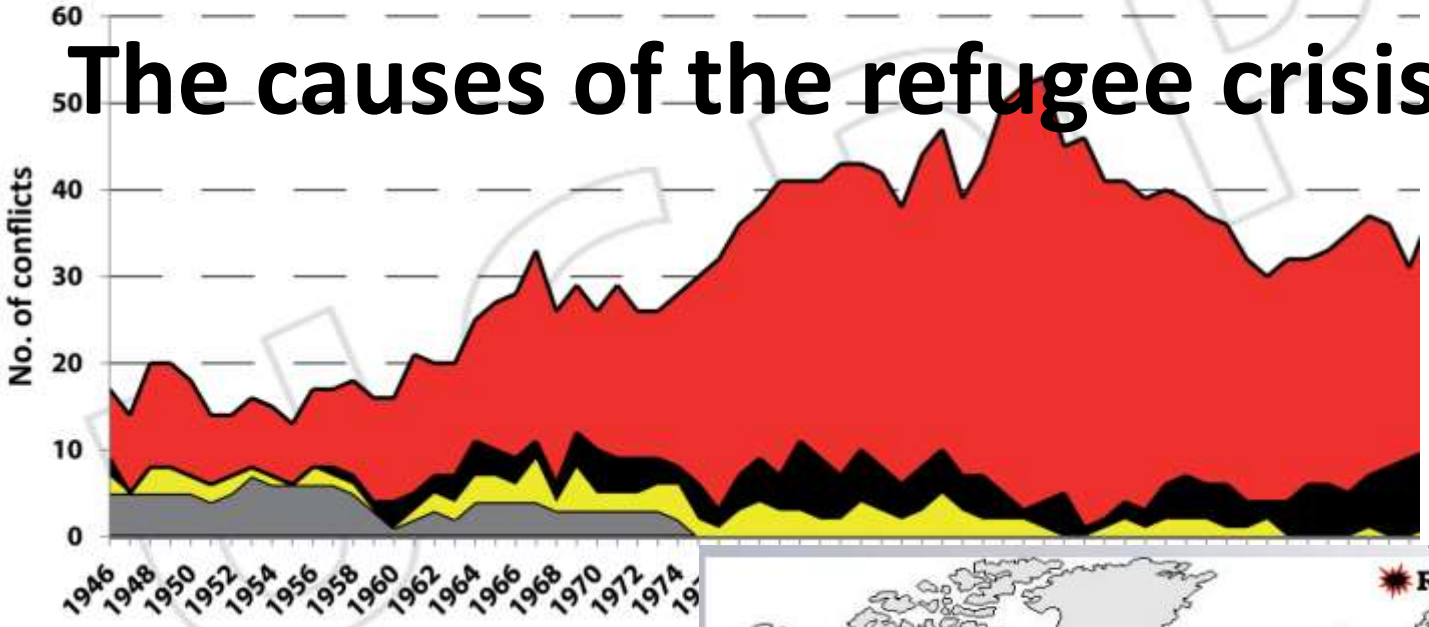
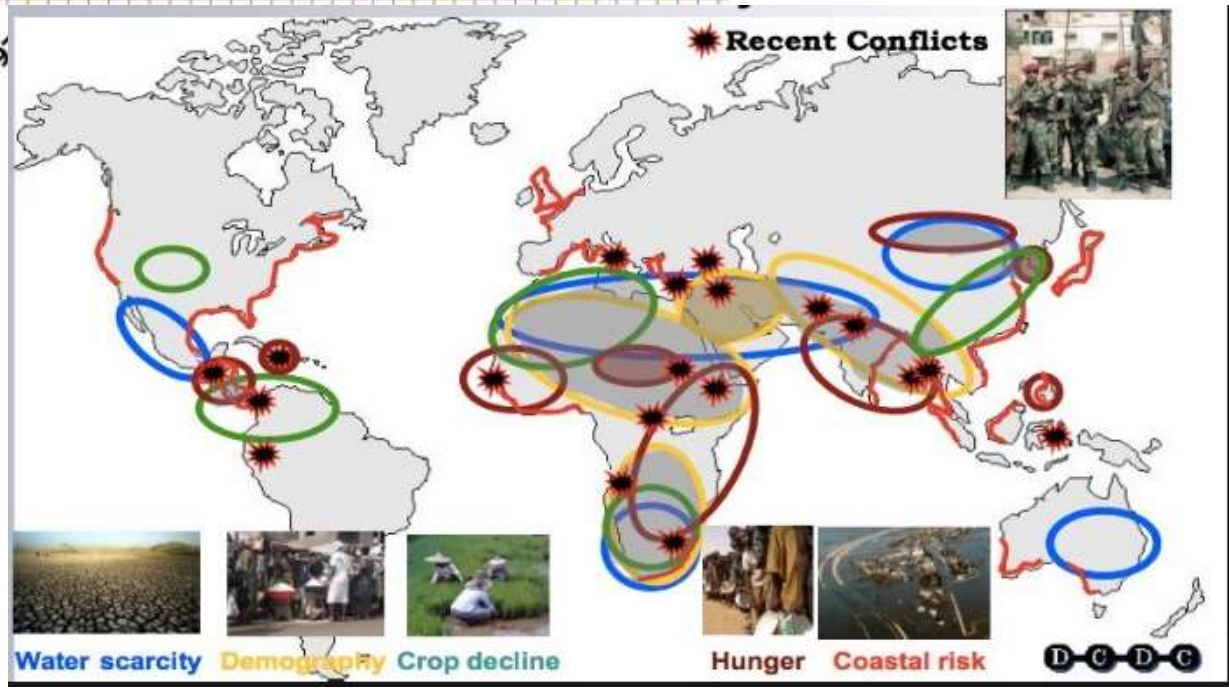
The causes of the refugee crisis: conflict



and climate



Review

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0O5gkHx

Today's Menu

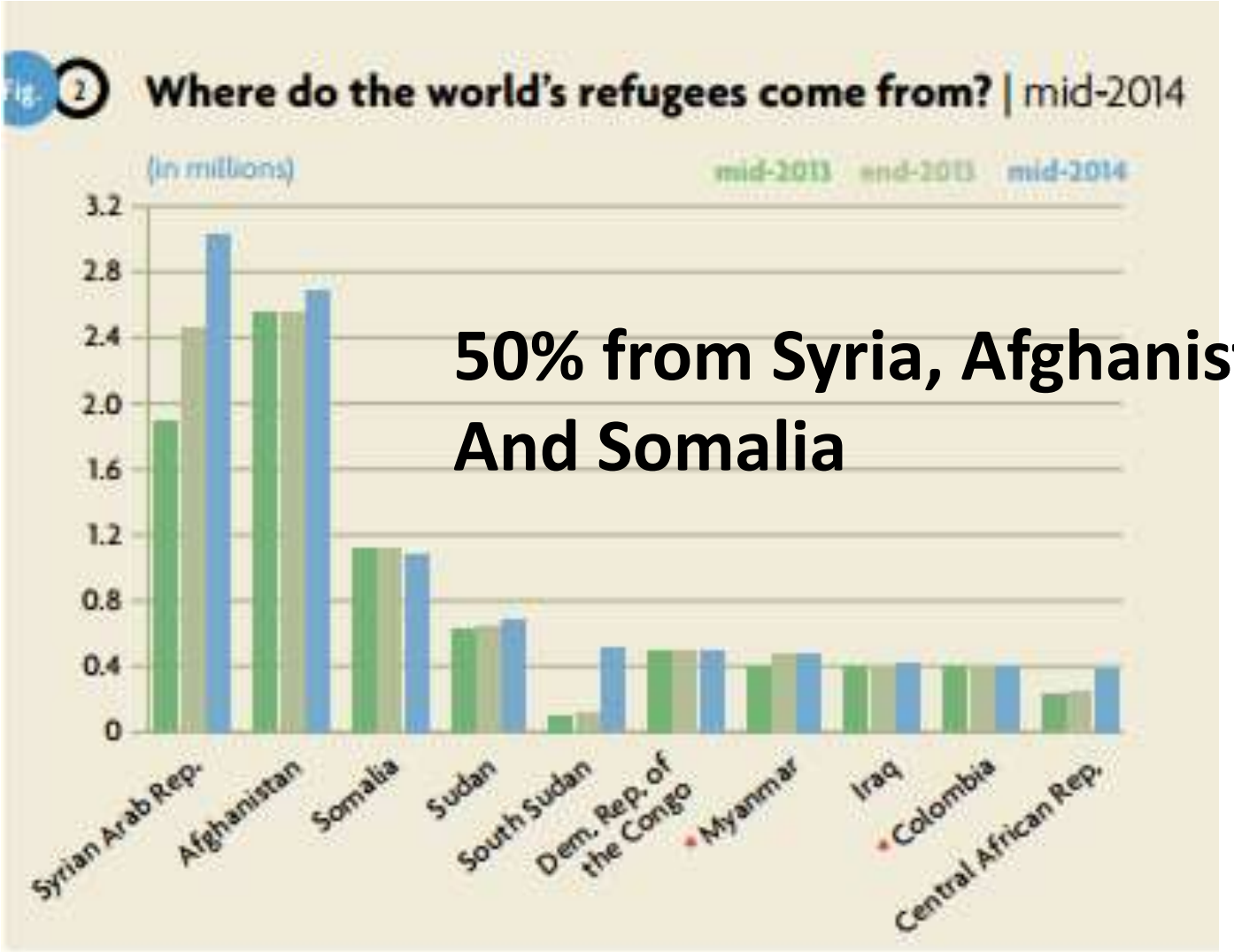
- Review: Forced Displacement Today What are the causes
- Under International Law, Refugees are those who flee persecution and violence *on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.*"
- **Conflict Refugees: Who is being persecuted today? What kind of violence produces refugees (as defined by the refugee convention)**

- **What causes humans to persecute, fight, and kill those who practice a different religion or those of a different ethnicity?**
  - Social Psychological Theories
  - Evolutionary/Primordial Theories
  - Religious exceptionalism: values of "right order"
  - Constructivist Theories
- **Disaster and Climate Refugees—a neglected cause of Forced Displacement**

Forced Migration today: What are the Causes?

- Developmental Displacement
  - Three Gorges Dam in China - about 1.13 million displaced (recently increased to 4 million, but many could return).
  - Tokuyama Dam in Japan - some 600 displaced.
  - Donji Milanovac for Đerdap hydroelectric power plant
  - Sardar Sarovar Dam in India - between 1 and 2 million displaced
- Environmental and Disaster Displacement
- Conflict Displacement

Armed Conflict is responsible for most refugees: most of these conflicts are characterized as ethnic or religious/sectarian conflicts



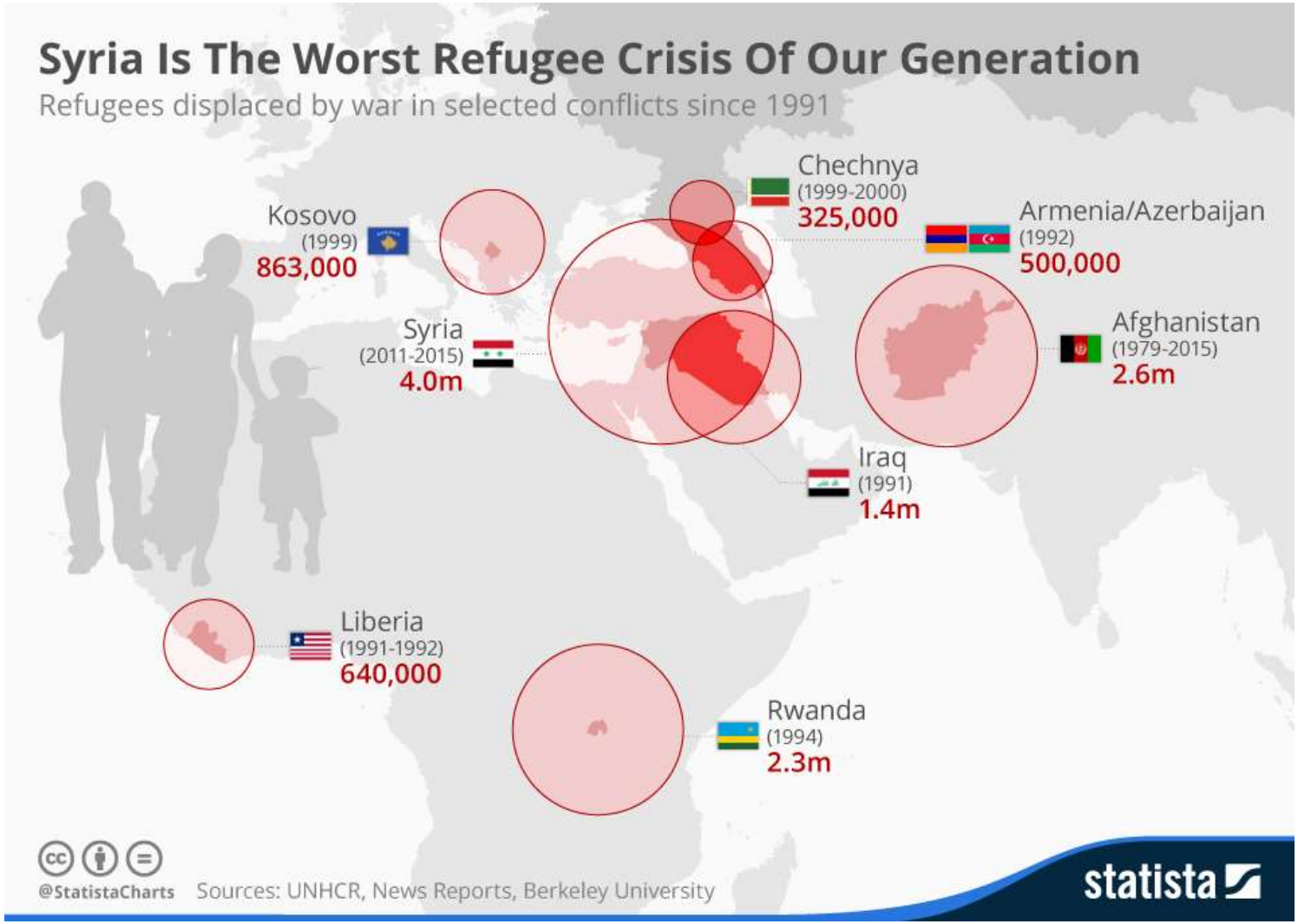
Conflict refugees: Afganistan: Religious and ethnic persecution

Conflict Refugees: Somalia: Sectarian violence

Conflict Refugees: Myanmar
Ethnic and Religious Persecution and violence

- http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-32732053

Syria


Syria Is The Worst Refugee Crisis Of Our Generation
Refugees displaced by war in selected conflicts since 1991
Kosovo
(1999)
863,000
Chechnya
(1999-2000)
325,000
Armenia/Azerbaijan
(1992)
500,000
Syria
(2011-2015)
4.0m
Afghanistan
(1979-2015)
2.6m
Iraq
(1991)
1.4m
Liberia
(1991-1992)
640,000
Rwanda
(1994)
2.3m
@StatistaCharts
Sources: UNHCR, News Reports, Berkeley University
statista

All of these conflicts are described as ethnic and religious. What are their causes? Social Psychology's answer

- Identity and Group connections:
  - Religious identity
  - Ethnic identity
  - Cultural identity
  - National identity—most often "ethno-national identity"
- ascribed and Chosen Identities
- Collective identities in Traditional Societies
- "Plural" Identities in Modern societies
- Why do we identify with groups and what are the consequencess for our behavior and for conflict that leads to refugee crises?

Children move from being egocentric to being sociocentric:

- belonging to something bigger becomes part of our identity
- Cooperative behavior promotes survival
- Security
- Protection

That means forming attachments to groups.

- Self-identification theory: viewing one's group in positive terms enhances self esteem
- Common Culture
- Common values
- Common ethnicity
- Common religion

In-group bias

- People compare their group to other groups
- See others as less worthy
- Feelings of superiority

In-group loyalty

- which strengthens belonging And group cohesion
- Conditions perceptions and biases
- The more alike people are, the easier to create loyalty

- Group members endorse similar strategies
- Define the world similarly
- Members threatened by information that may undermine the group
- Those who question loyalty are marginalized

- Limit options for behavior
- Create double standards (if we do it it is ok, if they do it, it's not ok)

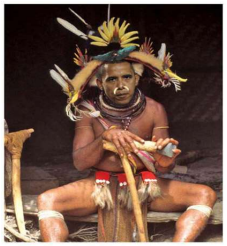
Loyalty leads members to endorse similar views, defend lloyalty, differentiate supporters from enemies

Stereotypes are formed

Unfavorable stereotypes of enemies

Shut out more or contradictory informatio n and isolated "group-think"

- Reinforces biases
- Reinforces stereotypes and creates self-fulfilling prophecies



STRENGTH
gettyimages
Sports Illustrated
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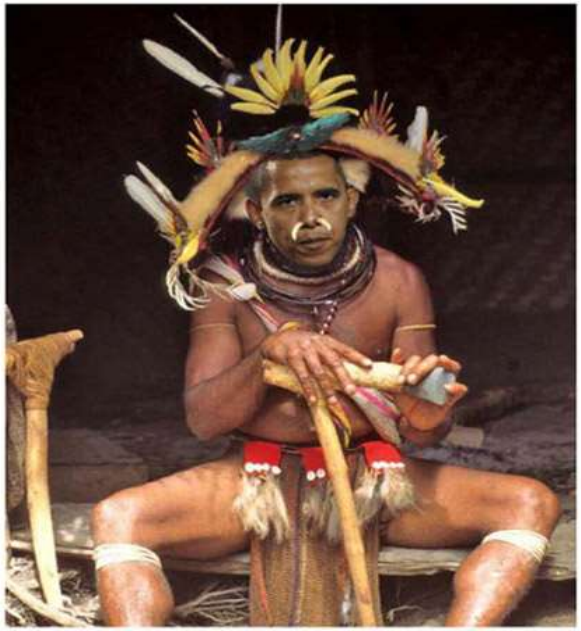
Attachment and Bias leads to feelings of superiority

- People favor their group over others—others are less "worthy"…leading to
  - isolation and group-think
  - stereotyping of good and evil
  - Ignoring contradictory information
  - Self-fulfilling prophecies

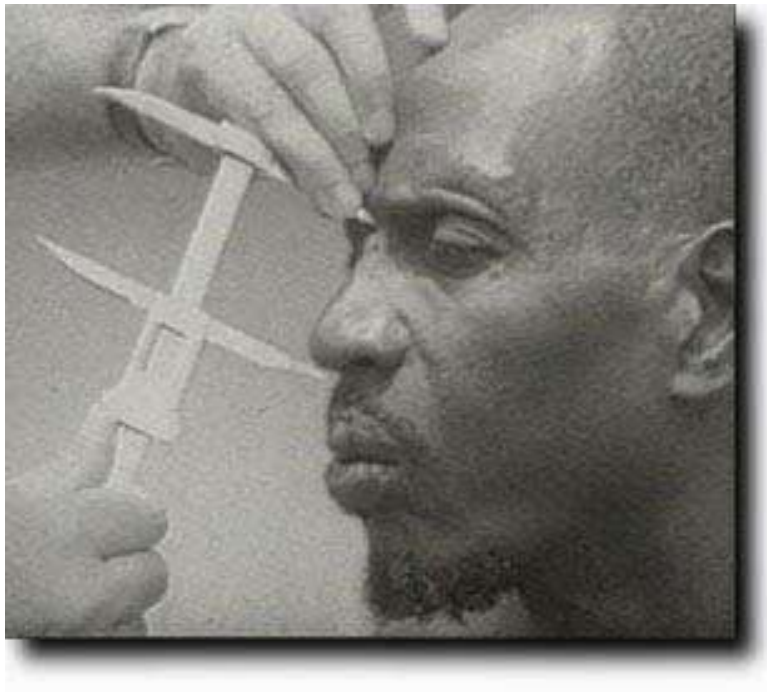


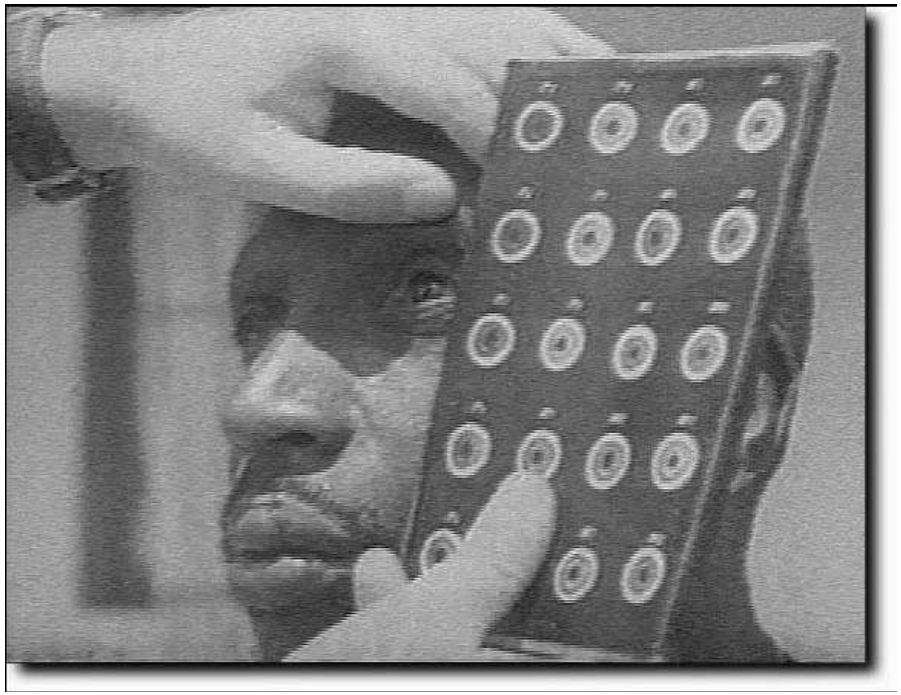
When there is extreme exclusion of the “out” group

- **We exclude it from our moral universe**
- **We identify the outgroup through 2 processes**
  - **Classification—we must know who belongs to the “out group”**
  - **dehumanization so it’s not necessary or possible to have a moral obligation to “the other.”**
- **The result is fear….hatred…stigmitization**

Ethnic Stereotypes often created through Classification of ethnicities

In Rwanda, Belgian colonialists believed Tutsis were a naturally superior nobility, descended from the Israelite tribe of Ham. The Rwandan royalty was Tutsi.





Belgians distinguished between Hutus and Tutsis by nose size, height & eye type.

Hazaras (Afghanistan)

Hazara Elder with Children

Rohingya

Nazi classification of Aryians and Jews: creation of myth of superiority through classification which then supported stereotypes

Classification and ethnic domination: Cambodia

- **People in the Eastern Zone, near Vietnam, were accused of having "Khmer bodies, but Vietnamese heads."**
  - **Not considered true Khmer**
- **They were marked with a blue and white checked scarf (Kroma)**
- **They were deported to other areas to be forced laborors.**

2. Ethnic/racial Dehumanization

From a Nazi SS Propaganda Pamphlet:

Caption: Does the same soul dwell in these bodies?

3. Fear of the dehumanized “out group”

Dehumanization

Dehumanization creates fear; fear leads to exclusion

These processes can lead to exclusion and violence against and between communities

- Loyalty, limits on information about the "other," leads to self-fulfilling prophecies
- Stereotypes of the other lead to fear and perceptions of threat
- No moral obligation to groups we want to exclude
  - Their members are dehumanized (no souls!)
  - Offences against those groups are explicitly encouraged
  - Dehumanization gives license to kill
- In-Group's feeling of entitlement to land leads them to want to exclude the out group
- This leads to "ethnic cleansing"
- Let's examine this "entitlement to land" more closely…….

The “in”-group’s feelings of “entitlement” to land

- A safe haven
  - Ethno-nationalist states
- Access to resources for survival
- These are justifications for entitlements of exclusive ethnic and religious groups to land.
  - “God” provides entitlement to land
  - Or a “historical right” to land for “our” ethnic or religious group
  - Belief that mixing populations on a single piece of land will cause tension, conflict, and even violence
- A nation or national community feels a particular emotional entitlement to land

The result: Domination, ethnic cleansing, and conflict

Is conflict really inevitable? Why? How?

.

The primordial argument

- evolutionary pressures→ group formation and cohesion
  - Scarcity of resources
  - Humans chose “good cooperators” in the struggle for survival…..Those who could provide resources
  - Qualities that fostered cohesion were necessary to survival
  - Need to stigmatize, devalue, dehumanize, and then exploit other groups
  - Humans in groups are inherently competitive—we cooperate in order to compete

“Folk Biology”

- People make sense of the natural world through a belief in “essences”–
  - the unchanging nature of ethnic groups, the essential “rightness” of religious belief
- This led to a Belief in the essential superiority of cultures, races, nations
- And a belief in Ascribed identities
- Fixed and ascribed group identities cannot be negotiated…….
- conflict is more likely than peaceful dispute settlement

Religion can also provide a non-negotiable identity

- Religious struggle is about what is an essential “right order”
- It involves:
  - Hyper commitment
  - Construction of extreme “out group” and urgent threat
  - Mobilization of rewards and sanctions
  - Experience of Profanation
  - Outside forces

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AuJpkLLeBfs
- The video is an interview with a suicide bomber

The religious struggle over “right order” will….

- heighten the emotional stakes
- Which can lead to
  - Exclusion
  - Stigmatization
  - oppression
- And trigger conflict
- Example: Muslims and Christians in the Central African Republic
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6VSsg8PY9vA

But can't these conflicts all be "constructed" by politicians and institutions?
The "Constructivist" Argument

- Economic discrimination and privilege can perpetuate or trigger the political relevance of cultural identity and heighten group loyalty
  - A legacy of colonial rule and preferential treatment of distinct cultural groups can lay the groundwork for this discrimination (French in the CAR)
  - Globalization can cause political unrest by creating winners and losers in the economy
  - Globalization also "shrinks" government in ways that undermind social harmony
  - These "political entrepreneurs" can arise in "failed states"
- Politicians can exploit cultural differences to mobilize popular support in their bid for political power
- Whether or not they succeed depends on the strength of institutions that promote social harmony and economic opportunity

They polarize ethnic and religious communities to mobilize support for themselves

Past violence makes this task easier
Stereotypes, Myths and legends about the out group make polarization easier
Ambiguous boundaries make people nervous
They can authorize violence
They create dehumanizing images
They reinforce beliefs in entitlement
Unleashed violence can lead to Cascades of violence—a bandwagoning effect

- Example: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlTTIpGyq8M
- Kyrgyzstan
  - Weakened state
  - Stereotypes and myths (they are all swindlers)
  - Dehuminazation Violence that escalates
  - Refugees from violence

Polarization and violence

- Violence as a strategy of
  - Marginal groups
  - Elites
  - Extremists ideologies
- Moderates often follow extremists (Somalia)

Paths to reconciliation

- Ending these conflicts would end the refugee crisis.
- **Short-term Intervention to stop the killing**
- **Long-term Regime change?** Liberal democracy and discarding a belief in primordialism……
  - Primordialists are pessimists: "we have evolved as human beings to engage in communal conflict. Nothing can be done about it."
  - This view can perpetuate conflict, lead to resignation about the plight of refugees
- And short of regime change: The roles of economic justice, **assimilation, interdependence, and social entrepreneurs**
- **Restorative Justice**: Rwanda provides an example of optimism

SINDYANNA
OF GALILEE

המרכז היהודי-ערבי לפיתוח כלכלי
The Center for Jewish-Arab
Economic Development
المركز اليهودي العربي للتطوير الإقتصادي

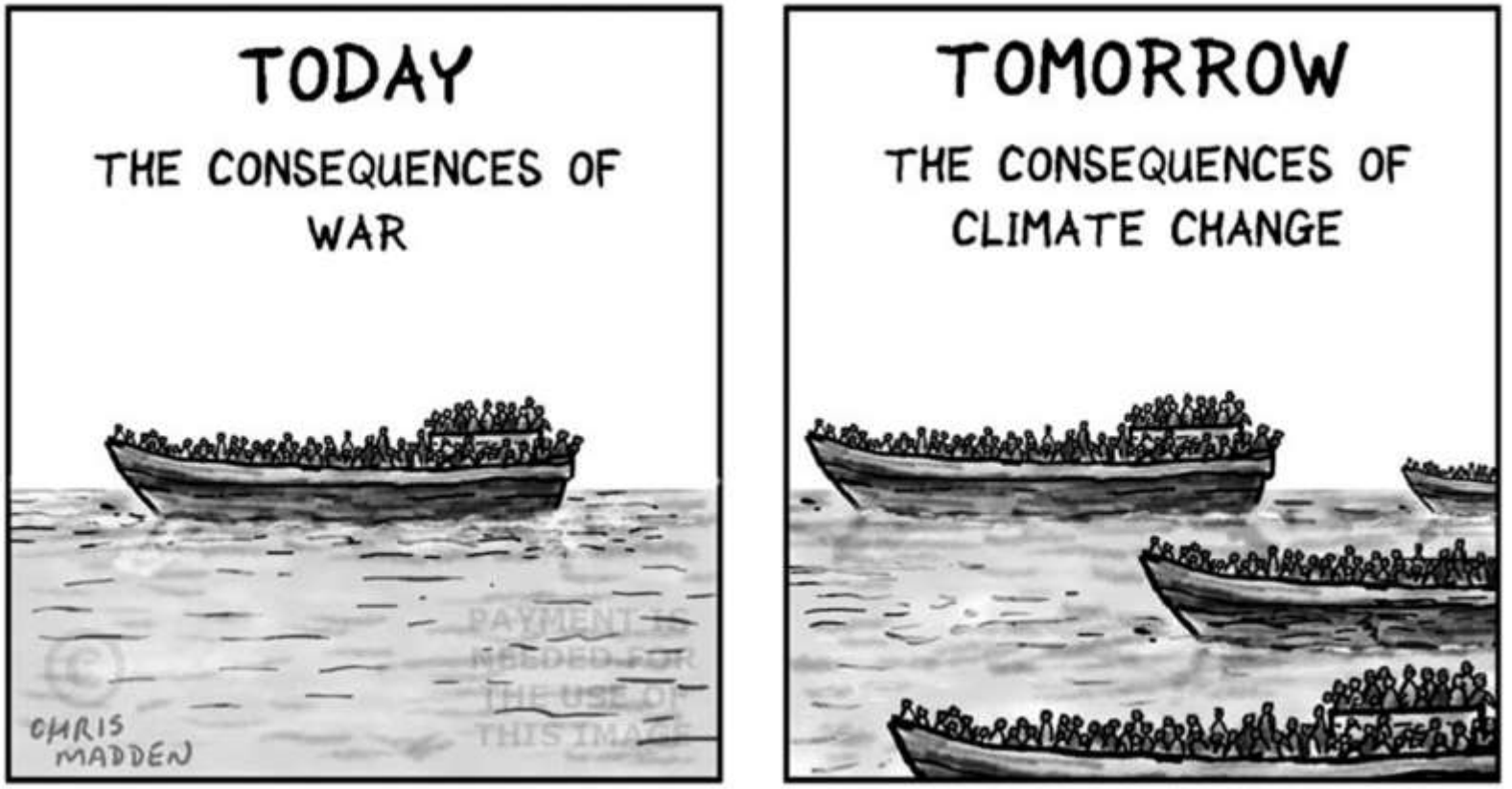
WOMEN WITHOUT BORDERS
CHANGE THE WORLD.

MOTHERS
SCHOOLS
CHALLENGE EXTREMISM

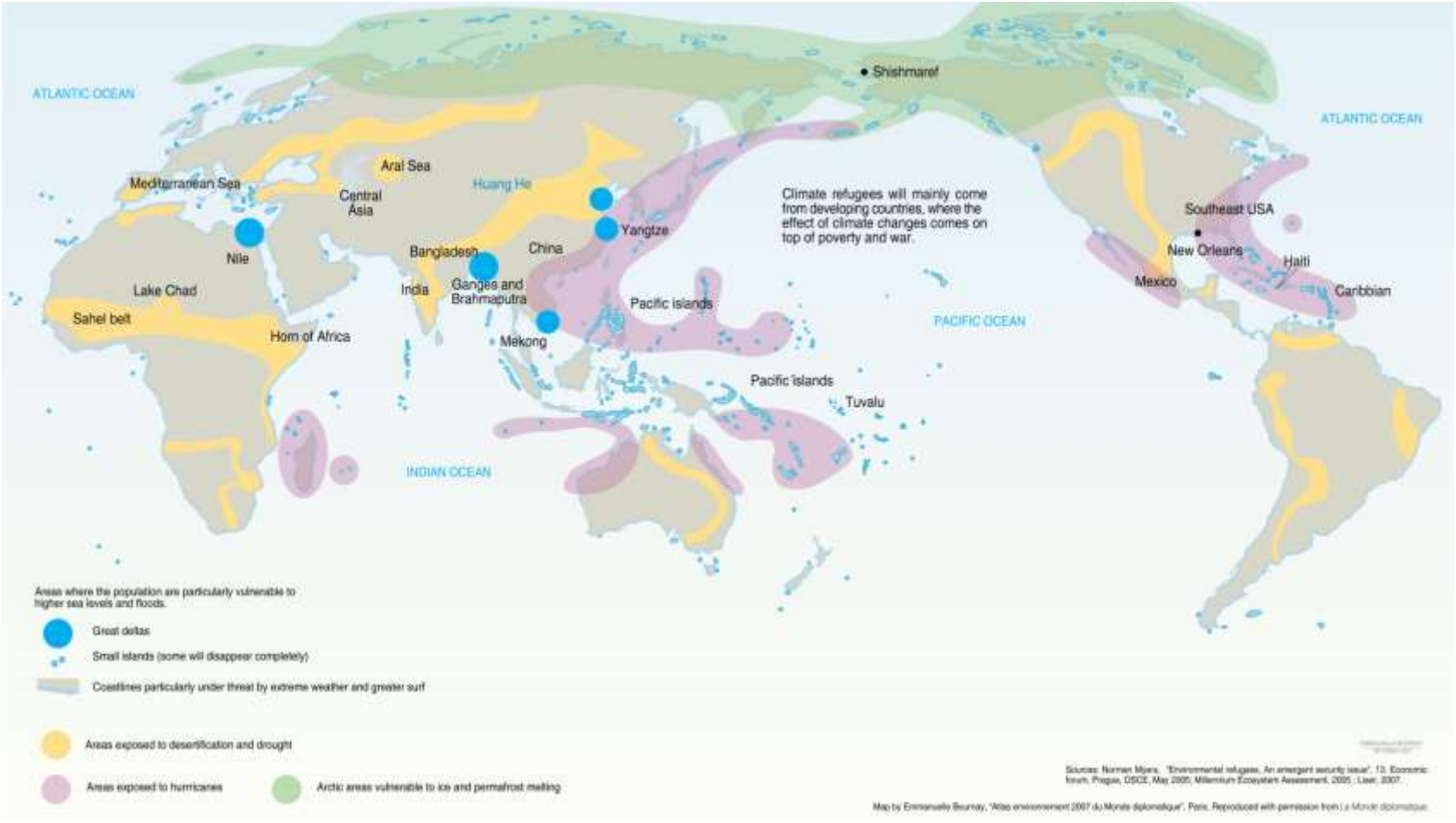
Training
TCMC
Centre for Management of Conflicts

Disaster and Climate Refugees

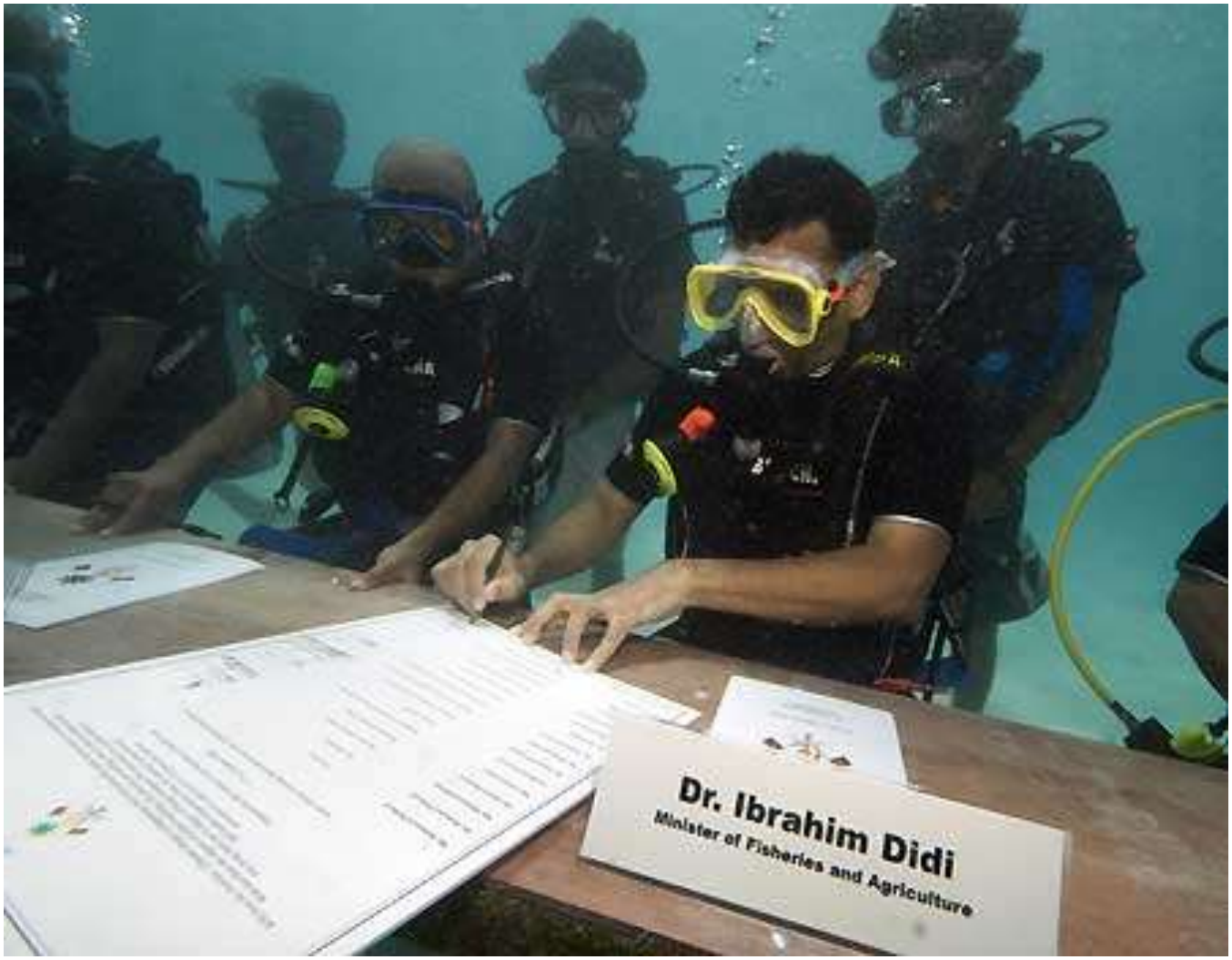
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=28MH3jZ



Where do climate refugees come from?



Underwater cabinet meeting: Government of the Maldives



Politicians and organizations simplify the cohesiveness of the "out group" in order to crystalize "in-group" cohesiveness

- Ethnic and religious groups—even nations-- are not homogeneous
- A common purpose and set of interests for the "group" is created by organizations and politicians—who define and differentiate their "common" interests from the interests of other groups
  - These organizations can be anything from governments to the media, armed forces units, terrorist groups, gangs, political parties, ethnic and religious associations

Gamson

- Should we add “group think” to his three steps?
- Role of surveillance in the three steps to stigmitization and exclusion (My-Li massacre)
- Censorship of any information that would humanize the excluded population

Does this all lead to the clash of civilizaations?

- Thesis: conflicts between cultures will replace conflicts between nation-states and conflicts between ideologies.
- the major cause of divisions and conflict will be cultural differences.

Slide 13:

Individualists	Collectivists
See themselves as separate individuals	Group allegiance is most important
They prefer: • Competition • Self-reliance • Independence • Individual achievement • Personal growth and fulfillment	They prefer: • Cooperation • Filial piety • Participation in shared progress • Reputation of the group

The Primordial Argument

- **Assumption: conflict results from Evolutionary process :** survival of the fittest in gaining survival resources (including reproductive resources) →**necessary group cooperation + intergroup conflict →people choose "good cooperaters"** (good social exchange partners + social partners with skill sets) + **shun social** interaction that imposes a "cost" on fitness (cheaters and those with no skills) →**impose costs on those that don't contribute to "fitness**" = costs of exclusion and stigmitization + exploit other groups.

How does the Process of Exclusion operate?

- **The three processes that eliminate moral inhibitions are**
  - **authorization (individual is absolved of moral responsibility),**
  - **routinization,(so organized that there is no opportunity to act differently)**
  - **dehumanization (attitudes that are so structured that it's not necessary or possible to have a moral obligation to "the other."**

- Belonging+power+goals →we join groups like us→in-group bias→in group loyalty→group cohesion→limit information→stereotypes→limiting information about other groups about our own group→limitations on decision-making

Why do publics follow elites who construct conflict as ethnic and sectarian

- Laitin and Fearon: slide is from syria lecture
- gangs, criminals and thugs who want to commit acts of violence anyway can be mobilized by ethnic, sectarian, and nationalist ideologies.
- then moderates have to follow the thugs because the security dilemma sets in.

The Construction of ISIS

- Above all, a sense of “right order”
  - Hypercommitment
  - Construction of extreme otherhood and urgent threat
  - Mobilization of rewards and sanctions
  - Experience of profanation
  - Outside forces—attraction of hypercommitted foreign fighters
  - Willingness to fight

Session Three

- Exclusion, Stigmitization, and the Clash of Civilizations: Is Ethnic and Religious Conflict inevitable?

Can the forces of globalization undermine ethnic and religious conflict?

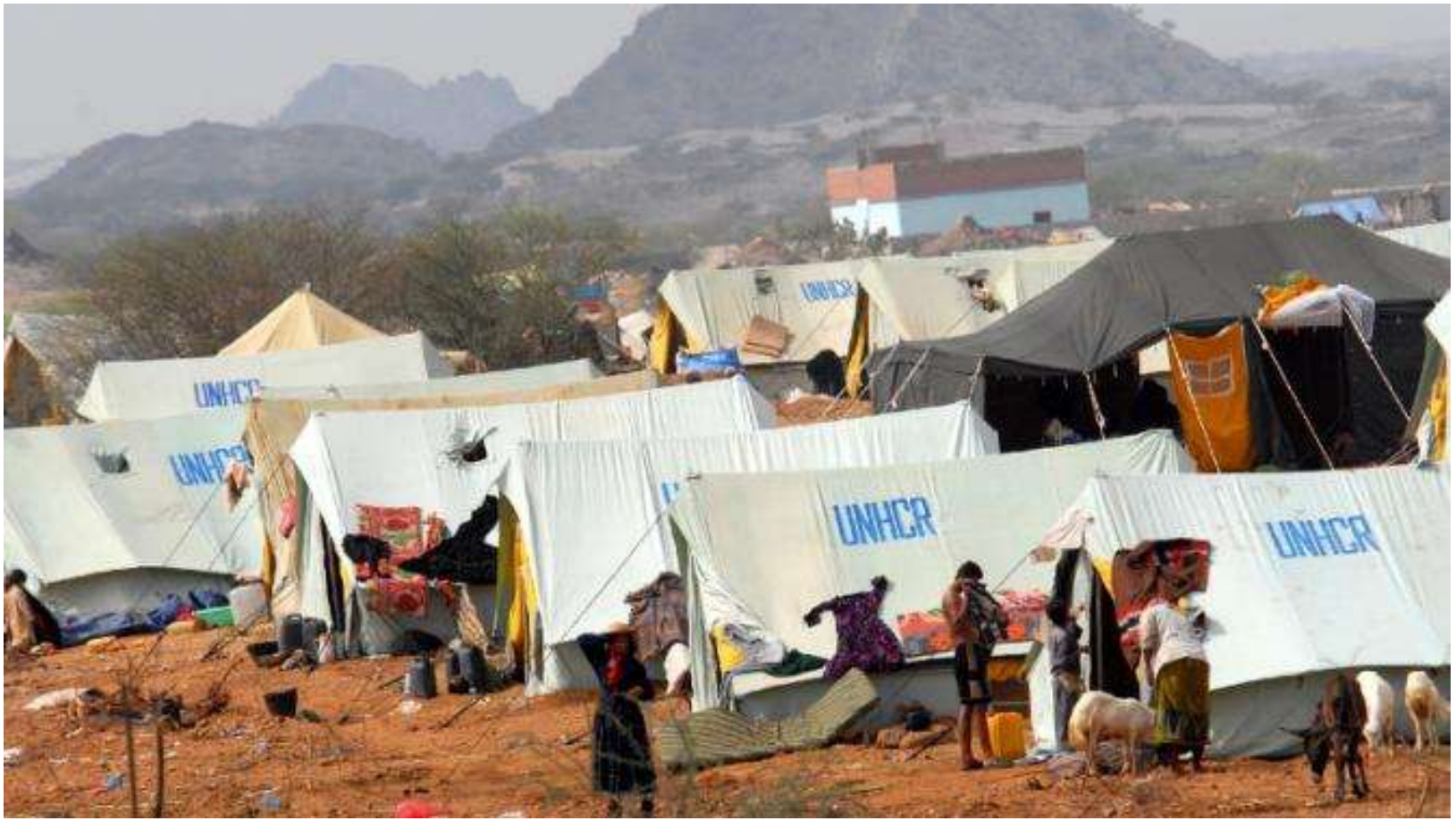
- Globalism, it appears, is the voice of enlightenment; nationalism and ethnocentrism the voices of darkness and ignorance.
  - K. and L. say that a global consciousness would go against nature—natural selection places constraints on sociality

- Globalization creates a global culture of individuals. Backlash creates separate cultures of "collectivists"
  - K. and L.: People are naturally social but divide into groups that reject members of other groups
- Exclusion and stigmitization are steps along the road to cultural conflict Gamson tells us how that will happen
- The contest becomes most visible in open historical moments such as the present, when culturally dominant frames have broken down and new ones have not yet become established. Huntington's argument

- The Primordial argument: Is warfare part of our human nature? What evidence would show that it is or is not?
  - The stone-age massacre findings
  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KsZAyAzdfI

  - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LbCE52HTBuk

Yemen



2.5 Million Displaced

Nigeria

2.5 million people displaced since May 2013

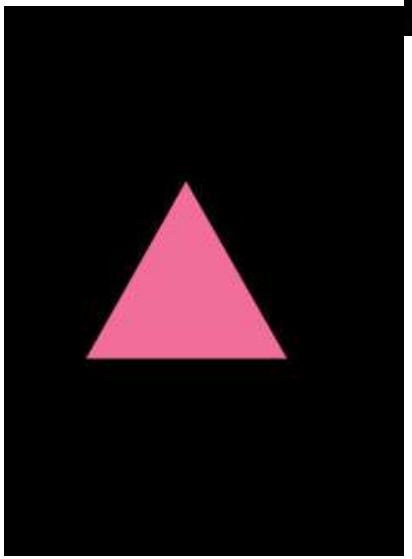
4.7 million people across northeastern Nigeria and neighbouring areas in Chad, Niger and Cameroon who don't have enough to eat (WFP)

OUR DIFFERENCES ARE TOO GREAT FOR COHABITATION!!
000001
000002
SHIITE
SUNNI

Sunni
vs
Shia

Juden müssen den Namen "Israel",
Jüdinnen den Namen "Sara"
als zusätzlichen Vornamen führen.
17.8.1938

Jude



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