

POLITICS OF MIGRANTS, REFUGEES, AND DIASPORAS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

University of Birmingham
Department of Political Science & International Studies
POLS 353

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OFFICE HOURS: Mondays, 4pm to 5pm & Tuesdays, 9am to 10am (and by appointment)
OFFICE LOCATION: 336 Muirhead Tower

COURSE AIMS & OBJECTIVES

This course offers students the opportunity to engage with a range of debates surrounding the politics of population mobility in a variety of manifestations prevalent across Middle Eastern states. It aims to understand and compare migratory movements in a cross-disciplinary context – historical, socio-economic, and political – while also incorporating topic-specific literatures from international relations, comparative politics, political economy, as well as migration and diaspora studies. The course examines the broader Middle East as a migration subsystem, and traces its development from the end of World War I until today. This approach analyses the origins, workings, and consequences of migration interdependence across sending, transit, and host states located in the Middle East and North Africa. It exposes students to methodologically-rigorous research of both qualitative and quantitative nature on a number of key issues: the determinants of labour emigration; national and transnational citizenship; the drivers of immigration policy; the interplay between migration and security, as well as between security and development; the impact of diaspora politics on the Arab Spring and the Eurozone crisis; policies of cooperation and coercion across the Mediterranean; and the ongoing Syrian refugee crisis.

TEACHING

Lecture: There will be one lecture per week for the entire class, on Tuesdays (11am-noon) at Gisbert Kapp N224. The lecture will present the themes listed below, outlining key concepts and arguments. Students are expected to attend all lectures.

Seminars: Seminars will take place on Tuesdays (3pm-4pm & 4pm-5pm) at Learning Centre UG06. Students are expected to attend all seminars, do the required readings, and be prepared to discuss each week's questions.

COURSE ASSESSMENT

- All students are required to produce two essays (3,000 words each), to be submitted on Friday, 15 December 2017 and Monday, 23 April 2018. The essays are worth 35% and 50% of the final grade, respectively. Essay topics will be distributed in Week 6. There will be a lecture dedicated to questions of writing an essay on Middle East migration politics, at the end of Term 1.
- All students are required to give a presentation (8-10 minutes long) at the last three weeks of Term 2. Students (alone or in pairs) will choose one country currently hosting Syrian refugees, and will be asked to track relevant news over the academic year and present their findings. Host countries will be allocated on the first seminar of Term 2 (Tuesday, 9 January 2017).

INTRODUCTORY READINGS & BOOK COMPANIONS

ON THE POLITICS OF CROSS-BORDER POPULATION MOBILITY

CASTLES, STEPHEN, MARK J. MILLER, and HEIN DE HAAS. (2014) *The Age of Migration*. 5th ed. New York, Guilford Press.

FIDDIAN-QASMIYEH, ELENA, GIL LOESCHER, KATY LONG, and NANDO SIGONA, Eds. (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GATRELL, PETER. (2013) *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HATTON, TIMOTHY J., and JEFFREY G. WILLIAMSON. (2005) *Global Migration and the World Economy: Two Centuries of Policy and Performance*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES F., and CAROLINE F. BRETTELL, Eds. (2015) *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. 3rd ed. New York, Routledge.

MESSINA, ANTHONY M., and GALLYA LAHAV. (2006) *The Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*. London, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

MOSES, JONATHON W. (2011) *Emigration and Political Development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

ROSENBLUM, MARC R., and DANIEL J. TICHENOR, Eds. (2012) *The Oxford Handbook of The Politics of International Migration*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

SOLIMANO, ANDRÉS. (2010) *International Migration in the Age of Crisis and Globalization: Historical and Recent Experiences*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

TALANI, LEILA SIMONA, and SIMON MCMAHON, Eds. (2015) *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Migration*. Northampton, MA, Edward Elgar Publishing.

WEINER, MYRON. (1985) On International Migration and International Relations. *Population and Development Review*: 441–455

ON THE POLITICS & POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MIDDLE EAST

CAMMETT, MELANI CLAIRE, ISHAC DIWAN, ALAN RICHARDS, and JOHN WATERBURY. (2015) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 4th Ed. Boulder: Westview Press.

GELVIN, JAMES L. (2015) *The Modern Middle East: A History*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA.

OWEN, ROGER, and SEVKET PAMUK. (1999) *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

ON MIGRATION, DIASPORA & REFUGEE POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ABULAFIA, DAVID. (2011) *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. London, Penguin Books Limited.

BALDWIN-EDWARDS, MARTIN. (2005) *Migration in the Middle East and the Mediterranean*. Athens: Panteion University.

- BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHATTY, DAWN. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- CHOUCRI, NAZLI. (1986) Migration in the Middle East: Transformation & Change. *Middle East Review* 19:16–27.
- EUBEN, ROXANNE L. (2008) *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- FARGUES, PHILIPPE. (2013) International Migration and the Nation State in Arab Countries. *Middle East Law and Governance* 5 (1–2): 5–35.
- IBRAHIM, SAAD EDDIN. (1982) *The New Arab Social Order: A Study of the Social Impact of Oil Wealth*. Boulder: Westview.
- MASSEY, D.S., J. ARANGO, G. HUGO, A. KOUAOUCI, and A. PELLEGRINO. (1999) *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- WINCKLER, ONN. (2009) *Arab Political Demography: Population Growth, Labor Migration and Natalist Policies*. 2nd ed. Brighton, Sussex Academic Press.
- Individual migration policy profiles and fact sheets for Middle East states available at the European University Institute's [website](#).

VISUAL WORK ON MIGRATION, DIASPORA & REFUGEE POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

- DIX, BENJAMIN (2015). *A Perilous Journey* (3-comic book trilogy, online).
- SATRAPI, MARJANE. (2008) *Persepolis I & II*. Random House.
- Evelyn*, Directed by Reut Vraneski, DVD (The Hebrew Reali School, 2010), 13 minutes.
- Exodus: Our Journey to Europe*, DVD (BBC, 2015), 3 60-minute episodes.
- Persepolis*, Directed by Marjane Satrapi and Vincent Paronnaud, DVD (Optimum Home Entertainment, 2008), 91 minutes.
- Sea Prayer*, Created by Khaled Hosseini (Online, 2015), 7 minutes.
- Sir Alfred of Charles de Gaulle Airport*, Directed by Hamid Rahmanian and Melissa Hibbard, DVD (Seattle: Arab Film Distribution, 2008), 29 minutes.
- They Were Promised The Sea*, Directed by Kathy Wazana, DVD (BiCom Productions, 2013), 74 minutes.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS | READINGS

Readings marked with (*) are mandatory. Please use the recommended readings to prepare for, and enhance, your seminar discussions.

TERM 1

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION – HOW TO STUDY MOBILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Discussion Questions

(Q1) How do social sciences approach the study of migration?

(Q2) Identify the historical background of contemporary migrations in the Middle East.

* CAMMETT, MELANI CLAIRE, ISHAC DIWAN, ALAN RICHARDS, and JOHN WATERBURY. (2015) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 4th ed. Boulder, Westview Press: 500-514.

* CASTLES, STEPHEN, MARK J. MILLER, and HEIN DE HAAS. (2014) Migration in Africa and the Middle East. In *The Age of Migration*. 5th ed. New York: Guilford Press: 172-197

BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-23.

CHATTY, DAWN. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-37.

DE HAAS, HEIN. (2007) North-African Migration Systems: Evolution, Transformations and Development Linkages. *International Migration Institute* 6: 5-6.

FARGUES, PHILIPPE. (2013) International Migration and the Nation State in Arab Countries. *Middle East Law and Governance* 5 (1-2): 5-35.

HALLIDAY, FRED. (1984) Labor Migration in the Arab World. *Middle East Research and Information Project Report* 123: 3-10.

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES F. (2012) Migration and International Relations. In *The Oxford Handbook of The Politics of International Migration*, edited by Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 345-382

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES F., and CAROLINE F. BRETTELL, Eds. (2015) *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge: 1-29.

SERAGELDIN, ISMAIL, JAMES A. SOCKNAT, J. S. BIRKS, BOB LI, and C. A. SINCLAIR, Eds. (1983) *Manpower and International Labor Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford: Published for the World Bank, Oxford University Press: Summary & Conclusion.

ZOLBERG, ARISTIDE R. (1989) The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World. *The International Migration Review* 23: 403-430.

WEEK 2: THE MIDDLE EAST AS A REGIONAL MIGRATION SUB-SYSTEM

Discussion Questions

(Q1) What do migration systems and subsystems consist of?

(Q2) What are the challenges in examining the Middle East as a migration subsystem?

* BAKEWELL, OLIVER. (2014) Relaunching Migration Systems. *Migration Studies* 2 (3): 300–318.

* DE HAAS, HEIN. (2011) Mediterranean Migration Futures: Patterns, Drivers and Scenarios. *Global Environmental Change* 21 (1): 59–69.

BALDWIN-EDWARDS, MARTIN. (2005) *Migration in the Middle East and the Mediterranean*. Athens: Panteion University.

BETTS, ALEXANDER. (2011) Introduction: Global Migration Governance. In *Global Migration Governance*, edited by Alexander Betts. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1-33.

BOUCHER, ANNA, and JUSTIN GEST. (2014) Migration Studies at a Crossroads: A Critique of Immigration Regime Typologies. *Migration Studies* 3 (2): 182-198.

CASTLES, STEPHEN, MARK J. MILLER, and HEIN DE HAAS. (2014) *The Age of Migration*. 5th ed. New York, Guilford Press: 25-54

DE HAAS, HEIN. (2010) The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (10): 1587–1617.

FAWCETT, JAMES T. (1989) Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems. *International Migration Review* 23 (3): 671–680.

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES F., and CAROLINE F. BRETTELL, Eds. (2015) *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. 3rd ed. New York, Routledge: 1-29 [Introduction].

KING, RUSELL. Ed. (2001) *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press: 1-21.

KRITZ, M.M., L.L. LIM, and H. ZLOTNIK, Eds. (1992) *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*. Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1-42.

MOSLEY, LAYNA, and DAVID A. SINGER. (2015) Migration, Labor, and the International Political Economy. *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 283–301.

NOGLE, JUNE MARIE. (1994) The Systems Approach to International Migration: An Application of Network Analysis Methods. *International Migration* 32 (2): 329–342.

WEEK 3: MIGRATION & NATION-BUILDING PROCESSES IN THE POST-WW1 ERA

Discussion Questions

(Q1) How is migration linked to nation-building processes in the Middle East?

(Q2) Can we link recent refugee flows in the region (Afghanistan; Iraq; Syria) to Zolberg's argument about the formation of new states?

* ROBSON, LAURA. (2017) *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. University of California Press: 1-34 [Introduction & Origins].

* ZOLBERG, ARISTIDE R. (1983) The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467: 24–38.

* *They Were Promised The Sea*, Directed by Kathy Wazana, DVD (BiCom Productions, 2013), 74 minutes.

BASHKIN, ORIT. (2017) *Impossible Exodus: Iraqi Jews in Israel*. California: Stanford University Press.

BEININ, JOEL. (2005) *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora*. Cairo, American University in Cairo Press: 1-30.

CHATTY, DAWN. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 134-179 [on ‘the Armenians and other Christians’]; 180-230 [on ‘Palestinian Dispossession and Exodus’]; 231-278 [on the ‘Kurds: Disposessed and Made Stateless’].

FROMKIN, DAVID. (1989) *A Peace to End All Peace*. New York: Henry Holt & Company: 493-568.

KOLLUOĞLU, BIRAY. (2013) Excesses of Nationalism: Greco-Turkish Population Exchange. *Nations and Nationalism* 19 (3): 532–550.

NASSAR, MAHA. (2017) *Brothers Apart: Palestinian Citizens of Israel and the Arab World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

PEARLMAN, WENDY. (2013) Emigration and Power - A Study of Sects in Lebanon, 1860–2010. *Politics & Society* 41: 103–133.

TRIADAFILOPOULOS, TRIADAFILOS. (1998) The 1923 Greek-Turkish Exchange of Populations and the Reformulation of Greek National Identity.

WEEK 4: CITIZENSHIP, NATIONAL NARRATIVES, AND MIDDLE EAST MOBILITY

Discussion Questions

(Q1) In your opinion, what particular definition of ‘citizenship’ would be most useful with regard to the Arab Gulf Monarchies?

(Q2) Do Jordan and Lebanon approach emigration in different ways through national narratives? Why?

* BRAND, LAURIE A. (2010) National Narratives and Migration: Discursive Strategies of Inclusion and Exclusion in Jordan and Lebanon. *International Migration Review* 44: 78–110.

* SATER, J. (2014) Citizenship and Migration in Arab Gulf Monarchies. *Citizenship Studies* 18: 292–302.

BANKO, LAUREN. (2016) *The Invention of Palestinian Citizenship, 1918-1947*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

BLOEMRAAD, IRENE, ANNA KORTEWEG, and GÖKÇE YURDAKUL. (2008) Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State. *Annu. Rev. Sociol* 34: 153–179.

BRAND, LAURIE A. (2014) *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

KAPISZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ. (2001) *Nationals and Expatriates: Population and Labour Dilemmas of the Gulf Cooperation Council States*. Reading: Ithaca Press.

- KHALILI, LALEH. (2007) *Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- PAROLIN, GIANLUCA PAOLO. (2009) *Citizenship in the Arab World: Kin, Religion and Nation-State*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- ROBINSON, SHIRA N. (2013) *Citizen Strangers: Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State*. Stanford University Press.
- SEEBERG, PETER, and ZAID EYADAT, Eds. (2013) *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- VORA, NEHA. (2013) *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2017) The Politics of "Exit": Emigration & Subject-Making Processes in Modern Egypt. *Journal of Middle East & North African Migration Studies* 4: 29–49.

WEEK 5: A LIBERAL PARADOX - EUROPEAN POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND THE MIGRATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

Discussion Questions

- (Q1) What is meant by 'development,' and what do win-win-win strategies involve?
- (Q2) How can the 'liberal paradox' or the 'migration-development nexus' help us understand the politics of Turkish migration to Western Europe?

- * MARTIN, PHILIP L. (1991) *The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe: With Special Reference to the Federal Republic of Germany*. International Labour Organization: 21-42
- * KAPUR, DEVESH, and JOHN MCHALE. (2003) Migration's New Payoff. *Foreign Policy*: 49–57.
- BICCHI, FEDERICA. (2007) *European Foreign Policy Making Toward the Mediterranean*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 43-62.
- BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 92-132.
- COLLYER, MICHAEL. (2004) *The Development Impact of International Labour Migration on Southern Mediterranean Sending Countries: Contrasting Examples of Morocco and Egypt*. Sussex, Sussex Centre for Migration Research: 4-54.
- COLLYER, MICHAEL, Ed. (2013) *Emigration Nations: Policies and Ideologies of Emigrant Engagement*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 175-195 ["Morocco"].
- CORNELIUS, WAYNE A., and MARC R. ROSENBLUM. (2005) Immigration and Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 99–119.
- DE HAAS, HEIN. (2005) *Morocco's Migration Transition: Trends, Determinants and Future Scenarios*. The Netherlands, Global Commission on International Migration: 1-46.
- GEDDES, A., and P. SCHOLTEN, Eds. (2016) *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. 2nd ed. London, SAGE Publications: 1-21.
- HOLLIFIELD, JAMES F. (2004) The Emerging Migration State. *International Migration Review* 38: 885–912.

JOPPKE, CHRISTIAN. (1999) *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 62-99.

ISKANDER, NATASHA. (2010) *Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press: 30-34 & 60-85.

MOSES, JONATHON W. (2011) *Emigration and Political Development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 117-144.

LINDLEY, ANNA. (2011) Remittances. In *Global Migration Governance*, edited by Alexander Betts. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 242-265.

TALANI, LEILA SIMONA. (2010) *From Egypt to Europe: Globalisation and Migration Across the Mediterranean*. London, Tauris Academic Studies: 64-89.

WATERBURY, JOHN. (1975) Chicken and Eggs: Egypt's Population Explosion Revisited. *American Universities Field Staff* 20 (1): 1-15.

WEEK 6: OIL-POLITICS AND MIGRATION I: ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING, MIGRATION, AND CITIZENSHIP IN POST-1973 EUROPE

Discussion Questions

(Q1) "We asked for workers. We got people instead," Max Frisch once stated. What does he mean, and how is the concept of 'security' useful in understanding this issue, if at all?

(Q2) What are the ways through which the securitisation of migration has taken place in the European context?

* HUYSMANS, JEF. (2000) The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (5): 751-777.

* TRIADAFILOPOULOS, TRIADAFILOS, and KAREN SCHÖNWÄLDER. (2006) How the Federal Republic Became an Immigration Country: Norms, Politics and the Failure of West Germany's Guest Worker System. *German Politics & Society* 24 (3): 1-19.

BICCHI, FEDERICA. (2007) *European Foreign Policy Making Toward the Mediterranean*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 63-111.

BRAND, LAURIE A. (2010) National Narratives and Migration: Discursive Strategies of Inclusion & Exclusion in Jordan & Lebanon. *International Migration Review* 44 (1): 78-110.

BRUBAKER, ROGERS. (2009) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

CHALCRAFT, JOHN. (2010) Monarchy, Migration and Hegemony in the Arabian Peninsula. *LSE Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States*.

ELLERMANN, ANTJE. (2009) *States Against Migrants: Deportation in Germany and the United States*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

GREEN, NANCY L, and FRANÇOIS WEIL. (2007) *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*. Chicago, University of Illinois Press: 176-194.

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES, PHILIP MARTIN, and PIA ORRENIUS, Eds. (2014) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

ISKANDER, NATASHA. (2010) *Creative State: Forty Years of Migration and Development Policy in Morocco and Mexico*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, pp. 86-117.

ØSTERGAARD-NIELSEN, EVA. (2003) *Transnational Politics: Turks and Kurds in Germany*. London, Routledge: 107-123.

RUHS, MARTIN. (2013) *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton, Princeton University Press: 13-52.

SOYSAL, YASEMIN NUHOGLU. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 1-44.

WEEK 7: OIL-POLITICS AND MIGRATION II:

LABOUR RECRUITMENT IN OIL-PRODUCING STATES OF THE ARAB WORLD

Discussion Questions

(Q1) Did oil-producing states of the Arab world approach immigration policy in a similar or different manner than Western European states? Why?

(Q2) To what extent does the citizen/non-citizen binary allow us to understand the domestic politics of Arab Gulf states?

* GARDNER, ANDREW M. (2011) Gulf Migration and the Family. *Journal of Arabian Studies* 1: 3–25.

* HALLIDAY, FRED. Labor Migration in the Middle East. *Middle East Research and Information Project Report*.

BALDWIN-EDWARDS, MARTIN. (2011) *Labour Immigration and Labour Markets in the GCC Countries: National Patterns and Trends*.

CAMMETT, MELANI CLAIRE, ISHAC DIWAN, ALAN RICHARDS, and JOHN WATERBURY. (2015) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 4th ed. Boulder, Westview Press: 484-514.

CHALCRAFT, JOHN. (2010) Monarchy, Migration and Hegemony in the Arabian Peninsula. *LSE Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalisation in the Gulf States*.

FARQUHAR, MICHAEL. (2017) *Circuits of Faith: Migration, Education and the Wahhabi Mission*. Stanford, Stanford University Press: 87-108.

FEILER, GIL. (2003) *Economic Relations Between Egypt and the Gulf Oil States, 1967-2000: Petro-Wealth and Patterns of Influence*. Brighton, Sussex Academic Press: 98-116.

IBRAHIM, SAAD EDDIN. (1982) *The New Arab Social Order: A Study of the Social Impact of Oil Wealth*. Boulder, Westview: 5-62.

KAPISZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ. (2001) *Nationals and Expatriates: Population and Labour Dilemmas of the Gulf Cooperation Council States*. Reading: Ithaca Press.

KHALAF, ABDULHADI, OMAR ALSHEHABI, and ADAM HANIEH. (2015) *Transit States: Labour, Migration and Citizenship in the Gulf*. Pluto Press.

SERAGELDIN, ISMAIL, JAMES A. SOCKNAT, J. S. BIRKS, BOB LI, and C. A. SINCLAIR, Eds. (1983) *Manpower and International Labor Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford: Published for the World Bank, Oxford University Press: 25-66.

WINCKLER, ONN. (2009) *Arab Political Demography: Population Growth, Labor Migration and Natalist Policies*. 2nd ed. Brighton, Sussex Academic Press: 128-172.

ZOHRY, AYMAN, and BARBARA HARRELL-BOND. (2003) *Contemporary Egyptian Migration: An Overview of Voluntary and Forced Migration*. Sussex, Development Research Centre: 5-72.

WEEK 8: AN ILLIBERAL PARADOX: EMIGRATION, DEMOCRATISATION, AND THE POLITICS OF EXIT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Discussion Questions

(Q1) Does Hirschman's 'exit' versus 'voice' framework allow us to understand emigration politics in the Middle East, and how?

(Q2) Discuss the key aspects of Tunisian and Moroccan emigration policies.

* BRAND, LAURIE A. (2002) *States and Their Expatriates: Explaining the Development of Tunisian and Moroccan Emigration-Related Institutions*. University of Southern California – San Diego Working Paper No. 52: 1-35.

* FARGUES, PHILIPPE. (2011) *Voice after Exit: Revolution and Migration in the Arab World*. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/voice-after-exit-revolution-and-migration-arab-world>.

ADDLETON, JONATHAN S. (1992) *Undermining the Centre: The Gulf Migration and Pakistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

AHMED, FAISAL Z. (2012) The Perils of Unearned Foreign Income: Aid, Remittances, and Government Survival. *American Political Science Review* 106: 146–165.

ALEMÁN, JOSÉ, and DWAYNE WOODS. (2014) No Way Out: Travel Restrictions and Authoritarian Regimes. *Migration and Development* 3: 285–305.

AYUBI, NAZIH N. M. (1983) The Egyptian "Brain Drain": A Multidimensional Problem. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15: 431–450.

HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT O. (1993) Exit, Voice, and the Fate of the German Democratic Republic: An Essay in Conceptual History. *World Politics* 45: 173–202.

MICHAELSEN, MARCUS. (2016) Exit and Voice in a Digital Age: Iran's Exiled Activists and the Authoritarian State. *Globalizations*: 1–17.

* MOSS, DANA M. (2016) Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of the Arab Spring. *Social Problems* 63: 480–498.

SHAIN, YOSHI. (2005) *The Frontier of Loyalty: Political Exiles in the Age of the Nation-State*. University of Michigan Press.

SERAGELDIN, ISMAIL, JAMES A. SOCKNAT, J. S. BIRKS, BOB LI, and C. A. SINCLAIR, Eds. (1983) *Manpower and International Labor Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*. Oxford: Published for the World Bank, Oxford University Press: 67-104.

TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2016) Nasser's Educators & Agitators across Al-Watan Al-'Arabi: Tracing the Foreign Policy Importance of Egyptian Regional Migration, 1952-1967. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43: 324-341.

WINCKLER, ONN. (2009) *Arab Political Demography: Population Growth, Labor Migration and Natalist Policies*. 2nd ed. Brighton, Sussex Academic Press: 222-232.

WRIGHT, JOSEPH GEORGE. (2010) *Exit During Crisis: How Openness, Migration, and Economic Crisis Affect Democratization*. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

BIRKS, J. S., and C. A. SINCLAIR. (1982) Employment and Development in Six Poor Arab States: Syria, Jordan, Sudan, South Yemen, Egypt, and North Yemen. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14: 35-51.

WEEK 9: THE RISE OF DIASPORAS AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST

Discussion Questions

(Q1) What are the defining characteristics of a 'diaspora' community?

(Q2) In the case of Palestine, does the concept of a 'diaspora' allow us to understand transnational politics better? Why, or why not?

* PETEET, JULIE. (2007) Problematizing a Palestinian Diaspora. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39.

* *Persepolis*, Directed by Marjane Satrapi and Vincent Paronnaud, DVD (Optimum Home Entertainment, 2008), 91 minutes.

ABRAMSON, YEHONATAN. (2017) Making a Homeland, Constructing a Diaspora: The Case of Taglit-Birthright Israel. *Political Geography* 58: 14-23.

ADAMSON, FIONA, and MADELEINE DEMETRIOU. (2007) Remapping the Boundaries of "State" and "National Identity": Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing. *European Journal of International Relations* 13: 489-526.

AYATA, BILGIN. (2011) Kurdish Transnational Politics and Turkey's Changing Kurdish Policy: The Journey of Kurdish Broadcasting from Europe to Turkey. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 19: 523-533.

BEININ, JOEL. (1992) Exile and Political Activism: The Egyptian-Jewish Communists in Paris, 1950-59. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 2.

BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

COLLYER, MICHAEL, Ed. (2013) *Emigration Nations: Policies and Ideologies of Emigrant Engagement*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 175-195 ["The Turkish Diaspora"].

GAMLEN, ALAN. (2011) Diasporas. In *Global Migration Governance*, edited by Alexander Betts. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 266-286.

KHATER, AKRAM FOUAD. (2001) *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

KOINOVA, MARIA. (2014) Why Do Conflict-Generated Diasporas Pursue Sovereignty-Based Claims Through State-Based or Transnational Channels? Armenian, Albanian and Palestinian Diasporas in the UK Compared. *European Journal of International Relations* 20: 1043–1071.

MEARSHEIMER, JOHN J., and STEPHEN M. WALT. (2008) *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*. London: Penguin.

SAFRAN, WILLIAM. (1991) Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora: A journal of transnational studies* 1: 83–99.

SHAIN, YOSSI, and AHARON BARTH. (2003) Diasporas and International Relations Theory. *International Organization* 57: 449–479.

VORA, NEHA. (2013) *Impossible Citizens: Dubai's Indian Diaspora*. Durham: Duke University Press.

WEEK 10: WORKSHOP ON RESEARCHING & WRITING ON MIGRATION POLITICS

Discussion Questions

No Discussion Questions this week – seminars to focus on essay-writing

TERM 2

WEEK 1: PROBLEMATISING THE STATE IN MIDDLE EAST MIGRATION POLITICS

Discussion Questions

(Q1) Identify the factors that have undermined the role of the state in managing cross-border mobility?

(Q2) Is the state still relevant in understanding Middle East migration politics, and why?

* BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 24-44.

* COLLYER, MICHAEL, Ed. (2013) *Emigration Nations: Policies and Ideologies of Emigrant Engagement*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 1-24 [“Locating and Narrating Emigration Nations”]

AYUBI, NAZIH N. M. (1995) *Over-Stating the Arab State: Politics and Society in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.

ALLAN, DIANA. (2013) *Refugees of the Revolution: Experiences of Palestinian Exile*. Stanford University Press.

BARTRAM, DAVID V. (1998) Foreign Workers in Israel: History and Theory. *International Migration Review* 32.

GAMLEN, ALAN. (2008) The Emigration State and the Modern Geopolitical Imagination. *Political Geography* 27: 840–856.

HASSOURI, PARASTOU. (2017) *Refugees or Migrants?* | *Middle East Research and Information Project*. MERIP. Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero091217>. (Accessed September 15, 2017).

MARINOVA, NADEJDA K. (2017) *Ask What You Can Do For Your (New) Country: How Host States Use Diasporas*. Oxford University Press.

MITCHELL, TIMOTHY. (1991) The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics. *The American Political Science Review* 85: 77–96.

WEEK 2: STATE-DIASPORA RELATIONS AND LONG-DISTANCE CITIZENSHIP

Discussion Questions

(Q1) Discuss the different ways states engage with their migrant and diaspora populations abroad.

(Q2) Does the concept of long-distance citizenship apply to the Middle East?

* ADAMSON, FIONA. (2016) The Growing Importance of Diaspora Politics. *Current History* 115: 291–297.

* MOSS, DANA M. (2016) Transnational Repression, Diaspora Mobilization, and the Case of the Arab Spring. *Social Problems*. OnlineFirst.

ADAMSON, FIONA. (2017) Sending States and the Making of Intra-Diasporic Politics: Turkey and Its Diasporas in Europe. *International Migration Review* (Forthcoming).

BRAND, LAURIE A. (2006) *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 92-132.

- KOINOVA, MARIA. (2011) Can Conflict-Generated Diasporas Be Moderate Actors During Episodes of Contested Sovereignty? Lebanese and Albanian Diasporas Compared. *Review of International Studies* 37: 437–462.
- KOLLUOĞLU, BIRAY. (2013) Excesses of Nationalism: Greco-Turkish Population Exchange. *Nations and Nationalism* 19 (3): 532–550.
- LEVITT, PEGGY. (1998) Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion. *International Migration Review* 32 (4): 926–948.
- MARINOVA, NADEJDA K. (2017) *Ask What You Can Do For Your (New) Country: How Host States Use Diasporas*. Oxford University Press: 222-235.
- PEARLMAN, WENDY. (2014) Competing for Lebanon’s Diaspora: Transnationalism and Domestic Struggles in a Weak State. *International Migration Review* 48: 34–75.
- TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2015) Why Do States Develop Multi-Tier Emigrant Policies? Evidence from Egypt. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41: 2192–2214.

**WEEK 3: NEW MIGRATION STATES:
LIBYA, TURKEY, AND THE RISE OF LINKAGE POLITICS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN**

Discussion Questions

- (Q1) Discuss how the Mediterranean migration subsystem has evolved in the post-1981 era.
(Q2) How does population mobility feature in linkage diplomacy across the Mediterranean?

- * DE HAAS, HEIN. (2007) *North-African Migration Systems: Evolution, Transformations and Development Linkages*. Oxford, International Migration Institute: 65-95.
- * TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2017) Migration Diplomacy in the Global South: Cooperation, Coercion & Issue-Linkage in Gaddafi’s Libya. *Third World Quarterly* 38: 2367–2385.

- AKGÜNDÜZ, AHMET. (2008) *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974: A Multidisciplinary Analysis*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- BICCHI, FEDERICA. (2007) *European Foreign Policy Making Toward the Mediterranean*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 111-180 [“The Partition of the Mediterranean”].
- CAMMETT, MELANI CLAIRE, ISHAC DIWAN, ALAN RICHARDS, and JOHN WATERBURY. (2015) *A Political Economy of the Middle East*. 4th ed. Boulder, Westview Press: 321-354.
- CASSARINO, JEAN-PIERRE. (2008) *Patterns of Circular Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Area: Implications for Policy-Making*. Florence: European University Institute.
- COLLINSON, SARAH. (1996) *Shore to Shore: The Politics of Migration in Euro-Maghreb Relations*. London, Brookings Institution Press: 68-97.
- DEMETRIOU, MADELEINE. (2003). Priming the Diaspora: Cyprus and the Overseas Greek Cypriots. In *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies and Transnational Relations*. Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan: 209-224.
- HAZAN, MYRIAM. (2014) Spain - The Uneasy Transition from Labor Exporter to Labor Importer and the New Emigration Challenge. In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford, Stanford University Press: 371-398.

- KAPISZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ. (2006) *Arab Versus Asian Migrant Workers in the GCC Countries*. Beirut, United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration: 1-21.
- PAPADEMETRIOU, DEMETRIOS G. (1985) Emigration and Return in the Mediterranean Littoral. *Comparative Politics* 18 (1): 21–39.
- SEEBERG, PETER. (2016) Jordan, the European Neighbourhood Policy, and Commonalities of Interest. In *The Limits and Potential of the European Neighbourhood Policy*, edited by Pernille Rieker. London, Palgrave Macmillan UK: 163-186.
- TALANI, LEILA SIMONA. (2010) *From Egypt to Europe: Globalisation and Migration across the Mediterranean*. London, Tauris Academic Studies: 45-63.
- VAN HEAR, NICHOLAS. (1998) *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. London, University College London Press: 80-93 & 111-126

WEEK 4: MIGRATION, DIASPORAS, AND THE ARAB SPRING

Discussion Questions

- (Q1) Identify the role of diasporas at times of economic and political crisis.
- (Q2) What is the extent of diasporic involvement in the events of the Arab Spring?

- * BRAND, LAURIE A. (2014) Arab Uprisings and the Changing Frontiers of Transnational Citizenship: Voting from Abroad in Political Transitions. *Political Geography* 41 (1): 54–63.
- * MESEGUER, COVADONGA, and KATRINA BURGESS. (2014) International Migration and Home Country Politics. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 49: 1–12.
- ADAMSON, FIONA B. (2017) Sending States and the Making of Intra-Diasporic Politics: Turkey and Its Diasporas in Europe. *International Migration Review*. Forthcoming.
- AHMADOV, ANAR K, and GWENDOLYN SASSE. (2016) A Voice Despite Exit: The Role of Assimilation, Emigrant Networks, and Destination in Emigrants' Transnational Political Engagement. *Comparative Political Studies* 49: 78–114.
- GABIAM, NELL, and ELENA FIDDIAN-QASMIYEH. (2017) Palestinians and the Arab Uprisings: Political Activism and Narratives of Home, Homeland, and Home-Camp. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43: 731–748.
- JENNIFER M. BRINKERHOFF, Ed. (2008) *Diasporas and Development: Exploring the Potential*. Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers: 1-28 & 113-132.
- KOSLOWSKI, REY, Ed. (2013) *International Migration and Globalization of Domestic Politics*. London and New York, Routledge: 5-32.
- NATTER, KATHARINA. (2015) Revolution and Political Transition in Tunisia: A Migration Game Changer? Washington, DC, *Migration Policy Institute*: 1-20.
- ØSTERGAARD-NIELSEN, EVA, Ed. (2003) *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies and Transnational Relations*. Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan: 3-32.
- SEEBERG, PETER. (2013) The Arab Uprisings and the EU's Migration Policies – The Cases of Egypt, Libya, and Syria. *Democracy and Security* 9 (1–2): 157–176.
- ROBSON, LAURA. (2017) *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. University of California Press: 141-168 [Diasporas & Homelands].

TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2015) Why Do States Develop Multi-Tier Emigrant Policies? Evidence from Egypt. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (13): 2192–2214.

WALDINGER, ROGER. (2012) Beyond Transnationalism: An Alternative Perspective on Immigrants' Homeland Connections. In *The Oxford Handbook of The Politics of International Migration*, edited by Mark R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 74-102.

MOSS, DANA M. (2016) Diaspora Mobilization for Western Military Intervention During the Arab Spring. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 14: 277–297.

WEEK 5: SYRIA, REFUGEES & NARRATIVES OF “MIGRATION CRISES”

Discussion Questions

(Q1) Discuss major forced migration flows across the Mediterranean before 2011.

(Q2) In what ways does the Syrian case differ from previous regional refugee movements?

* CHATTY, DAWN. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 231-278.

* HAMILTON, OMAR ROBERT. (2017). *Refugee Stasis – Hamilton*. Available at: <https://nplusonemag.com/online-only/online-only/refugee-stasis/>

ANDERSSON, R. (2014) *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*. Berkeley, University of California Press: 1-32.

CHIMNI, B.S. (2000) *International Refugee Law: A Reader*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications: 1-160.

DUVELL, FRANCK. (2011) Irregular Migration. In *Global Migration Governance*, edited by Alexander Betts. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 78-108.

FORCED MIGRATION REVIEW. (2014) The Syria Crisis, Displacement and Protection. Available at: <http://www.fmreview.org/syria.html?fref=gc&dti=729122637153505>. (Accessed September 15, 2017).

GELVIN, JAMES L. (2015) *The Arab Uprisings, What Everyone Needs to Know*. 2nd edition. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 100-118.

GIBNEY, M.J. (2004) *The Ethics and Politics of Asylum: Liberal Democracy and the Response to Refugees*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1-84.

GLASIUS, MARLIES. (2016) Extraterritorial Authoritarianism: Populations Abroad and the Long Arm of the State. *Globalizations*. Forthcoming.

HUMPHREY, MICHAEL. (1993) Migrants, Workers and Refugees. The Political Economy of Population Movements in the Middle East. *Middle East Report* 181: 2–7.

JANMYR, MAJA. (2016) Precarity in Exile: The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 35: 58–78.

LYNCH, MARC. (2016) *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East*. New York, PublicAffairs: 105-138.

SEALE, P. (1990) *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East*. Berkeley, University of California Press: 169-184.

SEEBERG, PETER, and ZAID EYADAT, Eds. (2013) *Migration, Security, and Citizenship in the Middle East*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 137-166.

TALANI, LEILA SIMONA. (2015) The Political Economy of Migration from the MENA Area Before and After the Arab Spring. In *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Migration*, edited by Simon McMahon and Leila Simona Talani. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing: 304-348.

TURNER, LEWIS. (2015) Explaining the (Non-) Encampment of Syrian Refugees: Security, Class and the Labour Market in Lebanon and Jordan. *Mediterranean Politics* 20: 386-404.

WEDEEN, LISA. (1999) *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press: 67-86.

WEINER, MYRON. (1995) *The Global Migration Crisis*. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers.

YAZGAN, PINAR, DENIZ EROGLU UTKU, and IBRAHIM SIRKECI. (2015) Syrian Crisis and Migration. *Migration Letters* 12 (3): 181-192.

WEEK 6: MIGRATION AND COERCION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Discussion Questions

(Q1) What forms of interstate coercion exist in Middle East migration management?

(Q2) How successful is the use of population mobility in states' coercive strategies? Why?

* COLLETT, ELIZABETH. (2016) *The Paradox of the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal*. Migration Policy Institute. Available at: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/paradox-eu-turkey-refugee-deal>.

* TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2017) Labor Migrants as Political Leverage - Migration Interdependence and Coercion in the Mediterranean. *International Studies Quarterly*. Forthcoming.

CHALCRAFT, JOHN. (2008) *The Invisible Cage: Syrian Migrant Workers in Lebanon*. Stanford, Stanford University Press: 1-23.

FAWAT, IBRAHIM. (1985) Libya: Economic Crisis, Political Expulsions. *AfricAsia* 22: 32-43.

GREENHILL, KELLY M. (2010) *Weapons of Mass Migration - Forced Displacement, Coercion, and Foreign Policy*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press: 12-74.

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.

HIRSCHMAN, ALBERT O. (1945) *National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press: 3-12.

KOINOVA, MARIA. (2016) Sustained vs. Episodic Mobilization Among Conflict-Generated Diasporas. *International Political Science Review* 37 (4): 500-516.

MARTIN, LISA L. (1993) *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions*. Princeton, Princeton University Press: 3-12.

MILLER, MICHAEL K, and MARGARET E PETERS. (2014) Migration Policy and Autocratic Power. Paper presented at the 2014 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

MIRILOVIC, NIKOLA. (2010) The Politics of Immigration, Dictatorship, Development and Defense. *Comparative Politics* 42 (3): 273-292.

- SHIN, ADRIAN J. (2017) Tyrants and Migrants - Authoritarian Immigration Policy. *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (1): 14–40.
- THIOLLET, HELENE. (2011) Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries. *International Labor and Working-Class History* 79: 103–121.
- TSOURAPAS, GERASIMOS. (2015) The Politics of Egyptian Migration to Libya. *Middle East Research and Information Project*. Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero031715>. (Accessed January 17, 2017).
- WEINER, MYRON, and SHARON STANTON RUSSELL, Eds. (2001) *Demography and National Security*. New York, Berghahn Books: 21-37.
- WINCKLER, ONN. (2009) *Arab Political Demography: Population Growth, Labor Migration and Natalist Policies*. 2nd ed. Brighton, Sussex Academic Press: 173-231.
- LAVY, VICTOR. (1984) The Economic Embargo of Egypt by Arab States: Myth and Reality. *Middle East Journal* 38: 419–432.

WEEK 7: MIGRATION & COOPERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Discussion Questions

- (Q1) What the factors that impede Middle East attempts at cooperation on migration flows?
 (Q2) Identify and elaborate upon successful examples of regional governance of migration.

- * COLLYER, MICHAEL. (2012) Migrants as Strategic Actors in the European Union’s Global Approach to Migration and Mobility. *Global Networks* 12: 505–524.
- * MELLINGER, HILLARY, and PATRICK VAN BERLO. (2016) *The Jordan Compact: Turning the Syrian Refugee Crisis into a Development Opportunity - Leiden Law Blog*.
- BICCHI, FEDERICA. (2007) *European Foreign Policy Making Toward the Mediterranean*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan: 63-110 [“Inventing the Mediterranean”].
- BELING, WILLARD A. (1960) *Pan-Arabism and Labor*. Cambridge: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University.
- BETTS, ALEXANDER. (2011) International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime. In *Refugees in International Relations*, edited by A. Betts. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 53-85.
- CASSARINO, JEAN-PIERRE. (2008) *Patterns of Circular Migration in the Euro-Mediterranean Area: Implications for Policy-Making*. Florence, European University Institute: 1-13.
- ELLERMANN, ANTJE. (2008) The Limits of Unilateral Migration Control: Deportation and Inter-State Cooperation. *Government and Opposition* 43 (2): 168–189.
- GEDDES, ANDREW (2012) Regions and Regionalism. In *The Oxford Handbook of The Politics of International Migration*, edited by Marc R. Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 573-593.
- HANSEN, RANDALL, JOBST KOEHLER, and JEANNETTE MONEY. (2011) *Migration, Nation States, and International Cooperation*. New York, Routledge: 87-99.
- HAFEZ, HEND, and AYMAN GHALY. (2012) *The Arab Spring and Migration in Egypt: One Year on: Impacts, Perceptions and Attitudes*. Florence, European University Institute: 1-21.

IPPOLITO, FRANCESCA, and SELINE TREVISANUT. (2015) *Migration in the Mediterranean, Mechanisms of International Cooperation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 43-67.

KAPISZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ. (2001) *Nationals and Expatriates: Population and Labour Dilemmas of the Gulf Cooperation Council States*. Reading, Ithaca Press: 193-200.

MARTIN, PHILIP, SUSAN MARTIN, and PATRICK WEIL. (2006) *Managing Migration, The Promise of Cooperation*. Oxford, Lexington Books: 123-148.

WEEK 8: THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE REGIME

Discussion Questions

No Discussion Questions – Student Presentations (1)

* ROBSON, LAURA. (2017) *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. University of California Press: 1-34 [The Refugee Regime].

* BETTS, ALEXANDER, and GIL LOESCHER. (2011) Refugees in International Relations. In *Refugees in International Relations*, edited by Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

WEEK 9: GUEST LECTURE – THE CHALLENGES OF SYRIAN REFUGEES’ INTEGRATION IN EUROPE

Discussion Questions

No Discussion Questions – Student Presentations (2)

WEEK 10: WRAPPING UP THE POLITICS OF MIGRANTS, REFUGEES, AND DIASPORAS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Discussion Questions

No Discussion Questions – Student Presentations (3)

CARLING, JORGEN, ELIN BERSTAD MORTENSEN, and JENNIFER WU. (2011) *A Systematic Bibliography on Return Migration*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.

CHATTY, DAWN. (2010) *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 279-304 [“Liminality and Belonging: Social Cohesion in Impermanent Landscapes”].

HOLLIFIELD, JAMES. (2015) The Politics of International Migration: How Can We “Bring the State Back In”? In *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, edited by James F. Hollifield and Caroline F. Brettell. New York: Routledge: 183-237.

MEARSHEIMER, JOHN J., and STEPHEN M. WALT. (2008) *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*. London, Penguin: [“Conclusion: What Can Be Done”].

ROBSON, LAURA. (2017) *States of Separation: Transfer, Partition, and the Making of the Modern Middle East*. University of California Press: 169-172 ["Epilogue"].

WEINER, MYRON, and SHARON STANTON RUSSELL, Eds. (2001) *Demography and National Security*. New York: Berghahn Books.

ZOLBERG, ARISTIDE R. (1989) The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World. *The International Migration Review* 23: 403-430.