

PSCI 4817B
The International Politics of Forced Migration

Thursdays, 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 and always include the course code in the subject line.

First class: 11 January 2018
Last class: 5 April 2018

NOTE: No class meeting on 22 February (Reading Week)

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 the global North 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? How can global standards for refugee protection be implemented more consistently in national and local contexts?

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 in specific contexts.

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. Working in small groups, students will examine the challenge of implementing examples of global refugee policy in particular national contexts.

Section 3 will conclude the course by considering responses at the global level to the 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, especially through the negotiation of a Global Compact for Refugees in 2018.

Requirements:

Reading critiques 20%

Reading critique 1 (due between weeks 2 and 4): 10%

Reading critique 2 (due between weeks 7 and 11): 10%

Research paper 65%

Essay proposal (due 8 February 2018): 10%

Small group presentation (Weeks 7 to 11): 15%

Final paper (due 5 April 2018): 40%

Participation 15%

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the first reading critique is due between weeks 2 and 4. The last date to submit the first reading critique is therefore **1 February 2018**.

Reading critiques will be graded and returned to students with comments by the following class.

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 two reading critiques over the course of the term. The first critique is due between weeks 2 and 4 of the course. The second reading critique is due between weeks 7 and 11. Reading critiques should be 2 to 3 pages long, single spaced and referenced. Critiques should summarise the key arguments of the readings **for the week in which the critique is submitted**, 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 required to research a particular aspect of global refugee policy and examine efforts to implement that example of global refugee policy in a particular national context. Some potential examples of global refugee policy to be examined are:

- UNHCR's urban refugee policy
- UNHCR's policy on age, gender and diversity mainstreaming
- UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion on protracted refugee situations
- UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion on international cooperation and burden and responsibility sharing in mass influx situations
- UNHCR's Executive Committee Conclusion on legal safety issues in the context of voluntary repatriation of refugees

As explained in the first class, students will be required to identify the example of global refugee policy on which they will focus their research and a historical or contemporary case study in which efforts were made to implement the policy. The focus of the student's individual research will then be to identify and examine the factors that explain the implementation or non-implementation of this example of global refugee policy in a specific national context.

Students will be required to submit a 3 to 5 page proposal, inclusive of a bibliography, on their selected policy and case study at the start of class on **8 February 2018**.

On the basis of this proposal, students will then be required to join a small group of five students all examining efforts to implement the same example of global refugee policy in different contexts. Students will work in these small groups to compare efforts to implement the same policy in different contexts and work to explain any similarities or differences between the efforts. Class time on **15 February 2018** will be given to facilitate this group work.

Small groups will then be scheduled to give a 45 minute presentation in the second half of class during weeks 7 to 11. The process of scheduling and coordinating these presentations will be discussed in class.

Based on feedback from the paper proposal and the small group presentation, students will be required to write an individual 15 to 18 page paper that explains the level of implementation observed in their case study and draws conclusions for the broader study of the implementation or non-implementation of global refugee policy in national contexts. Essays are due at the start of class on **5 April 2018**.

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.

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

11 January 2018: Introduction: Refugees and global politics

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

UNHCR, *Global Trends 2016*, <http://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2016/>

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 40 years.

Week 2

18 January 2018: 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 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

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).

Week 3

25 January 2018: Who is (not) a refugee?

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

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).

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

Week 4

1 February 2018: Global refugee policy and the challenge of implementation
Last week to submit first reading critique

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

Alexander Betts, "From Persecution to Deprivation: How Refugee Norms Adapt at Implementation" in Alexander Betts and Phil Orchard (eds.) *Implementation and World Politics: How International Norms Change Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014: Chapter 2 (p. 29-49) (available on Ares via cuLearn)

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).

Week 5

8 February 2018: The global refugee regime during the Cold War
Due: Essay proposals

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 6

15 February 2018: Small group meetings (no class meeting)

Reading Week: No class meeting on 22 February 2018

Week 7

1 March 2018: The global refugee regime since the Cold War
First small group presentation

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 (available via Ares on cuLearn).

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 8

8 March 2018: The politics of protection in the global North
Second small group presentation

Matthew J. Gibney, "Introduction", *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, "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 States: the making and breaking of a refugee consensus", *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracies and the Response to Refugees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (available as an e-book).

Week 9

15 March 2018: The politics of protection in the global South (specifically Africa)
Third small group presentation

James Milner, "Chapter 1: Understanding the State and 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).

James Milner, "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 10

22 March 2018: The politics of solutions and protracted refugee situations
Fourth small group presentation

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 via Ares on cuLearn).

Week 11

29 March 2018: UNHCR and its "partners"
Final small group presentation
Last week to submit second reading critique

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).

Week 12

5 April 2018: Responding to the challenge: Towards a Global Compact
Due: Final essay

UN Secretary-General, *In Safety and Dignity: Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants*, UN Doc. A/70/59, 21 April 2016, available on-line: http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/in_safety_and_dignity_-_addressing_large_movements_of_refugees_and_migrants.pdf

UN General Assembly, *New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*, UN Doc. A/71/L.1, available on-line: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/71/L.1

Elizabeth Ferris, "In search of commitments: The 2016 refugee summits", Policy Brief 3, Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law, November 2016, available on-line: http://www.kaldorcentre.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/Policy_Brief_3_A4_final.pdf

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.