POLI 353
Politics of the International Refugee Regime
Fall 2018

Class time: Mondays, Wednesdays, 10:05-11:25 (Lectures will run from 10:05-10:55 from 24 September onwards)
Room: Currie 408/9
Instructor: Professor Megan Bradley (megan.bradley@mcgill.ca)
TA: TBC
Office hours: Tuesday, 10:30-12:30, Leacock 539

Course description

From Syria and Iraq to South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic, the number of people being driven from their homes by conflict and human rights violations is on the rise. By the end of 2017, there were more refugees forced to flee their countries than at any point since World War II. At the same time, more than twice as many people are displaced within their own countries. This course explores the causes and consequences of displacement, and international responses to this issue, focusing especially on forced migration linked to war, persecution and human rights abuses. It examines key actors, interests and norms that shape the international refugee regime, and international responses to other forms of displacement. Particular attention is devoted to the ways in which displaced persons themselves navigate and shape the regime, and to challenges including the resolution of displacement crises, and accountability for forced migration.

Learning objectives and approach

This course is organized in three parts:

- Part I: Concepts and commitments in the international refugee and forced migration regime
- Part II: States, international organizations and other institutional actors
- Part III: Engaging the regime: Exploring the agency of displaced populations
- Part IV: In search of solutions
- Part V: Conclusions and future challenges

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Develop and present persuasive oral and written arguments related to international responses to forced migration, drawing on insights from historical experiences and current cases;
- Critically analyze the causes and consequences of forced migration;
- Understand and analyze fundamental norms underpinning the international refugee regime;
- Understand and analyze the mandates and interests that inform the behaviour of key actors involved in responding to forced migration crises;
- Evaluate the effectiveness of international efforts to protect refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), support the resolution of displacement, and advance accountability for forced migration; and
- Appreciate the diverse ways in which refugees and other displaced persons engage with and shape the international refugee and forced migration regime.
Required readings

Required readings are identified below. Where indicated, required readings are collated in the course pack, available for purchase at the McGill bookstore. All other required readings (journal articles and e-book chapters) can be accessed via the McGill Library website.

Important dates

- 5 September: Course begins
- 24 September: Conferences start this week, lecture runs from 10:05-10:55 from now on
- 1 October: No classes (Quebec elections)
- 8 October: No classes (Thanksgiving); No conferences this week
- 17 October: No class
- 5 November: Mid-term in-class test
- 18 November: Draft research essays to be emailed to peer review partner (with TA cc’ed) by noon, for discussion in conference
- 21 November: Deadline for submission of reflective essay (optional)
- 28 November: Research essays due
- 4 December: Last class (Monday schedule) (NB: No conferences week of 3 December)
- TBD: Final exam

Assignments and assessment

- 10% Participation in conference (including peer review of class member’s research essay)
- 10% Presentation in conference
- 25% Mid-term in-class test
- 25% Research essay
- 30% Final exam

Further information on assignments, assessment and extra credit opportunities is available at the end of the syllabus.

Lecture program

Class 1: 5 September
Introduction to the course
Why is forced migration a challenge and important subject of study for the field of international relations?
- Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher (2011) “Refugees in international relations,” in Refugees in international relations, chapter 1, pp. 1-29. (e-book)

Part I: Concepts and commitments in the international refugee and forced migration regime

Class 2: 10 September
Conceptualizing refugeehood
What does it mean to be a refugee? How should we understand refugees as figures in the field of IR?

Class 3: 12 September
Who’s in, who’s out? Political and legal dimensions of refugee status
How is refugee status defined under international law? How is “the refugee problem” framed by international and domestic politics?

Suggested reading
• 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees
• 1969 Organization for African Unity (OAU) Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa

Class 4: 17 September
Who’s in, who’s out? Political and legal dimensions of refugee status (cont.)
How is refugee status defined under international law? How is “the refugee problem” framed by international and domestic politics?

Class 5: 19 September
Other “populations of concern”: Internally displaced persons (IDPs) and stateless persons
What is internal displacement? What is statelessness? Why are IDPs and stateless persons also important “populations of concern” for national and international actors?

Suggested reading
• 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
• 2009 African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention)
• 1954 Convention relating to the status of stateless persons and 1961 Convention on the reduction of statelessness

Class 6: 24 September
Cardinal rules (I): The right to seek asylum
**Please note: Conferences start this week. From this week onwards, lectures run from 10:05-10:55.
What are the key norms in the international refugee regime? How have they evolved and how are they interpreted? Why and to what extent are they respected by states?
POLI 353: Politics of the International Refugee Regime


Class 7: 26 September
Cardinal rules (II): Non-refoulement

*What are the key norms in the international refugee regime? How have they evolved and how are they interpreted? Why and to what extent are they respected by states?*


Part II: States, international organizations and other institutional actors

Class 8: 3 October
Cooperation and restrictionism in the international refugee regime (I)

*Why do states cooperate to protect refugees at the same time as they erect barriers to their entry? What is the significance of cooperation on forced migration issues for global order/governance?*


Class 9: 10 October
Cooperation and restrictionism in the international refugee regime (II)

*Why do states cooperate to protect refugees at the same time as they erect barriers to their entry? What is the significance of cooperation on forced migration issues for global order/governance?*


Class 10: 15 October
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (I)

*What is the role of UNHCR in the international refugee and forced migration regime? How has this role evolved, and what challenges does the agency face?*


Suggested reading

- UNHCR Statute

Class 11: 22 October
UNHCR (II)
What is the role of UNHCR in the international refugee and forced migration regime? How has this role evolved, and what challenges does the agency face?

- Anne Hammerstad (2011) “UNHCR and the securitisation of forced migration,” in Refugees and international relations, chapter 11. (e-book)

Class 12: 24 October
Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
Where do NGOs fit in the international forced migration regime? What roles do they play? What are some of the challenges faced by this diverse group of actors?

Guest speaker from Action Réfugiés Montréal


Class 13: 29 October
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)
What is the role of UNRWA in the international refugee and forced migration regime? How has this role evolved, and what challenges does the agency face?

- Pierre Krähenbühl (2014) “In the eye of a man-made storm,” Foreign Policy, 26 September 2014. (MyCourses)

Class 14: 31 October
International Organization for Migration (IOM)
What is the role of IOM in the international forced migration regime? How has this role evolved, and what challenges does the agency face?


Class 15: 5 November (NB: The test will run for the full class period, 10:05-11:25 AM.)
In-class mid-term test (All students are expected to be in class to take the test at the scheduled time.)

Part III: Engaging the regime: Exploring the agency of displaced populations

Class 16: 7 November
Refugee warriors
Who are refugee warriors, and what challenges do they represent for the international refugee regime? What does the behaviour of refugee warriors tell us about the agency and complexity of displaced populations?


Class 17: 12 November
Survival strategies and mobilization in displaced communities
How and why do displaced populations mobilize to survive violence? How do they engage with and challenge national and international actors in the refugee regime? What are some of the consequences?
• Erin Baines and Emily Paddon (2012) “This is how we survived,” Security Dialogue 43(3). (MyCourses)

Class 18: 14 November
Questioning vulnerability (I): Gender, generation and forced migration
Are displaced populations inherently vulnerable? How do gender and age shape (assumptions about and responses to) the vulnerability of displaced populations?
• Jennifer Hyndman (2011) “Feminist geopolitics meets refugee studies,” in Refugees in international relations. (e-book)

Class 19: 19 November
Questioning vulnerability (II): Portraying refugees
NB: Draft research essays are to be discussed in conferences this week.
How are refugees and IDPs portrayed by states, NGOs and international organizations? What do these representations tell us about the assumptions underpinning the international forced migration regime? How do refugees and IDPs portray themselves?
• Scott Watson (2007) “Manufacturing threats: Asylum seekers as threats or refugees,” Journal of International Law and International Relations 3. (MyCourses)

Part IV: In search of solutions

Class 20: 21 November
Local integration
How are displaced crises resolved? What does a “durable solution” to displacement mean? What does local integration entail? Under what circumstances is it a durable solution to displacement?

Class 21: 26 November
Resettlement
Why was resettlement a major focus of the international refugee regime during the Cold War? Why is it now extremely rare, with less than 1% of refugees worldwide being resettled each year? What do resettlement politics tell us about “burden sharing” and the allocation of scarce resources in the international refugee regime?

- Jennifer Hyndman and Wenona Giles (2016) “It’s so cold here, we feel this coldness” (chapter 5), in Refugees in Extended Exile: Living on the Edge, pp. 95-118. (course pack)

Class 22: 28 November
The preferred solution? (I) Voluntary repatriation in theory and practice

Why is voluntary repatriation so often referred to as the “preferred solution” to displacement? Whose preferences are reflected in this assessment? What are the obstacles to enabling voluntary repatriation? Under what conditions does it, and should it, take place?


Class 23: 3 December
The preferred solution? (II) Justice, accountability and the return of displaced populations

Why is voluntary repatriation so often referred to as the “preferred solution” to displacement? Whose preferences are reflected in this assessment? What are the obstacles to enabling voluntary repatriation? Under what conditions does it, and should it, take place?


Part V: Conclusions and future challenges

Class 24: 4 December (NB: Monday schedule)
Future challenges for the refugee and forced migration regime: Climate change, disasters and displacement

What challenges are on the horizon for the international refugee and forced migration regime? What questions and problems do phenomena such as climate change pose for international responses to forced migration?


Course Assignments and Evaluation Criteria

Participation in conferences (10%)
Active participation of all students is essential to a successful classes and conferences. Participation will be assessed on the basis of:
• Regular presence in conference (the TA will take attendance at the start of each conference, absences will only be excused for medical issues or family emergencies, with appropriate documentation provided)
• Demonstrated preparation (required readings done, questions prepared on each reading)
• Active participation and contribution to discussion
• Encouragement of participation of other students
• Timely completion of the peer review exercise (as per instructions below)

Conferences will, generally speaking, focus on material covered the previous week. There will be 9 conferences over the course of the term. Conferences start the week of 24 September; there will be no conferences the week of 8 October or 3 December.

In the context of conference participation, each student will serve as a peer reviewer for another classmate’s draft research paper. The peer review exercise will take place the week of 19 November, in advance of the submission of the research papers at the start of class on 28 November. The TA will match up members of the conference for the purpose of the peer review exercise. Each student must email their peer reviewer a draft of their research paper by noon on Sunday November 18, with the TA cc’ed. In order to benefit fully from the peer review exercises, this should be a thoughtfully prepared, well-researched and carefully edited draft, with a precise research question, an explicitly stated thesis, and a clear structure (articulated in the introduction to the paper), drawing on a minimum of 8 relevant academic sources. In advance of the conference session, each peer reviewer will read their classmate’s draft, and prepare a minimum of one half-page of constructive comments. The comments should be sent to the author of the draft by email in advance of the conference session, with the TA cc’ed. In the conference, 20 minutes will be set aside for peer review pairs to meet, discuss their drafts and share constructive feedback (building on the points exchanged by email), with a view to further honing the research papers before submission on 28 November. Before the peer review exercise is completed, the professor will spend time in lecture discussing expectations in the peer review process, and how to serve as a collegial, supportive reviewer. Students will not receive a letter grade for their participation in the peer review process, but engagement in this exercise will inform the overall participation grade. Failure to complete the peer review exercise as per these instructions will result in failing grade for participation.

**Presentation in conference (10%)**

In teams of max. 3 students per group, prepare a 10-minute oral presentation in English that applies the readings/concepts/themes being discussed in the conference session to a particular case. The case should be selected by the team, and confirmed with the TA in advance of the presentation. Teams may select a country case study or, where relevant, the case study may focus on another level, e.g. a particular individual (e.g. a UN High Commissioner for Refugees) or a particular group (e.g. a group of refugees subject to refoulement, or a group such as LGBTQ refugees). In some cases, with the TA’s permission, it may be acceptable for a team to give a presentation on a case that has already been introduced by a previous group, provided that the second presentation deepens rather than repeats the previous presentation. Generally speaking, however, teams should select cases that have not yet been covered by other members of the conference.

Presentations should link go beyond simply describing the case. They should engage the literature (including but not limited to the literature assigned for the conference session) to offer a clear analysis of the case, deepening class members’ understanding of the concepts and institutions being discussed in the conference, and the case itself. Each team member must participate actively in delivering the presentation.

Presentations must include:
POLI 353: Politics of the International Refugee Regime

- A brief overview of the case (providing essential background information); and
- A focused analysis of the case, applying concepts and arguments from the literature to advance a clearly expressed perspective;
- Questions to stimulate class discussion following the conclusion of your presentation.

The group case study presentations will be assessed by the TA. Teams will be formed in the first conference of the term.

Break-down of marks

8 points Effective communication of ideas
- Logical organization of ideas/structure
- Clear explanations
- Appropriate use of visual or oral learning aids
- Ability to effectively communicate and engage with the class

12 points Understanding of the topic, analysis and argument
- Explanation of relevant terms, concepts and debates
- Situation of the case in relation to the broader themes under discussion
- Clear analysis of the case, engagement concepts/arguments from the readings
- Articulation of insightful observations on the case
- Relevance and analytical depth of discussion questions

Mid-term in-class test (25%)
The mid-term tests will take place in-class on Monday 5 November. The entirety of the class will be devoted to the completion of the test (10:05-11:25). Any students requiring special arrangements for completing tests are requested to promptly contact the Office for Students with Disabilities. The mid-term will not be rescheduled; students are expected to be in class to take the test as scheduled.

The test will consist of short essay questions covering the topics addressed in the first 14 classes. The test will be set out in two sections. The first part will include questions on material covered in “Part I: Concepts and commitments in the international refugee and forced migration regime” (Classes 1-7). The second part will include questions on material covered in “Part II: States and other international institutional actors” (classes 8-14). Students will be required to answer two questions, one question from the first part of the exam, and two questions from the second part of the exam.

The question the student is answering must be clearly identified to avoid penalties.

Break-down of marks for each response

7.5 points Effective communication and argumentation
- Clear and logical organization and communication of ideas
- Pertinent examples (where relevant)

7.5 points Understanding of key concepts, theories and studies
- Demonstrated command of the relevant literature
- Critical engagement with the relevant literature and debates

10 points Analysis and argument
POLI 353: Politics of the International Refugee Regime

- Articulation of a clear thesis, demonstrating clear and critical engagement with the test question and relevant materials
- Development of a well-supported argument in response to the question

Research paper (25%)  

Deadline: 10:05 AM, Wednesday 28 November

Each student will complete a research paper to be submitted at the start of class on Wednesday 28 November. The research paper should be a minimum of 9 and a maximum of 10 double-spaced pages (using 12-point Times New Roman font and standard 1-inch margins), excluding the bibliography. Citations should be in-text, following a standard academic format, e.g. Chicago. The pages must be numbered. The paper should have a clear title, and engage at least eight relevant academic sources.

The paper should explore a clearly expressed research question related to the politics of the refugee regime. The paper should involve careful independent research going beyond the material covered in lectures. The final research paper must:

- Define the key terms used in the paper
- Explain the principal theoretical and conceptual debates related to the topic
- Advance a clear argument effectively supported by empirical research and/or theoretical analysis (both the argument and the structure of the paper must be explicitly articulated in the introduction to the paper)
- Draw some conclusions and/or pose recommendations (if applicable).

Break-down of marks
10 points Effective communication  
- Clear and logical organization of ideas (structure of paper, explicitly indicated in the introduction)
- Pertinent examples
- Style, grammar and spelling
- Standardized referencing according to academic conventions

15 points Analysis and argument  
- Clear articulation of student’s position
- Understanding and application of relevant concepts, theories and literature
- Effective support provided for argument
- Quality of conclusions and/or recommendations

Examples of topics
- Analysis of a particular international organization’s efforts to respond to a refugee or internal displacement situation
- Analysis of UN responses to the militarization of refugee camps in a particular country
- Analysis of the mandate and evolving practices of a particular international actor, e.g. UNHCR, UNRWA or IOM
- Examination of the representation of refugees by a particular actor in the international forced migration regime
- Critical comparison of international and local efforts to resolve the displacement of a particular group of refugees or IDPs
POLI 353: Politics of the International Refugee Regime

• Analysis of the history and evolution of a particular norm in the international refugee regime, e.g. the right to seek asylum, non-refoulement or the right of return

Final exam (30%)

The final exam will take place during the exam period (time/location TBD). Any students requiring special arrangements for completing tests are requested to promptly contact the Office for Students with Disabilities.

The test will consist of two short essays. Students may choose which two essays questions they wish to complete from a list of questions that span the entire course, but are weighted towards topics covered after the midterm.

The question the student is answering must be clearly identified to avoid penalties.

10 points Effective communication and argumentation
• Clear and logical organization and communication of ideas
• Pertinent examples (where relevant)

8 points Understanding of key concepts, theories and studies
• Demonstrated command of the relevant literature
• Critical engagement with the relevant literature and debates

12 points Analysis and argument
• Articulation of a clear thesis, demonstrating clear and critical engagement with the test question and relevant materials
• Development of a well-supported argument in response to the question

Extra credit opportunities

Course evaluations
In order to encourage the timely completion of course evaluations, each student will receive an extra 0.5% if at least 85% of enrolled students complete the on-line course evaluation on time. This will count toward participation grades. Please note that the participation grade is never to exceed the maximum percentage established for the course.

Reflective essay on experiences of forced migration, as captured in film

In order to encourage the exploration of narrative and artistic work that addresses the themes at the heart of this course, including the agency of displaced persons, students are invited to submit one reflective essay that incorporates analysis of a relevant film (documentary or feature film) alongside discussion of issues addressed in lectures and readings for this course. Reflective essays are due in hard copy at the start of class on Wednesday 21 November.

Reflective essays should be min. three and max. four double-spaced pages long, excluding footnotes and bibliography. Students are required to type their text in 12-point font with standard 1-inch margins. Citations should be in-text, and must follow a standard academic format, e.g. Chicago. No more than one short paragraph of the reflective essay should be devoted to a summary of the film.
Students who complete the optional reflective essay will receive a bonus of up to 3%. The reflective essays will be evaluated according to the criteria below. It is left to the student’s discretion to determine which issues/readings will be explored in the reflective essay. Students are encouraged to look beyond the required readings for the course to enrich their analysis of forced migration-related issues explored in the film. The films that may be analyzed for this assignment include:

- Waltz with Bashir
- The Time that Remains
- God Grew Tired of Us
- Sin Nombre
- Dirty, Pretty Things
- A World Not Ours
- Incendie
- Monsieur Lazhar
- Casablanca
- El Norte
- In this World
- Children of Men
- Welcome (2009)
- Hotel Rwanda

Suggestions for additional films to add to this list are welcome for future versions of the course. Please note that some of these films include graphic violence and disturbing themes. Please contact the instructor during office hours if you have any concerns or would like advice in selecting a film.

Break-down of marks

Effective communication of ideas
5 points
- Clear and logical organization of ideas/structure
- Clear explanations of key themes, concepts and ideas
- Style, grammar and spelling

Insightful analysis of themes and critical engagement with readings
10 points
- Accurate expression and focused analysis of key themes drawn from the film
- Insightful, original reflections on the relationship between themes raised in the film, and issues addressed in the course
- Identification of insightful questions raised by the film, and your analysis of it in light of the academic literature on international responses to forced migration

General instructions and policies for written assignments

Late policy
Written work (discussion papers and research paper) is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 10% penalty per day, starting with the due date, except in exceptional cases, with the professor’s prior agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.
Language
In accord with McGill University’s Charter of Students’ Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

Format and style
Students are required to type their text in 12-point font with standard margins. Please double space the text. Use single spacing for block quotations, footnotes, appendices and bibliographies. References and citations must follow a standard academic format. In-text citations are preferred.

Special Needs
As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the Office for Students with Disabilities.

Integrity
McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information).