

**BOSTON UNIVERSITY
PARDEE SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES**

SEMINAR: COMPARATIVE IMMIGRATION AND RACIAL POLITICS
TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
CAS IR 500 B1

Professor Noora Lori
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Fall 2014

Monday 1:00-4:00PM

Classroom: IRC 220

Office Hours: 152 Bay State Road, G04B Wednesdays 1-3pm, and by appointment.

Course Description and Objectives:

This graduate seminar explores the interplay of immigration politics and domestic racial politics across the world's three largest migrant-receiving regions: North America, Western Europe, and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

The seminar is being offered at a critical period in both academic and world history, when the reconfiguration of the international political economy, migration flows, and political conflicts defy national and even regional solutions. While the phenomenon of migration is as old as mankind, international migration is currently growing exponentially in scope, complexity and impact. As of 2013, the UN estimates that the number of international migrants has increased to 232 million people worldwide, almost doubling in the past two decades. Today, virtually all countries in the world are simultaneously countries of destination, origin and transit for international migrants.

The global dimensions of migratory flows have created common dilemmas for countries in all regions of the world and at various stages of development, as so many domestic economies are critically dependent upon migrant labor. Most states simultaneously attempt to disrupt and hierarchize migratory flows to preserve existing distributions of power and to reserve resources for what is defined as the 'core' national population. In places as distinct as Japan, India, Britain, France, the United States, Brazil, and South Africa, government officials struggle to classify and incorporate new populations into existing, and often outdated, structures as dominant, minority, and migrant groups negotiate the political, economic, and social challenges of increasing diversity amidst rapid change.

By drawing on case studies from across world regions and regime-types, this seminar will investigate the critical role that immigration and domestic racial hierarchies play in the creation of policies that drive economic growth and development, state-building and nationalism, and democratization and electoral politics. Rather than treating democratic

and authoritarian states as diametrically opposed, this seminar probes the common ways that states create and manage population boundaries to shape three core policy arenas: the polity, the economy, and security. This expansive cross-regional approach will reveal how political technologies in population management have developed and traveled between regions and states over the course of the twentieth century. Students will critically engage with a range of theoretical and empirical works on race and migration and will be guided through the planning and execution of a comparative research project.

Required Readings:

The following two books are required for class and available for purchase from the University Bookstore or online:

Kevin Johnson, *The “Huddled Masses” Myth: Immigration and Civil Rights*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000).

All other readings will be available for download from the course blackboard site or the library’s course reserves website <http://www.bu.edu/library/sel/services/reserve/>.

Assignments:

Participation/Notecards: (15%)

Active participation will account for a large proportion of the final grade. This means not only coming to classes and actively participating in class discussions, but also turning in a daily file card (directions below). If you do not turn in a file card, you will be marked as absent for that class session. Students may have one absence without penalty. **With the second unexcused absence, you will be docked 5 points from the final class grade.**

File-Card Requirement

1. At the beginning of each class (except on days when the short paper is due, you are giving your presentation, or exams are given) please turn in, in person, a 3 x 5 white file card with your name and the date on one side. On the other side of the file card, please include from the day's readings (1) one quotation, noting the author and page number, and (2) one comment on why your quotation raises an important issue. Make sure that your writing is legible and that your quotation and comment fits on one side of a single file card.
2. You may not turn in a file card if you do not attend class, or turn in a file card for anyone else, under any circumstances.
3. File cards will not be returned to you, but each will be recorded as satisfactory (check) or good (check plus) according to how carefully and thoughtfully it was done. At the end of the semester each student will get a class participation grade that will be largely based on the file card marks.

Presentation and short paper: (presentation 10%, short paper 15%)

This assignment aims to develop students' communication and language skills in order to plan and deliver an effective presentation. Students will sign up for individual presentations covering the readings for one class session at the beginning of the semester. The presentation will consist of an oral presentation (15 minutes) and a short paper on the week's readings. Students are encouraged to use handouts and video clips to help illustrate the stakes of the week's readings to the class. The short paper assignment is designed to help students identify the main arguments and supporting evidence of a text and make a succinct argument using evidence from the readings. The short paper should be 4 pages long (Times New Roman, 12 font, 1 inch margins).

Research Paper: research design (10%), rough draft (5%), final paper (35%) and peer review comments (10%)

Students will be guided through the research and writing process. Each will choose his or her own individual research project in consultation with the professor. Papers must be comparative in scope and focus on cases drawn from the three regions covered in class. The comparative method and case selection criteria will be discussed in class. Appropriate primary data sources and secondary sources will also be discussed in class.

The final research project accounts for a large proportion of the final grade and students will be evaluated in four parts:

First, students will turn in a research design midway through the course. Bring two copies of the research design to class, as one will go to the professor and another will go to your assigned 'writing partner' (or group). Students will read each other's research designs and provide written comments (to be shared with the professor).

Second, students will turn in a full (rough) draft of the final research paper before Thanksgiving break. Bring two copies of the rough draft to class and share one with your writing partner (or group).

Written comments on the research design and rough drafts will be graded for how thoughtful and helpful they are to your peers.

Finally the final draft of the research project is due during the final exam time for the course (**Dec 15, 5pm, no exceptions**). Papers must be at least 20 pages long (Times New Roman, 12 font, 1 inch margins).

Evaluation breakdown:

- Participation/notecards 15%

- Oral Presentation/short paper 25%
 - 15 min presentation* 10%
 - Short Paper* 15%

- Individual Research Project 60%
 - Research Design* 10%
 - Rough Draft* 5%
 - Final Paper* 35%
 - Peer Review Comments* 10%

Please note that late assignments will be docked a full grade per day.

Academic Integrity:

There is a zero-tolerance policy for plagiarism. Please review the BU academic code of conduct carefully: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

PART 1: THEMES—POLITY, ECONOMY, AND SECURITY

Week 1: Monday, September 1

No class, Labor Day

Week 2: Monday, September 8: Overview and Introduction—Studying Race as a Political and Economic Category Cross-nationally

Michael Hanchard and Erin Chung, “From Race Relations to Comparative Racial Politics: A Survey of Cross-National Scholarship on Race in the Social Sciences” in *Du Bois Review*, 1, 2 (2004): 319-343. (Blackboard)

Week 3: Monday, September 15: *Polity*—Racial Exclusion Across Regime Types: Totalitarianism and Democracy

Alana Lentin and Ronit Lentin, “Introduction” in *Race and State* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006): 1-14. (Blackboard)

Barnor Hesse, “Im/Plausible Deniability: Racism’s Conceptual Double Bind” in *Social Identities*, vol. 10, no. 1, (2004): 9-29. (Blackboard)

Demetra Kasimis, “The Tragedy of Blood-Based Membership: Secrecy and the Politics of Immigration in the Euripides’s *Ion*” *Political Theory* 41 (2) (2013): 231-256. (Blackboard)

Week 4: Monday, September 22: *Economy*—Transnational Labor Racialization (Old and New Forms)

Walter Johnson, “Introduction: A Person with a Price” and “Chapter 4: Turning People into Products” in *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 1-18 and 117-134. (Blackboard)

Edna Bonacich, Sabrina Alimahomed, and Jake Wilson, “The Racialization of Global Labor” *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol 52:3 (Nov 2008): 342-355. (Blackboard)

Week 5: Monday, September 29: *Security*—Migrant/Minority Incorporation and National Security Calculations

Myron Weiner, “Security, Stability, and International Migration,” *International Security*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Winter, 1992-1993): 91-126. (Blackboard)

Harris Mylonas, “Preface,” “Introduction” and “Chapter 2: The International Politics of Assimilation, Accommodation, and Exclusion” in *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2012): 1-49. (Course reserves)

PART 1: NORTH AMERICA:

Week 6: Monday, October 6: *Polity*—Designing the National Body and Electorate

Kevin Johnson, “Chapters 1-5”, in *The ‘Huddled Masses’ Myth: Immigration and Civil Rights* (2003): 1-123.

Recommended: Alexander Keyssar, “Chapter 3: Backsliding and Sidestepping” in *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000): 53-76. (Blackboard)

Note: There will be no classes held on Monday Oct 13

Week 7: (Make-up class) Tuesday, October 14: *Economy*—The Economic Causes and Impact of Migration

Aviva Chomsky, “Part 1: Immigrants and the Economy” in *“They Take Our Jobs” and 20 Other Myths About Immigration* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007): 1-52. (Course Reserves)

Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand, Chapters 1 and 2, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002): 1-23. (Course Reserves)

Tanya Basok, “He Came, He Saw, He... Stayed. Guest Worker Programmes and the Issue of Non-Return.” *International Migration* vol 38, 2 (2000): 215-236. (Blackboard)

Week 8: Monday, October 20: Security—Criminalized Bodies and National Security Threats

Hanchard, Michael. “September 11th and the Crisis of Race, State and Nation.” In *Migraciones Internacionales: Un Mundo En Movimiento*, edited by Madeleine Andebeng Alingúé (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, Organización Internacional para las Migraciones OIM, 2004): 318-337. (Blackboard)

David Brotherton and Philip Kretsedemas, “Chapter 1: Open Markets, Militarized Borders?” in *Keeping Out the Other: A Critical Introduction to Immigration Enforcement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008): 1-28. (Course reserves)

Dane Malone, “Chapter 3: Immigration, Terrorism, and Secret Prisons” in David Brotherton and Philip Kretsedemas, *Keeping Out the Other: A Critical Introduction to Immigration Enforcement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008): 44-63. (Course reserves)

Week 9: Monday, October 27: Documentary & Discussion

Screening—“Harvest of Empire: The Untold Story of Latinos in America” (90 min)

No Readings

Research Design Due Bring two hard copies to class

PART 3: WESTERN EUROPE:

Week 10: Monday, November 3: Polity—Nazism: European Aberration or an Extension of Imperialism?

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000): 31-78.

Week 11: Monday, November 10: *Economy*—Decolonization and Guest Workers

Gary Freeman, “Chapter 2: Labor Migration and Colonial Legacy” in *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: The French and British Experience, 1945-1975* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979): 20-42. (Blackboard)

Stephen Castles, “The Guest-Worker in Western Europe—An Obituary” *International Migration Review*, vol. 20, no. 4 (Winter, 1986): 761-778. (Blackboard)

Kathleen Paul, “Preface”, “Chapter 1: Subjects and Citizens” and “Chapter 6: Tinkering at the Edges of Nationality” in *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997): xi-xvii; 9-24; 131-169. (Course Reserves)

Recommended: Erik Bleich, “Introduction” in *Race Politics in Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 1-16. (Course reserves)

Week 12: Monday, November 17: *Security*—The Failures of Integration and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat

Christian Joppke, “Immigrants and Civic Integration in Western Europe” in *Belonging? Diversity, recognition and shared citizenship in Canada* (2007): 321-350. (Blackboard)

Gargi Bhaattacharyya, “Wars on our Doorstep: Islamicising ‘Race’ and Militarising Everyday Life” in Alana Lentin and Ronit Lentin, *Race and State* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006): 137-151. (Course reserves)

Chris Sparks, “The Production of the Imaginary Terrorist as an Object of Fear: Orientalism in the Twenty First Century” in Alana Lentin and Ronit Lentin, *Race and State* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006): 152-169. (Course Reserves)

PART 4: THE GULF

Week 13: Monday, November 24: *Economy*—From Indian Ocean trade to oil production: Old and New Wage Hierarchies

Johan Mathew, “Trafficking Labour: Abolition and the Exchange of Labour across the Arabian Sea, 1861- 1974” *Slavery & Abolition* 33, 1 (March 2012): 139-156. (Blackboard)

J. Seccombe and R.I. Lawless, “Foreign Worker Dependence in the Gulf, and the International Oil Companies: 1910-50” *International Migration Review*, 20, 3 (Autumn, 1986): 548-574. (Blackboard)

Robert Vitalis, “Black Gold, White Crude: An Essay on American Exceptionalism, Hierarchy, and Hegemony in the Gulf,” *Diplomatic History* 26, 2 (2002): 185-213. (Blackboard)

****Exchange first full draft of research papers. Comments due after Thanksgiving Break****

Week 14: Monday, December 1: *Polity*—The *Kafala* (Guest-worker) system and the Political stakes of Migration Control

J. Sater, “Citizenship and Migration in Arab Gulf Monarchies” in Peter Seeberg and Ziad Eyadat, *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East: New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013): 27-42. (Blackboard)

Kapiszewski, Andrzej. “Arab versus Asian Migrant Workers in the GCC Countries.” *United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in the Arab Region*. (Beirut: United Nations, Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, May 22, 2006): 1-21. (Blackboard)

John Chalcraft, “Migration and Popular Protest in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf in the 1950s and 1960s” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 79 (Spring 2011): 28-47. (Blackboard)

Week 15: Monday, December 6: *Security*—Controlling Migration flows and New Forms of Policing

Peter Seeberg and Ziad Eyadat, “Introduction: Migration, Security, and Citizenship in a Changing Middle East” in *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East: New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013): 1-26. (Blackboard)

Noora Lori, “National Security and the Management of Migrant Labor: A Case Study of the United Arab Emirates,” *Asian & Pacific Migration Journal* 20, 3/4 (2011): 315-337. (Blackboard)

Fiona Adamson, "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security"
International Security, 31, 1 (Summer 2006): 165-199. (Blackboard)

****Final Research paper due at 5pm on December 15, 2014. No exceptions****