



Syllabus
MIGRATION FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE: TRENDS, CHALLENGES AND DILEMMAS
(GOV.432)



Little Italy, New York, circa 1920

Teacher: Paul May, paulmay@fas.harvard.edu

When? Thursday, 2.00pm-3.59pm
Where? Lowell Hall B-12 (FAS)

Office hours: Friday, 3.00pm-5.00pm, Room E202, 1737 Cambridge Street

Course description and objectives

In 2017, more than 258 million people around the world were international migrants, accounting for about 3.8% of the world's population. They form a highly heterogeneous group, composed of entrepreneurs, low-skilled workers, people fleeing a conflict zone, and many others. Demographic projections predict an increase in the number of migrants in the 21st century, due to an array of factors ranging from lower travel costs and globalization to global warming, which will cause entire populations to leave their home region. Migration is therefore one of the major issues of the new century. In fact, recent events show that it is already occupying a central place in current political debates, especially in Western countries—during the vote in favor of Brexit, during the 2016 US Presidential elections, and during the Italian elections in 2018, commentators and pundits indicated that the migratory issue is now at the heart of ideological cleavages.

The purpose of GOV432 is to introduce students to the main migration-related topics, including the mechanisms behind global migration patterns, the impact of immigration on the labor market, and the various tools that states use to manage entry to and exit from their territory. Studying these phenomena requires a multidisciplinary approach, as they affect various aspects of human society: institutions, the economy, the ideas that structure our social world, and so on. Thus, from an epistemological point of view, GOV142 is at the meeting-point of several disciplines: some units are rooted in economic history (week 2 for instance), while others are focused on political science (weeks 6 and 9), sociology (week 8), or political philosophy (week 5). By the end of the semester, students will have acquired knowledge of the key concepts, as well as the empirical and theoretical skills needed to make an informed judgment on migration matters.

The course involves reading the major authors who have influenced migration studies. Their texts adopt theoretical or institutional approaches, or present the results of empirical surveys and fieldwork carried out with migrants. Students will therefore come into contact with a wide range of points of view and analytical tools. Using various types of documents (newspapers, videos and recorded interviews), several case studies will also be discussed, in order to better grasp what is at stake behind current world events and link them with what is seen in class: the Syrian refugee crisis, the “sanctuary cities” in the United States, the agreement between Turkey and the European Union, and so on.

Course Summary

Week 1:	Introduction
Week 2:	A Short Overview: the History of Migration
Week 3:	Theories of Migration: Why do People Migrate?
Week 4:	Liberal Democracy and Immigration: Friends or Foes?
Week 5:	Ethical Dilemmas: Open vs Closed Borders
Week 6:	Refugees Around the World: Institutional Challenges
Week 7:	Refugees Around the World: Sustainable Solutions
Week 8:	The puzzle of Global Migration Governance
Week 9:	The Social Consequences of Immigration: Trust, Ethnic Boundaries and Collective Norms in Diverse Societies
Week 10:	Public Opinion and Public Hostility to Immigration
Week 11:	Economic Debates on Migration
Week 12:	Gender and Migration
Week 13:	Wrapping up

Student evaluation

Participation (20%)

For each lecture, there are three texts. Every participant, and not just the person who is presenting, must read all the texts. Each week, one student will be required to present the day's three readings. To do so, every student will pick a date on the calendar and mark it on the course website. Presentations will last 15 minutes, and will entail a short overview of each reading, followed by a brief summary of the main issues raised by the texts, and a few opening questions related to the main issues addressed by the authors. The goal of these presentations is to set the terms for a discussion in class, and they are crucial for the quality of the debate. 10% of the total grade is related to the individual presentation, and another 10% to general participation in class.

Book reviews 1 and 2 (10% and 10%)

Students will have to write two book reviews (10% of the total grade for each) from the list below. The books were written by leading authors defending various points of view on the subjects covered during the course (gender and migration, the securitization of migration, refugee camps in the global South, etc.), and represent an opportunity for students to deepen their knowledge of a specific subject. Book reviews must be 1000 words in length, and include a short presentation of the author, a summary of the book, and a critical section evaluating the content: how is this work useful in understanding current issues related to global migration? What are its strengths and weaknesses? This entails identifying the central points of the texts and analyzing and evaluating them critically.

- Alba, R. and Foner, N. 2017. *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Brock, G. and Blake, M. 1996. *Debating Brain Drain: May Governments Restrict Emigration?* New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sassen, S. 1996. *Losing Control?: Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Carens, J. 2013. *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Orgad, L. 2017. *The Cultural Defense of Nations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, D. 2016. *Strangers in Our Midst, The Political Philosophy of Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Borjas, G. J. 2016. *We Wanted Workers: Unraveling the Immigration Narrative*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Bacci, M. L. 2012. *A Short History of Migration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Collier, P. 2015. *Exodus, How Migration Is changing our World?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Betts, A. and Collier, P. 2017. *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*. London: Allen Lane.

Mid-term paper (30%)

Participants must choose an author discussed in class during units 1 through 6. How does he/she provide useful tools for understanding one particular aspect of immigration? Students will be graded on the quality of their argumentation: if they think it is necessary, they can criticize the authors discussed in class. On the other hand, they can also highlight how the author provides an innovative framework for tackling a specific issue related to migration. The crucial element assessed here is that the arguments must be clear and well considered. This assignment encourages a critical approach to the material, and allows students to look in more depth at a topic that interests them. Students have to come up with their own topic, but before starting their essay, they

have to validate their choice by sending a short email explaining the outline of their research project. Papers must be 10-12 pages long (Times New Roman, font size 12, double spaced).

- Example 1: How does neoclassical theory allow us to understand the migration of Polish youth to the UK?
- Example 2: To what extent is David Miller's argument for restricting immigration applicable to the case of Russian migration to the Baltic states?
- Example 3: Do national immigration policies have an impact on global migration trends? Discuss elements of convergence between the liberal state model thesis and the world-systems theory.

Final paper (30%):

Students have to define a subject of their own choice that is related to one of the topics covered in the second part of the term (units 7 through 12). Papers have to integrate the literature covered in class, but should also include other authors relevant to the topic discussed. The scope of the assignment is wide-ranging. Special attention will be paid to the way the subject is problematized. The final paper can be based on an analysis of newspaper articles or the academic literature, or can study how mainstream media deal with a specific topic. Before starting their essay, however, they have to refine their choice by sending a short email explaining their research project, as it is the case for the first assignment. Papers have to be 10-12 pages long (Times New Roman, font size 12, double spaced). Examples of possible research topics include:

- Example 1: The place of immigration during the public debate on the Brexit referendum. Using discourse analysis, explain how the topic of immigration reveals an ideological dividing line between the proponents of Brexit and their adversaries (known as "Remainers").
- Example 2: Discuss the framework provided by Alexander Betts and Paul Collier (week 10) and compare it to how the current Dublin Regulation deals with Syrian refugees. What do you think are possible areas of improvement?
- Example 3: Apply the brain drain/brain gain debate (week 8) to a specific country of your choice.

Grading Policy		
Letter Grade	Percentage	Quality Points
A	93-100%	4.00
A-	90-92%	3.75
B+	87-89%	3.25
B	83-86%	3.00
B-	80-82%	2.75
C+	77-79%	2.25
C	73-76%	2.00
F	0-72%	0.0
INC	A grade of Incomplete (INC) is awarded when satisfactory work has been accomplished in the majority of the course work, but the student is unable to complete course requirements as a result of circumstances beyond his/her control. The student must negotiate with and receive the approval of the course instructor in order to receive a grade of incomplete	N/A
IF	Received for failure to comply with contracted completion terms.	N/A
W	Received if withdrawal occurs before the withdrawal deadline.	N/A
AU	Audit (only permitted on space-available basis)	N/A
NA	Not Attending (student appeared on roster, but never attended class. Student is still responsible for tuition and fee charges unless withdrawal form is submitted before deadline. NA has no effect on cumulative GPA.)	N/A

Course Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction to the course

This introductory session will be divided into three parts. The first part will present the course objectives, the course structure, and an explanation of student evaluations. The second part will present the syllabus, and will include a short description of each unit and of the topics addressed. The last part will consist of a general presentation of migration around the world. We will focus on the definition of some key terms (migrants, refugees, displaced persons, asylum seekers), then analyze the most recent data and demographic projections published by the United Nations and the International Organization for Migration for different parts of the world. We will then see how the migratory theme lies at the intersection of several topical subjects (the war in Syria, the rise of "populist" parties, global warming), and, beyond that, why future migration leads us to rethink the political categories on which our institutions are based (the nation state, the liberal democracy, the legitimacy of borders).

- No readings

Week 2: A Short Overview: the History of Migration

This unit relates migration to the more general perspective of human history. Current migratory movements are rooted in a variety of historical causes, such as war, colonization, and the transformation of the capitalist economy. Since the industrial era, research has shown that the contribution of migration to capital formation and vitality in the host countries has been decisive, in both Europe and North America. Hatton and Williamson use an approach based on economic history to assess the determinants that explain the departure of European populations to other parts of the world in the second half of the 19th century. Stephen Castles, Hein De Haas and Mark Miller depict the broad features of immigration to Europe in the post-World War II period. The third text, by John Torpey, reminds us of the relatively recent invention of the passport in history, and shows that this object, which today seems innocuous to us, is closely correlated with the monopoly of "legitimate violence" in the construction of modern nation states.

- Hatton T., Williamson J. G. 2005. *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge: MIT Press; chapter 4: What drove Europe Mass Emigration?, pp. 51-76.
- Castles S., and al. 2013. *The Age of Migration, International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: The Guilford Press, chapter 5: Migration in Europe since 1945, pp. 102-125.
- Torpey, J. 2000. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; chapter 1: Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate Means of Movement, pp. 4-20.

Week 3: Theories of Migration: Why do People Migrate?

Why do people around the world choose to leave their country and move to another one? This simple question brings complex answers. For thirty years, academics have been trying to build models to better understand the mechanisms behind migration phenomena. Several theories, synthesized in the text of Massey, have emerged: neoclassical economics, new economics of migration, segmented labor market theory, world systems theory, and social capital theory. These theories are not mutually exclusive, and each one of them makes it possible to grasp some elements of the reality. Stephen Castles shows that the great multiplicity of factors that influence migration dynamics (such as globalization or political regimes in host countries) makes human flows difficult to monitor and to control. Complementing these theoretical analyzes by a field survey conducted in four European countries, Irina Isaakyan and Anna Triandafyllidou tackle the central role of remittances (i.e. money sent by immigrants to their country of origin) in the migration and development process.

- Massey, D. S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis" in *Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 34-52.
- Castles, S. 2004. "The Factors That Make and Unmake Migration Policies". *The International Migration Review*, vol. 38, n. 3, pp. 852-884.
- Isaakyan, I. and Triandafyllidou, A. 2017. "Sending so Much more than Money: Exploring Social Remittances and Transnational Mobility". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 40, n. 15, pp. 2787-2805.

Week 4: Liberal Democracy and Immigration: Friends or Foes?

Immigration is, by definition, a transnational phenomenon. The nation state is an expression of a discrete community, and therefore seeks to control migratory flows. In this regard, how can these two elements be related to each another? Several models have been developed to identify the constraints that liberal democracies face in their wish to regulate immigration, as shown by Anthony Messina: the liberal state thesis, the embedded realist thesis, the globalization thesis, the path dependent thesis, and the political institutional thesis. James Hollifield, meanwhile, explores the tension between the factors that encourage openness, which are mainly economic, and the factors pushing for closure, which are political. Other authors argue that this argument of state dispossession is greatly exaggerated since it does not take into account the multiplicity of technological, legal, and political tools available to modern states to control their borders (Virginie Guiraudon and Gallya Lahav).

- Messina, A.M. 2007. *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; chapter 4: Immigration and State Sovereignty: Implications of the British and German Cases, pp. 97-137.
- Hollifield, J. F. 2004. "The Emerging Migration State." *International Migration Review*, vol. 3, n. 3., pp. 885-912.
- Giraudon, V. and Lahav, G. 2000. "The State Sovereignty Debate Revisited: The Case of Migration Control." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 33, n. 2., pp.163-195.

Week 5: Ethical Dilemmas: Open vs Closed Borders

The immigration debate has an ethical dimension: what are the philosophical arguments for and against immigration? To what extent is it philosophically legitimate for a given political community to refuse to receive people who wish to become members? The three texts of this unit offer radically different reflections on this point. David Miller argues that the principles of political sovereignty and self-determination justify the adoption of restrictive immigration policies. It is legitimate, in his view, for a group to seek to preserve a given cultural identity by limiting the influx of foreigners. In contrast, Arash Abizadeh mobilizes the democratic argument to justify more permissive immigration policies, by putting forward the concept of “unbounded demos”. In a well-known text, Joe Carens offers a theoretical justification for open borders by developing the idea that social justice contradicts the obstacles to mobility and the existence of borders.

- Abizadeh, A. 2008. “Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Border”. *Political Theory*, vol. 36, n. 1, pp. 37-65.
- Miller, D. 2016. *Strangers in Our Midst. The Political Philosophy of Immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; chapter 4: Closed Borders, pp. 57-75.
- Carens, J. 1987. “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders”. *The Review of Politics*, vol. 49, n. 2., pp. 251-273.

Week 6: Refugees Around the World: Institutional Challenges

Undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum seekers: these terms are often conflated, but each has a very specific meaning that carries different international obligations. This unit examines definitions of these three terms and questions the concepts that shape our vision of politics: citizenship, borders, liberalism, democracy (text by Randall Hansen). These general considerations are followed by two case studies. In the first, Arne Niemann and Natascha Zaun analyze the range of measures taken by the European Union during the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015-2016 (hotspots, relocation, resettlement, deterrence) and show the inadequacy of collective institutions for the future of migration. In the second case study, Cindy Horst explores the situation of Somali refugees in one of the largest refugee camps in the world, located in Dadaab, western Kenya, and shows how they use agency to deal with the structural constraints they face. This text offers an opportunity to take stock of the situation of protracted refugees around the world.

- Hansen, R. 2014. “State Controls: Borders, Refugees, and Citizenship” in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Edited by Fiddian E., Qasmiyeh, Loescher G., Long K., and Sigona N. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 253-263.
- Niemann A. and Zaun N. 2018. “EU Refugee Policies and Politics in a Time of Crisis: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives”. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 56, n. 1., pp. 3-22.
- Horst, C. 2007. *Transnational Nomads: How Somalis Cope with Refugee Life in the Dadaab Camps of Kenya*. Oxford: Berghahn; chapter 3: Refugee Life in the Camps: Providing Security or Sustaining Dependency?, pp. 77-122.

Week 7: Refugees Around the World: Sustainable Solutions

What institutional solutions have been imagined by policy makers and academics to address refugee problems? The three texts each propose possible solutions to make up for the deficiencies of the current system that we identified in the previous session. Based on the case of the European Union, Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nikolas Tan argue that we should overcome the logic of "deterrence" that prevails today, and propose several general principles on which to lay the foundations of a new system of international protection. Katy Long establishes a more ambitious framework, breaking with the conventional solutions of repatriation, local resettlement, and local integration. Denouncing a "sedentary bias", she pleads for the opening of new legal migration paths between country of departure and host countries, in order to establish new channels for development. Next, Betts and Collier plead in favor of a multilateral political approach, focused on the interests of political actors (governments, the World Bank, companies...) more than on purely humanitarian considerations.

- Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. and Tan N. 2018. "The End of Deterrence paradigm: Futures Directions for Global Refugee Policy." *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, vol. 5, n. 1., pp. 28-56.
- Katy, L. 2014. "Rethinking Durable Solutions" in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, ed. Fiddian E., Qasmiyeh, Loescher G., Long K., and Sigona N. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 475-487.
- Betts, A. and Collier, P. 2017. *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System*. London: Allen Lane, chapter 5: Rethinking Havens: Reaching Everyone, and chapter 6: Rethinking Assistance: Restoring Autonomy, pp. 127-181.

Week 8: The puzzle of Global Migration Governance

In the same way that supranational bodies regulate trade, the project of an agency to which states would transfer certain powers related to the management of immigration is fiercely debated: what would be the structure, limits, and coercive powers of such a supranational body? This lesson will provide an opportunity to review these debates. We will first identify the current actors in migration governance (NGOs, States, European Union), and the different types of multilateralism (James Hampshire's text). We will then turn to the case of the European Union (text by Andrew Geddes), since it is the most elaborate example of supranational governance of immigration: this will be the occasion to grasp the concrete issues faced by the supporters of supranational governance of migration. Finally, through the text of Veit Bader, we will take the measure of the dilemmas (both moral and institutional) and possible solutions for a transnational governance of migration.

- Hampshire, J. *The Politics of Migration*. New-York: Polity Press; chapter 5: Migration Governance Beyond the State, pp. 81-106.
- Andrew, G., James F., Philip L. Martin, and Pia M. Orrenius. 2014. *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; part 5: The European Union and Global Migration Governance, pp. 433-464.
- Bader, V. 2012. "Moral, Ethical, and Realist Dilemmas of Transnational Governance of Migration". *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 56, n. 9., pp. 1165-1182.

Week 9: The Social Consequences of Immigration: Trust, Ethnic Boundaries and Collective Norms in Diverse Societies

Is the ethno-cultural heterogeneity that results from immigration a factor of social fragmentation for host societies? Does it erode social cohesion? Is trust between citizens of different origins as high as it is in ethnically homogeneous societies? The concept of social capital, which refers specifically to the network of personal relationships and acquaintances that individuals rely on in daily life, is useful in identifying the extent to which people of a given ethnic or religious group engage in relationships with members of other groups. Based on several field surveys, Paul Collier argues that trust and cooperation are weaker in diverse societies than in ethnically homogeneous societies. On the contrary, Will Kymlicka and Keith Banting believe that a high rate of immigration is compatible with a high level of solidarity and redistribution. Jennifer Lee and Frank Bean tackle this issue from a slightly different angle, showing that the fluidity and the evolution of racial boundaries challenges the very terms of the debate about solidarity in culturally diverse societies.

- Collier, P. 2015. *Exodus, How Migration Is changing our World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; chapter 3: The Social Consequences, pp. 57-110.
- Kymlicka, W. and Banting, K. 2006. "Immigration, Multiculturalism, and the Welfare State". *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol. 20, n. 3., pp.281-304.
- Lee, J. and Bean, F. 1968. *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in 21st Century America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; chapter 8: From Racial to Ethnic Status: Claiming Ethnicity Through Culture, pp. 137-153.

Week 10: Public Opinion and Public Hostility to Immigration

As Jens Hainmueller and Daniel Hopkins remind us, there are two main explanations for explaining feelings of hostility towards immigration. The first is economic in nature: the most precarious sections of the population fear that immigrants will compete with them in the labor market and for access to social benefits. The second explanation is identitarian, and refers to the demographic anxiety of majorities facing the arrival of immigrants perceived as culturally different. Marc Morjé Howard makes a decisive contribution to this debate by analyzing the evolution of access to citizenship in 11 countries of the European Union since 1980: he concludes that one of the major obstacles to liberalization is the presence of a far-right party in the national political landscape. In a text written in 2018, Marc Schain scrutinizes the influence of the extreme right on both policy making and the political agenda of other parties, before proposing general recommendations, which we will discuss in class.

- Hainmueller, J. and Hopkins, D. J. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 17, n. 1., pp. 225-249.
- Howard, M. M. 2010. "The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, n. 5., pp. 735-751.
- Schain, M. A. 2018. "Shifting Tides: Radical-Right Populism and Immigration Policy in Europe and the United States". *Migration Policy Institute*, pp. 1-33.

Week 11: Economic Debates on Migration

Assessing the economic impact of immigration on the host country is a difficult task: immigrants are present in multiple sectors of the labor market, their composition (age, origin, language) varies greatly from one country to another, and they are at the same time consumers of social services and contributors to national wealth through taxes. In this lesson, we will discuss three of the most sensitive debates on the economics of immigration. The first text, derived from economist George Borjas' major book "We Wanted Workers", deals with the pressure that immigration places on low-wage jobs and the competition it entails with the poorest segments of the native worker population. Gillian Brock and Michael Blake discuss the implications of the brain drain for the poorest countries, especially from a perspective of economic development. Finally, Martin Ruhs highlights the "skilled worker / unskilled worker" dichotomy, as a lens to understand how governments seek to attract or deter certain categories of people based on their effect on the post-Fordist economy.

- Borjas, G. 2016. *We wanted Workers*. New-York: W. W. Norton & Company; chapter 7: The Labor Market Impact, pp. 126-152.
- Brock, G. and Blake, M. 2015. *Brain Drain/Brain Gain, May Governments Restrict Emigration?* Oxford: Oxford University Press; chapter 3: Prosperity in Developing Countries, the Effects Departing Individuals Have on Those Left Behind, and Some Policy Options, pp. 36-59.
- Ruhs, M. 2015. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; chapter 5: Regulating the Admission and Rights of Migrant Workers: Policy Rationales in High-Income Countries, pp. 91-121.

Week 12: Gender and Migration

According to official United Nations sources, about half of all migrants worldwide are women. This has led many academics to question the specificity of female immigration, and to articulate migration issues with classic feminist topics, such as intersectionality, access to the labor market, and gender-related violence. Katharine Donato and Donna Gabaccia provide empirical data about the composition of female immigration over the last few decades, and identify the factors explaining variations in the feminization of immigration. We will then turn to a case study: Robyn Magalit Rodriguez describes how the Philippine State is developing marketing campaigns abroad to promote the quality of its national workforce, particularly women who are massively employed in healthcare sector, child care and domestic work. Insisting on the agency of agents, Guri Tyldum gives a voice to women of Ukrainian origin who have migrated to Western Europe, and shows how they justify their migration project on the basis of their personal and family lives.

- Donato, K. M. and Gabaccia, D. 2015. *Gender and international migration: from the slavery era to the global age*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; Introduction, pp. 1-16 and chapter 6: How and Why Migrant Gender Composition Varies, pp. 121-149.
- Magalit, R. R. 2010. *Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; chapter 3: Able Minds, Able Hands, Marketing Philippine Workers, pp. 50-74.
- Tyldum, G. 2015. "Motherhood, Agency and Sacrifice in Narratives on Female Migration for Care Work". *Sociology*, vol. 49, n. 1, pp. 56-71.

Week 13: Wrapping up

Writing Assignment # 2 (30%) - DUE WEDNESDAY APRIL 25 AT 5:00PM