The Politics of (Muslim) Immigration in Europe
COMM-312
SPRING 2009
Mondays 2-5 pm
ASC 233

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Office Hours: Monday 12-2 pm (ASC 232) and by appointment

Course description
Immigration has always been a part of European and world history, but the recent ‘wave’ of immigration since the early 1960s, in both academic and vernacular discourse (including popular culture and the media), is attributed a particular significance as the greatest transformation of European societies. The recent ‘wave’ is generally understood in cultural and religious terms, putting in focus the question of cultural and national identity as the main concern. Islam and the Middle East has thus moved into the center of immigration debate, which in turn is at the center of political discourse. The result is the culturalization of the entire political debate.

We will first explore how immigration was conceptualized in different historical periods and the relationship between immigration debate and political discourse of particular historical contexts. We will then analyze how the recent wave of immigration is conceptualized and policed. In this context, we will discuss how the conceptualization was related to the transformation of the political system and the emergence of the extreme right in Western Europe. We will take up examples from academic research on immigration and culture, the coverage of immigration in the media, and the way Europeans talk about immigration in everyday settings. Through this type of analysis, we will explore how immigrants have become a culturalized and religious category rather than a labor/class issue as in the past.

We will also relate the immigration debate in Europe to larger debates on the “West-Islam” divide (for example: clash of cultures/alliance of civilizations), “the War on Terror,” citizenship and democratic participation, gender equality, freedom of speech and other relevant current issues and debates.

The purpose of the class is not to give you ‘knowledge’ about the state of immigration in Europe but give you different perspectives through which social, cultural and political divisions can be conceptualized and talked about.

Themes
The course is divided into four thematic sections:
1) Immigration, integration, history
2) Conceptual framework: constructivism, categorization, identity, populism
3) Radical Right-Wing intervention in discourse: the culturalization of politics through immigration debate
4) Connecting immigration talk to global politics: ‘clash of civilizations’, ‘Islam vs. the West’, ‘War on Terror’

**Course Texts**
Please purchase the following book in Penn Book Center (should be available at the end of the first week) All other course readings are on the blackboard. The recommended chapters and articles will either be on the blackboard or in Van Pelt Library on reserves.


**Course Requirements**
*Readings*: The most important requirement is to complete all of the readings assigned before class begins.

*Class journal*: a part of your class evaluation will be based on your weekly entries in your class journal. At the beginning of each class, you must hand in a copy of your entry for that week. Your entry will consist of brief summaries of the week’s readings and videos (if any). In writing your entry, please reflect on the following questions:

1. What were the main ideas in this week’s readings?
2. What were the agreements/disagreements between the writers? Did they support or spoke against one another? How?
3. How did the readings advance your understanding of the class theme? How do they relate to the overall theme of the seminar?
4. How did you react to the readings, intellectually or emotionally (be candid; you do not have to justify your reactions in an intellectual distance)?

Please refer to the authors and page numbers of the texts you discuss.

*Attendance*: 80% attendance is required to pass the course.

*Note*: Plagiarism is a serious offence and you will fail the class if you copy others’ work wholly or partly without appropriate reference.

**Course evaluation**
- Class participation and attendance: 10%
- Journals: 20%
- Midterm: 30%. (The midterm will cover the basic concepts introduced in the first half of the course).
- Final paper: 40%. Final paper is a take-home research paper (8-10 pages – do not exceed 10 pages) on a relevant topic. Guidelines for the research paper will be passed out separately sometime after mid-term and we will be discussing potential topics in the last week of the course. The final paper is due on Thursday, May 7, 2009.

**PART I**

**IMMIGRATION, INTEGRATION, ASSIMILATION, HISTORY**
January 26, 2009
1. Immigration, race, integration.

Readings:
  - Chapter 2: Two Declarations of Independence. The Contaminated Origins of American National Culture (pp. 19-44)
  - Chapter 3: Nationalism, Blackface, and the Jewish Question (pp. 45-70)
  - Chapter 4: Blackface, White Noise. The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice (pp. 73-120)
  - Chapter 1: Something in the Air (pp. 6-33)
  - Chapter 2: White Negroes and Smoked Irish (pp. 34-61)

Recommended Readings:

*Movie: The Jazz Singer*

February 2, 2009
2. Immigration in Europe in historical perspective

Readings:
  - Introduction (pp. 1-24)
  - Chapter 1: The Religious Threat: Irish Migrants in Britain (1840-1922) (pp. 27-49)
  - Chapter 2: A Threat to the Nation: Poles in Germany (1870-1940) (pp. 50-73)
  - Chapter 6: Foreigners Within? Turks in Germany (1960-2002) (pp. 144-170)
  - Chapter 1: Analysing the Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe (pp. 1-28)
  - Chapter 5: Multicultural Dilemmas in the Netherlands and Sweden (pp. 102-125)
Recommended Readings:
Rest of the chapters in *The Immigrant Threat* and *The Politics of Immigration in Europe*.

*Movie: My Beautiful Laundrette*

**PART II**

**CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: CONSTRUCTIVISM, CATEGORIZATION, IDENTITY, POPULISM**

February 9, 2009

3. **Theory: structuralism, constructivism, categorization, politics of identity.**

Readings (note: these are dense readings):
  - Chapter 3: Semiology – Post-structuralism-Postmodernism (pp. 68-96)
  - Chapter 4: Discourse and Construction: (pp. 97-123)
  - Chapter 2: Universalism, Particularism and Question of Identity (pp. 20-35)
  - Chapter 3: Why Do Empty Signifiers Matter to Politics? (pp. 36-46)

Recommended readings:
- Tompkins, Jane. A Short Course in Post-structuralism, *College English*, 50 (7) 1988 733-739

February 16, 2009

4. **Identity (construction), psychology and populism. Identity construction: emotional investment in empty categories.**

Readings:
  - Chapter 4: Ethnicity Etcetera (pp. 42-53)
  - Chapter 5: Categorization and Power (pp. 54-76)
Chapter 6: Ideologies of Identification (pp. 77-89)


Recommended Readings:
- Chapters 4, 5, 6 & 8 in *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*

.Movie: *28 Days Later*

**PART III**

**THE CULTURALIZATION OF POLITICS THROUGH IMMIGRATION DEBATE**

February 23, 2009

5. Xenophobic Right-Wing intervention– the culturalization of politics.

Readings:
  - Chapter 2: Ignazi, Piero. The Extreme Right: Defining the Object and Assessing the Causes (pp. 21-38)
  - Chapter 6: Bjørklund, Tor & Goul Andersen, Jorgen. Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The progress Parties and the Danish People's Party (pp. 107-136)
  - Chapter 9: Karapin, Roger. Far Right Parties and the Construction of Immigration (pp. 187-222).
  - Chapter 13: Hossay, Patrick & Zolberg, Aristide. Democracy in Peril? (pp. 301-313)

Recommended Readings:
March 2, 2009

6. The role of ‘Moral Panics’ in radical right’s intervention

Readings:

  - Chapter 1: The Social History of a ‘Moral Panic’ (pp. 1-28)
  - Chapter 5: Orchestrating Public Opinion (pp. 120-138)
- B Kyvsgaard & L. Holmberg: Are immigrants and their descendants discriminated against in the Danish criminal justice system? (Unpublished paper).

Recommended Readings:


March 9, 2009 – SPRING BREAK

March 16 - No Class.

March 23, 2009 – Mid-term

7. Cartoon Crisis

Readings:

  - Chapter 2: Hervik, Peter, Eide, Elisabeth & Kunelius, Risto. A Long and Messy Event (pp. 29-38)
  - Chapter 4: Hervik, Peter. Original Spin and Its Side Effects. Freedom of Speec as Danish News Management (pp. 59-80).
March 30, 2009

8. Politics of Sexuality.

Readings:

  - Introduction (pp. 1-20)
  - Chapter 2: The Headscarf Controversies (pp. 21-41)
  - Chapter 5: Sexuality (pp. 151-174)

Recommended Readings:


**PART IV**

**CONNECTING IMMIGRATION TALK TO GLOBAL POLITICS**

**April 6, 2009**

9. **Culture Talk**

Readings:

  - Chapter 8: The West and the Rest: Intercivilizational Issues (pp. 183-206)
  - Chapter 12: The West, Civilizations, and Civilization (pp. 301-321)

Recommended Readings:

  - Chapter 10: From Transition Wars to Fault Line Wars (pp. 246-265)
  - Chapter 11: The Dynamics of Fault Line Wars (pp. 266-298)

**April 13, 2009**

10. **Islam vs. West: connecting immigration debate to global debates & politics**

Readings:

  - Chapter 2: The Cold War After Indochina (pp. 63-118)
  - Chapter 3: Afghanistan: The High Point in the Cold War (pp. 119-177)
  - Chapter 4: From Proxy War to Open Aggression (pp. 178-228)
Recommended Readings:


April 20, 2009

11. West vs. Rest, global vs. local: the politics of tolerance, democracy and human rights

Readings:

  - Chapter 6: Subjects of Tolerance. Why We Are Civilized and They Are the Barbarians (pp. 149-175)
  - Chapter 7: Tolerance as/in Civilizational Discourse (pp. 176-205)
  - Chapter 3: “Re-orienting Desire: the Gay International and the Arab World” (pp. 160-190).
  - Excerpts from chapters 5 & 6, (pp. 269-289, 335-351).

April 27, 2009

12. The Ideology of ‘War on Terror’: connections between immigration debate in Europe and ‘War on Terror’.

Readings:

  - Chapter 1: The Sexuality of Terrorism (pp. 37-78)
  - Chapter 2: Abu Ghraib and U.S. Sexual Exceptionalism (pp. 79-113)

Final paper is due on Thursday, May 7.