

COLLEGE YEAR IN ATHENS
Spring Semester
Immigrants, Citizenship and Nationalism in Europe
PSCI 348

INSTRUCTOR: Romolo Gandolfo

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

This course aims at understanding how European nation-states are coping with large immigration flows; how immigrants (in particular Muslim immigrants) are perceived by many as challenging traditional notions of national identity; how right-wing, xenophobic movements and political parties are fueling and exploiting growing concerns and fears among European publics; how parliaments have been changing permanent residency and citizenship laws in response to the emergence of large foreign-born populations, and their native-born children.

While broadly looking at the whole continent, we shall specifically compare and contrast five countries: France, the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, and Greece. However, in order to gain a better comparative perspective, we shall first briefly examine the role of immigration in shaping American national identity and politics. Ultimately, the course aims at providing a sound comparative understanding of the increasingly divisive debates over immigration, citizenship, identity and Islam that are raging across Europe.

CLASS REQUIREMENTS and GRADING SYSTEM

You are expected to attend all course sessions. According to CYA rules, unexcused absences will automatically lead to a lowering of the final grade. You are also expected to always come to class prepared to actively participate in discussions.

Make sure not to plan any trip on the weekend of March 9-11, as we have an extra class on Friday March 9 (5:20 to 7:00pm).

We shall also try to organize a walk into the downtown Athens immigrant district. Date to be announced.

Grading system:

- *The mid-term exam will account for 30%.*
- *The final paper will account for 30%.*
- *Another 25% of the final grade will be based on overall class participation, in-depth team presentations on a chosen country, and participation in final class debate*

- **Up to five short written assignments or tests: 15%**

*Students will pick one of the five immigration countries under review and work in small teams preparing an in-depth **class presentation**.*

*Students should submit a proposal and a brief outline of their final paper **by April 11**. While you may focus on a particular country, your paper should be comparative in nature, comparing and contrasting at least two countries. The final paper (12-15 page long) is **due on May 17, by 6pm**.*

January 29, Monday

Presentation of the course's main topics and objectives, requirements and readings

January 31, Wednesday

FEAR & ANXIETY OVER IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE AND THE USA

- Foner, Nancy and Patrick Simon, "Introduction", in *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015, pp. 1-24. Volume available for free PDF download at <https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/fear-anxiety-and-national-identity.pdf> Also available in digital format (ebook) through JSTOR or Project Muse.
- Esthimer, Maryssa. "Nativism Goes Mainstream, Moving the Needle on Migration Policy", Migration Policy Institute, December 8, 2017 <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-10-2017-issue-9-nativism-goes-mainstream-moving-needle-migration-policy>

February 5, Monday

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICAN HISTORY

- Gerstle, Gary. "The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective", Chapter 1 in *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe*, Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon, eds., New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015, pp. 33-52. Available for free download at <https://www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/fear-anxiety-and-national-identity.pdf>

February 7, Wednesday

THE THREE PHASES OF IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE

- Hansen, Randall. “Migration to Europe since 1945: Its History and its Lessons”, *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 74, August 2003, pp. 25—38.
- Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge U. P., 2007. Chapter 1, “The Origin and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration”, **pp. 19-33 ONLY**

February 12, Monday

THE THREE PHASES OF IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE

- Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge U. P., 2007. Chapter 1, “The Origin and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration”, **pp. 33-48 only.**
- Alba, Richard and Nancy Foner. *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*, Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2015. Chapter 2, “Who Are the Immigrants? The Genesis of the New Diversity,” **pp. 19-37 only.**

February 14, Wednesday

EU CITIZENS’ FREE MOVEMENT WITHIN EUROPE plus THE 2015-2016 REFUGEE CRISIS

Required readings about the Refugee Crisis of 2015-2016:

- James Traub, “Europe Wishes to Inform you That the Refugee Crisis is over, Foreign Policy, Oct 18, 2016. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/10/18/europe-wishes-to-inform-you-that-the-refugee-crisis-is-over/>
- Pew Report: Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015, by Phillip Connor, Aug 2, 2016. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/>

Required readings about EU citizens right to free movement within the European Union and its impact on the outcome of the Brexit referendum:

- Koikkalainen, Saara. “Free Movement in Europe: Past and Present”, Migration Policy Institute, April 2011. Available online at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=836>
- “Immigration, free movement and the UK referendum” | by Jonathan Portes - VOX, CEPR’s Policy Portal, 16 May, 2016. <https://voxeu.org/article/immigration-free-movement-and-uk-referendum>

Recommended additional readings about EU internal migration and its impact on the Brexit referendum:

- “Pulling Power: Why are EU citizens migrating to the UK”. The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, 13 April 2016.
<http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/commentary/pulling-power-why-are-eu-citizens-migrating-uk>
- “Not So Great: Britain Grows Increasingly Hostile to EU Citizens” - SPIEGEL ONLINE - International [Dec 7,2017].
<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/as-brexit-nears-harrassment-of-eu-citizens-in-uk-rises-a-1181845.html>
- “Poland now the top country of birth for migrants in the UK” | The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford, 25/08/2016,
<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/press-releases/poland-now-top-country-birth-migrants-uk>
- “Polish envoy voices concerns about Brexit xenophobia after Harlow killing”, The Guardian, Aug. 31, 2016,
www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/aug/31/mp-horror-over-killing-of-polish-man-in-harlow-robert-halfon

Recommended readings and videos about the migration of Roma (Gypsies) from Romania and Bulgaria to the UK and France:

- Al Jazeera. Inside Story. The fate of the Roma in Europe [2010]
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Rwwpp5E3zA&list=PL-5JigOScPfrQQfD-oM66AW-AkZnJIBxj&t=764s&index=2>
- BBC Documentary, Britain’s Child Beggars.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJRGc8pMQU8&list=PL-5JigOScPfrQQfD-oM66AW-AkZnJIBxj&index=4>
- Mark Townsend. The real story of Britain's Roma: excluded, ignored and neglected. The Guardian, Nov 17, 2013.
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2013/nov/17/roma-page-hall-sheffield>
- Nick Clegg, Roma community must be sensitive to British culture, The Guardian, Nov 14, 2013.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/14/roma-community-sensitive-british-culture-nick-clegg>
- Tanya Gold, “Today's response to the Roma is a slur from the past,” The Guardian, Dec 26, 2013.
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/26/roma-slur-past-yad-vashem-europe>

February 21, Wednesday

ASSIMILATION / INTEGRATION / MULTICULTURALISM

- Chin, Rita. "The Multicultural and Multiculturalism", Introduction to her *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History*, Princeton University Press, 2017, pp. 1-22.
- Will Kymlicka, "The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: New Debates about inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies", in Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, London & New York, Routledge, 2010, pp. 32-49.
- Kenan Malik, "Why Multiculturalism Failed". *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2015. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/western-europe/failure-multiculturalism>

March 5, Monday

NATURALIZATION & CITIZENSHIP

- Howard, Marc Morjé. *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*. Cambridge U.P., pp. 1-8.
- Gilbertson, Greta. "Citizenship in a Globalized World", Migration Policy Institute, January 2006. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/citizenship-globalized-world>
- Grimley, Naomi. "Identity 2016: 'Global citizenship' rising, poll suggest". BBC News Service. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-36139904>
- Keyes, Scott. "Birthright citizenship: a history of futile conservative attempts to repeal law," *The Guardian*, Aug 19, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/aug/19/birthright-citizenship-history-law-donald-trump-republicans>

March 7, Wednesday

NATIONAL IDENTITY & THE DEBATE ABOUT CORE VALUES

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan and Meghan Benton, "In Search of Common Values amid Large-Scale Immigrant Integration Pressures", Migration Policy Institute, June 2017

- Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, "Foreword" and Chapter 1, "The Crisis of National Identity", pp 3-20.
- Pew Research Center. "What It Takes to Be Truly 'One of Us'", 1 Feb 2017. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/>

RECOMMENDED ADDITIONAL SHORT ARTICLES:

- Joppke, Christian. "The Role of the State in Cultural Integration: Trends, Challenges, and Ways Ahead". Feb 2012.
- Dutch Prime Minister Rutte: 'If you don't like it here, then leave' - BBC News, 23 Jan, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-38718286>
- "The meaning of a European court verdict on Muslim girls and school swimming lessons", *The Economist*, 13 Jan 2017, <https://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2017/01/swimming-together-living-together>
- "The tough questions on social integration are being ducked", by Louise Casey, *The Guardian*, 4 Dec 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/04/tough-questions-social-integration-laws-values-every-person-britain>
- "Sajid Javid proposes 'British values oath' in wake of Casey review of social integration", *The Guardian*, 18 Dec 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/dec/18/sajid-javid-british-values-oath-casey-review-social-integration>

March 9, Friday

ISLAM & MUSLIM MIGRANTS

- Pew Research Center, "Europe's Growing Muslim Population," 2017. <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>
- For a short summary of the above report, see: "5 Facts about the Muslim Population in Europe", Dec 15, 2017. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/> ; alternatively, you can see "Muslim population in some EU countries could triple, says Pew report", *The Guardian* 29 Nov 2017. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/29/muslim-population-in-europe-could-more-than-double>
- Kaufmann, Eric. "Europe's Muslim future", *Prospect*, April 2010. <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/europes-muslim-future>

- “The Tyranny of Numbers: On ‘Europe’s Muslim Future’”, by Anshuman Mondal, answer to Eric Kaufmann article above, "Europe's Muslim Future", Prospect, 2010. <https://anshumanmondal.wordpress.com/2010/05/25/the-tyranny-of-numbers-on-europes-muslim-future/>
- Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West*, New York & London, Doubleday, 2009, Chapter 1, “Rivers of Blood”, pp. 3-26.
- PEW Research Center, "Widespread Negativity: Muslims Distrust Westerners More than Vice Versa", 30 Oct 2007. <http://www.pewforum.org/2007/10/30/widespread-negativity-muslims-distrust-westerners-more-than-vice-versa/>
- "Poll finds more than half of British Muslims believe homosexuality should be illegal," The Independent, 11 Apr 2016. [The poll was conducted for a controversial TV documentary series produced and presented by former Head of the Equality and Human Rights Commission of the UK, Trevor Phillips-- one of the most prominent black-Caribbean immigrants in the UK.] <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/poll-finds-more-than-half-of-british-muslims-believe-homosexuality-should-be-illegal-a6978091.html>
- Channel 4 survey and documentary reveals What British Muslims Really Think - Channel 4, 11 Apr 2016. <http://www.channel4.com/info/press/news/c4-survey-and-documentary-reveals-what-british-muslims-really-think>

March 12, Monday

XENOPHOBIA, NATIVISM, AND FAR-RIGHT NATIONALIST PARTIES

- Cas Mudde, "The relationship between immigration and nativism in Europe and North America", Migration Policy Institute Report, May 2012. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Immigration-Nativism.pdf>
- Roger Brubaker, "The New Language of European Populism: Why Civilization is Replacing the Nation," *Foreign Affairs*, 6 Dec 2017. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/2017-12-06/new-language-european-populism?cid=nlc-fa_twofa-20171207
- Kaufmann, Eric. “Immigration and White Identity in the West,” *Foreign Affairs*, 8 Sep 2017. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-09-08/immigration-and-white-identity-west?cid=nlc-fa_twofa-20170914
- Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia and Elizabeth Collett “Refugee Crisis Deepens Political Polarization in the West”. Migration Policy Institute, December 15, 2015. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-10-2015-issue-6-refugee-crisis-deepens-political-polarization-west>

- Aisch, Gregor, Adam Pearce and Bryant Rousseau. "How Far is Europe Swinging to the Right?" *The New York Times*, July 5, 2016, updated 23 Oct 2017. <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html>
- Cas Mudde, "We Are Thinking About Populism Wrong," *The Huffington Post*, 20 Mar 2017. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/populism-wrong-cost_us_58cf03e4b0be71dcf63e6c

March 14, Wednesday MIDTERM

March 19, Monday

UNITED KINGDOM: FROM RACE TO FAITH TO BREXIT

- "5 Facts about migration and the United Kingdom," Pew Research Center, 21 Jun 2016. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>
- Hansen, Randall. "United Kingdom", Country report by Focus Migration, Dec 2007.
- Jytte Klausen. *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*. Oxford U.P. Read the Foreword to the 2010 paperback edition, pp. vi-xii. (only 5 pages).
- Hasan, Mehdi. "Sadiq Khan and the Future of Europe". *The New York Times*, May 13, 2016. (Opinion Article). http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/14/opinion/sadiq-khan-and-the-future-of-europe.html?_r=0

Recommended, additional readings

- Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge U.P., 2007. Chapter 4, pp. 107-124.
- Christian Joppke, "Limits of Integration: Britain and Her Muslims", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, March 2009, pp. 453-470.

March 21, Wednesday

UNITED KINGDOM: FROM RACE TO FAITH TO BREXIT

- Lucassen, Leo. *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, Chapter 5 "The Discomfort of Color: Caribbean Migrants in Great Britain (1948-2002)," pp. 113-143.

- Sommerville, Will. "Brexit: The Role of Migration in the Upcoming EU Referendum." Migration Policy Institute, May 4, 2016. www.migrationpolicy.org/article/brexit-role-migration-upcoming-eu-referendum
- Ashcroft, Richard and Mark Bevir, "Pluralism, National Identity and Citizenship: Britain after Brexit," *The Political Quarterly*, August 2016.

March 26, Monday

FRANCE: INTEGRATION THROUGH CIVIC ASSIMILATION?

- "France", Country report by *Focus Migration* (2012)
- Lucassen, Leo. *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, Chapter 7, "Islam and the Colonial legacy: Algerians in France (1945-2002)," pp. 171-196.

March 28, Wednesday

FRANCE: INTEGRATION THROUGH CIVIC ASSIMILATION?

- John Bowen, *Why the French Don't Like the Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*, (Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 1-33
- Erlanger, Steven. "France's Ideals, Forged in Revolution, Face a Modern Test", *The New York Times*, Feb 2, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/03/world/frances-ideals-forged-in-revolution-face-a-modern-test.html?_r=0
- Noelle Lenoir, "The Burqa and French Values," *Project Syndicate*, 25 Aug 2016. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/france-secularism-burkini-ban-by-no-lle-lenoir-2016-08>

April 11, Wednesday

NETHERLANDS: THE RISE AND FALL OF MULTICULTURALISM?

- "Netherlands", Country report by *Focus Migration* (2007).
- "What Is the Dutch Integration Model, and Has It Failed?" *Focus Migration Report* (2005).

- Jan Willem Duyvendak et al. "A Multicultural Paradise? The Cultural Factor in Dutch Integration Policy", in Hochschild and Mollenkopf eds., *Bringing Outsiders In*, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 2009, only pp. 137-139.

April 16, Monday

NETHERLANDS: THE RISE AND FALL OF MULTICULTURALISM?

- Baruma, Ian, "Letter from Amsterdam- Final Cut: After a filmmaker murder, the Dutch creed of tolerance has come under siege", *The New Yorker*, Jan 3, 2005.
- Baukje Prins and Sawitri Saharso, "From toleration to repression: The Dutch backlash against multiculturalism", in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash*, pp. 72-89.

April 23, Monday

GERMANY: A VERY RELUCTANT IMMIGRATION COUNTRY OPENS ITS DOORS TO OVER ONE MILLION ASYLUM SEEKERS

- Migration History in Germany. DOMiD (Documentation Centre and Museum of Migration in Germany). <http://www.domid.org/en/migration-history-germany>
- Rietig, Victoria and Andreas Muller "The New Reality: Germany Adapts to Its Role as a Major Migrant Magnet", Migration Policy Institute, Aug. 31, 2016. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/new-reality-germany-adapts-its-role-major-migrant-magnet>
- Wilpert, Czarina, "Identity Issues in the History of the Postwar Migration from Turkey to Germany," *German Politics & Society* 31 (2013):2, 108-131.
- Taub, Amanda. "How a Sleepy German Suburb Explains Europe's Rising Far-Right Movements." *NYT*, 20 March, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/20/world/europe/how-a-sleepy-german-suburb-explains-europes-rising-far-right-movements.html>
- The End of Tolerance? Anti-Muslim Movement Rattles Germany". *Spiegel Online-International* (Dec. 2014). <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/anti-muslim-pegida-movement-rattles-germany-a-1009245.html>
- VIDEO: "The PEGIDA Anti-Immigration Movement Splits Germany". *The New York Times*, published on Feb. 11, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PnGPUw-8TcI>

- VIDEO: "25,000 March Against Islam: Hate in Europe", Produced by Vice News and published on Jan. 22, 2015.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZFmnz4ROEo>

April 25, Wednesday

GERMANY: A VERY RELUCTANT IMMIGRATION COUNTRY OPENS ITS DOORS TO OVER ONE MILLION ASYLUM SEEKERS

- Muller, Jan-Werner. "The End of Denial: Solidarity, Diversity, and Constitutional Patriotism in Germany," *Dissent* 53:3, pp. 21-23 (2006)
- Wilhelm, Cornelia. "Diversity in Germany A Historical Perspective" *German Politics & Society* 31:2 (Jun 2013), pp.13-29
- Chin, Rita. *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007. Section titled "German Diversity and the New Europe", pp. 265-271.
- "Germany moves towards new integration law for migrants".
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36048397>

April 30, Monday

GREECE: ON THE FRONT LINE OF EUROPE'S REFUGEE CRISIS

- "Greece: Illegal Immigration in the Midst of Crisis" (March 2012), by Charalambos Kassimis, Migration Information Source.
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/greece-illegal-immigration-midst-crisis/>
- Anna Triandafyllidou, "Greece, 2012 SOPEMI Report".
http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/SOPEMI-Greece-report_2011.pdf

May 2, Wednesday

GREECE: ON THE FRONT LINE OF EUROPE'S REFUGEE CRISIS

- Anagnostou, Dia and Ruby Gropas, "Domesticating Islam and Muslim Immigrants: Political and Church Responses to Constructing a Central Mosque in Athens," in Roudometof, Victor, ed., *Orthodox Christianity in 21st Century Greece*. 2010. Pp. 89-109.
- Venetia Evergeti and Panos Hatziprokopiou, "Islam in Greece: Religious identity and practice among indigenous Muslims and Muslim immigrants".

Paper presented at CRONEM 6th Annual Conference 2010 "Living Together Civic, Political and Cultural Engagement Among Migrants, Minorities and National Populations: Multidisciplinary Perspectives", 29-30 June 2010, University of Surrey, UK.

<http://www.surrey.ac.uk/cronem/files/conf2010papers/EvergetiHatziprokopiou.pdf>

May 7, Monday

CLASS DEBATE ON A BROAD TOPIC TO BE DECIDED TOGETHER

May 9, Wednesday

CLASS DEBATE ON A BROAD TOPIC TO BE DECIDED TOGETHER