International Migration and Diaspora in World Politics

Fall 2014

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   Around the world, states are confronted with a rising tide of human migration. An estimated 232 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 the rising demand for both skilled and unskilled labor in developed countries; large scale un- and under employment in developing countries; a decreased capacity or willingness on the part of governments to control the movement of people in a globalized economy; and continued social and political upheaval in large parts of the less industrialized world that generates a steady stream of refugees and asylum seekers. Taken together, the forces that favor migration appear virtually irresistible.

   At the same time, immigration is associated with a host of social, economic and political tensions. Migrants are blamed for increased crime and social disintegration. They provoke fears of reduced wages and increased competition for jobs and social services. The apparently unchecked increase in the numbers of migrants is viewed as a threat to national sovereignty. After 9/11 many fear that the failure to control migration makes countries more vulnerable to terrorism. As a result, the past two decades have witnessed a sharp upsurge in not only migration, but also in xenophobic parties and movements around the world that oppose migration. Faced with these pressures many states seek to sharply curtail migration and turn state borders back into what they once were believed to be – immoveable, impenetrable objects. These social and political forces, taken together, seem to create an unmoveable barrier to migration.

   What is the likely outcome of this clash of the irresistible force and the immoveable object? 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 is the answer somewhere in between- are we likely to see a patchwork of responses, with increased openness towards certain types of migrants in some parts of world, and increased restrictions on other kinds of migrants elsewhere? Further, what are the practical policy

implications of this phenomenon? How can states and political leaders – both in the sending and the receiving countries - best reap the social, political and economic benefits that migration brings, while minimizing the costs? And what are the implications of these policies for the migrants themselves?

This course explores 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. 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:

Stephen Castles Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, <u>The Age of Migration</u> 5th edition (Guilford 2013)

James Hollifield, Phillip Martin and Pia Orenuis, eds., <u>Controlling Immigration</u> 3rd edition (Stanford University Press, 2014)

Anthony Messina and Galya Lahav, <u>Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies</u> 5th edition (Lynne Riener 2005)

Additional readings available through the web or e-journals at the Mugar Library website will be assigned.

<u>Requirements</u>

There are for main requirements: a 15-20 research paper due the last week of class, a group policy paper and presentation, an in-class mid-term and a final. The research paper (which can also be written as a longer policy memorandum) can be on any topic relating to migration agreed to by myself and the student. The policy paper is a collective effort in which the students take a look at a specific aspect of migration policy (border control, refugee management, recruiting skilled labor, etc.) and applying it to a concrete case. For example – how to handle the wave of juvenile refugees from Latin America, creating a European system for dividing up asylum seekers, etc. Students will form a team of 3-4, divide up the task of writing the memo and making a 15-20 minute presentation followed by discussion.

The final grade will be determined as follows:
Memo and Presentation: 25% (Due November 14)
Term Paper: 25% (Due December 5)
Mid-term: 25% (October 17)
Final: 25% (Finals week – TBD)

In addition, students are expected to have read readings for the week before class so as to be able to effectively participate in class discussions. Students who are active in class discussion and demonstrate engagement with the material will be rewarded by 1-3 points on their final grade. While I have been only rarely forced to do so, I reserve the right to penalize students who are disruptive in class or are inadequately prepared.

Regular class attendance is mandatory. Students are allowed up two unexcused absences after which they will suffer a penalty on their final grade.

Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper topics no later than the fourth week (September 26) of the course. A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, is to be submitted before the Thanksgiving Break (November 28) . I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up to one week before they are due and give general comments.

IMPORTANT NOTICE ON ACADEMIC ETHICS:

You are expected to provide citations in papers for all quotations, paraphrases, and ideas taken from any source other than your own original thoughts. Boston University has very strict standards for intellectual integrity, and punishment for plagiarism is severe. Any student who is found to have plagiarized portions of his/her MAIA Paper will be dismissed from the program without receiving his/her degree. For more on the definition of plagiarism, see the *GRS Academic Conduct Code*, available at http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/graduate/forms-policies-procedures/academic-discipline-procedures/.

I. **Course Introduction – September 5**

Readings:

Messina and Lahav, The Immigration reader Intro

Castles et.al., The Age of Migration Introduction

The United Nations, International Migration Report 2013 (really about 18 pages) available at http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/migration/migration report2013/Full_Document_final.pdf

Recommended and Referred to Texts (R&RT) related to this Unit's topic:
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., <u>Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines</u> (New York: Rouledge, 2000) – Whole book is recommended

II. **<u>Broad History of Migration – September 12</u>**

Readings:

Castles et.al, <u>The Age of Migration,</u> chapter 4

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Immigration Reader</u> chapters 4 and 5, pp.107-198 (92)

<u>R&R Texts:</u>
Robin Cohen, <u>The Cambridge Survey of World Migration</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1995)
Leo Lucassen, <u>The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850</u> (Urbana and Chicago: Universityof Illinois Press, 2005), especially Part I
Michael Marrus, <u>The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)
William H. McNeill, "Human Migration: A Historical Overview," William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams, eds., <u>Human Migration: Patterns and Policies</u> (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana State University Press, 1978) (whole book is quite good, if dated)
Saskia Sassen, <u>Guests and Aliens</u> (New York: The New Press, 1999)
John Torpey, <u>The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State</u> (Cambridge and New York; Cambridge University Press, 2000)

III. **<u>Determinants and Processes of Migration Flows – September 19</u>**

Castles, et.al., <u>The Age of Migration</u> Chapter 2

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Immigration Reader</u>, chapter 3

Alejandro Portes and Rubén. G. Rumbaut<u>.. Immigrant America: A Portrait</u>, 3rd Edition (University of California Press, 2006) Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 12-34)

Saskia Sassen, "America's Immigration'Problem'," <u>World Policy Journal</u> 6(4) (1989) (811-832)

<u>R&R Readings</u>:
Thomas Faist, <u>The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration</u> (Oxford 2000)

Saskia Sassen, <u>Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy</u> (Belknap, 2014)
Aristide Zolberg and Peter Benda, <u>Global Migrants, Global refugees</u> (Berghahn Books, 2001) especially chapters 1,2, 4 (50)
Aristide Zollberg, "International Factors in the Formation of Refugee Movements," <u>International Migration Review</u> Vol. XX, No.2 (1986) pp.151-168 (17)
Aristide Zolberg, "The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process," <u>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</u> no.467, (May 1983), pp.24-38 (15)

IV. **<u>The Economic and Demographic Impacts of Migration – September 26</u>**

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Migration Reader</u> chapters 8 and 9

Castles, et.al. <u>The Age of Migration</u> chapters 3 and 12

Hein De Hass, "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective", <u>International Migration Review</u>, 44: 1 (2010), pp.227-264

<u>R&R</u>
George Borjas, <u>Immigration Economics</u> (Harvard University Press, 2014)
George Borjas, <u>Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy</u>. (Princeton University Press, 2001)
Paul Collier, <u>Exodus: How Migration is Changing our World</u> (Oxford University Press, 2013)
Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan <u>Beyond the Melting Pot. The Negros, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York</u> Cambridge, Mass., 1963
Charles P. Kindleberger <u>Europe's Post-war Growth: The Role of the Labor Supply</u> (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967)
Alejandro Portes, "Migration and Underdevelopment," <u>Politics and Society</u> 8:1 (1978)
Julian Simon, <u>The Economic Consequences of Migration</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999) orig. 1989
Peter Stalker, <u>Workers Without Frontiers: The Impact of Globalization on International Migration</u> (Armonk: Lynne Rienner, 2000)

V. **<u>The Political Impact in Host Societies – October 3</u>**

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Migration Reader</u> chapters 10 and 11

Castles, et.al., <u>The Age of Migration</u> chapter 13

Joel Fetzer, <u>Public Attitudes towards Immigration in the United States, France and Germany</u> (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chapters 1 and 9 (37)

Dietrich Thränhardt, "The Political Uses of Xenophobia in England, France and Germany," <u>Party Politics</u> Vol.1, No.3 (July 1995) (15)

R&R Texts:
Hans Betz, <u>Radical Right-wing Populism in Western Europe</u> (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), chapter 3
Thomas Faist, <u>The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration</u>, chapter 8
Gary P. Freeman, "Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?" <u>Annals AAPS</u> 534 (July 1994)
Herbet Kitschelt, <u>The Radical Right in Western Europe: A comparative Analysis</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), chapters 8&9
James F. Hollifield, <u>Immigrants and Markets: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992)
Leah Haus, <u>Unions, Immigration and Internationalization: New Challenges and Changing Coalitions in France and the United States</u> (London and New York: Palgrave, 2002)
Galya Lahav, <u>Immigration and Politics in the New Europe; Reinventing Borders</u> (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
Jeanette Money, <u>Fences and Neighbors: The Geography of Immigration Control</u> (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999)
Anthony Smith, <u>Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theoreis of Nations and Nationalism</u> (London and New York: Routledge, 1998)

VI - State Sovereignty, National Identity and The Dilemmas of Control – October 10

Hollifield, et.al.. <u>Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective</u> chapter 1

Castles, et.al., <u>The Age of Migration</u> chapter10

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Migration Reader</u> chapters 7, 11, 12 and 13

R&R Texts:
Peter Andreas and Timothy Snyder, <u>The Wall Around the West</u> (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000)
Adrian Favel, <u>Philosophies of Integration</u> 2nd Edition (Palgrave 2001)
David Jacobsen, <u>Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship</u> (Johns Hopkins Press, 1997)
Joel Fetzer, <u>Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany</u> (Cambridge University Press, 2005) chapters 1 and 6
Gary P. Freeman, "Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?" <u>Annals AAPS</u> 534 (July 1994)
Andrew Geddes, <u>Immigration and European Integration</u> (Manchester: mancester University Press, 2000)
Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil,<u>Towards A European Nationality</u> New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2001)

Randall Hansen and Patrick Weil, <u>Dual Citizenship, Social Rights and Cityizenship in the US and Europe</u> (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002)
David Jacobson, <u>Rights Beyond Borders</u> (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997)
Christian Joppke, <u>Immigration and the Nation State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999)
Riva Kastoryano, <u>Negotiating Identity: States and Immigrants in France and Germany</u> (Princeton University Press, 2002)
Saskia Sassen, <u>Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization</u> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)
Yasemin Soysal, <u>The Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Citizenship</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 136-162 (26)

    VII.   **<u>The International Security and Political Impacts of Migration – October 17</u>**

First half of class will be used for the Midterm

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Migration Reader</u> chapter 13

Castles et.al., <u>The age of Migration</u> chapter 9

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

<u>R&R Texts</u>
Rogers Brubaker, <u>Nationalism Reframed</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1996) chapter 1
Gabriel Shefer, <u>Modern Diasporas in International Politics</u> (New York: St. Martin's, 1986)
Michael Teitelbaum andMyron Weiner, <u>Threatened Peoples, Threatened Borders: World Migration and US Policy</u> (New York: Norton, 1995)
Michael Teitelbaum abd Jay Winters, <u>A Question of Numbers: High Migration, Low Fertility an the Politics of National Identity</u> (New York: Hill&Wang, 1998)
Ole Weaver, et.al., eds. <u>Identity. Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe</u> (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1993)
Myron Weiner, <u>The Global Immigration Crisis</u> (Harper Collins 1995)

    VIII.   **The Humanitarian Challenge – October 24**

Messina and Lahav, <u>The Migration Reader</u> chapters 6 and 14,

<u>R&R Texts</u>
Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher, <u>Refugees in International Relations</u> (Oxford University Press, 2010)

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

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

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

Aristide Zolberg and Peter M. Benda, eds., <u>Global Migrants, Global refugees</u>

IX. The American Case and Immigrant Societies – October 31

Hollifield, et.al. <u>Controlling Immigration</u> chapters 2, 3 and 4

Castles et.al., <u>The age of Immigration</u> chapter 6

<u>R&R Texts</u>
Peter Brimelow, <u>Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster</u> (New York: Basic Books, 1995)

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

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

Nicholas Capaldi, ed., <u>Immigration: Debating the Issues</u> (Prometheus 1997)

Peter Duigan and Lewis H. Gann, <u>The Debate in the United States over Immigration</u> (Standford: The Institution Press, 1998)

Lawrence H. Fuchs, <u>The American Kaleidoscope</u> (Weslyan University Press, 1991)

John Higham, <u>Stangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925</u> (Newark, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002)

Alejandro Portes and Rubèn G. Rumbaut, <u>Immigrant America: A Portrait</u> (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), second edition

Peter D. Salins, <u>Assimilation American Style: An Impassioned Defense of immigration and Assimilation as the foundation of American greatness and the American Dream</u> (New York: basic Books, 1997)

Peter H. Schuck, <u>Citizens, Strangers and In-Betweens</u> (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998)

Peter Skerry, <u>Mexican Americans: The Ambivalent Minority</u> (Cambridge: Harvard University press, 1993)

Rogers M. Smith,. <u>Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in US History</u> (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," <u>American Political Science Review</u> 87,3 (1993): 549-566

Daniel Tichenor, <u>Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in the United States</u> (Princeton University Press, 2002)

X. Migration in European Immigration – November 7

Hollifield, et.al. <u>Controlling Immigration</u> chapters 5, 6, 7, 8

Castles et.al., <u>The age of Immigration</u> chapter 5

<u>R&R Texts:</u>
France:
Miriam Feldblum, <u>Reconstructing Citizenship</u>
Gerard Noiriel, <u>The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship and National Identity</u>
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) orig. Seuil, 1988
Gerard Noiriel and David Horowitz, <u>Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and</u>
<u>American Experiences</u> (New York: New York University Press, 1992)
Maxim Silverman, <u>Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in</u>
<u>Modern France</u> (London and New York: Routledge, 1992)
The German Case
Simon Green, "Immigration and Integration Policy: Between Incrementalism and Non-
decision," in Simon green and William E. Paterson. <u>Governance in Contemporary</u>
<u>Germany: The Semisovereign State revisited</u> (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 2005), pp.190-211 (21)
Christian Joppke, <u>Immigration and the Nation State: The United States, Germany and</u>
<u>Great Britain</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999)
Bundesamt fūr Migration und Flūchtlinge "The Impact of Immigration on German
Society" 2005 (64 pages – skim the first), available at
[http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Migration/Downloads/EMN/1research-1-](http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Migration/Downloads/EMN/1research-1-2004-impact,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/1research-1-2004-impact.pdf)
[2004-impact,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/1research-1-2004-impact.pdf](http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Migration/Downloads/EMN/1research-1-2004-impact,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/1research-1-2004-impact.pdf)
Brita Walthelm. "Immigration and Asylum Policies in Great Britain and germany after
September 11," 47 pages, available at
http://www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/politics/research/research_groups/epru/docu
ments/EPRUDiss.pdf
Arne Gieseck, Ulrich Heileman, Hans Dietrich von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications
of Immigration into the Federal Republic of Germany, 1988-1992," <u>International</u>
<u>Migration Review</u> Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (1995), pp.693-709 (16)
Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, eds., <u>Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and</u>
<u>the United States</u> (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997) Vol. 1 of a 5 volume
series
Rainer Mūnz and Myron Weiner, eds., <u>Migrants, Refugees and Foreign Policy: US and</u>
<u>German Policies towards Countries of Origin</u> (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books,
1999) Vol. 2
Kay Hailbronner, David Martin and Hiroshi Motomura, eds., <u>Immigration Admissions:</u>
<u>The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States</u> (Providence and
Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Vol.3
Kay Hailbronner, David Martin and Hiroshi Motomura, eds., <u>Immigration Admissions:</u>
<u>The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States</u> (Providence and
Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Vol.4

Peter Schuck and Rainer Műnz, eds., <u>Paths to Inclusion: The Integration of Migrants in The United States and Germany</u> (Providence and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998) Volume 5
Ulrich Herbert, <u>A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990)

XI. <u>Latecomers – Italy, Spain and The East Asian Case – November 14</u>

Policy memo Due

First Half of Class will be dedicated to class presentation

Castles, et.al., <u>The Age of Migration</u> chapter 7

Hollifield, <u>Controlling Migration</u> chapters 11-14

<u>R&R Texts</u>
Erin Chung, <u>Immigration and Citizenship in Japan</u> (Cambridge University Press, 2014)
Mike Douglass and Glenda Roberts, <u>Japan and Global Migration</u>
Wolfgang Herbert, <u>Foreign Workers and Law Enforcement in Japan</u> (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996)
Hiroshi Komai, <u>Migrant Workers in Japan</u> (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995)
John Lie, <u>Multiethnic Japan</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001)
Deborah J. Milly, <u>New Policies for New Residents</u> (Cornell University Press, 2014)
Saskia Sassen "Economic Internationalization: The New Migration in Japan and the United States," <u>International Migration</u> Vol. XXXi, No.1, 1993, pp. 73-102
Yoko Sellek, <u>Migrant Labor in Japan</u> (New York: Palgrave, 2001)
Michael Wiener, <u>Race and Migration in Imperial Japan</u> (London and New York: Routledge, 1994)
Michael Weiner, ed., <u>Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity</u> (London and New York: Routledge, 1997)
Michael Weiner, ed., <u>Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity</u> (London and New York: Routledge, 1997),
Haruo Shimada, <u>Japan's "Guest Workers"</u> (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1994),
Myron Weiner, ed., ed. <u>Temporary Workers or Future Citizens: Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies</u> (London and New York: MacMillan,1998) (38)

XII.   **Guest Lecture – November 21**

Thanksgiving Break

XIII.   **Course Conclusions – December 5**

Term Paper Due!