

# Migration and Citizenship

Fall 2020

Sciences Po Paris, Euro-American Campus Reims

Instructor: Niklas Plaetzer (Doctoral student, Sciences Po/University of Chicago)

[niklas.plaetzer@sciencespo.fr](mailto:niklas.plaetzer@sciencespo.fr)

## Course description

This seminar discusses migration and citizenship in light of recent debates in political theory. The objective of the class is to bring theoretical contributions to bear on pressing empirical issues regarding contemporary border struggles and the rise of nativist populism.

The class provides an introduction to canonical theories of political membership, including cosmopolitanism (Kant, Benhabib), nationalism (Anderson) and “the right to have rights” (Arendt). Throughout the semester, we are going to discuss the construction of citizenship through law, race, and technologies of border control. We will trace the entanglements of migration with histories of slavery and colonialism, assess the merits and pitfalls of humanitarian action in the field of refugee aid, and explore the reconfigurations of citizenship in societies shaped by cross-cultural encounters.

## Course assignments

20% course participation (online seminar)

25% individual presentation (ca. 10-15 minutes), with handout

→ The handout is due at 8pm the day before class.

→ Feel free to reach out to me in order to discuss the material and presentation outline.

10% two short reading responses on Moodle

10% two discussion responses to your peers on Moodle

35% final paper (ca. 10-12 pages double spaced, either as an individual research paper or book review)

→ A list of potential topics + books for review will be provided by Week 4.

## Political Membership between Nation and Cosmopolis

### 1) **Cosmopolitanism and the Idea of Universal Hospitality (16/09/2020)**

Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795) (excerpts tbd).

Seyla Benhabib, “The Philosophical Foundations of Cosmopolitan Norms,” in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, 13-45.

– General conversation; no student presentation

2) **The Nation as Imagined Community (23/09/2020)**

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York: Verso 2006 (excerpts tbd).

Presentation topic 1: What role does capitalism play for the emergence of nations?

Presentation topic 2: What do the varieties of nationalism that Anderson develops tell us about the link between citizenship rights and national identity?

Presentation: Marie-Charlotte

3) **The Nation-State and the Figure of the Migrant (30/09/2020)**

Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York and Orlando: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt 1976, 267-305.

Bonnie Honig, "Another Cosmopolitanism? Law and Politics in the New Europe," in Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006, 102-120.

UNHCR, Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees

Presentation topic 1: What is the "right to have rights?" Try to think about how it might differ from Kantian hospitality.

Presentation topic 2: Cosmopolitanism/Cosmopolitics: Potentials and Limits

Presentations: Cäcilia + Barbara

## Border Politics

4) **Refugees, Asylum, Statelessness (07/10/2020)**

Ayten Gündoğdu, *Rightlessness in an Age of Rights: Hannah Arendt and the Contemporary Struggles of Migrants*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015, 1-21 and 164-213. (obligatory)

William Maley, "Defining Refugees," in *What is a Refugee?*, Oxford 2016.

Optional: Étienne Balibar, "What we owe to the Sans-Papiers,"  
<https://transversal.at/transversal/0313/balibar/en>.

**Guest speaker:** Professor Ayten Gündoğdu, Barnard College, Columbia University  
Please come to class prepared to ask questions about Professor Gündoğdu's work.

5) **Colonial entanglements (14/10/2020)**

Ida Danewid, "White innocence in the Black Mediterranean: Hospitality and the erasure of history," *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2017): 1-16.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015), 52-72.

Presentation 1: What is the "Black Mediterranean"? How does the concept allow us to think differently about processes and spaces of migration?

Presentation 2: How does an analysis of settler colonialism impact our understanding of contemporary migration?

Presentation: Julia

6) **Spaces of Contested Citizenship: Camps, Sanctuaries (23/10/2020)**

**Note: This class takes place at a changed time, on Friday, October 23, 2020, 4.30-6.30pm, French time**

Étienne Balibar, *Citizenship*, Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons 2015 (excerpts tbd).

Kim Rygiel, "Bordering Solidarities: Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement and Camps at Calais," *Citizenship Studies* 15, no. 1 (2011): 1-19.

A. Naomi Paik, "Abolitionist Futures and the US Sanctuary Movement," *Race & Class*, vol. 59, no. 2 (2017). 3-25.

Optional: Abou Farman, "In Defense of Sanctuary: The Negation of a Movement," *The Baffler*, April 6, 2017, <https://thebaffler.com/latest/in-defense-of-sanctuary-farman>.

**Guest speaker:** Professor Daniel I. Morales, University of Houston Law Center  
Please come to class prepared to discuss sanctuary cities with Professor Morales.

**Contested Citizenship: Spaces, Movements, Solidarities**

7) **The Proliferation of Borders in a Globalizing World (04/11/2020)**

Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, New York: Zone Books 2010 (excerpts tbd).

Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson, *Border as Method, or: The Multiplication of Labor*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2013 (excerpts tbd).

Presentation 1: What helps explain the paradox of expanded border security in times of globalized economic relations and weakened nation-state institutions?

Presentation 2: What do Mezzadra and Neilson mean by “border as method?” How do they connect economic transformations to the politics of migration?

## 8) **Humanitarian Action and its Critics (18/11/2020)**

Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A History of the Present*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2012 (excerpts tbd).

Larissa Fleischmann and Elias Steinhilper, “The Myth of Apolitical Volunteering for Refugees: German ‘Welcome Culture’ and a New Dispositif of Helping,” *Social Inclusion* 5, no. 3 (2017), 17-27.

Charlotte Dany, “Exploring the Political Agency of Humanitarian NGOs: Médecins Sans Frontières During the European Refugee Crisis,” *Global Society* 33, no. 2 (2019): 184-200.

This week’s presentations are going to take a debate-format:

Presentation 1: The case for humanitarian action

Presentation 2: The critique of humanitarianism

Presentation: Samuel

## 9) **Nativist Movements and the Politics of Whiteness (25/11/2020)**

Cas Mudde, “The Relationship Between Immigration and Nativism in Europe and North America,” Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, May 2012, <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immigration-Nativism.pdf>.

Manuela Caiani, Donatella della Porta & Claudius Wagemann, “The Extreme Right and Social Movement Studies: An Introduction”, in *Mobilizing on the Extreme Right: Germany, Italy and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Ghassan Hage, “Fears of ‘white decline’ show how a minor dent to domination can be catastrophic to some,” *The Guardian*, April 15, 2019,

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/apr/15/fears-of-white-decline-show-how-a-minor-dent-to-domination-can-be-catastrophic-for-some>.

Optional: David Theo Goldberg, "Racial Europeanization," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 2 (2006): 331-364.

Presentation 1: Case of Central/Eastern European anti-immigration movement

Presentation 2: Case of Southern/Western European anti-immigration movement

Presentation: Jorge

## Hybrid Identities

### 10) **Mestizaje and Hybridity (02/12/2020)**

Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books 1987 (excerpts tbd).

Presentation 1: Case study of the U.S.-Mexican "borderlands"

Presentation 2: Who or what is "nepantla" and why does it matter?

Presentation: Nyeiri

### 11) **The Racialization of Islam and French Universalism (09/12/2020)**

Mayanthi L. Fernando, *The Republic Unsettled: Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2014 (excerpts tbd)

Kimberley Brayson, "Of Bodies and Burkinis: Institutional Islamophobia, Islamic Dress, and the Colonial Condition," *Journal of Law and Society* 46, no. 1 (2019): 55-82.

Optional: Jean Birnbaum, "Translation and Conflict: The Violence of the Universal – a Conversation with Étienne Balibar," *Verso Blog*, February 16, 2017, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3100-translation-and-conflict-the-violence-of-the-universal-a-conversation-with-etienne-balibar>.

Presentation 1: French universalism, *laïcité*, and the challenge of plurality

Presentation 2: Racialization of Islam

Presentation: Loup

12) **Global Crises and Futures of Citizenship: Final Reflections (16/12/2020)**

Optional: Giovanni Bettini, “Climate Barbarians at the Gate? A critique of apocalyptic narratives on ‘climate refugees’,” *Geoforum* 45 (2013): 63-72.

Presentation 1: How does climate change relate to border politics?

Presentation 2: How does Covid-19 affect the politics of migration?