

Universität Bremen

Summer Term 2023

FB 8

Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Peter Mayer

phone: (0421) 218-67483

email: [prmayer@uni-bremen.de](mailto:prmayer@uni-bremen.de)

office hours: Wed 14.00-15.00 hrs. (UNICOM 7.2180) and by appointment

BA Political Science Pol-M10

## Seminar: Ethics of Migration

Tue 10-12, GW2 B1580

### Goals

In this text-centered seminar, we will discuss seminal contributions to the ethics of migration, which has become a cottage industry in political and moral philosophy over the last few decades. We know that in many places borders are not open, but *ought* they to be so from a moral point of view? Or does this depend on the circumstances? If so, which circumstances matter and why? Do states that restrict immigration (by certain groups of people) violate human rights (and how would we know that)? Or do they merely exercise the right of self-determination of the political community they represent? These are the kinds of questions that we will raise in this seminar, after paving the ground by looking at some conceptual, empirical, and theoretical issues in the initial meetings.

### Schedule

Session	Date	Topic
1	11 April	Introduction
2	18 April	Migration: Forms, Causes, and Consequences
3	25 April	Global Migration Governance
4	2 May	Sovereignty, Human Rights, and the International Refugee Regime
5	9 May	Theories of Ethics
6	16 May	Political Theory and Human Rights
7	23 May	Realists, Cosmopolitans, and the Ethics of a Lifeboat
8	30 May	The Distribution of Membership
9	6 June	Libertarians, Utilitarians, and Migration
10	13 June	Democracy and Immigration
11	20 June	Immigration and Freedom of Association
12	27 June	The Case for Open Borders

13	4 July	Immigration and Human Rights
14	11 July	Conclusion

## Requirements

All participants are expected to read and think through the assigned texts in preparation of the sessions. Participation without reading will not be beneficial.

- 3 CP (MPL/TP 2): presentation (15 minutes) with written elaboration (c. 5 pages) *or* short term paper (8-10 pages)
- 6 CP (GPL/TP 1): term paper (15-20 pages) *or* oral exam (30 minutes)

Students who wish to obtain 6 CP in this seminar can claim a 5-page “rebate” for the term paper by volunteering for an oral presentation (without written elaboration).

Note that the page numbers given above assume that the papers are formatted according to the rules laid down in the Institute of Political Science’s [“Study Guide”](#) (sec. IV 4.1). The expected page ranges include the bibliography (references) and exclude the cover sheet, the table of contents, and annexes (if applicable).

Students are required to obtain my consent to their topic before they start writing. In other words, I may reject or downgrade a paper the topic of which I had not endorsed.

Papers (including elaborations of presentations) may be in English or German and must be submitted via email by 30 September 2023. Likewise, oral exams may be taken in English or German. Students who intend to use the seminar as a proof of proficiency in English (as required by § 3, sec. 6 of the BA examination regulations [*Prüfungsordnung*]), however, must hand in their papers, or take the oral exam, in English.

*For more about seminar requirements see the “Additional Information” section on the Stud.IP course site.*

## General Literature

### Introductions, Overviews, Handbooks, Anthologies, Monographs

*International Migration: Drivers, Politics, Law*

Betts, Alexander/Collier, Paul (2017): *Refuge: Rethinking Refugee Policy in a Changing World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Betts, Alexander/Loescher, Gil (eds) (2011): *Refugees in International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chan, Sucheng (2018): Migration. In: Juergensmeyer, Mark/Sassen, Saskia/Steger, Manfred B./Faessel, Victor (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 359–382.

de Haas, Hein/Castles, Stephen/Miller, Mark J. (2020): *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Red Globe Press.

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena/Loescher, Gil/Long, Katy/Sigona, Nando (eds.) (2014): *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gold, Steven J./Nawyn, Stephanie J. (eds.) (2019): *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge.

Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. (2014): The International Law of Refugee Protection. In: Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena/Loescher, Gil/Long, Katy/Sigona, Nando (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 36–47.

Hathaway, James C. (2021): *The Rights of Refugees under International Law*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lahav, Gallya/Lavenex, Sandra (2013): International Migration. In: Carlsnaes, Walter/Risse, Thomas/Simmons, Beth A. (eds.): *Handbook of International Relations*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Los Angeles, Cal.: Sage, 746–774.

McAdam, Jane (2019): The Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration: A New Era for International Protection? In: *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30 (4), 571–574.

Rosenblum, Marc R./Tichenor, Daniel J. (eds.) (2012): *The Oxford Handbook of the Politics of International Migration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### *Ethics and Political Theory*

Beitz, Charles R. (1999): *Political Theory and International Relations*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brock, Gillian (2009): *Global Justice: A Cosmopolitan Account*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Darwall, Stephen L. (1998): *Philosophical Ethics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Darwall, Stephen L. (2014): Theories of Ethics. In: Cohen, Andrew I./Wellman, Christopher Heath (eds): *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 13–32.

Dryzek, John S./Goodin, Robert E. (eds.) (2006): *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Frankena, William K. (1973): *Ethics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Goodin, Robert E./Pettit, Philip/Pogge, Thomas (eds.) (2007): *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (2 vols.). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Hutchings, Kimberly (2010): *Global Ethics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity.

Kymlicka, Will (2002): *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levy, Jacob T. (ed.) (2015): *The Oxford Handbook of Classics in Contemporary Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nardin, Terry/Mapel, David R. (eds.) (1992): *Traditions of International Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shapcott, Richard (2010): *International Ethics: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity.

Shapcott, Richard (2017): International Ethics. In: Baylis, John/Smith, Steve/Owens, Patricia (eds.): *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 204–218.

Singer, Peter (ed.) (1993): *A Companion to Ethics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

### *Ethics of Migration*

Barry, Brian/Goodin, Robert E. (eds.) (1992): *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money*. University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Bauböck, Rainer/Mourão Permoser, Julia/Ruhs, Martin (2022): The Ethics of Migration Policy Dilemmas. In: *Migration Studies*, 10 (3), 427–441.

Blake, Michael (2005): Immigration. In: Frey, Raymond G./Wellman, Christopher Heath (eds.): *A Companion to Applied Ethics*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 224–237.

Brock, Gillian/Blake, Michael (2015): *Debating Brain Drain: May Governments Restrict Emigration?* Oxford New York: Oxford University Press.

Carens, Joseph H. (1987): Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders. In: *Review of Politics*, 49 (2), 251–273.

Carens, Joseph H. (2013): *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carens, Joseph H. (2014): An Overview of the Ethics of Immigration. In: *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 17 (5), 538–559.

Dumitru, Speranta (2023): The Ethics of Immigration: How Biased Is the Field? In: *Migration Studies*, 11 (1), 1–22.

Ferracioli, Luara (2018): International Migration and Human Rights. In: Brown, Chris/Eckersley, Robyn (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of International Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 520–532.

Fine, Sarah/Ypi, Lea (eds.) (2016): *Migration in Political Theory: The Ethics of Movement and Membership*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, David (2016): *Strangers in Our Midst: The Political Philosophy of Immigration*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Song, Sarah (2018): Political Theories of Migration. In: *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21 (1), 385–402.

Wellman, Christopher Heath (2022): Immigration. In: Zalta, Edward N./Nodelman, Uri (eds.): *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2022 Edition). Available at: <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2022/entries/immigration/>> [Accessed 11 February 2023].

*An extensive, structured bibliography of the ethics of migration is available via the Further Reading folder on the Stud.IP course site.*

### **Internet Sources**

Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs (<http://www.carnegiecouncil.org>)

Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (<http://www.iep.utm.edu>)

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (<http://plato.stanford.edu>)

### **Required Reading**

11 April 2023

1 – Introduction

18 April 2023

2 – Migration: Forms, Causes, and Consequences

Adamson, Fiona B. (2006): Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security. In: *International Security*, 31 (1), 165–199.

25 April 2023

3 – Global Migration Governance

Betts, Alexander (2011): Introduction: Global Migration Governance. In: Betts, Alexander (ed.): *Global Migration Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–33.

2 May 2023

4 – Sovereignty, Human Rights, and the International Refugee Regime

Lambert, H el ene (2009): International Refugee Law: Dominant and Emerging Approaches. In: Armstrong, David (ed.): *Routledge Handbook of International Law*. London: Routledge, 344–354.

9 May 2023

5 – Theories of Ethics

Frankena, William K. (1973): *Ethics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, ch. 1.

Hutchings, Kimberly (2010): *Global Ethics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity, ch. 2.

16 May 2023

6 – Political Theory and Human Rights

Lukes, Steven (1993): Five Fables about Human Rights. In: Shute, Stephen/Hurley, Susan (eds.): *On Human Rights*. The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993. New York: Basic Books, 19–40.

23 May 2023

7 – Realists, Cosmopolitans, and the Ethics of a Lifeboat

Beitz, Charles R. (2001): International Justice: Conflict. In: Becker, Lawrence C./Becker, Charlotte B. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ethics*. Vol. 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Routledge, 871–874.

Hardin, Garrett (1974): Living on a Lifeboat. In: *Bioscience*, 24 (10), 561–568.

30 May 2023

8 – The Distribution of Membership

Walzer, Michael (1983): *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. New York: Basic Books, ch. 2.

6 June 2023

9 – Libertarians, Utilitarians, and Migration

Steiner, Hillel (1992): Libertarianism and the Transnational Migration of People. In: Barry, Brian/Goodin, Robert E. (eds.): *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 87–94.

Singer, Peter (1994): *Practical Ethics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 9.

13 June 2023

10 – Democracy and Immigration

Abizadeh, Arash (2008): Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders. In: *Political Theory*, 36 (1), 37–65.

20 June 2023

11 – Immigration and Freedom of Association

Wellman, Christopher Heath (2008): Immigration and Freedom of Association. In: *Ethics*, 119 (1), 109–141.

27 June 2023

12 – The Case for Open Borders

Carens, Joseph H. (2013): *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, ch. 11.

4 July 2023

13 – Immigration and Human Rights

Miller, David (2016): Is There a Human Right to Immigrate? In: Fine, Sarah/Ypi, Lea (eds.): *Migration in Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11–31.

11 July 2023

14 – Conclusion