



STUDY MATERIAL FOR **WINTER SCHOOL** **OF DEVELOPMENT &** **PEACE EDUCATION**



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Authors © 2016

Introduction: Katarína Bajzíkóvá, Dušan Ondrušek

Simulation 1: Ahmed Ben Nejma, Katarína Bajzíkóvá

Simulation 2: Lenka Pečková, Katarína Bajzíkóvá

Simulation 3: Neil Jarman

Simulation 4: Zuzana Fialová, Jiří Chovaneček

Editor: Katarína Bajzíkóvá

Editing and Translation Assistance: Alžbeta Micsinaiová, Katarína Kordíková

Translation and proofreading: Peter Gušťařík

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Simulation of negotiating approaches in the development context

Dušan Ondrušek, Katarína Bajžíková

To learn through simulation activities lasting several hours or even days is one of the most effective ways to learn and it engages students to the fullest. It develops both their rational capacity and their attitudes. Students are sure to remember the activity. It is impossible to not participate or to just stand nearby and “not play”. Anyone who finds him/herself in a room during a simulation activity, becomes involved as a player, even if they look to the ground all the time and remain silent. If they wear name tags with exotic names in a foreign language, or possibly a wacky costume, and if others come to approach the person in line with such identification signs, the person is somehow forced to come to terms with the situation emotionally. Whether they want to or not, people get to experience what it feels like to be in the proposed role. If they are not given theoretical knowledge about the country and the nature of the conflict, but rather experience the position of a participant first-hand, they are sure to retain the name, along with the experience, in their memory for a long time, perhaps even a lifetime.

We have had very good results in using simulation activities in the program “Student Simulation Saturdays” with students and young professionals interested in conflict resolution issues and development cooperation or humanitarian aid. In order for simulation to become an effective instrument for learning, the following three conditions must be met at the minimum:

- 1.** The students must be **motivated** to participate actively, and to try it out first-hand. This means that we work a lot with motivation both before and during the simulation activity. We can use an engaging introduction to the activity (using a quiz, photos, a captivating talk about the country, or mention noteworthy guests). During the simulated game itself, it helps to use the music of the country, to assign authentic names from the country or the region, to use the most authentic costumes available, to serve food (e.g. cake, a Palestinian burek, special nuts...) or drinks (mint tea from North Africa, masala tea from Nepal, coffee, etc...) from the country/region. It is also motivating to watch a short documentary film that shows or talks about the language, the dress code, housing or current events in the country. Also very helpful is a person-to-person interview (face-to-face or via Skype) with a resident of the country.
- 2.** The students must **study in advance the key facts** about the country of the simulation and about the type and nature of the conflict to be simulated. Students should

receive the materials for reading/self-study at least one week prior to the actual simulation. Our past experience showed that motivated students managed to read 20 to 40 pages in their native language or English in preparation for the simulation. Most of them did not manage to complete preliminary reading of over 40 pages. Therefore, it is good to have in advance some well-prepared reading materials or videos, that students can review a few days prior to the actual simulation. The more familiar the students are with the facts related to the situation, the more they will learn, the more intensive the simulation may become, and the more material they will have to act out the simulation authentically. At the same time, having a lot of factual knowledge will not make it easier for them to form an opinion about the conflict. Often quite to the contrary, the more we know about an issue, the deeper the problems appear to be which we address.

3. Strict neutrality and balance in the initial presentation of all parties to the conflict. The course facilitator who introduces the simulation should try to avoid taking sides with one of the parties, and not to have one party appear as being more in the right or having stronger historical justification than other parties. Also, none of the parties should be depicted as a clear culprit, nor should they be blamed or ridiculed. In the opening instructions – given both in writing and orally – the parties to the dispute should be described as they themselves would most likely describe their intentions and their position. The simulation should not be started with a scene on how to deal with the “culprit”, “terrorist”, “oppressor”, or “conspirator”. We have to be careful about any labels we may be using.

For each simulation, we should leave sufficient time and space for preparation as well as feedback and analysis after the completion of the role playing during the simulation.

The feedback and analysis (also called debriefing) after the role play should include the following steps:

A. Immediate feedback on how the participants handled their roles and what were their feelings as parties to the conflict, including the third-party actors (negotiators, mediators/facilitators, conciliators...). For example, we can ask questions: *How did you feel during the game? How did it go? Was it just like you expected or not? Why?*

B. Feedback on specific steps and interventions by all participants and third-party actors.

For example, we can ask questions: *What did you wish to accomplish in the initial, the middle, and the concluding phase of the negotiations? Did you manage? Why yes? Why not? What is the result of the negotiations at this stage? Should you be given more time, how would you probably continue? Was that an effective move? What did not work at all? Why? Why did you proceed in this way in such a situation? Were you taking a unified*

stance, or did anyone suggest or do something different? How do you evaluate this step looking back? What did it trigger? What backup plan did you have? What did you have to change? What did you assume the other side was after? How was it really? What was an important lesson to you? What may not have been a good move? Why?

C. Feedback to not only the actual steps taken but to the overall longer-term strategies and possible strategic measures: For example, we can ask questions: *What was your long-term plan? What makes sense to try to achieve in such a situation? What is an important realization about the nature of the conflict and possible interventions in the long term? In what ways did your process and outcome resemble the reality of the conflict that we discuss today? In what ways were they different? What did we learn from this?*

D. Feedback from the participants of the role play from their own personal positions after stepping out of the assigned simulation roles. For example, we can ask questions: *How did the simulation go from your personal point of view? What was the hardest part for you? What did surprise you positively? Has it new findings for you, or changed your attitudes? How can you use it in your personal/professional life?*

At this point, it is very important to emphasise the simulation is being evaluated from personal positions. It is good to completely step out of the roles – also symbolically by taking off the costumes. If there are feelings of failure, frustration, anxiety, this symbolic gesture can help close the game and give room to the actors to evaluate the process from a safe distance. If animosity continues, it is necessary to emphasize to the players that role playing ended.

In the first three steps of the feedback session, we ask participants to evaluate also third-party actors, in addition to reflecting on themselves. The third-party roles are usually the most difficult and sharing observations may help the group clarify a good practice and avoid undesirable steps.

The session should be concluded with expressing appreciation for all the players, particularly the facilitators, mediators/conciliators (typically their role is the hardest) and adding information on how the conflict resolved in reality and how it ended, if indeed it has ended.

Ideally, each of the simulations should prepare the students for work in non-governmental non-profit organisations, international or local institutions active in development cooperation and conflict resolution. The students will be knowledgeable in the matters relating to the various cultural and ethnic clashes, and they will be familiar with the contexts of various problematic regions. As one of the results, they will be substantially more able to adapt to local conditions. The theoretical part of the simulation focuses on the description and discussion of specific situations, which may occur in individual countries, and on how to deal with them. The biggest benefit will be the increased ability of participants to somehow manage and facilitate

in conflicts, whether bilateral or multilateral. Each of them will have had at least one opportunity to take on the role of a mediator. The role of conflict stakeholders will have prepared the participants for the various roles that may occur in conflict.

When running simulation games, there are a few more principles that must be carefully taken into account:

- 1. The simulation assumes expertise. The trainer or instructor should have both theoretical knowledge and practical skill (beyond the usual academic knowledge of the issue) about the region and the specific approach used.**

It is not possible to run a simulation about any region, about which we do not have sufficient information. It is not possible to talk about a particular issue without knowing more about it than what we read in the instructions. We had a good rule that the simulation needs always to be run by someone who is familiar with the region, has visited it and also knows the specific method of conflict resolution, that it being exercised in the simulation.

- 2. The simulation itself only provides inputs. In a training context, the goal is knowledge in addition to experience. Without analysis (debriefing) it has no great value in itself. The analysis should be given comparable amount of time as the game itself. If we do not have enough time for the analysis and the feedback, we should not even start the simulation.**

There is an educational purpose to using a simulation and there is a reason why we choose to run it. Sometimes we may place more emphasis on the cognitive mastery of the subject matter, other times we care more about skills. This determines the ratio of time that we devote to each aspect of the analysis. Certainly simulations should not be run for fun only. These are not games intended for pure fun.

- 3. The game requires a specific environment. It has to be run in fitting conditions.**

We should not forget about the need for adequate facility which is free of interruptions. The participants should not feel embarrassed by on-lookers. If some students do not wish to get involved, their decision should be respected. However, other participants should be asked if they do not mind someone not participating and only observing. If even one participant objects, do not allow for the possibility of having “observers”. Also, it is unfortunate to try to combine roles (“I will not play, but rather only give my comments or advice...”).

- 4. The simulation needs to be fine-tuned to the language, the experience, and the world of the participants. The trainer/facilitator needs to make sure it will not be insensitive to the values and feelings of participants.**

No opinion should be ridiculed. The trainer should intervene if students exaggerate or make caricature of certain opinions or participants, instead of playing. It is not fitting – and not only in simulations – to make fun of or ridicule the Roma people, gays, Muslims, believers, non-believers, the elderly etc. Ridiculing names, values, customs in the simulation may happen (just like in life), but after the simulation is over, part of the discussion should deal with why this is inappropriate and dangerous, and in what ways it constitutes a form of aggression.

- 5. The simulation becomes effective, when it has been professionally prepared, tested and is run by a trainer comfortable with this approach.**

Each simulation requires preparation time at least as long as the duration of the simulation activity itself. With a group of 15-20 participants we need at least 2-3 trainers/facilitators who prepare and run the simulation.

- 6. Each simulation requires improvisation, adaptation to the current situation and in some cases also the courage to completely change the format, to have the self-confidence to be flexible or to skip the game altogether. What may be needed to do is what healthy common sense or intuition suggest.**

It is great to have well prepared materials and design, but some things will always turn out differently and some things will require improvisation. For each simulation we provide also its broad design and a time schedule that worked well for us. Most of them are full-day activities (for eight or nine hours). In the first part (about 2.5-3 hours), the emphasis is on fully understanding the context of the conflict, becoming familiar with the environment in which the conflict is set. The method of negotiation is also covered. This part may well be made more interesting by inviting an expert knowledgeable about the region or the format of the negotiations. Especially valuable are the local views, directly from the country/region. The second part of the simulation (approx. 3 hours) is the role play itself, which is preceded by giving of instructions and immediate preparation for the negotiation of teams based on the division of roles. The third part is the debriefing (1.5-2 hours). The process of the debriefing is described above. It is always necessary to prepare the design from scratch, and be ready for something to change.

In this Study material we present four simulations. They were developed for piloting project – Winter School of Development and Peace Education. They comprise a mosaic of original simulations, with different authors, formats and topics covered. They include the following simulations:

Tunisia 2.0: The Challenging Way to Democracy (The National Dialogue Initiative)
Conflict in Cyprus: Property settlement and confidence-building between communities on the divided island
Negotiating a Sustainable Peace in Northern Ireland
Humanitarian Aid at the Frontiers: the Case of Serbia

For greater clarity, we have tried to harmonize their structure into the following seven levels:

1. Objective (including the format of the negotiations)
2. Program
3. Context/background (map)
4. Actors
5. Instructions, arguments and positions
6. Study material
7. Annexes

However, it was not always possible to respect these levels given the different nature and specifics of the simulations. As a result, in some simulations, certain levels may be more or less extensive and others may be absent altogether. The aim of this chapter is not to give exhaustive instructions for running the simulations but rather to provide the most systematic description of the simulation process, make available the background material and links to relevant literature or videos. If you are interested to run specific simulations, we do recommend that you contact the PDCS team and the authors for a successful implementation. We will also be happy if this varied appetizer menu inspires you to develop your own simulations.

We wish you the best of luck in your simulations. Let them be successful.

Tunisia 2.0: The Challenging Way to Democracy The National Dialogue Initiative

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Photo: <http://www.allaboutcuisines.com/event/tunisia-independence-day>

① Objective

The objective of the “Tunisian National Dialogue” simulation is to facilitate a peaceful and constructive agreement on a stable transitional government as a way out of a political crisis that threatens to derail a democratic transition. It will be multiparty negotiation at a national level, with various entities performing the role of mediators.

② Program

9h – 9h15 – Introduction, Presentation of program & materials

9h15 – 10h35 – Guest lecture on developments in Tunisia after the Revolution (including video and Q&A from students)

10h35 – 10h45 – Break

10h45 – 11h15 – How to use negotiations skills in the simulation

11h15 – 12h15 – Instructions to simulation + Preparation for the simulation (students divide into smaller groups and actors of simulation and prepare their negotiation strategy)

12h15 – 13h15 – Lunch

13h15 – 15h45 – Simulation (role play according to instructions)

15h45 – 16h – Break

16h – 17h – Final debrief

③ Context

The Tunisian Revolution was an intensive campaign of civil resistance, including a series of street demonstrations taking place in Tunisia, which were precipitated by high unemployment, food prices inflation, a lack of political freedoms (freedom of expression, freedom to establish and manage non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and political parties, freedom of media ...), and poor living conditions. The events began on 17 December 2010, the day after the self-immolation of a street vendor named Mohammed Bouazizi in Sidi Bouzid, and led to the ousting of the longtime president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011. It eventually led to a thorough democratization of the country and to free and democratic elections.

As a matter of fact, the election for a constituent assembly was held in Tunisia on 23 October 2011. The new Assembly has 217 members. It was the first free election held in Tunisia since the country's independence in 1956, as well as the first election in the Arab world held after the start of the Arab Spring. The Constituent Assembly mission was to enact a new Constitution and to prepare new parliamentary and presidential elections. The result was announced on 25 October 2011. The Islamist party “Ennahdha” won a majority and created a coalition with two other political parties from the center and the left wing respectively: “Congress for the Republic” and “Ettakatol” to rule the country. As a matter fact, Hammadi Jbali, from “Ennahdha” was appointed the prime minister, while Moncef Marzouki from “CPR” was

appointed the new Tunisian President, and Moustafa Ben Jaafar from “Ettakatol” became the president of the constituent assembly. The coalition was called “Troika” and it held a lot of hope for the Tunisians that revolution objectives will start to be implemented. The Troika later on signed an official roadmap to the new elections planned for 2013.

However, things did not turn out well for the Troika. A country with scarce natural resources, Tunisia is dependent on foreign investment and tourism. Unemployment is approximately 20 percent nationwide and significantly higher in the south, reaching 30 percent in some regions. This regional disparity in terms of economic and social development has historically caused political cleavages, with a contentious southern population feeling alienated from the wealthier and more developed northeastern coast. Economic growth is slow due to intrusive policies, weak protection of private property, uneven tax enforcement, corruption in public administration, and lack of enforcement of the rule of law. As a result foreign direct investment was lagging. Tunisians became increasingly suspicious of the so-called Troika and discontent with its performance.

Besides the economic struggle, the Troika had to face another major problem which kept rising since the revolution: religious extremism. Actually, in September 2012, hundreds of extremist protesters ransacked the U.S. embassy in Tunisia and caused extensive damage in their fury over a film denigrating the Prophet Mohammad.

As continuity to this agitated atmosphere, Tunisians woke up in the morning of 6 February 2013 on the news of the assassination of *Chokri Belaid*, a left wing opposition leader. Six months after his killing, a second opposition figure was shot under similar circumstances. *Mohamed Brahmi*, a pan-Arab leftist, was assassinated on 25 July 2013. These assassinations were the drop that spilled the cup. Many Tunisians went back to streets in protest and the Troika was unable to withstand the growing internal and external pressures for a new government.

Consequently, tensions between the Tunisian government's Islamist majority and its opposition increased. This tension was fed by part of the opposition who called out illegitimacy of the Troika and called for holding new elections as mentioned in the roadmap signed by three winning parties back in 2011.

In the summer of 2013, there were huge opposition-led protests which threatened the continued existence of the national government. Given the critical situation, the Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT) took the first step in forming an alliance of civil society organizations by approaching the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts (UTICA), historically considered its rival. The Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH) and the National Bar Association of Tunisia joined

later. The group was given the name of “National Dialogue Quartet”. Even though an initiative was started in 2012 to establish dialogue between the government and the opposition, the Quartet was formed in the summer of 2013. The quartet had the mission to draw a way out of the crisis that would be accepted by both the Troika government and the opposition. This solution has included the formation of the new government which would prepare the next parliamentary and presidential elections, as well as ensuring the draft of the new Constitution would be completed as soon as possible.

Main activities of the National Dialogue Quartet: On July 2013, the Tunisian General Labour Union called for negotiations between the parties in power and the opposition. The parties accepted this process in September 2013, as the situation grew worse.

On 17 September 2013, the initiative was made public and placed under the aegis of the Labor Union and three other civic organizations: the Tunisian Confederation of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts, the National Bar Association of Tunisia and the Tunisian Human Rights League. The four organizations drafted an agreement between the parties suggesting compromises that would allow to start the negotiations. This draft of roadmap had four main points: 1. The resignation of the government and its replacement by an “independent technocratic” government, 2. The choice of fixed dates for new parliamentary elections (including presidential elections), 3. The agreement to preserve national identity in the new constitution, and 4. Negotiation of the necessary steps for the transition to a democratic government (including deadlines for each).

Each political party had to accept the roadmap if it wanted to participate in the negotiations. Twenty-one parties¹ from both sides signed the agreement, making the National Dialogue possible. The only major party² that refused to participate was the party of current president Moncef Marzouki from the Congress for the Republic (CPR), one of the three parties in power.

The first Dialogue session took place on 5 October 2013. After the initial session, subsequent talks continued regularly, under the aegis of the Quartet, at the Transitional Ministry of Human Rights and Justice. During these discussions, the Quartet played an active role which was considered important to the success of the

1 There are around of twenties active political parties in the scene out of more than 150 political parties ; most of them created after the Revolution.

2 For instance Ennahda boycotted the initiative at some point (some meetings) because the opposition accused them for becoming illegitimate after the pressure of the Bardo Sit-In, but lately Ennahdha did accept to take part in the Dialogue. However, the CPR is the party who refused to take part in the initiative because they see it is not legitimate and against the elections results.

talks. The result was the appointment of Mehdi Jomaa as the Prime Minister on 14 December 2013, the resignation of the government of Ali Larayedh on 9 January 2014, the ratification of the new Constitution on 24 January 2014, the creation of the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE³) and Parliamentary elections in October 2014 followed by Presidential elections in December 2014.

The main objective of the National Dialogue Initiative:

The objective of the “National Dialogue” was to facilitate a peaceful and constructive agreement on a stable transitional government as an exit from the political crisis that threatened to derail the democratic transition.

Your **task** during the simulation will be:

The Quartet will be responsible for preparing the **road map** – find out solution how to overcome political chaos in the country and focus on these areas:

- Adoption of the new Constitution
- Temporary sharing of political power in the Transitional Government
- Preparation of new elections to turn over the power peacefully and establishment of new conditions for fair elections

The government should make public the result of the Quartet negotiations latest at **15h30**.

④ Actors

Quartet Members:

The Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT) led by Housine Abbessi

Tunisian Union of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts (UTICA)

led by Wided Bouchemaoui

Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH) led by Abdessattar Ben Moussa

National Bar Association of Tunisia led by Fadhel Mahfoudh

Governmental parties (Troika):

Ennahdha led by Ali Laarayedh

Congress for the Republic (CPR) led by Hedi Ben Abbas

Ettakatol led by Moustafa Ben Jaafar

³ ISIE – Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Élections – is a government agency in charge of organizing and supervising elections and referendums in Tunisia.

Opposition parties:

Central-Left bloc of opposition: **Nida Tounes** led by Beji Caied Sebssi, **Jom-houri** led by Nejib Chebi, **Massar** led by Semir Bettaib

Extreme Left opposition: **Labour Front (Al Jabha Chaabia)** led by Hamma Hammami)

New political parties

⑤ Instructions, arguments, and positions

Public Instructions to the Actors of Simulation:

Quartet Members:

1. Tunisian General Labor Union (known as: UGTT) (led by Housine Abbessi) is a national Trade Union Center in Tunisia. It has a membership of 517,000 and was founded on January 20, 1946. The UGTT is affiliated with the International Trade Union Confederation and the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.

The UGTT has a long history and has been one of the few semi-independent institutions in Tunisia. They have had to balance a thin line between accommodation with the regime to avoid being closed down, and the independence needed to represent working people against the threats of globalization which led Tunisia to the state where only a popular revolution offered any hope.

Before the independence, the UGTT was one of the main spots of resistance in Tunisia and helped considerably to achieve the Tunisian independence. Till today, many main streets in Tunisia are named by the famous personalities of the UGTT who faced bravely the French colonization. During the revolution, the UGTT contributed to the main strikes that happened in Tunisia especially the one in Sfax – the second biggest city in Tunisia, second only to the capital city of Tunis.

Despite antagonistic relations with governments before and after the revolution, UGTT remains perhaps the only body in the country qualified to resolve disputes peacefully, but also offers mediation with a view to promoting its own positions. After January 2011, it emerged as the key mediator and power broker during the initial phase of the revolution, when all political players trusted it and needed it. And it was within the Union that the committee which regulated the transition to the elections of 23 October 2011 was formed. At the same time, UGTT used its leverage to secure historic victories for its members and for workers in general, including permanent contracts for over 350,000 temporary workers and pay rises for several sectors, including teachers. However, there successive governments claimed that

some of these gains came at the cost of the Tunisian economy, and that the UGTT is using its power to destabilize the country and further its own interests.

As Tunisia moved from the period of revolutionary harmony in which UGTT played the host and facilitator to both a political and ideological phase, characterized by the multiplicity of parties and the polarization of public opinion, UGTT was challenged to keep its engagement in politics without falling under the control of a particular party or indeed turning into one. Stemming from the trade unionist tradition, UGTT has remained on the left side of political spectrum and also used by some left-wing parties as an interface to make pressure on the ruling Ennahdha party (right-wing party). For these reasons, UGTT has remained strong and outside the control of Islamists. But they, in turn, could not ignore its role or its status. Nor could other parties.

2. Tunisian Union of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts (UTICA) (led by Wided Bouchemaoui) known in Tunisia as UTICA, is an employers' organization in Tunisia representing industrial, trade and craft sectors. Formed in 1947, UTICA represents nearly 150,000 private companies in Tunisia from all sectors, apart from tourism and banking and financial sectors. Most of these businesses are small and medium enterprises. The confederation has more than 25,000 union officials.

Led by special committees, it supports, coordinates and mobilizes its members in regional and professional structures. It represents an important player in integration and economic development, while supporting the activities and business development both regionally and in national and international markets.

The structural organization of UTICA gives it both a sectoral representativeness, through the federations and national trade associations but also geographic proximity, thanks to regional and local unions.

17 sector federations, 24 regional unions, 216 local unions, trade associations and 370 national trade associations and 1700 regional trade union units allow the organization to cover all the country.

UTICA participated in the National Dialogue Quartet since the initiative was comprehensive, and it was coherent with the UTICA's self-imposed slogan: "social stability to re-boost the economy". This consensus around the "social" dimension⁴ of the Dialogue, growth and shared prosperity was in fact the foundation of the political dimension. For UTICA, the priority was to take this consensus further towards the adoption of structural reforms needed to re-launch the economy (growth and shared

⁴ The social aspect of the road map that is interesting for the UTICA is about stopping the workers' sit-ins and strikes because it was very harmful to the companies in Tunisia. At some point, the UGTT was using these sit-ins and strikes to make pressure on the government of Ennahdha and make it accept the UGTT terms.

prosperity), through a “Tunisia 2020 Program” that will restore the competitiveness of Tunisian companies and create fast and sustainable growth.

Even though the UTICA participates in the National Dialogue, it is criticized by a portion of the Tunisian population to be the defender of the businessmen class, some of whom are corrupted. The UTICA has difficult task since the revolution to keep the balance between the pressure of the social requirements of the employees and the capacity (financial and managerial) of enterprises to respond to these requirements.

3. Tunisian League of Human Rights (LTDH) (led by Abdessattar Ben Moussa). It is an association to observe and defend human rights in Tunisia. It was founded in 1976, but associations had to be government-recognized, and the government delayed considerably its establishment before giving official recognition in May 1977. LTDH had about 1000 members in 1982 and 3000 in 1985 partly because it had taken stands against the death penalty and the release from prison of Islamists who had been “imprisoned for acts of conscience”.

Four of its leaders, including two of its founders and its first two presidents were ministers in the 1987 Tunisian government.

The LTDH was active before and after the revolution. Since the new crisis needs the civil society to be present and to play its role in finding a path through the storm, the LTDH was chosen to take part in the National Dialogue Quartet as a representative of the nonprofit sector in Tunisia and as an insurance to make sure that human rights will be protected in any new deal to be drafted.

Even though the LTDH is much known in Tunisia and it is an important NGO, the nomination of the LTDH was not by consensus of the Tunisian NGOs, but the decision was rather made by the National Dialogue Initiative. However, there were no objections towards its appointment.

4. National Bar Association of Tunisia (led by Fadhel Mahfoudh) is a non-profit Tunisian organization. All lawyers in Tunisia are members of the Order and it hasn't any political affiliation. The headquarter of the Order is located in Tunis. The Order became much more active after the revolution to defend lawyers' rights. There has been much tension between them and the Tunisian judges for what prerogatives each side should have in Tunisia after the revolution. The Order was invited to the National Dialogue Quartet for judicial reasons and to make sure that the proposed roadmap should be legal and not in violation of the Constitution.

5. The Governmental Parties (Troika: Ennahdha, CPR, Ettakatol). The Troika is one of the stakeholders of this Dialogue. It was against the first proposal to resign from power because such a move would go against the legitimate results of 2011

elections. They have the mandate to complete the process of the drafting the new Constitution. The time framework of one year was just tentative information which should not hamper the Troika to fulfill their duties they pledged in the Agreement of Troika after the elections. However, the pressure against the government was so strong by all the opposition and the civil society (UTICA, UGTT, many NGOs ...) that the Troika couldn't ignore it especially after the political assassinations events. The Troika then went along with the National Dialogue and accepted to play the game, but at the same time each political party of the Troika tried to get out with the minimum negative impact.

6. The opposition Parties (Central-Left bloc of opposition: **Nida Tounes** led by Beji Caied Sebssi, **Joumhouri** led by Nejib Chebi, **Massar** led by Semir Bettaib and extreme left opposition: **Labour Front (Al Jabha Chaabia)** led by Hamma Hamma-mi) gathered a lot of political parties mainly from the left wing spectrum. The new established political parties also claimed to be part of the left or central spectrum. They created a coalition that led a sit-in in Bardo which was named the "Departure Sit-In", in order to force the government to leave its position. However, the opposition didn't attain a substantial impact on the National Dialogue due to diverse political demands and lack of coherence among the members.

Secret Instructions to the Actors of the Simulation

The Tunisian General Labor Union - UGTT (Housine Abbessi)

You have a powerful position at the political scene in Tunisia, and no government can ignore it. Moreover, as an initiator of the National Dialogue you have an important role as a key mediator between the government and the opposition.

You led a lot of sit-ins and strikes during the Troika ruling period, which made the relationship between you and the Troika unstable.

You will benefit from replacing the government of Ennahdha by another who can be an ally with you. At the same time, you need to be seen as a neutral mediator in this negotiation and not having a biased position.

Not to mention, you are trying to use your power in this initiative to have your own goals achieved (to gain more political influence in Tunisia, to have your demands met regarding the increase in salaries –in both public and private sectors). But you need to take into account the participation of the UTICA which defends the interest of companies and which is against a lot of these increased demands because of the difficult economic situation of many companies in Tunisia. As for the LTDH and the National Bar Association you have a neutral, indifferent position as they are not challenging your position as the key mediator.

Tunisian Union of Industry, Trade and Handicrafts – UTICA (Wided Bouchemaoui)

You are the second most important institution in the National Dialogue after the UGTT. You care about the interests of the companies and businessmen in Tunisia. The participation of the UTICA in the National Dialogue comes along with the economic difficulties the country is passing by. You are taking advantage of the National Dialogue to try to ensure that the companies can have more privileges regarding the investment sector and taxation. You are trying to impose a new government that is more aligned with your demands on the economic level (like privatization of public companies under the pretext of providing better services), which is the reason why supporting the replacement of the government of Troika by Mehdi Jemaa, who is a person of high rank in the multinational oil company “Total”. You do not have a good relationship with the Troika government because there has been the transitional justice operation undergoing, which will affect many businessmen and companies in Tunisia (mostly due to corruption issues).

Tunisian League of Human Rights – LTDH (Abdessattar Ben Moussa)

You are taking part in the National Dialogue as a representative of Tunisian associations. You have been chosen thanks to your human rights defense efforts and your fight against the violations of different freedoms including media, and the torture of prisoners. You are part of the Human Rights Organisations Network in the Arab region. Your role has to do more with guaranteeing respect for human rights during the process and making sure that no violations of those principles are made by any stakeholders, especially speaking about the government and the opposition. You would like to be inclusive about the process so you were organizing different meetings with other representatives of the NGOs gathered under the umbrella of “The coalition of the civil society for Tunisia”, including the National Bar Association to support the efforts at the political level to get the country out of the crisis.

National Bar Association of Tunisia (Fadhel Mahfoudh)

As in case of the LTDH, your participation in the National Dialogue in Tunisia is thanks to your activism and credit in the transitional process after the Revolution in Tunisia (and even your fight against Ben Ali regime). You are taking part in the National Dialogue in order to ensure that the initiative is going on smoothly and according to the plan. Your role in these negotiations is that of a facilitator, but you have also quite powerful status because the Bar Association is one of the most important professional associations in Tunisia and you have a considerable influence over the lawyers in Tunisia (the Bar association was the main initiator of several

sit-ins in Tunisia). You are an ally with LTDH within the Quartet and you are invited to the meetings of the Coalition of the civil society for Tunisia.

Ennahdha (Ali Laarayedh)

You represent a moderate Islamist party. You are afraid of the Egyptian scenario that happened at about the same time in Egypt where the Muslim brotherhood was ousted from the government by a military coup, and the scenario could provide an inspiration to many Tunisian political parties from the opposition. At the same time, you use the struggle of the National Dialogue to gain some time and prepare a better negotiation position. After all, if you agree to retreat from the government, it will be only under the condition to name Mehdi Jemaa (technocrat candidate, independent) as the successor, in alliance with Ennahdha. Because of that, you get the image of being more cooperative.

Even you are losing the political support in country, you are still the main political actor after all government changes, political assassinations and terrorist attacks in Tunisia. Your supporters come mostly from interior regions and rural areas.

You can build on the fact, that you are considered the only defender of the moderate Islam in Tunisia compared to other right-wing extreme political parties (e.g.: Al Tahrir – Salafist Party)

From an external point of view, you are a very homogenous and unified political party. Despite some internal discussions on future ideological orientation of your party (secularist/traditionalist vision), you are able to act publicly as a solid party with one clear position. At the same time, you are not losing your members as other parties do when their members create new political parties after they quit.

Congress for the Republic – CPR (Hedi Ben Abbas)

You don't agree to sign the agreement of the National Dialogue as you don't participate in it properly. For you, there is no way of participating in an initiative that is attacking your “legitimacy” – being elected directly by the Tunisian people. You refuse to isolate yourself at the political scene.

The most recent opinion poll has shown that you are losing supporters and also with the new elections you risk to lose your position in the government and at the same time the Presidential seat held by your member Moncef Marzouki. Some of your founding members have already quit the Party and created their own parties. You face the problem of leadership after the current President and your founder left your party due to Presidential duties.

Ettakatol (Moustafa Ben Jaafar)

As the Ettakatol you took part in the National Dialogue but your decisions were fragile, since even in the government your position is too weak compared to Ennahdha. You don't have that much support from your supporters. Moreover they considered your participation in the government with Ennahdha as an act of betrayal. You are trying to save your image as much as you can, but this means taking varied positions – sometimes pro-government and sometimes against it, which affects also your credibility. As a member of the current government, you are trying just to save what can be saved in hope of keeping a chance in the upcoming elections.

You are playing the game of the National Dialogue because you wish to have a new role in political arena. Since you joined the coalition with Ennahdha (Troika) you lost approx. 1/3 of the electorate and you still keep losing during the Dialogue so you would like to save your reputation at the end the process. Hence, you follow the mainstream agenda within the Dialogue.

The opposition parties:

The opposition parties (Central-Left bloc of opposition: **Nida Tounes** led by Beji Caied Sebssi, **Joumhour** led by Nejib Chebi, **Massar** led by Semir Bettaib and extreme left opposition: **Labour Front (Al Jabha Chaabia)** led by Hamma Hammami)

New established political parties – you also claim to be part of the left or central spectrum – you are former members of other existing political parties in the opposition as result of opinion disagreement in order to be more visible on political level.

You are using the political assassination of Belaid and Brahmi to put pressure on the government to resign.

In general, you are all in same line of thinking with UGTT and use it as leverage against the governmental bloc in the whole negotiations process. You should support the tensions between current coalition members.

You would like to use this opportunity to come into power with possible new elections and new seats in new Government and Parliament.

The most important political party in the opposition is “Nida Tounes” that at some point takes the lead of the opposition against Ennahdha. Your goal is clear: taking down the Troika government, replacing it with interim government and setting new dates for Parliamentary and Presidential elections. You based your position on the Treaty signed by Troika after the 2011 elections which stipulates one year mandate to draft the New Constitution and hold new elections.

⑥ Study materials

Ahmed bn: PDCS (2016). [Video] 24min. <https://youtu.be/g3iGxkCx6YE>

Chayes, S. (2014): *How a Leftist Labor Union Helped Force Tunisia's Political Settlement*. [Online] Available at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/03/27/how-leftist-labor-union-helped-force-tunisia-s-political-settlement> [16 December 2016].

Chayes, S. (2014): *Tunisia Timeline*. [Online] Available at: http://carnegieendowment.org/img/Chayes_Tunisia_Timeline_V2.jpg [Cit. 16 December 2016].

El Amrani, I. (2015): *Tunisia's National Dialogue Quartet Set a Powerful Example*. [Online] Available at: <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/2015/10/10/tunisias-national-dialogue-quartet-set-a-powerful-example/> [Cit. 16 December 2016].

Hamidi, H. (2015): A Comparative Analysis of the Post-Arab Spring National Dialogues in Tunisia and Yemen. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 15, No. 3.

Salem, M. B. (2016): The National Dialogue, Collusive Transactions and Government Legitimacy in Tunisia. *The International Spectator*. 51:1, p. 99-112.

Cyprus Conflict: Property Settlement and Trust-Building Measures on the Divided Island

© Lenka Peťková, Katarína Bajžíková

Translated by Katarína Kordíková, Lenka Peťková



Photo: Lenka Peťková

1 Objective

Reach a consensus on the property issue and other key topics directly related to the settlement of the Cyprus problem, and propose practical confidence-building measures to increase trust between the two sides of the conflict. The Cyprus talks are facilitated by the United Nations.

“All of us in Cyprus, Greek Cypriots on one side of the Dead Zone, Turkish Cypriots on the other, are obsessed by one question. Who is to blame? Our border is also known as the Green Line because it was first drawn in green. Was it first drawn with pen or pencil? Did the foreign hand that drew it plan this to be a permanent line? When I, like

many others, decided to try and find out, I did not know that to find answers I would have to travel back to a place where the dead lived. I did not know that the Dead Zone was to draw me in and eventually capture me.”

Yannis Papadakis

② Program

9h – 9h15 – Introduction

9h15 – 10h15 – Guest lecture – historical background and introductory word to the Cyprus conflict + discussion + video *Cyprus: Buffer Zone*

10h15 – 10h30 – „Island trivia“ (quiz)

10h30 – 10h45 – Break

10h45 – 11h15 – „Confidence-building measures“

11h15 – 12h15 – Instructions to simulation + division of roles, reading of instructions and preparation of strategies within the two Cypriot communities

12h15 – 13h15 – Lunch

13h15 – 15h45 – Simulation (role play according to instructions)

15h45 – 16h – Break

16h – 17h – Final debrief

③ Context

Shortly after Cyprus gained independence from the Great Britain, political crisis erupted on the island in the early 1960s. The constitutional amendments proposed by the Greek Cypriot President in 1963 were rejected by Turkish Cypriots because their adoption would undermine their political equality with the Greek Cypriots. The crisis turned into a violent conflict and led to the displacement of mostly the Turkish Cypriot population. Many Turkish Cypriots fled to guarded enclaves. The development also resulted in the deployment of the UN peacekeeping mission (UNFICYP) which monitors the situation on the island to this very day. At this time the so-called Green Line was marked on the map of Cyprus for the first time. Its role was to separate the Turkish Cypriot community from the Greek Cypriot community and to prevent further fighting. The year 1963, when the constitutional crisis broke up, is considered by Turkish Cypriots the beginning of the conflict because from that time on they have no representatives in the institutions of the Republic of Cyprus. The constitution of the Republic of Cyprus grants them the right to participate in the running of the state at a 30:70 ratio to Greek Cypriots. The ratio of the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot population was about 20:80 when the independent Republic of Cyprus was established.

On the other hand, Greek Cypriots believe the conflict started in 1974 when the Greek junta staged a military coup in Cyprus with the aim to annex the island to Greece. This led to the military intervention of Turkey which is together with Greece and the Great Britain a guarantor of the independence of the Republic of Cyprus. The Turkish army took the northern part of the island under its control and this led to the displacement of mostly Greek Cypriot population. Approximately 35 000 Turkish soldiers are still present on the island today. The Greek Cypriots consider the presence of the Turkish army as well as the intervention/invasion itself an illegal occupation. After 1974, the Green Line became identical with the so-called Buffer Zone, sometimes also called the Dead Zone. The Green Line copies the ceasefire line from 1974. It runs from the west to the east of the island and divides the island as well as its capital Nicosia into two parts. Crossing from the north to the south and vice-versa is possible only through dedicated gateways, the so-called checkpoints. The first checkpoint opened in 2003, after several decades of physical separation.

As a result of the events in the 1960s and the 1970s, large parts of the island's population were displaced. The Greek Cypriots fled to the south and the Turkish Cypriots to the north. Some of the properties left behind were given to people from the other community to use, i.e. Turkish Cypriots moved into the houses left behind by Greek Cypriots and vice-versa. Some properties have been abandoned and started to decay, and some have remained under public administration. The property issue represents one of the most complex topics on the agenda of the peace negotiations today. It is a very sensitive topic because it is directly connected to the lives of individuals and their personal memories. Therefore, any negotiated settlement of the Cyprus conflict must not only be politically feasible but also socially acceptable by the general public. Both communities will vote about the adoption or rejection of the settlement in simultaneous referendums.

After several rounds of unsuccessful negotiations between the two communities, in 1983 the Turkish Cypriots proclaimed the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) which has not been recognized by any other country but Turkey. As a result, its economic growth and capacity to enter into international relations with other countries remains limited. In 2004, the two communities under the auspices of the UN elaborated a complex proposal for the island's unification known as the Annan Plan. The plan was put to a referendum in both communities and while 65 % of Turkish Cypriots voted in favor, 76 % of Greek Cypriots rejected the proposal. As a result, Cyprus remained divided. One week after the referendum, the Republic of Cyprus became a member state of the EU. However, the sole representatives of the Republic of Cyprus in the EU institutions are the Greek Cypriots. The Republic of Cyprus does not have jurisdiction over the northern part of the island and thus the

EU laws do not apply there. As a result, Turkish Cypriots who live north of the Green Line enjoy only limited access to freedoms guaranteed by the island's membership in the EU. After the unsuccessful attempt in 2004, negotiations between the two communities resumed in 2008 with the aim to reach a settlement based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in which the communities would enjoy political equality. The negotiations take place under the auspices of the UN in Ledra Palace situated in “no man's land“ in Nicosia's Buffer Zone.

Map



Source: http://www.cyprus-maps.com/maps/Cyprus_big.gif

Topics and format of negotiations

The negotiations take place under the auspices of the United Nations, that provides assistance to the two Cypriot communities in their efforts to reach a settlement, and facilitates the talks. Technical committees and working groups are both part of the negotiation process, but it is not in their mandate to negotiate a settlement. Technical committees discuss and propose ideas that could bring the two communities closer together, solve the problems that people face in their everyday lives, and help build confidence and trust between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. They propose and implement activities related to culture, education, crossing points,

health, environment etc. Experts of working groups evaluate past ideas on key issues directly related to the negotiating agenda, i.e. property, territory, demilitarization, the question of Turkish settlers etc., and propose new ideas. By doing so they help the chief negotiator and the leader to prepare their negotiating position. Once the parties reach a settlement at the negotiating table, the proposed deal will be put to referendums in both communities.

1. Property Issue

Almost half of the population of Cyprus lost property as a consequence of the events in the 1960s and the 1970s. Approximately three times as many GC (165 000) as TC (45 000) were affected in absolute numbers, but if we present the same facts as a percentage of their respective community, more TC (44%) were displaced than GC (36%). Many of the properties which were abandoned because of the conflict are now used by individuals who are not the original owners. Propose a solution which would guarantee the rights of the original owners of properties and at the same time protect the interests of the current users, and thus allow for a maximal possible return of Greek Cypriots along with a minimal displacement of Turkish Cypriots. The solution should be a mix of restitution, compensation, and exchange. You can also come up with other creative ways to solve the property issue.

A: Mechanism for the determination of property value: Will the financial value of properties be their current value, market value or value from the past? Will the rent for all previous years be included in the value?

B: Restitution and the right of return: How many GC and TC will get their properties back and be allowed to return? What will determine whether an individual has the right to return or not?

C: The issue of financial compensation: What will determine which TC will have the right to become permanent owners and make financial compensation to GC? What sources will compensation be paid from?

D: Exchange of immovable properties: One of the alternative solutions is the exchange of immovable properties between GC and TC. How could this element be included in the complex solution?

2. Territory

The Turkish Cypriots currently have 37% of the island's territory under their administration. The zone of Greek Cypriots comprises around 60%, but this number also includes the territory of the British Sovereign Areas (3%). The Buffer Zone covers approximately 3% and is currently “no man's land”. The population ratio of the Greek Cypriots to the Turkish Cypriots is approximately 80:20. The united Cyprus will be a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation, which means that each community will have their own territory or zone. Will the line between the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot zones move? If so, what parts of the island will one community give to the other?

3. Freedom of settlement and the question of Turkish settlers

Freedom of settlement: Will the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots have the right to live anywhere on the island? Or will there be rules about and limitations on how many GC and TC can live in the zone of the other community? Will there be a moratorium related to freedom of settlement in the first years following an agreement?

The issue of immigrants from Turkey (the so-called Turkish settlers): How many settlers can stay on the island? What will determine which settlers have to return back to Turkey?

4. Demilitarization

The Turkish army has been present on the island since 1974. Will the army be allowed to remain on the island or not? Will the two communities have their own armies following a settlement? Will UNFICYP stay on the island following a settlement?

5. Confidence-building measures

Propose practical confidence-building measures which would help bring the two Cypriot communities closer together in everyday life and build mutual trust.

6. Referendum

The negotiated settlement has to be approved by a popular vote in order to enter into force. All Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are asked to cast their vote in simultaneous referendums.

④ Actors

Special Adviser of the UN Secretary General on Cyprus (1), Espen Barth Eide

Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Cyprus (1),
Elizabeth Spehar

Leader of the Greek Cypriot community (1), Nicos Anastasiades

Leader of the Turkish Cypriot community (1), Mustafa Akıncı

Chief negotiator of the Greek Cypriot community (1), Andreas Mavroyiannis

Chief negotiator of the Turkish Cypriot community (1), Özdil Nami

Greek Cypriot working groups (2-3)

Turkish Cypriot working groups (2-3)

Greek Cypriot technical committees (2-3)

Turkish Cypriot technical committees (2-3)

Greek Cypriot journalist (1) representing daily Philelefttheros

Turkish Cypriot journalist (1) representing daily Star Kıbrıs

⑤ Instructions, arguments, and positions

Greek Cypriots (GC)

They seek the strongest possible form of bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with a strong central government. However, in general, they do not feel an urgent need to solve the conflict because the international community recognizes them as the only legitimate government of the Republic of Cyprus and the only ones who have the right to represent the country externally. They want to prevent the recognition of the northern part of the island as a sovereign state. They believe that they are entitled to a larger territory than they currently have under their control because they outnumber the Turkish Cypriots. They believe the northern part of the island is occupied illegally and consider the Turkish army as well as the Turkish settlers to be a security and a demographic threat. Their goal is to achieve that the rights of the original owners of properties are prioritized over the rights of current users, and to secure that the highest possible number of Greek Cypriots has the chance to return to their properties which they had left behind in the north after 1974.

The Turkish Cypriots (TC)

They seek a solution that would guarantee their political equality with the Greek Cypriots, i.e. the weakest form of bi-communal, bi-zonal federation – ideally a confederation with strong (con)federal units. Their priority is to end the conflict as soon as possible because they are economically and politically isolated and in many ways

dependent on Turkey. They are aware that because of the smaller number of their community they will have to give up a part of the territory which they currently have under their control. They perceive the Turkish army as the guarantor of their own security. They have mixed feelings towards Turkish settlers. Some Turkish Cypriots see them as a threat to their own identity. Their goal is to achieve that the rights of long-time users of the Greek Cypriot immovable properties in the north are favored over the rights of original owners, so that the least possible number of Turkish Cypriots has to move out.

The United Nations (UN)

The negotiations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots are carried out under the auspices of the UN in the Buffer Zone. The UN acts as the facilitator, chairs the meetings of the leaders and chief negotiators. Its role is to support the negotiating process which is fully in the hands of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, i.e. the negotiations are Cypriot owned and Cypriot led. The UN itself should not propose any concrete solutions, but it can, per request of both sides, provide expertise and help work out possible proposals that would support the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots in solving specific problems from the negotiating package.

Local journalists

The role of journalists from both communities is to report on the progress achieved in the negotiations and bring the latest news to the broad public.

Secret instructions

Secret instructions to the Greek Cypriot leader, chief negotiator, and working groups

Work closely together to prepare the Greek Cypriot negotiating position. Members of the working groups are experts on issues on the negotiating agenda. They evaluate past ideas and propose new creative solutions. The Greek Cypriot leader and chief negotiator attend the UN talks and negotiate with the Turkish Cypriots. There will be several rounds of UN talks, so the leader and the chief negotiator will have the opportunity to share with the working groups what was discussed at the negotiating table and ask them for advice.

Property issue

Your priority is to secure the right of return for the majority of GC, ideally all GC, who were forced to leave their homes and lands and move to the south as a consequence of the 1974 events. It is estimated that some 162 000-170 000 GC fled from the

north. You claim to have left behind 46 000 properties and claim to have ownership rights to over 78 % of the private land in the north. You want GC to have the freedom to decide whether they want to go back to their properties in the north or not, and consider the right of return a basic human right. You are not very willing to make a compromise because you are emotionally connected to the properties you had to abandon (you have spent parts of your lives there). You believe that the rights of the original owners should be prioritized over the rights of the current users. You are willing to consider a mixture of solutions that would include the right of return in combination with other measures such as compensation, but you push for the right of return. You have doubts whether the TC community will have adequate resources to pay out compensation.

Territory

You try to achieve a territorial arrangement that would expand the GC zone because the status quo does not correspond to the population ratio of the two communities (inhabitants approximately 20:80 vs. territory 37:60). Ideally, you want to get around 11%, or more, of the island's territory back. You claim that before 1974 you owned 75 % of the territory that is currently under the administration of the TC and that the TC only owned 14 % of the territory which is currently under your administration. You argue that the shifting of the border of the GC zone to the north (from the current Green Line) would make the return of some GC to their original properties easier because these would, according to the new arrangement, automatically be under GC administration. You want to get back the agricultural area of Morphou/Güzelyurt, almost all of which originally belonged to GC, the city of Famagusta along with the tourist area of Varosha/Maraş, the hotel capacity of which formerly provided for more than 50 % of all holiday stays on the island (tourist industry is one of the key pillars of your economy), several former GC settlements in the Karpaz peninsula (they have religious meaning because of churches and pilgrimages) and also the city of Kyrenia/Girne, which had the largest proportion of GC population before 1974. The return of Morphou/Güzelyurt and Famagusta would most likely be sufficient to ensure that the majority of GC could return to their properties under GC administration.

Freedom of settlement and the question of Turkish settlers

You insist that most of the Turkish settlers must return back to Turkey. You claim that the Turkish settlers change the demographic situation on the island and that by encouraging people from mainland Turkey to come to Cyprus, Turkey had acted against the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, which stipulates that an occupying power shall not deport or transfer own civilian population into the occupied territo-

ry. According to estimates, there are approximately 102 000 Turks in the north who are temporary residents and do not have the citizenship of TRNC, but you suspect the number might be even higher. They came either as laborers (46 000), tourists, university students (18 500), academic personnel (500) or military personnel with dependents (35 000). The number of immigrants from Turkey who received citizenship of TRNC is approximately 35 000 and so they represent around 18 % of the whole population of TRNC (190 000). This number (35 000) does not include children who were born in Cyprus to Turkish parents or who were born in mixed families, i.e. to a Turkish Cypriot and a Turkish parent. You want only approximately 40 000 Turkish settlers to have the right to stay.

You want Greek Cypriots to have the right to live anywhere on the island, be it the GC or the TC zone. You argue that the right to live where one wants should not be limited in any way. You claim that TC do not have to be afraid of being outnumbered in their future zone because not all GC will decide to move back. You are willing to accept a moratorium which would regulate the relocation of GC during the first years after the resolution of the conflict. However, you try to make the moratorium as short as possible.

Demilitarization

You want the Turkish army to leave the island. You claim there is up to 43 000 Turkish soldiers in the north. You see the Turkish army as a security threat and an illegal occupier of the island. You are willing to agree that a very limited number of Turkish troops stays on the island for a limited time and will then be reduced further.

Press conference

At the end of the negotiations, the UN will organize a press conference to announce what the parties agreed on. The Greek Cypriot leader will have the opportunity to share the Greek Cypriot point of view on the agreed deal. Have you managed to get a deal that met your demands? During the press conference, the leader should also comment on the confidence-building measures agreed by the technical committees, so make sure you know what activities the committees proposed.

Referendum

All of you have the right to cast a vote in the referendum about the adoption or rejection of the negotiated deal. Listen carefully to the announcements made during the press conference, make your own mind about whether you like the deal or not and vote accordingly.

Secret instructions for the Greek Cypriot technical committees

The technical committees have an important role in the negotiation process as their members suggest and implement practical confidence-building measures aiming to solve problems people face in their everyday life because of the division, increase contact between the two communities, bring them closer together, build trust and thus gain public support for the settlement.

Confidence building measures

Prepare a list of creative confidence-building measures in the areas of culture, education, environment, health, or economy. You may consider a variety of activities: joint cultural or sports events, creation of a joint publication about the history of the island, creation of a joint circular route that would follow cultural and historical heritage of the island etc. You may invite and actively involve your leader, chief negotiator, working groups, journalists and the UN to take part in the actions.

Once you have your list ready, get the approval of your leader and then meet with the Turkish Cypriot technical committees to agree which ideas from your and their lists are most feasible and effective. Inform your leader what you agreed on so that during the press conference s/he can comment on concrete confidence-building measures that will soon be implemented in Cyprus.

Once you agree on a few confidence-building measures, work together with the Turkish Cypriot technical committees to prepare an information campaign focusing on the target group(s) of your confidence-building measures. The goal of the campaign is to raise awareness about the activities you plan to implement. If some of your confidence-building measures target the general public, the campaign should help them understand how they can take part in the activities and benefit.

Referendum

All of you have the right to cast a vote in the referendum about the adoption or rejection of the negotiated deal. Listen carefully to the announcements made during the press conference, make your own mind about whether you like the deal or not and vote accordingly.

Personal instructions to the Turkish Cypriot leader, chief negotiator, and working groups

Work closely together to prepare the Turkish Cypriot negotiating position. Members of the working groups are experts on issues included in the negotiating agenda. They evaluate past ideas and propose new creative solutions. The Turkish Cypriot leader and chief negotiator attend the UN talks and negotiate with the Greek Cypri-

ots. There will be several rounds of UN talks, so the leader together with the chief negotiator will have the opportunity to share with the working groups what was discussed at the negotiating table and ask them for advice.

Property issue

Your priority is to defend the rights of current users of properties in the TC zone, i.e. TC who now live in houses left behind by GC. Your goal is to secure minimal displacement of TC. You believe that before 1974 GC owned only 60 % of the territory currently under your control. Approximately 45 000 TC had to relocate as a consequence of the events in 1960s and 1970s. You claim that the TC left behind approx. 16 200 properties in the south, and that slightly less than one third of them is now used by GC. The rest has been either destroyed or damaged. The right of return is not that important for TC as they have now established their lives in the northern part of the island and not so many of them want to go back. Instead of the right of return, you push for financial compensation or exchange of properties. You are aware that financial compensation can be problematic and that you will most likely have to ask Turkey or the international community to help to finance the deal. You want the right of return for GC to be limited and provided only to a limited number of GC. You argue that if the right of return is given to all affected GC it would infringe on the concept of the bi-zonal and bi-communal federation and affect the integrity of the TC community as you could become a minority within your own TC zone after some time. Even if GC would not return but would “only” own properties in the TC zone, this could create some sort of a “feudal system” and you want to avoid this. TC have invested into the properties left behind by GC, and therefore, their value has increased. On the other hand, you claim that the majority of properties left behind by TC in the south is in the process of decay or destroyed. You request a moratorium of several years during which GC will not be able to practice their right of return. You try to make the moratorium as long as possible and also try to set quotes that would limit the number of GC who will be able to settle in the north. Only about 24 % of TC are expected to return to their properties in the south if they remain in the GC zone following a settlement.

Territory

You are aware that any negotiated deal will unavoidably reduce the territory which you currently have under your control (inhabitants approximately 20:80 vs. territory 37:60). You are willing to give up to around 8 % of the island's territory back. You claim that before 1974, GC owned only 60 % of the territory which you currently have under your control and that you owned 23 % of the territory which is now in the GC zone. There are around 18 000 residents in Morphou/Güzelyurt now

and some of them have already moved twice because of the conflict, so if Morphou/Güzelyurt is given to GC and TC have to move again as a part of the negotiated settlement it might be difficult to have them vote in favor of the deal in the referendum. In addition, Morphou/Güzelyurt is agriculturally and therefore also economically important to you. Most of your citrus gardens are situated there (citruses are one of your primary export commodities). Varosha/Maraş, once a popular holiday resort, is currently a military zone and it is one of your “bargaining chips” which you save for the final “give and take”. If it is to be used as a holiday area again, substantial investments will be needed to repair the hotel buildings and infrastructure. Kyrenia/Girne was predominantly GC before 1974, but you are not willing to give it up because it is in the heart of your TC zone. With regards to former GC settlements in the Karpaz peninsula, the way they are going to be administered is important to you and also the fact whether GC living in the territory of your constitutional unit will have political rights.

Freedom of settlement and the question of Turkish settlers

You are not against the idea of some Turkish settlers returning back to Turkey. According to estimates, there are approximately 102 000 Turks in the north who are temporary residents and do not have the citizenship of TRNC. They came either as laborers (46 000), tourists, university students (18 500), academic personnel (500) or military personnel with dependents (35 000). The number of immigrants from Turkey who received citizenship of TRNC is approximately 35 000 and so it represents around 18 % of the whole population of TRNC (190 000). This number (35 000) does not include children who were born in Cyprus to Turkish parents or who were born in mixed families, i.e. to a Turkish Cypriot and a Turkish parent. Many of the Turkish settlers have lived on the island for more than three decades now and consider Cyprus their home. As mentioned, many have married TC and thus have the right to live in Cyprus. Children in these families were born in Cyprus too and have TC nationality. Therefore, you argue that the question of Turkish settlers has become a humanitarian issue and some of them have to be allowed to stay in Cyprus as they cannot be regarded as settlers anymore.

You agree that TC and GC both have to have the freedom of movement around the island. However, you want to limit the freedom of settlement. You fear that if everyone is allowed to have the right to settle where s/he wants, you might soon be outnumbered by GC in your own TC zone.

Demilitarization

You see the presence of the Turkish army (around 35 000 soldiers by your estimates) as the guarantee of your own security, so you want some soldiers to stay on

the island. You are willing to agree that after a few years following a settlement the number could decrease further.

Press conference

At the end of the negotiations, the UN will organize a press conference to announce what the parties agreed on. The Turkish Cypriot leader will have the opportunity to share the Turkish Cypriot point of view on the agreed deal. Have you managed to get a deal that met your demands? During the press conference, the leader should also comment on the confidence-building measures agreed by the technical committees, so make sure you know what activities the committees proposed.

Referendum

All of you have the right to cast a vote in the referendum about the adoption or rejection of the negotiated deal. Listen carefully to the announcements made during the press conference, make your own mind about whether you like the deal or not and vote accordingly.

Secret instructions to the Greek Cypriot Technical Committees

The technical committees have an important role in the negotiation process as their members suggest and implement practical confidence-building measures aiming to solve problems people face in their everyday life because of the division, increase contact between the two communities, bring them closer together, build trust and thus gain public support for the settlement.

Confidence building measures

Prepare a list of creative confidence-building measures in the areas of culture, education, environment, health, or economy. You can consider a variety of activities: joint cultural or sports events, creation of a joint publication about the history of the island, creation of a joint circular route that would follow cultural and historical heritage of the island etc. You can invite and actively include your leader, chief negotiator, working groups, journalists and the UN to take part in the actions.

Once you have your list ready, get the approval of your leader and then meet with the Greek Cypriot technical committees to agree which ideas from your and their list are most feasible and effective. Inform your leader what you agreed on so that during the press conference s/he can comment on concrete confidence-building measures that will soon be implemented in Cyprus.

Once you agree on a few confidence-building measures, work together with the Greek Cypriot technical committees to prepare an information campaign focusing on the target group(s) of your confidence-building measures. The goal of the cam-

campaign is to raise awareness about the activities you plan to implement. If some of your confidence-building measures target the general public, the campaign should help them understand how they can take part in the activities and benefit.

Referendum

All of you have the right to cast a vote in the referendum about the adoption or rejection of the negotiated deal. Listen carefully to the announcements made during the press conference, make your own mind about whether you like the deal or not and vote accordingly.

Secret instructions to the representatives of the UN

Your primary interest is to bring the negotiations which have been going on for several decades to a successful end. You organize several rounds of the UN talks for the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders and chief negotiators. The agenda is rather demanding, so you have to ensure good time management. The topics the two sides need to negotiate include property issue, territory, freedom of settlement and the question of Turkish settlers, and demilitarization. Make sure that throughout the process the leaders and chief negotiators have the possibility to consult with their respective working groups about what was discussed at the negotiating table and bring new ideas if needed.

You adopt a neutral position and assist the sides during the search for an optimal solution which would bring stability and permanent peace, and subsequently end the UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) mission. You will notice that the sides have differing views/claims when it comes to certain numerical facts. Try to help them find a middle way. On demand, you can help the sides to work out an alternative solution but you must give both communities the opportunity to actively participate so that they cannot blame you that the negotiations are not „Cypriot owned and Cypriot led“. In case the sides get stuck and are not able to find a solution, try to help them move forward and direct the process of negotiations in a way that would allow for the adoption of a deal that is acceptable to both communities.

Press conference

At the end of the negotiations, you will organize a press conference to announce what the parties agreed on. After you have delivered your speech ask the two Cypriot leaders to present their point of view on the agreed deal and confidence-building measures suggested by the technical committees.

Referendum

As third country nationals, you do not have the right to vote in the referendum.

Personal instructions to local journalists

Reporting

The negotiations take place behind closed doors, but you are determined to investigate what is going on at the negotiating table and learn how the talks are progressing. Talk to the members of the negotiating teams, working groups and technical committees to find out the details. You can also conduct individual interviews. You want to write a fact-based article and need the latest information to do so. Make sure you have enough material so that you can keep everyone informed throughout the duration of the negotiations.

Referendum

You have the right to cast a vote in the referendum about the adoption or rejection of the negotiated deal. Listen carefully to the announcements made during the press conference, make your own mind about whether you like the deal or not and vote accordingly.

⑥ Study materials

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Negotiating a Sustainable Peace in Northern Ireland

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Photo: Neil Jarman

① Objectives

To secure a broadly supported peace agreement that will provide the best opportunity to build a sustainable peace.

Key Issues for the Negotiations

The main items for negotiations are as follows:

- 1. Constitutional status of Northern Ireland:** There are two parts to this question: (a) should Northern Ireland remain within the United Kingdom or should it join with the Republic of Ireland; and (b) should the Irish Government change its constitution to remove its claim to Northern Ireland.
- 2. The nature of a future devolved government:** It has generally been accepted that there will be a return to a devolved government for Northern Ireland but the question is what form should this take? Should it be majority rule or should it involve a form of consociational government that ensures participation by representatives of both unionist and nationalist parties and of a broad range of political voices?
- 3. Demilitarisation and reform of security sector:** Nationalist parties want a radical reform of the police and the removal of the military from any public role, unionists and the governments want the disarmament and disbandment of the IRA and other paramilitary groups. The paramilitary groups want all their prisoners released.

Cross Cutting Issues

- 4.** The role of civil society in the peace process and future peacebuilding activities.
- 5.** How will peacebuilding work be funded and by whom? The British government, the USA, the European Union?

② Program

- 9h – 9h15 – Introduction, Presentation of program & materials
- 9h15 – 10h35 – Guest lecture (including video and Q&A from students)
- 10h35 – 10h45 – Break
- 10h45 – 11h15 – Multilevel/ Multitracks negotiations
- 11h15 – 12h15 – Instructions to simulation + Preparation for the simulation
(students divide into smaller groups and actors of simulation and prepare their negotiation strategy)
- 12h15 – 13h15 – Lunch
- 13h15 – 15h45 – Simulation (role play according to instructions)
- 15h45 – 16h – Break
- 16h – 17h – Final Debrief



Source: <http://www.mapsofworld.com/northern-ireland/>

③ Context

Background

The Northern Ireland conflict began in 1969, but has its roots in the settlement of people from Britain in the north of Ireland in the early seventeenth century, which left Ireland with two main communities: the indigenous Catholic population and the minority Protestant community. Catholics are in a majority in Ireland as a whole, but Protestants are the majority in the north.

An armed rebellion in 1916 led to the larger part of Ireland becoming independent in 1921 (and arguably the first example of a successful anti-colonial struggle), but the island itself was divided into two political entities, with about one quarter of the country remaining as part of the United Kingdom and renamed as Northern Ireland.

The Unionist Party, effectively the political representatives of the Protestant community, were in power in Northern Ireland from 1921 until 1972 and during this time was accused of systematic discrimination of the minority Catholic community, particularly in the areas of housing, employment and equality of voting rights. During this time the local police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, were regarded by Catholics as a highly militarised Protestant force which enforced aspects of the discrimination.

In the 1960s Catholic, nationalists and the left mobilised around a civil rights campaign, which drew on the American example, to demand an end to discrimination and equality of treatment for all. The movement was increasingly confronted by Protestants, who were supported by the police. As protests, repression and rioting increased the conflict became more intense and paramilitary groups appeared from within both Protestant unionist and Catholic nationalist communities. The Irish Republican Army was the main such group.

In 1969 the British Army was sent to restore order, but the situation rapidly descended into a low level armed conflict / civil war, involving the British state, Irish republicans and unionist paramilitaries. As the conflict escalated the demands of the IRA moved from equality and civil rights to the ending of British rule in Ireland and a united Irish Republic. The military conflict continued until 1994 when all the main paramilitary groups declared ceasefires.

Attempts to secure a peace had continued throughout the conflict. An agreement was reached between the main political parties in 1973, but this collapsed after opposition from section of the unionist community, including the paramilitary groups and the religious fundamentalists. However, informal channels between the British Government, nationalist politicians, church figures and the IRA remained open and active and ultimately helped lead to the IRA ceasefire and negotiations in search of a sustainable peace.

④ Actors

British Government	2 people
Irish Government	2 people
USA Government representative	2 people
European Union representative	2 people
Ulster Unionist Party	3 people
Democratic Unionist Party	3 people
Progressive Unionist Party	2 people
Social Democratic and Labour Party	3 people
Sinn Féin	3 people
Women's Coalition	2 people

⑤ Instructions, arguments, and positions

The aim for each party is to secure their version of a just peace that will meet their political aspirations but also ensure a sustainable peace in Northern Ireland.

Negotiations may take place at a number of levels:

1. Roundtable talks involving all parties, which will be chaired by either the British government or the American Government representative.
2. Roundtable talks involving the unionist parties, which may include the British government.
3. Roundtable talks involving the nationalist parties, which may include the Irish government.
4. Talks involving the three national governments and the European Union.
5. Bilateral talks among any of the parties.

Negotiations will end at **15h30** when the British Government representative, supported by the Irish Government and American Government representatives will announce the key outcomes and the next steps to be taken.

Position of the Actors

British Government: The British Government has historically supported the unionist parties, but the new Labour Government has recognised the need for a more inclusive process if peace is to be sustained. Relations with the Irish government have historically been poor but have improved over the past decade. The British Government has maintained informal dialogue with the IRA for more than 20 years and sees this as the best opportunity for a sustained peace.

Irish Government: The Irish Government is broadly supportive of the nationalist political parties and their aspirations, and as relations with the British Government have improved it has become a more significant party to peace negotiations. The government is willing to make compromises to secure peace, but remains wary of Sinn Féin, as a potential growing political force in Ireland, as well as in Northern Ireland.

USA Government representative: The American participation in the process is seen as a compromise by the British, who have preferred to treat the Northern Ireland conflict as internal. However, the British recognise the importance of the Irish American community as an influencer and American participation is seen as a neutral arbiter with a remit to help progress dialogue on hard issues.

European Union: Both the UK and Ireland are members of the European Union. The EU is supportive of moves towards peace and willing to commit resources to fund peacebuilding work and the regeneration of the local infrastructure.

Unionist Political Parties: The unionist political parties support the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and are predominately supported by members of the Protestant community. The parties include a diverse range of political voices, they are largely conservative by ideology, but include people from both left wing and right wing views.

The Ulster Unionist Party ruled Northern Ireland between 1921 and 1972 and is still the largest political party and the party of the political establishment. It is considered as a broad church and has been historically close to the British Conservative Party.

Democratic Unionist Party is a more radical, populist and right wing party, with its roots in fundamentalist Presbyterianism. It has support from rural farming community and urban working class areas.

Progressive Unionist Party is a small party closely linked to the Ulster Volunteer Force, a paramilitary organisation. It is left wing with a base in working class areas of Belfast.

Nationalist Political Parties: The two main nationalist parties have similar aspirations for a United Irish republic separate from the United Kingdom. They want Northern Ireland to be part of larger Irish Republic. Nationalist parties are largely supported by members of the Catholic community and are considered to be more social democratic and left wing. The two main parties differ in their principles and tactics.

Social Democratic and Labour Party is the largest nationalist party, they do not believe in, nor have advocated violence at any stage, but have been prominent in civil rights campaigns and argued for compromise through dialogue. Their base is more in middle class and Catholic sections of the community. The SDLP has played a prominent role in encouraging Sinn Féin to move towards a democratic approach and to encourage other parties to accept Sinn Féin as party to the talks process.

Sinn Féin is a more radical party and is the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, the leading paramilitary organisation in the conflict. SF has its roots in the Easter Rising of 1916 and argues for the legitimacy and a necessity of the use of armed struggle to liberate Ireland from British rule. Sinn Féin has built a political base since 1981 and believes it has a right to participate in the negotiations because of its political mandate. It has a growing political base particularly within working class Catholic communities, particularly in urban areas.

Women's Coalition: The Women's Coalition was set up in 1996 to give a more prominent voice to women and other non-aligned views during the peace negotiations. It includes people from both unionist and nationalist backgrounds and argues for the participation of a wider range of civil society voices. It has a small political mandate and while it has some support from nationalist parties, the unionist parties are largely dismissive of the party.

Secret Instructions for Actors



Photo: Neil Jarman

British Government

Your primary aim is to secure an inclusive peace agreement involving representatives of the main local political parties.

You want to ensure that the views of the majority Protestant community are acknowledged but also that the minority Catholic community is fully engaged and has an equal role to play in future running of Northern Ireland.

You will defend your role in the conflict as necessary and legitimate, and will justify the actions of the role of the army and police as important defenders of democracy. However, you are also ready to recognise the need for widespread reforms as a means of moving forward.

You will aim to present yourself as a neutral participant in the negotiations and to that end will be willing to support any changes to the constitutional provisions for Northern Ireland that have wide-scale support.

Irish Government

You recognise this is an important opportunity for a sustainable peace in Northern Ireland and one that could have positive impacts for Ireland more generally.

You see yourself as giving support to the aspirations of the nationalist parties, and will argue for some form of inclusive and power sharing government.

However, you will also have a role of encouraging Sinn Féin takes a 'realistic' position and shows itself willing to make compromises.

You recognise the need to appear conciliatory to the unionist parties and will be willing to make compromises on the constitutional issues in the interests of a sustainable peace.

USA Government representative

You are the personal envoy of the US president, with the remit of encouraging all parties to make compromises in the interests of peace.

You are present because of your skills as a mediator and facilitator of dialogue. You do not have any specific objectives, although you recognise the importance of the Irish American lobby in US politics.

As a democrat you accept the hurt, suspicions and fears of the unionists, but as a pragmatist you accept the need for giving representatives of armed groups the opportunity to change.

You have the potential to be able to encourage financial support for a successful negotiation process and you also have a direct line to the President if you feel the need to increase pressure on parties to the talks.

European Union

You accept that you are somewhat on the sidelines of the negotiations, but also recognise the importance of addressing violent conflicts within Europe for the European Union as an institution and its role in global affairs.

You therefore see that you have a role to play in encouraging flexibility by the two national governments in securing compromises, and your role may also involve possibly countering any leniency towards Irish nationalist views by the American representative.

You have the potential to be able to offer substantial financial support from the European Union to the future activities in Northern Ireland, and Ireland as well, if the process is successful.

Ulster Unionist Party

You are hopeful about the potential for the negotiations, and are willing to make some compromises, but will not accept peace at any price. You would prefer a majority government or a voluntary collation and accept the need for nationalist parties to be part of any future government.

However, you do not trust Sinn Féin, because of their close links to the IRA, and are only willing to tolerate their participation providing they adhere to their ceasefire and give a firm commitment to decommissioning all of their weapons as part of any successful negotiations.

You see the police as a legitimate organisation and would be reluctant to see any radical reforms.

You expect the British Government to defend the interests of the unionist community and are suspicious of the presence of the Irish government and the American representative as you believe that this is essentially an internal matter to Britain.

You are also wary of the Democratic Unionists and are fearful that if you make too many compromises their support will increase at your expense.

Democratic Unionist Party

You recognise the opportunities presented by the ceasefires and peace negotiations, but you do not accept the presence of Sinn Féin, who you regard as part of the 'terrorist' IRA. You will not speak directly to them.

You also contest the right of the Progressive Unionists to participate because of their links to the UVF, and you are dismissive of the ideas and interventions of the Women's Coalition.

You are also reluctant to engage with the Irish government and the American government representatives.

You see your role as the defenders of the Protestant interests and are concerned about making any concessions to those who use or threaten violence.

You favour a majority government with any coalition being voluntary. You see no need for any reform of policing, as they bravely defended democracy in the face of terrorism.

Progressive Unionist Party

You see yourself as giving a voice to working class Protestants and want to ensure any future system of government is able to reflect the diversity of political voices and not just the larger political parties.

You see your role as a necessary one during the conflict, and that your members who are in prison should be treated as political prisoners and should be released as part of any negotiated settlement.

Social Democratic and Labour Party

You have played a central role in ensuring the talks can take place and in encouraging Sinn Féin to move away from violence.

You recognise that if the talks are to be successful then they must be inclusive, that all voices should have equal respect and be heard and that all parties must be willing to make compromises.

You would like to see a broad power sharing government, reforms to policing, the disarmament of all the paramilitary groups and a strong legal foundation in human rights for future institutions of government.

You have a close relationship with the Irish government and are willing to make compromises to ensure the Ulster Unionists stay engaged.

You are wary of the DUP, who you see as a largely negative and destructive force, but recognise their mandate, you also respect the role that the Women's Coalition can play.

Sinn Féin

You have a legitimate right to be a party to the talks, and while you have a common agenda to the IRA, you demand to be recognised as a party in your own right.

The British government and the unionist parties need to acknowledge their historical and ongoing role as part of an oppressive state that discriminated against Catholics.

Ideally the talks will lead to an agreement that there will be a united Ireland, but you are willing to accept a devolved government in which Sinn Féin will play a key role based on the electoral success, as long as unification in the future remains a possibility.

The demilitarisation of the state forces is essential and so is a radical reform of the police, and if sufficient progress is made then you will encourage the IRA to disarm and stand down, but you will always emphasise that you are not IRA representatives.

You see all IRA prisoners as political prisoners and they should therefore be released unconditionally as part of any agreement.

Women's Coalition

You are not experienced politicians, nor experienced political negotiators, but rather your background is in community work, civil society activism and the women's movement.

You want any negotiations and subsequent process to be open and inclusive and believe that any future structures of government should have means of input from and accountability to the wider civil society.

You are agnostic on the constitutional issues and would rather highlight the importance of ensuring that any future institutional, legal and policing reforms are underpinned by a commitment to human rights.

⑥ Study materials

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Humanitarian Aid at the Frontiers: the Case of Serbia

Compiled by Zuza Fialová and Jiří Chovaneček



Photo: Source: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/eu-migrant-crisis-serbia-croatia-slovenia-struggle-cope-river-refugees-photo-report-1525011>

List of abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DW	Deutsche Welle
EU	European Union
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IBT	International Business Times
IS	Islamic State
ISNA	Iranian Students News Agency
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UASC	Unattended and Separated Children
UK	United Kingdom
UNHCR	The United Nations Refugee Agency

① Objective

The Humanitarian simulation provides two types of role-playing, namely: an indoor coordination committee meeting and an outdoor humanitarian aid assistance in refugee camp. The objective of the former is to map the possibilities and resources of particular organizations, divide competencies and coordinate work in providing aid effectively. The latter one aims to sensitize students to emotions and ethical dilemmas that appear during stressful work when circumstances are changing all the time, and when it is difficult to plan or predict what happens in the upcoming days.

② Program

9h – 9h15 – Introduction, Presentation of program & materials

9h15 – 10h35 – Guest lecture on providing humanitarian assistance at field (including video and Q&A from students)

10h35 – 10h45 – Break

10h45 – 12h00 – Indoor 1st Simulation (role play according to instructions, including preparation and debrief)

12h00 – 13h15 – Lunch

13h15 – 14h45 – Outdoor 2nd Simulation (preparation and role play according to instructions)

14h45 – 15h – Break

15h – 16h – Final Debrief

③ Context

Europe has faced a growing number of people seeking asylum since the so-called Arab Spring of 2011. Initially an “insoignificant situation” has over time evolved into a serious crisis that affects people's everyday lives. It also causes significant tensions among and within European states and some believe it may shatter the underlying principles of the EU. Some say that the European humanity is at stake. There are also people who say that this crisis will change the face of Europe for tens of years. This study material makes no claim as to whether Europe should or should not accept refugees or migrants. Neither does it evaluate the roots of the contemporary crisis and possible implications and related problems. The aim of this study material is to depict a complicated journey which migrants and refugees are undertaking and to give an image to the reader about what it means to be either a migrant or a refugee.

There is a significant difference between the definition of a migrant and a refugee, but for the purpose of this paper the distinction is left out because both migrants and refugees suffer from the same conditions. The paper is divided into four main chapters but the information contained here is highly interconnected. The reader should also give special focus to Annex 2 where personal stories of migrants and refugees coming from distinctive environments are portrayed.

This study material is a compilation of various news articles and reports. Most of the articles were published during the year 2015. One might say that this paper is already obsolete, but unfortunately the situation has not yet improved since. Hence the picture that the reader gets is still valid, despite the time since the articles and reports were first published. At the end of the paper there is also a list of additional literature and video links that may expand the reader's knowledge and provide some current context in the situation.

Basic information

More than 85 % of those arriving in Greece (by the so-called “Eastern Mediterranean route” – see Figure 1 and also Annex I) are from countries experiencing war and conflict, mostly Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Somalia. From Greece, most refugees move onwards across the Balkans to western and northern Europe. Italy remains the primary destination for Eritreans, Somalis and other people from sub-Saharan Africa. The main countries of origin for people arriving in Italy were Eritrea (25%), Nigeria (10%) and Somalia (10%), followed by Syria (7%) and Gambia (6%). The main countries of origin of refugees and migrants arriving in Greece were Syria (57%), followed by Afghanistan (22%) and Iraq (5%).

Figure 1: Route to Europe

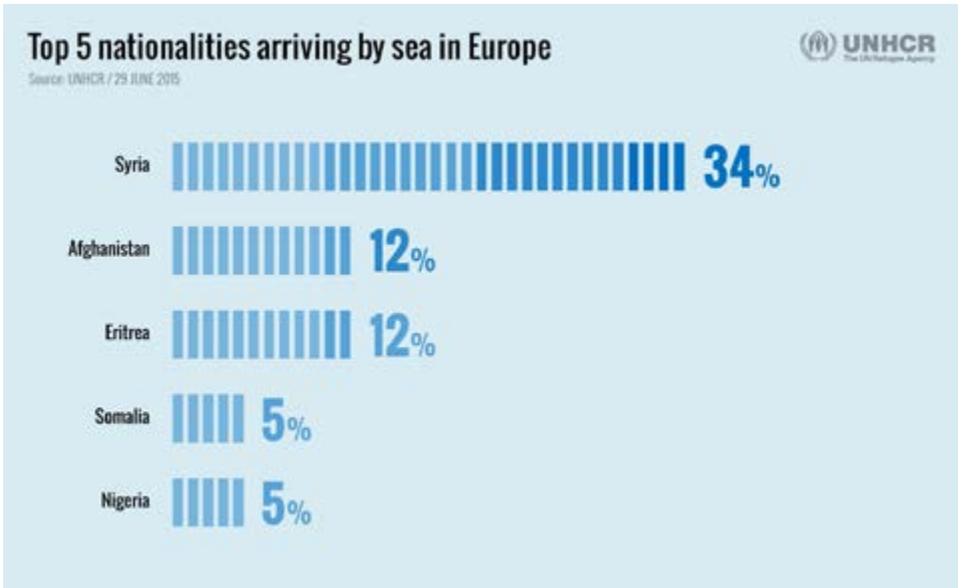
Source: UNHCR, 2015a

While Syrians make up over half of those seeking asylum, the second largest group is from Afghanistan (see Figure 2). This is not surprising when UNHCR reports that there are 3,7 million such Afghans globally. The number of their applications for asylum in Europe continues to rise. The UNHCR believes that around 80,000 Afghans applied for asylum in the first half of 2015. This was a three-fold increase over the previous year when the number of asylum applications was 24,000.

They face serious humanitarian and protection challenges linked to the hardship of the journey, the abuse from smugglers and criminal gangs, and the increasing tightening of the borders. The lack of legal routes leaves no choice for many men, women and children but to turn to smugglers, at enormous cost and danger to their lives. Before arriving in Europe, many suffer high levels of abuse, exploitation and human rights violations. Some are taken hostage at gunpoint, released only if their families pay ransoms they cannot afford to violent illegal gangs.

Most refugees and migrants coming to southern Europe do so with the intention of travelling onwards. The countries of northern and western Europe, particularly Sweden and Germany, are perceived as offering more effective protection, better support for asylum-seekers, a more welcoming environment, and easier prospects for integration.

Figure 2: Top 5 nationalities arriving by sea in Europe



Source: UNHCR, 2015a

Life conditions in camps

The following paragraphs describe the situation in a refugee camp in Presevo, Serbia.

For Zmarai Muradi, an Afghan refugee from Kunduz, the hardest part of his month-long voyage to Europe was not the 15-day trek through Iranian deserts or being sprayed by water cannons while crossing the sea to Lesbos. “The Turkish police boat stopped spraying us only after we held up our babies,” he said.

Muradi and his family suffered most when they arrived in Presevo, Serbia and had to wait half a day in cold rain to be registered at the local UN refugee camp. “It was the worst experience of my life,” Muradi told DW. “My daughter is 20-months old and she was getting a cough, she was getting really ill, and my wife was sitting on the wet ground with nothing more than a blanket to stop the rain.” Approximately 8,600 to 10,000 people crossed the Serbia-Macedonia border each day between Friday and Sunday this past weekend. At the same time, the Presevo camp has just 12 toilets and limited heating capabilities, according to Stefan Cordez, the Southern Serbia Field Coordinator for Doctors without Borders (MSF).

Figure 3: On the way

Source: Cupolo, 2015

“We have the feeling that borders may soon close in different places and this will have a domino effect throughout the Balkans,” Cordez told DW. “This means the refugees will get stuck in places that require many more resources, including heating, to avoid serious problems in the coming months.” One death was reported in Presevo last week after a Syrian woman suffered a heart attack near the camp. An unaffiliated Swiss volunteer found the body in a shower and contacted authorities, frustrating other volunteers in Presevo who have become fed up with the lack of institutional support in the area. “People come here and ask us why the reception process is so well organized in Macedonia and such a mess here,” said Daniela Gabriel, an independent volunteer working outside the camp. “There has to be someone who takes over coordination and organization, but we don’t know why that’s not happening here.”

Gabriel said the informal groups of volunteers, mainly a mix of local Albanian-Serbs and university students from Western Europe, have been providing crucial aid at the camp, but lack accurate information sources and training to manage a crisis of such scale. “It should not be our task to find crappy shelters in abandoned houses to keep people alive and out of the rain,” Gabriel told DW. “We should be giving out tea and extra blankets. We should be acting as support to an established aid system, but instead we are dealing with medical and organizational crises on an hourly basis.” As she finished her sentence, a colleague interrupted Gabriel to tell

her a Syrian teenager had torn some ligaments in her knee while getting off a bus. Gabriel scrambled to find her phone and ran off to get a wheel chair for the injured girl. Clothes donations and funding to cover food costs have also been persistent issues in Presevo. A pair of German groups has used online crowdfunding to purchase food supplies in recent weeks, but the funding dried up after both teams departed and a sustainable financing system has yet to take root. “Still, so far, it has always worked out somehow,” said Alexander Travelle, an Australian volunteer. “Many locals are Albanians and have empathy for refugees because they were refugees not so long ago.”

Throughout the weekend, groups of local Albanians arrived unannounced in vans filled with bread, peanut butter, marmalade, yogurt and water to be distributed to people waiting in the registration line. Little to no aid awaits these refugees. Travelle said focusing distribution on the queue was essential because refugees without medical emergencies did not receive aid from NGOs before entering the camp, and the wait often took between six to 12 hours. After refugees received their Serbian registration papers, they were allowed to travel within the country. Bus shuttles from the camp to the Croatian border charged refugees 35 euros per person, but some refugees did not have cash on hand and were left to find alternative solutions. Results varied, but two Moroccan males tried to resolve their financial problems by selling their boots at the camp entrance. They were able to get 15 euros each. Other refugees negotiated with local taxis, despite claims that some drivers rob refugees at gunpoint once they get outside Presevo.

Having left Kunduz just 10 days before the Taliban reclaimed the city, Muradi was one of the many refugees stuck in Presevo without money for a bus ticket. In the meantime, he volunteered as a translator in the camp. While serving hot tea in the “Chai Tent,” Muradi said he used to be a bank clerk and was working toward a Bachelor of Business Administration. Now he hopes to finish his studies in Sweden or Norway while raising his daughter in a safe place. When asked if he will go back to Afghanistan he said, “Never.” “I can't go back to Afghanistan,” Muradi said. “I don't think the wars there will stop for 100 more years. I will miss my father, but he would've died in one week if he tried to make this voyage.”

Troubles on the way

Thousands of refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants – including children – making dangerous journeys across the Balkans are suffering violent abuse and extortion at the hands of the authorities and criminal gangs and are being shamefully let down by the failing EU asylum and migration system which leaves them trapped without protection in Serbia and Macedonia, said Amnesty International in a new report –

Europe's borderlands: Violations against migrants and refugees in Macedonia, Serbia and Hungary. The report finds that an increasing number of vulnerable people are being left stranded in legal limbo across the Balkans. The situation is exacerbated by push-backs or deportations at every border, restricted access to asylum en route and a lack of safe and legal routes into the EU. "Refugees fleeing war and persecution make this journey across the Balkans in the hope of finding safety in Europe only to find themselves victims of abuse and exploitation and at the mercy of failing asylum systems," said Gauri van Gulik, Amnesty International's Deputy Director for Europe and Central Asia. "Serbia and Macedonia has become a sink for the overflow of refugees and migrants that nobody in the EU seems willing to receive."

The report is based on four research missions to Serbia, Hungary, Greece and Macedonia between July 2014 and March 2015 and interviews with more than 100 refugees and migrants. Their testimonies reveal shocking conditions facing those who travel the western Balkans route – which has overtaken the Mediterranean route to become the busiest irregular passage to the EU. The number of people apprehended crossing the Serbia-Hungary border alone has risen by more than 2,500 % since 2010 (from 2,370 to 60,602).

The route which takes refugees and migrants by sea from Turkey to Greece and then over land across Macedonia to Serbia and into Hungary is less deadly than the sea crossing from Libya but it is still fraught with dangers and obstacles (see Annex 1). Since January 2014, 123 refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants have drowned attempting to cross the Mediterranean to Greece and 24 were killed on railways.

Those arriving to the Greek islands – including children – face appalling reception conditions and most travel to Athens before attempting to cross into Macedonia en route to other EU countries. At Macedonia's border with Greece and at Serbia's border with Macedonia, refugees and migrants are routinely subjected to unlawful push-backs and ill-treatment by border police. Many are forced to pay bribes. One witness told Amnesty International that Serbian Border Police near the Hungarian border threatened to return his group to Serbia if they refused to pay €100 each. One Afghan refugee told Amnesty International how he was part of a group pushed back to Greece by Macedonian police. "I saw men badly beaten. They beat my 13-year-old son. They beat me too," he said. Some of those interviewed by Amnesty International had been pushed back more than 10 times, in operations that often take place well inside the Macedonian border. Migrants, refugees and asylum seekers reported being pushed, slapped, kicked and beaten by Serbian police near the border with Hungary and an Afghan refugee told Amnesty International that "a woman who is five months pregnant was beaten".

Refugees and migrants are also vulnerable to financial exploitation by smugglers and attacks by criminal groups. Two Nigerian men told Amnesty International how they were held up in Macedonia: “Nine men attacked us with knives. We went to the police to ask for help, but they arrested us”. “If you die here, nobody will come and ask about you”. Many refugees and migrants are arbitrarily detained by the authorities. Hundreds, including families, pregnant women and unaccompanied children, are detained for prolonged periods at Macedonia's Reception Centre for Foreigners – known as Gazi Baba – without any legal safeguards or any opportunity to claim asylum. Many are held unlawfully for months in inhuman and degrading conditions so they can act as witnesses for the Macedonian prosecution in criminal proceedings against smugglers. “In Gazi Baba there were about 400–450 people when we entered. People were sleeping even on the stairs, the overcrowding was terrible. There were mattresses on the floors and in the corridor,” a Syrian refugee told Amnesty International.

Former detainees told Amnesty International that they had been beaten, or witnessed beatings, by police officers in Gazi Baba and one described how, when some Syrians threatened to go on hunger strike, a policeman told them: “If you die here, nobody will come and ask about you. We will throw your dead body out.”

Border controls

New border control rules implemented almost simultaneously by the governments of Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia over the past 48 hours have resulted in large-scale renewed human rights violations, including collective expulsions and discrimination against individuals perceived to be economic migrants or refugees on the basis of their nationality, Amnesty International said today. The organization has monitored how the new measures in place along this route since 18 November 2015 have denied many people access to asylum procedures and left thousands of people stranded in dire conditions at Greece's border crossing with Macedonia.

“This extremely worrying chain of events has yet again left thousands of people stranded in limbo, purely because of where they are from. At the very time when governments in the Balkans and Europe have vowed to work more closely together to improve safety and access to asylum on the Balkans route, the opposite is happening,” said John Dalhuisen, Amnesty International's Director for Europe and Central Asia. “These governments appear to have acted without thinking through the consequences for thousands of people who are now stranded in grossly inadequate conditions with nowhere to go and precious little humanitarian assistance. This will only push those who are stranded back into the hands of smugglers. With thousands more people on the way, action is urgently needed to reverse this worsening

disaster. The situation was already serious during summer because of the increased flows of people and reached a crisis point on 15 September 2015, when Hungary effectively sealed off its border entirely, placing additional stress on an already ad hoc and poorly coordinated migration route through the Balkans. “Furthermore during the night of 18 November 2015, Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia all changed their border management practices suddenly, without prior notice, and more or less simultaneously.

Macedonia was the first to act, by refusing to admit anyone unless they have papers to prove they originate from Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria. This meant that hundreds of people were stranded, either because they are from other countries, including Iran, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Pakistan, or because they do not have identity papers. Greek border police in the village of Idomeni continue to prevent nationals of countries other than Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria from leaving on the basis that Macedonia would not let them in.

At 11am yesterday the Macedonian authorities suddenly closed the border to all nationalities, and kept it shut overnight. The border opened again this morning, but only for Syrian, Afghan and Iraqi nationals who are crossing at a rate of only around 50 per hour. There is a heavy Macedonian police presence at the border. According to staff from the humanitarian NGO Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) who is on the ground, around 6,000 people slept rough at Idomeni last night – up from 1,500 the previous night. The arrival of thousands more this evening is expected to swell the crowd to around 8,000 people staying in Idomeni tonight, according to MSF. There is shelter for only 900 people there. The reception centre in Gevgelija, on the Macedonian side of the border, lies empty and unused. Local solidarity groups and an NGO have been providing food in Idomeni while UNHCR and Save the Children are managing meal distribution. Around a dozen UNHCR staff are currently present and plan to increase their resources.

While the Greek authorities have sent police reinforcements Amnesty International noted that they continue to fail to support humanitarian needs. Tensions among nationalities have also been evident. On 19 November 2015 a group of around 200 Iranian nationals protested along the railway tracks, blocking the exit of a train carrying Syrian nationals to Macedonia.

On the night of 18 November 2015, Serbian border officials also started screening incoming individuals by nationality, allowing people of only Afghan, Iraqi or Syrian origin through. Around 200 people were collectively expelled back to Macedonia, where they spent the night at Tabanovce train station in prefabricated pods provided by UNHCR. The next night, Macedonia closed its border with Serbia, leaving around 100 people stuck in the no-man's land between the two countries' border control

posts. UNHCR was not allowed access to them, although the Red Cross was able to provide blankets. These people have now been returned to Macedonia and have been provided shelter in Tabanovce train station.

Also on 18 November 2015, around 440 people were blocked from entering Croatia at its border with Serbia, with border police from both countries working together to prevent people getting on trains at Sid. A group – consisting mainly of single males, but also including three women and two children, from countries including Morocco, Bangladesh and Pakistan – was apprehended in Croatia and transferred on buses back to Serbia.

At every border along the refugee trail through Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, Germany, Denmark and Sweden, the welcome is cooling, the checks are getting tougher, and people are being turned back. Here at Idomeni there is just one small gate, right by the railway line, where refugees can pass. A Macedonian policeman, with a magnifying glass in hand, stands by it, scrutinising the documents of every single person attempting to cross. The refugees wait in line for their turn. “You, you can pass,” the policeman says to a family with small children. They shuffle through. “You. No,” says the policeman to a young Middle Eastern man. He turns back.

Young men in particular are facing more scrutiny. Those fleeing conflicts in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq are supposed to be allowed through. Everyone else is being stopped. Just a couple of seconds are spent peering at each set of papers. “You. No valid documents,” says the policeman to an old lady in a headscarf. “This is a fake,” he adds, holding her identity card. It says she's Syrian. She speaks no English and looks confused. Macedonian soldiers lean against a vehicle watching, guns slung from their shoulders. A UN refugee agency staff member standing nearby does not intervene. Many who are not from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq are now trying to get through with forged papers. Sifting the genuine refugees from impostors isn't easy.

One group showed their Syrian passports, but their identity papers obtained in a Greek refugee camp did not have the proper stamps. Among them was a man, limping, his leg set in a metal brace. “You have to go to Athens, get papers there,” a Greek policeman told him. Athens is 500km (310 miles) to the south. But those denied passage are not deterred easily. In the woods near the border we found dozens of migrants, camping out. Many migrants, determined to continue their journey, are left to fend for themselves. They were outside in freezing temperatures, hiding from the police, preparing to skirt the official crossing, to enter Macedonia illegally.

There were Libyans, Iranians and Moroccans, along with Indians, Somalis, even a refugee from Western Sahara who had crossed North Africa hanging on to the underside of a truck. They were all wrapped in blankets to protect themselves from the cold. One man, singing a lament, was from Afghanistan. But he was darker-skinned than most Afghans, so the Macedonian border guards had refused to believe his papers and turned him back too.

Among a group of Pakistanis warming their hands by a fire we found Sami from Lahore. He'd worked as a chef in a restaurant. But, he said, his boss rarely paid him, so he had left his wife and three-year old son behind to make this journey. „It's very hard,” Sami told me. “It's cold. I have no food, no drink, and no money in my pocket, all finished.”

He has spent € 3,700 and 15 days in jail in Turkey to get this far. So, he says, he can't give up now. Twice already Macedonian police have detained Sami and sent him back to Greece, all the way to Athens. Such push-backs are illegal. And they do little to deter the migrants. Sami insists he'll keep trying. “I don't care about my life. But I want a better life for my son,” he says.

A short distance away, at the official border crossing, huge, heated tents put up by aid agencies stand empty. There are cooking facilities to provide hot food, and showers with hot, running water. But there are no migrants here. “At the moment they don't have the possibility of using these facilities,” says a frustrated Andre Moret from Medecins Sans Frontieres, which has spent millions building this camp. “For us as humanitarians this is unacceptable, clearly unacceptable.” Greek police are keeping all migrants away from the camp, perhaps to prevent it becoming permanent, or maybe concerned to keep the nearby railway line from being blocked. Late last year, migrants angered when they could not cross to Macedonia halted all railway traffic. The line carries large amounts of valuable freight every day.

So the migrants, who are cold, hungry and some in need of medical help are left to fend for themselves. “We can't manage to have this camp re-opened by the authorities, we don't know why,” says Andre. “For us it's difficult to understand and accept. Just after nightfall we returned to the woods. Sami and the Pakistanis had already set off to cross the border illegally. And in every abandoned building we found others waiting to follow: Egyptians, more Afghans, and Algerians. Wahid and his friends from Algeria were waiting for a smuggler to help them sneak into Macedonia. “It's just a question of wait and try, wait and try, wait and try,” he says. “Never get down, take every chance you have. You have to change something in your life. “So this is becoming Europe's new problem. Along with those fleeing conflict many more are also seizing this moment, attempting to reach richer countries to the north. Smuggling is on the rise again. Greece keeps no exact figures of how many

are turned back at its northern border, or who is then trying to cross illegally. It has no real policy to deal with the problem, and little capacity to stop such determined people. But growing numbers are seeking to pass. And this is winter. When the weather warms, yet more may try.

EU border controls

The ramped-up border controls along the Balkans route came ahead of today's extraordinary meeting of EU Justice and Home Affairs Ministers in Brussels – the first in the wake of the attacks on Paris on 13 November 2015. The agenda included a discussion about increasing security controls along the EU's external borders as well as within the nominally borderless Schengen zone, but there seemed to be no focus on protecting human rights. "It is crucial for countries in the region, in tandem with the EU and all its member states, to effectively coordinate border control without discrimination, which results in collective expulsions and unlawful returns of refugees and asylum seekers. Managed, safe and legal routes into Europe, with access to effective asylum procedures for all who wish to apply would go a long way towards identifying security threats, while also living up to international obligations to provide protection to people who need it," said John Dalhuisen.

Migration and asylum policies

Individuals who attempt to seek asylum in Serbia or Macedonia face severe obstacles. In 2014, only 10 asylum seekers were granted refugee status in Macedonia and only one was granted asylum in Serbia. Discouraged by the slow progress in processing asylum applications, most asylum seekers continue their journey into Hungary, where they face further violations of their rights. Those detected entering Hungary irregularly are routinely detained, often in overcrowded and degrading conditions, or ill-treated by police officers. In 2014 Hungary granted asylum to 240 people – a small minority of the total number of applications. While most detained asylum-seekers are later released to open reception centres, those considered at risk of absconding remain in detention centres. Those who do not want to claim asylum in Hungary, which includes many hoping to claim asylum in other EU countries, are typically deported to Serbia and, in some cases, onward to Macedonia. Here they are left without legal status, protection or support and are vulnerable to further human rights violations.

Serbia and Macedonia have to do much more to respect migrants and refugees' rights. But it is impossible to separate the human rights violations there, from the broader pressures of the flow of migrants and refugees into and through the EU, and a failed EU migration system says Gauri van Gulik from Amnesty International.

Flawed EU migration policies

The ever-growing number of migrants and refugees taking the Balkan route is a consequence of a broader failure of EU migration and asylum policy, over which Serbia and Macedonia have no control. Placing the primary responsibility for processing asylum applications on the first EU country of entry and limiting safe and legal avenues of entry has put an unsustainable strain on the EU's outer fringes and neighbouring states. Rather than prioritizing improvements to the asylum systems of countries along the Balkan route, the EU has instead invested heavily in its efforts to strengthen their "border management" systems. "As increasing numbers of vulnerable refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants become trapped in a Balkan no-man's land, the pressures on Serbia and Macedonia are mounting. These pressures, like those on Italy and Greece, can only be resolved by a much broader rethink of EU migration and asylum policies."

④ Actors

Simulation 1:

Facilitator (1 or 2 persons)

Major international NGO (1 person)

Central-European NGO (1 person)

Small Christian NGO from Central-European country (1 person)

Local government from the nearest village (1 person)

Initiative group of local people from the village (1 person)

Serbian humanitarian NGO (1 person)

Commander of local security forces (1 person)

Immigration officer (1 person)

Small international NGO providing health care (1 person)

Local state administration (1 person)

Observers (rest of group)

Simulation 2:

Humanitarian aid workers (up to 20 persons)

Serbian humanitarian organization (up to 10 persons)

Central European humanitarian organization (up to 10 persons)

Refugees and migrants (up to 20 persons)

Refugee families from Syria (5 persons)

Young men from Afghanistan (5 persons)

Christian family from Iraq (5 persons)

Iranian people pretending to be Syrian (5 persons)

Security forces (4 persons)

Security forces

Immigration police and secret service

Press/journalists (2 persons)

Journalist (private media)

Journalist (a foreign freelancer)

Journalist (Serbian TV channel)

Journalist (known Media network which streams in more than 100 countries)

⑥ Instructions, arguments, and positions

Simulation 1: Meeting of the coordination committee of humanitarian organizations on the Serbian-Croatian border

General instructions to students:

There are about 2 000 people “stuck” at the border, because the Croatian border was temporarily closed. Refugees have not enough food, clothes, and almost no health care available. Only some of them have tents to sleep in. According to the information from media, another big group of several hundred people is coming tomorrow early morning. The objective of the Coordination committee meeting is to map possibilities and resources of individual organizations, divide competencies and coordinate work to provide aid effectively. The committee meets for the first time in this group, and only few participants know each other.

General instruction to trainers:

There are 11 roles to play. The rest of the students may take the role of observers. Students can draw lots to choose their role, or the roles can be assigned by the

trainers according to their assessment of participants. The ideal classroom setup is for students to sit around a big table with observers behind them.

After assignment of roles, 10-15 min is needed for actors to prepare. The trainer may explain roles individually to each player. Participants should not share with others (except for the trainer) what role they have.

There should be two facilitators who may change lead facilitator role in the middle of the play.

Time for the role-play: 30-45 min.

Secret Instructions to students:

- A: Facilitator:** You are a representative of the UNHCR and you decided to facilitate the meeting and coordinate aid efforts. The situation in the field is very bad. You have got only few people there and they have many security limitations. They cannot move around freely among refugees. You requested from your boss another delivery of tents and food, but the delivery is delayed due to bureaucratic obstacles. You have been working here for 3 months already. You are tired of permanent conflicts among organizations. You want the meeting to be very fast and effective. Your personal evaluation and career depends on your success as the leader of this event.
- B:** You are a representative of a **major international NGO**. You have got plenty of material on site but only few people. None of your workers can speak any other language except English. You don't trust local organizations to be able to distribute aid effectively and impartially. Your workers are here only for a short time and they do not have a thorough understanding of the situation yet. You would prefer to distribute your material as fast as possible and move somewhere where there are at least some conditions for comfortable living.
- C:** You are a representative of a **Central-European NGO**. You have got some experienced workers here and many volunteers are coming to help you every week. You have a lot of work and there is nobody to train newcomers and to supervise their work. You are short of material. When it arrives you are all busy but at times there are time gaps in the delivery and volunteers have nothing to do. They often have to search for work by themselves. Some of your people speak Arabic and Persian. You are angry with the UNHCR, because they are just making obstacles and enforce formal requirements. They are totally useless.
- D:** You are a representative of a **small Christian NGO from Central-European country**. It is your mission to help those who are suffering. You have brought here several tons of clothes that you want to distribute. Women and children

are your priority. All your workers and volunteers are female. You don't want to expose them to risk. There are certain fears from aggressive young Muslim men. Ideally, you would prefer to work with Christian organizations but there are not so many of them on the spot.

- E:** You are a representative of the **local government from the nearest village**, which is located on route taken by refugees. Local residents are scared of refugees. Many of them were discussing the possibility of building a wall. Some people offered cooperation with the local government in providing some assistance but the office refused. You were invited here but you have no idea why. You would rather have all these aliens flown somewhere to the Moon.
- F:** You are a representative of a **local group initiative** from the village. You do not agree with the policy of your local government to ignore refugees. You wanted to help them, at the least by providing them with water and tea but the local government office was against it. You have collected some food and sanitary equipment and would like to help. You do not feel very self-confident among these professionals.
- G:** You are from a **Serbian humanitarian NGO**. You have enough people here and some material. You think there is no need to bring material here from abroad, many things can be organized from local resources. You think foreigners should bring money and buy everything in Serbia and not bring old stuff to your country. You think you are the person who should be coordinating this meeting since you represent the national NGO from the country.
- H:** You are a **commander of security forces here**. Your task is to provide security and not to allow any riots among refugees. You think they should not receive any assistance because it causes conflicts and problems. The only thing that should be done is to transport them abroad as fast as possible.
- I:** **Immigration officer**. Your task is to register people on the border. You know that not all those who are coming are refugees. However, you want them to go away as fast as possible. You are short of workers and they work for little money. Refugees get assistance but your people never receive even a cup of tea from aid workers.
- J:** You are a representative of a **small international NGO providing health care**. You have your team of professionals, who are ready to work day and night. However, often there is a lack of elementary sanitary material and medical supplies, like cotton pads, bandages, or cleaning supplies. You are quite suspicious with all these humanitarians, since they are just material providers. You are doctors and you save health and lives. You work separately from others knowing that people need you very much.

K: Serbian coordination committee representative. You are a clerk of a **local state administration** under the Ministry of Interior. Your task is to coordinate aid and make the flow of refugees away from your country smooth. Your office is supposed to keep records of NGOs providing assistance, but these guys here are not very likely to cooperate. You think you are the main coordination body here. In your opinion, all these material supplies brought from abroad should have custom certificate from the government. They don't have it. It is the interest of the Serbian government for work to go smoothly so there are no problems reported in the media.

L: Observers

Please observe the discussion and make notes on the following subjects:

- Atmosphere in the room: comfortable, uncomfortable, tension, worries...
- Facilitation: did the facilitator give enough space to everybody to present her/his ideas, how was the facilitation?
- Interests and needs: what are the interests of participants? Did they become clear during the discussion? Was there any attempt to compare the needs and capacities of the players? Who did the comparison?
- Was the aim reached? Did they coordinate something? What has been achieved?
- What are the relations between participants? How (if) have they changed during the discussion?

Instructions to trainers – debrief after finishing the role-play:

1. Each actor reads her/his role and tells how s/he was feeling about it. Trainers say thank you to actors.
2. What actually happened? Was the aim achieved? How was the meeting? What was difficult and what was easy? Was any agreement achieved? What could have been done differently?
 - Only those speak who feel ready to say something.
 - Actors speak first, then the trainer asks observers to share their opinions.
3. Getting out of the roles – how was it to be in a role of a different person? What feelings prevailed?
 - Everybody speaks for her/himself.
4. Summarizing the knowledge and experience: What we can learn from this situation?
 - Humanitarian work needs coordination;
 - Not all stakeholders who are involved in humanitarian assistance have got interpersonal skills. This makes the work more difficult;

- When somebody finds her/himself as “the connector” and looks for common interests, it helps make the work more effective and it helps interpersonal relationships;
- Planning is important, but flexibility is needed as well;
- In stressful situations, one should respect people's emotions and learn how to work with them.

Ideally these learning points should be formulated by students. The trainer just asks questions, summarizes, and collects the opinions. Everybody should be involved in the discussion.

5. Couple of words about the importance of the facilitation skills and what should not be missing during a meeting:
 - Introduction of the participants and welcome;
 - Explaining the goal and how we can get to it;
 - Time control;
 - Dividing roles of the facilitator and the participant;
 - Rules on the order and duration of discussion inputs;
 - Summary, procedure for making a joint decision (if relevant).
6. In conclusion, there may be discussion on personal experiences from similar situations. Those who have been in real coordination committees like this one may share their experience and thoughts.

Simulation 2: Humanitarian aid in refugee camp in Tarnovo

General Instructions to trainers:

This role-play is designed for at least 20 students. Some roles may be assigned to fewer people or omitted altogether. The role-play reflects the situation in many refugee camps in Central and South East Europe in summer and autumn 2015. Its aim is to sensitize students to emotions that appear during stressful work when circumstances are changing all the time, and when it is difficult to plan or predict what happens in the upcoming days. Students should read the **Study material** before the play. However, the historical context is not that important here. The difficulties and ethical dilemmas they will face may appear in many countries in various humanitarian crises.

An introductory lecture by an experienced humanitarian worker is very helpful. It should be very practical and descriptive of the situation in refugee camps.

This role-play is recommended for experienced trainers who can deal with turbulent emotions and unexpected situations during the play.

Instruction to trainers – preparation of the role-play and the performance:

- Students are divided into groups randomly. In an ideal situation, participants in each group prepare themselves in a separate room and they do not know what the others are doing. The trainers consult them during the preparation phase. (30-45 min)
- Students should divide roles within their group and prepare props and costumes. They may use old newspapers, paper tape and other stationary available in the classroom.
- The trainer should motivate the students to “get into the role” and explain the learning objective of the activity.
- Groups appear on the scene (ideally outside – perhaps in a closed yard with one or two entrances) in this order:
 1. Humanitarian aid workers are the first. Let them prepare their desk.
 2. Security forces with all the equipment.
 3. All groups of refugees. You can pretend they are coming by bus or train or by foot. The point is that there are twice as many of them as the aid workers and the police expected.
 4. Journalists follow shortly after the refugees.
 - A clear signal is agreed in advance to end the role-play (bell ring, whistle, etc.). The activity can take ca 1 hour or less, as trainers see fitting.
 - After the role-play, all students clean up the “scene” and get back into the classroom for the final debrief.

General instructions to students:

Tarnovo, a village on Serbo-Croatian borders

You are situated at the ‘One-stop Center’ in Tarnovo near the old motel on the Serbian highway, 15 kilometers from Croatian border. This is the place where the refugees coming via the Balkan route have to stop and wait before they take the train to Croatia and continue their journey to the Western Europe, mostly Germany. The majority of refugees come from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq; however some people of other nationalities (Iranians, Palestinians, and Lebanese) come as well. Usually, they have made a difficult and dangerous journey through the sea from Turkey to Greece, then travelled through Macedonia and Serbia. Some people also came by land from Turkey through Bulgaria where the conditions for refugees have worsened recently – many people report having being beaten, abused or forced to stay in inhumane conditions.

There are various humanitarian organizations working on site – the coordinating Serbian organization established by the Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Policy, as well as several local non-governmental organizations and international humanitarian organizations and their volunteers. Every organization specializes in different aspects of the help to refugees – some distribute hot tea and soup, clothes and hygienic material, others provide medical assistance, baby care, or psychological aid. The main Serbian organization is responsible for providing information and emergency accommodation in tents. The staff and volunteers work in shifts during days and nights. Although everyone there has the intention to help the refugees, there is a clear hierarchy between the organizations and sometimes different working methods; careful coordination of organizations' activities is therefore necessary.

Every day, approximately 25 buses arrive with refugees – some 1500 persons – mostly young people, but also families with small children and elderly people. At Tarnovo, they are offered basic services – hot tea, soup, medical assistance, room for babies and mothers, clothes and blankets, if needed. Facilities include toilets, large sleeping tents, mobile chargers and Wi-Fi. Recently, the freezing weather has made the journey for many refugees more difficult, they come sick and tired. This puts more pressure on your work to cover everyone's basic needs.

People come at any hour of the day or night, so the humanitarian workers need to be ready all the time. The refugees usually have to wait for a long time until their bus takes them to the train station, from where they travel further to Croatia. Some of them are already very tired from their journey, and they often ask when they will move further. Unfortunately, no one really knows when the next train departs, making everybody insecure or the situation tense, if people have to wait for almost 24 hours.

Recently, you learned that Croatia has decided to temporarily close its borders with Serbia due to limited capacities of their transport means and refugee camps. This means that in the next few days, you may expect many more people to require your care in Tarnovo.

Secret Instructions to students:

A Humanitarian aid workers (up to 20 persons)

A.A. Serbian humanitarian organization (up to 10 persons)

Your organization has been established by the Serbian Ministry of Labor, Employment and Social Policy to coordinate the humanitarian aid to refugees in Serbia. In Tarnovo, your role is to coordinate the work of other local and international organizations, and provide heated tents with beds for refugees in case of emergency.

Coordination of other organizations is sometimes difficult, as every one of them comes with different working methods and has different priorities. You want your work to be systematic and fair to everyone, so that every refugee has access to the same services. You also need to keep the place in order, as sometimes the ministry staff come for inspection. They provide funding for your work and your salary and also your personal evaluation depends on them, so you want to keep everything in the best shape possible.

However, sometimes, when many refugees arrive, the situation gets very chaotic and you feel you are unable to maintain everything under your control. You do not have enough people, but at the same time you do not trust the international NGOs to share your responsibilities with them. Sometimes, you even need to solve problems they create by their unsystematic work.

Moreover, your work is disturbed by curious and investigative journalists hunting for breathtaking stories. You have some doubts about their declared solidarity and interest in reporting transparent and accurate information.

You should be prepared to accommodate in a heated tent (equipped with blankets) 10 new refugees expected to arrive to Tarnovo by bus in the next couple of hours. They will arrive as whole families or young men or women. So you need to prepare clear rules for how to proceed.

A.B. Central European humanitarian organization (up to 10 persons)

Your organization is a small NGO from Central Europe which has a team of volunteers in Tarnovo. You mostly handle distribution of food, hygienic packages and clothes that were collected in your home country. However, your supplies are getting scarce, because the rules for getting humanitarian material through the Serbian border have recently been getting stricter. It is therefore not possible to transport large amounts of humanitarian aid without high duty fees, which makes you pretty upset, as loads of clothes and warm shoes remain in your home country while you need them here. You want to help as many people as possible, as you believe it is the moral obligation of the Europeans to help the people on the run from war and conflicts, for which 'the West' bears partial responsibility.

However, you need to be careful with the distribution and give clothes to the poorest people only, which is sometimes difficult to recognize. While some people are very grateful for what they get, you have had cases when people come and ask for a jacket, when they do have a good one. You try to explain that you are not a fashion shop, but they continue to tease you. You have seen others, who, after they got a sweater not to their liking, threw it into the garbage can. This makes you upset at times, all the more so because you are aware you do not have enough for everybody,

and the weather is getting colder every day. You are also quite tired after several days of work; many of you caught a cold but try to keep your spirits high. Many people arrived on buses in the past few days. You have heard rumors that the situation would be getting calmer soon.

At the same time, you need to deal with unprofessional work of local security forces. On some occasions, they behave very aggressively and very often escalate tensions among refugees. After their inadequate interventions, you need to mitigate situations and together with your volunteers provide more psychological aid. You put a lot of effort in communication with refugees to calm down the situation.

You should be prepared to provide food, drinks, clothes and hygienic material to the 10 new refugees expected to arrive to Tarnovo by bus in the next couple of hours. They will come as whole families or young men or women. So you need to prepare clear rules for how to proceed.

B Refugees and migrants (up to 20 persons)

B.A. Refugee families from Syria (5 persons)

As Syrian families, you came to Tarnovo in Serbia after a 50-day long journey (old father and his 2 sons with their families – wives, sons of age 15-20, daughters of age 2-17). You are escaping from Damascus, where the life has become unbearable for you. Everyday bombing, insecurity and fear have forced you to flee and search for a better life. You left your house, friends, and country which you still consider your home.

In Turkey, some of your sons have been detained unlawfully for ten days, and left all the family in anguish if you will be able to continue your journey. Fortunately, they were released but have been weakened from the poor situations in the jail and beatings from the policemen. You had to spend a lot of money to pay for the safe but extremely expensive rent for the other family members in the meantime.

But only then came the most difficult part of your trip – crossing the sea from Turkey to the Greek island Lesbos. As the budget for your journey has decreased due to unexpectedly long stay in Turkey, you did not have enough money to pay to the smuggler to take you on the boat – so together with 20 other refugees, you decided to buy a dinghy. To pay less money, you agreed to take more people than allowed on board. After careful preparation, you set out to the sea in the early morning, still in dark to avoid border police to see you. But in the middle of the sea, when you could see nothing around you, the engine of the boat went off. You tried to fix it, but it was not working. The women and the children started to cry and shout, as the water started to get inside the boat. You threw away your entire luggage to reduce the load, but the boat was sinking as more water got in. Luckily, you got saved eventually by

a rescue team. You lost all your belongings apart from your documents and passport, but you were happy to stay alive.

After lengthy registration in Greece and waiting at the temporarily closed Greek-Macedonian border you arrived in Tarnovo. You are tired, you have not had a shower for 7 days, and your clothes are dirty and sweaty. After the long trip in the bus, all you wish for is a bed to stretch your body.

Your children got cold and bad cough, and you are quickly running out of pills that a Macedonian doctor. Your father will turn 90 soon, and you see the muddy terrain that you need to walk him through to get to the stinky toilet. You wonder if this all was worth it, if this is the “Europe” you were dreaming of.

You have heard it is possible to get some food and new clothes in Tarnovo. You need it terribly, as the bus driver turned the heating off and it is getting really cold. You also need some food for your children. Your friend told you there is a tent with beds for families with small children, but you need to get your father there as well. In the best case, you dream about one bed for you, too. You saw many other refugees on your way and you know not all of them are fleeing from war or persecution. You had bad experience with young Afghans migrating illegally for work and pretending they are persecuted. You are tired of explaining to everybody that you have a genuine reason to escape from your country...

B.B. Young men from Afghanistan (5 persons)

You are a group of young man of 18-24 years old from mostly rural areas in Afghanistan. You fled your country because you did not want to be recruited by Taliban, the terror organization that killed many of your family members and turned your country into a dangerous and ruined place full of criminals and despair.

Normally, you would not decide to leave your country. However, some of you have family members in Germany and you hope to start a new life there. Your mothers and younger brothers and sisters depend on you. You hope to be able somehow to help them by money later. Most of you hope to get married to an Afghan lady in Germany. At home, without resources, you would not be able to do so. So you have no other choice – staying in your country as a young man means being recruited by Taliban and entering Taliban means early death, and you want to live.

You spent three months in a refugee camp in Turkey, but the conditions were unbearable – sleeping in tents in freezing temperatures with not enough food, diseases spreading around and having nothing to do. Wondering around the camp all days long was driving you crazy, so you decided to join a group of other men preparing their illegal escape to Europe by land through Bulgaria. However, you were detained at the borders by Bulgarian police who confiscated your passports and returned you

back to Turkey. After some time, you found the way back through despite the border being protected with barbed wire.

The situation of the Bulgarian detention centre, where you had to stay for one week, exceeded your worst expectations – you were beaten and abused by the police, robbed of the little money that was left. You applied for asylum in Germany, so after a week, they sent you on the bus to Serbia. You finally hope your journey will not be interrupted by any unexpected events. However, after few hours in the bus, you stop near the petrol station full of other buses and people walking around. You wake up, all your bodies hurt. They say you need to wait for the train to take you to Croatia. It might take 2, 5, 10 hours. Angry, you get out of the bus and try to find some hot food. Maybe there is even a warm place to sleep calmly.

You are all from Kunduz city (North-East Afghanistan), most of you were school-mates, and some of you are relatives. During a journey you became like brothers. You hope to get to Germany together. Some of you speak some English, all of you Persian. You don't like Arabs, you think they caused all the evil in your country (Al-Qaida suicide bombers used by Taliban were all Arabs).

B.C. Christian family from Iraq (5 persons)

You are a group of Christian family members from northern part of Iraq, where 'Daesh' (Islamic State) has recently taken its position. Driven by the fear for your six children, you decided to leave your country. If you cannot have good future for yourself, you want to secure good and safe life at least for them. You were quite lucky to get to Turkey easily with the help of a smuggler, the big amount of money he asked was nothing considering your life was at stake. In Turkey, you stayed in a hotel for a few days to have some rest before continuing further to Europe. You were terribly afraid about going by the sea with the small children, but if you wanted to go as fast as possible with the cold weather approaching, you had no choice.

Fortunately, the journey went well and after registration in Greece, you continued to Macedonia. But at the Serb-Macedonian borders, your documents were stolen from your luggage by the border police. All diplomas and important papers of your family were stolen not by some mafia, but by the police that should protect you! You could not believe what happened and how it was possible that something like this can happen in Europe. Fortunately, your passports were in your jacket. But with the tightening controls, security checks, suspicious looks and sometimes hateful words, the same questions being asked all over again, you are becoming more and more tired of the trip and worried if you can guarantee a good life for your family in the new country.

After a long trip by bus, you arrive at the petrol station close to Serbo-Croatian borders. You do not see a reason why you have to stop and wait again; it seems like a bad joke. You get off the bus to get some food. You have not had a proper meal for a few days. You have also heard there is a heated tent for small children; you need to get them there by every means.

You were told back home that since you are Christian, you should be treated better in Europe, where everybody is afraid of Muslims. But you are not Muslims. You are escaping the persecutions and death from radical idiots. Before, you could live peacefully under the Saddam regime. All your troubles were caused by Americans attacking your country and Muslims who could not pacify their own radicals.

B.D. Iranian people pretending to be Syrian (5 persons)

You are a group of Iranian young people (men and women 20-35) who, thanks to false papers, managed to be on the bus together with several Afghan and Iraqi families. You decided to flee your country because you wish for a better life and a good job in Germany. You have been hesitant about leaving up to now, but when you heard your friends reached Europe successfully, you decided to try your luck.

After the decision had been taken that only Syrian, Iraqi or Afghan nationalities would be allowed to pass from Greece further to Europe, you decided to go on the hunger strike and protest against privileging some nationalities against others. You think that you also deserve a better life and you also did not want the journey of hundreds of miles made to Greece to be in vain. But after protests being suppressed by the police, you gave up and decided to get fake Syrian documents that, as you hope, will guarantee you the way to Europe. You had to pay a high price, though – 2000 EUR and unfriendly comments from other people in your bus. Some of them are even threatening you and say ‘Germany is my country, not yours!’

You are worried about your identity being revealed at every border-crossing. (Most of you cannot speak Arab language well enough; some of you know just some words.) If this happens, you will be returned back to Greece and all your efforts and money will be gone. But you cannot return back, this would mean life in poverty, struggle for life, and no chances to get married and have your own family. You are well educated and want to get a good job and earn money so that you can have a decent life and help your family back home. However, the living conditions you have seen so far are far from decent – no showers, privacy, travelling with a bunch of stinky people, crying babies and people whose language you do not understand...

At the previous stop, you had a conflict with a few Syrian men who were mocking and insulting you. Now you try to ignore them, but you feel very uneasy and awkward not only in the bus, but also when it stops in Tarnovo and you see exhausted people

all around. With your friends, you try to walk further from the bus to get rid of hateful looks. You want to ask for some hot tea to warm you up and calm you. If possible, you would also finally switch the bus seat for a normal bed, at least for one night.

C. Security forces (4 persons)

Members of security forces with their Chief Officer

You are the official Serbian body responsible for safeguarding the order in Tarnovo and to prove that Serbian state has the situation under control. Your goal is to keep peace and patrol the situation in the surroundings of the petrol station and the improvised refugee camp. In case of need, you are supposed to manage crowds of people to prevent aggression and violence. Be aware that you are not instructed to assist humanitarian workers. Your main task is to maintain security and smooth flow of “these people” away from Tarnovo on their way to Germany.

You will be operating in two groups.

C.A. Security forces fully equipped to manage violent crowds in Tarnovo

As a representative of the Serbian government, you have to ensure peace and order at the borders by using available legal means.

One of the main tasks is to coordinate people at the entrance of the heated sleeping tent, which operates only by night (max. capacity is 20, only for women and kids up to 15 years) you cannot allow more people to enter the tent because of safety reasons.

C.B. Immigration police and secret service

Your main task is to register new incoming refugees, check their documents and inspect suspicious persons who may conduct terrorist attacks in the territory of your country. You need to prepare registration check point where everybody should go straight after getting off the bus. Even before they get food, drink or go to toilet.

D. Press/journalists (2 persons)

Each of you will prepare a video report (they will be screened in the classrooms during the final debrief) about the current situation of refugees in Tarnovo (please use your mobile to record the situation and the testimonies). You need to decide on the name of the media you are working for.

D.A. Journalist (private media)

Your employer is thirsty for breathtaking images, which you have to provide for the TV Channel. Under pressure from your boss and under time stress, you have to film whether it is possible, or not.

Many times you use aggressive approach with no empathy. If there is no sensation, you will not pay attention to the situation and rather you go to “dig” for more emotions on the screen.

D.B. Journalist (a foreign freelancer)

You are a young woman for whom this crisis is like a part of her life. You have been to Syria and Iraq to experience the situation first-hand, to see the military regime, to meet the people fleeing the country and those who remain in the country despite the situation. You think that the media mostly cover incidents from western countries (terrorist attacks) which leaves many attacks in Syria or the general situation of Syrian people less publicized.

After watching the news last night, you decided to take a car and drive to the borders for genuine refugee stories.

D.C. Journalist (Serbian TV channel)

You are part of the team of journalists from Serbia, but you personally feel less involved in this topic, especially because of inner hatred for Muslims and all these people in refuge. You would prefer not to be there among these smelly people, which you see as a potential cause for murders, sexual assaults, robberies, muggings, thefts, extortions, drug smuggling, and people smuggling.

D.E. Journalist (from a well-known media network which streams in more than 100 countries)

You are a Muslim and your parents were migrants although you were born in Europe in middle class family. You have travelled to many developing and post-conflict countries and seen more than enough. This allows you to stay calm and see things from a broad spectrum of perspectives.

You see this crisis as a story about people, their journey and their individualities.

Instructions to trainers – final debriefing and discussion

Debriefing should be conducted in 3 steps:

- **Step 1:** screening of video materials prepared by journalists from each group (brief reactions to these materials by other members of the group) – 5 min of screening + 15 min discussion
- **Step 2:** debriefing from the position of the role-play actors
- **Step 3:** debriefing from the personal point of view of students

Debriefing from the position of role-play actors (Level 1)

1. Direct feedback about how they managed to get into their roles and what they were feeling. Examples of questions: *How did you feel during the performance? How did it go? Was it as you expected or not? Why?* (Be careful to include representatives of all roles.)
2. Feedback on behavior, action and interventions of all players. Examples of questions: *What did you want to achieve in the initial-middle-final phase of the role-play? Were you successful? Why yes? Why not? How would you probably continue if you got more time? Which steps were working well? What did not work at all? Why? Why did you act this way in this situation? Did you have the same attitude, or did some of you act differently? How do you evaluate those steps? What were the consequences? What was your Plan B? What did you have to change? How did you understand the interests of other players? Who of them made your role more or less difficult? How? What was the useful lesson for you? What was not a good step and why?*
3. Feedback not only to direct steps and actions, but also to possible long-term strategies. Examples of questions: *What was your long-term goal? What is the reasonable goal in this situation? What is the important lesson on the character of this situation? What was similar to the reality of contemporary humanitarian crisis? What have we learned from this?*

Debriefing from personal point of view of students (Level 2)

4. Feedback from the participants of the role-play from their personal positions after stepping out of their assigned roles. Examples of questions: *How do you evaluate the situation from your personal point of view? What was the most difficult thing for you? What surprised you positively? Did it lead to new findings or change of attitudes? How can you use this in your professional/private life?*

Stepping out of the roles is possible also symbolically by taking off costumes and badges. If there are feelings of frustration or lack of success, it is possible to close off the role-play also through this symbolic gesture. Students are then free to evaluate the role-play from a distance.

⑥ Study materials

Basic information

UNHCR. (2015a). *The Sea Route to Europe*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/5592bd059.html> [16 December 2016].

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Amnesty International (2015c): *Refugee Crisis: Balkans border blocks leave thousands stranded*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/11/refugee-crisis-balkans-border-blocks-leave-thousands-segregated-and-stranded-in-greece/> [16 December 2016].

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7 Annexes

Annex 1 – Visualization of migration routes

Figure 4: The Balkan route used by refugees



Source: DW, 2015a

Figure 5: The changing Western Balkan route



Source: DW, 2015b

Figure 6: Migration routes I

Source: Amnesty International, 2015a

Figure 7: Migration routes II



Source: Eurasian Geopolitics

Annex 2 – Refugees and their countries of origin

Syria

Figure 8: Syrian refugee in Quru Gusik refugee camp, Iraq



Source: Amnesty International UK, 2014

Syria is a secular state. Islam is the dominant religion. About 46 % citizens are university educated, and another 46 % have secondary education. Around half are married, and 44 % have children. Most of them had previously spent time in Turkey, often in hotels and hostels. Two thirds of those questioned said they had received no assistance there, and the majority had left because of unemployment, and lack of financial assistance. 90 % wanted to find asylum somewhere else in the EU, mostly in Germany and Sweden, due to better assistance and employment opportunities. More than half intended to apply for family reunification once they arrived. Almost 20 % didn't have regular access to a toilet and 70 % did not regularly receive hygiene items. 30 % had no mattress to sleep on; more than half had no access to a shower or blankets.

Short stories of Syrian refugees:

Story of Ali

Ali and his family fled from Syria to Europe because of the conflict. All they wanted was to be safe. Ali has now returned to Syria without his family. Four of his children have died and his wife and three other children are still missing.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtQoleVmDPQ>

Story of Batoul

Batoul Najem is 19 years old woman from the city of Hama in Syria. She and her family fled to Lebanon. Watch her story on YouTube.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JmjfJiTdfQ>

Story of one family

“My children gave me the courage to leave. I've done all I could do.” Please journey through Europe with Naleen and her family, and hear their story in their own words. “If I had stayed and waited for Daesh⁵, they would have killed them before my eyes. I saw that all of our life had been destroyed. Our house was destroyed – there is nothing left.” Naleen, her husband Dara and their two young children are just one of the thousands of Syrian families who've risked everything to reach Europe by sea. The perilous journey from inside Syria and across the Mediterranean was just the beginning of their search for safety. As all the others, they really had no choice but to flee. “We don't dare go back – we saw many people slaughtered in front of our eyes.” We met them on the shores of Lesvos, minutes after their arrival, as Naleen shed the tears of a mother forced to risk the lives of her children. Last July this family, who had lived through so much, invited us to travel with them across Europe in search of sanctuary. This is the first episode of their fraught, emotional journey – please follow along on “The Long Journey.”

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/UNHCR/videos/10154638919498438/>

⁵ Daesh is Arabic language acronym for the so-called Islamic State (IS).

Iraq

Figure 9: Thousands of refugees are fleeing city in Iraq after Islamic terrorists seized the control



Source: Daily Mail, 2014.

Major religion: Islam, thousands are Christians. The Iraqi Civil War is an ongoing armed conflict in the Middle East. In 2014, the Iraqi insurgency escalated into a civil war. The sudden flood of terrified families escaping the fighting in Mosul, Iraq's second largest city, was described as 'one of the largest and swiftest mass movements of people in the world in recent memory'. Neighbouring countries already struggling to look after 2.8 million refugees from the Syrian civil war now face the prospect of a new influx of displaced people desperately seeking a safe haven. One of the refugees, a labourer named Abed, said: "masked men came to our house and they threatened us: "We will get to you." So we fled. They kidnapped other people. They took away some people for interrogation.'

He said ISIS fighters – as well as masked bandits taking advantage of the chaos – were seizing young women for rape or forced marriage. Many of the refugees headed east into the autonomous region of Kurdistan. Prior to the recent fighting in Iraq connected with the Islamic State (IS), approximately 1.5 million Iraqis were displaced internally or into neighboring countries. In July 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that over 1.9 million Iraqis were

displaced from their homes. The refugee crisis has impacted both Iraqis who fled and the communities that they left behind. Engineers, artists, lawyers, academics, doctors, and other professionals were among the first to escape the war. This migration dismantled many of Iraq's cultural institutions and stripped it of the services that middle class professionals provide.

Ahmad's story

Ahmad worked as a translator for the US Coalition Forces in Iraq. He bonded with the Marines he was working with, and felt as if they had become a family. He left the country after a fellow translator and friend was murdered, and he began to fear for his own safety.

"Nasrani" People – Christians

There has been a long tradition of Christians living in Iraqi cities like Baghdad and Mosul. Christians have lived in Iraq for two millennia but are currently on the verge of extinction. Iraq has suffered from years of structural uncertainty, conflict and instability under a government incapable of enforcing the rule of law and providing a minimum of security. Iraq is divided into two parts, the semi-autonomous Kurdish region in the north and the large remaining Arab part. Kurds and Arabs have their own languages and culture. Most of Iraq's oil resources are found near Kirkuk and Mosul, the border areas between the Kurdish region and Arab Iraq, and these are amongst the most violent places of Iraq. Christians are caught here in the crossfire of two different battles: one for a Kurdish autonomous country and one for a religious cleansing of Iraq by Islamic terrorist groups who wish to make the country purely Islamic. In a single decade more than two thirds of Iraq's Christians have fled the country. In recent years, the Christians of Iraq have been caught in the middle of what is essentially a civil war between the Shiite majority and Sunni Muslim minority. Extremists on both sides view the Christians as sympathetic to the West and, as non-Muslims, unworthy of living in an Islamic country. As a result, Iraq's Christian community has become a victim of an open and systematic campaign to cleanse the country of its religious minorities. There are over 100,000 Christians displaced in northern Iraq, because no Christian is meant to stay in Mosul. They were told to either pay the fee, become Muslims or be killed if they don't leave Mosul (city in northern Iraq illegally occupied by the Islamic state of Iraq and Levant).

Afghanistan

Figure 10: Afghan refugees



Source: Foreign Policy Journal, 2015

Official religion: Islam

People from Afghanistan don't want to be recorded on camera because they are worried for the repercussions which might happen to their relatives in Afghanistan.

Before the recent upsurge in violence in Syria and Iraq, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that Afghanistan remained the world's top producer of refugees for the 32nd year in a row. As of July 2014, the UNHCR estimated there are approximately 700,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Afghanistan. Violence has been the major factor in involuntary population movements among Afghans.

The vast majority of Afghan refugees reside in Pakistan and Iran, where they face an uncertain political situation, according to Human Rights Watch (HRW). Iranian officials, for example, deport thousands of undocumented Afghans without allowing them the opportunity to demonstrate their legal right to remain in Iran, or to lodge an asylum application.

When Afghan refugees repatriate, they return to a country that remains plagued by war, poverty, and lawlessness. According to a 2012 report by the Feinstein International Centre, one in three Afghan children are malnourished, with rates far higher in conflict-affected regions. Access to health care remains very limited, with 15 percent of the population without access to even basic healthcare services. In areas where fighting continues, militants lack respect for the neutrality of health care facilities, making visiting these facilities dangerous.

Unaccompanied and separated children (UASC) are amongst those fleeing Afghanistan. The UNHCR reported that Afghans comprised the highest number of UASC seeking asylum in Europe in 2014 with Sweden and Germany being the main destinations for protection. According to the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, the majority of Afghan unaccompanied minors are boys aged between 13 to 17 years. The issue of teenage boys fleeing Afghanistan is not something new and since the rise of the Taliban in the late 1990s, teenage boys have sought protection abroad. The reason for this is straightforward, although often not properly understood. Amongst those who flee natural disaster, women and children tend to figure in large numbers. Recent research, however, has highlighted the way in which conflicts create particular risks for young men of military age.

Short stories

Ahmad

Ahmad is fifteen years old. He says “look at my arm”, as he rolls up his shirt-sleeve, revealing a brutal scar. “The Taliban told me to join them. I refused and for that they beat me.”

Amir

Seventeen-year old Amir tells a similar story where the Taliban in the province of Kunduz tried to coerce him to join them and he refused. He has lost all movement in his middle finger after he was beaten. Several Afghan boys from the same area of Kunduz as Amir reiterated their fear of being persecuted by the Taliban. Their concerns proved to be legitimate. On 28 September 2015, only a week after one of the authors met them, the Taliban attacked Kunduz city. Media reports initially described it as a major win for the Taliban, certainly the group's biggest success since the demise of its regime in 2001. After fifteen days of heavy fighting the Taliban were driven from the city, but not before Amnesty International had recorded harrowing accounts of “Mass murder, gang rapes and house-to-house searches by Taliban death squads.”

Barakat

Barakat, a gaunt sixteen year old, talked about his father who worked as a police commander and his brother who had worked with the NATO Special Forces. He said the number of death threats made to his family by the Taliban escalated, and more frequently the message became that Barakat and his two brothers would “go missing soon”. This was the catalyst for the three of them to head out to Europe. When they reached the border of Afghanistan and Iran, Junaid, the eldest brother turned back, becoming increasingly concerned about the remaining family in their village. Barakat and his other brother continued on before they were separated in Turkey. Barakat's family has heard nothing of this brother since, and they fear that something tragic might have happened to him when leaving Turkey for Greece. On September 29, the day after the Taliban took Kunduz, one of the authors spoke with Junaid from Afghanistan. Gunshots echoed in the background, his voice shaky as he said he did not know if he and his family would be alive the following morning. He also stated that Barakat could never return as the situation was dire.

For those children who manage to escape Afghanistan's ongoing war, their troubles are far from over when they begin the perilous journey to Europe. Most Afghans exit their homeland via Iran. While Iran has a history of offering refuge to millions of Afghan refugees, the current situation on the Afghan-Iranian border is concerning. Boys gave accounts of Iranian border authorities shooting Afghans when it was believed they had entered the country without authorization. When remembering his friend, who was shot, one young boy sadly said “he was finished”. Those asylum seekers who do make it through Iran arrive in Turkey. Here, they cross the Mediterranean to Greece. If they survive the boat journey, the next stage is entering either Macedonia or Bulgaria, and then crossing into Serbia before heading north to Hungary, Austria, and, for many, Germany as the final destination.

For most asylum seekers, Serbia has served as a transit point and often a place of brief respite before continuing their journey. From January to September 2015, Serbia saw over 100,000 people register their intention to apply for asylum in Europe. According to the UNHCR, over 20,000 Afghans were amongst these registrations.

Zmarak

“Here, he is the youngest boy in our group”, yelled a group of Afghan teenage asylum seekers camped in Belgrade's Bristol Park. A ten-year old boy dressed in faded jeans limped across the park before sitting down. “My name is Zmarak, I am here alone and I do not know if my parents are dead or alive in Afghanistan”, he softly said. Pointing to his leg, he explained he injured it while running away from Bulgarian police. He only made it to Belgrade after a friend carried him on his back for three days, walking across Bulgaria into Serbia.

Iran

Figure 11: Public execution in Iran



Source: ISNA, 2014

Iran, known as Persia until 1935 and now officially the Islamic Republic of Iran, is the second-largest nation in the Middle East by population. Iran shares a border, along with historical and religious ties, with Iraq. Iran has been a quasi-theocracy since the Islamic Revolution of 1979, which deposed Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran. Democratically elected President Hassan Rouhani is the head of the republic, but divine leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei controls the military, the judiciary and the state broadcasting services. Shiite Islam is the state religion of Iran, with Sunni Muslims constituting a very small minority of the nation. Iran continues to face international criticism for not adhering to the requirements of the United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding its nuclear facilities and its uranium enrichment program.

Executions, including public hangings, continued at an alarming rate in 2014. Among those put to death were members of Iran's Arab minority, a man accused of heresy, and several people convicted for murders they allegedly committed when

they were under the age of 18. Freedom of expression remained under attack, and the authorities continued to disrupt the free flow of information. Some 35 journalists and dozens of activists and human rights lawyers remained behind bars, while new arrests and prison sentences for media workers and online activists were reported throughout the year.

Death penalty

According to the Iranian media sources, authorities executed at least 200 prisoners as of October 2014, but opposition sources said they carried out another 400 unannounced executions. Some executions were public. Under Iranian law, many crimes are punishable by death, including some that do not involve violence such as “insulting the Prophet,” apostasy, same-sex relations, adultery, or drug-related offenses.

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