

MGDS 5002A
Migration and the Politics of Security
Tuesdays 2:35 p.m. – 5:25 p.m.
For location, see course Brightspace page

Instructor: Dr. Eric Van Rythoven

Office Hours: By Zoom appointment on Mondays between 10:00am – 12:00pm

Email: ericvanrythoven@cmail.carleton.ca

Contact Policy: Email is the best way to contact me. I will normally reply within 24-48 hours, weekends excluded. Please include the course code in the subject line of the email. For longer questions I recommend scheduling a zoom appointment or arranging an in-person meeting. All email must be through official Carleton email accounts.

1. Course Overview

This course offers a graduate-level overview of the central debates surrounding the intersection between migration and the politics of security. In the last few decades ‘security’ has become one of the dominant frames for understanding migration but the questions of security for whom, from what, and through what practices remain hotly contested. In this course we will explore how ‘security’ went from being almost entirely disconnected from ‘migration’ to being so fused together it has become difficult to think of them as apart. We will begin by examining different perspectives in the field of security studies before moving on to key issues in migration and the politics of security, and finally closing the course with in-depth case studies. Our goal will be to understand—and critique—the multifaceted ways in which security practices shape mobility and vice-versa.

Content Note: Some course material will include topics that students may find uncomfortable and/or triggering. I will aim to forewarn students about potentially disturbing content and I ask all students to help to create an atmosphere of mutual respect. If you believe the discussion will be traumatizing, you may choose to not participate in the discussion or to leave the classroom. You will still, however, be responsible for material that you miss, so if you leave the room for a significant time, please arrange to get notes from another student or see me individually.

2. Learning Outcomes

This course aims to deepen students’ knowledge of migration and the politics of security and to provide them with the conceptual tools to critically assess contemporary developments in both migration and security policy. Topics include key concepts in security studies such as securitization and ontological security, the visual politics of

migration, climate security, cruelty and dehumanization, the role of international organizations, diaspora diplomacy, and more.

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- demonstrate factual knowledge about the history and contemporary security and migration policy;
- explain central concepts and theories in security and migration studies
- identify key sources driving security practices and policies
- critically analyze and assess contemporary developments in migration and security policy

3.Required Texts

There is no required textbook for this course. All required readings will be posted on Brightspace. If you are unable to access a reading contact me immediately.

4.Evaluation

<u>Item</u>	<u>Total Value</u>	<u>Timeline</u>
Seminar Participation	20%	Ongoing
Social Reading	20%	Alternating weekly with Group Red starting on September 19 th and Group Blue starting on September 26 th
Short Commentaries	20%	First by October 6 th , Second by November 3 rd
Research Essay	40%	Outline by October 27 th , Final Paper by December 8 th

All written assignments must provide a full list of sources used and avoid plagiarism or other violations of academic integrity. The preferred citation style is the Chicago author-date style which uses author-date citations in the text and a bibliography at the end (see <https://library.osu.edu/find/resources/citation-examples/chicago-author-date/>). In this style, footnotes or endnotes are used only for explanatory digressions or notes of clarification. All papers submitted should be formatted with the 12-point font and page numbers. The use of generative A.I. in written assignments is not permitted and will be treated as an academic integrity violation.

Seminar Participation (20%)

As a graduate seminar this class relies on the active participation of students. A significant portion of our time will be focused discussing academic arguments, probing their strengths and weaknesses, and debating how well they explain real-world issues. For this reason, participation counts for a large portion of your grade and attendance at

weekly seminars is mandatory. Your participation grade will be based on your attendance throughout the term, as well as the quality and quantity of your participation in discussions. Students are expected to have completed the required reading, taken notes, and come prepared to discuss the week's material.

Every student will be given one 'pass' for the semester where they can miss class with no penalty to their grade and no questions asked. Email me to let me know you are using your pass. See below for additional grounds for accommodation.

Weekly Social Reading (20%)

Students will cover a portion of the class reading for each week through the social annotation platform Perusall. In an assigned group students will asynchronously read, highlight, raise questions, post comments, and interact with each other in a conversation anchored to a class reading. Other students in your group, as well as the Instructor, will be able to see your annotations and respond directly to them. You can use annotations to:

- Highlight key definitions, concepts, arguments, and types of evidence
- Flag passages you find interesting or relevant to international politics or contemporary events more broadly
- Raise questions about material you do not understand
- Offer criticism of an author's argument (e.g. evidence, logic, conclusiveness)
- Signal connections to other readings and material we have covered in class
- Respond to other students' comments (e.g. signaling points of agreement or disagreement)

The goal of social reading is to approach challenging academic texts in a cooperative manner, rather than have students read them in isolation.

At the beginning of the semester students will be assigned to 'Group Red' or 'Group Blue'. Students will be graded on an alternating weekly basis with students in Group Red starting on September 13th and students in Group Blue starting on September 20rd. **You are not required to do annotations during your group's 'off week'.** You can see the social reading schedule, grading rubric, and instructions for logging into Perusall on the Brightspace course page. We will cover how to sign-up and how to use Perusall in our first class.

Due dates: Your annotations to a reading must be completed before we discuss that reading in class.

Short Commentaries (20%)

You will write two (2) short commentaries in response to the weekly required readings. Commentaries should be **two pages single-spaced**. Each commentary will be graded out of 10 and are collectively worth 20 percent of your final grade. When citing refer to

the author of the article and page number in parenthesis and I will assume that it corresponds to the reading in the syllabus.

Commentaries may address any component of the readings that piques your interest. Treat the commentaries as editorial reflections on the material at hand. Your commentary may focus in-depth on one particular reading, or discuss themes that carry across multiple readings for that week. This may include specific objections to the literature, broad commentaries, issues you would like to explore, et cetera. Though the direction is up to you, the compositions should avoid trivial concerns or summarizing the readings. Commentaries will be graded on the basis of substance and style. I want to see interesting and substantive insights into the content, and clear writing.

Due dates: Commentaries must be submitted to Brightspace before we discuss the readings in class (i.e. before the class begins at 2:35pm EST). You must submit at least one commentary by October 6th, and a second by November 3rd. Only one commentary can be submitted per class. You cannot bundle them together and submit them as a package later in the term.

Research Essay (30%)

You will write a research paper on a topic of your choice. The essay will be 4000 words and may cover any issue relating to migration and the politics of security. This is your opportunity to explore an issue that interests you. Topics may flow from classroom conversations, social readings, or from your commentary papers. Students may also select a topic that is not covered on the syllabus, provided it relates to the course's theme. **I strongly recommend consulting with me first.** Your research should be framed by a question. A good research question allows you to offer an answer – also known as your thesis or argument. Your paper must make an argument about its subject matter. This means that you must advance a normative, theoretical or an empirical claim in response to your research question. Papers that only describe a situation will not suffice. Your essay must have a bibliography and use a proper citation style.

Research papers will be graded in two parts. First, students will submit a 4-page outline on October 27th by 11:59pm. The outline will include:

- A fully written introduction (at least two paragraphs) with a research question, thesis statement and summary outline of the parts of the essay.
- An opening paragraph for each part of the essay, with point form notes describing the remainder of each part.
- A working Bibliography (at least eight sources)

Your outline is worth 5 out of 40 points for your research paper grade. The remainder of your grade (35 out of 40 points) will come from the completed research paper due on December 8th, at 11:59pm.

5. Schedule and Assigned Readings

Class 1 – September 12th | Introduction: What is Security Anyways?

Baldwin, D. A. (1997). The concept of security. *Review of International Studies*, 23(1), 5-26.

Walt, S. M. (1991). The renaissance of security studies. *International Studies Quarterly*, 35(2), 211-239. **you are only expected to read pages 211-213**

Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2010). Defining–redefining security. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.

Class 2 – September 19th | Different Theoretical Perspectives: Part 1

Securitization Theory

Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Chapter 2.

Hansen, L. (2000). The Little Mermaid's silent security dilemma and the absence of gender in the Copenhagen School. *Millennium*, 29(2), 285-306.

Human Security

Paris, R. (2001). Human security: paradigm shift or hot air?. *International Security*, 26(2), 87-102.

State Centric Approaches

Adamson, F. B. (2006). Crossing borders: International migration and national security. *International Security*, 31(1), 165-199.

Class 3 – September 26th | Different Theoretical Perspectives: Part 2

Non-Western Approaches

Bilgin, P. (2010). The 'Western-centrism' of security studies: 'Blind spot' or constitutive practice?. *Security Dialogue*, 41(6), 615-622.

Barkawi, T., & Laffey, M. (2006). The postcolonial moment in security studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32(2), 329-352.

Feminist Security Studies

Sjoberg, L. (2009). Introduction to security studies: Feminist contributions. *Security Studies*, 18(2), 183-213.

Ontological Security Theory

Browning, C. S., & Joenniemi, P. (2017). Ontological security, self-articulation and the securitization of identity. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 52(1), 31-47.

Class 4 – October 3rd | Visualizing Migration and Security

Bleiker, R., Campbell, D., Hutchison, E., & Nicholson, X. (2013). The visual dehumanisation of refugees. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 48(4), 398-416.

Johnson, H. L. (2011). Click to donate: Visual images, constructing victims and imagining the female refugee. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(6), 1015-1037.

Adler-Nissen, R., Andersen, K. E., & Hansen, L. (2020). Images, emotions, and international politics: The death of Alan Kurdi. *Review of International Studies*, 46(1), 75-95.

Musarò, P. (2017). Mare Nostrum: the visual politics of a military-humanitarian operation in the Mediterranean Sea. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(1), 11-28.

Class 5 – October 10th | Migration and Climate Security

Boas, I. (2015). *Climate migration and security: Securitisation as a strategy in climate change politics*. Routledge, Chapter 1.

Tripathy Furlong, B., Adams, H., Boas, I., Warner, J., & Van Dijk, H. (2022). Gendered (im)mobility: emotional decisions of staying in the context of climate risks in Bangladesh. *Regional Environmental Change*, 22(4), 1-15.

Baldwin, A. (2013). Racialisation and the figure of the climate-change migrant. *Environment and Planning A*, 45(6), 1474-1490.

Bettini, G. (2013). Climate barbarians at the gate? A critique of apocalyptic narratives on 'climate refugees'. *Geoforum*, 45, 63-72.

Class 6 – October 17th | Cruelty, Stigma, and Dehumanization

Aradau, C., & Canzutti, L. (2022). Asylum, borders, and the politics of violence: from suspicion to cruelty. *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2(2), 1-11.

Barnes, J. (2022). Torturous journeys: Cruelty, international law, and pushbacks and pullbacks over the Mediterranean Sea. *Review of International Studies*, 48(3), 441-460.

Montagut, M., & Moragas-Fernández, C. M. (2020). The European refugee crisis discourse in the Spanish Press: Mapping humanization and dehumanization frames through metaphors. *International Journal of Communication*, 14, 69-91.

Sadeghi, S. (2019). Racial boundaries, stigma, and the re-emergence of “always being foreigners”: Iranians and the refugee crisis in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(10), 1613-1631.

No Class – October 24th | *Reading Week*****

Class 7 – October 31st | Migration, Security, and International Organizations

Adelman, H. (2001). From refugees to forced migration: The UNHCR and human security. *International Migration Review*, 35(1), 7-32.

Hammerstad, A. (2014). *The rise and decline of a global security actor: UNHCR, refugee protection, and security*. Oxford University Press, USA, Chapter 1.

Scheel, S., & Ratfisch, P. (2017). Refugee protection meets migration management: UNHCR as a global police of populations. In *International Organisations and the Politics of Migration* (pp. 60-77). Routledge.

Frowd, P. M. (2020). Producing the ‘transit’ migration state: international security intervention in Niger. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(2), 340-358.

Class 8 – November 7th | Race, Migration, and Security

Ibrahim, M. (2005). The securitization of migration: A racial discourse. *International Migration*, 43(5), 163-187.

Fekete, L. (2009). *A suitable enemy: Racism, migration and Islamophobia in Europe*. Pluto Press, London, Chapter 1.

Methmann, C. (2014). Visualizing climate-refugees: Race, vulnerability, and resilience in global liberal politics. *International Political Sociology*, 8(4), 416-435.

Búzás, Z. I., & Meier, A. A. (2023). Racism by Designation: Making Sense of Western States’ Nondesignation of White Supremacists as Terrorists. *Security Studies*, 1-34.

Class 9 – November 14th | Diasporas, Migration, and Foreign Interference

Dowling, M. E. (2021). Democracy under siege: Foreign interference in a digital era. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 75(4), 383-387.

Waldinger, R., & Shams, T. (2023). Cross-border politics: Diasporic mobilization and state response. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 49, 401-419.

Johnston, D. (2023) *First Report: The Right Honourable David Johnston Independent Special Rapporteur on Foreign Interference*

Class 10 – November 21st | Migration and Diaspora Diplomacy

Adamson, F. B., & Tsourapas, G. (2019). Migration diplomacy in world politics. *International Studies Perspectives*, 20(2), 113-128.

Norman, K. P. (2020). Migration diplomacy and policy liberalization in Morocco and Turkey. *International Migration Review*, 54(4), 1158-1183.

Ho, E. L., & McConnell, F. (2019). Conceptualizing 'diaspora diplomacy': Territory and populations betwixt the domestic and foreign. *Progress in Human Geography*, 43(2), 235-255.

Bjola, C., Manor, I., & Adiku, G. A. (2022). Diaspora diplomacy in the digital age. In *Routledge International Handbook of Diaspora Diplomacy* (pp. 334-346). Routledge.

Class 11 – November 28th | Case Study: Canada

Aiken, S. J. (2001). Of gods and monsters: National security and Canadian refugee policy. *Rev. quebecoise de droit int'l*, 14 (1), 7-36.

Lacroix, M. (2004). Canadian refugee policy and the social construction of the refugee claimant subjectivity: Understanding refugeeeness. *Journal of refugee studies*, 17(2), 147-166.

Watson, S. D. (2007). Manufacturing Threats: Asylum seekers as threats or refugees. *Journal of International Law and International Relations*, 3(1), 95-117.

Lawlor, A., & Tolley, E. (2017). Deciding who's legitimate: News media framing of immigrants and refugees. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 967-991.

Class 12 – December 5th | Case Study: Hong Kong

The Diplomat. (2021). *Hong Kong's Activists in Exile*.

Aspinwall, N. (2020). *Taiwan Opens Office to Help People Fleeing Hong Kong in Wake of National Security Law*. *The Diplomat*.

Lui, L., Sun, K. C. Y., & Hsiao, Y. (2022). How families affect aspirational migration amidst political insecurity: The case of Hong Kong. *Population, Space and Place*, 28(4), 1-12.

Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (2021). *Safe Haven in Canada: Special Immigration and Refugee Measures are Urgently Needed for the People of Hong Kong*. Parliament of Canada.

6. Appendix

Course Administration and Policies

Students should be familiar with Carleton University policies that are applied in this and all courses, in addition to services and supports that are available to all students.

Statement on Plagiarism

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of “F” for the course.

Statement on Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Informal accommodation due to short-term incapacitation: [provide information on your requirements for short-term informal accommodations. If you require supporting documentation, you may only request the Self-Declaration for Academic Considerations form (<https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/self-declaration.pdf>) which replaces medical notes.

Pregnancy obligation: write to us with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious obligation: write to us with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details ([click here](#)).

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: 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, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) 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*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). 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).

Survivors of Sexual Violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not

be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit:

<https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to us with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

Intellectual property

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. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

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

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 Migration and Diaspora Studies Program will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.