

PSCI 382:  
The Politics of Migration: Citizen, Immigrant, Alien, Refugee  
Williams College Fall 2020

MTh 3:15pm – 4:30pm  
Room: Griffin 6  
Zoom Meeting ID: 870 323 5454  
Passcode: 3G0589

Instructor: Beth Wellman (she/her/hers)  
Email: biw1@williams.edu  
Office: 225 Hollander Hall  
Student Hours: M/Th 11-1

### Course Description

This class is interested in thinking critically and empirically about one of the most polarizing and relevant issues of our time: the politics of migration. Currently over 272 million international migrants live in a country different from where they were born, an increase of 78% since 1990. What are the social, economic, and political consequences of unprecedented global mobility in destination countries as well as countries of origin?

Throughout the semester we interrogate three themes central to migration politics (and political science): rights, access, and agency. The course is organized with a focus on status: which “categories” of people (i.e. citizens, migrants, refugees) have differential access to rights, services, and representation depending on how they are classified where they live (and where they are from). We will critically analyze how those categories are constructed, as well as the political work they do in making claims, justifying policies, and informing public opinion.

While we address current debates over immigration in the United States, we situate US migration within the contemporary global context. The course places the US in conversation not only with European countries, but also (and especially) considerations of migration politics and policies in destination countries in Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. We also have the opportunity to apply course readings to real-world contexts through watching personal narrative accounts of migration, as well as interview officials from organizations working with migrants, and filmmakers documenting the frontlines of migration politics.

### Learning Objectives

- identify dominant theoretical frameworks of international migration, understand multiple motivations for immigration and emigration, as well as the current humanitarian, geopolitical, and domestic regimes governing refugee status.
- articulate and analyze the social, political, and economic effects of immigration and emigration in different parts of the world.
- apply concepts from course readings with the experiences of immigrants and migration advocates.
- assess media coverage and political speeches that address issues of migration.
- develop your skills in collecting, analyzing, and evaluating different kinds of empirical data, with particular attention to qualitative research methods.

## Course Structure and Format (Fall 2020)

As a hybrid course, the class will feature both in-person and online components. Occasionally I will post short lectures on GLOW to accompany the reading and media assignments. Our scheduled course time will be a mix of discussions, active learning exercises, and presentations. *You are expected to have completed readings and watched lectures and assigned media prior to class.* If the Williams campus is open and it is safe to do so, most classes will be held in-person; there will be at least a few days where we hold class remotely (in addition to the required first day and last two weeks of the course) – these are designated on the syllabus, and there may be additional days.

We will draw on numerous sources of data, whether listening to a campaign speech, watching documentary videos from refugee camps, or analyzing maps of migrant networks and remittance patterns. We will also develop our qualitative research skills, including media analysis and conducting interviews. I anticipate and expect high levels of participation: lively debates, small group collaborations, and critical reflection on readings, media coverage, and personal experiences.

## Assessments

### **Course Participation (30%)**

Every student must not only attend class, but actively participate in the course activities and discussions. This grade includes participation in interactive exercises, small group sessions, and in-class debates. Critical to active participation is asking questions—of the readings, of your fellow students, and of our guest speakers.

**Discussion Questions:** On your given days, you will submit 2-3 discussion questions based on the readings onto our GLOW discussion board. These questions are due by 9am the day of class.

Active participation also includes:

- Interventions that indicate substantive and original thinking.
- Insights that integrate evidence from the readings in support of the argument you are making.
- Comments and questions to the group (and our guest speakers) that deepen the conversation, particularly with regard to evaluating the strengths, limitations and scope conditions of theories or cases under discussion.
- Contributing to small group and class collaborations (i.e. helping to develop case selection lists, interview protocols, and rubrics for assignments).
- Engaging with other class members' ideas and constructive feedback on their projects. If disagreeing with others' ideas, disagreements are stated clearly and respectfully.

### **Short Papers (30%)**

I will also assign short response and reflection papers throughout the semester, as well as assignments that will give you an opportunity to practice qualitative research skills.

- **Your migration story (1-2 pages)** In some aspect of our lives, we are all migrants. What is your migration story? Write a 1-2 page reflection on your (and/or your family's) migration experience. We will read and discuss these as a class, so please share only to the extent that you feel comfortable. **Due: 3pm Sunday September 13**
- **Migration Journey reflection paper (3-5 pages)** As the first part of your final assignment, you will select one of the migrants or migrant families we have encountered during the course through documentary films and our readings. You will reflect on their migration journey, drawing on the migration theories and contemporary trends we have discussed in class. What is (a)typical about their experience? How does legal status and migrant identity shape their lives? You will also need to discuss why you selected them; what about their personality or journey do you connect with or are curious about? What surprised you, resonated with you? **Due: 11:59 pm Wednesday October 14**
- **Rhetorical Analysis (3 pages):** You will analyze a recent political speech or news report about migration and identify the main arguments, underlying assumptions, evidence provided, and characterization of migrants or migration. **Due: 11:59 pm Wednesday November 11**

### **Final Project (40%)**

- There are two parts to the project. The first part is a group presentation of a destination country context (Dec 3 or Dec 7). The second part is an individual final paper analyzing how your chosen migrant (or migrant family) may navigate two different destination country contexts. This structured, comparative case study should be informed by academic research, political speeches, migration theories, documentary films, and the particular policies of each destination country. Additional details forthcoming. **Final Paper is Due at 4:30 pm Thursday December 17.**

### Course Policies

#### **Learning During a Pandemic**

We are living through a difficult moment right now. You most likely know people who have lost their jobs, have tested positive for COVID-19, have been hospitalized, or are no longer with us. You and your family may have been displaced and have had to move or relocate abruptly. You may have increased (or possibly decreased) work and/or family care responsibilities. There is a lot of stress, uncertainty, and upheaval.

I am fully committed to making sure that you learn everything you are hoping to learn from this class. I will make whatever accommodations I can to help you get through the semester, especially as you (and I) may encounter unforeseen challenges. Recognizing when you are over your head, reaching out when you need additional support: these are actions of courage and strength. Do not suffer in silence. We will figure it out.

### **Classroom Inclusivity**

Many topics covered in the course can be controversial, divisive, and often difficult. Many of the films we will watch may be emotionally intense and often upsetting. Creating a community of respect, inclusion, and support is integral to the success of this course. The Williams community embraces diversity of age, background, beliefs, ethnicity, gender, gender identity, gender expression, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, and other visible and nonvisible categories. I welcome all students into this class and am committed to creating an environment where people feel supported, and a diversity of experiences and learning styles are acknowledged and valued. We will work together as a class to establish ground-rules for discussion, and I will check in to assess what's working (and what's not) and adjust the course to better meet the needs and interests of the class. My student hours (whether in-person outside or on Zoom) is also, always, a safe haven if for anyone who believes they are being treated with prejudice.

### **Community Health**

Creating an in-classroom community during a pandemic requires a stronger commitment than usual to protecting our own well-being in order to safeguard each other's health. In an attempt to keep our classroom environment as healthy as possible, you will be required to wear a mask at all times, and keep 6 feet between you and your classmates. If possible, please wash your hands or use hand sanitizer before entering the classroom (I will have extra masks and hand sanitizer in the front of the classroom if you have forgotten). If you feel sick, please do not come to class. As a class we will discuss contingency plans for the possibility of extended absences in order to ensure no one is left behind. We must navigate the next few months together as a community.

### **Health/Accessibility resources:**

Students with disabilities of any kind who may need accommodations for this course are encouraged to contact Dr. GL Wallace (Director of Accessible Education) at 413.597.4672. Also, students experiencing mental or physical health challenges that are significantly affecting their academic work or well-being are encouraged to contact me and to speak with a dean so we can help you find the right resources. The deans can be reached at 413.597.4171. Finally, I will listen and believe you if someone is threatening you. If you are experiencing sexual assault, domestic violence, or stalking, please talk with me and I will connect you with resources.

### **Lecture Slides**

I will post lecture slides before class. The slides are meant as a guide to help you through lecture, especially for those learning remotely; they are in no way a substitute for attending class. My hope is that by providing slides – which often have information like definitions – you will not have to spend the entire class furiously note taking but can pay more attention to the lecture, ask questions, and participate. I also hope you will email me a YouTube link to your favorite 90s song to show me that you've read the syllabus before the first class.

### **Computer Use in Class**

Given mounting evidence of the benefits of [taking notes by hand](#) I highly recommend using a pen and paper in class if you are in-person, especially as a break from staring at a screen. It is also difficult for all of us not to get distracted by email, etc. If you believe

it is best for your learning, you are welcome to use your computer in lecture for note taking and referencing reading material. Internet should be switched off, phones should be on silent and out of reach during class. If laptops prove too much of a distraction I reserve the right to change this policy.

### **Recording in-person classes**

Classes may be recorded for the benefit of students enrolled remotely and those who may be unable to attend live. I will inform you whether the course or any particular sessions are being recorded. By participating with your camera on, using a profile image, or with audio unmuted, you are consenting to having your video, image, and audio recorded. If you do not want to be recorded, please be sure to keep your camera off, do not use a profile image, and keep your microphone muted. Students who choose to not be recorded may participate by means of the chat feature.

### **Late work policy**

Please let me know by email if you are not going to be able to submit an assignment on time, the earlier the better. An email request for an extension should state a) why the assignment will be late and b) the date/time you are requesting for an extension. I plan on being additionally lenient and flexible during this semester; please do not abuse it.

### **Academic Integrity**

Although much of the learning in this class will be collaborative, **all submitted written work must be your own**. Throughout the course you will be sharing with and learning from other students within our class. Students can share readings and research materials, but may not engage in any joint writing (with the exception of the collaborative interview protocol). One way to be sure you are not violating the honor code is to refrain from writing/typing/crafting your response to the assignment with others. Rather, save the writing until you are on your own and working independently.

Please review the [Williams College Honor Code](#) and consult the website for resources on how to properly cite sources within your work. I will also provide additional guidance throughout the semester. If you have any questions about how the Honor Code applies to your work, please come talk with me. I'm always happy to have those conversations, especially as you research and write.

I take plagiarism and cheating extremely seriously, and I reserve the right to check a digital form of any of your written work with software designed to check for plagiarism. I also reserve the right to check with other student work at participating universities to make sure final case studies are your own.

### **Contacting the Professor**

The best way to reach me is by email: [biw1@williams.edu](mailto:biw1@williams.edu). I will do my best to respond as quickly as possible. Please note responses may be delayed on weekends and I am not available on Wednesdays. I also strongly encourage you to come to student hours (Monday/Thursdays 11 am – 1pm); 15 minute appointments are available through signup sheets in GLOW. Depending on your location, we can meet over Zoom or if the weather is nice, take a walk around campus. I am happy to talk about anything related to the course, answer questions, listen to concerns, or if you feel you need help.

## Course Schedule

**Sep 10: Introduction: Why study Migration?**

*Remote*

Prior to class: Read Syllabus, Submit pre-course survey  
Explore the [Migration Data Portal](#)

**Sep 13: Due: Personal migration narrative (1-2 pages)**

Upload to GLOW by 3pm Sunday 9/13.

**Part I: Arrival**

**Sep 14: The Status of Citizenship**

Aptekar, Sofya. 2015. *The Road to Citizenship: What Naturalization Means for Immigrants and the United States*. "Introduction"

Joppke, Christian. 2010. *Immigration and Citizenship*. Chapter 1, "The Concept of Citizenship," 1 – 33.

Recommended Reading:

Marshall, T.H. 1951. *Citizenship and Social Class*. Chapter 2, "The Development of Citizenship to the End of the Nineteenth Century," 8-17.

Mounk, Yascha. 2016. "[Why I Still Want to Be an American Citizen](#)"

**Sep 17: Who Migrates and Why?**

Castles, Stephen et al. 2020 (5th edition). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. The Guilford Press. Skim "Introduction" and "Theories of Migration." (1-54).

United Nations. [International Migration 2019 Report](#). Skim Key Findings, and Parts I and II.

Watch: [Becky's Journey](#) (Dir: Plambech, Sine, 2014, 24 minutes)

**Sep 21: Immigrant Rights in Comparative Perspective**

Hoover Green, Amelia. 2013. "[How to read political science](#): A guide in four steps."

Koopmans, Ruud, and Ines Michalowski. 2016. "Why Do States Extend Rights to Immigrants? Institutional Settings and Historical Legacies Across 44 Countries Worldwide." *Comparative Political Studies*, 1 – 34.

Adamson, Fiona B., and Gerasimos Tsourapas. 2019. "The Migration State in the Global South: Nationalizing, Developmental, and Neoliberal Models of Migration Management." *International Migration Review* (2019), 1 – 34.

Watch: Choose three vignettes from "[Life on Hold](#)" (Al-jazeera)

Sep 24:

### Refugee Status

[UNHCR Handbook](#) on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status (UNHCR 1979, 1992) Read Introduction and Part One - Criteria for the Determination of Refugee Status.

Janmyr, Maja. "UNHCR and the Syrian refugee response: negotiating status and registration in Lebanon." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 22.3 (2018): 393-419.

O'Toole, Molly. 2019. "[This may have been Trump's most successful year](#) yet for restricting immigration." Los Angeles Times December 20, 2019. *Also explore links in article.*

Explore: "[Returned](#)" (San Diego Tribune August 23 2020)

Read: "[Who gets asylum?](#) Even before Trump, system was riddled with bias and disparities" and "[Navigating the US asylum system: One Nicaraguan woman's journey](#)"

Watch accompanying video (11 minutes)

Recommended Reading:

Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, and 1967 Protocol. United Nations.

Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. 1969. Organization of African Unity.

UNHCR. 2013. Beyond Proof. Credibility Assessment in EU Asylum Systems (Section 2.1, pp. 27-30).

Davies, Sara E. "Redundant or essential? How politics shaped the outcome of the 1967 protocol." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 19.4 (2007): 703-728.

Sep 28:

### Migrant Categorization

Carling, Jørgen, 2017. "Refugee Advocacy and the Meaning of 'Migrants'." *PRIO Policy Brief* 2 (2017): 2017 (4 pages).

Robertson, Shanthi, 2019. "Status-making: Rethinking migrant categorization." *Journal of Sociology* 55.2 (2019): 219-233.

In class: Watch: *South Africa's Victims of Xenophobia: "[We are not rebels. We are refugees](#)"* (13 minutes, The Guardian).

Watch: [Waylaid in Tijuana](#) (Dir: Burgess, Katrina, 2019, 50 minutes)

Recommended Reading:

Erdal, Marta Bivand, and Ceri Oeppen. "Forced to leave? The discursive and analytical significance of describing migration as forced and voluntary." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 6 (2018): 981-998.

Crawley, Heaven, and Dimitris Skleparis. "Refugees, migrants, neither, both: Categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis'." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44, no. 1 (2018): 48-64.

**Part II: Access**

**Oct 1: Refugee policy: Considerations of "Crisis"**

*Remote*

Kingsley, Patrick. "[What Caused the Refugee Crisis?](#)" *The Guardian* December 9, 2015.

Arar, Rawan, Lisel Hintz and Kelsey P. Norman. 2016. "[The Real Refugee Crisis is in the Middle East, Not Europe.](#)" *The Monkey Cage Blog for The Washington Post* May 14, 2016.

Wellman, Elizabeth Iams and Loren Landau. 2015. "[South Africa's Tough Lessons on Migrant Policy.](#)" *Foreign Policy* October 13, 2015.

Mosley, Layna, 2013. *Interviews in Political Science*. Introduction: "Just talk to people?" Interviews in political science."

Watch: Sauti (Dir: Nosal, Gayle, 2018, 75 minutes)  
<https://www.sautifilm.org/>

**Oct 5: Migrant Workers I: Remittances**

*Remote*

Ratha, Dilip. 2016. [Migration and Remittances Factbook](#). Read Forward, Highlights and Data Notes.

Pérez-Armendáriz, Clarisa and David Crow, 2010. Do migrants remit democracy? International migration, political beliefs, and behavior in Mexico. *Comparative political studies*, 43(1), pp.119-148.

Watch: [Champ of the Camp](#) (Dir: Kaabour, Mahmood, 2014, 75 minutes)

Q&A with Sauti Film Team (Favourite and Emma)

**Oct 8: Migrant Workers II: Health Care**

*Remote*

<https://items.ssrc.org/covid-19-and-the-social-sciences/qatar-the-coronavirus-and-cordons-sanitaires-migrant-workers-and-the-use-of-public-health-to-define-the-nation/>

Smith, James, and Leigh Daynes, 2016. "Borders and migration: an issue of global health importance." *The Lancet Global Health* 4.2 (2016): e85-e86.

Ticktin, Miriam, 2006. "Where ethics and politics meet." *American ethnologist* 33.1: 33-49.

McVeigh, Karen, 2020. "[Médecins Sans Frontières is 'institutionally racist', say 1,000 insiders.](#)"

Additional Reading:

Majumdar, Arnab, 2020. "[Bearing Witness inside MSF.](#)"

**Oct 12: No Class (Reading Period)**

**Oct 14: Migrant Journey Reflection Paper Due by 11:59pm Wed 10/14**

**Oct 15: Migration and Education**

Interview: Kate Stegeman, former Communications Officer, Médecins Sans Frontières

**Oct 19: Migrant Electoral Participation**

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion*. Chapter 1: Introduction. 1-20.

Wellman, Elizabeth Iams. 2020. Emigrant Inclusion in Home Country Elections: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. *American Political Science Review*.

**Part III: Reception and Rhetoric**

**Oct 22: Public attitudes about migration**

Hainmuller, Jens and Daniel Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 17: 225-249.

Adida, Claire. 2010. "Too close for comfort? Immigrant exclusion in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(10): 1370-1396.

Q&A with Katrina Burgess (Dir. Waylaid in Tijuana)

Recommended reading:

Brader, Ted, Nicholas Valentino and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What triggers public opposition to immigration? Anxiety, group cues and immigration threat" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 959-978.

**Oct 26: International Speeches**

Alarian, Hannah. 2020. Cause or Consequence?: The Alternative for Germany and Attitudes toward Migration Policy. *German Politics and Society*, 38(2), pp.59-89.

Guest Speaker: Hannah Alarian, University of Florida

Recommended Reading:

Krzyzanowski, Michal, and Ruth Wodak, 2011. *The politics of exclusion: Debating migration in Austria*. Chapter 1. 1-32.

- Oct 29:** **US Political Speeches on migration: election edition**  
 Scott, Eugene. October 2, 2019 "[Trump's most insulting and violent language is often reserved for immigrants.](#)" *The Washington Post*
- Read: immigration policy platforms of the [Trump administration](#) and [Biden](#) campaign
- Watch: Kamala Harris [first senate speech](#) (February 16 2017)
- Watch: Donald Trump [remarks on immigration system](#) (May 16 2019)
- Nov 2:** **Covering migration I: The News**  
 White, Aidan, ed. 2015. [Moving Stories: International Review of how media cover migration.](#) London: Ethical Journalism Network.  
 Read: p1-18, United States Case Study (p101-106) and three additional case studies of your choosing.
- Bloemraad, Irene, Els de Graauw, and Rebecca Hamlin. 2015. "Immigrants in the Media: Civic Visibility in the USA and Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (6): 874-896.
- Nov 5:** **Covering Migration II: Humanitarian lens**
- [Visual Rhetoric: Analyzing Visual Documents](#)
- [Human Rights Watch: Rohingya Crisis](#)
- [Doctors without Borders: Mediterranean Sea Rescues](#)
- [UNHCR: Documentary Photography by Venezuelan refugees](#)
- Nov 9:** **Media Analysis of Course Clip Gallery**
- Q&A with Kathryn Mahoney, Global Spokesperson, UNHCR
- Nov 11:** **Rhetorical Analysis Due 11:59 pm Wednesday 11/11**
- Part IV:** **Special Topics**
- Nov 12:** **Migration and Climate Change**  
 Podesta, John. 2019. "[The climate crisis, migration, and refugees.](#)"  
 Brookings Institution, July 25 2019.
- Black, Richard et al, 2011. "[Migration as Adaptation](#)" *Nature* 478, 447-449
- Nov 13:** **Email receiving country preference list by 11:59 pm Friday 11/13**
- Nov 16:** **Migration and Luck**

Piot, Charles. 2014. *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. Chapter 3: "Exit Strategy."

Bosniak, Linda, John Echeverri-Gent, Terri Givens, Jane Junn: "Symposium: The Birthright Lottery," *Perspectives on Politics* 9(3): 621-637.

**Nov 19: Statelessness**

Karasapan, Omer. 2015. "[The State of Statelessness in the Middle East](#)," Brookings Institution May 15, 2015.

Explore the UNHCR Website: "[Ending Statelessness](#)."

Recommended Reading:

Arendt, Hannah. 1967. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Revised Edition ed. London: George Allen & Unwin. Part II, chapter 9: The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man: 267-303.

**Nov 23: Immobility**

Schewel, Kerilyn. 2020. "Understanding immobility: Moving beyond the mobility bias in migration studies." *International Migration Review* 54.2: 328-355.

**Nov 30: Final Project Prep**

**Dec 3: Destination Country Presentations 1 and 2**

**Dec 7: Destination Country Presentations 3 and 4**

**Dec 10: Conclusion (Course Review)**

Come with selection (second country, subject)

**Dec 17: Final paper due 4:30 pm Thursday 12/17**