## Center for Migration and Refugee Studies 2019 Winter Short Course "European Border Externalization and the Transformation of Middle East and North African Host States"

Location: Hill House, Main Building, Tahrir Campus (room number to be confirmed)

Instructor: Dr. Kelsey Norman
Email: kpnorman@gmail.com

## **Course Description and Objectives**

Since the creation of Schengen in 1985, the European Union and individual member states have found ways to externalize their border control policies to other neighboring countries, including those of the Middle East and North Africa. This course examines the consequences of this externalization for MENA countries, and their transformation from countries of migrant transit to important migrant and refugee host states. The course includes four days of lecture, discussion and case studies, and one day of in-class presentations. Day 1 provides an analytical framework for approaching the course and the topic of migration in the Middle East specifically. Day 2 focuses on the process of EU border externalization over the last three decades, and Day 3 examines the consequences of EU border externalization for MENA host states between 2011 and 2015 in terms of domestic and regional politics, societal transformations, and the lives of individual migrants and refugees. Day 4 looks at the impact of Europe's attempts to manage migration in the wake of the 2015 European refugee 'crisis.' We will cover the EU-Turkey deal, the Valetta Summit on Migration, and the more recent deal with Libya, and will discuss how to conceptualize new attempts at migration management such as the Global Compact for Migration. Through academic literature, journalistic accounts, film clips, lectures, and case studies, students will gain an in-depth knowledge about the important transformation of Middle Eastern and North African 'transit' countries into key migrant and refugee host states, and will develop analytical tools for examining the impact migration has on societies, domestic politics, international relations, and local and regional economies.

## **Course Structure**

The course is approximately a thirty-hour training module over the course of five days. It includes lecturing, presentations, audio-visuals and case studies.

## **Course Requirements**

To ensure the comprehension of the basic concepts around EU border policies and their impact on MENA host states, the following are the course requirements upon which the participant will receive the course certificate. Participants are expected to do the required readings and to participate in class discussions. A number of additional readings are provided for each module, but these are not required to be completed during the duration of the course. Last, each participant will have to prepare a 10-15 minute presentation on a topic in relation to their professional experience and the topics covered in the course. Thursday will be dedicated to the final individual presentations.

# **Course Schedule and Readings**

## Day 1: Sunday January 20, 2019

## Key concepts and theories for studying international migration

**Morning focus questions:** How do different scholars approach the topic of international migration? What are different ways to research this phenomenon? How does migration complicate the concepts of citizenship and sovereignty? Why do states want to regulate migration?

**Afternoon focus questions:** What makes the Middle East unique in terms of state structures, cultures, histories and borders? How should this influence the way we look at migration in the region? What historical migrations in the Middle East are important for understanding modern movements?

Time	Session
09:30-10:30	Introduction of the course and of participants
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-13:00	Theories for studying migration and migration governance
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14:00-15:30	Migration and displacement in the Middle East
15:30-15:45	Coffee Break
15:45-16:30	Wrap-up and Discussion

## Required Reading

Introduction and Chapter 1 from: Chatty, Dawn. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### Further Reading

Abu-Sahlieh, Sami A. Aldeeb. 1996. "The Islamic Conception of Migration." *International Migration Review* 30 (1): 35–57.

Betts, Alexander. 2008. "North-South Cooperation in the Refugee Regime: The Role of Linkages." *Global Governance* 14 (2): 157–78.

Castles, Stephen, Mark J. Miller, and Hein de Haas. 2003. *The Age of Migration*. 3rd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rudolph, Christopher. 2003. "Security and the Political Economy of International Migration." *The American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 603–20.

De Haas, Hein. 2010. "The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (10): 1587–1617.

Messina, Anthony M., and Gallya Lahav. 2006. *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*. London, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Betts, Alexander. 2010. "Introduction: Global Migration Governance." In *Global Migration Governance*, 1–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meyers, Eytan. 2004. *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Ines Michalowski. 2016. "Why Do States Extend Rights to Immigrants? Institutional Settings and Historical Legacies Across 44 Countries Worldwide." *Comparative Political Studies*, 1–34.

Joppke, Christian. 1998. "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration." *World Politics* 50 (2): 266–93.

Castles, Stephen. 2004. "The Factors That Make and Unmake Migration Policies." *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 852–84.

## Day 2: Monday January 21, 2019

## Mixed migration & EU border externalization

**Focus questions:** What is 'Fortress Europe'? What measures has the EU taken to fortify and externalize its borders since the creation of the Schengen Area? What are the processes and agreements through which the EU attempts to influence countries of its periphery?

Time	Session
09:30-10:30	Creation of the Schengen Area
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-13:00	Methods of externalizing EU borders
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14:00-15:30	Case Study: Morocco and Turkey in comparison
15:30-15:45	Coffee Break
15:45-16:30	Wrap-up and Discussion

#### Required Reading

European Commission. 2014. "Global Approach to Migration and Mobility." European Commission: Migration and Home Affairs. <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/global-approach-to-migration">https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/international-affairs/global-approach-to-migration</a> en (explore the website)

Council of Europe. 2015. "Countries of Transit: Meeting New Migration and Asylum Challenges." Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Resolution 2073. <a href="http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5669613e4.pdf">http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5669613e4.pdf</a>.

Wolff, Sarah. 2014. "The Politics of Negotiating Readmission Agreements: Insights from Morocco and Turkey." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 16(1): 69–95.

#### Further Reading

Adepoju, Aderanti, Femke van Noorloos, and Annelies Zoomers. 2010. "Europe's Migration Agreements with Migrant-Sending Countries in the Global South: A Critical Review." *International Migration* 48 (3): 43–75.

Collyer, Michael. 2016. "Geopolitics as a Migration Governance Strategy: European Union Bilateral Relations with Southern Mediterranean Countries." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (4): 606–24.

Geddes, Andrew. 2005. "Europeanisation Goes South: The External Dimension of EU Migration and Asylum Policy." *Zeitschrift Für Staats- Und Europawissenschaften (ZSE) / Journal for Comparative Government and European Policy* 3 (2): 275–93.

Guiraudon, Virginie. 2000. "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-Making as Venue Shopping." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (2): 251–71.

Lavenex, Sandra, and Frank Schimmelfennig. 2009. "EU Rules Beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics." *Journal of European Public Policy* 16 (6): 791–812.

Lavenex, Sandra. 2007. "The External Face of Europeanization: Third Countries and International Organizations." In *The Europeanization of National Policies and Politics of Immigration: Between Autonomy and the European Union*, 246–64. London: New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wolff, Sarah. 2015. "Migration and Refugee Governance in the Mediterranean: Europe and International Organisations at a Crossroads." *IAI Working Papers*.

Geiger, Martin, and Antoine Pécoud. 2010. "The Politics of International Migration Management." In *The Politics of International Migration Management*, 1–21. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tokuzlu, Lami Bertan. 2010. "Burden-Sharing Games for Asylum Seekers Between Turkey and the European Union." *EUI Working Papers, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies*. http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/

## Day 3: Tuesday January 22, 2019

## The Impact of EU externalization for MENA states

**Focus Questions:** How have EU border and migration policies impacted countries in the Middle East and North Africa? What kind of policies do MENA states develop to manage new patterns of settlement? What are the consequences for individual migrants and refugees?

Time	Session
09:30-10:30	Non-policy as policy: state responses to new patterns of settlement
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-13:00	Life for migrants and refugees in 'transit' states
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14:00-15:30	Activity (TBD)
15:30-15:45	Coffee Break
15:45-16:30	Wrap-up and discussion

## Required Reading

Norman, Kelsey P. "Introduction," from *Reductant Reception: Understanding Host State Migration & Refugee Policy in Mediterranean 'Transit' Countries.* 

## Further Reading

Boubakri, Hassan. 2013. "Revolution and International Migration in Tunisia." *Migration Policy Centre (MPC) Research Report 2013/14*, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domen. http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/MPC-RR-2013-04.pdf.

Fargues, Philippe. 2009. "Work, Refuge, Transit: An Emerging Pattern of Irregular Immigration South and East of the Mediterranean." *International Migration Review* 43 (3): 544–77.

Grabska, Katarzyna. 2006. "Marginalization in Urban Spaces in the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19 (3): 287–307.

Kirisci, Kirişçi. 2003. "Turkey: A Transformation from Emigration to Immigration." *Migration Policy Institute*. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkey-transformation-emigration-immigration.

Mourad, Lama. 2017. "Standoffish' Policy-making: Inaction and Change in the Lebanese Response to the Syrian Displacement Crisis." *Middle East Law and Governance* 9 (3).

Natter, Katharina. 2018. "Rethinking Immigration Policy Theory beyond 'Western Liberal Democracies." *Comparative Migration Studies* 6 (1).

Norman, Kelsey P. 2016. "Between Europe and Africa: Morocco as a Country of Immigration." *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 7 (4): 421–39.

## Day 4: Wednesday January 23, 2019

## The 2015 'crisis' and Europe's response

**Morning Focus Questions:** When did the European refugee crisis begin, and what factors led to it? How is the European refugee crisis different from the Syrian refugee crisis? How has Europe responded to the refugee crisis? Could Europe have had a different response? What changed in terms of Europe's policies toward neighboring countries post-2015 and what has remained the same?

**Afternoon Focus Questions:** How have MENA host states used the European refugee crisis to renegotiate power structures through migration diplomacy?

Time	Session
09:30-10:30	The 2015 refugee 'crisis' and new means of EU burden-shifting
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-13:00	Renegotiating North-South power relations
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14:00-15:30	Avenues forward? The Global Compact and international cooperation
15:30-15:45	Coffee Break
15:45-16:30	Wrap-up and discussion

# Required Reading

Arar, Rawan, Lisel Hintz and Kelsey P. Norman. (2016). "The Real Refugee Crisis is in the Middle East, Not Europe." *The Monkey Cage Blog for The Washington Post* May 14, 2016. Available at: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/14/the-real-refugee-crisis-is-in-the-middle-east-not-europe/?utm">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/14/the-real-refugee-crisis-is-in-the-middle-east-not-europe/?utm</a> term=.67083b32f433

Arar, Rawan. 2017. "The New Grand Compromise: How Syrian Refugees Changed the Stakes in the Global Refugee Assistance Regime." *Middle East Law and Governance* 9 (3): 298–312.

Collett, Elizabeth, and Camille Le Coz. 2018. "After the Storm: Learning from the EU Response to the Migration Crisis." *Migration Policy Institute Europe*. file:///Applications/EUCrisisResponse\_FINALWEB.pdf (if you're pressed for time, just read the Executive Summary)

Global Compact for Migration. 2018. "Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration: Final Draft." https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180711 final draft 0.pdf

## Further Reading

Greenhill, Kelly M. 2016. "Open Arms Behind Barred Doors: Fear, Hypocrisy and Policy Schizophrenia in the European Migration Crisis." *European Law Journal* 22 (3): 317–332.

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

Kingsley, Patrick. 2017. *The New Odyssey: The Story of The Twenty-First Century Refugee Crisis*. London: Guardian Faber Publishing.

Lenner, Katharina, and Lewis Turner. 2018. "Learning from the Jordan Compact." *Forced Migration Review* 57: 48–51.

Day 5: Thursday January 24, 2019

## **In-Class Presentations**

Time	Session
09:30-10:30	Presentations
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break
11:00-13:00	Presentations
13:00-14:00	Lunch
14:00-15:30	Presentations
15:30-15:45	Coffee Break
15:45-16:30	Final wrap-up and discussion