

PSCI 4817A
The International Politics of Forced Migration

Fridays, 11:35am to 2:25pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: James Milner
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Please use your Carleton e-mail address or the e-mail function of cuLearn to send an e-mail to the instructor or TA and always include the course code in the subject line.

First class: 8 January 2016
Last class: 8 April 2016

NOTE: No class meeting on 19 February or 25 March 2016

cuLearn: On-line components of this course will be managed through cuLearn. Please visit the cuLearn site at least once a week to receive the most current information pertaining to the scheduling of the course and required readings.

Course objectives:

The prolonged presence of sprawling and insecure refugee camps in Africa and Asia, the plight of 'boat people' seeking refuge in Europe and North America, and controversies surrounding asylum seekers in Canada and elsewhere are but three examples of the tensions between human rights principles and domestic, regional and international politics. While a UN Agency was established in 1950 to ensure protection for refugees and to find solutions to their plight, these objectives are frequently frustrated by political constraints. How can this tension be reconciled?

The objective of this course is to introduce students to the major themes and tensions that currently affect the global refugee regime. Through the course, students will be expected to develop an understanding of the origins and elements of the global refugee regime, current issues it is seeking to resolve, the significance of these issues in the resolution of contemporary refugee situations, and the role that local, national, regional and global politics play in the origins and development of these issues.

Working through a series of lectures, seminars and case studies, the course will present a history of the global refugee regime, focusing on its functions and components, before considering issues that currently confront the regime. The course will conclude by applying these concepts to contemporary refugee situations and examining the local, national, regional and international obstacles to ensuring the protection of refugees and to finding a solution to their plight.

Course outline:

The course is divided into three sections:

Section 1 provides an overview of the global refugee regime, including an introduction to core instruments such as the *1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* and organizations such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Section 1 will also consider the meaning of international refugee protection, definitions of refugees and understandings of protection, and the functioning of the global refugee regime.

Section 2 will turn to a more specific examination of contemporary issues confronting the global refugee protection regime, including the politics of asylum in the global North and South, the range of solutions available to refugees, protracted refugee situations, the relationship between security and refugee movements, global refugee policy, and challenges of international cooperation and so-called 'burden sharing'.

This section will include case studies of particular refugee-hosting states to examine how the themes and issues raised during the course are applied in the context of the resolution of specific contemporary refugee situations. Working as a class, we will examine the politics of asylum countries in the global North and South and the factors that both enable and constrain UNHCR's ability to pursue its mandate in a range of contexts.

Section 3 will conclude the course by considering new challenges confronting the global refugee regime and a consideration of how the global refugee regime, especially UNHCR, can respond to these challenges in the coming years.

Requirements:

Reading critiques	20%
Reading critique 1: 10%	
Reading critique 2: 10%	
Research paper	65%
Essay proposal: 10% (due 29 January 2016)	
Seminar presentation: 15% (Weeks 6 to 12)	
Final paper: 40% (due 8 April 2016)	
Participation	15%

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the essay proposal due on **29 January 2016** will be graded and returned to students the following week.

There is **no final exam** for this course. Instead, students are required to actively engage in reading, writing and participation throughout the term through four elements:

Reading critiques: Students are required to write 2 reading critiques over the course of the term. Reading critiques should be 2 to 3 pages long, single spaced and referenced. Critiques should summarise the key arguments of the readings, contrast the perspectives of the readings, and respond to the readings within the context of the

course. Is there a tension between the readings? What contribution do they make? Do you agree with their position? How do the arguments of the authors relate to the broader themes of the course? Reading critiques must be submitted at the start of class.

Research paper and seminar presentation: Students are also expected to research a particular issue relating to the global refugee regime. While students are free to select a topic of their choice in consultation with the instructor, they are especially encouraged to work on a **case study** (country, theme or issue) and consider the factors that enhance or constrain UNHCR's ability to fulfil its mandate of protection and solutions in this particular case.

Students will be required to submit a 3 to 5 page proposal, inclusive of a bibliography, on their selected issue at the start of class on **29 January 2016**.

On the basis of this proposal, students will be required to give a presentation on their research in the second half of class in Weeks 6 to 11. (Students should include a note in their essay proposal if there is a week when they **cannot** give their seminar presentation.) Presentations will be scheduled so that students presenting on similar topics will give their presentations on the same week. This presentation schedule will be posted on cuLearn by **5 February 2016**.

Based on feedback from the paper proposal and the presentation, students will be required to write a 15 to 18 page paper. Papers are due at the start of class on **8 April 2016**.

Participation: 15% of the final grade is for participation. Students are expected not only to attend class meetings, but engage in class discussion. While this is a large class, it will be run as a **senior undergraduate seminar**. Students who submit reading critiques in a given week will be especially expected to contribute to class discussions.

In addition, students are expected to remain informed on current events relating to the global refugee regime, which will form a key component of class discussions. Students may wish to refer to the daily briefings from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), available on-line: <http://www.unhcr.org>

Late penalties: Reading responses submitted after the start of class will receive a grade of 0%. All other assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized by 5% of the 100% assignment grade per 24 hours. Exceptions to this policy will only be made for academic accommodations, as outlined below, or for medical or personal emergencies substantiated by official documentation. Late papers must be submitted via the drop box in the Department of Political Science (Loeb B640).

The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday.

Readings and required texts:

While the majority of readings for the course are available electronically **at no cost to the student**, there is one required text for the course:

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, second edition, New York: Routledge, 2012.

A copy of this title will be held in the Reserve Collection at the Carleton Library. It will also be available for purchase at Octopus Books, 116 Third Avenue (Third and Bank). For directions, see: <http://www.octopusbooks.ca>. Please advise the course instructor if you have difficulties obtaining a copy of the book.

In addition, it is **recommended** that students consult other books, web-sites and journals, including:

Books

Betts, Alexander, *Forced Migration and Global Politics*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

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

Gibney, Matthew J., *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Responses to Refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Goodwin-Gill, Guy, and Jane McAdam, *The Refugee in International Law*, Third Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Haddad, Emma, *The Refugee in International Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Helton, Arthur, *The Price of Indifference: Refugees and humanitarian action in the new century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Loescher, Gil, *The UNHCR in World Politics: A Perilous Path*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Loescher, Gil, *Beyond Charity: International Cooperation and the Global Refugee Crisis*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Loescher, Gil and James Milner, *Protracted Refugee Situations: Domestic and Security Implications*, Adelphi Paper no. 375, London: Routledge, 2005.

Milner, James, *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Terry, Fiona, *Condemned to Repeat?: The paradox of humanitarian action*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Weiner, Myron, *The Global Migration Crisis: Challenge to States and to Human Rights*, New York: HarperCollins, 1995.

Zolberg, Aristide R., Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Journals

Forced Migration Review

International Journal of Refugee Law

International Migration

Journal of Refugee Studies

Refugee Survey Quarterly

Refuge

These journals may be accessed either on-line or through the list of electronic journals held by the Carleton Library: <http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca/screens/wr/wr.html>

Web-sites

Forced Migration On-line: <http://www.forcedmigration.org>

PRS Project (Oxford): <http://www.prsproject.org>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): <http://www.unhcr.org>

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: <http://www.reliefweb.org>

US Committee for Refugees: <http://www.refugees.org>

Twitter

Global Refugee Policy Network: @GRPNetwork

Provisional outline of course topics:

Below is a **tentative** weekly breakdown of the course and **possible** readings. Please consult cuLearn regularly for updates to this list of weekly topics and readings, in addition to information about the course.

Week 1

8 January 2016: Introduction: Refugees and global politics

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Introduction", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

Alexander Betts, "Global Governance", *Forced Migration and Global Politics*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

UNHCR, *Global Trends 2015*, <http://unhcr.org/556725e69.html>

This class will include a viewing of the film *Home Free* (2008), a 22-minute documentary about solutions for Burundian refugees who have been in exile for more than 30 years.

Week 2

15 January 2016: The origins and evolution of the global refugee regime

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 428(V) of 14 December 1950 and Annex: Statute of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (<http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c39e1.pdf>)

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 1: The origins of international concern for refugees", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

Gil Loescher, "The UNHCR and World Politics: State interests vs. institutional autonomy", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 2001 (available through electronic journals).

Randy Lippert, "Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime", *Alternatives*, 24, 1999 (available through electronic journals).

Week 3

22 January 2016: Who is (not) a refugee?

1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (included in: <http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b66c2aa10.pdf>)

Andrew Shacknove, "Who is a refugee?", *Ethics*, Vol. 95, no. 2, 1985 (available through electronic journals).

Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 1, 1991 (available through electronic journals).

Alexander Betts, "Chapter 1: Survival Migration", *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

Week 4

29 January 2016: The global refugee regime during the Cold War

Due: Essay proposals

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 2: UNHCR in the Cold War, 1950-91", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

Gil Loescher, "Chapter 7: The New Cold War and the UNHCR under Poul Hartling", *The UNHCR and World Politics: A Perilous Path*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 (available as an e-book).

Rüdiger Schöch, "UNHCR and the Afghan Refugees in the early 1980s: Between humanitarian action and Cold War politics", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 27, no. 1, 2008 (available through electronic journals).

UNHCR, "Chapter 5: Proxy wars in Africa, Asia and Central America", *The State of the World's Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Protection*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. (<http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/3ebf9baf0.pdf>)

Week 5

5 February 2016: The global refugee regime since the Cold War

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 3: UNHCR in the post-Cold War era", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

Andrew Shacknove, "From Asylum to Containment", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 5, no. 4, 1993 (available through electronic journals).

Anne Hammerstad, "Whose security? UNHCR, refugee protection and state security after the Cold War", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 31, no. 4, 2000 (available through electronic journals).

Tor Krever, "'Mopping-Up': UNHCR, Neutrality, and *Non-Refoulement* since the Cold War", *Chinese Journal of International Law*, Vol. 10, issue 3, 2011 (available through electronic journals).

Week 6

12 February 2016: Global refugee policy
Seminar presentations

Diane Stone, "Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities, and Their Networks", *The Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 36, no. 1, 2008 (available through electronic journals).

James Milner, "Introduction: Understanding Global Refugee Policy", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014 (available through electronic journals).

Marion Fresia, "Building Consensus within UNHCR's Executive Committee: Global Refugee Norms in the Making", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014 (available through electronic journals).

James Milner, "Can Global Refugee Policy Leverage Durable Solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's Naturalization of Burundian Refugees", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014 (available through electronic journals).

Reading Week: No class meeting on 19 February 2016

Week 7

26 February 2016: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Protection in the global North
Seminar presentations

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 4: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012 (read only the relevant sections on pages 82-86, 92-95 and 102-103).

Matthew J. Gibney, "Introduction" **and** "Chapter 7: From ideal to non-ideal theory: reckoning with the state, politics and consequences", *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracies and the Response to Refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (available as an e-book).

Matthew J. Gibney, "The United Kingdom: the value of asylum", *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracies and the Response to Refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (available as an e-book).

or

Anne McNevin, "The Liberal Paradox and the Politics of Asylum in Australia", *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, no. 4, 2007 (available through electronic journals).

Week 8

4 March 2016: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Protection in the global South (specifically Africa)
Seminar presentations

B. S. Chimni, "The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from the South", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 11, no. 4, 1998 (available through electronic journals).

James Milner, "Chapter 1: Understanding the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa" **and** "Chapter 8: The Politics of Asylum in Africa", *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009 (available as an e-book).

Assefaw Bariagber, "States, International Organizations and the Refugee: Reflections on the Complexity of Managing the Refugee Crisis in the Horn of Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37, no. 4, December 1999 (available through electronic journals).

Week 9

11 March 2016: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Solutions
Seminar presentations

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 4: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012 (read only the relevant sections on pages 82-83, 86-94 and 96-103).

James Milner and Gil Loescher, "Responding to Protracted Refugee Situations: Lessons from a decade of discussion", *Forced Migration Policy Briefing*, No. 6, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, January 2011 (<http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/policy-briefings/RSCP6-RespondingToProtractedRefugeeSituations.pdf>).

B. S. Chimni, "From resettlement to involuntary repatriation: Towards a critical history of durable solutions to refugee problems", *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 2, Geneva: UNHCR, May 1999 (<http://www.unhcr.org/research/RESEARCH/3ae6a0c50.pdf>).

UNHCR, "Durable Solutions: Breaking the Stalemate", *The State of the World's Refugees: In Search of Solidarity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 (available in the Reserve Collection).

Week 10

18 March 2016: UNHCR and its "partners"
Seminar presentations

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 5: UNHCR as a global institution", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

Michael Barnett, "Humanitarianism, Paternalism, and the UNHCR" in Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher (eds.), *Refugees in International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

Carolina Moulin and Peter Nyers "'We Live in a Country of UNHCR': Refugee Protests and Global Political Society", *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 1, issue 4, 2007 (available through electronic journals).

Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles, "Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations", *Gender, Place & Culture*, Vol. 18, no. 3, 2011 (available through electronic journals).

25 March 2016: No class meeting

Week 11

1 April 2016: New challenges for the global refugee regime:
The case of "climate refugees" and "crisis migration"
Seminar presentations

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Chapter 6: New Challenges", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

UNHCR, "Climate Change, Natural Disasters, and Displacement", *The State of the World's Refugees: In Search of Solidarity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

Susan Martin, Sanjula Weerasinghe and Abbie Taylor, "Setting the Scene" in Susan Martin, Sanjula Weerasinghe and Abbie Taylor (eds.), *Humanitarian Crises and Migration: Causes, consequences and responses*, New York, Routledge, 2014, p. 3-27 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

Nina Hall, "Money or Mandate? Why International Organizations Engage with Climate Change", *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 15, no. 2, 2015, p. 79-97.

Week 12

8 April 2016: Conclusion: Where next for the global refugee regime?
Due: Essays

Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Conclusion: Towards the future", *UNHCR: The politics and practice of refugee protection*, New York, Routledge, 2012.

The course will conclude with a discussion of the future of the global refugee regime and its ability to overcome the constraints discussed in the course. The final class meeting will feature either a guest speaker or a film, to be discussed in the first half of the course.

NOTE: As there is only one required readings for the last class meeting, students are not able to submit a reading critique in the final week.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades.

The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.