

NB: Course readings will revised / narrowed before the beginning of term

JRA402H1S / JRA2391H1S

Migrants and Refugees in International Politics

Session: Winter 2018

Time and Place: W 12:00 - 14:00, BA 1230

Instructor: Craig Damian Smith, PhD
Email: craigdaminan.smith@utoronto.ca

Office hours by appointment

Course Description

This seminar explores the history, institutions, and political dynamics of international migration. We will apply International Relations and Comparative lenses to help us understand human mobility in global politics. 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. Emphasis is given to the European context and Europe's migration relations. The overall goal is to develop substantive knowledge and analytical tools necessary for understanding the complexities of international mobility in a world of states.

Each session will begin with a short lecture to frame course discussion. Emphasis will be given to case studies and contemporary examples in order to better inform our theoretical discussions. The second hour of the class will be given over to discussion.

Assignments are designed around a cumulative deliverable of a research paper. This serves a pedagogical and substantive function. A critical reflection exercise will give you the chance to think out some big ideas of the course. A research proposal will inform both your presentation in the final two weeks of course, and a research paper due at the end of the course. One week extensions will be available.

Graduate students in the course should consider the research paper and process in developing it as a chance to workshop a conference paper or journal submission. I hope the course will add to your academic CV.

Course Schedule

Date	Topic	Assignment / Note
10 January	Introduction & Overview	
17 January	Big Questions & Ideas	
24 January	Migration Theories	
31 January	Domestic Politics	
7 February	States, Cooperation, & Global Governance	
14 Feb	Refugee Regime	Critical Reflection Due
21 February	Reading Week	No Class
28 February	The Migration Crisis	Paper Proposal Due
7 March	Migration / Security	
14 March	Securitization & Migration Controls	Drop Date
21 March	Climate Migration	
28 March	N/A	Presentations
4 April	N/A	Presentations
4 April	N/A	Final Paper Due (1 week extension available).

Course Requirements

No previous study in issues of migration or refugee politics is necessary or assumed. Lectures and readings assume an understanding of the theoretical debates and concepts of the International Relations and Comparative Politics, as well as a basic familiarity with world history and 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 will require familiarity with the course readings, as well as with the substantive material covered in the lectures.

All students are expected to actively participate in class discussion.

All written assignments must be submitted as Word or PDF. 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*. All papers must include a 200 word (max) abstract. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation matter.

Assignments

Assignment	Grade Value	Due Date	Details
Critical Reflection	20%	14 February	4 Pages
Research Proposal	N/A	28 February	1-2 Pages
Attendance / Participation	10%	N/A	Full attendance and active participation
Presentation	20%	28 March; 4 April	10 Minutes
Research Paper	50%	11 April 2018 (End of Class +1 Week)	Undergraduate 12-15 Pages Graduate 15-20 Pages

Critical reflection – 20% (14 Feb)

4 pages (no more, no less)

The purpose of the critical reflection exercise is to organize your thoughts about some big picture questions for the course. I want four pages of you waxing philosophical about the concepts and readings from the first four weeks of the course. You will be graded on the coherence of your thought and engagement with the material.

There are few prescribed requirements for this assignment other than I want to see you bring different ideas, theories, and trends into conversation with one another. The one strict requirement is that in the first paragraph you present what you think are the two or three big questions, tensions, or puzzles posed by the readings. Critical reflections must directly engage with one reading from each of the first four substantive weeks of the course, and with at least one suggested reading.

You are *not permitted* to conduct any outside research for this assignment. You can talk about current or historical events that are common knowledge.

Research Proposal – No Grade (28 Feb)

2 Pages Maximum

All students must submit a proposal. The proposal will inform both your presentation and your final research paper. Proposals must follow the format:

- Puzzle / observation
- Research question
- Thesis statement
- Proposed case studies (2-3 comparative cases, with a rationale for case selection)
- Methodological note

Each student will have an appointment to discuss the research proposal between 28 February and 7 March. We'll talk out the project to make sure it's feasible and interesting. There are no limits to what you can research and write on as long as it's relevant to the course. Once we come to an agreement I will approve your proposal. Changes are possible as research progresses but you must be in contact with me regarding any major changes.

Presentations – 20% (28 March & 4 April)

This assignment mirrors the format of an academic conference panel. We will have four panels over the course of two days. I will select the panels based on themes from your proposals and assign dates. It might be the case that on these days we will take an extra half an hour.

You will have ten minutes (strictly enforced) to present your research project to date. This means you'll present your puzzle, research question, methods, cases, and preliminary findings. You are encouraged to discuss the body of literature you're engaging with, a challenge you encountered in your research, or some interesting or counter-intuitive findings. I encourage you to limit yourself to five slides.

You will be graded on your research question, logic, evidence, and methods.

Graduate students will act as discussants for panels in order to develop that skill. This means that students must send a short (2-5 page) preliminary research paper to their discussant no later than three days before their panel. I will act as chair.

All students will be expected to provide critical feedback. Undergraduate students who are not familiar with conference presentations should attend at least one lecture in the Department of Political Science, the Munk School, or the School of Public Policy and Governance.

Students who miss their presentations will receive a grade of zero with no chance for rescheduling or re-weighting their grade. Any students who have serious issues with social anxiety should speak with me early in the course. Nervousness is a normal part of being socialized into academic presentations and you will not be penalized for it.

Research Paper – 50% (11 April)

Undergraduate Students: 12-15 pages

Graduate Students: 15-20 pages

The research paper is the main deliverable for the course. It must include all elements prescribed in the research proposal, as well as a short literature review. Papers must include a 200 word (max) abstract. You should begin researching your paper as soon as the proposal is approved.

NB: The paper is due on the last day of class. Given the importance of both assignments a one week extension will be available for the research paper. I will not be available from 4-11 April. All papers with extensions must be submitted as a hard copy to the Department of Political Science no later than 5pm.

Attendance & Participation – 10%

This is an upper year seminar and so active participation in-class discussion and debate is an important part of the course. Students should be prepared to start class discussions and critically engage with one another. Students are encouraged to think of one or two pertinent questions based on the week's readings. I will intervene as little as possible. Full attendance is assumed, with points being deducted for absences.

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 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: 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 by appointment. I 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 make an appointment.

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>.

Blackboard and E-mail: All students should ensure that they have access to the course Blackboard website, as reading materials & course 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 course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible

Reading Assignments & Lecture Outline

10 January

Introductions, Course Plan, etc.

17 January

Big Questions & Big Ideas in Migration

“Chapter 1: Why Migration Matters” in Koser, Khalid. 2007. *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

“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.

“Chapter 1: Partiality: Community, Citizenship, and the Defence of Closure,” and “Chapter 2: Impartiality: Freedom, Equality, and Open Borders,” in Gibney, Matthew J. 2004. *The Ethics*

and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees. Cambridge University Press.

Suggested Further Reading

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

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

24 January

Migration Theory & Contemporary Trends

Castles, Stephen & Mark J. Miller. 2014. “Chapter 2: Theories of Migration,” in Castles & Miller. 2014. *The Age of Migration*, New York: Guilford Press.

IOM. 2017. “Migration and Migrants: A Global Overview,” in IOM *World Migration Report 2018*, IOM Geneva. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en_chapter2.pdf

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

de Haas, Hein. 2007. “Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration,” *Development and Change* 38(5): 819–841.

Collyer, Michael & Hein de Haas. 2012. “Developing Dynamic Categorizations of Transit Migration,” *Population, Space, and Place*. 18: 468-481.

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.

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.

31 January

Domestic Politics and Migration Policies

Stockemer, Daniel. 2016. “Structural Data on Immigration or Immigration Perceptions: What Accounts for the Electoral Success of the Radical Right in Europe?” *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54 (4):999–1016.

Ambrosini, Maurizio. 2016. "Irregular Migration and the Welfare State." In *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies*, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou. London ; New York: Routledge.

Lahav, Gallya. 2013. "Threat and Immigration Attitudes in Liberal Democracies: The Role of Framing in Structuring Public Opinion," in Freeman, Gary P., Randall Hansen, and David L. Leal (eds.) *Immigration and Public Opinion in Liberal Democracies*, New York: Routledge.

7 February

State Interests, International Cooperation, & Global Governance

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

Martin, Susan & Sanjula Weerasinghe. 2017. "Global Migration Governance: Existing Architecture and Recent Developments," in IOM *World Migration Report 2018*, IOM: Geneva. https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en_chapter5.pdf

Gottwald, Martin. 2014. "Burden Sharing and Refugee Protection." In *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, eds. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long, and Nando Sigona. Oxford University Press.

Hansen, Randall. 2011. "Making Cooperation Work," in Hansen, Randall, Jobst Koehler, and Jeannette Money, eds. 2011. *Migration, Nation States, and International Cooperation*. New York: Routledge.

Suggested Further Readings

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.

14 February

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.

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

“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.

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

Suggested Further Readings

“Chapter 2: UNHCR in the Cold War,” & “Chapter 3: UNHCR in the post-Cold War era,” (pp16-72) 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.

21 February

Reading Week – No Class

28 February

What is the “Global Migration Crisis”?

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

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.

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

Chimni, Bupinder S. 2004. “From Resettlement to Involuntary Repatriation: Towards a Critical History of Durable Solutions to Refugee Problems.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 23(3): 55–73.

Greenhill, Kelly M. 2016. “Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis,” *European Law Journal* 22 (3): 317–32

OECD. 2015. *Responses to the Refugee Crisis: Corruption and the Smuggling of Refugees*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

<http://www.oecd.org/corruption/Corruption-and-the-smuggling-of-refugees.pdf>

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.

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.

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.

Borjas, George J, Jeff Crisp, and Väyrynen, eds. 2005. "Illegal Immigration, Human Trafficking and Organized Crime." In *Poverty, International Migration and Asylum*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

The Guardian. 6 September, 2015. "UN Agencies 'Broke and Failing' in Face of Ever-Growing Refugee Crisis." Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/06/refugee-crisis-un-agencies-broke-failing>.

Erlanger, Steven and Kimiko De Freytas-Tamura. 19 September, 2015. "UN Funding Shortfalls and Cuts in Refugee Aid Fuel Exodus to Europe." Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/20/world/un-funding-shortfalls-and-cuts-in-refugee-aid-fuel-exodus-to-europe.html>.

Howden, Daniel & Apostoilis Fotiadis. 9 March, 2016. "Where did the Money Go? How Greece Fumbled the Refugee Crisis." *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/09/how-greece-fumbled-refugee-crisis>.

7 March

The Migration / Security Nexus

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.

Adamson, Fiona B. 2006. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security." *International security* 31(1): 165–199

Suggested Further Reading

Leenders, Reinoud. 2008. "Iraqi Refugees in Syria: Causing a Spillover of the Iraqi Conflict?" *Third World Quarterly* 29(8): 1563–84.

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

Choi, Seung-Whan & Idean Sakehyan. 2013. "No Good Deed Goes Unpunished: Refugees, Humanitarian Aid, and Terrorism," *Conflict Management & Peace Studies*. 30(1): 53-75.

14 March

Securitized Borders & Containment Strategies

Geddes, Andrew. 2011. "The European Union's Extraterritorial Immigration Controls and International Migration Relations," in Hansen, Randall, Jobst Koehler, & Jeannette Money (eds.) *Migration, Nation States, and International Cooperation*. New York: Routledge.

Zaiotti, Ruben. 2016. "Mapping Remote Control" in Zaiotti, Ruben, ed. *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.

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

Suggested Further Reading

Cardwell, Paul James. 2013. "New Modes of Governance in the External Dimension of EU Migration Policy." *International Migration* 51 (6):54–66.

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

Neal, Andrew W. 2009. "Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The Origins of FRONTEX." *JCMS: Journal of common market studies* 47(2): 333–356.

Stevens, Jacob. 2006. "Prisons of the Stateless: The Derelictions of UNHCR." *New Left Review* 42 (Nov/Dec):53–67.

Morris, Nicholas. 2007. “‘Prisons of the Stateless’: a Response to New Left Review.” *New Issues in Refugee Research*, no. 141. Hyndman, Jennifer, and Alison Mountz. 2008. “Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-Refoulement and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe.” *Government and Opposition* 43(2): 249–69.

21 March

Climate 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.

28 March

Presentations

4 April

Presentations