



*SPL 580: Rethinking Social Policy and Citizenship
in the Age of (Unexpected) International Migration*



Instructor: Volkan Yılmaz
Fall 2016, Th. 14:00-17:00
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Photo: Syrian migrants' march to Europe via

International migration crisis following the ongoing armed conflict in Syria once again reminded us the limits of imagining the world as a constellation of complete and closed societies residing within national borders. International community is expected to deliver humanitarian assistance to meet the urgent needs of international migrants and grant asylum status to the migrants. While increasing border controls, additional restrictions introduced on granting refugee status, residency as well as citizenship, the relatively well-off international community opted for outsourcing the problem to countries like Turkey and increasing funding for humanitarian assistance operations in these countries. After five years of international migration crisis following the ongoing conflict in Syria, it is timely to ask following questions: How and to what extent could humanitarian assistance operations contribute to durable solutions? What are the limits of humanitarian assistance in fostering solidarity among strangers living on the same territory? How, to what extent and under what conditions could migrants be legal subjects? How is it politically, financially and institutionally possible to integrate migrants into the institutionalised modes of solidarity/welfare systems of individual countries? Is cosmopolitan social citizenship desirable and/or possible? In the light of these open-ended questions, this course is an invitation to rethink 1) the contributions as well as the limits of humanitarian assistance operations in securing social rights and economic integration of migrants into their new countries, 2) the link between social policy and citizenship that we inherited from the classical welfare states established in the aftermath of the Second World War. While the course is a master's level social policy course, it also draws upon migration studies, humanitarian studies and refugee studies, as the current challenges we face in the age of

increasing international migration necessitate building a constructive dialogue among these perspectives.

Organization of classes

I will lecture around 40-50 minutes in the beginning of the class to set the scene. After Q & A session following the lecture, we will give a short break. After the break, we will have a discussion session where each student is expected to contribute. Discussions will be based upon questions that you will come up with after engaging with assigned readings.

Requirements

I expect you to **read each week's assignments** before the class and to engage each week's readings in written form prior to classes. I call these written engagements with the assigned readings "**memos**". Memos should be written on at least **one of the assigned readings** of each week. In these memos, I expect you to summarize the main argument of one of the assigned readings, write what you find most thought-provoking (including criticisms and/or appraisals) in the reading and come up with a couple of discussion questions that you would like to discuss in the class. Average length of these memos should be around 500 words only (around one A4 page with single-space). Longer memos are not better memos. I expect you to send them to me by email until each Tuesday night (12:00 at the latest). On Wednesdays, I will compile them into one document, write some additional comments on them and send to all participants of the class. I expect you to go over this document before coming to class. Fulfilling these two requirements on time are key to ensure the quality of discussions among us. Late memos are not accepted, as it will not be useful in facilitating class discussion anymore. Even if you will not be attending one particular class for some reason, you are still expected to hand in a memo on time. Failing to hand in memos will affect your grade. I will read these memos, but will not grade them for "quality". Memos will constitute 40 per cent of your final grade (5 points for each*8 memos in total). No memos are due in weeks when we have visiting lecturers and a film screening.

Class participation (not attendance, but participation to discussions) will constitute 15 per cent of your final grade.

Term paper will constitute 45 per cent of your final grade. All students are expected to write a term paper related to the topics covered in this course. My strong preference is for papers to be on a contemporary issue of relevance (i.e. changes in the asylum system, changes in the legal status of Syrians, media coverage of Syrians under temporary protection, Syrian children in work, relationship between Turkey and humanitarian aid NGOs, the citizenship debate etc.). I want you to engage with theoretical issues and link them to concrete empirical evidence. All students should prepare a 2-3 page statement about the topic of their paper with a list of empirical sources that they will cover and a bibliography by December 8. Papers are due January 7. Average expected length of papers will be 5000 words.

22 September

Lecture theme: Introduction: Defining the challenge-History, scope and implications

29 September

Lecture theme: Revisiting the theoretical foundations of social citizenship and exploring its limits

Marshall, Thomas H. "Citizenship and social class." In Leibfried, Stephan, and Steffen Mau. (eds.) *Welfare states: Construction, deconstruction, reconstruction*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2008. (89-137)

Benhabib, Seyla. *The rights of others: aliens, residents, and citizens*. Cambridge University Press, 2004 (71-128).

6 October

Lecture theme: What law and to whom? International migrants in between myriad of legal status and irregularity

Zetter, Roger. "More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 172-192.

Malkki, Liisa H. "Refugees and exile: From "refugee studies" to the national order of things." *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1995): 495-523.

Black, Richard. "Breaking the convention: Researching the "illegal" migration of refugees to Europe." *Antipode* 35.1 (2003): 34-54.

13 October

Lecture theme (Visiting lecturer-TBA): Introduction to the asylum context in Turkey by Refugee Rights Turkey @ İbrahim Bodur Oditorium (Lecture will be delivered in Turkish)

Refugee Rights Turkey. *Asylum Information Database: Turkey Country Report*. European Council on Refugees and Exiles (2015): 7-24.

20 October-No class

27 October

Lecture theme: Exploring the global humanitarian assistance scene with a special focus on UNHCR

Betts, Alexander, Gil Loescher, and James Milner. "UNHCR as a global institution" In. *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection into the 21st Century*. Routledge, 2008. (73-97)

Ferris, Elizabeth G. "Paying for protection: Humanitarian financing", in *The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action*. Brookings Institution Press, 2011. (228-244)

Natsios, Andrew S. "NGOs and the UN system in complex humanitarian emergencies: conflict or cooperation?." *Third World Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1995): 405-420.

3 November

Lecture theme: Refugee camps or permission to live in the cities?

De Montclos, Marc-Antoine Perouse, and Peter Mwangi Kagwanja. "Refugee camps or cities? The socio-economic dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma camps in Northern Kenya." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13.2 (2000): 205-222.

Jacobsen, Karen. "Refugees and asylum seekers in urban areas: a livelihoods perspective." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19.3 (2006): 273-286.

10 November

Lecture theme: Exploring the role of NGOs in humanitarian assistance and welfare services for international migrants

Ferris, Elizabeth G. "The UN and NGOs in Humanitarian Operations", in *The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action*. Brookings Institution Press, 2011. (91-125)

Harrell-Bond, Barbara. "Can humanitarian work with refugees be humane?." *Human Rights Quarterly* 24.1 (2002): 51-85.

Nawyn, Stephanie J. "'I have so many successful stories': framing social citizenship for refugees." *Citizenship Studies* 15.6-7 (2011): 679-693.

17 November

Lecture theme (Visiting lecturer): A grounded perspective from a Turkey-based humanitarian assistance NGO-Human Resource Development Foundation (İKGV) @ İbrahim Bodur Oditorium (Lecture will be delivered in Turkish)

24 November

Lecture theme: Modes of immigrant integration in different welfare regimes

Freeman, Gary P. "Migration and the political economy of the welfare state." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1986): 51-63.

Morissens, Ann, and Diane Sainsbury. "Migrants' social rights, ethnicity and welfare regimes." *Journal of Social Policy* 34.04 (2005): 637-660.

Sainsbury, Diane. "Immigrants' social rights in comparative perspective: welfare regimes, forms in immigration and immigration policy regimes." *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no. 3 (2006): 229-244.

1 December

Lecture theme: International migration and changing labour markets

Standing, Guy. "Migrants: Victims, Villains or Heroes?" In *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. A&C Black, 2011. (90-114)

Castles, Stephen. "Migration, crisis, and the global labour market." *Globalizations* 8.3 (2011): 311-324.

Hagelund, Anniken. "Why it is bad to be kind. Educating refugees to life in the welfare state: A case study from Norway." *Social Policy & Administration* 39, no. 6 (2005): 669-683.

8 December

Film screening: It's a free world, Ken Loach @SineBu

15 December

Lecture theme: The way forward: Squeezed between universalism and open borders?

Titmuss, Richard. "Universalism versus selection." *The Welfare State Reader* (2000): 42-50.

Carens, Joseph H. "Aliens and citizens: the case for open borders." *The Review of Politics* 49.02 (1987): 251-273.

Bagchi, Amiya Kumar. "Immigrants, morality and neoliberalism." *Development and Change* 39.2 (2008): 197-218.