

POLI 164: International Politics of Forced Migration
Fall 2013

Tu/Th 2:00-3:45, Engineer 2 194

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Office Hours: W 1:00-3:00, and by appointment

Course Description This course is an introduction to global issues in forced migration, the movement of people displaced by persecution, conflict, natural or human-made disasters, environmental change, or development projects. It is grounded in the international relations subfield, but students are expected to engage with ideas from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Topics covered include historical trends in, analytical approaches to, and the international legal framework governing forced migration. We also explore the causes, consequences, and responses by state and non-state actors to refugee flows. A series of examples from recent and current events are examined, including a case study of forced migration in the Arab Spring.

Learning Objectives After taking this course, students should be able to:

- Distinguish between types of population movements and recognize worldwide patterns in forced migration
- Understand the origins and evolution of international legal and institutional frameworks governing forced migration
- Reflect critically on responses to asylum-seekers and refugees by states, international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations
- Grasp the complexity, prevalence, and persistence of forced migration as a facet of political life

Requirements Students should attend and participate actively in every class. Each student will prepare a 2 page memo, due on October 22, that covers a current or recent case of forced migration. In addition, there will be two papers assigned based on the reading materials. A 5-6 page paper covering Part II will be assigned on November 5 and due on November 12. A 7-8 page paper covering Part III will be assigned on December 3 and due on December 10.

Participation	20%
Memo	15%
First Paper	30%
Second Paper	35%

Policies

- *Readings:* You should arrive at every class having carefully read the assigned readings for that session. This will be necessary for you to follow the lectures, ask questions, and participate in class. Your understanding of the readings will be assessed in the papers assigned. Occasionally, you may be assigned a short op-ed or newspaper article covering current events in addition to the readings listed below.
- *Attendance:* Attendance is mandatory. You must show up on time to every class. More than two unexcused absences will result in a lower course grade. If you must miss a class due to religious observance, conflict with an extracurricular activity, illness, or a genuine family emergency let me know as soon as you possibly can.
- *Participation:* Your participation ensures that everyone benefits as much as possible from the course. Your participation grade will reflect the quality (not merely the quantity) of the remarks and questions you raise in class. All participants are expected to listen attentively and respond respectfully to others.
- *Written Assignments:* Each written assignment must be submitted in hard copy on the day and time indicated below. Any paper not submitted on time will be reduced by one full letter grade for every day that it is late. If you wish to contest your grade, you must explain in writing (within one week) why your grade is inaccurate in light of the comments you received. Contested grades may be adjusted upward or downward, or not at all.
- *Laptops:* Students may use laptops to consult class readings and take notes. Applications unrelated to the course should not be used during the class session.
- *Email Protocol:* I cannot guarantee instantaneous responses to email queries, so do not wait until the last minute to email me about potential issues or problems. As a general rule, I will do my best to respond within 24-48 hours. If you have a question that will require a lengthy or detailed answer, come to office hours (or, if you are unable to see me during regularly scheduled office hours, email me to schedule an appointment).
- *Students with Disabilities:* If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me as soon as possible, preferably within the first week of the quarter. You may submit this letter outside of class to ensure your anonymity. Contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu for more information.
- *Academic Conduct:* Academic integrity is taken very seriously. All written work you submit for this class must represent your own work. Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students are expected to familiarize themselves with and follow the university's policies on academic integrity (undergraduate.ucsc.edu/acd_integrity/) and the Politics department's citation requirements (politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html).

Readings The following book is required and available for purchase at the Bay Tree Bookstore. It is also available as an e-book through the University Library CruzCat Catalog (there are, however, restrictions on printing, copying, and downloading).

Alexander Betts, *Forced Migration and Global Politics* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

All other readings are available electronically via eCommons and UC-eLinks.

Course Outline

PART I. PRELIMINARIES

Sept 26 – Introduction

Oct 1 – Concepts and Trends

- FMGP: “Categories of Forced Migration” & “The Relationship between Forced Migration and Global Politics,” p. 4-14.
- Susan F. Martin, “Global Migration Trends and Asylum,” *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 41 (2001): 1–27.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Global Trends 2012: Displacement, the New 21st Century Challenge* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2013), p. 2–22.

Oct 3 – Analytical Approaches

- FMGP: “Chapter 1: International Relations Theories,” p. 18-42.

Oct 8 – Forced Migration, the State, and Globalization

- FMGP: “Chapter 2: Sovereignty and the State System,” p. 43-59.
- FMGP: “Chapter 7: Globalization” p. 145-163.

Oct 10 – International Law on Forced Migration

- Alexander Betts, Gil Loescher, and James Milner, “The Origins of International Concern for Refugees,” in *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection into the 21st Century*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 7–17.
- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill, “Introduction to Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees,” in *United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law*, www.un.org/law/avl/ (2008), p. 1–9.
- Walter Kälin, “The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement — Introduction,” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 10, no. 3 (1998): 557–562.
- *Skim* Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees; Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Oct 15 – Implementation and Limitations

- Guy S. Goodwin-Gill and Kathleen Newland, “Forced Migration and International Law,” in *Migration and International Legal Norms*, ed. T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Vincent Chetail (The Hague: T. M. C. Asser Press, 2003), p. 123–136.
- Joe Oloka-Onyango, “Human Rights, the OAU Convention, and the Refugee Crisis in Africa: Forty Years After Geneva,” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 3, no. 3 (1991): 453–460.

PART II. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF REFUGEE FLOWS**Oct 17 – Sources of Refugee Flows**

- Myron Weiner, “Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows,” *International Security* 21, no. 1 (1996): 5–42.
- Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo, “International Factors in the Formation of Refugee Movements,” *International Migration Review* 20, no. 2 (1986): 151–169.

**Oct 22 – Security Implications of Refugee Flows
(Memo due in class at 2:00pm)**

- Sarah Kenyon Lischer, “Refugee Crises as Catalysts of Conflict,” in *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 1–17.
- Gil Loescher and James Milner, “Security Implications of Protracted Refugee Situations,” *Protracted Refugee Situations: Domestic and International Security (Special Issue)*, *Adelphi Papers* 45, no. 375 (2005): 23–34.

Oct 24 – Refugees as Weapons

- Kelly M. Greenhill, “Understanding the Coercive Power of Mass Migrations,” in *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), p. 12–74.

Oct 29 – Statebuilding and Reconstruction

- Karen Jacobsen, “Can Refugees Benefit the State? Refugee Resources and African Statebuilding,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40, no. 4 (2002): 577–596.
- B. S. Chimni, “Refugees, Return, and Reconstruction of ‘Post-Conflict’ Societies: A Critical Perspective,” *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 2 (2002): 163–180.

Oct 31 – Ethical Concerns

- Joseph H. Carens, “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders,” *Review of Politics* 49, no. 2 (1987): 251–273.
- Matthew J. Gibney, “Liberal Democratic States and Responsibilities to Refugees,” *American Political Science Review* 93, no. 1 (1999): 169–181.

PART III. RESPONSES TO REFUGEE MOVEMENTS

**Nov 5 – Responses by Developing Countries
(First paper assignment handed out)**

- Karen Jacobsen, “Factors Influencing the Policy Responses of Host Governments to Mass Refugee Influxes,” *International Migration Review* 30, no. 3 (1996): 655–678.
- James Milner, “The Politics of Asylum in Africa,” in *Refugees, the State, and the Politics of Asylum in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 161–188.

Nov 7 – Responses by Developed Countries

- Timothy J. Hatton, “The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?,” *The Economic Journal* 119, no. 535 (2009): F183–F213.
- Rebecca Hamlin, “Illegal Refugees: Competing Policy Ideas and the Rise of the Regime of Deterrence in American Asylum Politics,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2012): 33–53.
- FMGP: “Case Study 1: Securitization of Asylum Since 9/11” p. 75-76.

**Nov 12 – Asylum in the US
(First paper due in class at 2:00pm)**

- In-class screening of: *Well-Founded Fear*, DVD, Directed by Michael Camerini and Shari Robertson (New York: The Epidavros Project Inc, 2000).

Nov 14 – International Cooperation on Refugees

- FMGP: “Chapter 4: International Cooperation,” p. 80-98.
- FMGP: “Case Study 2: African Donor Cooperation in the 1980s,” p. 142-143.

Nov 19 – Regional Cooperation on Refugees

- FMGP: “Chapter 8: Regionalism,” p. 164-184.
- Eiko R. Thielemann, “Between Interests and Norms: Explaining Burden-Sharing in the European Union,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 16, no. 3 (2003): 253–273.
- Christina Boswell, “The ‘External Dimension’ of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy,” *International Affairs* 79, no. 3 (2003): 619–638.

Nov 21 – Responses by International and Nongovernmental Organizations

- FMGP: “Chapter 5: Global Governance,” p. 99-126.
- Susan F. Martin, “Forced Migration and the Evolving Humanitarian Regime,” *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 20 (2000): 1–41.

Nov 26 – Humanitarianism

- Myron Weiner, “The Clash of Norms: Dilemmas in Refugee Policies,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11, no. 4 (1998): 433–453.
- Barbara E. Harrell-Bond, “Introduction,” in *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 1–27.
- Michael Barnett, “Humanitarianism, Paternalism, and the UNHCR,” in *Refugees in International Relations*, ed. Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 105–132.

PART IV. CONCLUSIONS

**Dec 3 – Forced Migration and the Arab Spring
(Second paper assignment handed out)**

- “North Africa and Displacement 2011-2012,” *Forced Migration Review* 39 (2012): 1–28.
- TBA

Dec 5 – Future Challenges

- Etienne Piguet, Antoine Pécoud, and Paul de Guchteneire, “Migration and Climate Change: An Overview,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2011): 1–23.
- Susan Harris Rimmer, “Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons, and the Responsibility to Protect,” *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 185 (2010): 1–21.
- Nicholas van Hear, Rebecca Brubaker, and Thais Bessa, “Managing Mobility for Human Development: The Growing Salience of Mixed Migration,” *UNDP Human Development Reports*, Research Paper 2009/20 (2009): 1–35.

Dec 10 – Second paper due by 11:00am at 152 Merrill Annex