

**Migration Policy: Theory and Practice**  
**IR 9300**  
**Summer II 2012**

**FORMAT: HYBRID (IN-CLASS/ONLINE DISCUSSION)**

**IN-CLASS MEETINGS HELD: Tuesday and Thursday, 6:00-9:00 p.m.**

**Location: Reinbolt 002**

**Office Hours: Prior to in-class meetings (4:00-5:30) in Reinbolt 002.  
Also by appointment**

**Contact: msullivan6@mail.stmarytx.edu**

**I. Course Description**

214 million persons live outside their country of origin, while a further 750 million persons are internally displaced within their country without a legal residence permit. In this course, we will examine the different reasons why people choose or feel compelled to leave their country of origin. We will consider how citizens of receiving states categorize migrants and respond to their presence through immigration and nationality laws. After a brief overview of immigration and citizenship laws, we will begin by reading from Christopher Heath Wellman and Philip Cole's *Debating the Ethics of Immigration: Is There a Right to Exclude* (2011), which considers moral arguments for and against immigration restrictions by leading political philosophers. But this is not just a theoretical course. Immigration restrictions have practical consequences for the receiving society, and are justified based on pressing social issues that impact citizens and immigrants alike. We will read academic research and issues taken from that week's news. We will use this information to consider how issues like the desire of families to stay together, the need for labor by businesses, unemployment, and the cost of social benefits influence immigration policymaking. We will read four additional texts that examine these issues in more detail.

- **Securitization:**
  - Ariane Chebel D'Appollonia's *Frontiers of Fear*, considers how citizens and their governments are responding to immigration in light of security concerns that escalated after 11 September 2001.
- **Human Rights:**
  - The essays in Jacqueline Bhabha's edited volume on *Children Without A State* ask us to reconsider easy distinctions between voluntary and forced migration and citizenship and its absence. They ask us to consider humanitarian issues that arise when the parents of citizen-children are deportable, and when children are forced to leave their country without papers or a legal guardian.
- **International Society:**
  - Emma Haddad's *The Refugee in International Society* considers state responses to forced migration from a historical and theoretical perspective, and asks how protection for forced migrants can be reconciled with an international system that rests on sovereignty as the self-interest of states.
- **Global Governance:**
  - The essays in the Transatlantic Council on Migration's *Improving the Governance of International Migration* expand on Haddad's view that migration poses a challenge for state sovereignty. They consider how states are working together to regulate international migration flows. This book raises troubling questions about power disparities between receiving and sending nations, and how international organizations are acting to prevent migrants from leaving their countries to seek asylum.

## II. Student Learning Outcomes

- **Participate in classroom discussion about the assigned readings, respond to other students.**
- Develop critical thinking and writing skills through class discussion and written assignments.
- Develop oral communication skills through classroom presentations.
- Fully consider and respond to different perspectives on a political controversy.
- Analyze scholarly articles and texts and understand their place in a broader conversation.

## III. Required Texts for this Course

- Christopher Heath Wellman and Philip Cole, *Debating the Ethics of Immigration: Is There a Right to Exclude*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).
- Jacqueline Bhabha ed. *Children Without a State*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).
- Emma Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society: Between Sovereigns*. (New York: Cambridge, 2008).
- Transatlantic Council on Migration, *Improving the Governance of International Migration*. (Verlag Bertelsman Stiftung, 2012).

- **All other readings will be posted on Blackboard.** Readings on Blackboard will have a \* beside them.

## IV. Course Requirements (Assignments/Attendance and Participation)

Your responsibilities for this course/deadlines/grade attached include:

1. **Attendance, Homework, and Participation in Discussions:** **30 percent.**
  - All short in-class assignments not listed here related to the final paper are counted towards your participation grade.
2. **Oral Presentations:**
  - One short presentation linking news to weekly readings (10 %): **10 percent.**
  - One oral review of a theme or chapter in an assigned book (10%): **10 percent.**
- **Note – the number of presentations may be adjusted depending on class enrollment.**
3. **Book Reviews (see page 4 for more info):**
  - 4 weekly papers each worth 10 percent. **40 percent.**
4. **Debriefing Exercise – August 2<sup>nd</sup> (see page 5 for more info)** **10 percent.**

## Tasks and Assignments – IR 9300

### 1. Participation – 30 percent of your grade. **READ THIS CAREFULLY.**

#### All Classes (whether in-class or online discussion):

- **Conversation Starters:**
  - Starting for the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of class, I want you to come up with at least two discussion questions/prompts for your fellow students based on the readings that are scheduled for the next class.
  - As you read, take note of any puzzles or problems that you think would interest your fellow students – where reasonable people might disagree based on the facts. Your questions should refer to a specific passage in the text that we can turn to.
  - **Hand in your discussion questions the night before class (i.e. Monday and Wednesday).** Each class, I'll select one question to lead off our discussion.

#### Online Discussion Sessions (Tentatively: July 12<sup>th</sup>, July 17<sup>th</sup>, July 19<sup>th</sup>, Aug 2<sup>nd</sup>)

- **Questions will be posted on the discussion board section of Blackboard for this course the day prior to the class session (for example, July 12<sup>th</sup>'s questions will be posted on the evening of July 11<sup>th</sup>).**
- I will expect all of you to answer each question, and to contribute to the discussion thread (check back and respond to your classmate's response). The expectation is that we will generate a conversation.
- I will check the discussion board questions within two days after the scheduled session (for example, for the July 12<sup>th</sup> session, I will read and respond to comments by the evening of July 14<sup>th</sup>). This gives you some time and flexibility to answer the questions.

#### In-Class Discussion – My Expectations

- **To attend every in-class meeting.** More than 1 absence = you may be dropped from the course. Since the class is very small – it may be cancelled by university administration if even one person frequently misses class.
- **To read, and be prepared to discuss specific passages in the readings – being able to draw from a well-chosen passage in the text shows me that you've done the reading and thought about it.**
- **LEADERSHIP.** This means not waiting for the professor to call on you or for the class to go silent for minutes on end. Exercising leadership will be rewarded.
- To interact with my opening discussion in light of what you have learned from the reading, by responding to both the questions I e-mail you (the day before class) and your fellow student's questions and comments. For the most part, you will be engaging with each other, and not with me – I'll chime in when necessary or as a point of clarification.

- To bring out the insights in what your fellow students are saying – by adding to their contributions, entering into dialogue with them, and expanding on their points. To provide the foundation for learning from each other.
- Most importantly, to engage with your fellow classmates. A great classroom discussion in a graduate seminar is the responsibility of everyone in the lecture. This means asking questions and for points of clarification from your fellow students, or adding new insights to what they have to say.
- Participation will be graded in terms of quality (are you engaging with the material and are you on topic) and not *just* quantity (starting a conversation is great, but dominating the conversation can be counterproductive). Being on topic means discussing your informed interpretations on the readings, and not talking about opinions and experiences for their own sake.

**2. FOUR (2 to 3 page) book reviews (worth 10 percent each, total 40 percent):**

- **1<sup>st</sup> Book Review: Due by e-mail, Thursday July 12<sup>th</sup> by 11:59 p.m. covering Christopher Wellman and Philip Cole’s *Debating the Ethics of Immigration***
- **2<sup>nd</sup> Book Review: Due by e-mail, Thursday July 19<sup>th</sup> by 11:59 p.m. covering Ariane Chebel D’Appollonia’s *Frontiers of Fear***
- **3<sup>rd</sup> Book Review: Due IN CLASS, Thursday July 26<sup>th</sup> covering Emma Haddad’s *Refugees in International Society***
- **4<sup>th</sup> Book Review: Due IN CLASS, Tuesday July 31<sup>st</sup> covering the introduction and a chapter of *Improving the Governance of International Migration***

**Written Component: (total = 40 percent)**

- The book review should cover the introduction and conclusion, and focus on at least one chapter with a self-contained argument.
- You should start with the facts:
  - begin by giving a brief overview of the motive for the book (why did she write it, what issue is she addressing)
  - identify the research question or “puzzle” addressed by the author (if there is one);
  - review the theoretical assumptions the author uses in developing his or her explanation for the puzzle.
  - state the author’s argument or hypothesis
  - evaluate the research strategy (if any) that the author uses to “test” this hypothesis.
- Then bring in your educated opinion (analysis):
  - What are the main strengths and weaknesses of the author’s approach and how could the research strategy be improved?
  - What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis that relate to current debates in IR/immigration in the news (at this point, you can bring in your own opinion).

**Oral Component: (total = 10 percent)**

- **Everyone will present their book reviews in class once per semester (presentations will be on Tuesday July 24<sup>th</sup>, Thursday July 26<sup>th</sup>, and Tuesday July 31<sup>st</sup>). The presentation should be about 10-15 minutes.** Don't *just* read your book review. Connect the author's argument to a practical issue in the immigration debate that interests you. Ask your fellow students questions about the book, or how it applies to issues in IR/current events that you're all likely to be familiar with.

**3. Immigration in the News/Public Policy Discussions:**

**Once a semester, starting July 10<sup>th</sup> in-class session (10 percent total).**

**I will need volunteers for:**

- **July 10<sup>th</sup>**
- **July 24<sup>th</sup>**
- **July 26<sup>th</sup>**
- **July 31<sup>st</sup>**
- Your task will be to explain how that article connects to the current political debate about immigration policy – either in the U.S. or another region of the world you're more familiar with (i.e. the EU). You should also link the issue in the article to the topic or theory that's being addressed in the readings for this week.
- By article – I mean either a national newspaper (*New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Globe and Mail* (Canada), *Le Monde* (France) or an in-depth report by a public policy group (which requires a summary and an explanation of possible biases to the class from you)
- Presentations should be at least 10 minutes (20 maximum).
- Presentations should end with questions/conversation starters (at least 2) for the audience.
- Every student is responsible for presenting an article once this semester.
- **You should hand in a short outline of your presentation with a link to the article, the points you've prepared for discussion, and your discussion questions. This can be in point form (prepare it as a handout for the class). This is due the day of your presentation.**

**4. Debriefing/Reflection Exercise – due August 2nd (10 percent):**

- This exercise serves the same purpose as an exam, but it's more open-ended. It is designed for you to reflect on what you have learned from each week of the class. **Take notes during every class.**
- **You should write at least one paragraph covering each week of the semester.**
  - You should cite specific passages in the readings for that week, or comments from the instructor or your fellow students (either on the discussion board or in class).
- **You should conclude by discussing how what you've learned in this class relates to your broader area of study in the M.A. program in International Relations** (a paragraph or two should suffice).

**5. Feedback (not graded – but very helpful for both of us!)**

- I welcome your suggestions and honest feedback about the course. I want to know what you find interesting, what you want to learn more about, and what's working and what's not before the end of the class. If there's an area where you want to learn more after our lecture and discussion, or if you're confused about anything, come and see me during my office hours.

### V. Class Policies and Resources to Keep in Mind

- This class will not be an easy "A". The highest grade can be earned, but it is reserved for truly exceptional, beyond the call of duty performance, as a matter of fairness to those who excel and concern for the integrity of the graduate program in IR. I do not negotiate grades or look favorably on student attempts to do so.
- That said, I do want to help you to improve and to learn more for next time. So ask me questions – in class, by e-mail, or during office hours!
  - If you have any questions, or just want to chat about the course, e-mail me or visit me during office hours! You get more out of any class and your college experience when you talk to your professors about the course and your academic interests/future plans. I'm also really interested in this topic – the ethics of immigration policy – and politics in general, and I like hearing your thoughts on what you're learning in this course!
- Genuine enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity almost always results in more effective participation and it is a good *starting point* for effective writing.
- Regular Participation is a Must (30 percent of your grade!)
  - **Participation:** In a small seminar, regular attendance and participation during every class are essential. You miss a lot if you miss even one summer class. The learning experience in this class is facilitated by your response to questions, discussions with other students and the professor, presentations, and engagement with the readings.
  - **Homework:** If students are having difficulties participating or sustaining a conversation, I may assign additional exercises (homework) to help structure the discussion and responses to the readings. These will become part of your participation grade.
  - You can miss only one class per semester without penalty.
  - All subsequent absences can only be excused by the professor if they are medical or family emergencies. I may ask to see documentation (doctor's note). Each unexcused absence = 2.5 percent deduction from your final grade (B becomes B minus)
  - **If you miss more than one class without a documented reason, you can be dropped from this course. If you frequently miss class even for excused reasons, I will ask you to withdraw.**

- **Don't let it come to that. If you're struggling with this course, please e-mail me or drop by when I have office hours. I want to help you to succeed, and I'm always willing to talk about the course, your future plans, or to just have a conversation!**
- **Being on time to class**
  - I expect that you will be on time to class (6:00 p.m. and not 6:05 p.m.). Students may come late two times; however, after the third time I will discuss the situation with the student. After that, I will deduct 5 points for each time a student is late.
- **Cell phones, mp3 players, and PDAs**
  - Please turn off your cell phone, your iPhone, your mp3 player, your Blackberry, etc. before coming to class. One-time exceptions may be made if you have a family emergency.
- **Email messages to the class and to the instructor (msullivan6@mail.stmarytx.edu)**
  - I will communicate with the class via email, using Blackboard. Doing so enables me to send a message to each student at the same time. Please get in the habit of checking your St.Mary's email account regularly. If you have a quick question, I encourage you to reach me by email. If you do email me, be sure to specify the subject of the message in the subject line. Given computer viruses, I typically delete messages with nothing in the subject line.
- **Student special needs**
  - St.Mary's University is committed to providing its students access to education. If you have a documented special need that affects your learning or performance on exams or papers, you will need to contact the Educational Support Office (Rhonda Rapp, 210-436-3135/rrapp2@stmarytx.edu) to identify accommodations that are appropriate.
- **Academic dishonesty**
  - Please note that I take extremely seriously the university's policy on the need for academic honesty in all your work. Be sure to always cite your sources (where you got the information that you're using in any written assignment). Any form of dishonesty in an assignment will lead to a zero on the assignment, and I reserve the right to give a grade of F for the course as well.

## VI. Course Outline (Readings)

### 1. Introduction to Immigration and Citizenship Theory

#### July 3<sup>rd</sup> – Immigration, Citizenship, and Vulnerable Persons (IN CLASS)

Read prior to class:

- Jacqueline Bhabha, *Children Without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), page xii (first page of preface) and 1-39.
- (see link) Amanda Levinson, “Unaccompanied Immigrant Children: A Growing Phenomenon with Few Easy Solutions,” *Migration Policy Institute* (January 2011). Available Online: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=823>
- (see link) Sig Christenson and Jason Buch, “Lackland Dorm to House Overflow of Detained Kids,” *San Antonio Express News*, 17 April 2012. Available Online: [http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local\\_news/article/Lackland-dorm-to-house-overflow-of-detained-kids-3485532.php](http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local_news/article/Lackland-dorm-to-house-overflow-of-detained-kids-3485532.php)
- (see link) “Which Way Home – About the Film.” Available Online: <http://whichwayhome.net/about.html>, <http://whichwayhome.net/meet-the-children.html>.

In class, after some introductory business, we will be watching the documentary “Which Way Home” and then discussing how Kevin and the other main characters in this account are *de facto* stateless, vulnerable, and in need of state protection – and what “state protection” might mean in practice. Be careful about drawing too many conclusions from a single story!

#### July 5th – Immigration, Citizenship and the Purpose of Government (IN-CLASS)

- \*John Locke, “On the Beginning of Political Societies,” in the *Second Treatise of Government*, sections 116-122.
- \*Peter Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, *Citizenship Without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Polity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985): 1-41
- David B. Thronson, “Clashing Values and Cross-Purposes: Immigration Law’s Marginalization of Children and Families,” in Jacqueline Bhabha ed. *Children Without a State* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011): 237-254.
- Linda K. Kerber, “Birthright Citizenship: The Vulnerability and Resilience of an American Constitutional Principle,” in Jacqueline Bhabha ed. *Children Without a State* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011): 255-278.

Consider:

- What is the purpose of government, from John Locke’s perspective? Why should individuals who are born in a country be free to leave if they so choose?
- Why is the notion that our political obligations ought to be chosen attractive? Is this notion plausible or desirable in the real world?

- Why are people who are born in a country considered to be citizens of that country? Do Schuck and Smith have a compelling case for changing this practice? What harm might come of this? To the children of citizens? To the children of undocumented immigrants?
- Does it really matter that children are citizens of the country where they are born if their parents can be deported from that country, as Thronson explains?

## 2. Debating the Ethics of Immigration: Is there a Right to Exclude

### July 10<sup>th</sup> – The Moral Case for Exclusion – Philosophical Perspectives (IN-CLASS)

Prior to class, read:

- p. 1-9 (Introduction) and p. 159-171 (The Shape of the Debate) in Christopher Heath Wellman and Philip Cole, *Debating The Ethics of Immigration: Is There a Right to Exclude*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Christopher Wellman, “In Defense of the Right to Exclude,” in Wellman and Cole, *Debating the Ethics of Immigration*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 13-55.
- \* Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 31-63.

### July 12<sup>th</sup> – The Moral Case for Inclusion – Philosophical Perspectives (ONLINE):

Prior to class, read:

- Christopher Wellman, Chapters 2 through 5, in *Debating the Ethics of Immigration*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 57-116.
- Philip Cole, “The Case Against the Right to Exclude,” in *Debating the Ethics of Immigration*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 173-231.
- \*Joseph Carens, “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders,” *Review of Politics* 49 (1987): 251-273.

## 3. Immigration and Securitization

### July 17<sup>th</sup> – The Framing of Immigration as a Security Issue (ONLINE):

Prior to class, read:

- Ariane Chebel D’Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012): 1-109.

### July 19<sup>th</sup> – The Objectives of Immigration Policies – Are States Succeeding? (ONLINE)

Prior to class, read:

- Ariane Chebel D’Appollonia, *Frontiers of Fear* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012): 112-263.

#### 4. Humanitarian Issues

##### **July 24<sup>th</sup> – Refugees in International Society – Who Is Responsible for Their Protection? (IN-CLASS)**

Prior to class, read:

- Christopher Wellman, “Refugees,” in *Debating the Ethics of Immigration*, p. 117-124.
- \*Hannah Arendt, “Decline of the Nation State, End of Rights of Man,” *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. (New York: Harcourt Publishing, 1985): 267-302.
- Emma Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) – all except Chapter 2.

##### **July 26<sup>th</sup> – Who Is a Refugee in Need of Protection? (IN-CLASS)**

Prior to class, read:

- Emma Haddad, *The Refugee in International Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23-46 (Chapter 2)
- Jacqueline Bhabha ed. *Children Without a State* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011): xii, 43-66, 109-236, 279-306.

#### 5. Global Governance

##### **July 31<sup>st</sup> – The Global Governance of International Migration – Rights-Centered Views (IN-CLASS)**

Prior to class, read:

- Transatlantic Council on Migration, *Improving the Global Governance of International Migration*, p. 7-64, 147-170.

##### **August 2<sup>nd</sup> – The Global Governance of International Migration – Security Partnerships (ONLINE)**

Prior to class, read:

- Transatlantic Council on Migration, *Improving the Global Governance of International Migration*, p. 65-146.