

**PSCI 4817B**  
**The International Politics of Forced Migration**

**Mondays, 2:35pm to 5:25pm**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

**Instructor:** James Milner  
**Office:** Loeb A629  
**Office hours:** Mondays, 1pm to 2pm or by appointment  
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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 January 2020  
**Last class:** 6 April 2020

**NOTE:** No class meeting on 17 February 2020 (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 Global Compact on Refugees, affirmed by the UN General Assembly in 2018.

**Requirements:****Reading critiques** **20%**

Reading critique 1 (due between weeks 3 and 6): 10%

Reading critique 2 (due between weeks 8 and 12): 10%

**Research paper** **65%**

Essay proposal (due 27 January 2020): 10%

Small group presentation (Weeks 8 to 12): 15%

Final paper (due 6 April 2020): 40%

**Participation** **15%**

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the essay proposal is due on **27 January 2020**. Proposals will be graded and comments returned by e-mail before 3 February 2020.

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 3 and 6 of the course. The second reading critique is due between weeks 8 and 12. 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 are required to join a small group of five students all examining efforts to implement the same example of global refugee policy in different contexts. Sign-up for small groups will be facilitated through cuLearn. All students must join a small group by **20 January 2020**. 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 **20 January and 24 February** will be given to facilitate this group work.

Students will then submit a 3 to 5 page proposal, inclusive of a bibliography, on their selected policy and case study at the start of class on **27 January 2020**. Comments on the proposals will be returned before 3 February 2020.

Small groups will then be scheduled to give a 45 minute presentation in the second half of class during weeks 8 to 12. 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 **6 April 2020**.

*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**

**6 January 2020:** Introduction: The politics of the global refugee regime

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

Alexander Betts and James Milner, "Governance of the Global Refugee Regime", World Refugee Council, Research Paper No. 13, 2019, <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/governance-global-refugee-regime>

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 2**

**13 January 2020:** 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 3**

**20 January 2020:** Global refugee policy and the challenge of implementation  
**First opportunity 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).

### **Small group meetings in the second half of class**

### **Week 4**

**27 January 2020:** 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 5**

**3 February 2020:** The global refugee regime after 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 (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 6**

**10 February 2020:** Power and the global refugee regime  
**Last opportunity to submit first reading critique**

James Milner and Krystyna Wojnarowicz, "Power in the Global Refugee Regime: Understanding Expressions and Experiences of Power in Global and Local Contexts", *Refuge*, Vol. 33, no. 1, 2017  
<https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/40444>.

Alexander Betts "The Refugee Regime Complex", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 29, no. 1, 2010 (available through electronic journals).

Roger Zetter, "More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 2007 (available through electronic journals).

**Reading Week:** No class meeting on 17 February 2020

### **Week 7**

**24 February 2020:** Small group work to prepare for presentations

### **Week 8**

**2 March 2020:** The politics of protection in the global North  
**First opportunity to submit second reading critique**  
**First small group presentation**

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).

Susan Martin and Elizabeth Ferris, "US Leadership and the International Refugee Regime", *Refuge*, Vol. 33, no. 1, 2017 (available through electronic journals).

James Milner, "Canada and the UN Global Compact on Refugees: A case study of influence in the global refugee regime" in Yiagadeesen Samy and Howard Duncan (eds). *Canada Among Nations: Migration and Canada's International Relations*, forthcoming, available on cuLearn.

### **Week 9**

**9 March 2020:** The politics of protection in the global South  
**Second small group presentation**

James Milner, "A History of Asylum in Kenya and Tanzania: Understanding the Drivers of Domestic Refugee Policy", *Monde(s)*, no. 15, May 2019, 69-92 (available on cuLearn).

Alexander Betts, Ali Ali and Fulya Memişoğlu, *Local Politics and the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Exploring Responses in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan*, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford, 2017, <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/local-politics-and-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-exploring-responses-in-turkey-lebanon-and-jordan>

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**

**16 March 2020:** The politics of solutions and protracted refugee situations  
**Third 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/RSCPB6-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**

**23 March 2020:** UNHCR and its "partners"  
**Fourth small group presentation**

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).

Megan Bradley, James Milner and Blair Peruniak, "Introduction: Shaping the Struggles of their Times: Refugees, Peacebuilding and Resolving Displacement" in Megan Bradley, James Milner and Blair Peruniak (eds.), *Refugees' Roles in Resolving Displacement and Building Peace: Beyond Beneficiaries*, Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 2019 (available as e-book).

## **Week 12**

**30 March 2020:** Forced migration and gender  
**Last opportunity to submit second reading critique**  
**Final small group presentation**

Alice Edwards, "Transitioning Gender: Feminist Engagement with International Refugee Law and Policy 1950–2010", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 29, no. 2, 2010 (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).

Jacqui True, "Mainstreaming gender in global public policy." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2003 (available through electronic journals).

## **Week 13**

**6 April 2020:** Responding to the challenge: the Global Compact on Refugees  
**Due:** Final essay

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](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](http://www.kaldorcentre.unsw.edu.au/sites/default/files/Policy_Brief_3_A4_final.pdf)

Volker Türk, "The Promise and Potential of the Global Compact on Refugees", *International Journal of Refugee Law* Vol. 30, no. 4, 2019 (available through electronic journals).

## **Academic Accommodations**

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### **Requests for Academic Accommodation**

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

#### **Pregnancy obligation**

Please contact your instructor 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, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### **Religious obligation**

Please contact your instructor 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, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### **Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608

or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.  
[carleton.ca/pmc](http://carleton.ca/pmc)

### **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 its 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: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### **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 must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor 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>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](http://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

### **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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

### Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.