

POLA01H
Critical Issues in Politics I: Migration, Membership and Identity

University of Toronto Scarborough
Department of Political Science
Fall 2014
Wednesday, 11:00 AM - 1:00 PM Room SY110

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 3:00-4:00, Wednesdays 1:00-2:00, or by appointment

Course Description

International migration constitutes a profoundly political act. The crossing of a border necessarily leads to changes in an individual's membership status – through the alchemy of politics and policy, a citizen of country *x* can become a tourist, an illegal immigrant, a refugee, a guest worker, an immigrant, or a naturalized citizen in country *y* by simply crossing a border. We tend to see the distinction between citizens and foreigners as natural and unproblematic. This course forces us to think hard about such distinctions and consider how they have become such an accepted and unquestioned part of our lives.

We consider different forms of voluntary and involuntary migration, citizenship policies, and debates over multiculturalism and immigrant integration. We also consider arguments for and against greater freedom of movement, asking whether a world of relatively open borders might be superior to today's world of highly limited movement. Whereas goods, money, and ideas flow relatively freely, human beings are confronted by customs and border agents charged with keeping unauthorized migrants out. Should we be content with this state of affairs or see it as a political and ethical problem that ought to be challenged? Is greater freedom of movement a potential means of encouraging economic and political development or do immigration controls enable a sense of solidarity necessary for the flourishing of democracy?

In thinking through and about the politics of migration and membership, we will explore fundamental concepts of politics and political science, including sovereignty, power, the state, and democracy. As a gateway to the political science program, this course seeks to get you in the mindset of politics and to introduce you to thinking like a political scientist. This requires that you have the right vocabulary and conceptual foundations.

But you need to do more than think like a political scientist; you also need to learn to act like one. This course will help you develop skills you will need for the rest of your political science courses. You will practice reading like a political scientist; developing, supporting, and assessing arguments like a political scientist; and writing like a political scientist. You will also learn about the resources available to you through the UTSC Library and Writing Centre.

Course Texts (Available for purchase at the UTSC Bookstore)

- Goldin, Ian, Geoffrey Cameron and Meera Balarajan. *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*. Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Moses, Jonathon W. *International Migration: Globalization's Last Frontier*. Zed Books, 2006.
- Charlton, Lucille and Mark Charlton. *The Nelson Guide to Research and Writing in Political Science*, 2nd Edition, Nelson Education, 2013.

All other required and recommended readings will be available through the course Blackboard site.

Course Requirements and Grading

Grades for this course will be based on five requirements:

Reading Journal	Cumulative	10%
Tutorial Participation	Cumulative	10%
Midterm Test	In class October 22	20%
Essay Proposal	Due November 3	10%
Essay	Due December 1	20%
Final Examination	Date and location TBA	30%

Reading Journals

The assigned readings for this course are **mandatory**. Completing the weekly required readings will help you prepare and better understand lectures, and get you into the practice of reading like a political scientist. The readings and lectures complement one another – you will be tested on your comprehension of both and will not succeed by doing either alone. In order to help you keep up with the readings and encourage you to practice reading critically, you will keep a reading journal over the course of the term.

The reading journal entries are designed to help you learn to map the arguments in political science articles. This will also help you develop your own arguments in your essays. The mapping is described on a resource sheet (which includes a template) on Blackboard, but essentially each reading journal entry (maximum of 250 words) includes the following:

1. Identification of the reading's thesis or central argument (1-2 sentences)
2. Description of 1-2 arguments made in support of the thesis (1-2 sentences each)
3. Description of the evidence that supports the arguments (1-2 sentences each)
4. A criticism of, or question about, the reading (1-2 sentences)

You must complete 10 journal entries (1 per week for weeks 2-12, excluding the week of the midterm). When there is more than one reading for the week you will be assigned one of the readings for your journal entry (PLEASE NOTE: you are still responsible for the material in readings that you do not include in your journal). Journal entries must be uploaded to

Blackboard before the start of lecture for the week (i.e. the reading journal for week 2 must be uploaded to Blackboard by 11:00 AM on September 10). Your reading journal will be reviewed by week five (and periodically after that) to make sure that you are on the right track and the entire journal will be graded at the end of the term. The marking of the journal articles is as follows:

- 1 = journal entry is complete and done with some thought.
- 0.5 = journal entry is complete but shows little effort or misses the point of the reading
- 0 = journal entry is incomplete

Tutorial Participation

Tutorials are your chance to discuss the issues we tackle in lecture in a small group setting. The tutorials will also include significant skill building activities (reading, critical reflection, writing). These are for your benefit and you have a great set of TAs to help guide you through the course. Take advantage of the tutorials; come ready to discuss and ask questions and participate. You are being graded on participation in tutorial and will receive zero points for days that you are not there. These discussions are integral to the class experience and I fully believe we learn as much from talking to one another as through any other method. I realize that not everyone is comfortable talking in front of one's peers, but I expect some effort to be made.

Midterm – October 22

The midterm exam covers all reading material and lectures from September 3 through October 8. The exam **may** include multiple choice, short answer, and short essay questions. An exam study guide will be provided.

Essay (Proposal due November 3, Final Paper due December 1)

Please note that a full assignment description and guideline will be uploaded to Blackboard with all the details of this assignment in week 2 or 3. You will develop a paper in response to one of a number of possible questions provided. You will develop a proposal for the paper that will include an introductory paragraph with your thesis statement, an outline of your argument and a bibliography with a maximum of 10 sources. You will receive feedback and a grade on the paper proposal and will also complete a peer-review exercise with your class colleagues in one of the tutorials. You will prepare the final paper (maximum of 1250 words) that takes the feedback you have received into consideration.

Final Exam

The final exam will be cumulative, covering all reading material and lectures from the semester. The exam **may** include multiple choice, short answer, and short essay questions. A study guide will be provided.

Policies on Missed Tests/Examinations

Unexcused absence from the midterm test or final examination will result in a failing grade for that test or examination. If you are unable to attend the midterm test or final examination, you must inform me of your absence **before** the missed test or examination. Be prepared to provide appropriate written proof of medical emergencies and doctor's appointments (in the untimely death of a loved one, you will also be asked to provide a death certificate). I will arrange any make-up tests on a case-by-case basis. Make-up final examinations must be arranged through the Registrar's Office.

Late Penalties for Written Work

If you cannot meet a deadline, it is best to talk to me about it in advance –I am less likely to be sympathetic once a deadline has passed. Late assignments will be penalized 5% **per calendar day** beginning with the day of the missed deadline. Keep rough and draft work until marked assignments have been returned.

Laptop/Tablet Policy

This lecture will be a laptop and tablet free zone. There is now significant research available showing that laptop/tablet use in lectures disturbs those around the laptop/tablet user and has negative effects on the laptop/tablet user's performance on tests *even when the laptop is used appropriately for note-taking*. This is in addition to the copious evidence that the kind of multitasking that usually accompanies laptop/tablet use in the classroom hurts academic performance. I have therefore decided that laptops/tablets cannot be used in my lecture. Please do not bring them to lecture or leave them in your bag.

Cell Phones

Please turn off cell phones or in the very least turn off the ringer. It is distracting and disrespectful to your fellow students and to me to answer calls. If you must text (and there is almost no reason that you must text during a lecture), make it brief and discrete. If texting becomes a distraction to the lecture, I will ask you to stop and may disallow all texting in class.

Email Etiquette

I will do my best to answer your questions in a timely manner (usually within 48 hours), but please keep the following in mind:

- Do not expect instant replies (especially in the evening)
- Do not expect replies over the weekend
- Please check the syllabus and class intranet page before sending questions on class logistics
- Substantive questions are best handled during office hours
- "Hey," or anything like this, is not a proper way to begin an email. "Dear Professor Triadafilopoulos," "Hi Professor Triadafilopoulos," or "Hello Prof. Triadafilopoulos" are fine

Academic Integrity

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. The more obvious instances of plagiarism include copying material from another source (book, journal, website, another student, and so on) without acknowledging the source, presenting an argument as your own – whether or not it is a direct quotation – rather than fully acknowledging the true originator of the idea, having another person help you to write your essay, and buying an essay. All of these are instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously and they will result in academic penalty. Those penalties can range from failing the assignment, failing the course, having a notation on your academic transcript, and/or suspension from the university. For further information on the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, see:

<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/AssetFactory.aspx?did=4871>.

To avoid problems in your assignments, please consult “How Not to Plagiarize,” by Margaret Procter, Coordinator of Writing Support, U of T: www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize.

Statement on the Use of Turnitin:

This course uses Turnitin.com, a tool which facilitates an analysis of textual similarities between sources. “Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.”

Accessibility Services

Students requiring assistance because of a disability should inform me and contact UTSC Accessibility Services (<http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~ability/>) as soon as possible.

Writing Centre

You are strongly encouraged to take advantage of the assistance and support offered by the UTSC Writing Centre (<http://ctl.utsc.utoronto.ca/twc/main>). Be sure to arrange appointments well in advance of relevant due dates.

Blackboard

Please consult the course Blackboard site regularly, as I will post discussion topics, media reports, announcements of relevant events, and important reminders. I will also post the outlines of my lectures, along with the course syllabus and handouts, and you will submit your assignments via Blackboard. Be sure to check the course page at least once a week.

Recommended Readings, Course Librarian, and Other Electronic Resources

Recommended readings will be posted on the course Blackboard site. If you have questions about political science sources and other library resources, be sure to get in touch with our course librarian, Chad Crichton <ccrichton@utsc.utoronto.ca>.

Useful on-line resources include:

- <http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/index.php?id=4&L=1> (Focus Migration)
- <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home.html> (International Organization for Migration – IOM)
- <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/> (United Nations Population Division)
- <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/tehis/vtx/home> (United Nations high commissioner for Refugees – UNHCR)
- <http://www.ilo.org/migrant/lang--en/index.htm> (International Labour Organization, Labour Migration Branch)
- <http://www.migrationinformation.org> (Migration Policy Institute)
- <http://emn.intrasoft-intl.com/html/index.html> (European Migration Network)
- www.mipex.eu (Migrant Integration Policy Index)
- <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/global-bilateral-migration-database> (World Bank, Global Bilateral Migration Database)
- <http://www.imldb.iom.int/section.do> (International Migration Law database)
- <http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/index.html> (Multiculturalism Policy Index)



Outline of Lecture Topics and Readings

(Please use readings marked with an asterisk[*] for your Reading Journals)

September 3 – Week One: Course Introduction

I will provide an overview of the course's objectives, requirements and expectations. We will also begin to think about the politics of membership prompted by international migration.

Required Tasks:

- Carefully review the course syllabus
 - Purchase course texts
 - Log-on to Blackboard and familiarize yourself with the course page
- *There will be no tutorial scheduled for this week.*

September 10 – Week Two: Migration and the State

How does the organization of the world into nation-states influence our understandings of human mobility? What are the consequences of this way of framing movement?

Required Reading:

- John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'," *Sociological Theory* VOL. 16, No. 3 (1998): pp. 239-259.*
- Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration, and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* VOL. 2, No. 4 (2002): pp. 301-334.

Recommended:

- Peter Nyers, "No One Is Illegal Between City and Nation," *Studies in Social Justice* VOL. 4, No. 2 (2010): pp. 127-143.
 - Aristide R. Zolberg, "International Migrations in Political Perspective," in *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements*, ed. Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Keely and Silvano M. Tomasi (New York, 1981): pp. 3-27.
- *There will be no tutorial scheduled for this week. We will have someone from the English Language Resource Centre visit class to discuss the services they offer to students.*

September 17 – Week Three: International Migration in History

What factors account for differences in patterns of international migration across time? Was there greater freedom of movement in the past? For whom?

Required Reading:

- Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, *Exceptional People*, chapters. 1-3, pp. 11-93.
- Moses, *International Migration*, chapter 3, pp. 35-56.*

Recommended:

- Adam McKeown, "Global Migration: 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* VOL. 15, No. 2 (2004): pp. 155-189.
- *Tutorial: How to read an academic article. We will also have an in-class presentation from a staff member of the Writing Centre.*

September 24 – Week Four: Forms of Migration: Free, Forced, Wanted and Unwanted

How are different forms of migration categorized? Are such categories accurate and useful? What do they say about how we distinguish among insiders and outsiders?

Required Reading:

- Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, *Exceptional People*, chapters 4* and 5, pp. 97-161.

Recommended:

- Aristide R. Zolberg, "Wanted But Not Welcome: Alien Labor in Western Development," in *Population in an Interacting World*, ed. William Alonso (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987): pp. 36-73.
- *Tutorial: Evaluating and composing thesis statements. The Political Science librarian, Chad Crichton, will visit us to discuss how to find sources for essays.*

October 1 – Week Five: The Politics of Migration Control

How do states respond to international migration politically? What are the political drivers of immigration policy? What is the relation among ideas, interests and institutions?

Required Reading:

- Christina Boswell, "Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way?" *International Migration Review* VOL. 41, No. 1 (2007): 75-100.*

- Aristide Zolberg, "Matters of State: Theorizing Immigration Policy," in *How Many Exceptionalisms?* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008): pp. 250-286.

Recommended:

- Gary P. Freeman, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic Societies," *International Migration Review* VOL. 29, No. 4 (1995): 881-902.
- Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics* VOL. 50, No. 2 (1998): pp. 266-293.
- *Tutorial: Developing and defending an argument. There will also be an optional library research workshop scheduled for this week.*

October 8 – Week Six: Temporary Foreign Workers

What are the fundamental features of temporary foreign worker schemes? Are they an effective means of globalizing labour markets? Are temporary foreign worker schemes ethical?

Required Reading:

- Cindy Hahmovitch, "Creating Perfect Immigrants: Guestworkers of the World in Historical Perspective 1," *Labour History* VOL. 44, No. 1 (2003): pp. 69-94.
- Martin Ruhs and Philip Martin, "Numbers vs. Rights: Trade-Offs and Guest Worker Programs," *International Migration Review* VOL. 42, No. 1 (2008): pp. 249-265.*
- Lant Pritchett, "Bilateral Guest Worker Agreements: A Win-Win Solution for Rich Countries and Poor People in the Developing World," *CGD Brief* (Washington: D.C.: Center for Global Development, March 2007): pp. 1-4.

Recommended:

- Joseph H. Carens, "Live-in Domestic, Seasonal Workers, and Others Hard to Locate on the Map of Democracy," in *Population and Political Theory*, ed. James S. Fishkin and Robert E. Goodin (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010): pp. 206-234.
- *Tutorial: Midterm preparation/review.*

October 15 – Reading Week: No Class

October 22 – Week Seven: Midterm Test (In Class)

October 29 – Week Eight: Refugees

Who is a refugee? What are the origins of the contemporary refugee system? How is the politics of asylum changing? Should our definition of a refugee be more expansive?

Required Reading:

- Randall Hansen, “State Controls: Borders, Refugees, and Citizenship,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, ed. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199652433.013.0032.*
- Aristide Zolberg, Astri Suhrke and Sergio Aguayo, “Who Is a Refugee?” in *Escape From Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989): pp. 3-36.

Recommended:

- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, “Definition and Descriptions,” in *The Refugee in International Law*, Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996): 3-32.
- Timothy J. Hatton, “The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?” *The Economic Journal* 119 (2009): F183-F213.
- *Tutorial: You will learn how to find, evaluate and cite sources. There will also be an optional essay writing workshop at the Writing Centre.*

November 5 – Week Nine: Citizenship

What is citizenship? What factors influence states’ choice of naturalization policies? How do citizenship regimes influence persons’ life chances?

Required Reading:

- Richard Bellamy, “Citizenship,” unpublished manuscript, 2014.
- Ayelet Shachar, “Citizenship,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law*, ed. Michel Rosenfeld and András Sajó (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): pp. 1002-1019.

Recommended:

- Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): pp. 1-34, 179-190.
- *Tutorial: Peer-review paper proposals.*

November 12 – Week Ten: Integration and Multiculturalism

What does integration entail? How does multiculturalism differ from civic integration? Is multiculturalism in decline?

Required Reading:

- Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, *Exceptional People*, chapter 6, pp. 162-210.
- Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure and the Future* (Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute, 2012): pp. 1-25.*

Recommended:

- Review the Multiculturalism Policy Index (<http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/index.html>)
- *Tutorial: Essay organization, citation and editing..*

November 19 – Week Eleven: Arguments for Greater Freedom of Movement

What are the economic, political and ethical arguments for increased freedom of movement? Would a world of open borders be preferable to today's regime of limited migration?

Required Reading:

- Moses, *International Migration*, chapters 1-2, 4-6,* pp. 1-34, 57-135.

Recommended :

- Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, *Exceptional People*, chapter 7, pp. 213-258.
- *Tutorial: Final exam review and preparation.*

November 26 – Week Twelve: Freedom of Movement – Objections and Policy Responses

What are some objections to freedom of movement? Are they convincing? How might greater freedom of movement be realized practically?

- Moses, *International Migration*, chapters 8* and 9, pp. 164-211.
- Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan, *Exceptional People*, chapter 8, pp. 259-285.
- *There will be no tutorial scheduled for this week.*