

**PSCI5209**  
**Migration and Global Politics**

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

**Instructor:** James Milner  
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**Office hours:** Thursdays 11am to 1pm (or by appointment)

**Note:** There will be no office hours on Thursday, 24 September. Instead, additional office hours will be held from 11am to 1pm on Tuesday, 29 September.

**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:** 3 September 2015  
**Last class:** 3 December 2015

**NOTE:** No class meeting on 24 September and 29 October

**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 purpose of this course is to critically examine the relationship between forced migration and debates within global politics. Forced migration has been a major theme within global politics for more than a century. Dynamics within global politics – especially conflict, decolonization, and the dissolution of empires – have contributed significantly to the causes of forced migration, including the displacement of people within their borders and the movement of refugees across borders. The consequences of forced migration are illustrative of a range of issues that lie at the core of global politics, especially security and human rights. Finally, efforts to respond to forced migration provide important case studies for global governance, international organizations and international cooperation, especially through a focused consideration of the work of the global refugee regime and the UN's refugee agency, UNHCR.

Despite these many connections, the field of refugee and forced migration studies has only recently drawn on the tools of global politics and international relations to better understand the causes, consequences and possible responses to forced migration. Likewise, global politics and international relations have only engaged with the phenomenon of forced migration in limited ways as an opportunity to speak to key theoretical debates within the field. In fact, the gap between refugee studies and global politics has been described as a “deep chasm” (Morris and Stedman, 2008, 69).

In response, and in recognition of the potential contributions to both refugee studies and the study of global politics, a scholarly debate and literature has emerged that seeks to more systematically examine the connections between the two fields. Prominent among these efforts include Gil Loescher's *The UNHCR in World Politics* (2001), Alexander Betts' *Forced Migration and Global Politics* (2009), and the edited volume by Betts and Loescher, *Refugees and International Relations* (2011).

The objective of this course is to engage with these debates and to more systematically and critically examine the relationship between particular aspects of forced migration and key debates within global politics and international relations. Building from the approach of Betts' 2009 text, this course is structured around a number of key themes within the global politics literature:

- sovereignty and the state system
- global governance and international organizations
- security and securitization
- gender
- regionalism
- globalization

The course will ask two questions of each topic:

1. What does the global politics literature contribute to our understanding of this aspect of forced migration?
2. What does the example of forced migration contribute to this debate within global politics?

Through this course, students will actively engage with these questions through seminar discussion, presentations and individual research. Students will be expected to develop an understanding of various types of forced migration, the functioning of the global refugee regime, and how the causes, consequences and responses to forced migration speak to core debates within the global politics and international relations literatures.

### **Course outline:**

There are three parts to this course:

**Part 1** (weeks 1 to 3) provides a foundation to the course by introducing students to the study of forced migration and global politics, definitions of various categories of forced migrants, and the elements and functioning of the global refugee regime.

**Part 2** of the course (weeks 4 to 10) examines the relationship between forced migration and key debates within global politics and international relations, including: sovereignty, global governance, global public policy, security, gender, regionalism and globalization. Readings for each week will include selections from both the global politics/IR literature and the refugee studies literature that relate to the theme. Students will be expected to critically engage with tensions and connections between the readings and perspectives to address the two core questions, posed above.

**Part 3** of the course (week 12) will consider the implications of the course for both the study of forced migration and global politics. This will include an open discussion based on the experience of each student in the course.

## Requirements:

As discussed in the first class meeting, there are three requirements for the course:

<b>Reflection papers</b>	<b>20%</b>
Reflection paper 1:	10%
Reflection paper 2:	10%
<b>Research paper</b>	<b>65%</b>
Paper proposal (due 17 September 2015):	10%
Paper presentations (weeks 4 to 10):	10%
Peer-review assignment (26 November 2015):	5%
Paper (20 to 25 pages; due 3 December 2015):	40%
<b>Participation</b>	<b>15%</b>

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the essay proposal due on **17 September 2015** will be graded and returned to students the following week.

**Reflection papers:** Between weeks 3 and 10 of the course, students are required to submit two reflection papers that critically engage with the required readings for that week. Students may not submit a reflection paper for the week of their presentation. The possibility of scheduling the submission of reflection papers will be discussed in the first class meeting.

Reflection papers should be a maximum of 1 page long, single spaced, with 1" margins. The objective of the reflection paper is **not** to summarize the readings, but to critically engage with required readings of the week through the core questions of the course, detailed above. In addition, 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) on the Tuesday prior to the week when the readings are scheduled to be discussed. For example, if a student prepares a reflection paper for Week 4, she should send the reflection paper no later than 5pm on Tuesday, 29 September, ahead of the class meeting on Thursday, 1 October.

The insights of the reflection papers will form an important part of weekly seminar discussion. 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 is only a limited number of readings assigned for each week, as detailed below.

**Research paper:** A significant requirement of the course relates to individual research by students, leading to a final paper. In consultation with the course instructor, students should select a research topic that relates to one of the weekly topics of the course. Students are especially encouraged to work on a **case study** (country, theme or issue) that can be used to critically engage with the literature relating to the weekly topic. Ideas for possible topics and case study methodology will be discussed on 10 September 2015.

Students will be required to submit a 3 to 5 page proposal, single spaced and inclusive of a bibliography, on their selected issue at the start of class on **17 September 2015**. The proposal will include an outline of the topic to be addressed, the specific analytical question the paper will pose, an outline of how the paper proposes to answer the question, a point-form outline of the expected sections of the paper, and a bibliography listing a minimum of 6 sources beyond required course readings. Students should note that the purpose of the proposal is to initiate a dialogue with the course instructor about the direction of their paper. Students will receive written feedback on their proposal within a week, and are encouraged to meet with the instructor to discuss the feedback and direction of their research.

On the basis of this proposal, students will be required to give a presentation on their research in the second half of class in Weeks 4 to 10. (Students should include a note in their essay proposal if there is a week when they **cannot** give their seminar presentation.) Presentations may be scheduled so that students presenting on similar topics will give their presentations on the same week. The presentation schedule will be posted on cuLearn. Requirements and mechanics for the presentations will be discussed in class on 17 September 2015.

Building from the proposal and the seminar presentation, students will be required to write a final paper. Papers should be 20 to 25 pages long (excluding the bibliography), double-spaced, and fully referenced. Students will be required to exchange a **complete draft** of their paper with another student for peer review on or before **26 November 2015**. Mechanics of the peer review process will be discussed in class.

On the basis of comments from peer review, students will revise their paper submit a final version at the start of class on **3 December 2015**.

**Participation:** 15% of the final grade is for participation. A portion of this grade will be a reflection of attendance. Students should therefore notify the course instructor if they are unable to attend a given week, preferably prior to the class meeting. Students are expected not only to attend class meetings, but engage in class discussion. Students who submit reflection papers in a given week will be expected to help lead class discussions that week.

**Late penalties:** Reflection papers submitted late will receive a grade of 0%. Paper proposals and final papers 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:**

There is no required text for this course. Instead, required readings will be posted as files on cuLearn or will be available through the Carleton University Library system. On-line journals and e-books may be accessed through the Carleton Library portal: <http://www.library.carleton.ca>

#### **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.

Students are reminded that they are expected to complete the required readings listed on cuLearn, in addition to the reflection papers sent to them by e-mail ahead of the weekly class meeting.

### **Week 1**

**3 September 2015:** Forced migration and the study of global politics

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

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

UNHCR, *Global Trends 2014*, <http://unhcr.org/556725e69.html>

### **Week 2**

**10 September 2015:** Who is (not) a refugee?

Workshop: Essay proposals, case study methodology and essay ideas

*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.africa-union.org/Official\\_documents/Treaties\\_%20Conventions\\_%20Protocols/Refugee\\_Convention.pdf](http://www.africa-union.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.

Emma Haddad, "Chapter 2: Who is (not) a refugee?", *The Refugee in International Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

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

### **Week 3**

**17 September 2015:** What is the global refugee regime?

**Due:** Essay proposal

Workshop: Research presentations

Robert Keohane, "The demand for international regimes", *International Organization*, Vol. 36, no. 2, 1982.

James Keeley, "Towards a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes", *International Organization*, Vol. 44, no. 1, 1990.

Alexander Betts "The Refugee Regime Complex", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 29, no. 1, 2010.

Randy Lippert, "Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime", *Alternatives*, 24, 1999.

**No class meeting on 24 September. Instead, students are invited to attend the session on NGOs at the workshop “Power and Influence in the Global Refugee Regime”. Details will be discussed in class.**

**Week 4**

**1 October 2015:** Forced migration, sovereignty and the state system  
Start of research presentations

Öyvind Österud, “The Narrow Gate: Entry to the Club of Sovereign States”, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 2, 1997.

Robert Jackson, “Introduction” and “Chapter 1: States and Quasi-States”, *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Emma Haddad, “Chapter 3: The refugee and the international states system”, *The Refugee in International Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Liisa Malkki, “National Geographic: The Rooting of People and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees”, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, no. 1, 1992.

**Week 5**

**8 October 2015:** Forced migration, global governance and international organizations

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, “The Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations”, *International Organization*, Vol. 53, no. 4, Autumn 1999.

Allen Buchanan and Robert O. Keohane, “The Legitimacy of Global Governance Institutions”, *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 20, no. 4, 2006.

Gil Loescher, “The UNHCR and World Politics: State interests vs. institutional autonomy”, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 2001.

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.

**Week 6**

**15 October 2015:** Global public policy responses

Diane Stone, “Global Public Policy, Transnational Policy Communities, and Their Networks”, *The Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 36, no. 1, 2008.

James Milner, “Introduction: Understanding Global Refugee Policy”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014.

Marion Fresia, “Building Consensus within UNHCR’s Executive Committee: Global Refugee Norms in the Making”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014.

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.

### **Week 7**

**22 October 2015:** Forced migration and (in)security

Barry Buzan, "Rethinking security after the Cold War", *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 32, no. 1, 1997.

Simon Dalby, "Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse", in Keith Krause and Michael Williams (eds.), *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, London: University College Press, 1997.

Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War", *International Organization*, Vol. 60, issue 2, Spring 2006.

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

Scott Watson, "Manufacturing Threats: Asylum Seekers as Threats or Refugees", *Journal of International Law and International Relations*, Vol. 3, 2007.

**No class meeting on 29 October 2015.**

### **Week 8**

**5 November 2015:** Forced migration and gender

J.A. Tickner, "You just don't Understand: Troubled Engagements between Feminists and IR Theorists", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 41, No. 4, 1997.

Jennifer Hyndman, "Feminist Geopolitics Meets Refugee Studies", in Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher (eds.), *Refugees in International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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

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

### **Week 9**

**12 November 2015:** Forced migration and regionalism

Louise Fawcett, "Regionalism in a Historical Perspective" in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Andrew Hurrell, "Regionalism in a Theoretical Perspective" in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Susan Kneebone and Felicity Rawlings-Sanaei, "Introduction: Regionalism as a Response to a Global Challenge" in Susan Kneebone and Felicity Rawlings-Sanaei (eds.) *New regionalism and asylum seekers: challenges ahead*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007.

Plus **one** of the following two case studies:

Elsbeth Guild, "The Europeanisation of Europe's Asylum Policy", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 18, no. 3-4, 2006.

Susan Kneebone and Sharon Pickering, "Australia, Indonesia and the Pacific Plan" in Susan Kneebone and Felicity Rawlings-Sanaei (eds.) *New regionalism and asylum seekers: challenges ahead*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007.

### **Week 10**

**19 November 2015:** Forced migration and globalization

Jan-Aart Scholte, "Chapter 1: Globalization debates", *Globalization: A critical introduction*, second edition, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Jeff Crips, "A New Asylum Paradigm? Globalisation, Migration and the Uncertain Future of the International Refugee Regime", *New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No.100*. Geneva: UNHCR, 2003 (<http://www.unhcr.org/3fe16d835.html>)

B. S. Chimni, "Globalization, humanitarianism and the erosion of refugee protection", *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 13, no. 3, 2000.

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

### **Week 11**

**26 November 2015:** Peer-review week

**Due:** Peer-review assignment (by e-mail)

### **Week 12**

**3 December 2015:** Conclusion

**Due:** Essay

## **Academic Accommodations**

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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](mailto: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](http://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.