

**PSCI 5209F**  
**Forced Migration and Global Politics**  
Tuesday 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.  
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

**Instructor:** Supanai Sookmark (she/her)

**Office Hours:** Thursday 12:00 to 2:00 p.m. (online through Zoom, accessed through Brightspace)

**Email:** supanaisookmark@cunet.carleton.ca

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course offers a broad yet critical examination of studies of forced migration and its relationship with global politics largely from political, legal, and institutionalist perspectives. It is designed to familiarize students with key debates, contending views, historical backgrounds and contemporary issues and problems regarding the global refugee protection regime, causes and consequences of forced migration, policy responses to those phenomena in both the Global North and Global South, and the challenges facing forced migrants, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants. By the end of the course, students should develop critical understanding of the course subject matter, deepen their knowledge and understanding of certain topics or issues in this scholarship through working on their written assignments, and be able to extend their understanding to contemporary developments of the governance and politics of refugee protection and forced migration management both in Canada and the international context.

**Course Format:** Classes meet once a week on Tuesday from 11:35 a.m. to - 2:25 p.m. Each class begins with a brief introduction to the topic by the instructor, followed by student presentations, and seminar discussion. The instructor may use a variety of formats to organize class discussion.

**Learning Outcomes:**

- 1) Be familiarized with and understand course subject matters (concepts, theories, historical backgrounds, and various issues regarding forced migration and global politics).
- 2) Critically evaluate some key questions and debates underlying the studies of forced migration and the dynamics between forced migration and global politics.
- 3) Apply and relate acquired understanding and knowledge to contemporary events and issues related to forced migration (such as refugee protection, asylum seeking, and irregular migration) both at national and international levels.

- 4) Deepen knowledge of certain issues in this scholarship through working on written assignments.
- 5) Sharpen analytical, writing communication, and critical thinking skills.

### Textbooks

There is no required textbook for this course.

Required readings are accessible through ARES (the University Library's online reserves) and Brightspace.

There is no cost for accessing these digital copies of the reading materials.

### Evaluation

Students will be evaluated based on their weekly attendance and participation, two response papers and one research paper. Use of generative AI tools in completing written assignments is not permitted and will be considered a violation of academic integrity standards. Mark breakdown is as follows.

Attendance and Participation	25%
Response papers (2)	40% (20% each)
Research paper	35% (Proposal due Nov. 11, Paper Dec. 5)

**Attendance and Participation:** Seminar participation will be evaluated based on 1) attendance (5%), 2) a seminar assignment (10%), and 3) good-quality and active contribution to class discussions (10%).

1) Attendance is mandatory as it is an important element of a seminar. Students should try not to miss any classes without a legitimate reason. The instructor should be informed (preferably in advance) of individual absence.

2) The seminar assignment for one week includes three elements: 1) a short presentation (no more than 10 minutes per person) of the required readings (to be divided among the presenters). This presentation should not be a detailed summary but a brief outline of the authors' thesis, main arguments, and evidence, followed by a short critical evaluation of the articles. 2) The presenters will also prepare a few discussion questions to be used in the seminar and be ready to respond to questions about the readings and the topic from the class. A detailed outline of the presentation and discussion questions will be submitted to the instructor electronically **by noon on the Monday prior to the scheduled presentation** (i.e. one day before). Finally, 3) the presenters will play a leading role during discussion sessions, including collecting questions from the class and putting up seminar topics and questions on the monitor (or board) for everyone to see, and leading class discussion. Students will be asked to sign up for the seminar assignment in week 2, and the first presentations begin in week 3.

3) Good-quality and active contribution should reflect students' knowledge and critical understanding of the reading materials and their enthusiasm to participate in the seminar. Accordingly, it is mandatory to complete all required readings and give them careful thought before coming to class in order to be ready to contribute to the discussion. Students are also encouraged to bring questions regarding the weekly readings to class to add to the seminar agenda and discussion.

**Response Papers:** Students will write *two short papers* (5-6 pages, or 1250-1500 words, double-spaced), *each of which will be based on one of the seminar topics of their choice*. The paper should focus on at least one key issue discussed in the readings of the chosen weeks. The objective is for students to provide an argument responding to the issue or question raised in the readings and how it is addressed by the authors or in real situations. Your response may include, for example, your agreement or disagreement with the views presented in the readings, an evaluation of the policy discussed, or a critique on the bias or weaknesses of the authors' arguments or the policy or action in question. The most important things are to present a thematic discussion and elaborate your arguments coherently and convincingly. Evaluation will be based on your ability to present critical and sound arguments that demonstrate that you have carefully and critically thought about the readings and the issue(s) at hand. Good organization and ability to write persuasively and coherently are also expected in a good paper. The assignment does not require consulting other sources apart from the required readings. More detailed instructions will be posted on Brightspace.

Students will submit this assignment electronically through the course's Brightspace drop-box. It is *due one week plus one day* after the selected topic's class (i.e., **the following Wednesday** by 11:59 pm.). To receive early feedback, students are encouraged to choose to write on an earlier topic in the semester before the fall break. The response papers are worth 20% each or a combined 40% of the total grade.

**Research Paper:** Students will write a longer research paper (12-14 pages, or 3,000-3,500 words double-spaced) based on a topic directly related to the themes and issues of the course. The due date is **December 5 (last day of class)**. Students are required to submit a proposal (1-2 pages) for their paper (topic, background information or debate, tentative arguments, and preliminary and potential sources of reference) to be approved by the instructor as soon as possible but no later than **November 11**. The research paper will be graded based on the quality of research, critical and coherent thesis, well-substantiated arguments and evidence, and good writing and organization. Detailed instructions and proposal format will be posted on Brightspace. A virtual meeting with the instructor will be scheduled in the process of preparing for this paper, which could be before or after proposal submission, depending on students' chosen time slot. Reusing a paper that has already been submitted to another course is prohibited.

Academic standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the Department and of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Department and the Dean.

All course components must be successfully completed in order to get a passing grade.

## LATE PENALTIES AND REQUESTS FOR EXTENSIONS

Paper Submission and Late Paper Policy: All assignments must be submitted through the Brightspace assignment drop-box by 11:59 p.m. on the due date (except for the presentation notes, which are due by noon). Late assignments will be penalized by 2% per day. Extensions can only be granted by the instructor and are normally granted for medical reasons only.

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## Course Schedules, Topics and Assigned Readings

The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the reading list. Any changes to the readings will be communicated through Brightspace in a timely manner. The \* sign denotes required readings.

### Week 1 (Sep. 9)

#### Introduction

No reading

### Week 2 (Sep. 16)

#### Understanding Forced Migration: Big pictures and Key Concepts

\*UNHCR, *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2024*, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2025, <https://www.unhcr.org/global-trends>. (Chapter 1)

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

\*Alexander Betts, “Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement, 1st ed. Ithaca, (Cornell University Press, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801468964>. (Chapter 1: Survival Migration)

### Week 3 (Sep. 23)

#### Normative Frameworks on Membership, Borders, and Protection

\*Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*, (Basic Books, 1983). Read “Membership”, pp. 31-51.

\*Joseph H. Carens, “The Case for Open Borders”, openDemocracy, June 5, 2015. Access through <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/case-for-open-borders/>

\*David Miller, “Justice in Immigration”, *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2015):391-408.

\*Matthew Gibney, “The ethics of refugees”, *Philosophy Compass*, Vol. 13, No. 10 (2018): 1-9, <https://doi.org/10.1111/phc3.12521>

#### **Week 4 (Sep. 30)**

#### **Explaining Forced Migration: Theories, Approaches, and Critiques**

\*Roger Zetter, “Conceptualising forced migration: Praxis, scholarship and empirics”, in Bloch, Alice, and Giorgia Dona, eds., *Forced Migration: Current Issues and Debates*, 1st edition, Boca Raton, FL: Routledge, an imprint of Taylor and Francis, 2018.

\*Katrina Burgess, “Negotiating ambiguous status: Mixed migration in theory and practice”, in Jacobsen, Karen, and Nassim Majidi, eds., *Handbook on Forced Migration*, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023. (Chapter 2)

\*Jane Freedman, *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate*, 2nd edition, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. (Chapter 3: Gender-Related Persecutions: Why do Women Flee?)

#### **Week 5 (Oct. 7)**

#### **Global refugee regime I: Norms, Rules, and Institutions**

\*James Hathaway, “The Architecture of the UN Refugee Convention and Protocol”, in *The Oxford Handbook of International Refugee Law*, *Oxford Handbooks*, online edn, ed. Cathryn Costello, Michelle Foster, and Jane McAdam, (Oxford Academic, 9 June 2021), <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1093/law/9780198848639.001.0001>

\*Jeff Crisp, “UNHCR at 70: An Uncertain Future for the International Refugee Regime”, *Global Governance*, Vol. 26 (2020): 359–368.

\*Heaven Crawley and Mary Setrana, “The limits of the ‘global refugee regime’,” in *Handbook on the Governance and Politics of Migration*, ed. Emma Carmel, Katharina Lenner, and Regine Paul (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2021).

#### **Week 6 (Oct. 14)**

#### **Global refugee regime II: Practices and Problems in Responsibility-Sharing**

\*Susan F. Martin and Elizabeth Ferris, “US Leadership and the International Refugee Regime”, *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees*, Vol. 33, no. 1 (2017): 18-28.

\*E. Tendayi Achiume, "Empire, Borders, and Refugee Responsibility Sharing," *California Law Review*, Vol. 110, no. 3 (June 2022): 1011-1040.

\*James Milner, “Protracted Refugee Situations”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, eds. Elena, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona, (Oxford University Press, 2014).

\*Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles, “Protracted displacement: Living on the edge”, in *Forced Migration: Current Issues and Debates*, eds. Bloch, Alice, Giorgia Donà, and Giorgia Dona, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315623757>.

## **Oct. 20-24**

## **Fall Break—No Classes**

### **Week 7 (Oct. 28)**

### **Responses to Forced Migration I: Non-Entrée Regimes**

\*Gerasimos Tsourapas, “The Syrian Refugee Crisis and Foreign Policy Decision-Making in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey,” *Journal of Global Security Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 4, (October 2019): 464–481, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1093/jogss/ogz016>

\*Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen and Nikolas Tan, “The End of the Deterrence Paradigm? Future Directions for Global Refugee Policy,” *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, Vol. 5, no. 1 (2017): 28-56.

\*Rebecca Hamlin, *Let Me Be a Refugee: Administrative Justice and the Politics of Asylum in the United States, Canada, and Australia*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199373307.001.0001> (Read Chapter 3 “Illegal Refugees” and the Rise of Restrictive Asylum Politics)

### **Week 8 (Nov. 4)**

### **Responses to Forced Migration II: Refugee Recognition**

\*Petra Molnar Diop, “The ‘Bogus’ Refugee: Roma Asylum Claimants and Discourses of Fraud in Canada’s Bill C-31,” *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2014): 67-80.

\*Atak et al, “The Securitisation of Canada’s Refugee System: Reviewing the Unintended Consequences of the 2012 Reform,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 37, no. 1 (2018): 1–24, doi: 10.1093/rsq/hdx019.

\*Costello et al, “Refugee Recognition and Resettlement,” ASILE Working Paper, May 2022. Access through <https://www.asileproject.eu/asile-paper-on-refugee-recognition-and-resettlement/>

### **Week 9 (Nov. 11)**

### **Responses to Forced Migration III: Repatriation and Return**

#### ***Proposal Due***

\*B.S. Chimni, “From Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Toward a Critical History of Durable Solutions of Refugee Problems,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 3 (2004): 55-73.

\*Zeynep Sahin-Mencutek and Anna Triandafyllidou, “Coerced return: formal policies, informal practices and migrants’ navigation,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 51, no. 2 (2025): 483–500, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2024.23712>.

\*Zeynep Sahin-Mencutek, “Governing Practices and Strategic Narratives for Syrian Refugee Returns,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (2021): 2805-2826.

## **Week 10 (Nov. 18)                      Digital Technology and Artificial Intelligence in Refugee Protection and Migration Management**

\*Petra Molnar, “Robots and refugees: the human rights impacts of artificial intelligence and automated decision-making in migration,” in *Research Handbook on International Migration and Digital Technology*, ed. Marie McAuliffe, (Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2021), 134-151.

\*Mario Pasquale Amoroso, “Intelligent Borders: Exploring the Suitability of Artificial intelligence Systems in Refugee Status Determination Under International Law,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 43 (2024): 410–426, <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdae021>.

\*Meltem Ineli Ciger, “Artificial Intelligence and Resettlement of Refugees: Implications for the Fundamental Rights,” RSC Working Paper 44, European University Institute, 2023.

## **Week 11 (Nov. 25)                      Migration Diplomacy**

\*Gerasimos Tsourapas, “Migration diplomacy in the Global South: cooperation, coercion and issue linkage in Gaddafi’s Libya,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 38, no. 10 (2017): 2367–2385.

\*Idil Atak, Claire Linley-Moore, and Julie (Ha Young) Kim, “Canada’s Implementation of the UN Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees: Advancing Foreign Policy Objectives and the Status Quo?,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 42 (2023): 453–474.

\*Gerasimos Tsourapas, “Migration diplomacy gets messy and tough: Is mixed mobility being ‘weaponised’ for geopolitical aims?,” in *Mixed Migration Review 2022*, eds. C. Horwood, C., B. Frouws, and R. Forin, (2022), <https://mixedmigration.org/mixed-migration-review-2022/>.

## **Week 12 (Dec. 2)                      Wrapping Up**

We will discuss big questions, common themes, and key takeaways from the whole semester and from your own research.

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### **Political Science Course Outline Appendix**

## 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:

### **Student Mental Health**

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

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

### **Carleton Resources:**

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

Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

### **Off Campus Resources:**

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550,  
<https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

**Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances:** Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).



**Pregnancy:** 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at [equity@carleton.ca](mailto:equity@carleton.ca) or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

**Religious obligation:** 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 [click here](#).

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally scheduled exam (if applicable).

**Survivors of Sexual Violence:** As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and 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:  
<https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>.

**Accommodation for Student Activities:** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me 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.

### **PETITIONS TO DEFER**

Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)

## INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

## WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

Please reference the [Academic Calendar](#) for each term's official withdrawal dates

## OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

Please reference the [Academic Calendar](#) for each term's Official Exam Period (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)

**For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton Calendar](#).**

## GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

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## 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:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material,

- 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 that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

### **RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)**

Department of Political Science (2777)	B640 Loeb
Registrar's Office (3500)	300 Tory
Centre for Student Academic Success (3822)	4 <sup>th</sup> floor Library
Academic Advising Centre (7850)	302 Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608)	501 Nideyinàn
Career Services (6611)	401 Tory