

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

**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:** 9 September 2019

**Last class:** 6 December 2019 (NOTE: Last class meeting on a Friday)

**NOTE:** No class meeting on 14 October (Thanksgiving) or 21 October (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 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.

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. This course is structured around a number of key themes within the global politics literature:

- global public policy
- power
- agency
- sovereignty and the state system
- (g)local politics
- global governance and international organizations
- security and securitization
- gender

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 and 2) 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. 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.

The second half of each class meeting in Part 2 of the course will apply these readings and perspectives to a contemporary case study. Details of the case study and access to a short supplementary readings will be posted on cuLearn the week prior to the class meeting

**Part 3** of the course (weeks 11 and 12) will provide the opportunity for students to present their own research to further examine dimensions of the course theme.

### **Requirements:**

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

**Reflection papers** **25%**

Reflection paper 1 (with leading discussion):	15%
Reflection paper 2:	10%

**Research paper** **60%**

Paper proposal (due 7 October 2019):	10%
Paper presentations (2 or 6 December):	15%
Paper (18 to 20 pages; due 2 December 2019):	35%

**Participation** **15%**

As per **early feedback** guidelines, the essay proposal due on **7 October 2019** 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. On one of the weeks for which students have prepared a reflection paper, students will be required to help lead the discussion of the readings in the first half of the class meeting. These weeks will be scheduled on cuLearn. Students are free to submit their second reflection paper on a week of their choice. The mechanics of this process 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 offer a critical engagement 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?

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 Thursday 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 Thursday, 26 September, ahead of the class meeting on Monday, 30 September.

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 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 16 September 2019.

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 **7 October 2019**. 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.

Building from the proposal, students will be required to write a final paper. Papers should be 18 to 20 pages long (excluding the bibliography), double-spaced, and fully referenced. The essay is due at the start of class on **2 December 2019**.

Students will then present their papers as part of a **research showcase**, to be arranged for the last two classes of term (**2 and 6 December 2019**). Panels of 3 or 4 papers will be organized to allow papers with a similar focus to present in the same panel and to foster a conversation between papers. Presentations will be a maximum of 10 minutes long, thus allowing time for discussion.

The presentation schedule will be posted on cuLearn by 14 October. Students should include a note in their essay proposal if there is a day when they **cannot** give their presentation. Requirements and mechanics for the presentations will be discussed in class on 4 November 2019.

**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 actively engage in class discussion. Students who submit reflection papers in a given week will be expected to actively participate in class discussion, even in weeks when they are not responsible for leading class discussions.

**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 or through ARES. 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 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**

**9 September 2019:** Studying the politics of the global refugee regime

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.

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.

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

### **Week 2**

**16 September 2019:** 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>)

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**

**23 September 2019:** Global public policy responses

Start of student-led seminar discussions (sign-up sheet on cuLearn)

Diane Stone, "Global public policy, transnational policy communities, and their networks", *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", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014.

#### **Week 4**

**30 September 2019:** Forms and spaces of power

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> .

Dorothea Hilhorst and Bram Jansen, "Humanitarian Space as Arena: A Perspective on the Everyday Politics of Aid", *Development and Change*, Vol. 41, no. 6, 2010.

Loren Landau and Roni Amit, "Wither Policy? Southern African Perspectives on Understanding Law, 'Refugee' Policy and Protection", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 27, no. 4, 2014.

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

#### **Week 5**

**7 October 2019:** Individual agency and refugee perspectives

**Due:** Essay proposal

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 via Ares on cuLearn).

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).

Will Jones, "Refugee Voices", World Refugee Council Research Paper No. 8, February 2019, <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/refugee-voices>

**14 October 2019:** No class meeting (Thanksgiving)

**21 October 2019:** No class meeting (Reading Week)

## **Week 6**

**28 October 2019:** Forced migration, sovereignty and the state system

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 7**

**4 November 2019:** (G)local politics

Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games", *International Organization*, Vol. 42, no. 3, Summer 1988.

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).

James Milner, "Chapter 1: Understanding the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa", *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009 (available as an e-book).

James Milner, "Chapter 8: The Politics of Asylum in Africa", *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009 (available as an e-book).

## **Week 8**

**11 November 2019:** 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 9**

**18 November 2019:** Forced migration and (in)security

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

## **Week 10**

**25 November 2019:** Forced migration and gender  
Last week of student-led seminar discussions

Jacqui True, "Mainstreaming gender in global public policy." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2003.

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.

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

## **Week 11**

**2 December 2019:** Research showcase (Part 1)  
**Due:** Final Essay

## **'Week' 12**

**6 December 2019:** Research showcase (Part 2)

## **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](https://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](https://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](https://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 is 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](https://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](https://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.