

Joint block seminar

Haifa Center for German and European Studies and CGES Berkeley

**The Global Refugee Crisis: What is at Stake?**

Conducted by:

**Beverly Crawford**, Professor emerita, Travers Department of Political Science and International and Area Studies, UC Berkeley

Teaching Assistant:

**Katharina Konarek**, PhD Candidate, Haifa Center for German and European Studies

Venue:

**University of Haifa**, Haifa Center for German and European Studies

Dates:

**May 12<sup>th</sup> - 28<sup>th</sup>**

**including 3 field trips to Tel Aviv, Holot and Majd Al Shams**

The Haifa Center for German and European Studies and the CGES at Berkeley will conduct a **3 credits / 5 ECTS course** on the global refugee crises. The course will take place in Haifa from the **12<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> of May 2017** and will include 24 academic hours of teaching (six sessions of 4 hours each, twice a week), plus several field trips (to the refugee center in south Tel Aviv, to the refugee camp Holot in the Negev and to the Syrian border) as well as further extra-curricular activities. The seminar will enable its participants to earn credit points in their respective study programs.

The course will survey the most salient issues presented by the current refugee crisis, providing an overview of the global crisis, the crisis from the perspective of the refugees themselves, the impact of the crisis in Israel, Europe, and Germany, causes of the global surge in refugees today, a case study of conflict in Syria, and potential solutions to the crisis as a whole. The course will be taught by **Prof. Beverly Crawford Ames (UC Berkeley)**, teaching assistant **Katharina Konarek (University of Haifa)** and 6 guest lecturers

**Course requirements and evaluation:**

- Presence in class and active participation (15%)
- 1 group project (40%)
- Take-home exam (50%)

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## **Seminar Program Draft**

Venue: University of Haifa

**Friday, May 12th, 2017**

**08:30-11:00            Session 1: Overview**

This session covers the basics and provides an overview of:

- The number of refugees and internally displaced persons
- Definitions of terms (refugees, forced migrants, Asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, etc.)
- Where do refugees come from and where they are going?
- Historical overview, looking at refugees and asylum from antiquity until today, focusing more deeply on Jewish refugees, as well as the internal displacement of the Japanese in the United States during World War II
- International legal issues as well as looking at the 1951 Law and the 1967 protocol, the broadening mandate of the UNHCR during the cold war, and the UNHCR's widening definition of what constitutes a refugee.
- The regions and crises producing refugees: Afghanistan, Central America, Myanmar, Nigeria, South Sudan, Eritrea, Syria and the Arab Middle East, with special attention to the regions producing refugees that flee to Israel.

**Read:** Goran Rystad, "Immigration History and the Future of International Migration" *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter, 1992), pp. 1168-1199

Jeremy Hein, "Refugees, Immigrants, and the State," *Annual review of Sociology*, 1993 19: 43-59

**Watch:** ["Going Home"](#)

**11:00-12:00            Guest Speaker: Refugees in Israel**  
**Dr. Itamar Mann**, Faculty of Law, University of Haifa

*12:00-14:00            Lunch in Haifa Downtown (Falafel Hanasi)*

**14:30-19:00            Field Trip 1 – The refugee hub in the South of Tel Aviv**

- Meeting with refugees at the *Eritrean Women Community Center* and Israeli activists in Levinski Park, the refuge hub of Tel Aviv
- Dinner at "Kitchen Talks"

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## Sunday, May 14th, 2017

### **16:00-18:30          Session 2: Why don't refugees fly? The need of four lives**

In this session we will examine the crisis for the refugees themselves from four perspectives. The unit will be organized around the premise that refugees need *four lives*, in order to land on their feet and survive:

- 1) Refugees must first escape torture and death at home
- 2) They must then escape life-threatening conditions as they flee to temporary safety
- 3) They must escape death on the journey to find asylum
- 4) They must survive danger when they arrive to asylum-granting countries.

We address the question: “Why don’t refugees fly” when we examine the life-threatening journey to asylum-granting countries in Europe and North America. We will illustrate the crisis from the asylum seekers’ perspective by directly addressing the refugee crises in Israel and the decisions of the Israeli Supreme Court which twice struck down legislation regarding the treatment of African refugees in Israel.

**Watch:** [“In this World”](#) (2002) docudrama following a refugee/ migrant from Pakistan to London

18:30-19:00          *Movie Screening: “4.2 Miles” (20 min)*

**19:00-20:00          Guest Speaker: The situation of refugees on Lesbos**  
**Maria Jamal, Co-Founder of Humanity Crew (confirmed)**

## Monday, May 15th, 2017

**9:00-14:00          Individual Preparation Session - Part 1**

## Tuesday, May 16th, 2017

**9:00-15:00          Group Projects - Part 1**  
Group 1: Preparation - Field Trip 2 Refugees in Israel  
Group 2: Preparation - Field Trip 3 Syrian Refugees  
Group 3: Session 6 - Solutions - Case Study Hungary  
Group 4: tba

Group 5: tba

17:30-19:00 *Movie Screening: "Watani-My Homeland" (40 min)*

**19:00-20:00** **Guest Speaker: The Situation of Refugees in Jordan**  
**Dr. Niveen Rizkalla**, Mack Center for Mental Health and Social Conflict

### Wednesday, May 17th, 2017

**09:00-14:00** **Field Trip 2 – Holot Refugee Prison in Israel**

**16:00–19:00** **Session 3: Causes of the refugees crisis: conflict and climate. Why do people flee?**

In this session we will delve into the conflicts and forms of persecution that produce refugees. This section would be largely theoretical, drawing on the work on ethnic and religious conflict that I and others have done. We will begin by looking at who is being persecuted today and why, showing that most of today's conflicts that produce large numbers of refugees are ethnic and religious in nature. Then we will examine theories of conflict from social psychology as well as evolutionary/primordial theories, religious exceptionalism, and constructivist theories, particularly those espoused by Crawford, Brubaker, Laitin, and Fearon. We will then turn to the question of disaster and climate refugees as a neglected cause of forced displacement. The focus here will be on the estimated 20 million refugees from Africa and Asia, and the fact that there is no international protection for these "refugees."

**19:00-20:00** **Guest Speaker: Fleeing from Sudan to Israel**  
**Gamar**, Spokesman, Holot Refugee Prisoners

#### **Read:**

- Kenan Malik [A search for identity drwas jihadis to the horrors of Isis](#)
- [Rukmini Callamachi, ISIS and the Lonely YOUNG American, June 27 2015](#)
- Phillip Zimbardo, ["The Stanford Prison Experiment"](#)
- Audry Quinn, ["Syria's Climate Conflict"](#) (There are good readings listed at the bottom of the article)

- Peter H. Gleick, [“Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria”](#) 2013

*And for those who wish to read more deeply:*

- Muller, J. Z. (2008). “Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism” *Foreign Affairs*, March/ April 18-35.
- Kurzban and Leary 2001. “Stigmatization and Exclusion” <http://instruct.uwo.ca/psychology/371g/Kurzban2001.pdf>
- Gamson, William A. [“Hiroshima, the Holocaust, and the Politics of Exclusion.”](#) *American Sociological Review* Vol. 60: No. 1., February 1, 1995.
- [Civizational conflict](#): Huntington
- Rogers Brubaker: [Ethnicity without groups](#). *European Journal of Sociology* (2002) 43: 163-177  
(177-185 is a case study of Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania for those interested)
- Rogers Brubaker, [“Religious Dimensions of Political Conflict and Violence.”](#) 2015
- Fearon J. and Laitin D. (2000). [Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity](#). *International Organization* 54, (4), 845-877.
- Rik Coolseal, [“Facing the Fourth foreign Fighters Wave: What Drives Europeans to Syria, and to the Islamic State? Insights from the Belgian Case”](#) March 2016

### Thursday, May 18th, 2017

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| 9:00-12:00  | Group Projects - Part 2   |
| 14:30-16:00 | HCGES Colloquium<br>Prof. Shlomo Shapiro, Bar-Ilan University (tbc) |

### Sunday, May 21st, 2017

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| 16:00 – 18:30 | Session 4: How has the influx of refugees become a “crisis” for asylum-granting countries? |
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This session will focus on Israel and Europe, and primarily on Germany. We begin by looking at the situation in Israel: the influx of asylum seekers brings to light Israel's struggle to consolidate its values as a Jewish and democratic state and square those values with security concerns. The government has erected a surveillance fence along the border with Egypt, Israel has refused to absorb Syrian refugees, and asylum seekers are treated as infiltrators under Israeli law. In Europe, refugees are arriving in a period of economic decline which migrants have the potential to mitigate. We will examine the current crisis in historical perspective, i.e. the 12 million ethnic Germans who fled or were deported from Eastern Europe after WW II, Turkish "guest workers," and refugees from the Balkan wars. We will look at IMF data on refugees and the European labor market and policies that might facilitate integration. We can then turn to the experience of 2015 which exposed the weaknesses of EU institutions (Schengen, Dublin) and the contradictions of the EU's asylum policy. We then turn to politics, the rise of xenophobic nationalism and the radical right, looking in particular at Germany and the division of the population between the two cultures of welcoming refugees and rejecting them. We will look at Angela Merkel's changing policies and the current agreement with Turkey, as well as the current state of refugee integration in Germany.

**Read:** Beverly Crawford "Moral Leader or Moral Hazard: Germany's Response to the Refugee crisis and its Impact on European Solidarity" forthcoming in *Unable to Cope? The Resilience of the European Union in Times of Crisis*, Marianne Rittervold, Jarle Trondal, Akasemi Newsome, eds., Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

**18:30-20:00**                    **Guest Speaker: Denmark as an Asylum-granting country**  
**Dr. Helle Malmvig**, Danish Institute for International Studies  
(via Skype)

### Monday, May 22nd, 2017

**9:00-14:00**                    **Individuell Preparation Session - Part 2**

### Tuesday, May 23rd, 2017

**9:00-12:00**                    **Group Projects - Part 3**

14:00-16:30 *Movie Screening “White Helmets” (40 min)  
and Discussion*

### **Wednesday, May 24th, 2017**

#### **09:00-14:00 Field Trip 3: Golan and the border with Syria**

- Visit of the border to Syria (Merom Golan/Qunaitra)
- Visit of the Shouting Hill and the Valley of Tears (Majd Al Shams)
- Meeting with **Dr. Taiseer Merei**, Director of Golan for Development (confirmed)

14:00-16:00 *Druse Lunch in Majd Al Shams*

#### **16:00–20:00 Session 5: Syria: A Case Study in Conflict and Climate as causes of the refugee**

In this session, we will take the theories and information from the previous session and use them as tools to dissect the causes of the Syrian war and why it has produced so many refugees.

- What are the “necessary conditions” in the history of imperialism, nationalism, secularism, and authoritarianism that set the stage for the current Syrian crisis?
- How did the drought of 2006 contribute to the crisis?
- What is the role of “political entrepreneurs” in creating the “sufficient conditions” for the current war?
- How did extremists, gangs, and the government’s shadow militia overcome moderates in the political process?
- How did the war become sectarian?
- What is the role of outside forces and the international community?

#### **Read:**

- William Polk, [“Understanding Syria: from Pre-Civil War to Post-Assad”](#) The Atlantic 2013

20:00 Syrian Dinner at a Druze home in Majd Al Shams

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### Thursday, May 25th, 2017

**9:00-12:00**                    **Group Projects - Part 4**

**14:30-16:00**                **HCGES Colloquium**  
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### Sunday, May 28th, 2017

**16:00 – 18:00**            **Session 6: Solutions and Conclusion**

In this session we will review the course “takeaways” up to this point and look at possible solutions. These solutions can be divided into short-term responses to the humanitarian crisis of the refugees, medium-term solutions to the integration of refugees in host countries, including integration into the work-force, social integration, and combating right-wing xenophobia. Other medium-term solutions include strengthening EU institutions, solutions to protracted displacement, and economic development, safer routes to sanctuary, and the refugee cities approach. Longer-term solutions must address the current roots of the refugee problem: conflict and climate. Wars do end, peacebuilding is possible, and environmental degradation can be mitigated.

#### **Read:**

- Fearon, James D., [“Separatist Wars, Partition, and World Order.”](#) Security Studies, Vol. 13, No. 4 (July 2004), pp. 394-415.

*And for those who wish to read more deeply:*

- Stephan Rosiny, [“Power Sharing in Syria: Lessons from Lebanon’s Taif Experience”](#) Middle East Policy Journal, Fall 2013 (Yasmin)
- Kaufmann, Chiam D., “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ehtnic Civil Wars,” *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136-175.

**18:00-20:00**                    **Group Project Presentation**  
*20:00*                              *Farewell Dinner*