

**COURSE TITLE: MIGRATION, MOBILITY, BORDERS AND CITIZENSHIP**  
**COURSE CODE: POL3113A**  
**PROFESSOR: KEITH HAYSOM**  
**SESSION: FALL 2016**

**Course schedule:** Wednesdays, 8:30-11:30

**Course location:** MCD 121

**Office:** FSS 7010

**Office hours:** Wednesdays, 2:00-3:30

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### **OFFICIAL COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Study of different forms of international mobility and the political, economic and identity issues they raise. Themes can include historical and contemporary modes of governing migration and mobility; changes in migration as a result of global economic restructuring; the role that concepts of borders, nations and citizenship play in shaping relevant political spaces; theoretical, methodological and ethical issues associated with the study of mobility and migration.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

This course will examine the contradictory logics that simultaneously compel (or impel) and restrict and block human migration, and the contradictory pressures that these forces place on (im)migrants and natives alike. Chief amongst these logics, in the past two centuries, have been: 1) the emergence, institutionalization and spread of the nation-state and/or the nation-form of sovereign political community; 2) the emergence, institutionalization and spread of global capitalism, which counter-acts, sub-ordinates, and subverts the nation-state, *without eliminating it*, and in fact quite frequently *depending on it and supplementing the sovereign powers of the state-as-such*.

The first logic (the territorializing force of national sovereignty) has historically already produced mass migrations due to the inevitable mismatch between national populations and sovereign territories, resulting frequently in endangered minorities, stateless populations, and refugee migrations – frequently also fleeing from the wars not surprisingly generated by competing nationalisms.

The second logic (the de-territorializing force of global capitalism) frequently subverts the attempt by the nation-form to contain fixed populations within fixed borders by compelling and impelling mobility of goods, capital, production and (most importantly for our purposes) labour, while simultaneously relying upon the sovereign state to provide security, public infrastructure and the bio-political management of (im)migrant populations, *inter alia*.

The resulting inter-penetration of territorializing and de-territorializing logics frequently manifests as a profound state-of-exception of and within the sovereign order the nation-state, on all levels of its economic, social/cultural and political structures. And it is the (im)migrant that experiences this state-of-exception most directly. We seek in this course to understand this experience (whether it is of the “regular” im/migrant, the “irregular” im/migrant, the temporary migrant, or the refugee) and the forces and logics that form and shape it.

## READING MATERIALS

There is **one textbook** for this class:

Joseph Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration*

**All other course materials** can be downloaded from the course website, from the folder marked “Required Weekly Readings”, which is divided into each week’s readings.

Materials for panel presentations will be available on 48 hr. reserve from the library, or directly from the professor.

## EVALUATION

There will be four different components to your grade. First, attendance will be worth 10%. Second, you will be responsible for 2 comparative analyses, one in each half of the course, each for 15%, for a total of 30%. Third, in roughly the first half of the course, you will be responsible for participating in an in-class panel presentation, to be worth 30%. Fourth, will be responsible for writing a final take-home exam, worth 30%. Finally, there are up to 2 bonus marks available for those who regularly participate in class discussions. The marking scheme is represented below:

Attendance	10%
Comparative Analysis (2)	30% (15% x2)
Panel Presentation	30%
Final Take-Home Exam	30%
Class Participation	Up to 2 bonus marks

**Attendance and Participation** – Attendance is mandatory. Active class participation is encouraged and will be rewarded with a participation bonus of up to 2 marks.

**Note:** Giving a presentation does not, in itself, count towards your class participation mark. Asking questions of presenters, or responding to their discussion questions, will, however. Moreover, asking questions during lectures and/or responding to my questions, will also count towards a potential participation bonus.

**Comparative Analysis** – A 7-10 page analytical comparison of the **required readings** on a single topic (i.e. for a single week) that reveals the similarities and differences among writings (e.g. argument, supporting evidence) and presents an argument as to what position/analysis is more compelling. **Students must submit one comparative analysis in each half of the course, one by or before October 19, and the second by or before November 30.** See the reading schedule below for more details on the individual assignments.

Comparative Analyses will be handed in on the class during which they are to be discussed. **You cannot submit a synopsis on the readings of week which has already passed. The penalty for turning in a synopsis on a source which has already been discussed in class is an automatic 25%, with exceptions made only at my discretion with advance notice.**

**Panel Presentation** – On 11 separate occasions throughout the semester (see student presentation readings), a group of no less than 2 and no more than 5 students will form a panel to discuss additional readings on the topic of that week. The presentations will normally be given in the second half of every class. Students should decide which panel they want to be part of within the first week of class and then sign up for it – a sign up sheet will be made available in class. Members of panels will be assigned a collective mark for the entire group, but it is **imperative** that each member of the panel present some aspect of the group discussion.

Panel members will be responsible, collectively, for the following tasks:

- 1) summarizing the additional reading materials for the benefit of the class
- 2) relating this additional material to the required readings *as is necessary*
- 3) offering relevant analysis, critique and general discussion of the readings and the topic in general

**Important Note:** Panel presentations should be approximately 45 minutes long in total. For panels of 3 people, this will mean individual presentations of no more than 15 minutes each, for panels of 4 people, individual presentations of no more than 10 minutes each. In either case, individual presenters will lose 2.5 marks (or ½ a grade point) off their mark for every 5 minutes they exceed these limits.

**Take Home Exam** – The exam will consist of two sections, one theoretical and the other empirical. Each section will consist of three essay questions. You will be required to answer **one question in each section**. Answers can vary in length, but should be between 5 and 7 pages in length. Each question will be worth half of the total for the exam, or 15% of your final mark. The questions will test not only your knowledge of the course materials, but also your ability to critically analyze those materials and develop an independent understanding of and point of view about them. There will be two different weekends on which you will be able to take the exam, Friday, December 9<sup>th</sup> to Monday, December 12<sup>th</sup> , or Friday, December 16<sup>th</sup> to Monday, December 19<sup>th</sup>. In the final week of the class, you will be asked to decide which date works best for you and commit to that date; **you cannot write both exams, or change your mind at the last minute**. On either weekend, the exam questions will be emailed to you by 9:00 AM on the Friday morning, and will be due back at my office (FSS 7010) by Monday afternoon, 4:30 PM at the latest.

### **Penalties**

Late papers will be penalized at a rate of -10% a day, weekend days included. Papers that are late within the same day will be penalized at -5%. Class presentations cannot be made up, and thus absence for a scheduled presentation will be penalized at -100%, except where inability to attend is professionally documented and the professor is alerted at least one day in advance.

## READING SCHEDULE

DATE	READINGS	
<b>Week 1</b>	<b>MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION: HISTORICALLY AND PRESENTLY</b>	
Wednesday, September 7	David Held and Anthony McGrew, <i>Global Transformations</i> , "People on the Move"; Sunil S. Amrith, "Currents of Global Migration"; Guy Abel & Nikola Sander, "Quantifying Global International Migration Flows"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 9/7</b> ): Held/McGrew & Amrith
<b>Week 2</b>	<b>DEBATING IM/MIGRATION: OPEN VS. CLOSED BORDERS</b>	
Wednesday, September 14	Joseph Carens, <i>The Ethics of Immigration</i> , Intro and Chapter 11 + "When Immigrants Lose Their Rights"; David Miller, <i>Strangers in Our Midst</i> , Introduction + "Das Carensproblem" (from <i>Political Theory Review Symposium</i> ); Zygmunt Bauman, "Migration Panic and its (Mis)uses"	Comparative Analysis ( <b>submit on 9/14</b> ): Carens & Miller <i>or</i> Miller & Bauman
<b>Week 3</b>	<b>CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING</b>	
Wednesday, September 21	Cynthia Patterson, "Citizenship and Gender in the Ancient World: The Experience of Athens and Rome"; Etienne Balibar, <i>Citizenship</i> , Chapter 2; Joseph Carens, <i>The Ethics of Immigration</i> , Chapter 2	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 9/21</b> ): Patterson & Carens <i>or</i> Patterson & Balibar
<b>Week 4</b>	<b>NATIONALISM, MINORITIES AND THE RIGHT TO HAVE RIGHTS</b>	
Wednesday, September 28	Hannah Arendt, <i>The Origins of Totalitarianism</i> , "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man"; Mark Mazower, "Minorities and the League of Nations in Interwar Europe"; Aytun Gündoğdu, "Perplexities of Human Rights"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 9/28</b> ): Arendt & Mazower <i>or</i> Arendt & Gündoğdu
<b>Week 5</b>	<b>BORDERS, BIOPOLITICS AND THE STATE OF EXCEPTION</b>	
Wednesday, October 5	Mark Salter, "When the Exception Becomes the Rule: Borders, Sovereignty and Citizenship"; Lana Zannettino, "From Auschwitz to Mandatory Detention: Biopolitics, Race and Human Rights in the Australian Refugee Camp"; Christopher G. Anderson, "A Long-Standing Canadian Tradition: Citizenship Revocation and Second-Class Citizenship under the Liberals, 1993-2006"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 10/5</b> ): Salter & Zannettino <i>or</i> Salter & Anderson
<b>Week 6</b>	<b>REFUGEES AND FORCED MIGRATION</b>	
Wednesday, October 12	Laura Barnett, "Global Governance and the Evolution of the International Refugee Regime"; Alexander Betts, "The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime"; Amnesty International, "The Global Refugee Crisis: A Conspiracy of Neglect"; Michel Agier, "The Desert, The Camp, The City"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 10/12</b> ): Barnett & Betts <i>or</i> Agier & Amnesty International

<b>Week 7</b>	<b>GLOBALIZATION AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LABOUR MIGRATION</b>	
Wednesday, October 19	Nina Glick Schiller, "A Global Perspective on Migration and Development"; Guy Standing, "Migrants: Victims, Villains or Heroes?"; Saskia Sassen, "The Use of Foreign Workers"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 10/19</b> ): Glick Schiller & Standing <b>or</b> Glick Schiller & Sassen
<b>Week 8</b>	<b>STUDY BREAK – NO CLASS</b>	
Wednesday, October 26		
<b>Week 9</b>	<b>THE POLITICAL THEORY OF LABOUR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MEMBERSHIP</b>	
Wednesday, November 2	Joseph Carens, <i>The Ethics of Immigration</i> , Chapters 6&8; David Miller, <i>Strangers in Our Midst</i> , Chapter 6&7; Alain Badiou, <i>The Meaning of Sarkozy</i> , "One World"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 11/02</b> ): Carens & Miller <b>or</b> Miller & Badiou
<b>Week 10</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF IM/MIGRATION: EUROPE</b>	
Wednesday, November 9	Françoise Heisbourg, "The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis"; Annalisa Lendaro, "A 'European Migrant Crisis'? Some Thoughts on Mediterranean Borders"; Thomas Nail, "A Tale of Two Crises: Migration and Terrorism after the Paris Attacks"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 11/09</b> ): Heisbourg & Lendaro <b>or</b> Heisbourg & Nail
<b>Week 11</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF IM/MIGRATION: UNITED STATES</b>	
Wednesday, November 16	Bonnie Honig, "Immigrant America: How Foreignness 'Solves' Democracy's Problems Justin Akers Chacón & Mike Davis, <i>No One Is Illegal</i> , Part III: "Mexican Workers: The 'Other' American Working Class"; Roger Lowenstein, "The Immigration Equation"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 11/16</b> ): Honig & Chacon/Davis <b>or</b> Honig & Lowenstein
<b>Week 12</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF IM/MIGRATION: CANADA</b>	
Wednesday, November 23	Augie Fleras, <i>Immigration Canada</i> , Chapter 4; Kerry Preibisch and Jenna L. Hennebry, "Buy Local, Hire Global: Temporary Migration in Canadian Agriculture"; Leigh Binford, <i>Tomorrow We're All Going to the Harvest</i> , "The Dual Process of Constructing Mexican Contract Workers"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 11/23</b> ): Fleras & Preibisch/Hennebry <b>or</b> Preibisch/Hennebry & Binford
<b>Week 13</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF ANTI-IMMIGRATION AND PRO-IMMIGRATION</b>	
Wednesday, November 30	Cas Mudde, "The Populist Radical Right: A Pathological Normalcy"; Ron Formisano, "Interpreting Right Wing or Reactionary Neo-Populism-A Critique"; Bridget Anderson, Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright, "Why No Borders?" Salina Abji, "Post-nationalism Re-considered: A Case Study of the 'No One is Illegal' Movement in Canada"	Comparative Analysis Assignment ( <b>submit on 11/30</b> ): Mudde & Formisano <b>or</b> Anderson et al. & Abji

## PANEL PRESENTATION SCHEDULE AND READINGS

DATE	READINGS
<b>Week 1</b>	<b>MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION: HISTORICALLY AND PRESENTLY</b>
Wednesday, September 7	No Presentation
<b>Week 2</b>	<b>DEBATING IM/MIGRATION</b>
Wednesday, September 14	1) David Miller, <i>Strangers in our Midst</i> , chapters 2-4; 2) Joseph Carens, "Open Borders and the Claims of Community"; 3) John P. Casey, "Open Borders: Absurd Chimera or Inevitable Future Policy?"
<b>Week 3</b>	<b>CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING</b>
Wednesday, September 21	1) Engin Isin and Bryan Turner, "Investigating Citizenship-An Agenda for Citizenship Studies"; 2) Saskia Sassen, <i>Territory, Authority, Rights</i> , Chapter 6; 3) Seyla Benhabib, <i>Transformations of Citizenship</i> , Lecture 2; 4) Etienne Balibar, <i>Equaliberty</i> , "Towards Co-Citizenship"; 5) David Harvey, "The New Cosmopolitans"
<b>Week 4</b>	<b>NATIONALISM, MINORITIES AND THE RIGHT TO HAVE RIGHTS</b>
Wednesday, September 28	1) Lerna Ekmekcioglu, "Republic of Paradox: The League of Nations Minority Protection Regime and the New Turkey's Step-Citizens"; 2) Andre Leibich, "Minority as Inferiority: Minority Rights in Historical Perspective"; 3) Arjun Appadurai, "Fear of Small Numbers"/Alain Badiou, <i>The Rebirth of History</i> , excerpt; 4) James Ingram, "What is a 'Right to Have Rights'? Three Images of the Politics of Human Rights"
<b>Week 5</b>	<b>BORDERS, BIOPOLITICS AND THE STATE OF EXCEPTION</b>
Wednesday, October 5	1) Ayten Gündoğdu, "Borders of Personhood"; 2) Dennis Molinaro, "'Citizens of the World': Law, Deportation and the <i>Homo Sacer</i> , 1932-1934"; 3) Carrie Dawson, "Refugee Hotels: The Discourse of Hospitality and the Rise of Immigration Detention in Canada; 4) Ruben Anderson "A Game of Risk-Boat Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe"; 5) Andonea Dickson, "Distancing Asylum Seekers from the State: Australia's Evolving Political Geography of Immigration and Border Control"
<b>Week 6</b>	<b>REFUGEES AND FORCED MIGRATION</b>
Wednesday, October 12	1) Joseph Carens, <i>The Ethics of Immigration</i> , Chapter 10; 2) David Miller, <i>Strangers in Our Midst</i> , Chapter 5 + Postscript; 3) Michel Agier, <i>Managing the Undesirables</i> , Part One; 4) David Bartram, "Forced Migration and 'Rejected Alternatives': A Conceptual Refinement"; 5) Elizabeth Holzer, "What Happens to Law in a Refugee Camp?"

<b>Week 7</b>	<b>THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LABOUR MIGRATION, TEMPORARY, IRREGULAR OR OTHERWISE</b>
Wednesday, October 19	1) Michael Webber, "The Places of Primitive Accumulation in Rural China"; 2) Ali Modarres, "Migration and the Persian Gulf"; 3) Sam Scott, "Labour, Migration and the Spatial Fix: Evidence from the UK Food Industry"; 4) Daiva Stasiulis, "Political Economy of Migrant Live-in Caregivers: A Case of Unfree Labour?"; 5) Rodolfo Casillas, "The Dark Side of Globalized Migration-The Rise and Peak of Criminalized Networks-The Case of Central Americans in Mexico"
<b>Week 9</b>	<b>THE POLITICAL THEORY OF LABOUR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MEMBERSHIP</b>
Wednesday, November 2	1) Catherine Dauvergne and Sarah Marsden, "The Ideology of Temporary Labour Migration in the Post-Global Era"; 2) Bina Fernandez, "Exploring the Relevance of Fraser's Ethical-Political Framework of Justice to the Analysis of Inequalities Faced by Migrant Workers"; 3) Markus Gunneflo and Nicklas Selberg, "Discourse or Merely Noise? Regarding the Disagreement on Undocumented Migrants"; 4) Anne McNevin, "Political Belonging in a Neo-Liberal Era-The Struggle of the Sans-Papier"; 5) Jahhon Koo, "'Good Enough to Work? Good Enough to Stay!' Organizing among Temporary Foreign Workers"
	<b>THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION: EUROPE</b>
Wednesday, November 9	1) Christopher Caldwell, <i>Reflections on the Revolution in Europe</i> , selections; 2) Doug Saunders, <i>The Myth of the Muslim Tide</i> , parts 2&3; 3) Sara R. Farris, "From the Jewish Question to the Muslim Question"; 4) Catherine Tinker, "Saving Lives and Building Society: The European Migration Agenda"; 5) Suzanna Cragge, "The More Things Change ... Developments in German Practices towards Asylum Seekers and Recognised Refugees"
<b>Week 11</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION: UNITED STATES</b>
Wednesday, November 16	1) Steve Byas, "America and Immigration - A Mixed History With Lessons for Today "; 2) Justin Akers Chacón & Mike Davis, <i>No One Is Illegal</i> , Part III, "; 3) Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, Karen Pren, "Explaining Undocumented Migration to the US"; 4) <i>Immigration, Poverty, and Socioeconomic Inequality</i> (Card & Raphael, eds.), Part III
<b>Week 12</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION: CANADA</b>
Wednesday, November 23	1) Patti Tamara Lenard, "How Does Canada Fare? Canadian Temporary Labour Migration in Comparative Perspective"; 2) Arthur Sweetman and Casey Warman, "Canada's Immigration Selection System and Labour Market Outcomes"; 3) Amarnath Amarasingam, Gayathri Naganathan and Jennifer Hyndman, "Canadian Multiculturalism as Banal Nationalism"; 4) Anne-Marier Bélanger McMurdo, "Causes and consequences of Canada's resettlement of Syrian refugees" 5) Augustine S.J. Park, "Racial Nationalism and Representations of Citizenship: The Recalcitrant Alien, the Citizen of Convenience, and the Fraudulent Citizen"



<b>Week 13</b>	<b>THE POLITICS OF ANTI-IMMIGRATION AND PRO-IMMIGRATION</b>
Wednesday, November 30	1) Chantal Mouffe, "The 'End of Politics' and the Challenge of Right-Wing Populism"; 2) Robert Ford and Matthew J. Goodwin, "Understanding UKIP-Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind"; 3) Zygmunt Bauman, <i>Strangers at Our Door</i> , Chapters 2-5; 4) Emma Ambrose and Cas Mudde, "Canadian Multiculturalism and the Absence of the Far Right"; 5) Doug Saunders, <i>The Myth of the Muslim Tide</i> , Part V

### **Absence from an examination or late submission of an assignment**

Absence from any examination or test, or late submission of assignments submit on to illness, must be justified; otherwise, a penalty will be imposed. The Faculty reserves the right to accept or reject the reason offered. Reasons such as travel, employment, and misreading the examination schedule are not usually accepted.

### ***Beware of Academic Fraud!***

Academic fraud is an act committed by a student to distort the marking of assignments, tests, examinations, and other forms of academic evaluation. Academic fraud is neither accepted nor tolerated by the University. Anyone found guilty of academic fraud is liable to severe academic sanctions.

Here are a few examples of academic fraud:

- engaging in any form of plagiarism or cheating;
- presenting falsified research data;
- handing in an assignment that was not authored, in whole or in part, by the student;
- submitting the same assignment in more than one course, without the written consent of the professors concerned.

In recent years, the development of the Internet has made it much easier to identify academic plagiarism. The tools available to your professors allow them to trace the exact origin of a text on the Web, using just a few words.

In cases where students are unsure whether they are at fault, it is their responsibility to consult the University's Web site at the following address: [http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/eng/writing\\_tools.asp](http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/eng/writing_tools.asp) « *Tools for Writing Papers and Assignments* ».

Persons who have committed or attempted to commit (or have been accomplices to) academic fraud will be penalized. Here are some examples of the academic sanctions, which can be imposed:

- a grade of « F » for the assignment or course in question;
- an additional program requirement of between 3 and 30 credits;
- suspension or expulsion from the Faculty.

Last session, most of the students found guilty of fraud were given an « F » for the course and had between three and twelve credits added to their program requirement.

For more information, refer to:

[http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/newsletter/fraud\\_e.html](http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/newsletter/fraud_e.html)