

POL380H1S: Topics in International Politics

The International Politics of Mobility: Understanding Migration in a Time of “Crisis”

Session: Summer 2016

Time and Place: M W 18:00 - 20:00, BA 1230

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Office Hours, SS 3118: Wednesdays 16:00 - 18:00, by appointment

Course Description

In 2015 the popular imagination became suddenly aware of the international politics of mobility. Like most popular political issues, many people have strong opinions with a relatively weak understanding of the core issues. This course is designed to give students an in-depth introduction to the history, laws, institutions, and changing political dynamics of international migration. The course places a special emphasis on forced migration, refugee flows, and irregular migration given the unique challenges these trends present for the international system. The overall goal is to help develop the substantive knowledge and analytical tools necessary for understanding the complexities of international mobility in a world of states.

Each session will be centred on lectures to frame course discussion. Theoretically, the lectures will explore the tensions around globalization and the politics of mobility in a world that is politically and institutionally defined by states. However, a specific emphasis will be given to case studies and contemporary examples in order to better inform our theoretical discussions.

Some of the issues we will cover will be:

- the emergence of refugee protection and asylum;
- the role of the UNHCR in international politics;
- the effects of refugee flows on regional stability;
- irregular migration & human smuggling in the Mediterranean and at the US border;
- North / South disparities and the drivers of migration;
- the gendered dynamics of human trafficking;
- the emergence of fortified borders to stop the movement of people; and
- debates, politics, and predictions around the issue of climate change refugees.

Course Requirements

No previous study in issues of migration or refugee politics is necessary or assumed.

POL208 “Introduction to International Relations” is a prerequisite for this course. Lectures and readings assume an understanding of the theoretical debates and concepts of the International Relations discipline, as well as a basic familiarity with world history and engagement with current events.

Some of the course sections are more reading intensive than others, with an average of around 50-70 pages of reading per meeting. The assignments and final exam will require familiarity with the course readings, as well as with the substantive material covered in the lectures. Students thinking of enrolling in the course should keep this in mind.

All written assignments must be submitted as Word or PDF documents. Submitting an unreadable file format will result in late penalties. Term papers *must strictly adhere to the following* guidelines: 12 point, Times New Roman font, double-spaced, page numbers at the bottom of the page, the title of the paper appearing at the top of the first page, and your name and student number in the top left header of each page. *No title page*. Failure to adhere to these guidelines will result in a 5% penalty on each paper. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation matter. Term papers will not be accepted via email and students may be asked to submit their work to Turnitin.com under terms set by the University of Toronto and as described on the Turnitin.com website.

Assignments

The course grade is comprised of five components:

Assignment	Grade Value	Due Date
Critical Reflection/ Discussion Lead	15%	Rolling due dates
Participation	10%	Cumulative
Mid-Term Quiz	15%	20 July
Term Paper	30%	08 August
Final Exam	30%	TBD

1. **Critical reflection / Kick-off question** – (15%) due on a rolling basis.

This is an upper year seminar and so active participation in-class discussion and debate is an important part of the course. As part of their mark, each session two or three students

will be asked to prepare a critical reflection and discussion questions to get the conversation going.

Students must distribute their critical reflections to all students and the instructors no later than **5 pm the day prior** to the class, via Blackboard, on the course discussion board.

As part of fulfilling this assignment you **must** be present in class and prepared to open discussion by introducing your critical reflection paper and presenting your kick-off questions to the class. Other students should take the time to read the reflections and think about the questions, as their own overall participation mark depends on their active engagement in the discussion.

When writing your Critical Reflection, keep in mind that the assignment should be no more than 1 single-spaced page in length. Roughly 85% of the assignment should be taken up with your critical reflection on week's readings. The remainder should be taken up with one or two kick-off questions.

Critical Reflections will be assigned and marked on an ongoing basis. The exact number of Critical Reflections assigned will depend on enrolment in the course. Full instructions will be provided on a separate handout and on Blackboard immediately following the first lecture.

2. Participation – (10%)

Each session will begin with a brief lecture, followed by class discussions and questions framed by the critical reflections prepared for that day. Participation is not only strongly encouraged, but required. You will be evaluated based on your *active participation* in class discussion and engagement with the critical reflection / kick-off questions of your colleagues. Participation marks will be determined by cumulative performance throughout the course.

3. Midterm exam – (15%)

The mid term exam will be cumulative up to Session 8. It will be comprised of short answer questions to test subject matter from the readings and lectures. If you've been coming to lecture and reading all course materials carefully, you will likely perform well; if you haven't you will very likely earn a poor grade.

4. Term Paper – (30%)

Due on the last day of class (8 August, 2016).

10 pages. The research essay is the main deliverable for the course. It has a pedagogical and substantive purpose. The pedagogical goal is to help you learn the academic skills of

addressing a research question, developing a thesis, and testing your thesis using evidence. We will spend time in lecture discussing this.

A list of paper research questions will be distributed in class. You will have a choice of three research questions, which will cover the broad themes of the course.

Every paper *must* have a thesis statement. Not having a thesis statement will mean a very low grade. You are encouraged to discuss your thesis statement with us before you begin writing.

8 pages is the absolute minimum. Papers will suffer a deduction of 5% per half page under 8 pages. 10 pages is the maximum. Anything over 11 pages will receive a penalty of 5% per half page. **Do not** alter margins or font size to affect the length of your paper. It's not our first rodeo.

5. Final Exam – (30%)

The final exam will be cumulative (i.e. will cover all the material from the course) and take place in the exam period (date TBD). We will, however, be sure to include questions from the last two weeks of the course to ensure that a) you start your paper early, and b) you do the (important) readings from the end of the course.

Course Rules and Policies

Extensions and Make-ups: No extensions or make-ups will be granted unless students have acceptable reasons that are adequately documented – for example, a medical emergency supported by an official U of T medical certificate. Extensions and permission to write make-up midterms will only be granted in **extenuating and unavoidable circumstances** outlined to the instructors in writing or via email **prior to the due date in question**. Extensions will not be granted in any case after the submission deadline or mid-term. Appropriate documentation must be submitted within one week of the missed course requirement. Multiple assignments or midterms from other courses scheduled for the same date – or other work commitments – do not constitute acceptable reasons for extensions, so please plan accordingly.

Late Penalties: Assignments are to be handed in at the beginning of class on the date that they are due. Late assignments will be penalized 3% per day, *weekends included*. All late work **must** be submitted to the main desk of the Political Science Department (3rd floor of Sidney Smith). Students must make sure late submissions are signed and dated by Department staff. Barring extensions, work submitted more than *10 days* after assignment deadlines will not be accepted.

Course Grades: If you have concerns regarding an assignment mark you must present a detailed written explanation (maximum 1 page single spaced) of why you feel the grade

is unjustified. Do not send an email immediately upon receiving your grade. Take some time and think of how to make your case. Grade appeals must be submitted no less than two days after the return of an assignment and no later than two weeks after the return of an assignment.

Office Hours and Communication: Office hours will take place immediately preceding the lecture or by appointment. We will endeavour to respond to emails within 24 hours, weekends not included. Please do not expect an immediate reply to emails sent on the weekends or after 7pm. Email is for short clarification questions only. If you have concerns or questions that cannot be answered in a short response please see us during office hours.

Plagiarism: All sources used in essays must be properly cited. Failure to acknowledge sources constitutes plagiarism – a *serious* academic offense. For details, see the University’s policy at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>. Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Blackboard and E-mail: All students should ensure that they have access to the Blackboard website, as reading materials & announcements will be posted electronically.

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom, or materials, contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible

Reading Assignments & Lecture Outline

Session 1 (27 June) - Introductory Lecture & Course Outline

Distribution of Syllabus, discussion of course objectives.

Session 2 (29 June) - Territorializing Populations and Emerging Borders

“Chapter 1: Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate ‘Means of Movement’, & “Chapter 4: Toward the ‘Crustacean Type of Nation’: The Proliferation of Identification Documents from the Late 19th Century to WWI,” (pp1-19; 93-121) in Torpey, John C. 2000. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State*. Cambridge studies in law and society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zolberg, Aristide R. “The formation of new states as a refugee-generating process.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467, (1983): 24-38.

Suggested Further Reading

Scott, James C. "Chapter 1: Hills, Valleys, and States - An Introduction to Zomia" (1-39) in *The Art of Not Being Governed* (Yale, 2009).

Session 3 (4 July) - Human Mobility in the Contemporary Era

"Chapter 1: Why Migration Matters" (pp1-12) in Koser, Khalid. 2007. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

"Chapter 1: Putting Migration into History" (pp1-21) in Moch, Leslie. 2003. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (2nd Edition). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

"Ch.1 New Migrations, New Theories," in Massey, Douglas, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, & J. Edward Taylor. 2005. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Suggested Further Reading

"Ch.2 Contemporary Theories of International Migration," in Massey, Douglas, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, & J. Edward Taylor. 2005. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 4 (6 July) - State Interests and International Cooperation

Hollifield, James F. 2004. "The Emerging Migration State," *International Migration Review*, 38(3): 885-912.

Lahav, Gallya & Sandra Lavenex (2013). "International Migration," in Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse, & Beth A. Simmons (eds.) *Sage Handbook of International Relations*. London: Sage.

Martin, Susan. 2011. "International Cooperation & International Migration: An Overview." In *Migration, the Nation-State, and International Cooperation*, edited by Randall Hansen, Jobst Koehler, and Jeanette Money. London: Routledge.

Session 5 (11 July) – The Origins of Refugees in the 20th Century

Arendt, Hannah. 1951. "The Decline of the Nation State and the End of the Rights of Man" from *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Any edition.

Bundy, Colin. "Migrants, refugees, history and precedents." *Forced Migration Review*, 51 (2016): 5-6.

"Chapter 1: The Origins of International Concern for Refugees" (pp6-16) in Loescher, Gil, Alexander Betts, & James Milner. 2008. *The United Nations High Commissioner for*

Refugees: The politics and practice of refugee protection into the 21st Century. New York: Routledge.

Suggested Further Readings

“Ch2: Refugees Defined & Described,” in *The Refugee in International Law*. 2007. Goodwin-Gil, Guy and Jane McAdam. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Session 6 (13 July) – The Contemporary Refugee Regime & International Protection

“Chapter 1: Refugees and asylum-seekers” (pp70-90) in Koser, Khalid. 2007. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

“Chapter 2: UNHCR in the Cold War,” in Loescher, Gil, Alexander Betts, & James Milner. 2008. *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: The politics and practice of refugee protection into the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Betts, Alexander. 2010. “The Refugee Regime Complex,” *Refugee Studies Quarterly*, 29 (1) pp12-37.

Dunn, Elizabeth. “The Failure of Refugee Camps.” *Boston Review* (2015).

Fassin, Didier. “From Right to Favor: The refugee question as moral crisis.” *The Nation*. (2016).

Suggested Further Readings

“Chapter 3: UNHCR in the post-Cold War era,” in Loescher, Gil, Alexander Betts, & James Milner. 2008. *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: The politics and practice of refugee protection into the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Session 7 (18 July) – Irregular Migration & The Syrian Refugee Crisis

“Chapter 5: Irregular Migration” (pp54-69) in Koser, Khalid. 2007. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Paoletti, Emanuella. 2011. “Power Relations and International Migration: The Case of Italy and Libya”, *Political Studies*, 59:269-289

Collyer, Michael. 2010. “Stranded Migrants and the Fragmented Journey.” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23 (3): 273–93.

Heisbourg, François. 2015. “The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis,” *Survival*, 57 (6): 7-20.

Suggested Further Reading

Düvell, Franck. 2011. “The Pathways in and out of Irregular Migration in the EU: A Comparative Analysis.” *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13 (3): 245–50.

Kraler, Albert, and David Reichel. 2011. "Measuring Irregular Migration and Population Flows - What Available Data Can Tell: Measuring Irregular Migration and Population Flows." *International Migration* 49 (5): 97–128.

Reslow, Natasja. 2012. "The Role of Third Countries in EU Migration Policy: The Mobility Partnerships." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 14 (4): 393–415. doi:10.1163/15718166-12342015.

Session 8 (20 July) The Ethics of Migration and the Morality of Membership

Walzer, Michael. "Chapter 2: Membership" in *Spheres Of Justice: A Defense Of Pluralism And Equality*. (New York, Basic Books, 1984).

Miller, David. "Chapter 8: Immigration and Territorial Rights" in Miller, David 2007. *National Responsibility and Global Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carens, Joseph "Ch.11 The Case for Open Borders," in Carens, Joseph. 2013. *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Abizadeh, Arash. "Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders" in *Political Theory* 36, 1 (2008): pp. 37 – 65.

Suggested Further Reading

Dummett, Michael AE. *On immigration and refugees*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Robert E. Goodin. "Enfranchising All Affected Interests, and Its Alternatives." in *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35, 1 (2007): pp. 40 – 68.

NB: In class quiz precedes lecture.

Session 9 (25 July) - Militarized Borders & Containment Strategies

Zaiotti, Ruben. "Mapping Remote Control" in Zaiotti, Ruben, ed. 2016. *Externalizing Migration Management: Europe, North America and the Spread of "Remote Control" Practices*. Routledge Research in Place, Space and Politics Series. London ; New York, NY: Routledge.

Rosière, Stéphanie & Reece Jones. 2012. "Teichopolitics: Reconsidering Globalisation through the Role of Walls and Fences," *Geopolitics*, 17: 217 – 234.

Long, Katy. 2013. "In Search of Sanctuary: Border Closures, 'Safe' Zones and Refugee Protection," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 26(3): 458-76.

Suggested Further Reading

Geddes, Andrew. 2011. "The European Union's Extraterritorial Immigration Controls and International Migration Relations," (pp87-99) in Hansen, Randall, Jobst Koehler, &

Jeannette Money (eds.) *Migration, Nation States, and International Cooperation*. New York: Routledge.

NB: Drop date ends.

Session 10 (27 July) - Climate Change Migration: Alarmism or the worst thing to happen, ever?

Piguet, Etienne, Antoine Pecoud, and Paul de Guchteneire. 2011. "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 30 (3): 1–23.

"Ch.3 The Securitization of Climate-Induced Migration," "Ch.4 Transit States and the Thickening of Borders," in White, Gregory *Climate Change and Migration: Security and Borders in a Warming World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAdam, Jane. 2012. "'Disappearing States', Statelessness, and Relocation," in McAdam, Jane *Climate Change, Forced Migration, and International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Suggested Further Reading

Morrissey, James. 2009. *Environmental Change and Forced Migration: a State of the Art Review*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.

[Foresight: Migration and Global Environmental Change](#). 2011. *Final Project Report*. The Government Office for Science, London.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter & Ragnihild Nordas. 2014. "Conflicting Messages? The IPCC on Conflict and Human Security," *Political Geography* 43: 82-90.

Session 11 (3 Aug) - Winners & Losers of Global Mobility: North / South Impasses, Human Trafficking, & the Gendered Aspects of Migration

"Ch.1 Why Has Human Trafficking Flourished?" in Shelley, Louise. 2010. *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duong, Kim Anh. 2014. "Human Trafficking in a Globalized World: Gender Aspects of the Issue and Anti-Trafficking Politics," *Journal of Research in Gender Studies*, 4 (1): 788-805.

de Haas, Hein. 2007. "Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration." *Development and Change* 38 (5): 819–41.

Castles, Stephen. 2004. "Why Migration Policies Fail," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (2): 205-227.

Suggested Further Reading

de Haas, Hein. 2008. "The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe", *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (7) pp1305-1322.

Davis, Mike. 2004. "Planet of Slums: Urban Involution and the Informal Proletariat." *New Left Review* 26 (Mar / Apr): 5–34.

Session 12 (8 Aug) - The Threat of Unmanaged Migration: Back to the Future?

Huysmans, Jef & Vicki Squire. 2010. "Migration and Security," in Dunn Cavelty, Myriam & Victor Mauer eds. *Handbook of Security Studies*. London: Routledge.

Salehyan, Idean, & Kirstian Gleditsch. 2006. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War," *International Organization*, 60 (2): 335-366

Greenhill, Kelly M. 2008. "Strategic Engineered Migration as a Weapon of War." *Civil Wars* 10 (1): 6–21.

Salehyan, Idean. 2008. "The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict," *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4): 787-801.