

IR 718 International Migration, Ethnicity and Nationalism in World Politics

Fall 2003

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Hours: Tue/Thu 9:30-11:00

Office Hrs: Wednesday 10:00-12:00, 1:30-2:30 Tues/Thurs 5-6

Around the globe states are confronted with a rising tide of human migration. An estimated 125 million people today reside in countries of which they are not citizens, and the numbers are rising rapidly. This massive movement of people across national boundaries is fueled by a host of powerful forces, including: rising demand for both skilled and unskilled labor in aging industrial societies; a decreased capacity or willingness to control the movement of people in a globalized world economy; and the continued upheaval and lack of opportunity in large parts of the less industrialized world. Taken together, the forces that favor migration might seem to resemble the proverbial irresistible force. At the same time, immigration is accompanied by a host of social, economic and political tensions. Migrants are blamed for increased crime and social disintegration. Immigration provokes fears of reduced wages and increased competition for jobs and social services. Above all migration is viewed by many as a threat to national sovereignty and to established definitions of national identity. As a result, the past two decades has witnessed the a sharp upsurge in of xenophobic parties and movements around the world, most notably in Western Europe, but also in the United States and parts of the developing world. This resistance can be likened to an immovable object. Increasingly both domestic politics and international relations are shaped by this clash between this proverbial irresistible force and immovable object, with far reaching consequences for both the migrants and host societies. What is the likely outcome of this clash? Will we see a disintegration of the nation state and the system of sovereignty on which it is based, as predicted by some? Alternatively, are we on the threshold of a new global backlash against migration, prodded on by the war on terror? Or are we likely to see a patchwork of responses? Openness towards certain types of migrants in some parts of world, increased restrictions on other kinds of migrants elsewhere?

This course will explore these questions from a variety of perspectives. First it will examine the evolution of migration patterns from a historical perspective and analyze in what ways migration today fit historical experiences with migration. Next it will focus on the impact of migration on a number of specific areas, including economics, domestic politics and the consequences of migration on hand of a number of selected case studies, including France, Germany, Japan, the European Union and the United States, focusing

on economic, social and domestic political as well as international political dimensions. A number of sections have been left deliberately blank in order to allow students to bring in topics of particular interest to them.

Required Texts:

Thomas Faist, The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration (Oxford University Press, 2000)

Miriam Feldblum, Reconstructing Citizenship
David Jacobson, Rights Beyond Borders (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Christian Joppke, Immigration and the Nation State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

David Jacobson, ed., The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 1998) **ISBN: 1557869162**

Aristide Zolberg and Peter Benda, eds., Global Refugees, Global Migrants: Problems and Solutions (Berghahn Books, 2001)

Requirements

Students will be required to write a 20 to 30 page research paper on a topic relevant to the course. The paper will be due on the last day of classes. Class participation and keeping up with the readings is essential. Grade will be based 50% on the term paper and 50% on class participation.

Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper topics. A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, is to be submitted by the end of the ninth week (October 30). I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up to one week before they are due and give general comments.

I. Introduction

Myron Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis Challenges to States and Human Rights (Adison-Wesley, 1995) chapter 1 (20 pages)

James Hollifield, "The Politics of International Migration: How can we bring the State back in?" in Caroline B. Brettell and James Hollifield, eds., Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines (New York: Routledge, 2000) (40 pages)

Recommended and Referred to Texts (R&RT) related to this Unit's topic:

Peter Brimelow, Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster (New York: Basic Books, 1995)

Peter D. Salins, Assimilation American Style: An Impassioned Defense of immigration and assimilation as the foundation of American greatness and the American Dream (New York: Basic Books, 1997)

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. The Disuniting of America: Reflectios on a Multicultural Society (New York: Norton, 1991)

II. Broad History of Migration

William H. McNeill, "Human Migration: A Historical Overview," William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams, eds., Human Migration: Patterns and Policies (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana State University Press, 1978), (16 pages)

Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," (21 pages)

John Torpey, The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State (Cambridge and New York; Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.57-66, 75-157 (81)

R&R Texts:

Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, The Age of Migration - International Population Movements in the Modern World (London: MacMillan, 1993)

Robin Cohen, The Cambridge Survey of World Migration (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Michael Marrus, The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Saskia Sassen, Guests and Aliens (New York: The New Press, 1999)

Claudena Skran, Refugees in Interwar Europe: The Emergence of a Regime (New York and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

III. Determinants and Processes of Migration Flows

Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis, chapter 2, pp.21-44 (23)

Zolberg and Benda, Global Migrants, Global refugees 1,2, 4 (50)

Faist, The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration, pages 1-8, 30-80, 96-129, 143-193 (153 pages)

Aristide Zolberg, "The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science no.467, (may 1983), pp.24-38 (15)

“International Factors in the Formation of Refugee Movements,” International Migration Review Vol. XX, No.2 (1986) pp.151-168 (17)

R&R Texts:

IV. Liberal Interpretation – the Dissolution of the Nation State

David Jacobsen, Rights Across Borders, whole book (138 pages)

Yasemin Soysal, The Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Citizenship (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 136-162 (26)

R&R Texts:

Wayne A. Cornelius, Philip L. Martin & James Hollifield, eds. Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), especially chapter 1

Douglas Hammar, Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens, Citizens and Denizens in a World of International Migration (Aldershot: Avery, 1990)

Saskia Sassen, The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Saskia Sassen, Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

V. A Skeptical view – The Enduring Nation State

Myron Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis, chapter3 (30 pages)

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) introduction, chapter one and conclusion (47 pages) – The Culturalist counter

Anthony Messina, “The Not So Silent Revolution; Postwar Migration in Western Europe,” World Politics 49:1 (October 1996), pp.130-154 (24)

Christian Joppke, “Why Liberal States accept Unwanted Immigration,” World Politics 50:2 (January 1998), pp.266-294 (28)

VI. The Domestic Economic and Political Impact of Migration

David Jacobson, ed., The Immigration Reader chapters 10-12 (48)

Faist, The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration, chapter 8 (48 pages)

Hans Betz, Radical Right-wing Populism in Western Europe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), chapter 3 (38 pages)

Herbert Kitschelt, The Radical Right in Western Europe: A comparative Analysis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), chapters 8&9 (22 pages)

Dietrich Thränhardt, "The Political Uses of Xenophobia in England, France and Germany," Party Politics Vol.1, No.3 (July 1995)

R&R Texts:

Suzanne Berger and Michael Piore, Dualism and Discontinuity in Industrial Societies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

George Borjas, Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999)

Joel S. Fetzer, Public Attitudes towards Immigration in the United States, France and Germany (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Gary P. Freeman, "Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?" Annals AAPS 534 (July 1994)

Gary P. Freeman, "Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states," International Migration Review 29,4 (Winter 1995) pp.881-902

Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan Beyond the Melting Pot. The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York Cambridge, Mass., 1963

Milton Gordon Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins New York, 1964)

James F. Hollifield, Immigrants and Markets: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992)

Leah Haus, Unions, Immigration and Internationalization: New Challenges and Changing Coalitions in France and the United States (London and New York: Palgrave, 2002) The main elements of the book can be found in two articles, on the US case in International Organization 49:2 (Spring 1995), on France in International Migration Review 49:2 (1999)

Charles P. Kindleberger Europe's Post-war Growth: The Role of the Labor Supply (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967)

Jeanette Money, Fences and Neighbors: The Geography of Immigration Control (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)

Julian Simon, The Economic Consequences of Migration (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) orig. 1989

Anthony Smith, Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism (London and New York: Routledge, 1998)

VII. The International Politics of Migration

Myron Weiner, The Global Migration Crisis, chapters 5 and 6 (38)

Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed Whole book (178)

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations theory," International Organization 57:3 (Summer 2003)pp.449-479 (30)

Peter Stalker, Workers Without Frontiers: The Impact of Globalization on International Migration (Armonk: Lynne Rienner, 2000), chapters 6-8, 10-11 (40 pages)

R&R Texts

Alejandro Portes, "Migration and Underdevelopment," Politics and Society 8:1 (1978)

Gabriel Shefer, Modern Diasporas in International Politics (New York: St. Martin's, 1986)

Michael Teitelbaum and Myron Weiner, Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders: World Migration and US Policy (New York: Norton, 1995)

Michael Teitelbaum and Jay Winters, A Question of Numbers: High Migration, Low Fertility and the Politics of National Identity (New York: Hill&Wang, 1998)

Ole Weaver, et.al., eds. Identity. Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1993)

VIII. The Humanitarian Challenge

Aristide Zolberg and Peter M. Benda, eds., Global Migrants, Global refugees chapters 2,3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 (153)

R&R Texts

A. Dowty, Closed Borders: The Contemporary Assault on the Freedom of Movement (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)

Arthur Helton, The Price of Indifference: Refugees and Humanitarian Action in the New Century (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Nicholas Steiner, et.al., eds, Problems of Protection: The UNHCR, Refugees and Human Rights (New York: Routledge, 2003)

IX. The American Case

Joppke, Immigration and the Nation State, chapters 2 and 5 (79 pages)

David Jacobson, The Immigration Reader, chapters 2-5, 19 (90)

Peter Brimelow and Peter Schuck chapters (1&2) in Nicholas Capaldi, Immigration: Debating the Issues (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1997) (58 pages)

R&R Texts

Nicholas Capaldi, ed., Immigration: Debating the Issues

Peter Duigan and Lewis H. Gann, The Debate in the United States over Immigration (Stanford: The Institution Press, 1998)

Lawrence H. Fuchs, The American Kaleidoscope (Weslyan University Press, 1991)
John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925
(Newark, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002)
Alejandro Portes and Rubèn G. Rumbaut, Immigrant America: A Portrait (Berkeley,
CA: University of California Press, 1996), second edition
Peter D. Salins, Assimilation American Style: An Impassioned Defense of
immigration and assimilation as the foundation of American greatness and the
American Dream (New York: basic Books, 1997)
Peter H. Schuck, Citizens, Strangers and In-Betweens (Boulder, CO: Westview Press,
1998)
Peter Skerry, Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority (Cambridge: Harvard
University press, 1993)
Rogers M. Smith, Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in US History
(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). The brief version of his argument can be
found in "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in
America," American Political Science Review 87,3 (1993): 549-566

X. The French Case

Miriam Feldblum, Reconstructing Citizenship whole book

R&R Texts:

Gerard Noiriel, The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship and National
Identity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) orig. Seuil, 1988
Gerard Noiriel and David Horowitz, Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and
American Experiences (New York: New York University Press, 1992)
Maxim Silverman, Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship
in Modern France (London and New York: Routledge, 1992)

XI. The German Case

Joppke, Immigration and the Nation State, chapters 3 and 6, (75 pages)

Arne Gieseck, Ulrich Heileman, Hans Dietrich von Loeffelholz, "Economic
Implications of Immigration into the Federal Republic of Germany, 1988-1992,"
International Migration Review Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (1995), pp.693-709 (16)

R&R Texts

Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, eds., Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany
and the United States (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997) Vol. 1 of a 5
volume series
Rainer Münz and Myron Weiner, eds., Migrants, Refugees and Foreign Policy: US
and German Policies towards Countries of Origin (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn
Books, 1999) Vol. 2

Kay Hailbronner, David Martin and Hiroshi Motomura, eds., Immigration Admissions: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Vol.3
Kay Hailbronner, David Martin and Hiroshi Motomura, eds., Immigration Admissions: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Vol.4
Peter Schuck and Rainer Münz, eds., Paths to Inclusion: The Integration of Migrants in The United States and Germany (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Volume 5
Ulrich Herbert, A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990)

XII. The Japanese Case

Michael Weiner, ed., Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), chapter 1

Haruo Shimada, Japan's "Guest Workers" (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994), chapters 2,3,6,7 and 8, pp. 15-80, 147-213. (131)

Takamichi Kajita, "The Challenge of Incorporating Foreign Workers in Japan," in Myron Weiner, ed., ed. Temporary Workers or Future Citizens: Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies (London and New York: MacMillan,1998) (38)

Yasuo Kuwahara, "Illegal Migrant Workers in Japan: Can International Migration be controlled?" in Myron Weiner, ed., Temporary Workers or Future Citizens (28)

Isami Takeda, "Japan's responses to Refugees and Asylum Seekers," in Myron Weiner, ed., ed. Temporary Workers or Future Citizens (27)

R&R Texts

Wolfgang Herbert, Foreign Workers and Law Enforcement in Japan (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996)

Hiroshi Komai, Migrant Workers in Japan (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995)

John Lie, Multiethnic Japan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)

Saskia Sassen "Economic Internationalization: The New Migration in Japan and the United States," International Migration Vol. XXXi, No.1, 1993, pp. 73-102

Yoko Sellek, Migrant Labor in Japan (New York: Palgrave, 2001)

Michael Wiener, Race and Migration in Imperial Japan (London and New York: Routledge, 1994)

Michael Weiner, ed., Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity (London and New York: Routledge, 1997)

XIII. Open

XIV. Open

XV. Conclusions

Some Suggestions for the open Sections:

1. The Development of Regional Level Migration Controls – with special emphasis on the EU (burgeoning literature on this topic)
2. Migration control in developing countries – the South African/Indian/x case
3. Russia versus Yugoslavia
4. Policy sections on any unit of the course – exercise in thinking through how one might want to design government policies to deal with different issues raised in the course: a plan for the United States/France/Japan; improving migration controls; maximizing the economic benefit of migration; etc.