

# **POU44251: Politics of Forced Migration**

Department of Political Science

Lecturer: Oguzhan Turkoglu

Meeting Schedule: Wednesdays 9:00-10:30 (Online/Edmund Burke in Arts)

Office Hours: by appointment only

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This module aims to introduce students to past and current research on the politics of forced migration. The course can be divided into three sub-sections: causes of displacement, effects of displacement flows on the destination, and how hosts respond to flows. It will start by introducing the main concepts and historical and legal developments. Then, it will explore the causes of forced migration movements with an emphasis on politics, conflict, and the environment. The cases of Syria, Nepal, and Bangladesh will be employed to illustrate theoretical explanations. Later, it will move on to where people flee and investigate how forced migration flows affect the security and economy of host communities. A special emphasis will be paid to Rwandan refugees in DRC to illuminate security effects and to the Mariel Boatlift (Cuban migration to the US) for economic effects. Afterward, the module will focus on how destination countries govern forced migration flows and how people in the host countries react. Developed countries (e.g., Germany) as well as developing countries (e.g., Jordan) will be investigated. Finally, it will also cover under which circumstances displaced people move back to their home and the effects of this return on society.

## **Learning Outcomes**

On the successful completion of this module students should be able to:

- critically assess the theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of causes of forced migration;
- explore if and how forced migration flows impact the security and economy of host societies;
- evaluate different responses of governments to displacement flows and how their policies affect forced migrants;
- discuss the underlying mechanisms of variation in attitudes towards refugees both in developed and developing countries;
- identify possible issues with existing studies and avenues for future research.

## Assessment

This course is examined entirely by continuous assessment. The assessment consists of an essay assignment (40%) and a final research proposal project (60%).

**Essay assignment:** Students must write an academic essay worth 40%. The essay is due at 11.59 pm on Monday, November 16, 2020 (Monday of Week 8). The essay should not exceed 2,000 words. The essay questions are below and students are required to answer ONLY ONE question:

- Is the relationship between conflict and displacement endogenous?
- Are host countries passive actors in the displacement process? In other words, do they only accept people who came to their soils or do they affect displacement flows?
- Is forced migration used as a strategic tool only by the source governments to win a war?

**Research proposal:** Students must write a research proposal worth 60%. The proposal is due at 11:59 pm on Tuesday, January 5, 2021. The proposal should not exceed 3,000 words. In this assignment, students are expected to provide a critical literature review identifying a gap, provide a theoretical argument to fill the gap, and elaborate on how they can test their argument. Students can pick focus on any major theme from the course. Students are required to discuss their proposed topic with the lecturer as soon as possible and by the end of week 10 at the latest.

**Submission:** The essay and the research proposal must be submitted through the Assessments folder on Blackboard, which allows for direct submission through Turnitin.

**Academic integrity:** Please do not plagiarize, do not present someone else's work as if your own work, and properly cite the resources that you use in your assignments. Academic dishonesty is a serious matter with severe consequences and please take it seriously. For the University policies, please check pp. 47-49 the College Calendar, visit <https://libguides.tcd.ie/plagiarism> for general guidelines, and you can also check the Department undergraduate handbook.

**Late submissions:** For both assignments, all late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate or tutors note, will be penalized at a rate of five percent per day. It is critical to let the lecturer know as soon as possible if there will be an issue in submitting the paper on time as Department policy does not allow for extensions to be granted retrospectively after the deadline.

**Word count:** The word count in both assignments is inclusive of EVERYTHING in the document. One point will be subtracted from the overall grade for every 100 words over the specified word count.

**Citations:** In both assignments, you can use in-text or footnote citation style as long as it is consistent throughout the text. For details please see the Style Manual for Political Science, revised edition (2018). Also, at the end of the bibliography list, please indicate the percentage of female scholars cited. This will not be assessed but aims to raise awareness about the gender gap in citations and encourage you to read and cite more female scholars.

**Supplemental assessment:** Supplemental assessment is by assessment component. This requires students undertaking supplemental assessment to complete and be re-assessed on each component of the assessment that they are deemed to have failed.

## Disability Policy

Students who require any disability-related accommodations are encouraged to register with the Trinity Disability Service.

# SEMINAR SCHEDULE AND READINGS

There are, in general, three required readings each week. Those who want further exposure can check suggested readings. All readings are available on Blackboard. In addition, there are suggested movies, documentaries, and podcasts. While some of them are freely available, for others unfortunately subscription is required. Therefore, movies, documentaries, and podcasts will not be used in the assessment. They aim to give you a broader and more general understanding of the topics.

This module is a seminar, not a lecture. Therefore, it will be taught through class discussions. After a brief introduction by the lecturer about the general theme and concepts, the readings will be discussed. Please come prepared to the seminar. When reading the papers, please pay special attention to the gap in the literature the readings aim to fill, their main argument and how they test it, and their theoretical and methodological shortcomings. Amelia Hoover Green's post, *How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps*, offers useful insights on how to read articles. For general issues in methods, please check EGAP's *10 Things to Know About Reading a Regression Table*, *10 Things to Know About Causal Inference*, *10 Strategies for Figuring out if X Caused Y*.

## OUTLINE

**Week 1 - Introduction and Concepts**

**Week 2 - Causes of Forced Migration: Politics and Conflict**

**Week 3 - Causes of Forced Migration: Environment**

**Week 4 - Where do People Flee?**

**Week 5 - Strategic Forced Migration**

**Week 6 - Forced Migration and Conflict**

**Week 7 - Reading Week**

**Week 8 - Forced Migration and Economy**

**Week 9 - Forced Migration Governance**

**Week 10 - Attitudes towards Refugees**

**Week 11 - Return of Forced Migrants**

**Week 12 - Conclusion**

## Week 1 - Introduction and Concepts

### *Required Readings*

- 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Documentary: Human Flow by Ai Weiwei

## Week 2 - Causes of Forced Migration: Politics and Conflict

### *Required Readings*

- Weiner, M. (1996). Bad neighbors, bad neighborhoods: An inquiry into the causes of refugee flows. *International Security*, 21(1), 5-42.
- Schmeidl, S. (1997). Exploring the causes of forced migration: A pooled time-series analysis, 1971-1990. *Social Science Quarterly*, 284-308.
- Adhikari, P. (2013). Conflict-induced displacement, understanding the causes of flight. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), 82-89.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Bohra-Mishra, P., & Massey, D. S. (2011). Individual decisions to migrate during civil conflict. *Demography*, 48(2), 401-424.
- Czaika, M., & Kis-Katos, K. (2009). Civil conflict and displacement: Village-level determinants of forced migration in Aceh. *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(3), 399-418.
- Davenport, C., Moore, W., & Poe, S. (2003). Sometimes you just have to leave: Domestic threats and forced migration, 1964-1989. *International Interactions*, 29(1), 27-55.
- Holland, A. C., & Peters, M. E. (2020). Explaining migration timing: Political information and opportunities. *International Organization*, 74(3), 560-583.
- Melander, E., Öberg, M., & Hall, J. (2009). Are 'new wars' more atrocious? Battle severity, civilians killed and forced migration before and after the end of the Cold War. *European Journal of International Relations*, 15(3), 505-536.
- Moore, W. H., & Shellman, S. M. (2004). Fear of persecution: Forced migration, 1952-1995. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5), 723-745.

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Documentary: For Sama by Waad Al-Kateab and Edward Watts (available on Channel 4)
- Movie: First They Killed My Father by Angelina Jolie (available on Netflix)
- Movie: Timbuktu by Abderrahmane Sissako (available on Mubi)
- Movie: Hotel Rwanda by Terry George

## **Week 3 - Causes of Forced Migration: Environment**

### *Required Readings*

- Missirian, A., & Schlenker, W. (2017). Asylum applications respond to temperature fluctuations. *Science*, 358(6370), 1610-1614.
- Gray, C. L., & Mueller, V. (2012). Natural disasters and population mobility in Bangladesh. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 109(16), 6000-6005.
- Mach, K. J., Kraan, C. M., Adger, W. N., Buhaug, H., Burke, M., Fearon, J. D., Field, C.B., Hendrix, C.S., Maystadt, J.F., O'Loughlin, J. & Roessler, P. (2019). Climate as a risk factor for armed conflict. *Nature*, 571(7764), 193-197.
- Abel, G. J., Brottrager, M., Cuaresma, J. C., & Muttarak, R. (2019). Climate, conflict and forced migration. *Global Environmental Change*, 54, 239-249.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Hsiang, S. M., Burke, M., & Miguel, E. (2013). Quantifying the influence of climate on human conflict. *Science*, 341(6151).
- Kelley, C. P., Mohtadi, S., Cane, M. A., Seager, R., & Kushnir, Y. (2015). Climate change in the Fertile Crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(11), 3241-3246.
- Reuveny, R. (2007). Climate change-induced migration and violent conflict. *Political Geography*, 26(6), 656-673.

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Podcast: Climate Change Displacement is Happening Now by Displaced
- Podcast: How Global Warming Exacerbates Conflict by Displaced

## Week 4 - Where do People Flee?

### *Required Readings*

- Moore, W. H., & Shellman, S. M. (2007). Whither will they go? A global study of refugees' destinations, 1965–1995. *International Studies Quarterly*, 51(4), 811-834.
- Mossaad, N., Ferwerda, J., Lawrence, D., Weinstein, J., & Hainmueller, J. (2020). In search of opportunity and community: Internal migration of refugees in the United States. *Science Advances*, 6(32), eabb0295.
- Blair, C., Grossman, G., & Weinstein, J. M. (2020). Forced displacement and asylum policy in the developing world. Working Paper
- Steele, A. (2019). Civilian resettlement patterns in civil war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 28-41.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Hatton, T. J. (2020). Asylum migration to the developed world: Persecution, incentives, and policy. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(1), 75-93.
- Moore, W. H., & Shellman, S. M. (2006). Refugee or internally displaced person? To where should one flee?. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39(5), 599-622.
- Moorthy, S., & Brathwaite, R. (2019). Refugees and rivals: The international dynamics of refugee flows. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 36(2), 131-148.
- Neumayer, E. (2005). Bogus refugees? The determinants of asylum migration to Western Europe. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(3), 389-409.
- Neumayer, E. (2004). Asylum destination choice: what makes some West European countries more attractive than others?. *European Union Politics*, 5(2), 155-180.

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Documentary: Midnight Traveler by Hasan Fazili

## Week 5 - Strategic Forced Migration

### *Required Readings*

- Lichtenheld, A. G. (2020). Explaining population displacement strategies in civil wars: A cross-national analysis. *International Organization*, 74(2), 253-294.

- McNamee, L., & Zhang, A. (2019). Demographic engineering and international conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR. *International Organization*, 73(2), 291-327.
- Camarena, K. R. (2019). Location matters: The politics of refugee camp placement. *Working Paper*.

#### *Suggested Readings*

- Balcells, L., & Steele, A. (2016). Warfare, political identities, and displacement in Spain and Colombia. *Political Geography*, 51, 15-29.
- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2011). Sons of the soil, migrants, and civil war. *World Development*, 39(2), 199-211.
- McNamee, L. (2018). Mass resettlement and political violence: Evidence from Rwanda. *World Politics*, 70(4), 595-644.
- Steele, A. (2011). Electing displacement: political cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 423-445.
- Zhukov, Y. M. (2015). Population resettlement in war: Theory and evidence from Soviet archives. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(7), 1155-1185.

#### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Podcast: The Return of Syrian Refugees Has Begun. And it is Becoming a Tactic of War by UN Dispatch

## **Week 6 - Forced Migration and Conflict**

#### *Required Readings*

- Salehyan, I., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2006). Refugees and the spread of civil war. *International Organization*, 60(2), 335-366.
- Zhou, Y. Y., & Shaver, A. (2019). Reexamining the effect of refugees on civil conflict: A global subnational analysis. *Working Paper*
- Savun, B., & Gineste, C. (2019). From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 88-102.

#### *Suggested Readings*

- Bohnet, H., Cottier, F., & Hug, S. (2018). Conflict-induced IDPs and the spread of conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(4), 691-716.



- Böhmelt, T., Bove, V., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2019). Blame the victims? Refugees, state capacity, and non-state actor violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 73-87.
- Salehyan, I. (2008). The externalities of civil strife: Refugees as a source of international conflict. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(4), 787-801.

## Week 7 - Reading Week

## Week 8 - Forced Migration and Economy

### *Required Readings*

- Clemens, M. A., & Hunt, J. (2019). The labor market effects of refugee waves: reconciling conflicting results. *ILR Review*, 72(4), 818-857.
- Fallah, B., Krafft, C., & Wahba, J. (2019). The impact of refugees on employment and wages in Jordan. *Journal of Development Economics*, 139, 203-216.
- Taylor, J. E., Filipowski, M. J., Alloush, M., Gupta, A., Valdes, R. I. R., & Gonzalez-Estrada, E. (2016). Economic impact of refugees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(27), 7449-7453.
- Martén, L., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2019). Ethnic networks can foster the economic integration of refugees. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(33), 16280-16285.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Alix-Garcia, J., Walker, S., Bartlett, A., Onder, H., & Sanghi, A. (2018). Do refugee camps help or hurt hosts? The case of Kakuma, Kenya. *Journal of Development Economics*, 130, 66-83.
- Becker, S. O., & Ferrara, A. (2019). Consequences of forced migration: A survey of recent findings. *Labour Economics*, 59, 1-16.
- Ibáñez, A. M., & Vélez, C. E. (2008). Civil conflict and forced migration: The micro determinants and welfare losses of displacement in Colombia. *World Development*, 36(4), 659-676.

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Podcast: Starting from Scratch by Integrate That!
- Podcast: How Businesses Could Help Solve the Refugee Crisis by Center for Global Development

## Week 9 - Forced Migration Governance

### *Required Readings*

- Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Lawrence, D. (2016). When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees. *Science Advances*, 2(8), e1600432.
- Couttenier, M., Petrencu, V., Rohner, D., & Thoenig, M. (2019). The violent legacy of conflict: Evidence on asylum seekers, crime, and public policy in Switzerland. *American Economic Review*, 109(12), 4378-4425.
- Betts, A., Omata, N., & Sterck, O. (2020). The Kalobeyei Settlement: A self-reliance model for refugees?. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 33(1), 189-223.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Bansak, K., Ferwerda, J., Hainmueller, J., Dillon, A., Hangartner, D., Lawrence, D., & Weinstein, J. (2018). Improving refugee integration through data-driven algorithmic assignment. *Science*, 359(6373), 325-329.
- Betts, A. (2009). Institutional proliferation and the global refugee regime. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(1), 53-58.
- Marbach, M., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2018). The long-term impact of employment bans on the economic integration of refugees. *Science Advances*, 4(9), eaap9519.
- Bratsberg, B., Ferwerda, J., Finseraas, H., & Kotsadam, A. (2020). How settlement locations and local networks influence immigrant political integration. *American Journal of Political Science*. Forthcoming
- Mossaad, N., Ferwerda, J., Lawrence, D., Weinstein, J. M., & Hainmueller, J. (2018). Determinants of refugee naturalization in the United States. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(37), 9175-9180.

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- TV Series: Stateless by Tony Ayres, Cate Blanchett, Elise McCredie (available on Netflix)
- Podcast: Our Refugee System is Failing. Here's How We can Fix it by Alexander Betts
- Podcast: Refugee Resettlement: Using Data to Improve the System by Displaced (with J. Weinstein)

## Week 10 - Attitudes towards Refugees

### *Required Readings*

- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2016). How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science*, 354(6309), 217-222.
- Alrababa'h, A., Dillon, A., Williamson, S., Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., & Weinstein, J. (2019). Attitudes toward migrants in a highly impacted economy: evidence from the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan. *Comparative Political Studies*, First View
- Hangartner, D., Dinas, E., Marbach, M., Matakos, K., & Xefteris, D. (2019). Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2), 442-455.

### *Suggested Readings*

- Choi, D. D., Poertner, M., & Sambanis, N. (2019). Parochialism, social norms, and discrimination against immigrants. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(33), 16274-16279.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2013). Who gets a Swiss passport? A natural experiment in immigrant discrimination. *American Political Science Review*, 159-187.
- Lazarev, E., & Sharma, K. (2017). Brother or burden: An experiment on reducing prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 5(2), 201-219.
- Mousa, S. (2020). Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq. *Science*, 369(6505), 866-870.
- Steinmayr, A. (2020). Contact versus exposure: Refugee presence and voting for the far-right. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, Forthcoming

### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Podcast: First Impressions by Integrate That!
- Podcast: Where do You Think You're Going? by Integrate That!

## Week 11 - Return of Forced Migrants

### *Required Readings*

- İçduygu, A., & Nimer, M. (2020). The politics of return: exploring the future of Syrian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(3), 415-433.
- Stefansson, A. H. (2006). Homes in the making: property restitution, refugee return, and senses of belonging in a post-war Bosnian town. *International Migration*, 44(3), 115-139.
- Camarena, K. R., & Hägerdal, N. (2020). When do displaced persons return? Postwar migration among Christians in Mount Lebanon. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(2), 223-239.

#### *Suggested Readings*

- Fransen, S., Ruiz, I., & Vargas-Silva, C. (2017). Return migration and economic outcomes in the conflict context. *World Development*, 95, 196-210.
- Fransen, S., & Bilgili, Ö. (2018). Who reintegrates? The constituents of reintegration of displaced populations. *Population, Space and Place*, 24(6), e2140.
- Schwartz, S. (2019). Home, again: Refugee return and post-conflict violence in Burundi. *International Security*, 44(2), 110-145.

#### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Podcast: The Post-Conflict Politics of Migration and Refugee Return by International Security: Off the Page (with S. Schwartz)

## **Week 12 - Conclusion**

#### *Suggested Readings*

- Pearlman, W. R. (2017). We crossed a bridge and it trembled: Voices from Syria. Custom House.

#### *Suggested Documentaries/Movies/Podcasts*

- Movie: Capernaum by Nadine Labaki
- Podcast: The Path of Compassion by Awake at Night
- Podcast: Mental Health by Integrate That!
- Podcast: I am British Now, on Paper by Integrate That!
- Video: What They Took with Them by UNHCR