

## Sociology of Im/Migration Politics

Instructor: Fidan Elcioglu

Class schedule: Thursdays, 12-2pm, 50 Barrows

Office Hours: By appointment, email me

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Immigration has become one of the most hotly contested political topics in the US today. In this course, we will take a step back, and explore this polarizing politics through a sociological lens. The course is divided into five interrelated sections.

In *Part 1: Theorizing Migration*, we will begin by looking at how sociologists have theorized the movement of people across borders. This section will explore the ways in which migration flows constitute 'labor systems' in a global context that is shaped by capitalism, colonial histories, and post-colonial projects of nation-building. *Part 2: The Politics of Emigration* will empirically flesh out these ideas by comparing Mexican and Philippine migration patterns.

*Part 3: The Politics of Immigration* will be devoted to understanding how migrants get sorted by receiving countries. How does a society determine which groups are 'illegal' and which groups are 'legal'? Similarly, when does the movement of people constitute 'trafficking' and when is it considered 'immigration'? How do race, gender, class and other lines of difference shape the ways in which these membership boundaries are drawn and change over time? To get at the ways in which 'illegality' is socially constructed, we will consider how US policymakers have made sense of Filipina sex workers in Japan, on the one hand, and Mexican and Cuban migrants in the US, on the other.

Then, in *Part 4: Detention and Deportation*, we will examine how regimes of illegality are translated into practice and the consequences they have at the grassroots level. What institutions and social actors are involved in immigration enforcement? To what extent is there an 'illegality industry' in the US and Europe? How do ordinary people and groups make sense of and respond to this illegality industry?

Finally, *Part 5: Migration - Pathway to Exploitation or Empowerment?* will give students an opportunity to consider the complicated relationship between structure and agency. Specifically, we will discuss the extent to which migration offers pathways to empowerment and what empowerment can look like in a globalizing world. Under each of the assigned weekly readings, I have included thematic questions to help guide the readings.

In addition to the substantive content, this seminar course will provide an opportunity for students to develop their communication and research skills. Toward that end, students will be expected to come to class having done the readings and ready to contribute to class discussions. These readings and discussions will provide students with the tools to critically analyze current debates regarding im/migration. Finally, students will be responsible for designing and writing up either a research proposal or a research paper on a topic related to im/migration politics.

## Course Requirements

*Attendance: 10%*

*Participation (including reading responses on bCourses): 30%*

*Research Project: (total 60%)*

*Initial Memo: 10%*

*Methods Memo: 15%*

*Literature Review: 15%*

*Final Research Proposal: 20%*

### Attendance (10%):

In order to do well in this course, it is imperative that you attend class. You are allowed only one unexcused absence. Any additional unexcused absence will result in a loss of 1% from your final course grade. An excused absence requires prior notification and a clear explanation. Note that this is necessary; it does not guarantee that your absence will be counted as excused. Also, please discuss with me by the second class meeting (week 3) any major issues that you anticipate will affect your attendance. (See below for accommodation policy.)

### Participation (30%):

This is a seminar course and we will primarily learn from the readings and from each other through our class discussions.

Readings will come from a reader, available through Copy Central (2576 Bancroft Way, Berkeley).

Class discussions: The quality of this course will depend in large part on your active participation. Active participation means: 1) you have completed assigned readings before class; 2) you attend class **with** the readings (either a hardcopy or electronic copy on a laptop or tablet, not a phone); and 3) you are prepared to work in groups and collectively as a class. Good participation does not mean knowing all the answers and/or dominating the discussion. It means *listening respectfully* to your classmates, trying to understand their viewpoints and *responding* to your classmates' comments and questions thoughtfully. Please also note that if I feel that readings are not being completed, I will occasionally administer pop quizzes and the scores will be factored into the participation portion of your grade.

Reading Responses: In addition to your regular participation during class time, **you are required to post a 250-400 word reading response and one discussion question** on a regular basis to bCourses. You will be assigned to **Group A or B** and follow the scheduled outline below to produce a total of seven reading responses during the semester. Responses and discussion questions will be due by **4pm on Wednesdays** (the day before class) and they should be uploaded to bCourses. Members of the group not assigned for the week are expected to write 2-3 sentence response to a peer's reading response.

**Research Proposal (60%):**

This class requires you to write a 12-15 research proposal on any aspect of im/migration politics. A research proposal will consist of a clear central question, a synthesis of how the existing literature addresses or fails to address this question, a discussion of the methods and case you would like to use, and finally, the implications of your intended study. A research proposal will consist of the following elements:

- An initial memo in which you will describe your central question and list five secondary sources—beyond those on the syllabus—that are pertinent to your research. This comprises 10% of your final grade, and it is due by email to me by **4pm on Friday, February 26<sup>th</sup>**.
- A methods memo describing your proposed research method and selected case, which will comprise 15% of your grade; it is due by email by **4pm on Friday, March 11<sup>th</sup>**
- A literature review that summarizes and synthesizes 5 to 10 books or articles beyond the course materials. This comprises 15% of your grade, and it is due by email to me by **4pm on Friday, March 18<sup>th</sup>**
- A 12-15-page final research proposal that is situated within existing studies on immigration and immigration politics. This comprises 20% of your final grade, and it is due by **4pm on Thursday, May 12<sup>th</sup>**. **No extensions will be granted.**

**Academic Integrity:** Remember to give credit where credit is due, and know that in your written work, it is your own ideas we need to hear about. Note that plagiarism is the use of intellectual material produced by another person without properly citing its source. If you are unclear about what constitutes plagiarism, you should immediately consult with me and/or refer to <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/TeachingLib/Guides/Citations.html>

**Accommodation Policy and Scheduling Conflicts:** Please contact me as soon as possible if you need any special accommodations for this class. I will try my best to help you with making accommodations, but cannot promise them in all cases. DSP Students: If you need DSP-related accommodations, you must provide me with a letter from your DSP specialist. Accommodation of religious creed and scheduling conflicts with extracurricular activities: Please notify me in writing by the third week of class (February 4<sup>th</sup>) of any potential conflicts and recommend a solution, with the understanding that an earlier deadline may be the most practicable solution. Please note that it is your responsibility to inform yourself about material missed because of an absence, whether or not you have been formally excused.

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## Course Schedule

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### PART 1: THEORIZING MIGRATION

**WEEK ONE: January 21**

**Introduction: Why Study Im/migration Politics?**

No Readings

**WEEK TWO: January 28 (Group A and Group B)****Why Migrate?: Global Capitalism and The Migrant Labor System**

- (1) Burawoy, Michael. 1976. "The Functions and Reproduction of Migrant Labor: Comparative Material from Southern Africa and the United States." *American Journal of Sociology*, 1050-1087.
- (2) Sassen, Saskia. 1998. "Chapter 3: America's Immigration 'Problem'" in *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. Pp. 31-50.  
*What is the relationship between capitalism and migration? How should we think about why people move across borders in the era of advanced capitalism?*

**PART 2: THE POLITICS OF EMIGRATION****WEEK THREE: February 4 (Group A)****The Philippine Labor-Brokering State**

- (1) Rodriguez, Robyn M. 2010. "Chapter 1: The Emergence of Labor Brokerage: U.S. Colonial Legacies in the Philippines." from *Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World*. University of Minnesota Press.
- (2) Rodriguez, Robyn M. 2010. "Chapter 3: Able Minds, Able Hands: Marketing Philippine Workers." from *Migrants for Export*.
- (3) Rodriguez, Robyn M. 2011. "Philippine Migrant Workers' Transnationalism in the Middle East." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 79:48-61.  
*Last week, we saw how capitalism structures migration. Yet colonial legacies and postcolonial nation-building projects are also important. How do these factors shape contemporary immigration laws and migration patterns? How do migrants assert their rights in this system?*

**WEEK FOUR: February 11 (Group B)****Not Seeing Like the Mexican State**

- (1) Iskander, Natasha. 2010. *Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico*. Cornell Uni. Press. (Chapter 2: pp 27-30, 45-59; Chapter 7: 223-235)
- (2) Fernández-Kelly, Patricia and Douglas Massey. 2007. "Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-US Migration." *ANNALS of the Am. Acad. of Pol. and Social Sciences*. 610 (1): 98-118.  
*How are the Mexican and Philippine states similar and different? How are the two nations' historical relationships to the US similar and different? What do we learn from the comparison of the two case studies?*

**WEEK FIVE: February 18            NO READINGS**

Library Orientation: Meet in 350 C Moffitt.

### PART 3: THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION

#### **WEEK SIX: February 25 (Group A)**

##### **Migrant Filipina Hostesses in Japan**

- (1) 2004 Trafficking In Persons Report.

<http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2004/33191.htm>

*Go to website above. Scroll through the State Department's TTIP report and read the section on Japan.*

- (2) Parreñas, Rhacel. 2011. The Indentured Mobility of Migrant Women: How Gendered Protectionist Laws Lead Filipina Hostesses to Forced Sexual Labor. *Jour. of Workplace Rights* 15(3-4): 327-339.

- (3) Parreñas, Rhacel. 2011. "Chapter 3: Buttressing Masculinity." *Illicit Flirtations: Labor Migration and Sex Trafficking in Tokyo*. Stanford University Press.

*What are the institutions that facilitate migration from the Philippines to Japan? To what extent should we see these women as 'labor migrants' and to what extent are they victims of sex trafficking? What are the political and sociological implications of each label?*

**\*\* Due by 4pm, Friday, February 26<sup>th</sup>: Initial Memo \*\***

#### **WEEK SEVEN: March 3 (Group B)**

##### **Immigration Enforcement and the Production of 'Cheap' Migrant Labor in the US**

- (1) Paret, Marcel. 2014. "Legality and Exploitation: Immigration Enforcement and the US Labor System." *Latino Studies* 12(4): 503-526.

*How does Paret build on Burawoy's theory of the migrant labor system? How does he divide up the history of immigration law and enforcement in the US with respect to migrants from Mexico and Central America? How does Paret's analysis explain the rise in deportation rates under the Obama Administration and the manner in which immigration has been discussed by Republican presidential candidates?*

#### **WEEK EIGHT: March 10 (Group A)**

##### **Immigration and Foreign Policy: The Social Construction of Cuban 'Refugees'**

- (1) Dominguez, Jorge. 1990. Chapter 9: "Immigration as Foreign Policy in US-Latin American Relations." From *Immigration and US Foreign Policy*. Eds. Robert Tucker, Charles Keely & Linda Wrigley. Westview Press.

- (2) Dominguez, Jorge. 1992. "Cooperating with the Enemy? US Immigration Policies Towards Cuba." From *Western Hemisphere Immigration and US Foreign Policy*. Ed. C. Mitchell.

*How is the story of Cuban migration different from that of Mexican migration? How should we think about the relationship between US foreign policy and immigration politics?*

**\*\*Due by 4pm, Friday, March 11<sup>th</sup>: Methods Memo\*\*****WEEK NINE: March 17 (Group B)****Grassroots Immigration Politics in California and Arizona**

- (1) Larsen, Solano. "The Anti-Immigration Movement: From Shovels to Suits." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 40.3 (2007): 14-18.
- (2) Shapira, Harel. 2013. "From the Nativist's Point of View: How Ethnography Can Enrich Our Understanding of Political Identity." *The Sociological Quarterly* 54:35-50.
- (3) Nicholls, Walter. 2014. "From Political Opportunities to Niche-Openings: The Dilemmas of Mobilizing for Immigrant Rights in Inhospitable Environments." *Theory & Society* 43:23-49.

*How and why do grassroots groups mobilize around immigration and what are the consequences of this mobilization? To what extent do Larsen and Shapira disagree about why people participate in nativist movements like the Minutemen Project? Which explanation is more convincing to you? According to Nicholls, how might pro-immigrant mobilization end up reproducing the status quo?*

**\*\*Due by 4pm, Friday, March 18<sup>th</sup>: Literature Review\*\*****WEEK TEN: March 24****SPRING BREAK (NO CLASS)****WEEK ELEVEN: March 31****CLASS CANCELED****PART 4: DETENTION, DEPORTATION AND THE ILLEGALITY INDUSTRY****WEEK TWELVE: April 7 (Group A)****The US as Border Patrol Nation?** *(guest lecture by Todd Miller)*

- (1) Miller, Todd. 2014. "Chapter 1: The Super Patrol." From *Border Patrol Nation: Dispatches from the Front Lines of Homeland Security*. San Francisco: City Lights.
- (2) Miller, Todd. 2014. "Chapter 2: The Complex Builders." From *Border Patrol Nation*.

*Liberal theory suggests that sovereignty is a basic right of nations. But how do the day-to-day practices of sovereignty infiltrate into social and geographic spaces beyond borders?*

**WEEK THIRTEEN: April 14 (Group B)****US Immigration and the Prison Industry**

- (1) Hodai, Beau. August 22, 2011. "Brownskins and Greenbacks: ALEC, the For-Profit Prison Industry and Arizona's SB 1070." PR Watch. <http://dbapress.com/front-page/brownskins-and-greenbacks-alec-the-for-profit-prison-industry-and-arizonas-sb-1070>

- (2) Miller, Todd. 2014. "Chapter 8: Feeding the Monster." From *Border Patrol Nation: Dispatches from The Front Lines of Homeland Security*. San Francisco: City Lights Open Media.

In-class viewing of PBS Frontline Documentary, *Lost in Detention*, Part I

*How can we use this week's readings about the for-profit immigrant detention industry and organizations like ALEC to update Burawoy's theory of the 'migrant labor system'?*

#### **WEEK FOURTEEN: April 21 (Group A)**

##### **The European Union's Illegality Industry** (possible guest lecture by Ruben Andersson)

- (1) Van Houtum, Henk, and Roos Pijpers. 2007. "The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two-faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU." *Antipode* 39(2): 291-309.
- (2) Andersson, Ruben. 2014. "Hunter and Prey: Patrolling Clandestine Migration in the Euro-African Borderlands." *Anthropological Quarterly* 87(1): 119-149.

In-class viewing of documentary "Europe or Die: Storming Spain's Razor-Wire Fence."

*What does Andersson mean by the term the 'illegality industry'? How is the EU's border enforcement regime similar to and different from that of the US? Does the US also have an 'illegality industry'?*

### **PART 5: MIGRATION - PATHWAY TO EXPLOITATION OR EMPOWERMENT?**

#### **WEEK FIFTEEN: April 28 (Group B)**

- (1) Carrasco, Tania and Hinda Seif. 2014. "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism." *Latino Studies* 12: 279-299.
- (2) Andrews, Abigail. 2014. "In Mexico, Women Can Take Increased Roles in Local Politics in Response to the 'Crisis' of Migration to the U.S." *LSE's Daily Blog on American Politics & Policy*. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2014/07/14/in-mexico-women-can-take-increased-roles-in-local-politics-in-response-to-the-crisis-of-migration-to-the-u-s/>
- (3) "Café Justo Video." [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8anKFz53fM&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8anKFz53fM&feature=player_embedded)
- (4) "Café Justo Website." <http://www.justcoffee.org/>  
*To what extent and in what ways can migration offer pathways to empowerment and positive social change? Given what you've read and viewed this week, what does empowerment look like in a globalizing world? Carrasco and Seif appear to disagree with Nicholls that the struggle for immigrant rights necessarily reproduces the 'deserving immigrant' versus 'undeserving immigrant' binary. Do you agree with their optimistic assessment? Why or why not?*

**\*\*Due by 4pm, Thursday, May 12<sup>th</sup>: Final Research Proposal\*\***  
**(You may turn it in earlier, if you like)**