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Harvard University  
Department of Government  
Government 2317: Migration  
Fall 2021

Jennifer Hochschild  
Monday, 12:45 to 2:45  
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K 412, CGIS

Office hours: Monday, 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.; sign up on

<https://appoint.ly/s/JenniferHochschild/Conversation>

**NOTE reading assignment for first class, Wednesday, September 1**  
(which follows Monday class schedule)

#### PURPOSES

Oscar Handlin famously wrote, “Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history.” That is not entirely true, of course, as Native Americans, Mexicans in the Southwest, and (depending on how you define immigration) African Americans could point out. Nonetheless, the majority of residents of the United States are, or are descendants of, people who migrated to this land over the past several hundred years. That was not historically the case for residents of countries in Europe, Asia, or Africa; Germany’s official policy as late as the 1970s was “Germany is not a country of immigration.” Nonetheless, about 260 million people live in a country in which they were not born, and the numbers are rising.

Migration, in short, is central to the construction and character of governance, although it is not a sharply defined subfield of political science. The seminar’s goal is to give students a map of the issues and engagement with some of the best writing on migration in Europe and the United States, preparatory to teaching and doing research that is likely in one way or another to involve attention to migration, migrants, or the impact of the movement of peoples. Our purposes are 1) *empirical*, examining who moves, why, with what effect on them and the host country; 2) *analytic*, developing frameworks, concepts, methods, and comparative judgments about migration, and 3) *normative*, understanding why people hold strong views on the virtues and evils of migration, and clarifying our own perspectives.

#### TASKS

*Active reading:* Participants read and discuss the equivalent of one substantial book or five articles per week. Readings are listed below.

*Defender of the Text:* Each student has this role for one or two sessions (depending on the number of participants). There is no initial presentation; instead, throughout the class session, the Defender makes the best case possible for the assigned readings. This role does not preclude criticism--authors are usually their own best critic--but it does imply that criticism should be "internal" rather than "external."

The purpose of this role is to encourage you to escape the classic graduate student dilemma of honing critical skills to a razor-sharp edge while leaving constructive skills dull and unpolished. (I will assign dates for each student's Defender role, so you don't get to defend the texts or arguments you like best.)

*Discussion questions:* For 3 of the 12 class weeks, each student submits one discussion question to the Canvas website, with (only) one or two sentences about why you want to class to address that issue. That submission will be due by **Friday** at 6 p.m., before each Monday class.

For an additional (separate) 3 weeks, each student responds with one or two sentences to one of the questions submitted for that week – with the intent to start the ensuing class discussion. So it could be a return question, an initial answer, an observation about a relevant reading, etc. The response will be due by **Sunday** at 6 p.m., before each Monday class. The purpose here is to foster the transition from student to teacher.

*Instant research project:* In the final 10 minutes of each class period, a small group of (i.e. 2) students gives a three-minute (or 2-slide) statement of a research project that could grow out of the readings and discussion for that session. The purpose here is to foster the transition from consumer to producer of scholarship on power.

*Final project:* Each student also either 1) writes a seminar paper (no more than 8000 words), 2) designs a course outline, including a semi-complete syllabus and introductory lecture (with slides), for the second course on migration (after this one), or 3) prepares written testimony (with appropriate graphical displays) for a Congressional hearing on policy toward migration and/or migrants.

For the paper, once you have chosen a specific, well-bounded issue or topic, you should ask and answer questions such as: How should we define and measure migration in this circumstance? Who or what migrates, and why? To what effect – for them, the people they encounter, and the host or home country? Should migration policy relevant to this case be maintained, strengthened, resisted, abolished, or otherwise changed? How do the politics play out in this case, and why? Under what conditions do my answers to the previous questions hold? What is this a case of? How does this case lead us to understand migration more generally?

For the course outline, you will need to decide if it is for a graduate or undergraduate course, develop and justify the major themes and weekly topics, and choose key readings and assignments. – all of which are built around some framework that includes the word "Migration," and that assumes at least some of the knowledge you are acquiring this semester. You might also develop pedagogical and/or technological innovations. The course outline should explain the reasons for your course structure, particular topics, and crucial readings and assignments. The introductory lecture (and accompanying slides) is intended to persuade students to take this

course, give them a sense of why it is important and what they will learn, and how they will study and deploy the concept of migration.

For the testimony, you will be trying to persuade members of a Congressional committee to pass or oppose a piece of legislation regarding some aspect of migration or governmental treatment of migrants. I say “Congress,” but you might choose to address the parliament of some other country. Your goal will be a particular substantive outcome, but you will need to take into account the electoral, partisan, institutional, and personal considerations that will contribute to each committee member’s reaction to your testimony. The media will be interested in your testimony, so you also need to consider public persuasion and the public reaction. Graphic displays might form an important part of your initial testimony.

### **GRADES**

The paper, syllabus and lecture, or testimony and visual display count for roughly one-half of the final grade; class participation (a combination of discussion questions and response, effectiveness as Defender of the Text, instant research proposals, and engagement with in-class discussions) determine the other half of the grade. You must complete all of the work in each component to pass the course.

I reserve the right *not* to grade in accord with an absolutely strict arithmetic average, so that I can take into account such things as extra effort, trajectory during the semester, unusual circumstances that affect performance, and so on. Ongoing and pertinent class participation probably weighs more heavily in my evaluation than the final product, if there is a discrepancy between the two indicators.

### **BOOKS AND ARTICLES**

We do not read all of any book, but we read several chapters in many; if you want to build up your political science library, these might well belong in it. You can find used copies of many on Amazon.com or other online book sellers.

More generally, articles and book sections will be available through links in the syllabus, on the Canvas website, on JSTOR, or directly online.

## **TOPICS, READINGS, AND ASSIGNMENTS**

### **September 1: Introduction**

Michael Walzer. “What Does It Mean to be an ‘American’?” *Social Research*, 1990. 57:3

Sarah Song. “What Does It Mean to be an American?” *Daedalus*. Spring 2009, pp. 31- 40.

Gerard Delanty, “What Does It Mean to be a ‘European’?” *Innovation*, 2005. 18 (1): 11-22.

Guy Abel and Nikola Sander. “Quantifying Global International Migration Flows.” *Science*, 2014. v 343: 1520-1522.

Alex Aleinikoff, "The Fragility of the Global Mobility Regime: What States Could Not Do on Their Own, the Virus Has Completed," publicseminar.org, May 19, 2020, <https://publicseminar.org/2020/05/the-fragility-of-the-global-mobility-regime/>.

### **September 13: History of migration to the US**

Aristide Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. (Harvard U. Press, 2009), chs . 1, 11.

Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Harvard U. Press, 1999), chs. 1-3

Jennifer Hochschild and Brenna Powell, "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race," *Studies in American Political Development* 2008. 22 (1): 59-96

Erika Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924." *J. of American Ethnic History*, 2012. 21(3): 36-62.

Daniel Okrent, *The Guarded Gate: Bigotry, Eugenics and the Law That Kept Two Generations of Jews, Italians, and Other European Immigrants Out of America* (Scribner, 2019), chs. 9, 10, 11, and 12

### **September 20: Why do immigration policies vary, and change?**

Gary Freeman, "National Models, Policy Types, and the Politics of Immigration in Liberal Democracies." *West European Politics*, 2006. 29 (20): 227-247

Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, "Global Norms, Domestic Institutions and the Transformation of Immigration Policy in Canada and the US." *Review of International Studies*, 2010. 36(1): 169-193.

Ruud Koopmans and Ines Michalowski. "Why Do States Extend Rights to Immigrants? Institutional Settings and Historical Legacies across 44 Countries Worldwide." *Comparative Political Studies*, 2017. 50(1): 41-74

Antje Ellermann, *The Comparative Politics of Immigration: Policy Choices in Germany, Canada, Switzerland, and the United States* (Cambridge U. Press, 2021), chs. 1, 2, and skim chs. 3 and 4.

Allan Colbern, and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan. 2020. *Citizenship Reimagined: A New Framework for State Rights in the United States*. (Cambridge U Press, 2012), chs. 1, 2, and 6.

### September 27: Acquiring citizenship

Michael Walzer, 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. (Basic Books, 1983), ch. 2.

Rogers Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis." *International Sociology* 1990. 5(4): 379-407.

Mark Morje Howard. *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe* (Cambridge U. Press, 2009): part I.

Maarten Peter Vink, et al. "Immigrant Naturalization in the Context of Institutional Diversity: Policy Matters, But to Whom?" *International Migration* 2013. 51(5): 1-20.

Leo Chavez, *Anchor Babies and the Challenge of Birthright Citizenship*. (Stanford U. Press, 2017), ch. 2.

### October 4: Creating and crossing borders

Paul Frymer. "A Rush and a Push and the Land Is Ours": Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and U.S. State Formation." *Perspectives on Politics*, 2014. 12(2) 119-144.

Gallya Lahav, *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe: Reinventing Borders* (Cambridge U. Press, 2004), chs. 3 and 5.

Douglas Massey, et al.. "Why Border Enforcement Backfired." *American Journal of Sociology* 2016. 121(5): 1557-1600.

Lant Pritchett, with Farah Hani, "The Economics of International Wage Differences and Migration." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Economics and Finance*. 2020.

Chiara Denaro, "Voice through Exit: Syrian Refugees at the Borders of Europe and the Struggle to Choose Where to Live," *Displacement* (Manchester U. Press), ch. 7

<https://www.google.com/books/edition/Displacement/yNfsDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT151&printsec=frontcover>

OR Manchesterhive.com

<https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526123473/9781526123473.00016.xml>

David Frum, "If Liberals Won't Enforce Borders, Fascists Will," *The Atlantic*, April 2019

### October 13

Submit, on Canvas, 2 or 3 topics for possible final project – one paragraph each, with Big Question, initial idea of how to study it, possible source of evidence, and speculation about

what you might find. Also, make an appointment on Appoint.ly for my office hours over the next 2 weeks to discuss these ideas.

### **October 18: Incorporation, maybe**

Joseph Carens, "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders," *Review of Politics*, 1987. 49(2): 251-273.

Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics*, 1998. 50: 266-293.

Richard Alba, *Blurring the Color Line: The New Chance for a More Integrated America* (Harvard U. Press, 2009), chs. 3, 4, 5.

Jens Hainmueller and Dominic Haingartner. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *APSR*, 2013. 107(1): 159-187

Kirk Bansak, et al. "How Economic, Humanitarian, and Religious Concerns Shape European Attitudes toward Asylum Seekers." *Science*, 2016. 354 (6309): 217–22.

### **October 25: Rejection and racialization, maybe**

Joost Van Spanje, 2010. "Contagious Parties: Anti-Immigration Parties and Their Impact on Other Parties' Immigration Stances in Contemporary Western Europe." *Party Politics*, 2010. 16(5): 563–586.

Andreas Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (Oxford U. Press, 2013), chs. 5 and 7.

Daniel Hopkins, "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *APSR*, 2010. 104 (01): 40–60.

Alberto Alesina et al. "Immigration and Redistribution." NBER, 2018: WP# 24733.

Chris Zepeda-Millán, *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. (Cambridge U. Press, 2017), chs. 2, 4, and 6.

### **October 27**

Submit, on Canvas, one paragraph and one graphic of your plan (or at most, 2 possible plans) for the final project -- with your classmates as the intended audience. We will break into small groups (2 or 3 in each) on October 28 for ~ ½ hour for you to discuss these plans with each other.

### **November 1: Electoral politics and migration**

Rafaela Dancygier, *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics* (Princeton U. Press, 2017), chs. 2, 5, 6.

Philipp Lutz, "Variation in Policy Success: Radical Right Populism and Migration Policy," *West European Politics*, 2019. 42 (3): 517-544

Daniel Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (Princeton U. Press, 2002): chs. 1, 9.

Giovanni Facchini and Max Friedrich Steinhardt. "What Drives US Immigration Policy? Evidence from Congressional Roll Call Votes." *Journal of Public Economics*, 2011. 95 (7-8): 734–743.

Abigail Williamson, *Welcoming New Americans? Local Governments and Immigrant Incorporation* (U. of Chicago Press, 2018): chs. 2, 3, 5.

### **November 8: Migrants' impact on political institutions and practices**

Paul Collier. *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World*. (Oxford U. Press, 2013), parts 1, 2, and 3.

Margaret Peters, "Open Trade, Closed Borders: Immigration in the Era of Globalization." *World Politics*, 2015. 67 (1): 114–54.

Adam Cox and Cristina Rodriguez. *The President and Immigration Law* (Oxford U. Press, 2020). chs. 3, 4, 5.

Monica Varsanyi, et al. "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork: Immigration Federalism in the United States." *Law and Policy*, 2011. 34(2): 138-158

Tomas Jimenez, *The Other Side of Assimilation: How Immigrants Are Changing American Life* (U. of California Press, 2017), chs. 4 and 5.

### **November 15: Undocumented (or unwanted) status**

Matthew Wright et al. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy Across the Legal/Illegal Divide: The Role of Categorical and Attribute-Based Decision-Making." *Political Behavior*, 2016. 38(1): 229-253.

René Flores, "Do Anti-Immigrant Laws Shape Public Sentiment? A Study of Arizona's SB 1070 Using Twitter Data." *American Journal of Sociology*, 2017. 123 (2): 333-384.

Abigail Andrews, *Undocumented Politics: Place, Gender, and the Pathways of Mexican Migrants* (U. of California Press, 2018), chs. 2 and 4

Hein de Haas et al., "International Migration: Trends, Determinants, and Policy Effects," *Population and Development Review*, 2019. 45 (4): 885-922.

James Dennison and Andrew Geddes, "Brexit and the perils of 'Europeanised' migration," *J. of European Public Policy*, 2018. 25 (8).

### **November 22: Incorporation from the migrants' vantage point**

Mary Antin, *From Plotzk to Boston* (1899), any version, e.g. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/20638/20638-h/20638-h.htm>

Cecilia Menjívar and Sarah Lakhani. "Transformative Effects of Immigration Law: Immigrants' Personal and Social Metamorphoses through Regularization." *American Journal of Sociology*, 2016. 121 (6): 1818-1855.

Maurice Crul and John Mollenkopf, eds. *The Changing Face of World Cities: Young Adult Children of Immigrants in Europe and the United States*. (Russell Sage Foundation, 2012). chs. 4, 5, 8, and 9.

Jens Hainmueller et al. "Naturalization Fosters the Long-Term Political Integration of Immigrants." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences—PNAS*, 2015. 112(41): 12651–12656

Ariel White, "When Threat Mobilizes: Immigration Enforcement and Latino Voter Turnout." *Political Behavior*, 2016. 38 (2): 355-382.

### **November 29: Uneven or non-Incorporation**

Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History*, 1997. 84 (2): 524-558.

Mae Ngai, "The Strange Career of the Illegal Alien: Immigration Restriction and Deportation Policy in the United States, 1921–1965." *Law and History Review* 2003. 21(1): 69-108.

Philip Kasinitz et al., *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age* (Harvard U. Press, 2008), chs. 5, 6, 9, and 10.

Claire Adida et al, "Muslims in France: Identifying a Discriminatory Equilibrium," *J. of Population Economics*, 2014. 27: 1039-1086.

Zoltan Hajnal and Taeku Lee, *Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate* (Princeton U. Press, 2011), chs. 6 and 8.

**November 30**

Submit on Canvas a one-page update of your plan for the final project: what progress have you made? Where are you stuck or puzzled? What can I, or peers, or experts, or librarians, or statistical consultants, or other faculty, or . . . help you with, in order to make further progress on the project?

**December 8, by 5 p.m**

Final project due – submitted electronically on Canvas, preferably as Word (not PDF) document, unless there are issues of formatting or display.