“Immigration and Security in Europe and the United States”

Instructor:
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SPAA, 111 Washington Street, Suite 334
Office hours: before class on Wednesday or by appointment

Meeting time:
Wednesday 1:00 PM to 3:40 PM (ENG – 209)

Major Assignments:
Each student will have to make two oral presentations (of about 15 minutes) and to write a research paper (based on one of the two presentations) of about 5,000 words.

There are 21 subjects listed for the oral presentation. Students will be asked to present on two of these subjects in any given week.

The research paper will be based on one of the oral presentations. It is due on May 10. Late papers will be penalized

Grading:
Student grades will be based on the oral presentations (40%) and the final research paper (40%). Regular attendance, careful reading, and active participation (based on required readings) are also taken into account (20%).

Course description:
The intention of this course is to assess the dimensions and importance of immigration and terrorism as a present and future security issue. From the late 1970s onward, many European governments introduced tighter restrictions on their immigration and asylum policies, largely in response to the mounting sense of an “immigration problem.” Prior to the events of September 11, an EU-wide “internal security ideology” encompassed a collection of issues ranging from immigration and asylum to border control, organized crime, public order, and terrorism. These issues could be arrayed along a single “security continuum.”

But the terrorist attacks of 9/11 spawned a era period in Europe, just as they did in the United States. Reaction to al-Qaeda and “global” terrorism created an amalgamation of immigration and security issues throughout the EU. Accordingly, this event influenced the process of immigration on both continents—generating new restrictive policy measures, new institutions designed to improve the fight against terrorism, and affecting the perception of migrants among host populations in both sides of the Atlantic.
This course is based on a comparative analysis of European and American responses to the recent challenges posed by expanded notions of “internal security”. It seeks to understand the ways in which immigration policy has been affected by national security interests and foreign policies, as well as the ways in which immigration has affected national security concerns and consequentially foreign policies. Fundamentally, the goal is to understand how the immigration-terrorism dynamic plays out over time, as well as how anti-migration and counter-terrorism policies impact civil liberties.

1. Key Components – Jan 20

- Global overview of the main concepts (old and new terrorism, societal security, securitization)
- Presentation of the main research tools and data sources

2. Historical Background – Jan 27

- Nativism in the United States and Europe
- New comers, old threats
- The issue of migrant criminality

Required readings:

Suggested readings:

3. Migration as a Security Issue – Feb 3

- Social and political construction of the Other
- Real and perceived threats
- The size/hostility nexus
- The economic threat hypothesis
- The impact of symbolic threats

→ Subjects for oral presentations: Perceptions of immigrants as a threat by the native population (case studies)
Required readings:

Suggested readings:

4. Securitization before 9/11: Europe – Feb 10

- The “criminalization” of immigrants as a side effect of border controls
- The perception of security issues in Europe within the new “area of freedom, security and justice” (AFSJ)
- The fight against terrorism in Europe (objectives, national and EU legislations)

→ Subjects for oral presentations: a) The development of the Schengen acquis
b) Terrorism in Europe during the 1980s and the 1990s

Required readings:
- Crelisten (Ronald D.) and Schmid (Alex P.), “Western Responses to Terrorism: A Twenty-five Year Balance Sheet”, in Schmid (Alex P.) and Crelisten (Ronald D.)(eds), Western Responses to Terrorism, London: Frank Cass, 1993.

Suggested readings:

◆ No class on Feb 17

### 5. Securitization before 9/11: USA – Feb 24

- National security before 9/11
- The relationship between immigration, foreign policy and national security
- President Clinton’s policy on counter-terrorism

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:**
   - a) The impact of NAFTA on immigration enforcement and border controls
   - b) The evolution of the US asylum policy

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**

- Border controls and illegal immigration before 9/11
- Intelligence and security before 9/11

→ Subjects for oral presentations: a) The politicization of immigration issues
   b) The evolution of EU asylum policy

Required readings:

Suggested readings:

7. Securitization after 9/11: USA – March 9

- The main components of the war on terror
- The effect of the “Homeland Security” package on immigration
- Restrictive immigration policy as a way to fight terrorism
- Counter-terrorism as a way to control immigration

→ Subjects for oral presentations: a) Evaluation of the DHS (structures and strategy)
   b) Racial profiling and security

Required readings:
**Suggested readings:**

◆ No class on March 16 (spring break)

### 8. Securitization after 9/11: Europe – March 23

- Comparative analysis of the “security packages” adopted by European states
- The London and Madrid bombings
- Impact on immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:**
  a) The impact of Dublin regulations on asylum seekers
  b) Police and intelligence cooperation in Europe

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**

### 9. Critical Evaluation of the Securitization of Immigration – March 30

- The spill-over effect of border escalation
- The cost of anti-immigrants measures
- The hidden agenda
→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** Evaluation of border controls (case studies)

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**

**10. Critical Evaluation of the War on Terror – April 6**

- How to balance civil liberties and security?
- The issue of democratic accountability

→ **Subjects for oral presentation:** a) The issue of judicial review  
  b) The role of non-state actors in immigration law enforcement

**Required readings:**
- Doty (Roxanne) and Wheatley (Elizabeth), “Private Detention and the Immigration Industrial Complex”, *International Political Sociology*, 7 (4), December 2013: 426-443

**Suggested readings:**
11. The Security/Insecurity Paradox – April 13

- The dynamics of policy failure
- Public perceptions of security/insecurity

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:** Securitization and the retreat from multiculturalism in Europe (case studies)

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**

12. The Issue of Radicalization – April 20

- Factors of radicalization (geo-political and domestic factors)
- The issue of socio-economic deprivation
- Religion and identity crisis
- The clash of perceptions

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:**
   a) Factors of radicalization in the West
   b) The attempts to strengthen dialogue with Muslim communities in Europe and the United States

**Required readings:**
- Bergen (Peter) and Hoffman (Bruce), *Assessing the Terrorist Threat*, Bipartisan Policy Center, 2010: 1-44.

**Suggested readings:**

### 13. Evaluation of CT policies – April 27

- Evolution of counter-terrorist strategies
- The fight against further radicalization

→ **Subjects for oral presentations:**

a) The recent evolution of the US counterterrorist strategy

b) Evaluation of CT policies at the EU level

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**

### 14. How to reconcile security and immigration? – May 4

- The fight against discrimination
- Immigrant policy and integration
- The “desecuritization” of immigration policy
- New security challenges?

→ **Subjects for oral presentations**: 
a) The desecuritization of minority rights
   b) The threat of climate refugees

**Required readings:**

**Suggested readings:**
Selected Bibliography

Useful readings:
- Givens (Terri), Freeman (Gary), and Leal (David), Immigration Policy and Security: US, European and Commonwealth Perspectives, New York; Routledge, 2008.

Books:
- Ackerman (B.), Before the Next Attack: Preserving Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006.
- Brouwer (E.) and Guild (E.), Immigration, Asylum and Terrorism: A Changing Dynamic in European Law, Nijmegen (NL), Instituut voor Rechtssociologie, 2003.
- Buijs (Frank J.) and Rath (Jaan), Muslims in Europe: The State of Research, Russell Sage Foundation, October 2002, pp.1-54.
- Calhoun (Craig J.), Price (Paul), and Timmer (Ashley S.), Understanding September 11, New York: New Press, 2002.
- Chalk (P.), West European Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: The Evolving Dynamic, NY, St Martin’s Press, 1996.
- Fetzer (Joel S.), Soper (Christopher), Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Gross (E.), The Struggle of Democracy Against Terrorism: Lessons From the United States, the UK and Israel, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- Ivie (R.), Democracy and America's War on Terror, Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2005.
- Lum (Cynthia), Kennedy (Leslie W.), and Sherley (Alison J.), The Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies, Newark, NY: Rutgers University Press, 2005.
- Pape (Robert), Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, New York, Random House, 2005.
- Waever (O.), Buzan(B.), Kelstrup (M.), Lemaitre (P.), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda*, New York, St Martin’s, 1993.

**Articles:**

- Guiraudon (V) and Lahav (G), “A Reappraisal if the State Sovereignty Debate: The Case of Migration Control”, *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, n°2, March 2000, pp. 163-195.