

PSCI 348 | Immigrants, Citizenship and Nationalism in Europe Fall 2024

INSTRUCTOR: ROMOLO GANDOLFO

EMAIL : ROMOLO.GANDOLFO@CYATHENS.ORG

OFFICE HOURS: MONDAY & WEDNESDAY after class, till 7:45PM

Course Description

This course aims at understanding how European nation-states have been 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, populist movements and political parties are fueling and exploiting concerns and fears among European publics; how parliaments have been changing citizenship and naturalization laws in response to the emergence of large foreign-born populations, and their native-born children.

While broadly looking at dynamics shaping the whole continent, we shall specifically compare and contrast five countries: the UK, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Greece. In order to gain a better comparative perspective, we shall also examine the role of immigration in shaping American history, politics and national identity.

Ultimately, the course aims at providing a sound comparative understanding of the divisive debates over immigration, citizenship, identity and Islam which have been raging across Europe since WWII.

The course will be based on a combination of lectures supported by PowerPoints, class discussions, and student short presentations.

Because of the comparative nature of the course, we shall be making regular use of selected documentaries and TV programs in addition to readings. This will allow students to gain a less abstract and more direct understanding of immigrant issues in different national contexts. More controversial visual resources will be screened in class after introductory comments and explanations. Others will be assigned for home view and assessment.

Learning Goals

This course will primarily teach students to:

- POINT OUT the different sources of anxiety related to mass immigration in Western European countries.
- ANALYZE AND CRITICIZE the concept of 'national identity' and evaluate its impact on the integration of immigrants.
- DISCUSS the different usages of terms such as 'assimilation', 'integration' and—above all—'multiculturalism'.
- ANALYZE the meaning of citizenship and in particular the difference between citizenship laws based on *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*.
- UNDERSTAND why in some countries, naturalization is seen as a means of speeding up the immigrants' integration while in others it is regarded mostly as a public reward for the immigrants' successful integration into the host society.
- IDENTIFY countries where 'the nation' has historically been defined as a "community of descent" or a "community of destiny".
- EXPLORE how the concept of 'race' resonates differently in Continental Europe than it does in English-speaking countries such as the USA and the UK.
- GAIN a comparative understanding of 5 European countries (UK, France, Netherlands, Germany and Greece) in terms of
 - their migration history (emigration/immigration);
 - their approach to the integration of 1st and 2nd generation immigrants;
 - the evolution of their citizenship/naturalization laws;

- the distinctive anti-immigration discourse of their respective populist/nationalist parties.
- the way different electoral systems affect the emergence or suppression of anti-immigration parties
- the different traits of the main right-wing anti-immigration politicians.
- Last but not least, GAIN an understanding of US immigration history and contemporary political debates on immigration.

Course Requirements and Assessment

CYA Attendance Policy

CYA regards attendance in class and on-site (in Athens or during field study trips) as essential, so attendance at all scheduled meetings is required. All absences are recorded and have consequences that may affect your grade.

You are also expected to always come to class prepared to actively participate in discussions.

Course requirements and Grading system:

- The **mid-term exam will account for 30%** of the final grade. You will be asked to develop, in a short-essay format, two topics taken from a list of up to 10 topics which will be circulated in advance. This is an in-class exam, for which you have 90 minutes. Each short essay should be at least 500 words.
- A **final take-home exam, 40% of the term grade**. You will have to write two short essays chosen from a list of up to 10-12 broad topics, which we shall agree together in advance. Each essay should be 5-6 page long (1200-1800 words each), plus references or bibliography. While these are not proper research papers, they may require some additional research on your part. **Students who would like to write a proper research paper instead of the take-home exam should submit a short, written proposal by November 6.** If the proposal is accepted, the research paper should be 12-14 pages long (4.000-5.000 words), plus bibliography. The paper would be due on the same day as the final take-home exam—**on Wednesday Dec 18 at 8:00pm.**
- **Class participation 20%. It will be assessed based on active participation in class discussions and short presentations about specific readings or videos.**
- **One test** (multiple choice questions and brief answers) **and one short written assignment during the semester: 10%.** The multiple-choice tests are meant to make sure that you are assimilating the most important points covered during the first half of the semester (they will be held in class before the midterm; these will not be 'surprise test'). The take-home short, written assignment will focus on one of the controversial topics discussed in the second half of the semester, and should help you prepare for the final take-home exam.
- For each class, you'll be required to do a mix of readings and (especially in the second part of the semester) watch on your own some assigned videos. The reading mix will comprise: academic articles and reports; newspaper and magazine articles. **The estimated average course workload is 4-5 hours per week (not per lesson).**

Policy on Assignments and Make-up Work

We suggest everyone include a policy for make-up assignments or exams here. For example:

Details about assignments and exams will be given in advance. I will accept no late assignments or make-up exams unless discussed with me in advance. If you are unable to come to class, please let me know beforehand.

CYA Policies and Regulations

Academic Accommodations

Students are required to submit an official letter from the office at their school that handles academic accommodations (generally the Office of Disability Services), or to have that office send a letter. Students who have submitted such a letter to CYA should also talk to their professors individually to discuss how these accommodations will work in each specific course.

ePolicy on Original Work

Plagiarism is literary theft. As such, it is a serious offense which will not be tolerated either at your home institution or at CYA. Plagiarism on an examination or in a paper will result in an F for the course. You must cite the author of any and all ideas that you use that is neither common knowledge nor your own idea. If you are in doubt, it is safest to cite the source. Your work should be original and reflect your own ideas and thoughts. If you are unsure about what counts as original work, please consult your professor and check the Student Handbook.

Use of Laptops (*the text below is only an example; each professor should articulate their own policy about laptops*)

In-class use of laptops and other devices is permitted if this facilitates course-related activities such as note-taking, looking up references, etc. Laptop or other device privileges will be suspended if devices are not used for class-related work.

Upgrade to 400-level course

Courses can be upgraded to a 400-level. This constitutes usually 25% additional work on the part of the student. The option to upgrade opens the second week of classes. If you are interested in this option, please talk to your professor.

Required Readings (*this section should be included only if applicable to your course*)

A list of all required texts for the course should be noted here.

Note: For Modern Greek, add the titles of the books that students need to buy.

Fall 2024 Tentative Schedule

Day #	Date/Day	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due / Place (if applicable)
	Sep 5-7	Field Study Delphi and Ancient Olympia
1	Sep 9	INTRODUCTORY CLASS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hamlin, Rebecca. "Migrants? Refugees? Terminology is Contested, Powerful, and Evolving." Washington; Migration Policy Institute, March 2022. RECOMMENDED INTRODUCTORY READING.
2	Sep 11	FEAR & ANXIETY OVER IMMIGRATION IN EUROPE AND THE USA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foner, Nancy and Patrick Simon, "Introduction", in <i>Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe</i>, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015, pp. 1-24. REQUIRED "The Year of Populism: Europe's Right Wing Takes Aim at the EU," <i>Spiegel online</i>, January 4, 2019. RECOMMENDED Esthimer, Maryssa. "Nativism Goes Mainstream, Moving the Needle on Migration Policy", Migration Policy Institute, December 8, 2017. RECOMMENDED
3	Sep 16	A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALISM IN AMERICAN HISTORY <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gerstle, Gary. "The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective", Chapter 1 in <i>Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe</i>, Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon, eds., New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015, pp. 33-52. REQUIRED. Okrent, Daniel. "A Century Ago, America Built Another Kind of Wall". The New York Times, May 3, 2019. REQUIRED.
	Sep 18-21	Field Study Crete

Day #	Date/Day	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due / Place (if applicable)
4	Sep 23	<p>THE THREE PHASES OF IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Messina, Anthony M. <i>The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe</i>. Cambridge U. P., 2007. Chapter 1, "The Origin and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration", pp. 19-33 ONLY. REQUIRED Hansen, Randall. "Migration to Europe since 1945: Its History and its Lessons", <i>The Political Quarterly</i>, Vol. 74, August 2003, pp. 25—38. RECOMMENDED
5	Sep 25	<p>THE THREE PHASES OF IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE (continued)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Messina, Anthony M. <i>The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe</i>. Cambridge U. P., 2007. Chapter 1, "The Origin and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration", pp. 33-48 only. REQUIRED Alba, Richard and Nancy Foner. <i>Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe</i>, Princeton & London: Princeton University Press, 2015. Chapter 1, "Strangers No More. The Challenges of Integration", pp. 1-16. REQUIRED
6	Sep 30	<p>FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND EU MIGRANTS -- THE 2015 REFUGEE CRISIS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Koikkalainen, Saara. "Borderless Europe: Seven Decades of Free Movement". Washington: Migration Policy Institute, June 3, 2021. REQUIRED. Connor, Phillip. "Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015. Pew Research Center. August 2016. REQUIRED. Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia and Elizabeth Collett. "Refugee Crisis Deepens Political Polarization in the West". Washington: Migration Policy Institute. Decemebr 2015. REQUIRED.
7	Oct 2	<p>ASSIMILATION, INTEGRATION OR MULTICULTURALISM - In this session we explore the difference between assimilation and integration. We also look at "multiculturalism" as "a set of policies for managing diversity" in countries which have recently become, sociologically speaking, "multicultural".</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bloemraad, Irene. "The Debate Over Multiculturalism: Philosophy, Politics and Policy". Washington: Migration Policy Institute, September 2011. REQUIRED. Parekh, Bhikhu. "British Commitments" <i>Prospect</i>, 24 Sep 2005. REQUIRED. Kymlicka, Will. <i>The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: New Debates about Inclusion and Accomodation in diverse Societies</i>". UNESCO: 2010, pp. 99-109. RECOMMENDED. Chin, Rita. "The Multicultural and Multiculturalism". Introduction to her <i>The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History</i>. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2017, pp. 1-22. RECOMMENDED. Malik, Kenan. <i>Why Multiculturalism Failed</i>. Foreign Affairs, March/April 2015. RECOMMENDED.
8	Oct 7	<p>CITIZENSHIP, DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gilberstone, Greta. "Citizenship in a Globalized World". Washington: Migration Policy Institute, January 2006. REQUIRED. Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia. "Shaping Citizenship Policies to Strengthen Immigrant Integration". Washington: Migration Policy Institute, 2012. REQUIRED. Grimley, Naomi. <i>Identity 2016: 'Global Citizenship' Rising, Poll Suggests</i>". BBC, 28 April 2016. RECOMMENDED. Keyes, Scott. "Birthright Citizenship: A History of Futile Conservative Attempts to Repeal Law.", <i>The Guardian</i>, August 19, 2015. RECOMMENDED. Howard, Marc Morje. <i>The Politics of Citizenship in Europe</i>. Cambridge U. P., 2009. pp. 1-8. RECOMMENDED.
9	Oct 9	<p>NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CORE VALUES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Huntington, Samuel. <i>Who are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity</i>. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005. Foreword and Chapter One. REQUIRED. Pew Research Center. "What it Takes to be Truly 'One of Us'". Feb 1, 2017. REQUIRED. Parekh, Bhikhu. "Feeling at Home: Some reflexions on Muslims in Europe". <i>Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review</i> 8 (2009). Only pages 51-66. REQUIRED.

Day #	Date/Day	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due / Place (if applicable)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banulescu-Bogdan, Natalia and Meghan Benton. "In Search of Common Values amid Large-Scale Immigrant Integration Pressure", Washington: Migration Policy Institute, June 2017. RECOMMENDED.
10	Oct 14	<p>ISLAM & MUSLIM MIGRANTS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Caldwell, Christopher. <i>Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West</i>. New York & London: Doubleday, 2009. Chapter 1 (pp. 3-26). REQUIRED. Parekh, Bhikhu. "Feeling at Home: Some Reflexions on Muslims in Europe". <i>Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review</i> 8 (2009). Only pages 56-81. REQUIRED. "Muslim Population in Some EU Countries Could Triple, Says Pew Report". <i>The Guardian</i>, Nov 29, 2017. RECOMMENDED
11	Oct 16	<p>XENOPHOBIA, NATIVISM, FAR-RIGHT NATIONALIST/POPULIST PARTIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Biswas, K. "How the far Right Became Europe's New Normal". <i>The New York Times</i>. Feb 4, 2020. REQUIRED. Brubaker, Roger. "The New Language of European Populism". <i>Foreign Affairs</i>. Feb. 2017. REQUIRED. Mudde, Cas. "We Are Thinking About Populism Wrong. And It Is Costing Us". <i>The Huffington Post</i>, March 20, 2017. REQUIRED.
12	Oct 21	<p>Midterm Week REVIEW SESSION AHEAD OF MIDTERM EXAM</p>
13	Oct 23	<p>Midterm Week MIDTERM EXAM in CLASS</p>
	Oct 25-Nov 3	<p>Fall Break</p>
14	Nov 4	<p>IMMIGRATION TO THE UK: HOW ANTI-IMMIGRATION ANXIETIES SHIFTED FROM RACE TO FAITH</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> BBC 2008 TV Program about Enoch Powell's "River's of Blood" infamous speech. Screening in class. REQUIRED. Handout about the 2008 BBC documentary. REQUIRED. "Echoes of Enoch Powell" – The New Stateman, March 10, 2008. Review of the BBC documentary. REQUIRED. Somerville, Will and Peter William Walsh. "United Kingdom's Decades-Long Immigration Shift Interrupted by Brexit and the Pandemic. Washington: Migration Policy Institute, August 2021. REQUIRED. Hasan, Mehdi. "Sadiq Khan and the Future of Europe". <i>The New York Times</i>, May 13, 2016. REQUIRED. VIDEO based on BBC Series. "The Windrush Generation: Black West Indians in the UK". RECOMMENDED.
15	Nov 6	<p>IMMIGRATION TO THE UK: HOW ANTI-IMMIGRATION ANXIETIES SHIFTED FROM RACE TO FAITH (continued). In this class we shall also discuss the likely impact of the US Presidential election on immigration policies and anti-immigration parties across Europe.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ashcroft, Richard T. and Mark Bevir. "Multiculturalism in Contemporary Britain: Policy, Law and Theory". <i>Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy</i>, 21(1) 2018. Only pp. 1-7. REQUIRED. Phillips, Trevor. "What British Muslims really Think". Channel 4 TV program broadcast in April 2016, two months before the Brexit referendum). REQUIRED. Howard, Marc. "UK Citizenship History". <i>The Politics of Citizenship in Europe</i>, pp. 157-161. RECOMMENDED.
16	Nov 11	<p>FRANCE: INTEGRATION THROUGH CIVIC ASSIMILATION? THE ETHNICITY TABOO AND THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Erlanger, Steven. "France's Ideals, Forged in Revolution, Face a Modern Test". <i>The New York Times</i>. Feb. 15, 2015. REQUIRED. Fieschi, Catherine. "Muslims and the Secular City: How Right-Wing Populists Shape the French Debate over Islam". Brookings, 28 Feb. 2020. REQUIRED. "What Does It Mean to be French" (France24). REQUIRED VIDEO. "France Ethnicity Taboo". (France24). REQUIRED VIDEO.

Day #	Date/Day	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due / Place (if applicable)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “French Secularism: Anti-Religious or Safeguarding Freedoms?” (France24, 2016). REQUIRED VIDEO
	Nov 12-15	Field Study Peloponnese
17	Nov 18	<p>FRANCE: THE RISE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION POLITICS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Breeden, Aurelien and Constant Méheut. “France’s Far Right Surges into Parliament”. The New York Times, June 26, 2022. REQUIRED. “Shadows of Algerian War Loom Over Election Campaign in France”. <i>The New York Times</i>, March 19, 2022. REQUIRED. “Le Pen vs. Le Pen”. Editorial Board, The New York Times. April 15, 2015. REQUIRED. “‘French Trump’ Eric Zemmour threatening to upset presidential election”. Channel4 report. October 2021. RECOMMENDED.
18	Nov 20	<p>THE NETHERLANDS: FROM MULTICULTURALISM BACK TO CULTURAL ASSIMILATION?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “What Happened to the Liberal Netherlands?”, BBC NewsNight, 2017. REQUIRED VIDEO. “What is the Dutch Integration Model, and Has It Failed?”. Focus Migration Report, 2005. REQUIRED. Duyvendak, Jan Willem et al.. “A Multicultural Paradise? The Cultural Factor in Dutch Integration Policy”, in Hochschild and Mollenkopf eds., <i>Bringing Outsiders In</i>, Ithaca N.Y., Cornell U.P., 2009. Pp. 137-39. REQUIRED. Prins, Baujke and Sawitri Saharso, “From Toleration to Repression: The Dutch Backlash Against Multiculturalism,” in Vertovec, <i>The Multiculturalism Backlash</i>, pp. 72-91. RECOMMENDED.
19	Nov 25	<p>THE NETHERLANDS: FROM MULTICULTURALISM BACK TO CULTURAL ASSIMILATION? (Continued)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Slootman, Marieke and Jan Willem Duyvendak, “Feeling Dutch: The Culturalization and Emotionalization of citizenship and Second-Generation Belonging in the Netherlands,” Chapter 5 (pp. 147-162) in Foner, Nancy and Patrick Simon, <i>Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity</i>, New York: Sage Foundation, 2015. REQUIRED (you may choose to read this article OR the next one by Han Entzinger). Entzinger, Han, “Changing the Rules While the Game is On: From Multiculturalism to Assimilation in the Netherlands”. In: Bodemann, Y.M., Yurdakul, G. (eds) <i>Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos</i>. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006. REQUIRED (you may choose to read this article OR the previous one by Slootman & Duyvendak). “Blackface in the Netherlands: Why is the Zwarte Piet Tradition Still a Thing?” <i>The Guardian</i>, 2019. REQUIRED VIDEO.
20	Nov 27	<p>GERMANY: A VERY RELUCTANT IMMIGRATION COUNTRY OPENS ITS DOORS TO OVER ONE MILLION ASYLUM SEEKERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration history in Germany. DOMID (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany). REQUIRED. Rietig, Victoria and Andreas Muller, “The New Reality: Germany Adapts to its Role as a Major Migrant Magnet,” Washington: Migration Policy Institute, August 2016. REQUIRED. Wilhelm, Cornelia. “Diversity in Germany: A Historical Perspective,” <i>German Politics & Society</i>, 31(2) (June 2013), pp. 13-26. RECOMMENDED. Wilpert, Czarina, “Identity Issues in the History of Post-war Migration from Turkey to Germany,” <i>German Politics & Society</i>, 31(2) 2013, pp. 108-131. RECOMMENDED.
21	Dec 2	<p>GERMANY: A VERY RELUCTANT IMMIGRATION COUNTRY OPENS ITS DOORS TO OVER ONE MILLION ASYLUM SEEKERS (continued)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chin, Rita, <i>The Guest Worker Question in Post-war Germany</i>, Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007. Read only pp. 265-271. REQUIRED. Taub, Amanda, “How a Sleepy German Suburb Explains Europe’s Rising Far-Right Movements,” The New York Times, March 20, 2017. REQUIRED.
22	Dec 4	<p>GREECE: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN A COUNTRY ON THE FRONTLINE OF EUROPE’S REFUGEE CRISIS</p>

Day #	Date/Day	Topic / Readings / Assignments Due / Place (if applicable)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kassimis, Charalambos. "Greece: Illegal Immigration in the Midst of Crisis". Washington: Migration Policy Institute, March 2012. REQUIRED. Christopoulos, Dimitris. "An unexpected Reform in the maelstrom of the crisis: Greek Nationality in the time of the Memoranda (2010-2015). <i>Citizenship Studies</i>, 2017. RECOMMENDED. Koronaïou, Alexandra and Alexandros Sakellariou. "Reflections on 'Golden Dawn': Community Organizing and Nationalist Solidarity: Helping (only) Greeks". <i>Community Development Journal</i>, 48(2) (2013), pp. 332-338. RECOMMENDED.
23	Dec 9	GREECE: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN A COUNTRY ON THE FRONTLINE OF EUROPE'S REFUGEE CRISIS (continued) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chatzipanagiotou, Matilda and Iason Zarikos. "Dominant Islamophobic Narratives – Greece," CERS (Center for Ethnicity and Racism Studies), July 2017. REQUIRED.
24	Dec 11	Final class debate comparing and contrasting the UK, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Greece in terms of national identity, citizenship and naturalization laws, and anti-immigration politics.
FEW	Dec 16	Final Exam Week
FEW	Dec 18	Final Exam Week

Schedule at a glance

Day #	Date	Session	Venue
	Sep 5-7	Field Study	Delphi and Ancient Olympia
1	Sep 9	In class	
2	Sep 11	In class	
3	Sep 16	In class	
	Sep 18-21	Field Study	Crete
4	Sep 23	In class	
5	Sep 25	In class	
6	Sep 30	In class	
7	Oct 2	In class	
8	Oct 7	In class	
9	Oct 9	In class	
10	Oct 14	In class	
11	Oct 16	In class	
12	Oct 21	In class - Midterm Week	
13	Oct 23	In class - Midterm Week	
	Oct 25-Nov 3	Fall Break	
14	Nov 4	In class	
15	Nov 6	In class	
16	Nov 11	In class	
	Nov 12-15	Field Study	Peloponnese
17	Nov 18	In class	

Day #	Date	Session	Venue
18	Nov 20	In class	
19	Nov 25	In class	
20	Nov 27	In class	
21	Dec 2	In class	
22	Dec 4	In class	
23	Dec 9	In class	
24	Dec 11	In class	
FEW	Dec 16	Final Exam Week	
FEW	Dec 18	Final Exam Week	

Course Bibliography (supplementary readings recommended for final essays or research paper)

Foner, Nancy and Patrick Simon, eds. *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015.

Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge U. P., 2007.

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.

Bowen, John R. *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2007.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge Mass. & London, UK: Harvard U.P., 1992.

Buruma, Ian. *Murder in Amsterdam: Liberal Europe, Islam, and the Limits of Tolerance*. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.

Caldwell, Christopher. *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Can Europe be the Same with Different People in It?* London: Allen Lane, 2009.

Chin, Rita. *The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton U.P., 2017.

Chin, Rita. *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007.

Gatrell, Peter. *The Unsettling of Europe: How Migration Reshaped a Continent*. New York: Basic Books, 2019.

Howard, Marc Morjé. *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2009

Huntington, Samuel P. *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard U.P., 1998.

Joppke, Christian and Torpey, John. *Legal Integration of Islam: A Transatlantic Comparison*. Cambridge Mass. & London, UK: Harvard U.P., 2013.

Joppke, Christian. *Citizenship and Immigration*. Cambridge: polity, 2010.

Klausen, Yytte. *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2005.

Laurence, Jonathan. *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State Role in Minority Integration*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton U.P., 2012.

Lucassen, Leo. *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Messina, Anthony M. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge U.P., 2007.

Noiriel, Gérard. *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press. 1996.

Okrent, Daniel. *The Guarded Gate: Bigotry, Eugenics, and the Law That Kept Two Generations of Jews, Italians, and Other European Immigrants Out of America*. New York: Scribner, 2019.

Shachar, Ayelet. *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality*. Cambridge Mass. & London, UK: Harvard U.P., 2009.

Silverstein, Paul A. *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana U.P., 2004.

Triandafyllidou, Anna, Modood, Tariq and Nasar Meer, eds. *European Multiculturalisms: Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh U.P., 2012.

Vertovec, Stene and Susanne Wessendorf, eds. *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. London & New York: Routledge, 2010.