

# POLI 294: Refugees & Migration

Professor: Eric Mosinger  
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Office Hours: Thursday 2–4 pm  
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Spring 2019  
Monday, Wednesday & Friday  
Time: 3:30–4:30 pm  
Classroom: Carnegie 204



Photo credit: United Nations

## 1 Course Summary

**Welcome to Refugees & Migration!** The international community currently faces the most serious refugee crisis in over 70 years. Internal conflicts, environmental degradation, and state collapse in Syria, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Myanmar, and Somalia have uprooted millions in recent years, while refugee camps in Palestine and Colombia stretch across decades and generations. This course examines the above cases in detailed study cycles. It also covers substantial theoretical ground, with special focus on the causes of individual-level decisions to migrate for economic or conflict-related reasons, and investigates the causes and impacts of migration on receiving regions and states. We will cover themes including frontiers and borderlands, climate change and migration, immigration regimes, the politics of immigration in Europe and the United States, immigration between less developed countries (for example, immigration between Bangladesh and India, or Central American immigration to and through Mexico), discourse about immigrants and refugees, the social and institutional world of refugee camps, and the interaction between violent or criminal actors and refugees.

## 2 Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, you will be able to:

- Use the method of comparison to analyze divergent outcomes and their causes across cases.
- Better appreciate the lived experiences of refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons, regular and irregular migrants.
- Gain an understanding of theories of underlying causes of transnational migration.
- Independently investigate and write a research paper, comment intelligently on others' work, and revise your own work based on feedback.

## 3 Student Evaluation

Course Assessment		Grading Scale			
Assignment	% of Total	Grade	Range	Grade	Range
1) Participation	15%	A	93–100	C	73–76.9
2) Policy Brief	20%	A-	90–92.9	C-	70–72.9
3) Analytic Paper	25%	B+	87–89.9	D+	67–69.9
4) Peer Review Memo	5%	B	83–86.9	D	63–66.9
5) Reviewer Response Memo	5%	B-	80–82.9	D-	60–62.9
6) Comparative Research Paper	30%	C+	77–79.9	F	Below 60

## 4 Required Books

- Abigail Leslie Andrews, *Undocumented Politics: Place, Gender, and the Pathways of Mexican Migrants*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).
- Ben Rawlence, *City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the World's Largest Refugee Camp* (New York: Picador, 2017).

## 5 Other Readings

All of the other readings are available in one of two places: either posted on the class Moodle page as a PDF, or (for academic articles) on Google Scholar. Macalester provides internet access to most academic journals, and if you don't already know how, I'd like you to learn how to search for them. So try this:

Step 1: Connect to Wi-Fi while you are on the Macalester campus (or through [Mac's VPN service](#) if you are off-campus)

Step 2: Go to <http://scholar.google.com>.

Step 3: Search for the reading: e.g. “Andrew Schacknove Who Is a Refugee”.

Step 4: Find our article and click on “MACLINKS FULL TEXT”.

Step 5: Read the article, while taking careful notes filled with brilliant insights.

## 6 Expectations

The most important expectation is simple: be respectful of everyone in the class, and of each other’s views. In an environment as diverse as Macalester’s, everyone has a different perspective to offer, to teach, and to learn. Engage with the course fully and listen as carefully to your fellow students as you would to your professor.

This is not an easy class. There’s plenty of reading and a lot of it is tough—but rewarding. I expect you to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm from the very first class. If we all do that, we’ll have a lively classroom discussion.

It’s also essential to take notes as you read. Different methods work for different students: some try to create an outline of the main points, others may write a summary paragraph of the reading as soon as they finish it, while others might pull out five to seven quotes that capture key ideas. It would be a good idea to experiment with different styles throughout the course to learn what works best for you.

Arrive on time and ready to participate. **If you will be late or absent, please email me at least 30 minutes before class.** I will notice repeated absences and penalize your class participation grade.

I will ask a lot from you in this course, but you can expect to receive a lot from me in return. I hope that by the end of the semester, you will conclude that this was one of your most challenging courses at Macalester, and one of your best.

## 7 Evaluation

**Format and Required Citation Style:** Submit written work online through our Moodle (you will get my feedback through the Moodle as well) and use the [APSA style guide](#) to format citations and bibliography.

**Language Options for Written Assignments:** English or Spanish

**On-Time Work Policy:** My expectation is that you will complete your work by deadlines listed on this syllabus. When sufficiently compelling circumstances arise, I will grant students an extension without imposing a grade penalty. I will only grant extensions that

students request *prior* to the original deadline. Students should tell me when they expect to complete their work and *communicate* with me about its progress.

## Summary of Assignments

1. **Class Participation:** Do the readings before class! On many occasions I will lecture, but more often, we will engage in class and group discussions in which students are expected to share their thoughts, ideas, and questions with the class. We also will engage in a handful of classroom simulations, each of which is based on the theories covered in the readings. Students who fail to do the readings will be at a decisive disadvantage in these simulations. But don't worry! There will be lots of opportunities—and different ways—to be engaged with the class, and I am happy to give feedback and discuss your participation during office hours. 15% of course grade.
2. **Policy Brief:** You will prepare a policy brief assessing one of the assigned cases in light of principles found in international and humanitarian law, policy, and politics studied in this course. The goal is to prepare a final report for a government agency, international organization, or NGO of your choice. You should use the paper to describe a concrete problem and advocate for a specific policy responding to this problem. We will hold 10-minute panels in class in which you will discuss your policy brief with other students who wrote about the same case. Due on February 22<sup>nd</sup>. Three to four pages. 20% of course grade for brief and panel appearance.
3. **Analytic Paper:** This paper should demonstrate your ability to synthesize and—naturally—analyze the material that we've covered in this class. I will present a set of possible topics, and will also give you the opportunity to develop your own. This paper will be graded on its argumentation, evidence, and written communication. Due on March 8<sup>th</sup> / March 15<sup>th</sup>. 6 pages. 25% of course grade.

**Writing Workgroups:** For your Analytical Paper, you'll be meeting up with a small group of peers to "workshop" your papers together. This means you must have your first draft of each paper written a week before the final due date. I'll divide you into groups and it will be up to you to arrange a meeting. I recommend that you begin the meetings by exchanging hard copies of your papers, and writing comments in the margins. Then you can talk over your comments and recommendations. Note that the due dates for the Analytic Paper above are presented as first draft/final draft.

4. **Comparative Research Paper:** For this research paper, you will ask a "why" question about some aspect of world politics. An example might be, "Why have mass pro-democracy protests broken out in some longstanding African dictatorships (for example, Zimbabwe and Uganda), but not others (Angola and Mozambique)?" Ask: How have political scientists tried to answer this question? What do you think is the answer to this question? What evidence would you need to collect to answer it? In order to develop your own argument, you will compare two (or more) cases in a

most-similar-systems (MSS) or most-different-systems (MDS) research design. A template for these research designs is available on the Moodle. We will talk much more about how to conduct a comparative politics research project throughout the course. Due on April 28<sup>th</sup> / May 12<sup>th</sup>. 8–10 pages. 30% of course grade.

**Peer Review:** Similar to the Writing Workgroups, for your Research Paper you will be paired with a “peer reviewer”—another student in the class who will give you a two-page written feedback on your paper (a Peer Review Memo). Using this feedback, you will revise the Research Paper, and along with the final draft, you will submit a Reviewer Response Memo, which explains how you addressed the Peer Review Memo’s comments in your revisions. Each memo is worth 5% of the course grade.

## 8 Academic Integrity

The academy is an ancient tradition founded on the pursuit of truth at all costs. Honesty, personal responsibility, and integrity are therefore core values indispensable to any academic pursuit. You will be judged, justly, on the extent to which you uphold these values for the rest of your life, and your integrity is far more important than your final grade in this course.

One common form of academic dishonesty will result in an automatic failure of any assignment, or more likely, an F in the course along with a referral to the university honor board: plagiarism, presenting another person’s words, ideas, or work as if it were your own. Plagiarism is more than simply copying and pasting language found on the internet into your paper (although this is certainly plagiarism). Plagiarism also consists of taking someone’s ideas, or paraphrasing their language, without proper attribution. That is, you must always cite the original author, even when not using their original words. Citing your sources does not detract from the originality of your argument; rather, it situates your contribution within a long conversation with other scholars. This long conversation, including your contribution, is the academic pursuit.

As a final note, Macalester punishes academic dishonesty severely. Professors count on extremely sophisticated data analysis tools to detect most forms of plagiarism, and after thousands of exams and essays, most of us are able to spot plagiarism and other forms of cheating at a glance. The consequences may include expulsion from the college—a serious penalty in exchange for the possibility of a minor advantage on an assignment.

## 9 Laptop Policy

Students are permitted laptops in this course. However, I strongly discourage them. Electronic devices, with all their flashy lights and noises, distract your attention from where it belongs: your professor, your fellow students, and the incisive arguments flying around the classroom. It would be best to write notes in your notebook with pen and ink. If you

would like your notes digitized, you can always photograph them after class. Great political thinkers from Aristotle to Hobbes to Skocpol made do with pen and ink (or in Aristotle's case, most likely a wax tablet and stylus), and you can too. Your most important role in the classroom is not passive notetaker, but active interlocutor. **The best way to incorporate laptops into the classroom—if you must—is to tilt the screen down when you are not using it.** If you require the use of any electronic device for accessibility reasons, I'm more than happy to accommodate your needs in this regard.

## 10 Other Resources for Students

### Writing Help

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Hours are 9:00am–4:30pm Mon-Fri and 7-10pm Sun-Thur. Becky Graham and Jake Mohan also provide writing assistance to students during the daytime hours, Mon-Fri. You may drop in for help or call x6121 (day) or x6193 (evening) to schedule an appointment.

### Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with Lisa Landreman, Associate Dean of Students. Call x6220 for an appointment. I encourage you to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. More info [here](#).

# 11 Schedule of Classes and Assignments

## INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

### Friday, January 25<sup>th</sup>

No reading.

### Monday, January 28<sup>th</sup>

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *UNHCR Global Trends 2017* (2018), pp. 1–26.

Alex Braithwaite, Idean Salehyan, and Burcu Savun, “Refugees, Forced Migration, and Conflict: Introduction to the Special Issue,” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 5–11.

## THEORY

### Wednesday, January 30<sup>th</sup>

Polar Vortex.

### Friday, February 1<sup>st</sup>

Andrew E. Shacknove, “Who Is a Refugee?,” *Ethics* 95, no. 2 (1985): 274–284.

### Monday, February 4<sup>th</sup>

John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (2018), Chapters 1 and 4.

### Wednesday, February 6<sup>th</sup>

Stephen Castles, Mark J Miller, and Hein de Haas, *The Age of Migration* (New York, N.Y.; London: Guilford, 2014), Chapter 2.

### Friday, February 8<sup>th</sup>

Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies* (2014), pp. 394–408, “Gender and Forced Migration.”

Susan Forbes Martin, *Refugee Women* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 13–23.

### Monday, February 11<sup>th</sup>

Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, “Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society,” *International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 1002–1039.

## LATIN AMERICAN MOBILITIES

### Wednesday, February 13<sup>th</sup>

Stephen Castles, Mark J Miller, and Hein de Haas, *The Age of Migration* (New York, N.Y.; London: Guilford, 2014), Chapter 6.

### Friday, February 15<sup>th</sup>

David James Cantor, “The New Wave: Forced Displacement Caused by Organized Crime in Central America and Mexico,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (2014): 34–68.

Abbey Steele, “Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, no. 3 (2011): 423–445.

**Monday, February 18<sup>th</sup>****Read at least one of the following country studies:**

Dennis Stinchcomb and Eric Hershberg, *Unaccompanied Migrant Children from Central America: Context, Causes, and Responses*, SSRN Scholarly Paper ID 2524001 (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 2014).

Peggy Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), Chapter 1.

Brad Jokisch and Jason Pribilsky, "The Panic to Leave: Economic Crisis and the "New Emigration" from Ecuador," *International Migration* 40, no. 4 (2002): 75–102.

Jorge Durand, "The Peruvian Diaspora: Portrait of a Migratory Process," *Latin American Perspectives* 37, no. 5 (2010): 12–28.

**Wednesday, February 20<sup>th</sup>**

**No class. The Political Science Department invites you to attend the Pi Sigma Alpha student research conference.**

**Friday, February 22<sup>nd</sup>**

**In class: Policy presentations.**

**DUE before class on Friday, February 22<sup>nd</sup>: Policy Briefing.**

**Monday, February 25<sup>th</sup>**

Alejandro Portes, "Migration and Development: Reconciling Opposite Views," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, no. 1 (2009): 5–22.

**Wednesday, February 27<sup>th</sup>**

Sarah Gammage, "Exporting People and Recruiting Remittances: A Development Strategy for El Salvador?," *Latin American Perspectives* 33, no. 6 (2006): 75–100.

**Friday, March 1<sup>st</sup>**

José Miguel Cruz, "Beyond Social Remittances: Migration and Transnational Gangs in Central America," in *How Immigrants Impact Their Homelands*, ed. Susan Eva Eckstein and Adil Najam (Duke University Press, 2013).

**Monday, March 4<sup>th</sup>**

Abigail Leslie Andrews, *Undocumented Politics: Place, Gender, and the Pathways of Mexican Migrants*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018), read Introduction and Chapter 1.

**Wednesday, March 6<sup>th</sup>**

Andrews, *Undocumented Politics*, read Chapter 2.

**Friday, March 8<sup>th</sup>**

Andrews, *Undocumented Politics*, read Chapter 3.

**DUE before class on Friday, March 8<sup>th</sup>: First Draft of Analytical Paper.**

Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.

**Monday, March 11<sup>th</sup>**

Andrews, *Undocumented Politics*, read Chapter 4 and 5.



**Wednesday, March 13<sup>th</sup>**

Dany Bahar, "Latin America Is Facing a Refugee Crisis," *Foreign Affairs*, 2018.

Rebecca Hanson, "Deciphering Venezuela's Emigration Wave," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 50, no. 4 (2018): 356–359.

Ricardo Hausmann, Julian Hinz, and Muhammed A. Yildirim, *Measuring Venezuelan Emigration with Twitter*, Working Paper 2106 (Kiel Working Paper, 2018).

**Friday, March 15<sup>th</sup>**

Michael J. Camilleri and Fen Osler Hampson, *No Strangers at the Gate: Collective Responsibility and a Region's Response to the Venezuelan Refugee and Migration Crisis* (2018).

Geoff Ramsey and Gimena Sánchez-Garzoli, *Responding to an Exodus: Venezuela's Migration and Refugee Crisis as Seen From the Colombian and Brazilian Borders*, Research Report (Washington Office on Latin America, 2018).

Jo Griffin, "'The Strain Is Too Much': Venezuelan Exodus Has Brazil at Breaking Point," accessed January 25, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/dec/24/venezuelan-exodus-brazil-at-breaking-point>.

**DUE before class on Friday, March 15<sup>th</sup>: Analytic Paper Final Draft.**

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**March 16<sup>th</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup>: Spring Break**

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**THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS****Monday, March 25<sup>th</sup>**

Scott Anderson, "Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart," 2016, accessed January 24, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/11/magazine/isis-middle-east-arab-spring-fractured-lands.html>.

UNHCR, "Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response," 2019, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>.

"Forced to Leave: Comparing Destination Options of Venezuelans and Syrians," <http://www.mixedmigration.org/articles/forced-to-leave-comparing-destination-options-of-venezuelans-and-syrians/>.

**Wednesday, March 27<sup>th</sup>**

Wendy Pearlman, *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria* (2017), Chapter 3.

Dana M. Moss, "Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of The Arab Spring," *Social Problems* 63, no. 4 (2016): 480–498.

**Friday, March 29<sup>th</sup>**

Wendy Pearlman, *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria* (2017), Chapter 7.

Justin Schon, "Motivation and Opportunity for Conflict-Induced Migration: An Analysis of Syrian Migration Timing," *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 12–27.

**Monday, April 1<sup>st</sup>**

Omar Robert Hamilton, "Welcome to Lesbos," 2015, <https://www.guernicamag.com/omar-robert-hamilton-welcome-to-lesvos/>.

Simon Turner, "What Is a Refugee Camp? Explorations of the Limits and Effects of the Camp," *J Refug Stud* 29, no. 2 (2016): 139–148.

**Wednesday, April 3<sup>rd</sup>**

Patrick Kingsley, "What Caused the Refugee Crisis? You Asked Google - Here's the Answer," *The Guardian: Opinion*.

Rawan Arar, Lisel Hintz, and Kelsey P. Norman, "The Real Refugee Crisis Is in the Middle East, Not Europe," 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/14/the-real-refugee-crisis-is-in-the-middle-east-not-europe/>.

Kelly M. Greenhill, "Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis," *European Law Journal* 22, no. 3 (2016): 317–332.

**Friday, April 5<sup>th</sup>**

James Dennison and Andrew Geddes, "A Rising Tide? The Salience of Immigration and the Rise of Anti-Immigration Political Parties in Western Europe," *The Political Quarterly* 0, no. 0 (2018).

Sevda Tunaboylu and Jill Alpes, "The EU-Turkey Deal: What Happens to People Who Return to Turkey?," 2017, 4.

Kelsey Norman, "Concerns Over a Coercive Return of Syrian Refugees from Lebanon," <https://politicalviolenceataglanance.org/2018/02/20/concerns-over-a-coercive-return-of-syrian-refugees-from-lebanon/>.

**DUE before class on Friday, April 5<sup>th</sup>: Comparative Research Paper Design Template.****SOMALI LIVES IN DEBAAB AND MINNESOTA****Monday, April 8<sup>th</sup>**

Ben Rawlence, *City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the Worlds Largest Refugee Camp* (New York: Picador, 2017), Ch. 1–13 (large portions can be skimmed).

**Wednesday, April 10<sup>th</sup>**

Ben Rawlence, *City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the Worlds Largest Refugee Camp* (New York: Picador, 2017), Ch. 13–25 (large portions can be skimmed).

**Friday, April 12<sup>th</sup>**

Ben Rawlence, *City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the Worlds Largest Refugee Camp* (New York: Picador, 2017), Ch. 26–40 (large portions can be skimmed).

**Monday, April 15<sup>th</sup>**

Anna Lindley, "Between a Protracted and a Crisis Situation: Policy Responses to Somali Refugees in Kenya," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2011): 14–49.

**Wednesday, April 17<sup>th</sup>**

Abdi Roble, Doug Rutledge, and Somali Documentary Project, *The Somali Diaspora: A Journey Away* (University of Minnesota Press, 2008), Minneapolis: Participation in the Mogadishu on the Mississippi.

Kirk Semple, "A Somali Influx Unsettles Latino Meatpackers," 2008, <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/16/us/16immig.html>.

**Friday, April 19<sup>th</sup>**

Elizabeth Heger Boyle and Ahmed Ali, "Culture, Structure, and the Refugee Experience in Somali Immigrant Family Transformation," *International Migration* 48, no. 1 (2010): 47–79.

Emily Witt, "How Ilhan Omar Won Over Hearts in Minnesota's Fifth," *The New Yorker*.

**#WITHREFUGEES - SANCTUARY AND ACTIVISM****Monday, April 22<sup>nd</sup>**

Susan Gzesh Susan Gzesh, "Central Americans and Asylum Policy in the Reagan Era," <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/central-americans-and-asylum-policy-reagan-era>.

Sophie H. Pirie, "The Origins of a Political Trial: The Sanctuary Movement and Political Justice," *Yale J.L. & Human.* 2 (1990): 381.

**Wednesday, April 24<sup>th</sup>**

A. Naomi Paik, "Abolitionist Futures and the US Sanctuary Movement," *Race & Class*

59, no. 2 (2017): 3–25.

**Friday, April 26<sup>th</sup>**

Abou Farman, "In Defense of Sanctuary," 2017, <https://thebaffler.com/latest/in-defense-of-sanctuary-farman>.

Silje Sande, "When Democracy Gets Personal: Civil Disobedience in the Case of Rejected Asylum Seekers," <https://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/284-when-democracy-gets-personal-civil-disobedience-in-the-case-of-rejected-asylum-seekers>.

**DUE at NOON on Sunday, April 28<sup>th</sup>: Research Paper Rough Draft****Monday, April 29<sup>th</sup>**

Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement," *Soc Probl* 62, no. 3 (2015): 343–362.

**Wednesday, May 1<sup>st</sup>**

Harald Bauder, *Migration Borders Freedom* (London; New York: Routledge, 2018), Chapter 6, "Sanctuary City".

Mariano Viturro, "¡La Policía, La Migra, La Misma Porquería!" in *Beyond Walls and Cages Prisons, Borders, and Global Crisis*, ed. Jenna M Loyd, Matt Mitchelson, and Andrew Burrige (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), pp. 277–286.

**Friday, May 3<sup>rd</sup>**

Idean Salehyan, "Conclusion: What Academia Can Contribute to Refugee Policy," *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 146–151.

**DUE at NOON on Sunday, May 5<sup>th</sup>: Research Paper Reviewer Memo**

**Monday, May 6<sup>th</sup>**

Concluding discussion.

**DUE at NOON on Sunday, May 12<sup>th</sup>: Research Paper Final Draft & Reviewer Response Memo**