

Borders, Displacement, and the State

Winter 2019, GL/POLS/ILST/SOCI 4652, Glendon College, York University
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In this intensive fourth-year seminar we investigate the role of population movement and displacement in state transformation, drawing on both historical and contemporary cases to show how migration and borders shape the relationship between citizens, states, and society more broadly. The seminar's dual goals are to enable you to 1) gain an empirical understanding and theoretical grounding that enable you to analyze ideas and concepts related to borders, migration, population displacement, and citizenship, and 2) hone your writing skills through weekly short writing assignments. To succeed, you should read and think carefully about the readings before the relevant class, lead some class discussions and participate actively in the others, and write weekly reading analyses.

The seminar's overarching goals include improving your ability to think critically and analytically; write clearly and effectively; improve and utilize the skills and perspectives of political science and related disciplines; and, less tied to the specific content of this course (and with thanks to the authors of *Practical Wisdom*, a gloss on Aristotle's *Ethics*), develop the intellectual virtues you need to be a good student and good citizen: love of truth, honesty, courage, fairness, and wisdom. We meet in York Hall B206 on Tuesdays from 9am to noon.

Grading

Discussion leadership	18%	(= best three, times 6% each)
Reading analyses	48%	(= best eight, times 6% each)
Participation	10%	
Final examination	10%	
Research paper	14%	

Discussion leadership: An important skill – whether in academic settings or elsewhere – is the ability to lead and guide discussions. Our in-class discussions will focus on ideas and arguments inspired by the readings; *they will not summarize the readings*. (Leaders will assume that everyone has read and thought carefully about each week's readings.) The aim of the discussions is not to convey information but to consider different ways of thinking and reasoning. You will learn to frame questions that invite serious debate in ways that challenge and hopefully enlighten all members of the class. Each discussion block lasts 25-30 minutes and features two discussion leaders. (Some readings/topics may be combined, with the corresponding number of discussion leaders.) For each discussion, you should prepare several questions and a general sense of what the discussion should accomplish. Again, you should *not* prepare a presentation; the 'talking' should be done mostly by your classmates, with guidance and encouragement from you.

Reading analyses: Being able to analyze and critique what you have read is an important skill. In this course you will have eleven opportunities to write 750ish word analyses (see "Guidelines for Reading Analyses" for guidelines); your best eight count.

Participation: You should aim to attend all classes and participate actively in discussions. The *quality* of your contributions matters far more than their quantity, but you should aim to contribute something every week.

The Final examination will allow you to demonstrate the knowledge you have gained.

The research paper will be a guided research question that will allow you to integrate what you have learned over the course of the term with a reflection on a current issue.

Policies: Important information for students regarding policies is available via <http://secretariat-policies.info.yorku.ca/>

Please also familiarize yourself with <http://www.yorku.ca/academicintegrity/>

This class will operate using Glendon eclass (moodle) for reading materials (all available for free on the website), submission of assignments, and other course-related materials: <http://eclass.glendon.yorku.ca/> Please also ensure your email address is correct.

Course outline

I (8 Jan) Introductions

During this class, professor Maas will introduce the course, answer your questions, solicit your input for additional themes for readings for later weeks, then give a brief lecture about some reasons to study the relationship between borders, migration and population displacement, and the state by introducing one of his articles, which we then discuss:

Willem Maas, "Boundaries of Political Community in Europe, the US, and Canada," in *Journal of European Integration* 39:5 (2017), 575-90.

II (15 Jan) Borders, Migration, Citizenship, and the State

James C. Scott, "Authoritarian High Modernism," chapter 3 in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), 87-102 + notes.

James F. Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review* 38:3 (2004), 885-912.

Willem Maas, "Immigrant Integration, Gender, and Citizenship in the Dutch Republic," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1:3 (2013), 390-401.

News articles: "Home-care coverage gap remains for patients who move provinces"; "Services Emerge to Help Out-of-State Students Pay In-State Tuition"; "The Great Out-of-State Migration: Where Students Go"; "Why Are Americans Staying Put?"; "Greece's Great Hemorrhaging"

III (22 Jan) States Controlling Movement and Migration

Alexander C. Diener, "Re-Scaling the Geography of Citizenship," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

John Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of Movement'," *Sociological Theory* 16:3 (1998): 239-59.

Sara Kalm, "Global Migration Management, Order and Access to Mobility," *IMIS-Beiträge* 40 (2012), 49-73.

Matthew Light, "What Does It Mean to Control Migration? Soviet Mobility Policies in Comparative Perspective," *Law & Social Inquiry* 37:2 (2012), 395-430

Recommended: John Torpey, "Revolutions and freedom of movement: An analysis of passport controls in the French, Russian, and Chinese Revolutions," *Theory and Society* 26 (1997): 837-68.

News pieces: What is the current state of the migration crisis in Europe?; Canadian immigrant investor program; Trump's tweet on border walls in Europe.

IV (5 Feb) The European Project

Willem Maas, "Free Movement and the Difference that Citizenship Makes," *Journal of European Integration History* 23:1 (2017), 85-101.

Angelika Schenk and Susanne K. Schmidt, "Student mobility: Failing on the social dimension: judicial law-making and student mobility in the EU," *Journal of European Public Policy* 25:10 (2018), 1522-40.

Willem Maas, "Migrants, states, and EU citizenship's unfulfilled promise," *Citizenship Studies* 12:6 (2008), 583-596.

Jacqueline S. Gehring, "Roma and the Limits of Free Movement in the European Union," in Maas (ed), *Democratic Citizenship and the Free Movement of People* (2013).

Recommended: Willem Maas, "Multilevel Citizenship," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

Schengen website; Viktor Orban's Far-Right Vision for Europe; The EU Wants to Clamp Down on the Super Rich's Visa of Choice.

Reading week: no meeting on 19 Feb

V (26 Feb) Borders, Free Movement, and Justice

Joseph H. Carens, "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders," *The Review of Politics* 49:2 (1987): 251-273.

Sarah Song, "Political Theories of Migration," *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 385-402.

Catherine Dauvergne, "Imagining Immigration Without a Past – Stories for the Future," chapter 10 in *The New Politics of Immigration and the End of Settler Societies* (2016).

Recommended: Arash Abizadeh, "Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders," *Political Theory* 36:1 (2008): 37-65. Further reading: David Miller "Why Immigration Controls Are Not Coercive: A Reply to Arash Abizadeh," *Political Theory* 38:1 (2010): 111–20; and Arash Abizadeh, "Democratic Legitimacy and State Coercion: A Reply to David Miller," *Political Theory* 38:1 (2010): 121–30. Also: Sarah Song, "Does Justice Require Open Borders?" and "Is There a Right to Free Movement across Borders?" in *Immigration and Democracy* (2018).

VI (5 Mar) Canada

Larry Bourne and Damaris Rose, "The changing face of Canada: the uneven geographies of population and social change," *The Canadian Geographer* 45:1 (2001), 105-119 and David Ley and Daniel Hiebert, "Immigration policy as population policy," *ibid*, 120-125.

Rita Dhamoon and Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Dangerous (Internal) Foreigners and Nation-Building: The Case of Canada," *International Political Science Review* 30:2 (2009), 163-83.

Audrey Macklin, "From Settler Society to Warrior Nation and Back Again: Canadian Citizenship in Transition" in Mann (ed), *Citizenship in Transnational Perspective* (2017).

Christopher G. Anderson and Dagmar Soennecken, "Taking the Harper Government's Refugee Policy to Court," in McFarlane (ed), *Policy Change, Courts, and the Canadian Constitution* (2018).

Guest lecture: Dagmar Soennecken

VII (12 Mar) Citizenship, Boundaries, and State Transformation

Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, "The Question of Birthright Citizenship," *National Affairs* 37 (Fall 2018). And recommended: David A. Martin, "Membership and Consent: Abstract or Organic?" *Yale Journal of International Law* 11:1 (1985).

Mariette Brennan and Miriam Cohen, "Citizenship by descent: how Canada's one generation rule fails to comply with international legal norms," *International Journal of Human Rights* 22:10 (2018), 1302-17.

Erin Aeran Chung, "Citizenship in Non-Western Contexts," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

Kamal Sadiq, "Postcolonial Citizenship," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

Seth Freed Wessler, "Is Denaturalization the Next Front in the Trump Administration's War on Immigration?," *New York Times Magazine*, 23 December 2018

VIII (19 Mar) Irregular Migration, Cities, and Precarious Status

Rainer Bauböck, "Political Membership and Democratic Boundaries," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

Luicy Pedroza, "Denizen Enfranchisement and Flexible Citizenship: National Passports or Local Ballots?," in Maas (ed), *Multilevel Citizenship* (2013).

Noora Lori, "Statelessness, 'In-Between' Statuses, and Precarious Citizenship," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

Ethel Tungohan, "Temporary Foreign Workers in Canada: Reconstructing 'Belonging' and Remaking 'Citizenship'," *Social & Legal Studies* 27:2 (2018) 236-52 .

News articles <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/12/26/opinion/europe-migrant-crisis-mediterranean-libya.html>

Guest lecture: Ethel Tungohan

IX (26 Mar) Indigenous Citizenship, Displacement, and the State

Audra Simpson, "Indigenous Interruptions: Mohawk Nationhood, Citizenship, and the State," in *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (2014), pp. 1-35 and notes.

Sheryl Lightfoot, "The International Indigenous Rights Discourse and Its Demands for Multilevel Citizenship," in Maas (ed.) *Multilevel Citizenship* (2013), pp.

Martin Papillon, "Structure, Agency, and the Reconfiguration of Indigenous Citizenship in Canada," chapter 4 in Paquet, Nagels and Fourot (eds.) *Citizenship as a Regime: Canadian and International Perspectives* (2018), 76-96.

Kirsty Gover, "Indigenous Citizenship in Settler States," *Oxford Handbook of Citizenship* (2017).

X (2 Apr) The Politics of Borders

Matthew Longo, *The Politics of Borders* (2018), pp. i-xx, 1-248 [entire book]

Guest lecture, Stephan Keukeleire

XI (tbc) Conclusions

Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (2018)

Final examination during exam period.

Research paper due during exam period.