

Instructor Information

Professor Jeffrey Pugh

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 11 am-12 noon, Wednesdays 1-2 p.m., or by appointment

Course Information

**Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
Spring 2019, Tuesdays, 6-8:30 p.m., Classroom: Nitze #507**

Credits: 4

Course Description: This course examines the sources of conflict and insecurity for migrants and their receiving countries in the Americas and surveys a variety of policy and programmatic responses that states and non-state actors have taken to increase peace and security. Migration can lead to political resistance and social conflict in both sending and receiving countries, and flows of illicit goods, drugs, and transnational criminal activity across borders remain a vexing challenge. Through a policy memo, public engagement project, and research paper, students analyze the complexities of integration, security, and coexistence in border spaces, tracing the connections among migration policy, transnational organized crime, and regional integration.

Course

Objectives: By fully participating in this course, you should:

1. Become fully conversant in concepts and theories related to migration, borders, and security, and develop an understanding of borders as complex sites in which geographies, political systems, and identity meet, overlap and are negotiated.
2. Be able to analyze conflicts and types of insecurity arising from migration and border issues, identify proximate and root causes for such conflict, and understand how they relate to individuals' freedom from foreseeable harm—including people on all sides of the political, geographic, and identity borders.
3. Have a detailed understanding of several empirical cases from the Americas, and be able to articulate the ways in which the flow of people across borders has contributed to (or in some cases undermined) the security of people and countries in the Hemisphere.
4. Demonstrate a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of migration and border security beyond the dominant political/partisan framings, analyzing costs and benefits of competing policy proposals, political incentives and interests, the gap between policy and implementation, between discourse and underlying interests, and the power with which identity, race, class, gender, and other hierarchies within society structure policies and dominant narratives about migration.

Required Text(s):

- Maiah Jaskoski, Arturo Sotomayor, and Harold Trinkunas, eds. *American Crossings: Border Politics in the Western Hemisphere* (JHU Press, 2015)
- Matthew Longo, *The Politics of Borders: Sovereignty, Security, and the Citizen after 9/11* (Cambridge Press, 2018)
- Reese Jones, *Violent Borders: Refugees and the Right to Move* (Verso Books, 2016)

Recommended book: Annette Idler, *Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime, and Governance at the Edges of Colombia's War* (Oxford University Press, 2019)

All other readings will be made available on the course Blackboard site, or links will be provided to online sources. Books are also available on reserve at the library. The course Blackboard site is used for posting readings, for posting class assignments, and updated versions of the syllabus, and you should monitor it regularly.

**Required
Assignments:**

- 1) Active participation in class discussions: Please be prepared to discuss in class the readings assigned for that meeting. **Each class member should prepare at least two 'discussion questions' for each class.** These may be questions, critiques, comments, etc. that are designed to stimulate discussion around the readings. Think about what you would like the rest of us to discuss and invite us to do so through your questions! These questions should be posted to the Blackboard forum prior to class (**no later than 12 noon on the day of class**, but earlier posting is welcome). You are also encouraged to respond to each other's questions on the Blackboard forum itself, extending class discussion beyond the classroom while your insights and thoughts are fresh. All class members are expected to be active participants in class discussions and activities. Class participation (including discussion question posts and active participation/engagement during class) is a significant part of your grade (25%).

As you do the readings for each week, you may want to think about some or all of the following:

- 1) What is the author's explanatory objective (or dependent variable)? (Pay special attention to how security is defined and operationalized.)
- 2) What is the author's argument (or independent variables)?
- 3) What is the logic connecting a) and b)?
- 4) What are the intellectual roots of the argument?
- 5) Does the author exhibit an implicit (or explicit) normative agenda? Or is the argument relatively objective in the explanatory social scientific sense?
- 6) Is the research design and methodology appropriate for the questions being asked?
- 7) What type of evidence, if any, is provided for the argument? What type of evidence would strengthen or weaken the argument?

You should also think about the readings collectively each week. Specifically,

- 8) Are all the authors trying to explain the same phenomenon?
- 9) Are they having a direct dialogue with one another? If not, how do you imagine that they might react to one another's arguments (in a conference or symposium)?
- 10) What is the intellectual contribution of the week's literature to our understanding of security, borders, and migration?
- 11) What is the value of this research agenda?¹

2. Op ed/Public engagement writing assignment: Write a short article (600-1000 words) on a topic related to migration, borders, and security in the Americas. It should be a persuasive/advocacy article in the style of an op ed or a blog post, intended for a

¹ Thanks to Kellee Tsai, the creator of this helpful set of prompts.

broad audience. You should include at least five references to external sources (of which at least three should be scholarly works), which is generally done in this type of piece by linking to the online version of that source (op eds do not generally use footnotes or works cited). This assignment is due in Week 6 (March 12). You are encouraged to submit it to a newspaper, blog, or other publication to try to get it published. This assignment is worth 15% of your overall grade.

2. Policy memo and briefing: Each student will prepare a policy memo (2-3 pp single spaced with subheadings) in which you will present 3 alternative policy responses to a problem related to the topic of your assigned 'subcommittee', addressed to a specific policymaker or decisionmaker. You will provide a brief background with the roots of the problem, lay out the three alternatives, make a clear recommendation, and justify/support your recommendation with supporting evidence. These should be concrete, supported by facts and references, with footnotes providing references for specific information cited in the memo. We will have an in-class simulated Congressional 'committee hearing' in week 9 (4/2) in which subcommittees of students working on related issues will provide 5-minute briefings that summarize their policy memo and recommendation, provided by brief periods of Q&A. Your Policy Memo is worth 20% of your grade, and your oral briefing is worth 5%.
5. Final research paper (15-20 pp. double spaced) in which you advance a central argument related to migration, borders, and security/conflict, and test your claims with empirical evidence (either a single case or comparative case study, or quantitative evidence) from Latin America and the Caribbean. You will need to select a compelling research question that is manageable for this length of a paper. Please attribute all sources properly and write the paper using Chicago style (parenthetical citation with a works cited page, and footnotes for any non-reference notations). The topic, research question, and empirical focus must be submitted and approved by the instructor no later than **week 6**. The final paper is due by e-mail before the beginning of class on the last class day (4/30). This assignment is worth 35% of your final grade.

Course Rubric:

Assignment/Deliverable	Grade %
Public engagement/op-ed assignment	15%
Policy Memo and Briefing	25%
Final Research Paper	35%
Participation (as defined above and below)	25%

Course

Policies:

Participation -

Participation includes completing all required reading and writing assignments prior to class, thoughtfully participating in discussions, and taking responsibility for helping create a positive learning environment by arriving promptly, listening respectfully, and participating constructively.

- ❖ Attendance is expected in all class meetings. If for some reason you cannot attend a class, prior notice to the instructor is expected.
- ❖ Group Work – Consultation with classmates is encouraged, but all written work must be individual unless otherwise noted.

- ❖ Late Work – Late submissions are accepted only with permission from the instructor, and will generally have half a letter grade deducted per 24-hour period or portion thereof after the specified due date and time (the beginning of class on the date indicated).

Grading

Grading: Grade type for the course is a whole or partial letter grade. (Please see table below)
 Note: the lowest passing grade for a graduate student is a “C”. Grades lower than a “C” that are submitted by faculty will automatically be recorded as an “F”.
 Please see the Graduate Catalog for more detailed information on the University’s grading policy.

Grading Policy			
	Letter Grade	Percentage	Quality Points
	A	93-100%	4.00
	A-	90-92%	3.75
	B+	87-89%	3.25
	B	83-86%	3.00
	B-	80-82%	2.75
	C+	77-79%	2.25
	C	73-76%	2.00
	F	0-72%	0.0
	INC	A grade of Incomplete (INC) is not automatically awarded when a student fails to complete a course. Incompletes are given at the discretion of the instructor. They are awarded when satisfactory work has been accomplished in the majority of the course work, but the student is unable to complete course requirements as a result of circumstances beyond his/her control. The student must negotiate with and receive the approval of the course instructor in order to receive a grade of incomplete	N/A
	IF	Received for failure to comply with contracted completion terms.	N/A
	W	Received if withdrawal occurs before the withdrawal deadline.	N/A
	AU	Audit (only permitted on space-available basis)	N/A
	NA	Not Attending (student appeared on roster, but never attended class. Student is still responsible for tuition and fee charges unless withdrawal form is submitted before deadline. NA has no effect on cumulative GPA.)	N/A

Course Schedule

Class Sessions and Readings

1. Global/Regional trends and drivers of migration, basic concepts – Tuesday, January 29

- a. IOM Global trends report
 - b. Jie Zong, Jeanne Batalova, and Jeffrey Hallock, "Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States," *Migration Information Source* February 8, 2018: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states>
 - c. "Key Immigration Laws and Policy Developments Since 1986," Migration Policy Institute Fact Sheet (March 2013): <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/timeline-1986>
 - d. "U.S. Unauthorized Immigrant Total Dips to Lowest Level in a Decade," *Pew Research Center* (November 27, 2018): <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2018/11/27/u-s-unauthorized-immigrant-total-dips-to-lowest-level-in-a-decade/>
- 2. Borders: Contested spaces – 2/5/2019**
- a. Jaskoski, Trinkunas et al book ch. 1 & 2, 1-37)
 - b. Matthew Longo book (Intro & ch. 1, 1-45)
 - c. Margaret Wilder et al, "The Border Wall and Beyond: Political and Environmental Perspectives," *Journal of Latin American Geography Perspectives Forum* (June 2018): <https://clagscholar.org/jlag-perspectives-forum-the-border-wall-and-beyond-political-and-environmental-perspectives/>
 - d. Peter Andreas, "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-First Century." *International Security* (2003).
 - e. Recommended: Johnson et al, "Interventions on rethinking 'the border' in border studies," *Political Geography* (2011).
- 3. National security vs. Human security in border regions – 2/12/2019**
- a. Wibben, Annick T. R. 2016. "The Promise and Dangers of Human Security." In *Ethical Security Studies: A New Research Agenda*, edited by Jonna Nyman and Anthony Burke, 114–27. Oxon: Routledge
 - b. Francisco Rojas Aravena, "Human security: emerging concept of security in the twenty-first century." *Disarmament Forum* 2 (2002)
 - c. Reese Jones, *Violent Borders: Refugees and the Right to Move* (introduction, ch. 1)
 - d. Huysmans, Jef and Squire, Vicki (2009). Migration and Security. In: Dunn Cavelti, Myriam and Mauer, Victor eds. *Handbook of Security Studies*. London, UK: Routledge.
- 4. Case study: Securitization of the U.S.-Mexico border – 2/26/2019**
- a. d'Appollonia, Ariane Chebel. 2012. *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press). pp. 1-18, 77-110. (recommended: ch. 4)
 - b. Adam Isaacson (Jaskoski et al book, ch. 7, 130-152)
 - c. Reese Jones, *Violent Borders* (ch. 2)
 - d. Matthew Longo book ch. 2 (49-75)
- 5. Distinguishing violent actors, humanitarian refugees, and other migrants – 3/5/2019**
- a. Sarah Kenyon Lischer, *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), ch. 1-2: 1-43
 - b. Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "The Global Refugee Crisis: Regional Destabilization & Humanitarian Protection," *Daedalus* (2017)
 - c. Savun & Gineste, "From protection to persecution: Threat environment and refugee scapegoating," *Journal of Peace Research* (2018): 1-15.

- d. Meseguer, Covadonga and Achim Kemmerling, 2018. "What Do You Fear? Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in Latin America." *International Migration Review* 52(1): 236-272.
- e. Recommended: Fiona Adamson. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 165-199.
- 6. Immigration Integration, advocacy, and political participation in host states – 3/12/2019**
 - a. Jennifer Hochschild, "Moving Up and In: Two Dimensions of Immigrant Political Incorporation," ch. 17 in *Outsiders No More?: Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by Jennifer Hochschild, Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, Claudine Gay, and Michael Jones-Correa (Oxford University Press, 2013).
 - b. Pugh, Jeffrey D. 2018. "Negotiating Identity and Belonging through the Invisibility Bargain: Colombian Forced Migrants in Ecuador," *International Migration Review* (December).
 - c. Pugh, "Political invisibility and migrants' networked governance strategies in Ecuador," Ch. 6 in *The Invisibility Bargain: Governance Networks and Migrant Human Security in Ecuador*
 - d. Silber Mohamed, Heather. 2017. *The New Americans? Immigration, Protest, and the Politics of Latino Identity*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. Ch. 1.
 - e. Recommended: Caitlin E. Fouratt, "Those Who come to Do Harm: The Framings of Immigration Problems in Costa Rican Immigration Law," *International Migration Review* 144 (2014).
 - f. Recommended: Menjívar, Cecilia (2000) *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Ch. 1.
- 7. SPRING BREAK – 3/19/2019**
- 8. Immigration, race, and nation: structuring belonging and identity – 3/26/2019**
 - a. Foote and Goebel, eds. *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America* (University of Florida Press, 2014), intro, ch. 7, ch. 8
 - b. Greer, Christina. 2013. *Black Ethnics: Race, Immigration, and the Pursuit of the American Dream*. Introduction and Ch. 1
 - c. Maria Amelia Viteri, "Translating Sexual and Racial Borders," ch. 1 in *Desbordes: Translating Racial, Ethnic, Sexual, and Gender Identities across the Americas* (SUNY Press 2015).
 - d. Recommended: Megan Ryburn, *Uncertain Citizenship: Everyday Practices of Bolivian Migrants in Chile*. Introduction, ch. 3 (University of California Press, 2018).
 - e. Recommended: Nancy Foner, "Race in an era of mass migration: black migrants in Europe and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2017).
- 9. Case Study: Haiti-DR – 4/2/2019**
 - a. Rachel Nolan, "Displaced in the D.R: A Country Strips 210,000 of Citizenship," *Harper's Weekly* (May 2015): 38-47.
 - b. Lamb and Dundes, "Not Haitian: Exploring the Roots of Dominican Identity," *Social Science* (2017).
 - c. Roman and Sagas, "Birthright Citizenship Under Attack: How Dominican Nationality Laws May be the Future of U.S. Exclusion," *American University Law Review* (2017)
 - d. Jacob Kushner. 2012. "Haitians Face Persecution across Dominican Border." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 45(2): 50-58.
- 10. Structural violence, migration, and borders – 4/9/2019**
 - a. Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions*, Introduction & ch. 1

- b. Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer A. Roundtree. "The Hidden Structure of Violence." Chap. 3 in *Who Benefits from Global Violence and War: Uncovering a Destructive System*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2015.
 - c. Chico Harlan. "Inside the Administration's \$1 Billion Deal to Detain Central American Asylum Seekers." *Washington Post*. August 14, 2016.
 - d. Denise Gilman & Luis Romero, "Immigration, Inc.," *Journal on Migration and Human Security* (2018)
 - e. Recommended: Reese Jones, *Violent Borders* (ch. 4)
- 11. Violent non-state actors and governance in border regions – 4/16/2019**
- a. Annette Idler, *Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime, and Governance at the Edges of Colombia's War*, ch. 1, ch. 3, and ch. 7 (Oxford University Press, 2019)
 - b. Cécile Mouly, Annette Idler, Belén Garrido. 2015. "Zones of Peace in Colombia's Borderland," *International Journal of Peace Studies* 20(1)
 - c. Anna Arjona, *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War*, introduction, ch. 3
- 12. Illicit goods, transnational organized crime and deterrence – 4/23/2019**
- a. Richard Snyder and Angelica Duran-Martinez, "Does illegality breed violence? Drug trafficking and state-sponsored protection rackets" *Crime, Law, Soc Change* (2009).
 - b. Andrew Selee, Cynthia J. Arnson, and Eric L. Olson, *Crime and Violence in Mexico and Central America: An Evolving but Incomplete U.S. Policy Response*. 2013. (Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute) <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/crime-and-violence-mexico-and-central-america-evolving-incomplete-us-policy-response>
 - c. Peter Andreas, (Jaskoski et al book, ch. 8)
 - d. Jonathan T. Hiskey, Abby Córdova, Mary Fran Malone, Diana M. Orcés. 2018. "Leaving the Devil You Know: Crime Victimization, US Deterrence Policy, and the Emigration Decision in Central America," *Latin American Research Review* 53(3), 429–447.
- 13. Linked fates: Civil war, migration, and transnational gangs (MS-13 in El Salvador) – 4/30/2019**
- a. Héctor Silva Ávalos, "MS-13 Members Imprisoned in El Salvador Can Direct the Gang in the US'," *InsightCrime* (December 5, 2016). <https://www.insightcrime.org/investigations/ms13-members-imprisoned-in-el-salvador-can-direct-the-gang-in-the-us/>
 - b. Sonja Wolf (2012). Mara Salvatrucha: The most dangerous street gang in the Americas? *Latin American Politics and Society*, 54(1), 65-99.
 - c. Ami Carpenter, "Gang Conflict and Drug Trafficking: Challenges and Opportunities for Conflict Resolution in Mexico and Central America," ch. 2 in Kirsten Howarth & Jenny Peterson, eds. *Linking Political Violence and Crime in Latin America* (Lexington Books, 2016)
 - d. [skim, especially major findings/intro, case studies, and policy recommendations]: Steven Dudley, *MS-13 in the Americas: How the World's Most Notorious Gang Defies Logic, Resists Destruction*. CLALS/InSight Crime, American University Report. 2018. <https://www.insightcrime.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/MS13-in-the-Americas-InSight-Crime-English-3.pdf>
 - e. Recommended: Ana Arana, (2005). How the street gangs took Central America. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(3), 98-110.

- f. Recommended: Tiffany Virgin, 2017. "Parallel Citizenship: Southern Californian Latino Gangs and their Concept of Citizenship." *Middle Atlantic Review of Latin American Studies*, 1(1), pp.97–116.

Additional Resources for Exploration

Journals—the following scholarly journals often publish research on borders, migration, and security in the Americas: *International Migration Review*, *Forced Migration Review*, *Journal of Migration & Human Security*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics & Society*, *Security Dialogue*, *Journal of Borderland Studies*, *International Political Sociology*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*

Methods of Instruction

This course is structured primarily as an interactive seminar, with a primary focus on in-depth discussion, complemented by occasional lectures and practical exercises and simulations. Attendance is expected in all classes. If you need for some reason to miss a class, please inform me in advance. Please come to class prepared by having read the listed readings for that class from the syllabus.

Accommodations

SAIS collaborates with students, faculty and staff to provide accessible, equitable and inclusive learning environments that promote academic success for all. Students with documented disabilities who require an academic adjustment or other accommodation should submit the Student Request form and supporting documentation to the Director of Student Life at least three weeks before the accommodations are needed; late requests are also considered. For more information, visit the Disabilities Services section of the SAIS Web site.

Academic Integrity and Honor Code

Enrollment at SAIS obligates each student to conduct all activities in accordance with the rules and spirit of the school's Honor Code. The Honor Code governs student conduct at SAIS. It covers all activities in which students present information as their own, including written papers, examinations, oral presentations and materials submitted to potential employers or other educational institutions. It requires that students be truthful and exercise integrity and honesty in their dealings with others, both inside SAIS and in the larger community. While the Honor code goes well beyond plagiarism, it is important that each student understand what is and is not plagiarism. Plagiarism will definitely result in failure of the paper or exam and may result in failing the course depending on the judgment of the professor.