Contents

xi Editors’ Note
xiii Introduction

Interviews

001 001 Pascal Thirion, Tempelhof Management
    Tempelhof Refugee Camp, Berlin, Germany, 2015-12-16 and 2016-02-09

007 002 Amama, Refugee
    Tempelhof Refugee Camp, Berlin, Germany, 2015-12-18 and 2016-02-10

010 003 Atiq Atiqullah, Refugee
    Moria Camp, Greece, 2015-12-26

014 004 Boris Cheshirkov, UNHCR
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-01-01 and 2016-02-19

022 005 Fareshta Ahmadi, Refugee
    Tempelhof Refugee Camp, Berlin, Germany, 2016-02-09

023 006 Peter Albers and Andreas Lindner, Tempelhof Medical Centre
    Berlin, Germany, 2016-02-10

026 007 Ioannis Mouzalas, Former Greek Minister for Migration Policy
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-13

029 008 Mustafa Dawa, Funeral Director
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-14

033 009 Spyros Galinos, Lesvos Mayor
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-14

038 010 Salam Aldeen, Team Humanity
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-14 and 2016-02-17

043 011 Sadia Moshid, Médecins Sans Frontières
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-15

046 012 Melinda McRostie, Starfish Foundation
    Molyvos, Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-15

049 013 Krzysztof Burowski, Frontex
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-16

051 014 Giorgia Linardi, Sea-Watch
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-17

055 015 Aris Messinis, Photographer
    Athens, Greece, 2016-02-18
Nikos Golias, Hellenic Coast Guard
Lesvos, Greece, 2016-02-19

Ibrahim Abujanad, Refugee
Eleonas Refugee Camp, Athens, Greece, 2016-02-21

Rozhan Hossin, Refugee
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-04 and 2016-03-05

Peter Bouckaert, Human Rights Watch
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-09

Thomas Conin, Filmmaker
Calais, France, 2016-03-09

Christian Salomé, L’Auberge des Migrants
Calais, France, 2016-03-10

Gilles de Boves, Unité SGP Police
Calais, France, 2016-03-10

Amina Khalil, Refugee
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-10

Emran Kohesta, Refugee
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-11

Bahareh, Refugee
Gevgelija Camp, Macedonia, 2016-03-15

Vaise, Refugee
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-18

The Abboud Family, Refugees
Idomeni, Greece, 2016-03-20 and 2016-04-01 / Sweden, 2016-05-22

Muhammad Faris, Refugee
Amman, Jordan, 2016-03-20

Cem Terzi, Bridging Peoples Association
İzmir, Turkey, 2016-03-22

Chaled, Refugee
İzmir, Turkey, 2016-03-23

Piril Ercoban, Association for Solidarity with Refugees
İzmir, Turkey, 2016-03-23

Rami Jarrah, Activist News Association
Gaziantep, Turkey, 2016-03-24

İsmetollah Sediqi, Refugee
İzmir, Turkey, 2016-03-24
© Copyright, Princeton University Press. No part of this book may be distributed, posted, or reproduced in any form by digital or mechanical means without prior written permission of the publisher.

128 034 **Murat Bay**, Journalist
    Nizip, Turkey, 2016-03-26 and 2016-04-21

132 035 **Tibor Benkő**, Hungarian Armed Forces
    Hungarian Border, 2016-03-28

134 038 **Ahmet Osman**, Refugee
    Nizip, Turkey, 2016-03-29

136 039 **László Toroczkai**, Mayor of Ásotthalom
    Ásotthalom, Hungary, 2016-03-29

139 038 **Ahmad Touma**, Syrian Politician
    Nizip, Turkey, 2016-03-29

141 039 **Zaki and Manan**, Refugees
    Bicske, Hungary, 2016-03-30 and Hannover, Germany, 2016-04-12

148 040 **Anonymous**, Turkish Citizen
    Dikili, Turkey, 2016-04-02

149 041 **Mustafa Toprak**, Mayor of Dikili
    Dikili, Turkey, 2016-04-02

150 042 **Zaharoula Tsirigoti**, Lesvos Police
    Lesvos, Greece, 2016-04-04

151 043 **Nadim Houry**, Human Rights Watch
    Beirut, Lebanon, 2016-04-06

158 044 **Maha Yahya**, Carnegie Middle East Center
    Beirut, Lebanon, 2016-04-06

162 045 **Abou Ahmad**, Refugee
    Shatila Camp, Beirut, Lebanon, 2016-04-07

165 046 **Mohammed al-Khatib**, Museum of Memories
    Beirut, Lebanon, 2016-04-07

167 047 **Walid Joumblatt**, Lebanese Druze Leader
    Moukhtara, Lebanon, 2016-04-08

173 048 **Tanya Chapuisat**, UNICEF
    Ain al-Hilweh Refugee Camp, Lebanon, 2016-04-09

175 049 **Paul Yon**, Médecins Sans Frontières
    Ain al-Hilweh Refugee Camp, Lebanon, 2016-04-09

180 050 **Andrew Harper**, UNHCR
    Amman, Jordan, 2016-04-11

184 051 **Princess Dana Firas of Jordan**
    Amman, Jordan, 2016-04-12

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 187  | Sanaa Ahmad Ataullah, Refugee  
Zaatari Camp, Jordan, 2016-04-16 |
| 189  | Mustafa Enver, Refugee  
Urfa Province, Turkey, 2016-04-18 |
| 190  | Fadi Abu Akleh and Hanna Abu Saada, Documentary Fixers  
Bethlehem, Israel, 2016-05-09 |
| 195  | Munther Amira, Aida Camp Youth Club  
Bethlehem, Israel, 2016-05-09 |
| 197  | Hagai El-Ad, B’Tselem  
Jerusalem, Israel, 2016-05-09 |
| 206  | Ayman Odeh, Israeli Politician  
Jerusalem, Israel, 2016-05-09 |
| 211  | Mukhaimar Abu Saada, Al-Azhar University  
Gaza, Palestine, 2016-05-10 |
| 216  | Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian Politician  
Ramallah, Palestine, 2016-05-10 |
| 222  | Mohammed Daoud, Refugee  
Rafah City, Palestine, 2016-05-11 |
| 223  | Ahmad Muhammad Osman, Refugee  
Urfa Province, Turkey, 2016-05-11 |
| 228  | Mohammed Oweida, Gaza Zoo Director  
and Abu Bakr Bashir, Documentary Fixer  
Khan Younis, Gaza, Palestine, 2016-05-11 |
| 230  | Ten Young Women from Gaza, Students  
Gaza City, Palestine, 2016-05-12 |
| 236  | Anonymous, Student  
Gaza City, Palestine, 2016-05-12 |
| 238  | Mahmoud al-Zahar, Hamas Politician  
Gaza City, Palestine, 2016-05-12 |
| 243  | Yehuda Shaul, Breaking the Silence  
Hebron, Palestine, 2016-05-13 |
| 252  | Sarah Giles, Médecins Sans Frontières  
Vibo Valentia, Italy, 2016-05-10 and Sicily, Italy, 2016-09-30 |
| 254  | Mohammed al-Samaraei, Refugee  
Berlin, Germany, 2016-06-01 |
Mohammad, Refugee
Berlin, Germany, 2016-06-06

Sukriye Cetin, Refugee
Yüksekoval, Turkey, 2016-06-10

Hamid Sidig, Afghan Ambassador to Germany
Berlin, Germany, 2016-06-28

Mohammed and Hasmira, Refugees
Bangkok, Thailand, 2016-07-03

Maung Kyaw Nu, Activist
Bangkok, Thailand, 2016-07-03

Sally Thompson, Thailand Burma Border Consortium
Bangkok, Thailand, 2016-07-04

Mohammad Noor, Rohingya Vision
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2016-07-07

Rafik Ustaz, Activist
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2016-07-08

Majuna and Noor, Refugees
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2016-07-09

Hussain M. F. Alkhateeb, Iraqi Ambassador to Germany
Berlin, Germany, 2016-07-29

Wella Kouyou, UNHCR
Nairobi, Kenya, 2016-08-10

Filippo Grandi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees
Geneva, Switzerland, 2016-08-11

Amir Khalil, Four Paws International
Khan Younis, Gaza, Palestine, 2016-08-23

Antonio Luna, Refugee
Tijuana, Mexico, 2016-09-26

Ingrid Hernández, Sociologist
Tijuana, Mexico, 2016-09-26

Ramon Sanchez, Refugee
Tijuana, Mexico, 2016-09-26

José Carlos Yee Quintero, Casa Del Migrante
Tijuana, Mexico, 2016-09-27

Maya Ameratunga, UNHCR Afghanistan
Kabul, Afghanistan, 2016-09-27
Editors' Note

Interviews may have been edited and condensed for clarity. Some interviews have been translated from Arabic, Farsi, French, Greek, Kurdish, Malaysian, Rohingya, Spanish, and Turkish into English.
What’s the history of this building?

It has a difficult history, but it’s a very special place for me and for many people. We’re in the main hall of the former Tempelhof airport, an incredible old structure that ceased functioning as an airport in 2008—not a long time ago—but, since then, many things have happened.

The building was constructed in 1938, during Hitler’s time. We’re in a space full of history, good and bad. When the airport stopped being an airport, nobody really knew what function it would assume. The first thing that happened was that we started hosting events here. We had a big fashion show and some smaller events, which was a good way to open up these spaces to the public, otherwise the building would’ve been closed. You could feel that something special was happening here.

Not being German, I always felt Berlin was very different from other German cities. I came here because I knew this place from about thirty years ago. At that time Berlin was still occupied by American, French, and British military forces, and the wall was still there. This airport was run mainly by the US Air Force, so in one half of the building, it was like being in the US and the other half of the building was a normal public airport. My parents were working for the military, so I was able to walk in all these spaces. Of course, if you come to Berlin as a foreigner, you want to know a lot about the city.

You probably know how and why the airport was built, what happened with it when the war was over, and how it was used for people coming from East Germany or East Berlin. At that time, the wall wasn’t built yet. It was the only way to get to West Germany, an orderly way to get out of the city.

I came here because I knew that Berlin was becoming more of a truly international city. I was privileged to work in many huge cities all over the world before coming to Berlin: in South America, the US, the Middle East. There’s still a gap when you compare Berlin to other big cities outside of Europe. When talking about a city in Asia, you’re talking about millions of people, but if you talk about a big city in Germany, it’s still small compared to the megacities in the world.

What I saw in all these cities—Shanghai, Bangkok, Singapore, Hong Kong, or even Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai, and Moscow—was the challenge of accommodating all these people in adequate spaces. This was the specific reason why I thought Tempelhof could become a special place for Berlin and for Germany. When you have a large, open space like this, you have the possibility of creating new things because you don’t have to work within a framework. People can come here and decide what they want to do. They can create the space they want to have. Inside these larger spaces, things can happen that could probably never happen somewhere else.
What’s the current condition of the camp?

When I came here the objective was just to rent out spaces that could be used to earn a bit of money to contribute to its huge maintenance cost. We started by sponsoring commercial events. We had about eighty commercial events every year. The number and size increased exponentially. We had huge events that had never before happened in Germany. In the past five to ten years, we’ve seen more of a mix between commercial and cultural events. We have huge halls here—seven hangars where aircraft were maintained in the past.

Last year more refugees were coming to Germany. Last summer, people were already looking to Tempelhof: if we couldn’t open spaces for refugees to live in, at least they could have a place to sleep. But you can’t take refugees and put them in a hangar, because it’s cold and windy; it’s very nice for art shows or parties, but it isn’t really a living space. We said, “Please, even if you can imagine living here in the summer, what’s going to happen when it starts getting colder?” The hangars don’t have heating or sanitary systems.

Normally there are twenty-five to fifty people working at Tempelhof, but now there are about 500 to 600 people living there. It wasn’t easy to imagine how that transformation would unfold. Every night 500, 600, 700, even 800 people came to Berlin; every single night the city needed at least 700 new beds. It was only a matter of time before we had to open the hangars for refugees.

To be honest, in spite of having a few people who were specialists in organizing events, hosting refugees is a totally different situation than hosting a party where everything is ready at a certain time and then it’s over and you tear everything down. The hangar has everything in place to host people at events—sanitary installations, lights, sound, a heating system, and so on—but holding temporary events is a completely different project than providing accommodation for refugees. Nobody knew exactly what was going to happen: Would people be there for a week, a month, a year? There simply wasn’t enough time to prepare for this large influx of people.

Another issue we ran into is that there were many other organizations involved in this process. Could we work with them? Could they work with us? In the beginning everybody was full of energy. They came to Tempelhof and were fascinated with this space. Everybody thought, Wow, look at this . . . this will become the best shelter ever. You could feel the energy and history; you knew something very special was going to happen. But again, running a shelter or working with this very complicated issue of refugees is totally different. You know that every day you have to do so much more to offer better and more comfortable spaces, and at the end of the day, it’s not happening at the speed that everybody wants it to happen. Every day it’s like you’re opening a new book. You’re still in the same story but you don’t really know what’s going to happen, because you’re a part of something that’s happening worldwide.

Tempelhof is unique because of its enormous size. If you go to Jordan or Turkey, there are shelters for more than 100,000 people, but those in modern Western cities can’t imagine 20,000 people in terms of size, smell, noise, and needs living
together in a small space. Berlin had to create space for 70,000 people last year. They all came, more or less, at the same time. Of course, nobody can be prepared to offer that many people housing, but you have to take care of their needs, including social work and health care. The other difficulty is that everyone came from regions where they don’t really like one another for religious or political reasons. Now they’re all put together into one small space. How do we deal with the fallout of this?

When the company Tamaja opened the first hangar, there were about 500 people living there. We had to put them in tents because it wasn’t possible to set up other rooms for them. So we opened one hangar, then another, and now there are four open hangars with about 2,000 refugees living in them. The hangars could probably fit many more, but that’s not working at this time. It’s a huge logistics operation. At the end of the day, you need the infrastructure of three skyscrapers for each hangar. In the beginning we thought that people would come in for a week or so and then, after registering, go to other places where they could stay in much better conditions. Unfortunately, this isn’t the way it works. People come here and stay for one to three months, and to be honest, nobody really knows how much longer they’ll be here.

I still think it’s absolutely necessary that we help these people, even though we now have to deal with problems we’d never anticipated before. How do you deal with men beating women? I’m not used to that. How do you deal with young people who have their whole lives ahead of them, who come into a rich society with cars and shops but who aren’t able to be a part of it? Of course they’re frustrated. I deeply believe that our society isn’t ready to integrate people. It’s a process that has to work both ways. Nobody really knows what’s going to happen.

The most important thing is that we use the space, that refugees and other people have the possibility to meet, talk, and discuss what’s happening in their lives. It’s not only an issue for the refugees but also for the local people. I believe that the best way to integrate people is by using cultural events, because they are nonpolitical. People can simply meet as people. I would like to work very hard on this in the coming months to make these events possible. I know that there are a lot of people thinking similarly; they approach us and want to talk about their ideas. I hope that we can start very soon and make all these things happen. It’s an ongoing part of the history of this fantastic building.

AW Yes, it’s tremendous, there’s architectural and also planning work. I once brought 1,000 Chinese people to Kassel, so I know how it works. Every day you need a truckload of food and another truck to carry away the garbage. And these people are from different locations; they don’t know one another.

PT They come from Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and African countries.

AW How many different countries do they come from?

PT’s colleague Eight to nine. They’re mostly from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran. A few are from the Balkan areas of the former Yugoslavia. There are only a few people from Africa.
AW: Do they have conflicts?

PT’s colleague: Yes, indeed. The main conflict is between the Afghans and Syrians. Apparently, during their escape from their respective countries, their tracks crossed in Turkey and Greece, and Syrians were treated differently from Afghans. Afghans were stopped at many borders. Maybe it’s jealousy, but there is no exact reason. It could be vengeance from a thousand years ago.

AW: You must have a lot of volunteers or translators.

PT’s colleague: Yes.

AW: Otherwise nobody knows what they’re thinking.

PT: Taking care of families is different than taking care of younger people between eighteen and thirty. People are full of energy. The funny thing is, they’re all connected to their friends around the world because of Facebook. One of the biggest challenges is maintaining control and gathering information. I don’t mean this in a bad way, but everything happening here immediately has an impact on other shelters, on people on the road, and so on. We’re not prepared for it.

AW: It’s a very sensitive situation.

PT: Yes.

PT’s colleague: Three months ago we opened another, smaller venue. Some refugees entered but many didn’t. We asked, “Where are you going?” and everybody answered, “To Sweden.” We asked, “Why Sweden?” No matter where they came from, the answer was always “Sweden.” For some reason, initially people in these networks were saying that it was best to say you were going to Sweden. Four to six weeks later this changed, so it was interesting to see how they communicated. When there was a rumor that Hungary was closing its border—when, in fact, it wasn’t closing the border but creating channels to control refugees—for the refugees it was very clear that it didn’t make sense to enter Hungary through the fence, so they kept waiting until the way was clear again. Social media is something very special for refugees.

AW: They create their language and their own code.

PT’s colleague: Probably.

AW: How many languages do you have here now?

PT’s colleague: Six to eight.

AW: How many people are there now?

PT’s colleague: Nearly 2,200.
AW And how many do you expect to come here in the future?

PT About 4,500 in the first phase. The city is still planning to set up tents, so this place should be able to handle up to 7,000. It doesn’t necessarily mean that 7,000 are coming, but you have to see the bigger picture. So many people are coming to Germany, and specifically to Berlin. To control the situation, you need big places to sort everything out, to set up a clear structure to help the refugees.

AW It’s a perfect location for them.

PT Don’t tell me.

PT’s colleague It depends on the point of view.

AW I mean, where can you find such a desirable place?

PT Yeah, for sure, and in the middle of the city. You also need to recognize that Berlin doesn’t have a hinterland. In Munich they always say, “We have everything under control.” They can say that because they send everybody out of the city and into the hinterland, out of sight. But cities like Hamburg, Berlin, and Bremen have to do everything, because they’re responsible for the whole city. I think there are now 79,000 refugees in Berlin alone, which is double the number in all of Austria. It’s incredible how the refugees disappear in the city. Everybody knows that they’re there, and it’s a lot of hard work to take care of them. Many schools offer their gyms for refugees to stay overnight.

This situation is also disturbing our plans to some extent because we’ve been dreaming about museums and all sorts of things at Tempelhof. But on the other hand, it’s a positive challenge because we’re helping people.

AW I think it’s a heroic situation.

PT Let’s go outside.

During the Second World War there were aircraft departing from these hangars for the West every ninety seconds and bringing back everything needed to keep the city alive: food, energy, everything, because there was no connection between West Berlin and the rest of the Western world.

AW So Germany was also used to this kind of humanitarian aid.

PT Exactly.

AW It’s not new for them.

PT No, it isn’t. At the end of the day they know that a huge world war started from German territory. I think what they’re doing now is an incredible symbol of humanity, simply saying that you can’t stop refugees from coming to this place, to Germany. My friends in France, Belgium, and Holland say, “Oh God, how can Germany do such a thing? What are they going to do with all these people?”
I always tell them, “Listen, at the end of the day Germany can be proud that all these people are coming to Germany.” The question should be, why don’t they want to go to France, Belgium, or Holland?

Money isn’t the only reason. I think it’s because this place has one of the most stable democracies in the world, and I think individuals are still extremely respected here. It’s a free country. It’s not corrupted. You can live your life here and make a living, especially young people. They come from all around the world because they simply want to start living here and do what they can’t do in their countries because the older generations are still preventing younger people from taking care of the country. I think it’s an incredible space where these things can happen. But it’s also a challenge. I think it will work; I think that in about five years, other countries will say, “Why didn’t we have similar ways of accepting people?”

AW This is a beautiful airport.

PT The whole airport stays like this as a monument. You can do everything in this airport as long as you leave it the way it was afterward.

AW It’s so open, so liberal here. They do everything from high fashion and art to refugees.

PT Exactly. But at the moment there are no fashion shows, only refugees. In the original architectural plans there wasn’t a restaurant but a glass wall. So you’d come into the airport and look upon the airfield. It’s a beautiful piece of architecture.

AW It will be remembered; you made a new history.

PT Exactly; it’s now part of the history of this building. When the wall was built, a lot of people from East Berlin wanted to leave. They came to this airport and flew out to West Germany. That was also an important part of history.
Index

Note: Page numbers in italic type indicate photographs.

1951 Refugee Convention, 16, 119–20, 122, 151, 155, 182, 269, 296, 301–2, 304, 360; peacemaking processes, 303

1967 Protocol of the Refugee Convention, 182, 360

Abbas, Mahmoud, 238, 241
Abboud, Ali, 98–102
Abboud, Esraa, 93–95, 97–98, 102–3, 103
Abboud family, 93–103
Abraham (prophet), 192, 243
Abu Dhabi, 170
Abujanad, Ibrahim, 62–64
Activist News Association (ANA), 124–25
AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey), 129–31

African National Congress (ANC), 208
African refugees, 3, 28, 296–300
Ahmad, Abou, 162–64
Ahmadi, Fareshta, 22
Aida camp, Bethlehem, Israel, 195–96
Aida Camp Youth Club, 195–96
Ain al-Hilweh camp, Lebanon, 173–74, 174, 360
Akleh, Fadi Abu, 190–94
al-Aqsa Mosque, Jerusalem, 238, 240
al-Assad, Hafez, 105, 111, 171
Al-Azhar University, 236
Albers, Peter, 23–25

Aldeen, Salam, 38–42
al-Haram al-Ibrahim (Sanctuary of Abraham), Hebron, 243–44
Ali, Nezir Abdullah, 349–51
Alkhateeb, Hussain M. F., 290–95
al-Khatib, Mohammed, 165–66
Allah, 31, 166, 254, 355, 357
Alliance Project Services, 117
Allon, Yigal, 244–45
Allon Plan, 244–45
Al-Maliki, Nouri, 362
al-Qaeda, 11, 178
al-Samaraei, Mohammed, 254–55
al-Shabaab, 364
al-Telyani Camp, Beqaa Valley, Lebanon, 157
Alternative für Deutschland party, 364
al-Zahar, Mahmoud, 238–42
Amal Movement, 162
Amama, 7–9
Ameratunga, Maya, 320–21
Amira, Munther, 195–96
Annan, Kofi, 336, 338, 362
anti-Semitism, 219
Aquarius (ship), 252–53, 339
Arab League, 360, 362
Arabs and Arab culture, 101, 122, 140, 165, 167
Arab Spring, 214, 362
Arafat, Yasser, 170–71, 207
Arakan, Myanmar, 267–68, 276–79, 336
Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, 364
Arsal, Lebanon, 176–78
Ashrawi, Hanan, 216–21
children. See youth

China, 122, 262, 270, 278

Christian Maronites, 158

Christian Phalangists, 361

Christians, 90, 111, 145, 158, 193, 355. See also Orthodox Christianity

citizen journalists, 124–25

cabinet, 28, 84, 299, 301, 305

cold guard, Greek, 8, 17, 21, 39–42, 47, 49, 51–52, 56, 58–61

Cold War, 168, 303

College of the Northern Border, 315

Common European Asylum System, 16

communication: intrafamily, 12–13; official uses of, 21; political effects of, 202; refugee networks for, 4; Rohingya access to, 287

Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité (CRS), 81–84

Conin, Thomas, 73–74

containers, as dorms, 79–80


Cox’s Bazar, Bangladesh, 334, 336, 337, 338, 361

coyotes (smugglers), 308, 317, 318

Croatia, 72

Croisilles, France, 345–47

CRS. See Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité

cultural mediators, 44, 252, 339

curfews, 247–48

Dadaab camp, Kenya, 299–300, 300, 361, 364

Daesh. See ISIS

Daoud, Mohammed, 222

Dawa, Mustafa, 29–32

day camps, 308, 317, 318


De Gaulle, Charles, 239

dehumanization, 10, 12, 68, 85, 191–92, 217, 220, 250, 342. See also humanity: disillusionment with

De Mistura, Staffan, 139

democracy, 111, 197, 200–202, 207, 213

demotions, 312–14, 315–19

Dheisheh camp, Bethlehem, Israel, 190–94
dignity, 17, 18, 44, 71, 91, 105, 139, 168, 180–81, 184, 208, 220, 242, 250, 274, 278, 292, 314, 330, 335

Dikili, Turkey, 148–49
donor fatigue, 298–99, 332
drownings, 15, 27, 31–32, 33, 40, 55, 56, 110, 126, 309
drug smuggling, 66–67

Druze, 167

Dubai, 280

Dublin II Regulation (2003), 362

Dublin III Regulation (2013), 363

Dublin Protocol (1990), 361, 363

Dué, Gérard, 345–47


Egypt, 110, 170, 182, 193, 206, 214, 222, 231, 245, 361

Einstein, Albert, 161

El-Ad, Hagai, 197–205


Eleonas camp, Athens, Greece, 62–64

embassies, 12, 115, 263–64, 267, 290–91

employment. See work
England. See United Kingdom

Enver, Mustafa, 189

Erçoban, Piril, 119–23

Eritrean refugees, 78

Ethiopia, 304

Ethiopian refugees, 78, 297


Eurotunnel, 77

Facebook, 4, 46, 277, 281

family reunification, 16, 17, 79, 95, 101

Faris, Muhammad, 104–7

Fatah (Palestinian National Liberation Movement), 162, 163, 212

Finn, Mary, 339–40

Firas, Dana, Princess of Jordan, 184–86

Food and Agricultural Organization, 299

fortress mentality, 155, 181, 216–18

Four Paws International, 307

France: attitudes toward refugees in, 78, 346–47; numbers of refugees in, 78; partition of Ottoman Empire by, 360; politics in, 78; refugees in, 73–84, 341–42, 347; UK relations with, 82


Free Syrian Army, 91, 362

Frontex, 17, 21, 49–51, 59

Front National, 346

Gaddafi, Muammar, 292

Galiños, Spyros, 17, 33–37, 59


Geddo, Bruno, 352–54

Génération Identitaire, 346

Geneva Convention, 27

Geneva peace accords (1988), 361

genocide, 268, 281

Germany: desirability of, for refugees, 5–6, 8, 13, 52, 87, 144–45; expulsion of Afghans from, 327; numbers of refugees in, 16, 19, 140, 328; refugees in, 2–6, 140, 146–47, 254–57, 263–64, 290, 328, 363; support for Iraq from, 295

Ghafoor, Abdul, 326–29

Ghani, Ashraf, 328

Gibraltar, 364

Giles, Sarah, 252–53

globalization, 155

God, 31, 32, 68–69, 90, 95–97, 99, 189, 194. See also Allah

Goldstein, Baruch, 246

Goldstein Massacre, 246

Golias, Nikos, 58–61

Gorbachev, Mikhail, 361

Göritz, Frank, 306

Grandi, Filippo, 301–5

Greece: as entry point, 7–8, 14–21, 26–27, 33–42, 170; refugees in, 10–13, 13, 364; return of refugees by, 112, 117, 150

Guatemalans, 315

The Gun Admirer (film), 236

Gush Shalom, 169

Habib, Emil, 206

Hadalat camp, Syrian-Jordanian border, 107, 135

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haddad, Saad</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian refugees</td>
<td>315–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halmosi, Zsolt</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamdan, Alameen</td>
<td>341–42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamas</td>
<td>212–13, 215, 238–42, 361, 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hara Hotel</td>
<td>141–42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariri, Rafik</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper, Andrew</td>
<td>180–83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasmira</td>
<td>265–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>health care. See medical care</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron, Palestine</td>
<td>192–93, 243–51; massacres in, 243–44, 246, 247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron Protocol (1997)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekmatyar, Gulbuddin</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernández, Ingrid</td>
<td>310–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hijabs</td>
<td>330–31, 343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobeika, Elie</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollande, François</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holocaust</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home demolitions</td>
<td>200, 203, 205, 245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondurans</td>
<td>315–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hope</td>
<td>44, 110, 154–55, 180, 194, 195, 234–35, 237, 326, 331, 340, 344. See also optimism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hossin, Rozhan</td>
<td>65–71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houry, Nadim</td>
<td>151–57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humanitarian aid: Germany’s provision of, 5–6; Greece’s provision of, 16–17, 20–21, 26–27, 33–37, 46–48, 58; pleas for, 10–12, 25, 28, 32, 140; UN provision of, 14–21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humanity: common/shared nature of, 10–12, 52, 55–56, 104, 109, 166, 207, 279, 284, 347; disillusionment with, 32, 55, 85, 104, 106, 203, 253 (see also dehumanization); faith in, 44, 207, 253, 305 (see also optimism)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human rights</td>
<td>15, 18, 26, 72, 81, 110, 112, 120, 122, 155, 170, 197–99, 202, 225, 241, 301, 318. See also legal rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
<td>72, 151–57, 161, 322–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian Armed Forces</td>
<td>132–33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>144–45, 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huntington, Samuel P.</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein, Saddam</td>
<td>292–93, 357, 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDF. See Israel Defense Forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idomeni camp, Greece</td>
<td>13, 28, 50, 70–72, 80, 88, 90, 92, 102, 103, 138, 255, 257, 358, 364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDPs. See internally displaced persons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>262, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>279–80, 284, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internationally displaced persons (IDPs)</td>
<td>20, 158, 273, 302, 320–24, 326, 352–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Human Rights Convention</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international law</td>
<td>120, 155, 217–18, 220, 249, 272, 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Organization for Migration (IOM)</td>
<td>12, 322, 337–38, 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intifadas</td>
<td>190, 212, 246–48, 250, 361, 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intolerance. See tolerance/intolerance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>10, 22, 65, 89–90, 111, 115–16, 121, 159, 263, 320–22, 326–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian refugees</td>
<td>3, 12, 89–90, 141–47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi Kurdish refugees</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIS</td>
<td>116, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISIS (Islamic State, Daesh)</td>
<td>10, 94, 126, 139, 171, 226, 290–95, 358, 363, 364; and antiquities, 295; financing activities of, 295, 356; ideology of, 158, 343–44, 349; liberation from, 291, 293, 343, 353;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Islam. See Muslims/Islam

Islamic Jihad, 239

Islamic State. See ISIS

Islamic University, 236

Israel: creation of, 159, 219, 241, 243, 360; Egypt's treaty with, 245; establishment of, 211; exceptionalism of, 216, 218–19; gay rights in, 200, 203; and human rights, 197–99; Lebanon and, 167; occupation by, 195, 197–210, 212–13, 216, 219–20, 231, 238–42, 250; Palestinians and, 159, 162–66, 185, 190–96, 197–221, 230–51, 360–62; politics in, 197, 206–10, 216; settler movement in, 245–46, 249, 251; sterile buffer zones created by, in Hebron, 247; US relations with, 171, 219, 241. See also one-state solution; two-state solution

Israel Defense Forces (IDF), 196, 248; mock arrests, 250–51

İzmir, Turkey, 108, 111–12, 119

Jabhat al-Nusra, 178

Jarrah, Rami, 124–25

Jerusalem Open House, 203


jobs. See work

Joint List (Israel), 208

Jordan: closing of border by, 364; numbers of refugees in, 122, 302; Palestinians in, 162, 186, 211; pressures on resources of, 181–82; refugee camp conditions in, 175; refugees in, 14, 110, 154, 169–70, 181–86, 363; West Bank occupied by, 244

Joumblatt, Kamal, 167, 171, 172

Joumblatt, Walid, 167–72

Jungle camp, Calais, France, 73–84, 341–42, 345, 364

Justice and Development Party (AKP; Turkey), 258, 260

Karen refugees, 271, 273

Karzai, Hamid, 362

Kato Tritos Cemetery, Lesvos, Greece, 57

Katzanos, George, 29

Kenya, 296–300, 361, 364

Kenya Comprehensive Refugee Program, 299

Kerry, John, 246, 270

Khalil, Amina, 85

Khalil, Amir, 306–7

Khan, Haji Khista, 325

Khdeir, Mohammed Abu, 163

Kim, Yanghee, 280

King, Martin Luther, Jr., 208

Kreisky, Bruno, 207

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 282

Kurdi, Aylan, 20, 38, 75, 241


Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), 114, 130, 135

Kurds, 128–31, 258–61

Kutupalong camp, Bangladesh, 336, 338, 361

Kuwait, 170

labor. See work

Labor Party (Israel), 245

language: as barrier, 116, 225; English as international, 79; in refugee camps, 4; spoken by rescue personnel, 252

Lateral Repatriation Program, 318

Law of the Sea, 27
Laziz (tiger), 229, 306–7
League of Nations, 360
Lebanon: character of, 169; civil war in, 160, 167, 361; demographic composition of, 152, 158–59; numbers of refugees in, 122, 151, 153, 173, 175, 302; outside influences on, 167–68; Palestinians in, 152–53, 159, 162–66, 173, 211, 360; politics in, 158, 167; recent history of, 151; refugee camp conditions in, 175; refugees in, 7, 14, 18–19, 72, 95, 110, 151–54, 160–61; refugees’ rights in, 151; sanitation in, 173, 176; sectarianism in, 111, 158, 167, 169, 176; Syrian relations with, 111, 152; Turkey compared to, 153–54
Lee, Yanghee, 270
Lenin, Vladimir, 209
Lesvos, Greece: burials in, 29–32; as entry point, 14–21, 25, 26, 33–42, 37, 42, 46–48, 59, 127, 339, 363; Kato Tritos Cemetery, 57; mayor of, 33–37, 59; numbers of refugees in, 33, 47, 58, 59; UNHCR in, 14–21
Levinger, Moshe, 244
Levy, Gideon, 171
Libya, 62, 182, 292
Libyan refugees, 49
Linardi, Giorgia, 51–54
Lindner, Andreas, 23–25
loss, emotional, 43–44
Luna, Antonio, 308–9
Macedonia, 69–70, 72, 89, 141–43, 364
Macron, Emmanuel, 82
Mae La camp, Thailand, 266, 270
Mahathir bin Mohamad, 269
Majuna, 288–89
makeshift camps, 13, 28, 50, 80, 88, 92, 103, 114, 138, 255, 334, 337–38, 358
Malaysia, 269, 277, 279–80, 283–85, 288
Manan, 141–47
Mandela, Nelson, 208, 209
Mara Salvatrucha, 316
Maung Kyaw Nu, 267–70
May, Theresa, 364
McKissick, John, 332–36
McRostie, Melinda, 46–48
Médecins Sans Frontières, 43–45, 175–79, 252–53
medical care, 23–25, 108, 112, 121, 175–76, 179, 252–53, 287. See also mental health care
mental health care, 43–45, 112, 352–53
Merkel, Angela, 36, 137, 169, 291–92, 328, 364
Messinis, Aris, 55–57
Mexican refugees, 308–9, 312–19
Mexico: 309–9, 310–11, 312–14, 315–19
migrants: care programs for, 315; compared to refugees, 19; as contributors to society, 305; efforts to control flow into nations, 82, 318; illegal, 272–74; in search of job opportunities, 311; TPS (temporary protection status), 316; as term for refugees in Lebanon, 151
Mohammad, 256–57
Mohammed, 265–66
Molyvos, Lesvos, Greece, 38
Mora refugee camp, Greece, 10–13, 21, 147, 227
Mosid, Sadia, 43–45
Mosul, Iraq, 177, 290, 293–95, 343–44, 349, 351–53, 351, 352–54, 364
Mouzalas, Ioannis, 26–28
For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
Muhammad (prophet), 96, 336
Museum of Memories, Beirut, Lebanon, 165
Muslim Brotherhood, 361
Muslims/Islam: burial practices among, 29–32; disputes between, 171; in Lebanese politics, 158; obligations of, to other Muslims, 10, 110, 261; Palestinian, 193; Rohingya, 268–70, 279, 284, 335–36; values of, 99, 166, 264, 284, 294, 344, 350; Western hostility to, 166, 170, 276
Myanmar, 265–88, 332–38, 361
Mytilene, Lesvos, Greece, 38
Nakba (Palestinian exodus), 204, 206, 209, 211, 214, 219, 243, 360
Nasser, Gamel Abdul, 206
nationalisms, 111, 156, 198, 243, 346, 366. See also populisms
National League for Democracy, 273, 286
Nation of Islam, 208
NATO, See North Atlantic Treaty Organization
Nayapara camp, Bangladesh, 289, 330–32, 331, 361
Netanyahu, Benjamin, 169, 198, 213, 240, 241
niqabs, 331
Nizip camp, Gaziantep, Turkey, 179, 183
Noor, 288–89
Noor, Muhammad, 276–82
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 34, 36, 112, 134, 149, 363
Norway, 328, 329
Nueva Esperanza, Mexico, 310–11

Obama, Barack, 111, 241, 362
Odeh, Ayman, 206–10
one-state solution, 199–200, 220
optimism, 84, 106, 207, 305, 350. See also hope; humanity: faith in
Orbán, Viktor, 170

Orthodox Christianity, 27
Osman, Ahmad Muhammad, 223–27
Osman, Ahmet, 134–35
Ottoman Empire, 360
Oweida, Mohammed, 228–29

Palestinian refugees, 3, 12, 65, 78, 141–42, 145
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 160, 162, 212, 239, 241, 360, 362
Palestinian Artists Association, 236
Palestinian Authority, 212, 246, 362
Palestinians: armed resistance of, 238–42; attitudes toward, 206, 280; distorted narratives promulgated about, 217–21; human rights of, 198–99; identity of, 204; intifadas of, 190, 212, 246–48, 250, 361, 362; Israel and, 159, 162–66, 185, 190–94, 197–221, 230–51, 360–62; in Jordan, 162, 186, 211; in Lebanon, 151–53, 159, 162–66, 169–72, 173, 211, 360; living conditions of, 153, 201, 211, 214–15; and Nakba, 204, 206, 209, 211, 214, 219, 243; political power of, 206–7; refugee accounts, 62–64, 162–64; rights of, 217–18, 249; right-to-return of, 209, 218, 239, 241; special circumstances of, 238–39, 241; United Kingdom and, 360. See also one-state solution; two-state solution
Pappe, Ilan, 218
Petra National Trust, 185
photography, 55–56
PKK. See Kurdistan Workers’ Party
PLO, See Palestine Liberation Organization

For general queries, contact webmaster@press.princeton.edu
politics: anti-refugee sentiment in, 27, 155–56, 159, 303, 304–5, 328; and exploitation of migrants, 137; fear of science in, 105; refugee crisis blamed on, 17, 25, 31–33, 56, 59, 104, 110, 122, 131, 329

populisms, 155, 216, 218, 364. See also nationalisms


Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movements of Migrants from Europe (PICMME), 360

pushback, 27, 102, 115–16, 118, 141–44

Qatar, 110, 280

Qayyarah, Iraq, 349–50

Quintana, Tomas, 280

Qur’an, 238, 240

Rabin, Yitzhak, 199, 201, 207, 209

racism: anti-Arab, 206–8, 216; in United States, 218

Rakhine Buddhists, 265, 269, 279

Red Cross, 39, 163, 224, 360


Refugee Convention (1951). See 1951 Refugee Convention


religion, 90, 99, 110, 145, 158–59, 166, 199, 204, 218, 238, 264

relocation process, 20, 303, 363


revolution in Syria, 91, 105, 125, 134, 139

rights. See human rights; legal rights

right-wing politics: in Europe, 110, 156, 216; in France, 346; in Germany, 364; in Israel, 169, 198, 213; in Lebanon, 169, 171; in United States, 216

Rohingya, 265–70, 273, 275–87, 330–31, 332–38, 361, 364

Rohingya Vision, 276, 281

Russia: and Afghanistan, 178; response of, to refugee crisis, 122; and Syria, 91, 111, 134, 139–40, 363. See also Soviet Union

Rwandan refugees, 296

Saada, Hanna Abu, 190–94
Team Humanity, 38

Tear gas, 71, 81, 144

Tempelhof (Berlin, Germany): airport, 1, 5–6; camp, 2–9, 9, 22; Tempelhof Medical Centre, 23–25

temporary protection status (TPS), 316

terrorism, 12, 81, 124–25, 134–35, 136, 138, 139, 166, 170, 238, 262, 293–95, 364

Terzi, Cem, 108–14, 114

Thailand, 265–67, 269–75, 279–80, 284, 332

Thailand Burma Border Consortium, 271, 273

Thirion, Pascal, 1–6

Thompson, Sally, 271–75

Tijuana, Mexico, 310–11, 313–19

tolerance/intolerance, 17, 19, 21, 27, 171, 204

Tomb of the Patriarchs, Hebron, 243–44, 246

Toprak, Mustafa, 149

Torbali camp, Turkey, 108, 113–14, 114

Toroczkai, László, 136–38

torture, 44, 125, 152, 156, 276, 343

Touma, Ahmad, 139–40

Touquet Agreement, 82

tourism, 48, 78, 185, 334

traffickers, 265, 267, 272–73, 285, 288–89. See also smugglers

translators, 23, 40, 113

trauma, psychological, 43–44, 75, 112, 194, 253, 254, 260, 352–53

Truman, Harry, 241

Trump, Donald, 155, 218, 364

Tsirigoti, Zaharoula, 150

Turkey: as departure point, 10–11, 14, 22, 34, 89; EU agreement with, 108, 112, 119–20, 122, 131, 140, 150, 178, 181, 364; government persecution of refugees in, 114; and the Kurds, 114, 128–31, 258–61; Lebanon compared to, 153–54; mistreatment of refugees in, 10–12; numbers of refugees in, 108, 119, 122, 140, 302, 304; refugee camp conditions in, 175; refugees in, 7, 14, 65, 108–14, 115–16, 120–21, 139–40, 154, 169–70, 224–27, 256; refugees’ rights in, 109, 119, 122, 131; and Rohingya, 280

Turkmens, 134, 158

two-state solution, 169, 185, 196, 199, 209, 212–13, 216, 220

Ugandan refugees, 296

UNHCR. See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF, 173–74

United Arab Emirates, 32, 110

United Kingdom: desirability of, for refugees, 74, 75–76, 79, 82–83, 340, 341; expulsion of Afghans from, 327, 329; French relations with, 82; illegal work for migrants in, 82; partition of Ottoman Empire by, 360; refugees in, 16, 73; and Rohingya, 280; vote to exit EU, 364

United Nations: Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), 119–20, 122, 151, 155, 182, 269, 296, 301; lack of help from, 110; Millennium Development Goals, 298; partitioning of Palestine by, 211, 212, 360; pleas for help to, 267; Protocol of the Refugee Convention (1967), 182; and Rohingya, 267–68, 280


United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), 151, 173, 211, 214, 360

United Nations Security Council (UNSC), 267–68, 303, 363

United States: and Afghanistan, 361, 362; crossing the border into, 308–9, 311–12, 316–18, 319, 364; and Israel, 171, 219, 241; Middle East policy of, 171; and Myanmar, 278; participation of, in foreign wars, 138; response of, to refugee crisis, 109–10, 122, 218, 262, 304; and Rohingya, 280; and Syria, 139–40, 171; and United Nations, 267

Unité SGP Police, 81–84

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), 301
See United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

US Department for Homeland Security, 317

US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 317

Ustaz, Rafik, 283–87

vaccinations, 24, 113, 321

Vaise, 91–92

Vérasseine, Aurélien, 346

La Vie Active, 79, 345–46

Vivantes Group, 23–24


WeChat, 276, 287

West Asian Football Federation, 352

West Bank, 190, 193, 200, 203, 209, 210, 211–14, 221, 240–41, 244–45, 360–62

WFP. See World Food Programme

WhatsApp, 21, 42, 276, 287


World Food Programme (WFP), 214, 298, 334

X, Malcolm, 207, 208

oxenophobia, 17, 21, 27, 110, 155, 159, 169, 216, 218, 347

Yahya, Maha, 158–61

Yazidis, 15, 158, 355–58, 363

Yee Quintero, José Carlos, 315–19

Yemeni refugees, 186

Yom Kippur War (1973), 245, 361

Yon, Paul, 175–79

youth: attitudes of, 3, 8, 9, 194, 195, 230–37; in Gaza, 230–35; Germany as desirable location for, 6; integration of, into host cultures, 327; Palestinian, 214; services for, 173–74, 298; unaccompanied, 79, 252, 327; work undertaken by, 14, 113, 121, 151–52, 154, 312. See also education

YouTube, 277, 281

Yugoslavian (former) refugees, 3

Zahir Shah, Mohammed, 264

Zahle camp, Beqaa Valley, Lebanon, 164

Zaki, 141–47

Zionism, 204, 216

zoos, 228–29, 306–7