
POLS BC 3410 HUMAN RIGHTS IN A DIVERSE WORLD

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POLS BC 3410
M 2:10-4 pm
Sulzberger Annex 102

INTRODUCTION

This course aims to inquire into some of the most challenging issues and problems related to human rights in a diverse world shaped increasingly by international migration. Today more than 230 million people are estimated to be living outside their country of birth. In conjunction with this massive human migration, there is an unprecedented increase in the number of people who lack the rights associated with citizenship and become vulnerable to various forms of violence, discrimination, and abuse. To what extent can these problems be addressed and remedied by appealing to human rights? In what ways does the contemporary condition of migrants reveal the limits, paradoxes, and promises of human rights? What are some of the most illuminating theoretical frameworks that can help us grapple with the problems encountered by migrants and assess the existing norms of human rights? These are among the questions that will guide our critical inquiry of human rights in this course.

The first section of the course addresses the political and normative implications of understanding rights and citizenship within the boundaries of the sovereign nation-state. We are particularly interested in the limits and problems of debating migrants' rights within the conventional framework of the nation-state. The second section is centered on the question of whether and how this framework is undergoing change due to the ascendancy of human rights norms. More specifically, we will assess the extent to which international developments regarding human rights have inaugurated a post-national era detaching rights and citizenship from the nation-state. The third section of the course aims to scrutinize some of the pervasive problems encountered by asylum-seekers, refugees, and undocumented immigrants in claiming and exercising fundamental rights—e.g. detention, deportation, and protracted encampment. Taking these problems as a starting point, we will engage in a critical analysis of the existing norms, practices, and institutions of human rights to examine their limits, problems, and possibilities.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This course has three main objectives: (1) to develop a theoretical understanding of the complex relationship between human rights, citizenship, nation-state, and sovereignty; (2) to acquire a critical, analytical understanding of the underlying assumptions and political effects of human rights norms, institutions, and practices in the context of international migration; (3) to develop skills of close reading, critical thinking, analytical writing, independent research, and public speaking.

STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES

Upon the completion of this course, students should be able to: (1) analyze, speak, and write about the relationship between human rights, citizenship, and the nation-state; (2) identify the main human rights norms and institutions, including those related to the rights of asylum-seekers, refugees, and undocumented immigrants; (3) develop theoretically informed understanding of the challenging problems related to the human rights of different categories of migrants; (4) critically assess the merits and strengths of alternative scholarly explanations of these problems; (5) write cogent, persuasive, and polished papers on the topic; (6) independently design, research, and write a substantial paper of 25-30 pages that explores and takes a stance on a significant debate about the course topic.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and Participation:

The success of the colloquium depends on the intensive participation of each and every student. For this reason, attendance at every session and thoughtful contribution to our discussion based on a thorough analysis of the readings are crucial. Regular attendance and class participation constitute 10% of your course grade. If you must miss a particular class meeting because of illness, family emergency, or a religious holiday that forbids work, you are expected to inform me beforehand and turn in a 2-3 pp. double-spaced essay responding to the assigned reading(s) of that week to make up for your missed class participation.

Throughout the semester you are expected to submit 5 brief commentaries (2 short paragraphs) on course readings of your choice. These commentaries will give you time to develop and organize your thoughts about the readings prior to class so that our discussions are as lively as possible. The first paragraph of each commentary should focus on an issue addressed by the reading(s) of that particular week and briefly summarize the main arguments of the author(s) regarding that issue. The second paragraph should list two questions that you would like us to discuss in class that day and a brief explanation of why those questions deserve attention. Commentaries must be posted on Courseworks by 9 am on the day of the class. Students are expected to have looked at these postings before class and to come prepared to talk about the issues that are raised in them.

Each class session will start with a 7-10 min. student presentation on the readings (Depending on the size of our class, we might have two students for some weeks). An effective presentation will not summarize the reading but instead offer several focused comments on authors' arguments and raise a couple of stimulating questions for class discussion. At the end of the semester students will also present the findings of their research. Five brief commentaries and two presentations constitute 5% of your course grade.

Response Papers:

Response papers aim to strengthen your skills of critical reading and analytical writing. Each response paper (3-4 pages, double-spaced) should be submitted at the beginning of the class session in which those readings will be discussed. Response papers provide a succinct analysis of a specific aspect of the assigned reading(s). They are not summaries or a compilation of quotes from readings; instead they should provide carefully thought, reasoned interpretation and analysis of these readings, supported by textual evidence. You may challenge the author's definition of his/her concepts or analysis of the problem, raise relevant questions left unanswered by the author, present your own analysis of the problem or issue under examination, or discuss a common analytical trait or theoretical concern in the different readings for a particular week.

You must write two response papers throughout the semester on course readings of your choice, but at least one paper must be handed in by February 23. It is important to pace yourself to avoid handing in your response papers in the final weeks of the semester when you are busy writing the research paper. You may write a response paper on the same topic as your presentation; but you should not post a brief commentary and write a response paper on the same set of readings (to avoid possible repetition). These response papers will constitute 30% of your course grade (15% each).

Research Paper:

This requirement is designed to have you explore in depth a challenging theoretical problem or political issue related to human rights and citizenship in a globalizing world increasingly shaped by international migration. If you would like to write about a related, yet slightly different, dimension of human rights,

please consult me early in the semester. The research paper (25-30 pages, double-spaced, 12 pt. font) should build on the material studied in class. It should work with the theories and concepts studied to analyze specific scholarly debates and/or cases of interest to students. An effective and feasible research paper will be anchored in a very specific and focused question; broad and general topics rarely make for successful papers.

I will work with you closely at each step of the research process by breaking it down into small, manageable preparatory assignments. Preparatory assignments will be due throughout the term: paper topic due **February 16** (5% of the final grade); research proposal and 10-item annotated bibliography due **March 9** (15% of the final grade); first draft of the paper due **April 20** (not graded). The revised final paper is due **May 4** (35% of the final grade). Although the first draft of the research paper will not be graded, you should aim at submitting a very strong, polished draft to maximize the usefulness of the feedback you will get.

Please check Courseworks regularly for updates and assignment guidelines. Here are some additional websites that can be useful for research and writing:

- <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl> (excellent resource on several different aspects of writing – check especially the sections on “The Writing Process,” “General Academic Writing,” “Research and Citation,” “Grammar and Mechanics,” and “Writing in the Social Sciences”).
- <https://library.barnard.edu/citation> (useful information about citation management)
- <https://library.barnard.edu/find-books/guides/POLS/POLS> (links to useful reference sources and databases for political scientists)
- http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/code_of_conduct.html (various sources on citations, bibliographies, and footnotes)

Except for the brief commentaries that will be posted on Courseworks, please submit a **hard copy** of each assignment at the beginning of the class session it is due.

GRADING

- Participation: 15%
 - Class participation and attendance (including the workshops led by the speaking fellows): 10%
 - 5 brief commentaries and 2 presentations: 5%
 - If you have elected this class as your capstone requirement, you will also be evaluated on the basis of the quality of the feedback you provided to your peer partner throughout the semester.
- 2 response papers (3-4 pages): 30%
 - 15% each
- 1 research paper: 55%
 - Topic statement (1½-2 pages): 5%
 - Research proposal (3-4 pages) and 10-item annotated bibliography: 15%
 - First draft (not graded; late submission leads to deductions in final grade)
 - Final paper (25-30 pages): 35%

POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS

Completion of all assignments is a necessary condition for passing this course. In addition, I urge you to submit all assignments on time to avoid late penalties. Please note that all assignments must be submitted at the beginning of the class session that they are due.

Late turn-ins will be significantly penalized (one-third of a letter grade per day after the deadline). For example, an “A-” paper due Monday but handed in on Tuesday will receive a “B+”. Extensions will be given only in the case of documented illness, family emergency, or other crisis situation (please bring any form of documentation available).

No late response papers will be accepted under any circumstances. Commentaries must be posted on Courseworks by 9 am on the day of class. Late commentaries will not be taken into consideration in grading.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS

1. Read the syllabus thoroughly; you are responsible for all of its contents.
2. Complete all the assignments to qualify for a passing grade.
3. Read assigned texts in time before their discussion in class; come prepared with questions or issues to discuss. Check the commentaries posted on Courseworks and come prepared to talk about the issues raised in them.
4. Regular class attendance is imperative. Attend class and participate actively in ways that are constructive and respectful of your peers and the instructor. If you must miss a particular class meeting because of illness, family emergency, or a religious holiday that forbids work, you are expected to inform me beforehand and turn in a 2-3 pp. double-spaced essay responding to the assigned readings of that week to make up for your missed class participation.
5. Each class session will begin promptly at 2:10 pm with a student presentation; as a matter of respect for your peers, please come to class on time and remain for the entire session. If for some reason you have to be late one day or must leave early, please tell me in advance (at least 24 hours in advance), and then arrive/depart as unobtrusively as possible.
6. Please turn off all electronic devices before the class starts. Laptops are not allowed because of their negative impact on the learning experience.
 - This policy is based on scientific research that demonstrates the negative impact of laptop use on academic performance, especially on conceptual understanding. For further information, see <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/a-learning-secret-don-t-take-notes-with-a-laptop/>.
7. To maintain a professional atmosphere that is free of distraction, please do not bring food to class; water and beverages in sealed containers are fine.

ACCESSIBILITY

Students who may need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to see me as soon as possible. They should also contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) in 008 Milbank Hall. For further information, please check <http://barnard.edu/ods>.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources, used in their writing. All students taking this course must adhere to the Barnard College honor code. The honor code considers it “dishonest to ask for, give, or receive help in examinations or quizzes, to use any papers or books not authorized by the instructor in examinations, or to present oral work or written work which is not entirely our own, unless otherwise approved by the instructor.” If in doubt about any of these provisions or you would like to discuss these matters further, please seek guidance from the instructor.

For more information on academic integrity, please see:


- <https://library.barnard.edu/find-books/guides/plagiarism>
- <http://www.college.columbia.edu/academics/integrity>

SENIOR CAPSTONE REQUIREMENT


In addition to the above requirements, all seniors who have designated this colloquium to fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement will be assigned peer partners, with whom they are expected to consult throughout the semester about their research paper assignment. Capstone seniors will hold additional meetings in the instructor's office where peer partners will discuss and provide constructive mentoring and feedback on assignments (e.g. research proposals, research methods, rough drafts). A portion of seniors' class participation grade will reflect the quality of their work as peer partners.

Capstone seniors will present their final research papers in class on the last day of class, along with a poster summarizing their research questions, arguments, and findings. A portion of seniors' final research paper grade will reflect the quality of their presentations. The poster will also be displayed at the senior end-of-year party in May 2014. The poster will not be graded, but is required to receive a "Pass" for your Senior requirement and will factor into Departmental considerations for Senior Project Distinction.


Recommended readings for Seniors who have chosen this course as their capstone requirement (and for students looking for extra guidance on the final paper):

 Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, 7th ed.)


- This book is essential for learning how to cite different types of materials. The book also includes a section on research and writing.

 Lisa A. Baglione, *Writing a Research Paper in Political Science: A Practical Guide to Inquiry, Structure, and Methods* (Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007).

- This is an excellent book written specifically for political scientists; it includes very informative examples related to different fields of political science and is very helpful in terms of understanding the structure of a good research paper.

 Charles Lipson, *How to Write a BA Thesis: A Practical Guide from Your First Ideas to Your Finished Paper* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

- This is an excellent book written by a political scientist; it includes very helpful tips and examples clarifying the research tasks, and it can also help you with time management.

 Laura Roselle and Sharon Spray, *Research and Writing in International Relations* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2012).

- This is a very good resource especially if you are writing on a topic related to the field of international relations and/or using case studies.

INFORMATION ABOUT BARNARD SPEAKING FELLOWS

One of the requirements of this course is working with a Barnard Speaking Fellow. Speaking Fellows are undergraduate Barnard students who teach students how to craft, prepare, and deliver presentations and participate in class discussions. After completing a one-semester training course in the theory and practice of public speaking, they are attached to speaking-intensive courses across the disciplines, and help students build stronger, more nuanced arguments through reflective, critical thinking and collegial support. Speaking Fellows do not grade your presentations or public speaking skills. They help you figure out what it is you want to say and how to say it most clearly and effectively, giving you the support to become more comfortable and confident in your speaking abilities.

Your participation in Speaking Fellows workshop(s) is a requirement of this course. At the beginning of the semester, a Speaking Fellow will visit the course to go over which type(s) of workshops

you will be participating in and when in the semester they will be scheduled. Preparation instructions, if any, will come at this time. On sign-up day 1-2 weeks before each workshop, remember to make a note of when and where your workshop will take place, and record your Speaking Fellow's email and phone number in case you need to contact her.

Workshops begin promptly, so please arrive on time, if not a few minutes early. **Please note the program-wide attendance policy:** Because workshops are experiential and based on the group dynamic, if you are late to your workshop, you will not be allowed to participate, and may not be able to reschedule. If you have an emergency and cannot make it to your workshop, please contact your Speaking Fellow immediately.

The Head Speaking Fellow for this course is **Jenny Singer** (jls2266@barnard.edu; 206-422-0876). Please contact her for any administrative questions or questions about the Speaking Fellows working with this course. If you have other questions about the Speaking Program, please contact Rebecca Kelliher, the Program Coordinator (rkelliher@barnard.edu; 212-854-8941). For more detailed information about philosophy, policies, and FAQs, please see the program's website: www.barnard.edu/speaking

READINGS

The required readings include three books and additional materials that will be available online.

Books:

📖 Catherine Dauvergne, *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

📖 Matthew E. Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose, and Limits* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

📖 Michel Agier, *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

You can purchase all the books from **Book Culture** (536 W. 112th St., 212-865-1588). The books are also available on reserve at Barnard Library.

Online readings:

Additional required readings, marked as "CW" in the Course Calendar, will be available for download on Courseworks; please check <https://courseworks.columbia.edu/> for regular updates.

COURSE CALENDAR AND SCHEDULE OF ASSIGNMENTS

WEEK 1 – 01/26

- Introduction to POLS 3410 (No reading)

I. RIGHTS, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE NATION-STATE

WEEK 2 – 02/02 – Entangled Histories of the Modern Nation-State and Human Rights

- Hannah Arendt, "The Decline of the Nation-state and the End of the Rights of Man," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, 1968), pp. 267-302. **CW**
- Rogers Brubaker, "Citizenship as Social Closure" and "The French Revolution and the Invention of National Citizenship," in *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 21-49. **CW**

- Jürgen Habermas, “Citizenship and National Identity,” in *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, tr. William Rehg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1996), pp. 491-515 (footnotes – pp. 568-569).
- 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen – Available online at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights – Available online at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>

Recommended:

- Giorgio Agamben, “We Refugees,” *Symposium*, vol. 49, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 114-119.
- Seyla Benhabib, “Political Geographies in a Global World: Arendtian Reflections,” *Social Research*, vol. 69, no. 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 539-566.
- Jürgen Habermas, “The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship,” in *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, ed. Ciaran Cronin and Pablo de Greiff (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 105-127.

WEEK 3 – 02/09 – Nation-State, Membership, and the Right to Exclude

- Michael Walzer, “Membership,” in *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1983), pp. 31-63. **CW**
- Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, “Birthright Citizenship in the Contemporary Polity,” in *Citizenship without Consent: Illegal Aliens in the American Polity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 90-115. **CW**
- David Miller, “Immigration: The Case for Limits,” in *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*, A. Cohen and C. Wellman, ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 193–206. **CW**
- Christopher Heath Wellman, “Immigration and Freedom of Association,” *Ethics*, vol. 119, no. 1 (October 2008): 109–141. **CW**
- Ayelet Shachar and Ran Hirschl, “Citizenship as Inherited Property,” *Political Theory*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2007), pp. 253-287. **CW**

Recommended:

- Ayelet Schachar, *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- Joseph H. Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Christopher Heath Wellman and Phillip Cole, *Debating the Ethics of Immigration: Is There a Right to Exclude?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Jacqueline Stevens, *States Without Nations: Citizenship for Mortals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

WEEK 4 – 02/16 – Global Migration: Limits of the Nation-State Framework

📖 *Statement of research topic (~1½-2 pages) due at the beginning of class (February 16)*

- Catherine Dauvergne, *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Recommended:

- Michael Dummett, *On Immigration and Refugees* (Routledge, 2001).

- Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (The Guilford Press, 2009, 4th ed.)
- Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging* (Routledge, 2000).

II. THE AGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS: BEYOND SOVEREIGNTY AND CITIZENSHIP?

WEEK 5 – 02/23 – Political and Normative Ascendancy of Human Rights

📅 *Week 5 (February 23) is the last week to hand in your first response paper*

- Samuel J. Barkin, “The Evolution of the Constitution of Sovereignty and the Emergence of Human Rights Norms,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2 (June 1998): 229-252. **CW**
- Seyla Benhabib, “Claiming Rights Across Borders: International Human Rights and Democratic Sovereignty,” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 103, no. 4 (November 2009), pp. 691-704.
- Jack Donnelly, “The Concept of Human Rights,” and “International Human Rights Regimes,” in *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003, 2nd ed.), pp. 7-21 and 127-154. **CW**
- Stefanie Grant, “The Recognition of the Rights of Migrants within the UN Human Rights System: The First 60 Years,” *Are Human Rights for Migrants? Critical Reflections on the Status of Irregular Migrants in Europe and the United States*, Marie-Benedicte Dembour and Tobias Kelly, ed. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 25-47. **CW**
- David Weissbrodt, *The Human Rights of Non-Citizens* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chap. 3. **CW**

Recommended:

- Thomas Buergenthal, “The Normative and Institutional Evolution of International Human Rights,” *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 4 (November 1997): 703-723.
- Jean L. Cohen, *Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Chap. 3.
- Louis Henkin, *The Age of Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
- Thomas Risse-Kappen, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (eds.), *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *The Rights of Non-citizens* (New York and Geneva: United Nations, 2006). Available online at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/noncitizensen.pdf>

WEEK 6 – 03/02 – Contemporary Reconfigurations of Rights, Citizenship, and Sovereignty

- Seyla Benhabib, “Transformations of Citizenship: The Case of Contemporary Europe,” *Government & Opposition*, vol. 37, no. 4 (September 2002): 439-465. **CW**
 - [See also Table 4.1 “Current Rights Regimes in Contemporary Europe: Civil and Political Rights,” from Benhabib, *The Rights of Others*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 158-161.] **CW**
- Jean L. Cohen, “Changing Paradigms of Citizenship and the Exclusiveness of the Demos,” *International Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 3 (September 1999): 245-268.

- David Jacobson, *Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 1-11; 73-106. **CW**
- Saskia Sassen, "The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics," *The New Centennial Review*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 41-66. **CW**
- Yasemin Soysal, "Toward a Postnational Model of Membership" and "Conclusion," in *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 136-167. **CW**

Recommended:

- Rainer Bauböck, *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1994).
- Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Robert Post (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
- Linda Bosniak, "Citizenship Denationalized," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, vol. 7 (2000), pp. 447-509.
- Christian Joppke, "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration," *World Politics*, vol. 50, no. 2 (January 1998), pp. 266-293.
- Christian Joppke, *Citizenship and Immigration* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).

WEEK 7 – 03/09 – Resilience of the Citizen/Alien Distinction

📖 **Research proposal (3-4 pages) and 10-item annotated bibliography due in class (March 9)**

- Jacqueline Bhabha, "'Get Back to Where You Once Belonged': Identity, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Europe," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 3 (August 1998), pp. 592-627. **CW**
- Linda Bosniak, "The Difference That Alienage Makes," in *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 37-76. **CW**
- Kristen Hill Maher, "Who Has a Right to Rights? Citizenship's Exclusions in an Age of Migration," in *Globalization and Human Rights*, ed. Alison Brysk (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 19-43. **CW**
- Bonnie Honig, "Another Cosmopolitanism? Law and Politics in the New Europe," in *Another Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Robert Post (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 102-127. **CW**
- Kate Nash, "Between Citizenship and Human Rights," *Sociology*, vol. 43, no. 6 (December 2009): 1067-1083. **CW**

Recommended:

- Tanya Basok, "Post-National Citizenship, Social Exclusion and Migrants Rights: Mexican Seasonal Workers in Canada," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2004): 47-64.
- Alison Brysk and Gershon Shafir (ed.), *People Out of Place: Globalization, Human Rights, and the Citizenship Gap* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).
- Matthew Gibney, "Precarious Residents: Migration Control, Membership and the Rights of Non-Citizens," *Human Development Research Paper*, vol. 10 (2009). Available online at http://mpr.a.ub.uni-muenchen.de/19190/1/MPRA_paper_19190.pdf
- Lydia Morris, "Britain's Asylum and Immigration Regime: The Shifting Contours of Rights," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3 (July 2002): 409-425.

----- *No class on 03/16 — Spring Holidays* -----

III. LIMITS AND PROMISES OF HUMAN RIGHTS

WEEK 8 – 03/23 – Politics of Human Rights: Critical Assessments

- Giorgio Agamben, “Introduction,” “Politicization of Life” and “Biopolitics and the Rights of Man,” in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, California: University of Stanford Press, 1998), pp. 1-12 and 119-135. **CW**
- Costas Douzinas, “The Politics of Human Rights,” in *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (Routledge-Cavendish, 2007), pp. 90-110. **CW**
- Wendy Brown, “‘The Most We Can Hope For...’: Human Rights and the Politics of Fatalism,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 103, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer 2004), pp. 451-463. **CW**
- David Kennedy, “The International Human Rights Movement: Part of the Problem?” *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 15 (2002), pp. 101-125. **CW**

NOTE: You might find it helpful to reread Arendt to reflect on these critical assessments of human rights, especially the one provided by Agamben.

Recommended:

- Costas Douzinas, *The End of Human Rights: Critical Legal Thought at the Turn of the Century* (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2000).
- Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).
- Makau Mutua, *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
- Jeremy Waldron (ed.), *‘Nonsense Upon Stilts’: Bentham, Burke, and Marx on the Rights of Man* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).

WEEK 9 – 03/30 – Asylum-Seekers and Human Rights

- Matthew E. Price, *Rethinking Asylum: History, Purpose, and Limits* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Recommended:

- Jacqueline Bhabha, “Internationalist Gatekeepers? The Tension Between Asylum Advocacy and Human Rights,” *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 15 (2002): 155-181. **CW**
- Carol Bohmer and Amy Shuman, “Producing Epistemologies of Ignorance in the Political Asylum Application Process,” *Identities*, vol. 14, no. 5 (October 2007): 603-629. **CW**
- Jennifer Hyndman and Alison Mountz, “Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-*Refoulement* and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe,” *Government and Opposition*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 249–269.
- William Paul Simmons, *Human Rights Law and the Marginalized Other* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chap. 6.
- Patricia Tuitt, *False Images: The Law’s Construction of the Refugee* (London and East Haven, CT: Pluto Press, 1996).
- Michael Welch and Liza Schuster, “Detention of Asylum Seekers in the US, UK, France, Germany, and Italy: A Critical View of the Globalizing Culture of Control,” *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, vol. 5 no. 4 (November 2005), pp. 331-355.

WEEK 10 – 04/06 – Refugees and Human Rights

- Michel Agier, *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

Recommended:

- Jennifer Hyndman, *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
- David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 7.
- Liisa H. Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1996), pp. 377-404.
- Peter Nyers, *Rethinking Refugees: Beyond States of Emergency* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006).
- Nevzat Soğuk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- Guglielmo Verdirame and Barbara E. Harrell-Bond, *Rights In Exile: Janus-Faced Humanitarianism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

WEEK 11 – 04/13 – Undocumented Immigrants and Human Rights

- Linda S. Bosniak, "Human Rights, State Sovereignty and the Protection of Undocumented Migrants under the International Migrant Workers Convention," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Winter 1991): 737-770. **CW**
- Nicholas P. De Genova, "Migrant 'Illegality' and Deportability in Everyday Life," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 31 (2002): 419-47. **CW**
- Alison Kesby, "The Right to Have Rights as Humanity," in *The Right to Have Rights: Citizenship, Humanity, and International Law* (Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 92-117. **CW**
- Prem Kumar Rajaram and Carl Grundy-Warr, "The Irregular Migrant as Homo Sacer: Migration and Detention in Australia, Malaysia, and Thailand," *International Migration*, vol. 42, no. 1 (March 2004): 33-64. **CW**
- Miriam Ticktin, "Where Ethics and Politics Meet: The Violence of Humanitarianism in France," *American Ethnologist*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 33-49. **CW**

Recommended:

- Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster, "At the Extremes of Exclusion: Deportation, Detention and Dispersal," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3 (2005): 491-512.
- Galina Cornelisse, "Immigration Detention and the Territoriality of Universal Rights," in Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz (ed.), *Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 101-122. [Available online as e-book; search CLIO and log in]
- Monika Krause, "Undocumented Migrants: An Arendtian Perspective," *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 7, no. 3 (July 2008): 331-348.
- William Walters, "Deportation, Expulsion, and the International Police of Aliens," *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 2002), pp. 265-292.
- Michael Welch, *Detained: Immigration Laws and the Expanding I.N.S. Jail Complex* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

WEEK 12 – 04/20 – Democratic Possibilities of (Human) Rights

📖 *First draft of research paper due in class (April 20)*

- Étienne Balibar, “On the Politics of Human Rights,” *Constellations*, vol. 20, no. 1 (March 2013): 18-26. **CW**
- Christina Beltrán, “Going Public: Hannah Arendt, Immigrant Action and the Space of Appearance,” *Political Theory*, vol. 37, no. 5 (October 2009): 595-622. **CW**
- Claude Lefort, “Human Rights and the Welfare State,” in *Democracy and Political Theory*, trans. David Macey (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), pp. 21-44. **CW**
- Anne McNevin, “Political Belonging in a Neoliberal Era: The Struggle of the *Sans-Papiers*,” *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2 (2006), pp. 135-151. **CW**
- Jacques Rancière, “Who is the Subject of the Rights of Man?” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 103, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer 2004), pp. 297-310. **CW**

Recommended:

- Étienne Balibar, “‘Rights of Man’ and ‘Rights of the Citizen’: The Modern Dialectic of Equality and Freedom” in *Masses, Classes, Ideas* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 39-59.
- Étienne Balibar, *We, The People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, tr. James Swenson (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Nicholas De Genova, “The Queer Politics of Migration: Reflections on ‘Illegality’ and Incurability,” *Studies in Social Justice*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2010): 101-126.
- James Ingram, “What Is a ‘Right to Have Rights’? Three Images of the Politics of Human Rights,” *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 4 (November 2008): 401-416.
- Peter Nyers, “No One is Illegal Between City and Nation,” *Studies in Social Justice*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2010): 127-143.

WEEK 13 – 04/27 – Presentations

WEEK 14 – 05/04 – Presentations

📖 *Revised research paper due in class (May 4); please attach the first draft with my comments.*
