsheets/worksite_strategy.pdf

Doris Meissner and Marc R. Rosenblum, *The Next Generation of E-Verify Getting Employment Verification Right*,

Migration Policy Institute http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Verification_paper-071709.pdf

10/2 Current proposals for reform

(Part II policy advocacy brief due)

Doris Meissner, Testimony at Hearing on "Comprehensive Immigration Reform in 2009, Can We Do It and How?"

Before the Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, Border Security and Citizenship U.S. Senate

April 30, 2009 <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Testimony-04-30-2009.pdf>

Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on U.S. Immigration Policy Report July 2009 at:

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/20030/> (read "The Need for Comprehensive Immigration Reform" and

"Recommendations" skim rest)

Part III: Immigration Politics in Comparative Perspective

10/5 Migration to industrialized countries

Castles and Miller, pp. 87-95 ch. 5,

10/7 Migration in the Asia-Pacific Region

Castles and Miller, 6

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

10/9 Migration in Africa and Middle-East

Castles and Miller, pp. 148-170.

10/12 Migration in Latin America

Castles and Miller, pp. 170-180.

Jorge Durand, "Processes of Migration in Latin America and the Caribbean," UNDP 2009, pp. 1-17; 30-32.

"Argentina: A New Era of Migration and Migration Policy" Migration Policy Institute, Feb 2006

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=374>

10/14 The Question of State Control

Castles and Miller, ch. 8.

J.F. Hollifield, "Migration, Trade, and the Nation-State,"

(6:00 PM screening of "Dying to Leave" Location: BA 214)

10/16 Political Economy of Migration

Castles and Miller, ch. 6

Peter Kwong, "Impact of Chinese Human Smuggling on Labor Market Conditions"

10/19 Human Smuggling

Kyle and Koslowski, "Introduction"

David Kyle and John Dale, "Smuggling the State Back In: Comparative Historical Research on Migrant Smuggling"

Ko-lin Chin, "The Social Organization of Chinese Human Smuggling"

(Kyle and Koslowski, intro, chs. 1,8)

10/21 Human Trafficking

Eileen Scully, "Pre-World War Two Campaigns Against International Traffic in Sexual Labor"

James O. Finckenauer, "Russian Transnational Organized Crime and Alien Smuggling"

(Kyle and Koslowski, chs. 3, 6)

Look at *2009 Trafficking in Persons Report* US State Dept. <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2009>, read Sec.

Clinton's Op-Ed

Review of "Dying to Leave" due

10/23 Immigrant Integration

Castles and Miller, pp. 245-268

Sarah Spencer, "The Challenges of Integration for the EU," Migration Policy Institute

<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=170>

10/26 Citizenship and Naturalization

Castles and Miller, pp. 268-276

R. Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany"

10/28 Dual Nationality

Tanja Brondsted Sejersen, "I Vow to Thee My Countries" – The Expansion of Dual Citizenship in the 21st Century, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Fall 2008), pp. 523-549.

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).

10/30 Regional Integration of Immigration and Border Control in Europe

Joanne Van Selm and Eleni Tsolakis, "The enlargement of an 'area of freedom, security, and justice': Managing migration in a European Union of 25 members," Migration Policy Institute. 2004

http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/eu_enlargement.pdf

Stefano Bertozzi, "Legal Migration: Time for Europe to Play Its Hand," CEPS Working Document No. 257/February 2007 http://shop.ceps.be/download.php?item_id=1458

Sergio Carrera and Florian Geyer, "The Reform Treaty & Justice and Home Affairs - Implications for the common Area of Freedom, Security and Justice," Centre for European Policy Studies, August 17, 2007

http://shop.ceps.eu/BookDetail.php?item_id=1535

11/2 Regional Integration of Immigration and Border Controls in North America?

(Part III research paper due)

Rey Koslowski, "Smart Borders, Virtual Borders or No Borders: Homeland Security Choices for the United States and Canada." *Law and Business Review of the Americas*, Vol. 11, Nos. 3-4 (Summer/Fall 2005).

James R. Edwards, Jr., "The Security and Prosperity Partnership Its Immigration Implications,"

Center for Immigration Studies, June 2007 <http://www.cis.org/articles/2007/back607.pdf>

Part IV Migration and International Politics

11/4 Migration and International Politics in World History

McNeill

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

(6:00 PM Screening of "Well-Founded Fear" Location: BA 214)

11/6 Migration and Security

Castles and Miller, pp. 256-257

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

11/9 Asylum-seekers and Refugees

Castles and Miller, pp.102-109.

UNHCR "Basic Facts" <http://www.unhcr.org/basics.html>

Look Data on Asylum-seekers and Refugees at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/datahub/refugee.cfm>

Jeanne Batalova, Spotlight on Refugees and Asylees in the United States, Migration Policy Institute 2006 at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=415>

11/11 Refugees and US foreign policy (review of "Well-Founded Fear" due)

Kathleen Newland, "Impact of U.S. Refugee Policies on U.S. Foreign Policy: A Case of the Tail Wagging the Dog?" <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=229>

Kelly O'Donnell and Kathleen Newland, "The Iraqi Refugee Crisis," Migration Policy Institute, January 2008 http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MPI-The_Iraqi_Refugee_Crisis_The_Need_for_Action_011808.pdf

11/13 The International Refugee Regime

R. Rogers and E. Copeland, "The Evolution of the International Refugee Regime"

Joanne Van Selm, *The EU as a global player in the refugee protection regime*. Migration Policy Institute 2004. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/AMID_35-2004_Joanne_van_Selm_MPI%20Web.pdf

Alex Betts, "The Refugee Regime Complex" at: http://www.globalmobility.info/pdfs/Betts_short_essay.pdf

11/16 Challenges to International Cooperation on Refugees

C. Boswell, "The Liberal Dilemma in the Ethics of Refugee Policy,"

Gil Loescher, "Blaming the victim," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 58: no 6 N/D 2002. pp. 46-53.

Khalid Koser, "The Smuggling of Asylum Seekers into Western Europe Contradictions," *Conundrums, and Dilemmas* (Kyle and Koslowski, Ch. 2)

11/18 The globalization of domestic politics

Castles and Miller, pp. 271-276

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).

11/20 Diasporas and Foreign Policy

Yossi Shain "Multicultural Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, (Autumn, 1995), pp. 69-87

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby," *London Review of Books*, March 23, 2006 http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/mear01_.html

11/23 Diasporas and Development

Devesh Kapur and John McHale, "Migration's new payoff," *Foreign Policy*, no 139, Nov/Dec. 2003 p 48-57.

"Migration and Development Brief," World Bank July 13, 2009

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1110315015165/Migration&DevelopmentBrief10.pdf>

11/30 Migration, Mobility and Terrorism

Susan Martin and Phillip Martin "International Migration and Terrorism: Prevention, Prosecution and Protection," *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal*, 18/2, Winter 2004, 329-44.

Susan Ginsburg, [Countering Terrorist Mobility: Shaping an Operational Strategy](#) Migration Policy Institute, January 2006 (read pp.1-27, skim rest)

12/2 Global Cooperation on International Migration

Review mandate of the Global Commission on International Migration at: <http://www.gcim.org/>

Arthur C.Helton, "Unpleasant surprises await: new forms of international cooperation will be needed to address the myriad problems that arise when vast numbers of humans migrate." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 58: no 6 N/D 2002, pp. 94-100.

Susan Martin, "Towards a Global Labor Migration Regime" at:

http://www.globalmobility.info/pdfs/SMartin_short_essay.pdf

Joseph Chamie and Barry Mirkin, "Who's Afraid of International Migration in the United Nations?" at:

http://www.globalmobility.info/pdfs/Chamie-Mirkin_short_essay.pdf

12/4 Global Mobility Regimes

Rey Koslowski, Economic Globalization, Human Smuggling, and Global Governance (Kyle and Koslowski, Ch. 13)

"Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children

(Summary)" at: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/trafficking_convention.html

Rey Koslowski "[Global Mobility and the Quest for an International Migration Regime,](#)" in Joseph Chamie and Luca Dall'Oglio, eds. International Migration and Development: Continuing the Dialogue: Legal and Policy Perspectives (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2008).

12/7 Summary

(Part IV analytical paper due)