



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

Forced Migration in Arab Countries

30 November – 1 December 2019



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

Forced Migration in Arab Countries

30 November – 1 December 2019

[Timetable](#) | [Participants](#) | [Abstracts](#)

About Workshop

Over the last two decades, forced international migration has reached unprecedented levels of intensity both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is a thorny and extremely sensitive issue that different countries have dealt with in wildly differing ways. Since at least the end of the Second World War it has been a common fixture on UN agendas, in international relations, in government policy, in the programs of domestic political forces in the West, in host countries more generally, and likewise in countries of origin.

Forced international migration is the other face of forced domestic migration (internal displacement) resulting from war and insecurity, sometimes mixed with deliberate policies of ethnic cleansing.

According to UNHCR figures there were some 68.5 million displaced persons worldwide in 2018. 25.4 million of these held official refugee status (19.9 million registered with the UNHCR and 5.4 million Palestinians registered with UNRWA), 40 million were IDPs, and 3.1 million were asylum seekers. One study based on an IMO report estimates that of some 60 million displaced persons worldwide 40 million are from the Arab region, particularly Syria, Iraq and Somalia. While the scale of displacement differs between Arab countries, the figures expose a phenomenon both tragic and dangerous.

A few figures suffice to give a clearer idea of this understudied aspect of the refugee crisis. In Yemen, for example, UN-OCHA estimates that there are as many as three million internal refugees. In Iraq there are two million Iraqi IDPs, excluding of course those who have been forced to emigrate from their home country. In Somalia, about 750,000 people fled the horrors of war between 1992 and 1995, and during the conflict period of 1995-1997 approximately 1.5 million people were internally displaced. There was no mass population displacement during the War on Terror, because most military operations and terror attacks were strategic, sporadic and targeted specific geographical areas, and thus had no direct effect on the population. But the explosion of conflict that began on 20 December 2006 and is still going on as of this date has led to the displacement of more than two million people. Most of these people have fled internally to safer areas or else to neighbouring countries: Yemen, Djibouti, and Uganda.

International forced migration from Arab countries as a result of extended civil conflict accounts for a large percentage of the global refugee population. According to UNHCR statistics, between 2005 and 2018 more than 49% of the 25.4 million officially designated refugees were from five Arab countries affected by domestic conflicts. The number of refugees from Syria rose from 328,000 in 2005 to more than 6,544,000 in 2018; from Yemen 82,000 in 2005 to more than 508,000 in 2010 and 867,000 in 2018; from Iraq 133,000 in 2005

to 117,000 in 2010 and 366,000 in 2018; and from Libya 12,000 in 2005 to more than 341,000 in 2018.

This confirms that between 2005 and 2018 forced international migration has become an Arab phenomenon, a phenomenon embedded in the structure of Arab societies that will have repercussions for years or perhaps decades to come. These developments follow the enduring failure of Arab states to fulfil their promises, for various reasons: their political regimes' authoritarian management of social and cultural diversity, the failure of development policy to absorb wave after wave of young people, the failure of social participation, the establishment of a relationship with society based on violence and not on law, and the destruction of the concept of citizenship itself.

The phenomenon is a complex one involving many different factors. One of these factors is the declining number of refugees returning to their own countries after the end of conflict, especially when those conflicts last a long time: by the time the war ends, many of them have built new lives in new places and can no longer return home. There are historical precedents for this. After the Mount Lebanon conflicts of the 19th century few Christians returned to Deir al-Qamar. Nor did many Bosnians go back to areas from which they had been expelled during the Yugoslav Wars. Both of these groups had been given the right to return but chose not to. Another factor is security: many countries treat refugees as a threat to national security, and some extremist groups sometimes use refugees' precarious situation as a recruitment tool, while others use them as a political football. Yet another is the phenomenon of the double refugee, now commonplace in Arab countries: generations of Palestinians, for example, have been displaced for the second or third time from Yarmouk Camp in Syria.

This new phenomenon affecting millions of people in the Arab World raises many questions about the fate of refugees and possible solutions to the problem. International refugee law provides for three general solutions to refugee problems: voluntary return, integration in the host society, or resettlement in a third country. These three alternatives were put in place to serve as a "permanent solution" to the refugee crisis, aiming to ensure that refugees received citizenship in order to protect their basic rights. Third-country resettlement is considered the least attractive of these options, and the UNHCR encourages refugees to return to their home country once a conflict ends. American and European policies have gradually distanced themselves

from the first option, preferring to view refugees as a resource rather than a burden and favouring citizenship rights and integration.

This policy direction has come under increasing pressure since 2005 with the rise and electoral success of the populist right. The idea of building walls, rather than building bridges, has brought together many of those opposed to international migration in general and forced migration in particular. Some right-wing Western governments have pursued pre-emptive measures against further migration from current refugee areas of origin – Syria's neighbours, for example – to try and transform refugees from passive recipients of humanitarian aid to economic agents capable of earning enough money to discourage them from migrating to Europe. This policy is "preventative", and has coincided with efforts in some of those Arab countries themselves to repatriate Syrian refugees regardless of whether it is safe for them to return.

European and American policies generally are moving towards aggressive delimitation of migration and dealing with forcible migration either by granting temporary and conditional residency subject to numerous limitations or by the French model of assimilation (which risks marginalization and exclusion). While the populist right have built legal and physical walls (USA), and put refugees in detention camps (Greece, Eastern and Southern Europe), some countries (Germany, Sweden, some Scandinavian countries) have pursued a more flexible policy based on integration into the existing political and cultural system while still allowing a space for migrants to give expression to their culture and language.

The flexible model that provides opportunities for integration in the host country is becoming more and more limited, particularly in Germany, where temporary residence is increasingly common. In Germany the fate of temporary residence holders is likely to be similar to that of Bosnian refugees who were deported as soon as Bosnia was "safe". Sweden and other host countries have likewise begun to impose tight restrictions on temporary residencies. Some of the countries bordering on Syria are trying to dispose of their refugee populations by any means necessary, even if repatriating them puts their lives in danger. Images of the hostile, almost racist treatment dealt out to refugees in some of those countries are now a familiar sight. All this while a solution to the conflict that produced this vast movement of refugees seems as far away as ever.

When discussing solutions to refugee crises it is useful to distinguish between the right of return as a human right and repatriation. In this context we are talking about voluntary return or safe return. All of these terms lack unambiguous definitions (there are three traditional solutions: local integration, resettlement and voluntary repatriation). A refugee can exercise

their right of return regardless of whether it is safe to do so. But repatriation requires certain conditions to be met, including safety in the home country. If these conditions are not met repatriation is a violation of international law and against the human rights of the refugees.

While many organizations and official bodies have been preoccupied with studying forced migration and proposing solutions, the phenomenon has not received enough attention from Arab academics and researchers.

As part of efforts to fill this lacuna, the ACRPS – as an academic institution concerned with issues affecting Arab societies and with ongoing Arab socio-political issues – is holding this workshop to address key issues in forced migration in Arab countries.

Timetable

Day 1: Saturday, 30 November 2019

8:30 – 9:00	Registration
9:00 – 9:15	Opening Remarks
9:15 – 11:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 1 Forced Migration: Arab Cases Moderator: Ali Al Zaatari</p> <p>Yahya al-Kubaisi: Forced Displacement in the Context of Identity Conflict: The Case of Iraq after 2003</p> <p>Hassan Elhaj Ali: Darfur: Internal Conflict and Forced Migration in Sudan</p> <p>Musa Alaya: The Conflict in Yemen and the Role of NGOs in Providing Aid to Displaced People</p> <p>Majid Hassan Ali: Forced Migration of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Disputed Areas of Iraq: A Case Study of the Post-2014 Yazidi Minority</p>
11:00- 11:30	Coffee Break
11:30 – 13:00	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 2 Forced Migration and Demographic Change in Syria Moderator: Ali Rustom</p> <p>Saja Al Zoubi/Humam Wardeh: Syrian IDPs: Between the Curse of War and the Labyrinth of Displacement</p> <p>Samer Bakkour: Dimensions of Sectarian Displacement in Idlib</p> <p>Hamzeh Almoustafa: Syria: The Refugee Crisis and Internal Demographic Change</p>
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch Break

<p>14:00 – 15:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Palestine: Forced Displacement in the Context of Settler Colonialism</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Nabil Khattab</p> <p>Ayat Hamdan: Internal Displacement in the Context of Settler Colonialism in Palestine</p> <p>Kholoud Al Ajarma/Ihab Maharmeh: Forced Displacement in Area C and the Jordan Valley under Israeli Settlement Colonialism</p>
<p>15:15 – 15:45</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>
<p>15:45 – 17:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Syrian Refugees in the Arab Mashreq: Integration Opportunities and Repatriation Challenges</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Mohamed Jamal Barout</p> <p>Sultan Barakat/Ghassan Elkahlout: A Study of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey</p> <p>Fouad Mohamed Fouad: Informal Healthcare in Long-Term Refugee Crises: A Study of Syrian Healthcare Workers' Coping Mechanisms in Lebanon</p> <p>Zinat Hasan: Lebanese Challenges to Syrian Refugees' Return and Prospects for Integration</p>

Day 2: Sunday, 1 December 2019

<p>9:00 – 10:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Arab Refugees in Europe and Turkey: Assimilation and Integration Mechanisms</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Marwan Khawaja</p> <p>Hashim Nima Fayyad: Iraqi Refugees in Europe between Asylum Constraints and Prospects for Integration: the Netherlands as a Model</p> <p>Hamid al-Hashemi: Syrian Migrants in Britain between the Challenge of Integration and the Prospect of Return</p> <p>Mona Hedaya: Economic Coping Mechanisms of Female Syrian Refugee Breadwinners in Istanbul (2011-2018)</p>
<p>10:30 – 11:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>
<p>11:00 – 12:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 6</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The European Response to Asylum Seekers from Arab Countries</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Marwan Kabalan</p> <p>Ahmed Hussein: The European Union and Irregular Migration in Libya: Policies and Mechanisms</p> <p>Yasser Djazaerly: Syrian Asylum in Germany and the Debate over Immigration Policy</p> <p>Mounir Mebarkia: Decentralised European-Arab Cooperation Programs as a Response Mechanism for Forced Migration</p>
<p>12:30 – 13:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lunch Break</p>
<p>13:30 – 15:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Session 7</p> <p style="text-align: center;">International Protections for the Forcibly Displaced Offered by International Law</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Moderator: Raoudha Elguedri</p> <p>Omar Rouabhi: Protection of Refugee Rights: International and Regional Laws and Mechanisms</p> <p>Houria Ait Kaci: International Protection for IDPs: Protection for People or for Borders?</p> <p>Faraj Sliman: Contracts of Carriage and Protecting the Rights of Forced Migrants</p>

15:00 – 15:30	Coffee Break
15:30 – 17:30	<p data-bbox="707 402 1022 433">Roundtable Discussion</p> <p data-bbox="353 444 1377 480">Humanitarian Action on Forced Displacement: Challenges and Possibilities</p> <p data-bbox="701 493 1026 524">Moderator: Darim Albassam</p>

Participants

Abstracts



Ahmed Hussein

Ahmed Hussein is a researcher at the ACRPS. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Florence, Italy. He is the Editor-in-Chief of *Siyasat Arabiya*, and has worked as an assistant tutor at the University of Damascus's Faculty of Political Science. His research focuses on theories of international relations.

The European Union and Irregular Migration in Libya: Policies and Mechanisms

The flows of migrants from Arab countries to the European Union has increased significantly since the Arab popular uprisings of 2011, forcing EU countries to make serious and active efforts to search for a common European approach to minimise the security, economic and social effects of migration. This study presents the different stages of EU migration policy by reviewing its foundational documents, which represent a shared European project to regulate migration and the movement of individuals between EU countries and the rest of the world. It focuses on the stage that followed the Arab popular uprisings, making possible a deeper understanding of EU countries' approach to irregular migration. The paper also considers joint European projects intended to respond to the migration phenomenon generally and migrant flows from Libya in particular as a launching-pad for migrants and an organised operating space for smuggling networks and human trafficking.



Ayat Hamdan

Ayat Hamdan is a research assistant at the ACRPS and a PhD candidate at the University of Exeter, UK. Her work focuses on internal displacement within Palestine. She is a former Visiting Fellow at the Centre of Refugee Studies, University of Oxford.

Internal Displacement in the Context of Settler Colonialism in Palestine

Palestine is the object of a settler colonialism based according to its internal logic on expelling the original inhabitants and taking control of the land. Expulsion and land grabs have been part of Zionist ideology since its project first began. Israel was founded on the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians after 1948, and this logic remains in place with different tools and approaches. This paper assesses forced internal displacement within Palestine and the controversy that use of the concept in the Palestinian case has created. It asks what the importance of using the label IDPs is given the shortcomings of the term, given it is descriptive and non-binding and does not guarantee any legal protection, and what the obstacles are to creating a durable solution for IDPs given existing Israeli policies and practices.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first considers the concept of settler colonialism and its relationship to the concept of ethnic cleansing and "transfer" as applied to the Palestinian case. The second assesses the concept of internal displacement as laid out in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement 1998 and the controversy the use of this concept produced in Palestine before its official adoption in 2009, as well as its importance in the Palestinian case despite its shortcomings. The third highlights the structural impediments to a lasting solution being found to internal displacement in Palestine given existing Israeli policies and practices as embodied by the laws and administrative procedures put in place since 1948.



Faraj Sliman

Faraj Sliman is a research professor at the Private Law Department of the University of Tripoli's College of Law (Libya). He is a member of the Legal Studies and Research Laboratory at the same institution. He holds a PhD from the College of Law and Political Science from Besançon University, France. He is the author of numerous studies in private and commercial law.

Contracts of Carriage and Protecting the Rights of Forced Migrants

Forced migration presents various problematic issues, not least the importance of those pertaining to the carriage of forced migrants. Most legislation gives little weight to the distinction between forced migrants who arrive in a country under the pressure of security crises or environmental catastrophes threatening their lives and illegal migrants who make the journey under their own steam. This study thus asks the extent to which contracts of carriage concluded by forced migrants are subject to legislation regarding illegal migration which renders them invalid because they contravene ordre public regulations (Article 2 of Law 19 of 2010, Libya), or because they are subject to international conventions.

This study adopts a descriptive-analytical methodology based on national, international and regional legislation. It concludes that a new approach must be created specific to forced migrants that distinguishes them from illegal migrants, takes into account their humanitarian circumstances and moves beyond the strict provisions of illegal immigration law. It argues that Libya should become a signatory to the 1969 Organisation of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, making this into statute applicable to contracts of carriage for forced migration in Libya. This Convention's reference to the UN's 1951 Refugee Convention would also make this applicable law in such cases.



Fouad Mohamed Fouad

Fouad Mohamed Fouad is a doctor and professor at the Faculty of Health Science, American University of Beirut. His research focuses on forced migration and refugee health as well as the effect of conflict on health. He is the author of numerous studies in various international periodicals as well as a chapter on social topography in *Syria in Political Developments in Arab Countries since 2011* (2016).

Informal Healthcare in Long-Term Refugee Crises: A Study of Syrian Healthcare Workers' Coping Mechanisms in Lebanon

Unofficial workers, in particular in the health sector, have played a major role in providing healthcare to poor and marginalised populations including refugees. They have filled a gap left behind by official bodies weakened by unjust policies like hospital privatisation and independent clinics. This coping mechanism raises an important possibility for supporting healthcare systems in countries hosting large numbers of refugees.

This explanatory study seeks to understand how informal provision of healthcare services takes place and to establish both incentives and obstacles to these practices, as well as offering recommendations for health policy to build on this coping mechanism. It does this based on a qualitative-quantitative study of the opinions of Syrian healthcare providers working unofficially in Lebanon elicited through in-depth interviews of a sample of refugees of various professional specialisations working in this sector, taking into account geographical and gender variation.

Practising unofficially has imposed a number of personal and social challenges on the lifestyle of Syrians working in the health sector in Lebanon, including economic and legal challenges and a continuous feeling of being under threat. But this workforce fills a key gap between official organisations and is key to healthcare provision, and there is an urgent need to take policy measures to integrate them into the official system.



Ghassan Elkahlout

Ghassan Elkahlout is head of the Conflict Management and Humanitarian Action MA Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He holds a PhD in Postwar Reconstruction and Development from the University of York, UK. His research focuses on humanitarian work and postwar reconstruction. He has worked for numerous international organizations including the UN, the Red Crescent and Red Cross, Islamic Aid and the UK Humanitarian Forum.

A Study of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has stated that one in every ten displaced Syrians is returning voluntarily to the motherland despite the difficult circumstances at home. The UNHCR predicts that some 250,000 Syrian refugees may return in 2019. The fear is that this will take place without any pre-planning, particularly given that the Syrian crisis is of unique scale and unpredictability. The aim of this study is thus to consider:

- Lessons that can be learned from previous experiences of refugee repatriation, whether voluntarily or against their will, which will help to determine the most important factors encouraging a sustainable return for Syrian refugees.
- Opportunities for Syrian refugees to return from Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey.

The study draws on a comprehensive literature review, consultations and in-depth interviews with experts and is supported by the authors' extensive personal experience. It doesn't analyse the political or military situation in Syria or evaluate recent or ongoing political developments. Nor does it seek to pre-judge any planned political solution led by the Syrian government.



Hamid al-Hashemi

Hamid al-Hashemi is professor of sociology at the International College of Islamic Science in London. His research focuses on migration, social integration, and minorities and sub-identities. He holds a PhD from the College of Arts and Humanities (9 April) at the University of Tunis. He is the author of five books as well as being a contributor to several others. Al-Hashemi has published tens of studies in Arabic and English and has participated in numerous Arab and international conferences.

Syrian Migrants in Britain between the Challenge of Integration and the Prospect of Return

After years of harsh conditions induced by the outbreak of the Syrian Revolution migration seems like the only option for many Syrians. These conditions have led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands and rendered many more homeless, producing waves of forced internal displacement and international migration – adding the material, psychological and social difficulties of migration to the existing threat to their lives. In the UK, this has led to a noticeable increase in the local Syrian community. Under the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPRS) and based on former British Prime Minister David Cameron's stated intention to take on a greater share of the Syrian refugees in Europe, 20,000 Syrian refugees are expected to arrive by the end of 2020. This study assesses the attitudes of Syrian migrants in the UK towards the demand for social integration and their willingness to return to their mother country. The study is both qualitative and quantitative, adopting an analytical-descriptive methodology and using questionnaires to gather data from a "snowball" sample. The author lives in the UK and is closely involved with the community through his work and social relationships and experience in his field. The anthropological method is thus necessarily present through participation.



Hamzeh Almoustafa

Hamzeh Almoustafa is a researcher at the ACRPS. He holds an MA in Political Science from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and is currently pursuing a PhD at Exeter University, UK. His research focuses on the Syrian situation generally and democratic transformation and Islamist and Jihadist movements in particular. He is the author of numerous studies published in ACRPS books and publications and elsewhere.

Syria: The Refugee Crisis and Internal Demographic Change

Sustained repression and violence in Syria since 2011 have produced sequential waves of migrants and refugees fleeing the country. This has contributed to millions of people being uprooted from their homes, cities and country, and has turned the Syrian conflict into what the UN has referred to as the "greatest" humanitarian crisis since the Second World War. Beyond its humanitarian and legal dimensions, this crisis has acquired far-flung political dimensions and has now become one of the most fatal challenges for Syria. This apart from its effects on neighbouring countries and some host countries in the West.

This study documents analytically the refugee and IDP phenomenon by dividing it into several temporal stages, each of which has its own particularities and determinants that touch on prevailing theological terminology: voluntary flight, displacement, sectarian and ethnic cleansing, demographic change, demographic engineering, and politics of replacement. After analysing various local peace agreements and assessing semi-structured interviews conducted with negotiators, the second part of the paper argues that systematic demographic change in some areas is not so much the product or aim of any of the conflicting parties within Syria as it is the reflection of regional actors' desires, and has sometimes taken place with international oversight. The final section considers the future economic and social effects of the refugee crisis and opportunities for voluntary return once the war is over.



Hashim Nima Fayyad

Hashim Nima Fayyad is an academic and researcher. He holds a PhD in demographic geography and population studies from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1989). He has worked as a teacher and researcher in numerous teaching institutes, universities and research centers in Iraq, Morocco, Libya and the Netherlands. He is a member of the Consultative Committee of Muqarabat, an academic journal published in Morocco.

Iraqi Refugees in Europe between Asylum Constraints and Prospects for Integration: the Netherlands as a Model

This study considers the coercive drivers pushing Iraqis to seek refuge in Europe in general and the Netherlands in particular, the stages that this model of migration has passed through and their growing numbers in Europe and in the Netherlands. It analyses the socioeconomic makeup of Iraqi refugees in the Netherlands (age, sex, family, fertility, education, economic activity and unemployment, income, ethnicity, religion, polygamy, dual nationality and immigration policy, and integration into Dutch society). The study of these different constituent parts provides indicators of the extent of integration in the host country. It also allows for drawing comparisons with other refugee and migrant groups in the Netherlands, including Syrians, Somalis and Moroccans, as well as indigenous Dutch people and Iraqis in other host countries.



Hassan Elhaj Ali

Hassan Elhaj Ali is a Sudanese researcher and former dean of Economic and Social Studies at the University of Khartoum. He earned a PhD in Political Science from North Texas University in 1992. He is the Editor-in-Chief of the *Modern Islamic Studies Journal* and the author of several academic studies. His most recent book is titled *The Privatisation of Security: The Developing Role of Private Military and Security Companies*.

Internal Conflict and Forced Migration in Sudan: Darfur

This paper approaches the causes and different Sudanese forms of forced migration in Sudan, focusing on the Darfur region. It begins from the premise that while the causes of forced migration in Sudan are diverse, the fundamental reasons are conflict and violence, followed by natural disaster and climate change and ultimately resource conflicts. For example, in 1984-1985 during the Sudanese drought, much of the population of Darfur and Cordovan fled the semi-desert north of the region southward. The study analyses how refugee camps became part of the conflict itself through attempts to control their administration and direct their inhabitants politically and the eventual outbreak of violence therein. It studies the coping mechanisms used by refugees in their new environments.



Houria Ait Kaci

Houria Ait Kaci is a lecturer and professor at Mouloud Mammeri University, Tizi Ouzou, Algeria. She holds a PhD in International Human Rights Law from the College of Law and Political Science at the same university. Her dissertation was titled "The Development of International Protection for Refugees". She is the author of several studies published in peer-reviewed journals and has participated in numerous conferences.

International Protection for IDPs: Protection for People or for Borders?

The international community's response to the forced migration phenomenon has changed over time: its role has moved from protecting refugees to preventative measures intended to protect IDPs domestically, preclude them crossing borders and becoming refugees to start with, and establish an international legal status for this group. There are now more IDPs than refugees, and the issue is one of great interest to the international community.

This study analyses relevant international law and its applicability to the reality of international protection for IDPs and attempts to make recommendations that will increase protection of displaced persons within their home countries while keeping the possibility of fleeing internationally open should the preventative approach fail. Its approach centres on the reality of international protection for IDPs between the humanitarian impulse to provide them with support and the consolidation of a legal status protecting them so that they will not be forced to seek protection outside their countries on the one hand and states' interests in keeping them at home in order to protect their own borders on the other.



Humam Wardeh

Humam Wardeh is a research assistant at the Department of International Development, Oxford. He began his PhD at the University of Damascus College of Agriculture and is currently continuing his studies in the UK.

Syrian IDPs: Between the Curse of War and the Labyrinth of Displacement

This study assesses the waves of international movement away from Syria since 2011, their demographic consequences and the intermixing of different Syrian communities. It also highlights the most important social and economic challenges faced by IDPs. It is based on a survey conducted in Suweida (Suweida Governorate, southern Syria) and Salmiyyeh (Hama Governorate, central Syria). It divides internal population movements into four major phases, and shows that families led by women – some 20% of displaced families – are the most severely hit by poverty. It evaluates the needs of displaced persons in order to strengthen their resilience, guarantee their repatriation following rehabilitation of the area, and put in place mechanisms facilitating access to resources so as to minimise migration abroad and protect them from the difficult new living conditions. It also attempts to project the results onto reality in order to interpret the ongoing situation in Syria by considering the general political framework relevant to the aims of the study.



Ihab Maharmeh

Ihab Maharmeh is a researcher at the ACRPS and the editorial secretary of *Siyasat Arabiya*. He has worked at Bir Zeit University, where he earned his MA in International Studies from the Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Center for International Studies. He also holds an MA in Public Policy from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He has published several studies on public policy issues. He has also participated in many international conferences on governance, dialogue, integration, migration, climate change and settler colonialism.

Forced Displacement in Area C and the Jordan Valley under Israeli Settlement Colonialism

Forced displacement of Palestinians occupies a central position in Zionist and Israeli ideology and is deeply rooted in its settlement project. This study approaches this phenomenon in the context of settler colonialism in the reality of Area C, including the Palestinian areas of the Jordan Valley – a region which constitutes around 60% of the area of the West Bank. It assesses settlement policy in this region, focusing on different types of forced displacement and the specificity and place of Area C within the broader settlement project. The paper also discusses the relationship between forced displacement, the military and civilian aspects of types of forced displacement, and how these mechanisms are deployed in order to expel and get rid of Palestinians.



Kholoud Al Ajarma

Kholoud Al Ajarma is professor of anthropology at Groningen University, the Netherlands. She holds an MA in International Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution from the University of Coventry, UK. She also holds an MA in Anthropology and Development Studies from Bergen University, Norway. She is a former Professor of the Anthropology of Muslim Societies in the Netherlands, and has been a visiting professor at the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies.

Forced Displacement in Area C and the Jordan Valley under Israeli Settlement Colonialism

Forced displacement of Palestinians occupies a central position in Zionist and Israeli ideology and is deeply rooted in its settlement project. This study approaches this phenomenon in the context of settler colonialism in the reality of Area C, including the Palestinian areas of the Jordan Valley – a region which constitutes around 60% of the area of the West Bank. It assesses settlement policy in this region, focusing on different types of forced displacement and the specificity and place of Area C within the broader settlement project. The paper also discusses the relationship between forced displacement, the military and civilian aspects of types of forced displacement, and how these mechanisms are deployed in order to expel and get rid of Palestinians.



Majid Hassan Ali

Majid Hassan Ali is researcher at the Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Dohuk, Iraq. He holds a PhD from the Faculty of Humanities, Bamberg University. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Department of Yazidi Studies at the Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia. He is a visiting researcher at Maximilian Ludwig University, Munich. He is the author of numerous studies and has participated in many Arab and international conferences and seminars.

Forced migration of Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Disputed Areas of Iraq: A Case Study of the Post-2014 Yazidi Minority

This study considers conflicts in regions of Iraq "disputed" between the central government and the Kurdistan Regional Government. These areas are some of the most ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse in Iraq, inhabited for centuries by Turkmens, Christians, Yazidis and Shabaks as well as other Kurdish and Arab minorities. Since the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 armed organisations have continuously targeted minority inhabitants in these areas, with events reaching their peak when ISIS occupied most of them in 2014. At this point forced mass migration of minorities – particularly non-Muslim religious minorities, among them Yazidis – to Kurdish areas and to central and southern Iraq took place on a major scale. The new reality produced by these developments threatens that the Yazidis will disappear entirely from Iraq because of continuing internal conflict, a security vacuum, and insufficient protection from the central government in Baghdad and the regional government in Erbil.



Mona Hedaya

Mona Hedaya is a Palestinian researcher at the ACRPS. Since 2011 she has been part of the Website and Social Media Department. She holds an MA in Conflict Management and Humanitarian Action from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies' Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Action Studies, and a BA in Computer Engineering. She has organized and participated in various activities focusing on human rights and press freedom both individually and in cooperation with international organizations such as Amnesty International.

Economic Coping Mechanisms of Female Syrian Refugee Breadwinners in Istanbul (2011-2018)

The task of providing for many Syrian refugee families, deprived by war of their traditional breadwinners, has fallen on the shoulders of women. These women have made use of many economic coping mechanisms in order to meet the needs of their families. The central question of this study is how refugee women in Istanbul between 2011 and 2018 did this and the relevant factors affecting their behaviour. It seeks to cast light on the features of urban refugees, particularly vulnerable groups, in order to learn lessons and help design humanitarian interventions. The author reviews the literature from three analytical perspectives: urban refugee women serving as breadwinners; the livelihoods and coping mechanisms of urban refugees; and the context of urban Syrian refugees' livelihoods in Istanbul. The study is based on accommodation theory and specific theories of gender as well as sustainable livelihoods systems. After the literature review the author moves on to the field study, using a qualitative methodology based on 15 semi-structured personal interviews and a single focus group. It concludes that economic coping mechanisms used by Syrian women breadwinners in Istanbul can be classified under three main headings: productive accommodation, accommodation using support, and passive accommodation. Refugees' capacity for accommodation is affected either positively or negatively by three categories of factors: factors related to gender, the individual refugee, and the context of their livelihoods.



Mounir Mebarkia

Mounir Mebarkia is professor of political science at the University of Annaba, Algeria. He is a researcher in international relations with various published studies on international migration and policy, particularly in its relationship with development. He is currently moving towards a specialization in issues with a local-international-local element, particularly those that have been approached or compared with the decentralized approach. He is current head of a research project focusing on Algerian-Mediterranean Decentralised Cooperation.

Decentralised European-Arab Cooperation Programs as a Response Mechanism for Forced Migration

This paper assesses the capacity of European-Arab decentralised cooperation to frame and respond to management of the current refugee crisis based on an understanding and explanation of the particularities (inherent and contingent) of refugee migration. The study looks at the type of contributions that this kind of decentralised cooperation can offer theoretically and practically. To this end, it takes as its example the Refugee and Host Country Program targeting countries in the Middle East and Turkey. The results of the study show that decentralised European-Arab cooperation can serve as a framework complementing humanitarian and development interventions accommodating and responding equally to the needs of host societies and refugees, by connecting actors of various kinds and on different levels and by opening channels for coordination, training and the sharing of resources and experience. This depends on the design and implementation of such programs in consultation with stakeholders and other actors' programs and interventions in isolation from political and strategic agendas not in the interests of refugees or host countries.



Musa Alaya

Musa Alaya is assistant professor of international development and peacebuilding at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He holds a PhD from the Faculty of Governance and International Affairs at Leiden University, Germany. He is the author of various specialized studies on international development, peacebuilding, NGO management and post-conflict state- and society-building.

The Conflict in Yemen and the Role of NGOs in Providing Aid to Displaced People

This paper assesses the most important challenges posed by the complicated circumstances of war in Yemen to local NGOs that work hard to offer humanitarian and aid support and minimize the effects of war on IDPs' daily lives. It presents crucial experimental data on the role of NGOs during the war and their ability to perform the refugee aid and service functions of state institutions where they are weak or absent. The study presents important recommendations for aid, particularly for improving the conditions of IDPs in Yemen. It is also academically important because although there are many international studies on the role of NGOs in the aftermath of conflict there are very few that consider their role during wars. The author thus hopes that this study will represent a qualitative contribution to the Arab literature in particular and the global literature more broadly.



Omar Rouabhi

Omar Rouabhi is a human rights researcher at the College of Law, University of Bouira, Algeria. He holds a PhD from the College of Law at the University of Oran. His research focuses on human rights, contemporary armed conflict and international humanitarian law. He is the author of three books and numerous articles in Arab and non-Arab journals.

Protection of Refugee Rights: International and Regional Laws and Mechanisms

The modern international human rights system was designed to provide special protection to groups made vulnerable either by nature (women, children) or by circumstance (victims of armed conflict, displaced persons, refugees). The expansion of this system through laws and mechanisms has led to overlapping applicability of laws and concepts as well as making it difficult to establish the most efficient mechanisms to guarantee the rights provided for by both international agreements and customary law.

This paper seeks to sharpen the concept of refugee and questions whether this term is acceptable and current within international law, focusing in particular on the extent to which the five Arab countries (Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Sudan) subscribe to it. The paper explains various tools for protecting refugee rights both conventional and otherwise within the UN system for protecting human rights as well as available regional mechanisms.



Saja Al Zoubi

Saja Al Zoubi is a visiting researcher at the Department of International Development and a tutor of Forced Migration and Gender at Christchurch College, Oxford. She holds a PhD in rural development from the College of Agricultural Engineering, Aleppo University. She is also a tutor of Middle Eastern Politics at the University of Oxford in conjunction with the University of Georgia, USA. Her book *The Role of Women in the Domestic Economy* is considered the seminal work in domestic economy in Syria. She has participated in many seminars and conferences in Syria and elsewhere and holds numerous international and local prizes.

Syrian IDPs: Between the Curse of War and the Labyrinth of Displacement

This study assesses the waves of international movement away from Syria since 2011, their demographic consequences and the intermixing of different Syrian communities. It also highlights the most important social and economic challenges faced by IDPs. It is based on a survey conducted in Suweida (Suweida Governorate, southern Syria) and Salmiyyeh (Hama Governorate, central Syria). It divides internal population movements into four major phases, and shows that families led by women – some 20% of displaced families – are the most badly hit by poverty. It evaluates the needs of displaced persons in order to strengthen their resilience, guarantee their return to their home areas once they have been prepared, and put in place mechanisms facilitating access to resources so as to minimise migration abroad and protect them from the difficult new living conditions. It also attempts to project the results onto reality in order to interpret the ongoing situation in Syria by considering the general political framework relevant to the aims of the study.



Samer Bakkour

Samer Bakkour is a Syrian researcher and expert in history and international relations. He holds an MA and PhD in Political Science and International Relations from the University of Giessen, Germany (2016). He currently works as a curriculum development consultant at Cambridge University and Exeter University's Institute for Arab and Islamic Studies and Center for Kurdish Studies. He is also a visiting researcher at the ACRPS.

Dimensions of Sectarian Displacement in Idlib

This study defines the concept of "sectarian displacement" and applies it to the conflict in Idlib in order to explain the ongoing conflict in this city. Idlib provides an ideal framework for this concept as part of the ongoing transfer of opposition forces from other cities and regions. Through this displacement we can interpret what is going on in the region not as a "Sunni-Shi'i" conflict alone but as a conflict between governing elites and marginalised communities. Alliances and conflicts between different forces over territory have fed this sectarian conflict, which has also been exacerbated by political use of religion and the entry of religious figures and sectarian movements into day-to-day politics.

The study highlights the political results of sectarian construction and its activities in Idlib and analyses them through displacement and the pre-existing situation in the city. It also discusses the roles of local, regional and international forces. It addresses the situation of minorities and confessional orders, showing that the policies pursued by ideologically confessional factions (the Nusra Front, Ahrar al-Sham, Faylaq al-Sham) in Idlib during the war has regularly changed. The political tools available, as a result of displacement to Idlib, have changed from soft power to violent hard power.



Sultan Barakat

Sultan Barakat is the founder of the Center for Conflict Management and Humanitarian Action. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of York, where he founded and ran the Postwar Reconstruction and Development Unit from 1993-2014. In 2012 he joined the Brookings Doha Centre as a visiting researcher.

A Study of Syrian Refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) has stated that one in every ten displaced Syrians is returning voluntarily to the motherland despite the difficult circumstances at home. The UNHCR predicts that some 250,000 Syrian refugees may return in 2019. The fear is that this will take place without any pre-planning, particularly given that the Syrian crisis is of unique scale and unpredictability. The aim of this study is thus to consider:

- Lessons that can be learned from previous experiences of refugee repatriation, whether voluntarily or against their will, which will help to determine the most important factors encouraging a sustainable return for Syrian refugees.
- Opportunities for Syrian refugees to return from Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey.

The study draws on a comprehensive literature review, consultations and in-depth interviews with experts and is supported by the authors' extensive personal experience. It doesn't analyse the political or military situation in Syria or evaluate recent or ongoing political developments. Nor does it seek to pre-judge any planned political solution led by the Syrian government.



Yahya Alkubaisi

Yahya Alkubaisi is an Iraqi academic residing in Amman and a consultant for the Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies. He holds a PhD in modern Arabic literary criticism from the University of Baghdad. He was previously a visiting professor at the French Institute of the Near East.

Forced Displacement in the Context of Identity Conflict: The Case of Iraq after 2003

Iraq has seen several waves of displacement in its recent history, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. The major actor in these waves of displacement has always been the state: attempts to Arabise Kirkuk, the mass exodus of Kurdish villagers during the Anfal Operation, and the systematic attempts to drain the marshes and expel their population.

This study considers the waves of displacement that have taken place since the US Occupation of Iraq in 2003. It assesses the displacement that has taken place against the background of the identity conflict that has since gripped Iraq – whether ethnic, confessional, or religious. It does this reviewing events in Kirkuk, Al-Mada'in, Tel Afar and Basra through to the state of open identitarian warfare that broke out after the destruction of the tombs of Imam Askari and Imam Hadi in Samarra in 2006 (when the state itself became an explicit party to the conflict). It traces the geography of displacement through areas of origin, scope and destination, investigating the factors behind these developments. Finally, it considers the mass displacement that began when ISIL seized control of the governorates of Ramadi and Fallujah in January 2014, escalating steadily as ISIL forces took over Nineveh, Salahuddin, Kirkuk and parts of Diyala. It analyzes the geography of this displacement, how identity has drawn its maps, and its relationship to the post-ISIL maps drawn up in the minds of the combatants.

Finally, the study considers the role of the state in responding to displacement by analyzing government expenditure in this regard as well as dilemmas of reconstruction inseparably tied to displacement issues.



Yasser Djazaerly

Yasser Djazaerly is a professor at the Humanities Department, Fitchburg University, USA. He holds a PhD in German Studies and Interdisciplinary Studies from the University of Stanford, USA. He has had a long teaching career in several American universities.

Syrian Asylum in Germany and the Debate over Immigration Policy

This paper is made up of three sections. The first analyses integration in Western countries, focusing on Germany, and shows that there are two fundamental factors in integration policy and attitudes towards it. On the one hand is the integration plan pursued by the German government based on 1) education; 2) the job market; 3) social integration; 4) the people's attitudes to migration; and 5) confronting crimes committed by migrants and attacks on them. The second section shows that integration policy in Germany is based not only on studies produced by research centers and government offices responsible for migration and integration, but also on lessons learnt from the wave of migration that took place in the 1960s. The third section considers opponents of and reactions to the government's policy based on the idea that integrating Muslims into Western society is impossible, which criticizes the German government's tolerance of Muslim migrants and demands it adopt a harsher policy. While the government's policy prioritizes education and work, its critics focus on "Western" Values. As Hamid Abdessamad says in his *Integration: The Protocol of Failure* (2018), integration is based on "freedom, independent self-determination, and personal responsibility". The study shows that this culture-driven discourse ignores or marginalizes the economic factor – and others, including discrimination – reproducing Orientalist discourse in the East and West.



Zinat Hasan

Zinat Hasan is a researcher focused on refugee and humanitarian issues. She holds an MA in Conflict Management and Humanitarian Work from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (2019) and is a current MA student in Islamic Studies and International Affairs at Hamad Bin Khalifa University. Her research focuses on the humanitarian space, refugee issues and vulnerable persons.

Lebanese Challenges to Syrian Refugees' Return and Prospects for Integration

The return of Syrian refugees to their home country is a hot topic in academic and professional circles. Millions of Syrians have fled Syria to neighbouring countries, including Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey. The study assesses the current economic, social, political and security situation in Syria, and affirms that there are conditions that must be met before Syrians can begin to go home. It also considers the demands of various Lebanese political forces for refugees to return, despite the harsh living conditions and legal and security threats that face them if they do so. Any return will require extensive efforts to equip host areas to welcome returning refugees. The study thus adopts an approach based on refugees' need for improvements to their living conditions. It affirms the need to focus on confronting the political, security, social, economic and cultural challenges of refugee return through a comprehensive strategy and integrated efforts to return Syrian refugees to their motherland taking account of all their needs. The study adopts an analytic and explanatory methodology drawing on different secondary sources on the return of refugees to their homeland.

Session Chairs

Ali Al Zaatari

Ali Al Zaatari holds an MA in the Humanities from Syracuse University, a Diploma in Environmental Economics from Harvard, and a BA in Liberal Arts (Political Science) from West Maryland College. He has worked as the UN's Charge d'Affaires and as Resident Coordinator for Development Programs in Kuwait, Iraq, Libya, Sudan and Syria.

Ali Rustom

Ali Rustom is a researcher at the Syrian Centre for Policy Research. He holds a PhD in Economics (Demography) and worked from 2017-2018 as a Statistics Expert at the Health Studies Unit, University of Toronto, Canada, from 2007-2016 as a lecturer at the Higher Institute for Population Studies and Research in Damascus, from 2008-2016 as Director of Population and Social Statistics at the Syrian Central Bureau of Statistics. From 2002-2016 he was a member of the Technical Consultative Committee on Population in Syria. He has authored numerous studies concerning population, development and poverty both individually and as a member of working groups.

Darim Albassam

Darim Albassam is a senior policy and development planning advisor. He holds a PhD in socioeconomics from the University of Pittsburg (1978). He has worked as an advisor at several international and regional organizations. He is a former member of the UN Committee for Reconstruction in Iraq, the Board of Trustees of the Arab Thought Forum, the Arab-Asian Dialogue Committee and the Committee for North-South Dialogue. He is the author of several academic books, articles and reports on human development.

Mohammed Jamal Barout

Mohammed Jamal Barout is associate professor and former head of the Research Department at the ACRPS. He is currently the Centre's academic editor. He is an expert in modern Syrian social and political history. Barout is a former director and consultant for

various UN development programs in Syria. He is the author of many studies on education, human development, development and population, Syrian migration abroad and studies of the future of development. His most recent books are *The Last Decade of Syrian History: The Dialectic of Stagnation and Reform*, *The Modern Historical Formation of the Syrian Jazira: Questions and Problems of Development from Nomadism to Sedentary Life*, *The Keserwan Campaigns: On the Political History of Ibn Taymiyya's Fatwas* and *The Ottoman-Safavid Conflict and its Effects on Shi'ism in Northern Greater Syria*.

Marwan Kabalan

Researcher at the ACRPS, where he is also the Head of the Unit for Policy Studies. He previously headed the Sham Center for Research and Studies and served as the Dean of the Faculty of International Relations and Diplomacy at the University of Kalamoon. His academic work in international Relations is widely published.

Marwan Khawaja

Marwan Khawaja is Chief of the Demographic and Social Statistics Section, UN-ESCWA. He received his PhD from Cornell University. From 2000 to 2008 he was Professor and founding Director of the Center for Research on Population and Health at the American University of Beirut (AUB) and has also served on the faculty of Syracuse University, Birzeit University and Yale University. He has been a co-founder and vice President of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), a research coordinator at FAFO in Norway, and from 2010-2013 was an elected Council member of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP). He has also served as a member of the Advisory Board of the AHEAD Network and was a founding member of the Arab Council of Social Sciences and the Middle East Health Policy Forum. His current research interests revolve around social determinants of health, Arab demography, forced migration/refugees, conflict and public health, and domestic violence.

Nabil Khattab

Nabil Khattab is head of the Sociology and Anthropology at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He was a lecturer and researcher in sociology at several universities including Bristol

and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is an expert on quantitative sociology. His research centers on several interconnected topics: social and economic inequality, problems of the labour market, migration, schools and education provision, racism, gender, religion, and the relationship between ethno-religious identities and life opportunities.

Raoudha Elguedri

Raoudha Elguedri is an assistant professor of social science and anthropology at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She holds a PhD in sociology from the University of Tunis. From 2015-2019 she was an assistant professor at the Department of Social Science at the same university. From 2016-2018 she worked as a research and activities consultant at the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities, and from 2012-2015 as a researcher at the Observatory for Equality of Opportunity Between the Sexes at the Center for Research, Studies, Documentation and Media on Women (Credif) in Tunis.