

PSCI 4817A
The International Politics of Forced Migration

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 11:35am to 2:25pm

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

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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: 6 May 2014

Last class: 17 June 2014

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, 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. The final section of the course will also include presentations from students on their own research.

Requirements:

Reflection paper **10%**

Research paper **75%**

Essay proposal: 10% (due 20 May 2014)

Seminar presentation: 20% (10, 12 or 17 June 2014)

Final paper: 45% (due 5 June 2014)

Participation **15%**

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the essay proposal due on **29 May 2014** 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:

Reflection papers: Between 13 May and 10 June, students are required to submit a reflection paper that critically engages with the required readings for that class. Please note that there are only 8 opportunities to submit a reflection paper. The possibility of scheduling the submission of reflection papers will be discussed in the first class meeting.

Reflection papers should be a maximum of 2 pages long, single spaced, with 1" margins. The objective of the reflection paper is to critically engage with required readings of the week through the objectives of the course, detailed above. **Reflection papers should not simply summarize the readings.** Instead, papers should ask if there are explicit or implicit tensions or debates between the readings. How do the readings speak to the theme of the week, other weeks or the overarching themes of the course? How do the readings speak to contemporary issues or cases in the study of forced migration? Do the readings raise broader questions that we can unpack as a class?

Reflection papers should be sent to all members of the course, including the instructor, via the e-mail function of cuLearn no later than 5pm (Ottawa time) two days before the readings are to be discussed. For example, if a student prepares a reflection paper for the class meeting on Thursday, 22 May, she should send the reflection paper no later than 5pm on Tuesday, 20 May. This allows everyone time to read the reflection papers.

The insights of the reflection papers will form an important part of our seminar discussions. As such, all students are expected to have read the submitted reflection papers before coming to class, in addition to the required readings. It is for this reason that there only a limited number of readings assigned for each class, as detailed below.

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 **20 May 2014**. Comments on the proposal will be returned by e-mail within a week. 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 **5 June 2014**.

Students will then be required to present their paper during conference panels organized during class on **10, 12 and 17 June 2014**. These panels will be organized thematically, with two panels of roughly three or four papers being scheduled for each class. This will be an opportunity to celebrate your work, and to engage in a conversation about the connections between the research projects being undertaken. While the requirements and scheduling of these presentations will be discussed in class on 20 May, students should indicate on their paper proposal if they are unable to give their presentation on one of these three days.

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: Reflection papers submitted after the above deadline 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.

Feller, Erika, Volker Türk and Frances Nicholson (eds.), *Refugee Protection and International Law: UNHCR's Global Consultations on Refugee Protection*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The State of the World's Refugees: Human Displacement in the New Millennium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

(Available on-line at: <http://www.unhcr.org/4a4dc1a89.html>)

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The State of the World's Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

(Available on-line at: <http://www.unhcr.org/4a4c754a9.html>)

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>

Note:

These websites may be especially helpful to students as they begin their research on the country or theme they wish to examine in their presentation and essay for the course.

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.

Session 1

6 May 2014: 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 through ARES).

UNHCR, *Global Trends 2012*, <http://www.unhcr.org/51bacb0f9.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 some 40 years.

Session 2

8 May 2014: The origins and evolution of the global refugee regime

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.

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>)

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations", *International Organization*, Vol. 53, no. 4, Autumn 1999 (available through electronic journals).

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).

Session 3

13 May 2014: Who is a refugee?

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

1969 Convention on the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa
(http://www.africanunion.org/Official_documents/Treaties_%20Conventions_%20Protocols/Refugee_Convention.pdf)

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

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

Session 4

15 May 2014: The global refugee regime during the Cold War

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).

Session 5

20 May 2014: The global refugee regime since the Cold War

Due: Essay proposals

Workshop: Seminar presentations

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.

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).

Session 6

22 May 2014: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Protection in the global North (case study of Australia)

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, "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).

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).

Session 7

27 May 2014: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Solutions

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>).

Session 8

29 May 2014: The politics and practice of UNHCR's mandate: Protection in the global South (case study of Tanzania)

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 6: Tanzania", in *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009 (available as an e-book).

James Milner, "Can global refugee policy leverage local solutions? Lessons from Tanzania's naturalization of Burundian refugees", paper submitted to the *Journal of Refugee Studies* Special Issue "Understanding Global Refugee Policy", August 2013 (posted on cuLearn).

Session 9

3 June 2014: UNHCR and its “partners”

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.

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).

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).

Session 10

5 June 2014: New challenges for the global refugee regime

Due: Essays

Note: This is your final week to submit a reflection paper

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

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

B. S. Chimni, “Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee protection”, *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 13, no. 3, 2000 (available through electronic journals).

Sessions 11, 12 and 13

10, 12 and 17 June 2014: Celebration of research!

The last three sessions of the course will feature panels where students will present their essays. Each session will feature two panels, each with three or four thematically-related papers. The presentation schedule and requirements will be discussed earlier in the course.

NOTE: Given the focus of these last three sessions, there are no required readings for these sessions and, consequently, no opportunity to submit reflection papers.

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

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

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

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 <http://facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety> 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.