
Thematic Paper IV: Security and Forced Migration

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3
RECOMMENDATIONS TO DFID.....	4
1. BACKGROUND TO FORCED MIGRATION AND SECURITY.....	7
1.1. FORCED MIGRATION AND SECURITY DURING THE COLD WAR	7
1.2. FORCED MIGRATION AND SECURITY AFTER THE COLD WAR.....	7
2. THE UNHCR AND THE EMERGING SECURITY DISCOURSE.....	8
2.1. CONSEQUENCES FOR UNHCR ACTIVITIES.....	9
2.2. DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE NEW SECURITY INITIATIVES.....	10
2.3. "HUMAN SECURITY" AND UNHCR.....	11
2.4. THE "LADDER OF OPTIONS" AND DEMILITARIZING REFUGEE CAMPS	12
3. THE LITERATURE ON FORCED MIGRATION AND STATE SECURITY	13
3.1. LIMITATIONS OF THE LITERATURE ON FORCED MIGRATION AND SECURITY	13
3.2. RECENT RESEARCH PRIORITIES	14
4. PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATIONS AND SECURITY	15
4.1. THE NATURE OF SECURITY CONCERNS: DIRECT THREATS.....	17
4.2. THE NATURE OF SECURITY CONCERNS: INDIRECT THREATS.....	18
5. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: ELEMENTS OF A NECESSARY RESPONSE TO SECURITY CONCERNS	20
5.1. RESPONDING TO DIRECT SECURITY CONCERNS.....	20
5.2. RESPONDING TO INDIRECT SECURITY CONCERNS	21
5.3. LESSONS LEARNED: THE FIREWOOD PROJECT IN KENYA.....	22
5.4. LESSONS LEARNED: SPRAAS IN TANZANIA	23
5.5. TOWARDS A FULL RESPONSE: COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTIONS TO PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATIONS	25
REFERENCES	28

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper examines the relationship between forced migration and the security of host states and regions. Forced migration has always had security implications. From the emergence of the early forced migration regime following the First World War, to its codification after the Second World War, through the Cold War, and into the post-Cold War era, the forced displacement of persons has always resulted in security concerns for receiving states. As such, the paper argues that policy responses have traditionally been motivated primarily by such security concerns, with legal, humanitarian and development considerations coming second.

Such policy responses have, in turn, been shaped by the prevailing international political climate. During the Cold War, forced migration constituted one of the central foreign policy concerns of US and Western foreign policies. So-called “refugee warriors” received generous support from patron governments as part of the logic of proxy wars. The end of the Cold War has brought new salience to the issue, as the changing nature of conflict, the expanding number of displaced persons and the changing priorities of Western states affected the response to the security implications of forced migrations. This new operational and political environment directly affected UNHCR’s response to such situations, expanding its activities to a wider array of beneficiaries and in a new range of contexts previously understood to be beyond its mandate.

Protection failures in such operations as Rwanda and Bosnia, however, led to disillusionment with these new responses. New conceptualisations of and responses to the security implications of forced migration were proposed, including the notion of ‘human security’ and the ‘ladder of options’ approach. On-going multilateral discussions on the topic highlight the enduring dissatisfaction with the new approaches, and the continued need for an effective and comprehensive understanding of insecurity resulting from refugee movements and other forms of forced migration.

A review of the literature on forced migration and security over the past decade reveals similar shortcomings. Early literature in the area had a limited understanding of the nature of security, while more recent literature remains preoccupied with the concerns and responses of Western states and the security dimensions of mass influx situations.

In contrast, this paper argues that the security implications of forced migration are best understood – and addressed – in the context of protracted refugee situations, the reality for the overwhelming majority of the world’s refugees. Such situations result in both direct security concerns – stemming from the spill-over of violence and the militarization of refugee populations – and indirect concerns – stemming from local grievances towards assisted refugee populations and the perception of the presence of refugees as an unending burden on the host state and community. The paper concludes by detailing elements of a necessary response to these concerns, including the separation of armed elements, targeted assistance to address local grievances, the development of local capacity to ensure protection and durable solutions and the formulation of comprehensive solutions to protracted refugee situations.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO DFID

- DFID should be especially concerned with the security implications of forced migration as it has a direct impact on well-being for both displaced persons and host communities.
- DFID's response to the security implications of forced migration must be mindful of the causes of nature of displacement, the mixed character of refugee camp populations, the political and military abuse of camps, the location of refugee camps in insecure border regions, the weak rule of law in refugee camps and the negative economic and security impact of these camps on local communities.
- DFID should understand that recent proposals to 'regionalise' asylum, through the establishment of '**zones of protection**', will increase the burdens borne by host states in regions of refugee origin, compound their security concerns, and lead to increased reluctance to host refugees. As such, DFID should engage in cross-departmental dialogue to ensure that its understanding of conditions in host countries are fully communicated to Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Home Office and the Cabinet Office.
- DFID needs to work towards a strengthened multilateral regime which has the mandate, capacity and resources to meet current unmet refugee needs in a more impartial and effective manner.
- DFID's policy approach to refugees, asylum seekers and IDPs must include a thorough consideration of **protracted refugee situations**, as such situations are no less dangerous sources of instability and no less greater threat to well-being than more conventional security threats at a local and national level.
- **In the short term**, DFID's programmes in host countries should include a consideration of how **directed assistance to refugee populated areas** can alleviate local feelings of grievance towards refugee populations, thereby fostering greater local security and well-being.
- DFID should examine the Firewood Project in Kenya and the range of Special Programmes in Refugee Affected Areas in Tanzania and in other host countries to assess what elements of these programmes may be **mainstreamed into DFID's country programmes** and replicated in other host countries.
- Such analysis should recognise the **double benefit of directed assistance**: such programmes can foster an environment of greater security and protection for refugees and the local population, while also contributing to broader national development objectives and the alleviation of poverty in refugee hosting communities.
- DFID should take **leadership within the development community** to formulate and implement such development-related projects, in partnership with UNHCR, but in recognition of UNHCR's core mandate to protect refugees and find solutions to their plight.

- DFID should consider how its involvement in **security sector reform** should include training and capacity building for national security services to implement host-state obligations as articulated by UN Security Council resolution 1208 (1998) and Executive Committee (ExCom) Conclusion 94.
- DFID should consider how its involvement in **democratization and the promotion of good governance** in host countries can prevent the rise of anti-refugee sentiment present in many transition states, leading to grievance-driven insecurity.
- **In the medium term**, DFID's programmes should include initiatives to increase the protection capacity of host states, enhance the rule of law in refugee populated areas, and expand the capacity and access of national NGOs to refugee programmes.
- To this end, DFID should ensure that its **representatives in host countries** are engaged in the refugee situation and aware of the potential contribution of development initiatives in addressing security concerns.
- **In the long term**, DFID should play a leading technical and political role in the formulation of comprehensive solutions to protracted refugee situations by contributing to the enhancement of the three **durable solutions** for refugees.
- To support **repatriation**, DFID's activities in countries of origin should incorporate the preconditions for successful return and reintegration of both refugees and IDPs, including local and regional post conflict reconstruction programmes, rehabilitation of former combatants, and income generation programmes in support of demobilization.
- To support **local integration**, DFID should politically engage with host states to consider the modalities of this solution, target development assistance to refugee populated areas, support the rehabilitation of former refugee camps and settlements, and support self-sufficiency initiatives for locally integrated refugees.
- To support **third-country resettlement**, DFID should encourage the consolidation and future development of the UK's fledgling refugee resettlement programme.
- More generally, DFID should contribute its unique perspective to see how these three solutions can work in combination to form **comprehensive solutions to protracted refugee situations**.
- DFID, along with other stakeholders in the international system, needs to address how the UN should respond to the **problems of state incapacity**, including protracted refugee situations, and how to **empower regional bodies to assist in meeting this challenge**.

1. BACKGROUND TO FORCED MIGRATION AND SECURITY

Forced migration has always had security implications. International political concern for refugees first emerged after World War I when mass flows from Russia and Balkan states heightened inter-state tensions and threatened the security of European states. These refugee crises became protracted affairs that surpassed the capacity of humanitarian agencies and individual states to resolve them on their own. Consequently, an international framework of institutions and agreements, a nascent international refugee regime, was created to deal with this contentious issue. Following the end of the Second World War, the current international refugee regime emerged in reaction to the security threat posed to the fragile European state system by some 12 million displaced persons. (Loescher, 2001: Chapters 2 and 3)

1.1. Forced Migration and Security During the Cold War

During the Cold War, forced migration constituted one of the central concerns of US and Western foreign policies. (Loescher and Scanlan, 1986; Zolberg *et al.*, 1989) Refugees were seen as part of the global struggle between East and West. Refugees fleeing communism were portrayed as “voting with their feet”. In the interest of exploiting the ideological and public relations benefits of such movements, the West responded through generous burden sharing and resettlement schemes. During the late 1970s and 1980s, the Indo-Chinese exodus in Southeast Asia, the flow of Afghan refugees into Iran and Pakistan, the exodus from Central America, and the Angolan and Mozambican refugee situations in Southern Africa and those in the Horn of Africa all had significant security dimensions. In regions of intense superpower conflict and competition, refugees were armed and their military struggles were supported both materially and ideologically. Host states did raise security concerns about refugee flows, especially in the context of the Indo-Chinese exodus, but these concerns were addressed comprehensively in their interest by the West.

1.2. Forced Migration and Security After the Cold War

The security implications of forced migration have gained new salience in recent years, especially since the end of the Cold War. What resulted was a period of ‘issue-widening’, growing out of a frustration with the narrow Cold War understanding of security, focused on military threats external to the state. Speaking at the first summit-level meeting at the end of the Cold War, the President of the UN Security Council noted that “the non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields have become threats to international peace and security.” (UN Security Council, 1992) Throughout the 1990s, refugee movements were central elements of numerous UN Security Council resolutions. (Roberts, 1998)

Following the end of the 1991 Gulf War, Iraqi suppression of widespread revolt in northern Kurdish areas created widespread fears among the Kurds, resulting in the mass flight of some 2 million refugees to the Turkish border and into Iran. Civil war and famine in Somalia in 1992 displaced hundreds of thousands of civilians and caused large-scale starvation and a breakdown of civil order. The break-up of the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s resulted in bitter civil wars among competing ethnic populations and widespread ethnic cleansing and displacement. Human rights abuses and repressive military rule drove large numbers of Haitians to flee the country by boat

throughout the 1990s, causing a serious policy problem for the United States. In most of these and other cases, the UN, or regional or national forces acting with UN authorization, directly intervened in intrastate conflicts in an attempt to tackle these crises which led to mass displacement.

Moreover, forced displacements were also at the centre of crises in the African Great Lakes region, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Albania, Kosovo, East Timor and Afghanistan. In Kosovo, over 850,000 people were driven out of the country in 1999 in a massive and brutal ethnic cleansing. Later in the same year in Indonesia, gangs of armed thugs, with the active support of the military and the police, waged a campaign of terror against the East Timorese people and against UN staff who were stationed there to monitor the referendum that would confirm East Timor's independence.

During this period, it became clear to those engaged in the UN's peace and security apparatus that refugee movements were not only a consequence of insecurity, but could also be a cause of insecurity, for host states, countries of origin, for regions hosting refugees, and even a threat to international peace and security. As such, the security implications of refugee movements were seen as possible justification for armed intervention under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, thus linking the political and humanitarian arms of the United Nations.

2. THE UNHCR AND THE EMERGING SECURITY DISCOURSE

At the same time that refugees came to be viewed as possibly posing threats to international and regional security, refugees were perceived increasingly as burdens. In the face of growing numbers of illegal migrants and abuse of asylum systems, Western governments became increasingly reluctant to grant asylum and enacted severe new entry controls. The closure of borders to prevent unwanted refugee and migrant influxes became much more widespread than it had been during the Cold War. In the West, in place of asylum, various forms of 'temporary protection' were utilized to deal with those fleeing war and 'ethnic cleansing'. For developing countries, the growing numbers of displaced people entering already precarious or failing economies presented problems that threatened domestic stability and governmental authority. Diminishing donor government support for long-term refugee assistance, coupled with declining levels of development assistance, and the imposition of structural adjustment programs on many poorer and less stable states, reinforced and contributed to the growing hostility towards refugees in the developing world.

In response to these global developments, most governments not only became more restrictionist in their refugee policies but also pushed for a comprehensive international policy which sought to modify the causes of refugee flows through conflict resolution, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. These policies focused on unstable, refugee-producing regions, to facilitate the prevention, containment of refugee flows, or their reversal through repatriation. This was to be achieved through a series of international humanitarian operations in the 1990s that were launched by the UN Security Council and the UNHCR. During this period, governments felt compelled to respond to refugee disasters, especially those covered by the media, and therefore repeatedly tasked the UNHCR to provide emergency relief aid with a view towards alleviating, preventing, or containing refugee crises within their own country or region of origin. For the world's

most powerful states, the provision of humanitarian assistance was financially and politically a relatively low risk option because it satisfied the demands of the media and public opinion for some kind of action to alleviate human suffering. But it was also used repeatedly by governments as an excuse for refusing to take more decisive forms of political and military intervention to deal with the underlying political causes of these population movements.

For the UNHCR, these shifts in attitudes about intervention made it begin to perceive its own work more in terms of contributing to regional and international peace and security. The agency became more frequently involved in internal conflicts and in sharing responsibility with UN mandated military forces for assistance to displaced people. In an effort to take advantage of the political opportunities that the post-Cold War environment presented, the UNHCR also made a concerted effort to frame its policies in terms of interests of the major powers in resolving conflicts and refugee problems. It also demonstrated a greater interest in preventing refugee flows and in finding solutions to the political problems that created mass flight. By emphasizing the responsibilities of refugee sending states and by labelling the mass exodus of refugees as a threat to international peace and security, UNHCR sought to legitimize its own actions to facilitate repatriations as well as interventions by the UN and states into regions of refugee origin to alleviate or even solve the causes of flight. The high priority given to humanitarian operations and the increasing recognition of a link between refugees and international security meant that UNHCR played an increasingly important role in placing refugees on the international political agenda. (Hammerstad, 2003) From 1992 on, the High Commissioner began to report regularly to the UN Security Council and to regional organizations, such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on the potentially destabilizing effects of refugee and displacement crises.

2.1. Consequences for UNHCR Activities

The emergence of a new international security environment and a more assertive UN Security Council dramatically changed the way in which UNHCR operated. During the Cold War, in-country assistance and protection of internally displaced people and victims of war were perceived to violate state sovereignty and therefore were taboo for UN agencies. In the post-Cold War period, by contrast, the UN developed a series of experimental measures, including a number of humanitarian interventions, for responding to instances of forced displacement within internal conflicts. These initiatives included the offer of temporary protection rather than full refugee status, the establishment of safe havens, cross-border deliveries of assistance, and the use of military resources for the delivery of humanitarian assistance. For UNHCR, the major change in the handling of refugee issues included an increased focus on working in countries of origin – even in countries at war – to reduce the likelihood of massive refugee flows across borders. In addition, the UNHCR was also frequently asked to take part in comprehensive and integrated UN peacekeeping or peacemaking operations that involved political and military actors of the UN.

In response to these dramatic developments, the UNHCR expanded its services to a much wider range of people who were in need of assistance. For example, ‘war-affected populations’ – people who had not been uprooted but needed humanitarian assistance and protection – comprised a substantial proportion of UNHCR’s beneficiary population

during the height of the 1990's Bosnian conflict. As a result, the numbers of displaced people and war-affected populations receiving UNHCR assistance increased dramatically. Worldwide the number of people receiving UNHCR assistance increased from 15 million in 1990 to a peak of 26 million in 1996. Of this total of UNHCR's beneficiaries, refugees constituted only about 50 per cent. Consequently, UNHCR expanded from a refugee organization into the UN's foremost humanitarian agency, thereby gaining a higher profile in international politics and securing more generous funding for its operations.

2.2. Disillusionment with the New Security Initiatives

By the mid-1990s, however, it became evident that these innovative methods of assistance and protection had not been derived from any clearly defined strategy but had been developed in an *ad hoc* fashion in response to immediate security crises. As seemingly intractable conflicts continued in the Balkans, Africa and within the former Soviet Union, it was apparent that states lacked the will to initiate effective enforcement for maintaining peace and security, for empowering human rights mechanisms, or for promoting sustainable development in crisis regions. The major powers had only minimal interest in most countries with internal conflicts and humanitarian crises, and international responses to refugee crises remained more often than not reactive, self-interested, and based on *ad hoc* initiatives. There was no guarantee that states would intervene in situations where it was desperately needed as in Rwanda in 1994. Bruised by their failure to restore stability in Somalia, the world's major governments and the UN chose to do nothing in the face of wanton mass killings in Rwanda. Similar concerns prevented Western governments from committing sufficient ground forces to Bosnia with an enforcement mission to defend the so-called "safe areas," including Srebrenica.

Most alarmingly, the new *ad hoc* initiatives also seemed to exacerbate and prolong the suffering in many cases of displaced people caught up in brutal conflicts. The UNHCR's high-profile relief efforts in Northern Iraq, Bosnia and Rwanda underlined dramatically the inadequacy of providing protection in humanitarian relief programs in the midst of on-going civil conflicts and regional security crises. In particular, the failure to halt the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, the failure to halt the militarization of refugee camps in Zaire in 1994-6, the failure to prevent the forced repatriation of Rwandan refugees in 1996, and the failure to protect and assist the Rwandan refugees driven into eastern Zaire from late 1996 onward vividly demonstrated for UNHCR the lack of commitment on the part of states to address the underlying causes of security crises and conflicts in order to find solutions to refugee problems. The international community was all too often content to encourage UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations to deal with the humanitarian consequences of conflicts rather than to actively engage in seeking political and security solutions in intrastate wars. It became clear to UNHCR that if refugee problems were to be resolved then the international community would have to become active well beyond the mandate of UNHCR.

By the mid-1990s, the major powers, particularly the United States, perceived that the interventions of the early 1990s had overextended the UN and that in the future interventions should be much more limited and essentially restricted to the most strategically important areas of the world. As Kofi Annan acknowledged in his annual report to the UN General Assembly in 1999: "the failure to intervene was driven more

by the reluctance of Member States to pay the human and other costs of intervention, and by doubts that the use of force would be successful, than by concerns about sovereignty.” (Annan, 1999: 21) The use of armed force to stem refugee movements remains highly controversial within the international community. (Wheeler, 1999) The NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 and the bitter debates over Iraq in 2003 demonstrate that there exist significant objections, particularly among the developing states, to the right to intervene concept and to the use of force to resolve security threats, much less refugee crises.

2.3. “Human Security” and UNHCR

Disillusionment with its own shortcomings and with the failure of states to take action in the Great Lakes and other refugee-prone regions gave rise to efforts on the part of UNHCR to tone down the political elements of its security discourse, to redefine security by giving it a more humanitarian emphasis, and to develop the concept as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation. (Hammerstad, 2003) Building on the notion of “human security” first introduced in the UNDP’s 1994 Human Development Report (UNDP, 1994) and later adopted into their foreign policy agendas by states such as Canada, Sweden and Norway, UNHCR began to use the concept from the mid 1990s on as a means to establish harmony between the security concerns of states and the protection needs of forcibly displaced persons and the security needs of the staff of international humanitarian agencies.

Throughout her term as High Commissioner, Sadako Ogata stressed that her most important challenge was how to strike a balance between the principles of refugee protection and the legitimate concerns of states. (Ogata, 1997a) However, the disastrous protection crises of the Great Lakes and other operations demonstrated for UNHCR that this balance could not be achieved solely through appealing to the security interests of states. UNHCR had overestimated the extent to which the international community was willing and able to intervene in sovereign states to aid refugees and displaced people. It also became clear that the security interests of states were narrower and more self-interested than UNHCR anticipated and were not always compatible with the protection needs of refugees. Consequently, UNHCR endeavoured through advocating “human security” to show how the real security of states and the international community could only be achieved by providing security for “people”. (UNHCR, 1997; Ogata, 1997b; Ogata, 1999) In other words, UNHCR’s use of human security was part of the agency’s attempt to shape the interests of states in directions more conducive to refugee protection and assistance, as well as to mitigate the political and financial constraints imposed upon it by its environment.

However, the concept of “human security” had its own limitations. While human security emphasized the links between human rights, physical security of individuals and the security of states, it was so all-encompassing a concept that it did not provide UNHCR with a very useful tool with which to understand and explain the nature of refugee problems. (Hammerstad, 2003) The concept also did not adequately address the disjuncture between UNHCR’s emphasis on human rights and the security concerns of states affected by disruptive refugee movements. In particular, human security underplayed or ignored the security concerns of states, especially the long-term consequences of hosting large numbers of refugees. It also focused on forced migration as a consequence of conflict, but ignored the fact that refugees can frequently be the

cause of conflict. Consequently, human security as defined by UNHCR had a questionable utility as a framework for understanding the relationship between state security concerns and refugee protection.

2.4. The “Ladder of Options” and Demilitarizing Refugee Camps

After the Great Lakes disaster, the international community began to debate a more structured response to address the security threats of hosting refugees, particularly the threat posed by the movement of large numbers of refugees co-mingled with combatants in refugee camps. (Jacobsen and Crisp, 2000) In April 2000, the UN Security Council (Security Council resolution 1296) requested the Secretary-General to bring to its attention incidents involving the militarization of refugee camps and to consider taking “appropriate steps to create a secure environment for civilians endangered by conflicts”. A year later, the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recognized the need for a military force to keep armed combatants out of refugee settlements and recommended that the Security Council deploy “international military observers to monitor the situation in camps for internally displaced persons and refugees when the presence of arms, combatants and armed elements is suspected...(and) consider the range of options ... (including) compelling disarmament of the combatants or armed elements.” (UN Security Council, 2001)

The UNHCR had been particularly shocked by the lack of international assistance it received in Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire and Tanzania to separate out the *interhamwe* and other *genocidaires* from the civilian refugee communities. In the Great Lakes, UNHCR protection officers were totally ineffective in preventing the militarization of the Rwandan refugee camps. They had neither the mandate nor the training and resources to carry out demilitarization and their calls for international assistance went unheeded.

To deal with such situations in the future, the UNHCR proposed a “ladder of options”, ranging from contingency planning and preventive measures through monitoring and policing to forceful intervention under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, as the foundation for a new UN policy response to the problems of insecurity in refugee camps. (UNHCR ExCom, 1999; UNHCR ExCom 2000) Subsequently, the UNHCR established stand-by arrangements with a limited number of governments for the provision of police and public security experts who were designated as Humanitarian Security Officers (HSO) to be deployed as part of UNHCR’s Emergency Response teams at the beginning of refugee crises and would work with public security institutions of receiving countries. UNHCR also enhanced its own emergency response mechanism by participating in numerous civil-military conferences, designing training programs for HSOs, and establishing a focal point with the UN Security forces (UNSECORD). Finally, UNHCR entered into discussions with the UN Department of Peacekeeping (DPKO) regarding the possible deployment of missions to situations in which refugee-populated areas have become militarized or where they run the risk of falling under the control of groups suspected of genocide or crimes against humanity.

3. THE LITERATURE ON FORCED MIGRATION AND STATE SECURITY

During the 1990s, not only did policy makers broaden the international security agenda, but a period of 'issue-widening' was also seen in the international relations literature. (Ulman, 1983; Matthews, 1989; Homer-Dixon, 1991) This process was partly motivated by a recognition that 'security' is an 'essentially contested concept' and therefore inherently difficult to define. (Buzan, 1991) As outlined in Hammerstad's paper, the link between conflict and development rose in prominence during this period. Research began to highlight how factors as diverse as environmental degradation, economic interdependence, transnational crime and migration and refugee movements had the potential to influence state and regional security agendas. Consequently, a distinct literature on refugee movements and international security emerged.

In the early 1990s, researchers and scholars began to take cognizance of the rising importance of security in migration and refugee studies.¹ Early works aimed to provide a basic typology of migration flows and their related security concerns, particularly for sending and receiving states. Examining the question in a broad, cross-regional and comparative perspective, these studies sought to clarify the possible security implications of refugee movements and the potential concerns of host states. Particular reference was also made to the numerous cases of "refugee warriors" (Zolberg *et al.*, 1989) and the negative impact of these forces on regional and international security.

3.1. Limitations of the Literature on Forced Migration and Security

These early works, however, had certain limitations. First, the works fail to incorporate a comprehensive conceptualization of 'security' appropriate to the study of forced migration. Second, while attempting to bring the migration question into the mainstream of security studies, the nature of the security implications of migration portrayed focus disproportionately on the 'high politics' dimension of the security concerns of host-states, focusing on external security threats of a military nature, at the necessary expense of the 'low politics' concerns, relating to domestic stability. Both works make reference to concerns surrounding host community receptivity and questions of ethnic affinity, but, as recent cases illustrate, the domestic, 'low politics', or indirect security concerns, have proven to be far more pervasive and preoccupying for host-states than previously thought, especially in Africa, and in light of the failures of international solidarity and burden sharing.

Following these earlier works, from the mid-1990s on, the literature on migration and security focused more on the securitization of asylum in the European context and on

¹ Two of the earliest works were Myron Weiner's edited volume *International Migration and Security* and Gil Loescher's IISS Adepti Paper *Refugee Movements and International Security*. Both works attempted to raise the issue of forced migration as both a potential cause and consequence of insecurity, by emphasising the 'high politics' dimensions of the issue and by charting a cross-regional framework for future research in the area. Both studies had as a primary objective the raising of the profile of international migration in the eyes of national security and foreign policy planners and defining the issue for further research. Both researchers argued that it was essential to recognize that refugee problems are in fact intensely political. Mass migrations create domestic instability, generate interstate tension and threaten regional and sometimes international security. These authors argued that solutions to refugee problems necessitated not only humanitarian but also political solutions.

notions of societal motivations for casting migration in terms of security concerns. (Huysmans, 1995; Waever *et al.*, 1993; Waever, 1995; Buzan *et al.*, 1998; Bigo, 1996; Bigo, 1998) The focus of the debate has been on the way that societal identity and societal concerns about migration and immigration translate into state action against migrants. The focus is predominantly on the use of security in public discourse, and who has the authority to turn migration into a security issue.

While this literature lays an important foundation to understand the process by which the language of security may be applied to cases of migration by various actors within society for differing reasons and with various degrees of success, it is not directly applicable to the question of host-state security in developing countries. The arguments contained within the more recent literature are heavily based on the European context, especially the European state and European state-society relations. In fact, the nature of the European state is very different from the nature of the state in much of the developing world. (Clapham, 1996; Jackson, 1990; Herbst, 2000) The realities of the refugee issue in the developing world, especially Africa, are quantitatively and qualitatively so different that there is a clear need for a different approach for understanding the security concerns of host-states in the Third World. (Loescher, 1992; Chimni, 1998) As Jeff Crisp has noted, the list of concerns of developing countries differs considerably from the concerns of European states, and includes: the causes and nature of the displacement, the mixed character of refugee camp populations, the political and military abuse of camps, the location of refugee camps in border areas, the weak rule of law in refugee camps, and the impact of these camps on the local communities – all issues of concern to DFID. (Crisp, 2000c)

3.2. Recent Research Priorities

International relations researchers currently address the security implications of forced migration in two ways. First, and especially since September 11, 2001, there has been an emphasis on the potential links between migration and asylum in the West and transnational crime, terrorism and the identity of European political communities. (Van Selm, 2003; Gibney, 2002; Zolberg, 2002) As a result of these concerns, many Western resettlement countries and traditional asylum countries, have reconsidered their admissions levels and procedures. Increased security screening has resulted in long delays in resettlement processing, while security-motivated legislation has led to increased barriers to entry in Western asylum countries. There is a rising opinion on the part of many Western policy makers that the potential security implications of refugee movements can be contained in regions of refugee origin, and this approach has partially contributed to an increased consideration of regional processing and ‘zones of protection’ by Western policy makers, notably the United Kingdom. Of the many concerns with this new approach (Loescher and Milner, 2003), paramount to agencies like DFID should be that ‘regionalization’ increases the burdens borne by host states in regions of refugee origin, compounds their security concerns, and leads to increased reluctance to host refugees.

Second, as outlined above, through multilateral discussions and negotiations, there has been a focus on the security implications of large-scale and sudden refugee movements in developing countries, and the particular problem of armed groups within some refugee communities.

Both of these approaches are useful, and address current policy concerns of governments, but there is a third, and more pressing, situation in which forced migration may cause security concerns on the part of host states, especially in the developing world. This third situation is the case of protracted refugee situations.

4. PROTRACTED REFUGEE SITUATIONS AND SECURITY

Since the early 1990s, the international community has focused on refugee emergencies, delivering humanitarian assistance to refugees and war-affected populations, and encouraging large-scale repatriation programs in high profile regions such as the Balkans, the Great Lakes or recently Afghanistan and Iraq. (Loescher, 2001; UNHCR, 2000) The majority of today's almost 10 million refugees, however, are trapped in protracted refugee situations, unable to return home and without the prospect either of a solution in the country where they have sought asylum or of resettlement abroad. Such situations are often characterized by long periods of exile (stretching to decades for some groups) and can occur on most continents in a range of environments including camps, rural settlements and urban centres.

A serious consequence of protracted refugee situations is that they can foster instability, insecurity and conflict and can even be prime targets for recruitment into armed units and terrorism. Such refugee situations may not only cause such direct security concerns but also have indirect security implications, through the exacerbation of pre-existing social and economic tensions among local populations. Thus, protracted refugee situations are no less dangerous sources of instability than other more conventional security threats and there are reasons of state and security for the international community to focus its attention on protracted refugee situations. As such, these refugee situations should be of particular concern to DFID.

The long-term presence of Burundian refugees in Tanzania, Sudanese and Somali refugees in Kenya, Liberian refugees in West Africa, Afghans remaining in Pakistan, Burmese in Thailand – all in regions where DFID is currently active – and other chronic refugee populations, have come to be seen by many host states as a source of insecurity. In response, they have enacted policies of containing refugees in isolated and insecure camps, have prevented the arrival of additional refugees, and have, in extreme cases, engaged in forcible repatriation. (Amnesty International, 1997; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1995; Human Rights Watch, 1999; Crisp, 2000b; Rutinwa, 1999) Not surprisingly, these populations are also increasingly a source of insecurity for Western states. Refugee camps are sometimes breeding grounds international terrorism (Harman, 2002) and armed groups in these camps engage in activities that destabilize not only host states but also entire regions. (Kamara, 2001) Given the transnational importance and significance of protracted refugee situations in today's security environment, much greater attention needs to be given by DFID and other international agencies to understanding this pressing problem and developing appropriate policy responses.

Unfortunately, until very recently, the problem of protracted refugee situations has largely been ignored by scholars and practitioners. A few key studies addressed this

issue in the 1970s and 1980s.² More recently, a series of studies were undertaken by the Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit at UNHCR.³ While these studies provide important new insights into protracted refugee situations in Africa and elsewhere, the primary focus has been on addressing the daily security concerns of refugees and not on the links between local and regional security and protracted refugee situations. This work also largely focuses on refugees in camps and not on urban refugees or self-settled refugees, partly because these groups are of less direct concern to UNHCR.

The rising significance of protracted refugee situations has recently been given a higher profile within intergovernmental settings. In December 2001, there was an African Ministerial Meeting on protracted refugee situations (UNHCR Africa Bureau, 2001a; UNHCR, Africa Bureau, 2001b; UNHCR, 2001a) and the issue has been considered at recent UNHCR Executive Committee sessions (Lubbers, 2002) as well as within the framework of the UNHCR Global Consultations on Refugee Protection. (UNHCR ExCom, 2002a) Following preliminary discussion on comprehensive solutions for the most prominent protracted refugee situations, (UNHCR 2003a; UNHCR, 2003b) UNHCR hosted a series of meetings in early March 2004 to generate international support for the future repatriation of a number of refugee populations in Africa. UNHCR argued that conditions in countries like Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Burundi, Sierra Leone and Angola were suitable for the preparation of large-scale returns in the coming years, pending positive developments in the relevant peace processes and in the ability of UNHCR and partner agencies to build the necessary capacity in the host countries to effectively receive and reintegrate the returning populations. UNHCR subsequently appealed for \$8.8 million for preparatory activities in Sudan, but it has so far received \$3 million. Likewise, it has appealed for \$39.2 million to support operations in Liberia for the return and reintegration of both refugees and internally displaced persons, but it has received only \$3 million. While repatriation is not immediately possible to these countries, investment is essential in the coming months to ensure that the infrastructure is in place to support repatriation in the coming years.

These examples underscore the highly selective nature of most donor funding for refugee situations. A recent study on donor behaviour (Smillie and Minear, 2003) argues that funding for humanitarian programmes largely reflects the foreign and domestic policies of donor governments. Such behaviour does not provide a coherent or effective system for financing international humanitarian activities. Donor governments give vastly disproportionate amounts of aid to a few well-known cases and far lesser aid to dozens of other less well-publicized refugee caseloads. The absence of an autonomous and government-assessed resource base for UNHCR, for example, continue to limit the response to present and future refugee crises just as they have done for the past 50 years. While the UNHCR has recently tried to overcome these financial constraints by trying to access development funds to finance unmet needs, it is not yet

² The Refugee Policy Group in Washington, D.C. produced reports on protracted refugee settlements in Africa outlining many of the problems confronting long-staying refugees at that time. T. Betts, Robert Chambers and Art Hansen, among others, conducted research on some of these groups in Africa and assessed the international community's policy responses, particularly programmes aimed to promote local integration.

³ Individual studies conducted for the research are posted on the web-page of UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit: <http://www.unhcr.ch/epau> For a summary of the research findings, see: Crisp 2002.

evident that this will prove to be a successful strategy. In light of this situation, donor governments and agencies like DFID need to work towards a strengthened multilateral regime which has the mandate, capacity and resources to meet current unmet refugee needs in a more impartial and effective manner.

4.1. The Nature of Security Concerns: Direct Threats

In addition to the lack of donor support for these preparations, it is also of concern that these discussions have not been accompanied by a sufficient understanding of the security impact of long-staying refugee populations. Protracted refugee situations result in a wide range of direct and indirect security concerns for host states and states in the region. The **direct threats** faced by the host-state, posed by the spill-over of conflict and the presence of 'refugee warriors', are by far the strongest link between refugees and conflict. Here, there are no intervening variables between forced migration and violence as the migrants themselves are actively engaged in armed campaigns typically, but not exclusively, against the country of origin. Such campaigns have the potential of regionalizing the conflict and dragging the host-state into what was previously an intra-state conflict.

It is important to note that there was a time when states were willing to host refugee warrior communities, notwithstanding the threat they posed. In the context of the Cold War and the ideological struggle between East and West, the spill-over of violence assumed a very different meaning than it does today. At the time, "the emergence of armed groups of exiles, the so-called 'refugee warriors', symbolised for the West the popular rejection of communist governments and served to legitimize the resistance movements." (Loescher, 1992: 11) Examples of such resistance and support are to be found in the anti-Soviet Mujahideen based in Pakistan, the Khmers Rouge in Thailand and the Nicaraguan Contras. (Loescher 2001: 201 – 246) As part of the Cold War logic of international security, all these groups received US and Western support, both military and political. (Loescher, 1992: 12)

With the end of the Cold War, the logic has changed, but the relevance of refugee warriors remains. This relevance is especially true in Africa, as brought home with particular force in the maelstrom of violence that gripped the Great Lakes region of Central Africa between 1994 and 1996. It was this particular case that initiated discussions between UNHCR, regional states and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, resulting in the formulation of the ladder of options policy.

The direct causes of insecurity to both host states and regional and extra-regional actors stemming from chronic refugee populations are best understood within the context of so-called failed states, as in Somalia, and the rise of warlordism, as in the case of Liberia. In such situations, refugee camps are used as a base for guerrilla, insurgent or terrorist activities. Armed groups hide behind the humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and use these camps as an opportunity to recruit among the disaffected displaced populations. In such situations, there is the risk that humanitarian aid, including food, medical assistance and other support mechanisms, might be expropriated to support armed elements. Similar security concerns may arise within urban refugee populations where gangs and criminal networks can emerge within displaced and disenfranchised populations. These groups take advantage of the transnational nature of refugee populations, of remittances from abroad and the

marginal existence of urban refugees to further their goals. In both the urban and camp context, refugee movements have proven to provide a cover for the illicit activities, ranging from prostitution and people smuggling to the trade in small arms, narcotics and diamonds.

The security consequences of such activities for host states and regional actors are real. They include cross-border attacks on both host states and countries of origin, attacks on humanitarian personnel, refugees and civilian populations. Direct security concerns can also lead to serious bilateral and regional political and diplomatic tensions. Cross border flows are perceived by host states to impede on their national sovereignty, especially given the tenuous control that many central governments in the developing world have over their border regions. Finally, the activities of armed elements among refugee populations not only violate refugee protection and human rights principles, but can constitute threats to international peace and security. (Dowty and Loescher, 1996)

4.2. The Nature of Security Concerns: Indirect Threats

More difficult to identify, but just as potentially destabilising as direct threats, refugee movements may pose **indirect threats** to the host state. Indirect threats may arise when the presence of refugees exacerbates previously existing inter-communal tensions in the host country, shifts the balance of power between communities, or causes grievances among local populations. At the root of such security concerns is the failure of international solidarity and burden sharing with host countries. Local and national grievances are particularly heightened when refugees compete with local populations for resources, jobs and social services, including health care, education and housing. Refugees are also frequently scapegoats for breakdowns in law and order in refugee populated areas, both rural and urban.

The indirect threat to security that long-staying refugees can pose to host states is a key concept that has been lacking in both the research and policy consideration of refugee movements. In these cases, refugees alone are a necessary but not a sufficient cause of host state insecurity. It is not the refugee that is a threat to the host state, but the context within which the refugees exist that results in the securitization of the asylum question for many states.

Lacking policy alternatives, many host governments now present refugee populations as security threats to justify actions that would not otherwise be permissible, especially when the state is confronted with the pressures of externally-imposed democratization and economic liberalization. More generally, the presence of refugees can exacerbate previously existing tensions (as also noted in Hammerstad's paper) and can change the balance of power between groups in the country of asylum. For this reason refugees play a significant but indirect role in the causes of insecurity and violence, but with consequences potentially of the same scale as the direct threats. Given DFID's involvement in democratization and good governance programmes, it should be especially aware of these types of concerns.

This dynamic has been emphasised in recent research examining the dramatic restrictions on asylum that have been imposed by host states in Africa since the mid-1990s (as outlined in Kamanga's paper). Several researchers have pointed to the significance of the absence of meaningful burden sharing and the growing xenophobia

in many African countries as the key factors motivating restrictive asylum policies. (Crisp, 2000; Rutinwa, 1999) It has also been argued that these xenophobic sentiments “have emerged at a time when most of Africa is democratizing and governments are compelled to take into account public opinion in formulating various policies. The result has been the adoption of anti-refugee platforms by political parties which result in anti-refugee policies and actions by governments.” (Rutinwa, 1999: 2) Just as “government leaders found themselves facing more and more pressures to restrict entry” as “asylum became part of the cut and thrust of domestic politics” in Western Europe in recent years, Gibney emphasises that “the rise of multiparty democracy in Africa ... has arguably diminished the autonomy of state elites in determining the security agenda.” (Gibney, 2002: 7)

It has been argued that the Tanzanian government’s decision to close its border with Burundi was closely linked to the lead-up to the 1995 parliamentary and presidential elections. Opposition parties exploited local dissatisfaction with the government’s handling of the asylum question in the region, and thereby tried to create political opportunity by demonstrating that they had the power to restore order and stability to border regions by expelling unpopular refugee populations. (Runtinwa, 1996: 299)

This example serves to highlight the dynamics of internal competition between the core and periphery of a state, and how the presence of refugee camps typically in the “hinterland” (Herbst, 2000: 3) of a state influences this dynamic. The presence of large numbers of refugees in the periphery of a state may give that region significance that it did not previously have. This is particularly true when the political geography of the African state is considered.

Herbst argues that “states are only viable if they are able to control the territory defined by their borders” and that such control is “assured by developing an infrastructure to broadcast power and by gaining the loyalty of citizens.” (Herbst, 2002: 3) Unlike European states, which have managed to broadcast this power to all sectors of the state, Herbst argues that African states have concentrated power in economic centres and have very limited control over the periphery of the state. The presence of large refugee populations in these ‘hinterlands’, where the regime typically does not exercise effective control, is a serious concern for the state. This fact, combined with an understanding that “rule by the centre” in many African states is so weak and that there is “space for challengers to form large and sophisticated rebel armies” (Herbst, 2000: 255) in the periphery of the state, clearly adds to an understanding of why African states are increasingly concerned about the security implications of large, insecure refugee camps and settlements in their hinterland.

Furthermore, it has been argued that “in countries which are divided into antagonistic racial, ethnic, religious or other groupings, a major influx can place precariously balanced multi-ethnic societies under great strain and may even threaten the political balance of power.” (Loescher, 1992: 42) In this way, the presence of refugees has been demonstrated to accelerate “existing internal conflicts in the host country.” (Weiner, 1993: 16) For example, this concern was made most explicitly clear in Macedonia’s reluctance to accept Kosovar Albanian refugees in March 1999, citing the concern that the mass of Kosovar Albanian refugees threatened to destabilise Macedonia’s ethnic balance.

But, not all refugees are seen as threats. The question of which refugees are seen as threats, and why, may be partially explained by understanding the perception of refugees as members of the local political community or as outsiders. As Loescher argues, "in the Third World, the remarkable receptivity provided to millions of Afghans in Pakistan and Iran, to ethnic kin from Bulgaria in Turkey, to Ethiopians in the Sudan, to Ogadeni Ethiopians in Somalia, to southern Sudanese in Uganda, to Issaq Somali in Djibouti and to Mozambicans in Malawi has been facilitated by the ethnic and linguistic characteristics they share with their hosts." (Loescher, 1992: 42) In this sense, the importance of affinity and shared group identity cannot be overstated. If a host community perceives the incoming refugee as 'one of us', then positive and generous conceptions of distributive justice will apply. The empirical evidence is overwhelming.

Conversely, if the refugees are seen as members of an 'out-group', they are likely to receive a hostile reception. In cases where there is a division along ethnic, linguistic or religious lines, "a major population influx can place precariously balanced multi-ethnic societies under great strain and may even threaten the political balance of power." (Loescher, 1992: 42)

Indeed, refugees "as an out-group, can be blamed for all untoward activities." (Maluwa, 1995: 657) While levels of crime may rise by no more than expected with a comparable rise in population, refugees increasingly are seen as the cause. Maluwa also argues that the "presence of massive numbers of refugees" can "create feelings of resentment and suspicion, as the refugee population increasingly, and often wrongly, gets blamed for the economic conditions that may arise within the domestic population." (Maluwa, 1995: 657) This can lead to a point where "poverty, unemployment, scarcity of resources, and even crime and disease, are suddenly attributed to the presence of these refugees and other foreigners." (Maluwa, 1995: 657)

5. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: ELEMENTS OF A NECESSARY RESPONSE TO SECURITY CONCERNS

As this paper has argued, refugee movements can result in a range of security concerns for host states and states in the region. As the causes and consequences of these concerns are diverse, it is not possible to formulate a single policy response to all migration-related security concerns. In fact, the elements of a necessary response are diverse.

5.1. Responding to Direct Security Concerns

In the short term, **direct security** concerns must be addressed through supporting the separation and exclusion of armed elements within the refugee population, notwithstanding the highly complex nature of this undertaking. (O'Neill, 2000; Rutinwa, 2002)

One of UNHCR's first efforts to operationalise its new policy response to armed elements, 'the ladder of options', was its attempt to implement a "security package" in western Tanzania and to move Sierra Leonean refugee camps further from the border in Guinea to protect refugees from attacks by armed elements. While these actions helped create greater security for some of the refugee communities in Tanzania and Guinea,

they did not succeed in separating armed elements and other exiles from the civilian refugee populations in these countries. (Crisp, 2001) A similar effort by UNHCR and DPKO in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in mid-2001 to separate armed refugees from their civilian counterparts met with greater success. (Yu, 2002)

From these experiences, it is evident that the future success of the ladder of options depends on the practical partnerships and 'security packages' that UNHCR is able to form with the DPKO and governments. While discussions between DPKO and UNHCR have set the groundwork for future cooperation between the two offices, serious differences of approach and political and resource constraints remain. On the one hand, UNHCR and other humanitarian aid organizations fear that too close an association with the military compromises their impartiality and neutrality, and on the other, governments are reluctant to authorize military forces for such functions. Protection for refugees in militarized situations also depends critically on the willingness and ability of host states and countries of refugee origin to observe international humanitarian norms regarding the treatment of refugees and non-combatants. Such issues received significant attention during the recent UNHCR-sponsored Global Consultations on International Protection, and were highlighted for particular action in the ensuing Agenda for Protection. (UNHCR, 2001b; UNHCR, 2001c; UNHCR ExCom, 2002a; UNHCR ExCom, 2002b; Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 2002)

There is considerable evidence to suggest that refugee participation in armed conflict can and has led to the diffusion of small arms in host states (Small Arms Survey, 2004), to the forced recruitment of refugees into armed bands, the expropriation of humanitarian aid to support armed elements, and the rise of criminal activity in camps and urban settings. The development of more effective security packages can assist UNHCR, DPKO, regional peacekeeping units and host states to deal with the broad array of direct security concerns present in many regions of refugee origin.

As DFID develops its policy towards refugees and forced migration, it should give careful consideration to the ways in which it can lend support to the development of more effective security packages. Focusing on the role of arms in refugee camps is an important first step in proposing arms control measures and other demilitarizing regimes aimed at reducing violence emanating from and within refugee communities. In particular, DFID should consider how its experience in demobilization and disarmament can contribute to better programmes in a refugee context. At the same time, DFID should encourage UNHCR and DPKO to expand its understanding of security packages to include support to the process of return and reintegration. Finally, DFID involvement in security sector reform should include training and capacity building for national security services to implement host-state obligations as articulated by UN Security Council resolution 1208 (1998) and ExCom Conclusion 94.

5.2. Responding to Indirect Security Concerns

As with responding to the direct security concerns, responding to **indirect threats** requires the engagement of a range of actors and agencies, not only UNHCR. Development agencies, such as DFID, have a vital partnership role to play, working closely with UNHCR to devise and implement appropriate programmes. UNHCR cannot and should not be expected to address these concerns on its own.

Indirect threats are best addressed in the short to medium term through development initiatives and targeted assistance designed to address the burdens on local communities related to the hosting of refugees and to ease tensions between refugees and the local community. In the long term, the security implications of protracted refugee situations are best addressed through comprehensive solutions, involving a broad range of policy interventions.

The remainder of this paper considers how development initiatives can play a role in addressing the security implications of refugee movements. It draws on recent field research in Kenya and Tanzania to outline how targeted intervention can make a significant contribution to the security of not only refugee populated areas, but also to the security of the host state. In the long term, however, it will be argued that such interventions are only coping mechanisms, pending the formulation and implementation of comprehensive solutions to resolve protracted refugee situations.

5.3. Lessons Learned: The Firewood Project in Kenya

Kenya and Tanzania host two of the most challenging protracted refugee situations in Africa.⁴ Kenya has hosted over 135,000 Somali refugees since 1992. The overwhelming majority of these refugees live in three camps near the town of Dadaab, in the Northeast Province of Kenya, approximately 80kms from the border with Somalia. During the 1990s, these camps were renowned as the most violent refugee camps in the world, where rape, murder and armed robbery were almost daily occurrences. (Crisp, 2000a) Violence was endemic not only in the camps but also in the areas surrounding the camps, as bands of *shiftas*, or bandits, attacked convoys of humanitarian relief, aid workers, and refugees collecting firewood outside the camps.

A series of interventions were introduced by the UNHCR, with the support of the donor community, in the late 1990s, including a mobile court system to try those suspected of criminal offences, additional support to the Kenyan police to substantially increase their presence in and around the camps, and the firewood project. The firewood project was designed to provide refugees with 30% of their firewood needs, with the objective of reducing the exposure of refugee women to sexual violence by reducing the amount of time they would be required to spend in the insecure areas around the camps.

The six years following the introduction of the firewood project in 1998 witnessed a dramatic decline not only in the number of reported cases of rapes in the three Dadaab camps, but also in murder and armed robbery. In 1998, there were over 300 reported cases of violent crime in the Dadaab camps, of which 104 were cases of rape. By 2003, that number had fallen dramatically: to 36 reported cases of violent crime, of which 15 were cases of rape.

UN and NGO partners working in Dadaab universally believe that this improvement in refugee security and the dramatic decline in violent crime has been overwhelmingly the result of the firewood project and its positive secondary benefits, namely that it has created jobs for the local population and has encouraged young men who would

⁴ Details of the policy responses in Kenya and Tanzania were collected during field visits to Nairobi and Dadaab (2001 and 2004) and Dar es Salaam (1999 and 2004) and Kibondo (2004). Internal reports and statistics on these programmes are held on file with the authors.

otherwise pursue banditry as a means of livelihood to participate in the more lucrative trade in firewood. Under the programme, villages in a 50 - 100km radius from the camps are contracted by the GTZ, UNHCR's environment programme implementing partner, to collect deadwood. Since 1998, the project has supplied between 8 – 10,000 metric tones of firewood a year for the refugees, and has contributed an average of 48 million Kenyan shillings (approximately £330,000 at the current exchange rate) to the local economy. It is estimated that roughly half of this amount is returned to the refugees as, in many cases, they are sub-contracted by the local population.

The firewood project thereby mitigates the indirect security burden in Kenya in a number of ways. First, it reduces the strain on the scarce environmental resource of firewood in and around Dadaab by ensuring that the firewood is collected in a managed way across a wider area. Second, it ensures an income to the local population, thereby reducing grievances that may arise between refugees and Kenya, notwithstanding the ethnic similarity between the populations. Third, by providing a context within which the refugees and the local population can cooperate in a large scale, mutually beneficial project, better understanding is developed between the two groups, which serves as an important basis for future conflict resolution at a local level. Although a costly programme, the firewood project is one example of a development-related project that has played a significant role in addressing the security implications of the protracted presence of Somali refugees in northern Kenya. DFID may consider how such a programme may be replicated in other contexts.

5.4. Lessons Learned: SPRAAs in Tanzania

Special Programmes for Refugee Affected Areas (SPRAAs) is a second example of possible development-related interventions. In both Kenya and Tanzania, SPRAAs have been implemented in recent years to directly address the grievances of the local population by providing services and benefits to the local population that resides near refugee camps.

The positive effects of SPRAAs have been most striking in Kibondo, a district in Western Tanzania that has hosted over 100,000 mostly Burundian refugees since 1993. A number of direct and indirect security concerns have been expressed by local and national authorities in relation to the presence of Burundian refugees in Kibondo. Most pressing has been the allegations that armed elements from a number of Burundian rebel groups are based in the camps and carry-out fundraising and recruitment activities within the camps. These allegations have been thoroughly denied by the Tanzanian government, and steps have been taken, along with UNHCR, to increase the security presence in the camps and the ability of the local security forces to screen for armed elements among the refugees, as outlined above.

But the protracted presence of the refugee population in Western Tanzania has also resulted in the rise in significant grievances against the refugees and a common belief that their presence has resulted in a rise in banditry, crime, disease and environmental degradation, in addition to placing a significant strain on the local infrastructure and public services. As a result, relations between refugees and local authorities have deteriorated, and a sense of insecurity now prevails.

In an attempt to reverse this trend, UNHCR and its implementing partners have undertaken a wide range of programmes to directly benefit the local population and counter the negative affects of the presence of such a large refugee population. Over US\$1.25 million has been spent in recent years in a range of programmes, including the rehabilitation of roads used by aid convoys, the improvement of water supply to local communities, development of local communication infrastructure, the building of local schools and health centres and the planting of trees. In 2003 alone, over 1.65 million tree seedlings were planted in the areas surrounding refugee camps in Western Tanzania.

A recent report by the Centre for the Study of Forced Migration at the University of Dar es Salaam (2003) comprehensively reviewed the allegations made by Tanzanian officials, both locally and nationally, that the presence of refugees in districts like Kibondo are a burden to the host state, and constitute a threat to Tanzanian security. In assessing the cost of hosting refugees against the benefits that have accrued to the local population, both directly through the SPRAAs and indirectly through the creation of employment and larger markets, the report concludes that the hosting of refugees has been a benefit to Tanzania. Indeed, local community and business leaders at the local level recognize the efforts that have been made to ensure that the presence of refugees benefits local development, and have worked closely with UNHCR in the formulation of SPRAAs.

Activities such as SPRAAs and the firewood project contribute to an improved security and protection environment by reducing competition between refugees and the local population over scarce resources and by reducing local grievances towards refugees. At the same time, however, it has been argued that such programmes, and more generally the presence of refugees and refugee programmes, could, if effectively managed, significantly contribute to longer-term local and national development. (Jacobsen, 2002) There is, therefore, a double benefit in the short to medium term: development-related projects targeting refugee populated areas can foster an environment of greater security and protection for refugees and the local population, while also contributing to broader national development objectives. DFID has a vital role to play in understanding the successes of past programmes and identifying new areas where similar approaches can be applied.

The implications of SPRAAs for DFID's poverty reduction policies are obvious. Protracted refugee situations, such as Burundians in Tanzania, not only pose indirect security burdens for host countries but also perpetuate poverty and social and political deprivation. As observed in the UNHCR June 2004 Standing Committee paper on protracted refugee situations (UNHCR, 2004): "The World Bank notes three dimensions of poverty: lack of income and assets; voicelessness and powerlessness in the institutions of state and society; and vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked to an inability to cope with them." UNHCR notes that refugees suffer from all three conditions and not only lack national protection, but are also desperately poor. We have argued above that poverty can also lead refugees to a range of negative survival tactics, many of which affect local host populations, such as the degradation of the environment, prostitution, petty theft and child labour. DFID can play a key role in addressing some of these indirect security burdens, particularly providing safety nets that prevent refugees from having to resort to negative coping mechanisms. DFID should consider ways to provide prospects for refugees to lift themselves out of poverty

by building both local and refugee capacities through loans and income generating projects. As argued in the UNHCR Standing Committee paper:

“Evidence suggests that focusing on the condition of the refugee, and removing obstacles in the way of that person’s productivity, are the most effective means of dealing with refugee situations, in the absence of a durable solution. For example, Liberian refugees who are free to cultivate land in Cote d’Ivoire, have turned swamps into rice fields. In Pakistan, Afghan refugees made such a contribution in the carpet and transport sectors that their mass repatriation impacted negatively on Peshawar’s economy. And in Malawi in the 1980s, Mozambican refugee farmers sold surplus produce to locals, and bequeathed functioning farms upon their repatriation.” (UNHCR, 2004)

5.5. Towards a Full Response: Comprehensive Solutions to Protracted Refugee Situations

Such directed interventions do not, however, provide a full response for the security implications of refugee movements or protracted refugee situations. These interventions can only help manage the situation until a resolution can be found; they cannot be a substitute for a solution. In the long term, the security implications of forced migration can only be fully addressed through the formulation and implementation of comprehensive solutions for protracted refugee situations. Such a response would employ the full range of possible solutions for refugees – repatriation and reintegration, local integration in the host country, and resettlement to a third country.

DFID could play a significant role in each of these three solutions. For example, it could support return and reintegration through local and regional post-conflict reconstruction programmes, rehabilitation of former combatants, and incoming generation programmes in support of demobilization. It could support local integration by politically engaging host states to consider the options, by targeting assistance to refugee populated areas, and by supporting self-sufficiency initiatives for locally integrated refugees. Finally, DFID should encourage the consolidation and future development of the UK’s fledgling refugee resettlement programme.

In the past, comprehensive approaches and greater external engagement in regions of refugee origin have proven to be the most effective way of resolving not only long-standing refugee problems but sources of regional instability. The US and the international community employed a broad range of policies to resolve refugee situations of a protracted and seemingly insoluble nature in Europe in the 1960s for displaced persons still in camps in Europe nearly 20 years after the Second World War and from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s in Southeast Asia to deal with the protracted Vietnamese refugee problem. (Loescher, 2001: Chapters 4 and 8; UNHCR, 2000) It is likely that the potential benefits of a comprehensive approach applies with equal force to the protracted refugee problems and conflicts in many regions of the world today. (Loescher and Milner, 2003: 609 – 616)

There have been a number of recent policy initiatives by UNHCR, the EU and the UK that attempt to address issues of forced migration, including protracted refugee situations in a comprehensive manner. As Heaven Crawley’s paper examines the UK’s proposals for in-region processing and the European Commission’s initiatives on the

management of asylum and on durable solutions, we will focus on UNHCR's Convention Plus and recent UK initiatives to address security concerns in Africa and elsewhere.

Protracted refugee situations have been the principle targets of several major UNHCR initiatives, such as Conventions Plus and the Framework for Durable Solutions. Convention Plus provides the framework to implement special agreements, including comprehensive plans of action (CPAs) that bring together a mix of durable solutions to resolve complex refugee situations, including those that have significant security implications such as protracted refugee situations. The Framework for Durable Solutions also works to resolve long standing refugee problems and to unblock impediments to responding to protracted refugee situations. It brings together three initiatives developed in recent years: DAR (Development Assistance for Refugees), the 4Rs (repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction) and DLI (Development through Local Integration). DAR and DLI emphasize refugee self-reliance.

A good example of Convention Plus initiative to resolve and on-going protracted refugee situation, including some of its security dimensions, is effort underway to try to establish a CPA for Somali refugees. This initiative includes most (but not all) of the major stakeholders including the Mogadishu government, host governments in the region, the European Commission, UNHCR and the cosponsors of the CPA, Denmark, Netherlands and the UK. The steering group does not include Somaliland or Puntland. With seed funding from the European Commission, the steering group intends to develop a plan of action that it can eventually present to a special inter-governmental meeting for approval and funding.

The effort to create a Somali refugee CPA is seen as a test case for Convention Plus. Its objectives are to identify appropriate durable solutions for Somali refugees living in the region's host countries. At present, given the continuing instability in southern and central Somalia, the focus of the CPA is repatriation to Somaliland and Puntland where conditions for returnees are more secure. In order for returns to be sustained there needs to be increased emphasis on reintegration and post-conflict recovery. A focus of Convention Plus is to open up possibilities for tapping into development funds to provide stability in areas of return. However, funds for reintegration are limited and donor appeals for Somali returns have been seriously under-subscribed. For example, less than half of the \$200 million for the Somalia repatriation appeal has been pledged so far.

The second objective of the CPA is to examine how effective protection can be achieved in host countries. A number of studies will be undertaken by local experts in the region to determine the protection and assistance gaps that need to be addressed in any future projects within the CPA. Finally, the European co-sponsors, Denmark, Netherlands and the UK, are particularly interested in examining ways to mitigate irregular movements of Somalis to the West.

While the plans to establish a Somali refugee CPA is a commendable effort to try to engage the international community on a particularly difficult and complex protracted refugee situation, it does not adequately link humanitarian, economic and political approaches. Finding a solution for resolving the Somali protracted refugee situation

requires the restoration of a degree of stability and normality in southern and central Somalia where the security situation has been unstable for more than the past decade. The collapse of the central government in Mogadishu has provided opportunities for radical Islam in the region. Numerous efforts to create a new, more stable government there have failed and donor governments have come to perceive Somalia as a security black hole.

The Somali refugee CPA underscores the need for a joined-up policy on the part of the international community to address the long-standing security implications of protracted refugee situations and humanitarian emergencies. The principal weakness of the Somali refugee CPA is that it is not hitched to the on-going Somali peace negotiations that are currently taking place in Nairobi. Past successful CPAs such as those in Indochina and Central America in the 1980s and early 1990s relied on political initiatives that preceded and laid the foundations for humanitarian and development programmes. Without strong political support and successful peace negotiations there is little immediate prospect of resolving protracted refugee situations such as the Somali situation. Somalia needs a stable central government—one which requires some external support in order for new political roots to take hold. This necessitates not only inputs of humanitarian assistance but also security and peace keeping assistance aimed at such activities as training and capacitating a new independent police force and army.

Such broad range responses also require the cooperation of a range of agencies and states, and a range of actors within a state to address the security, development and diplomatic aspects of comprehensive solutions. Despite the need for a multifaceted approach to protracted refugee situations, however, the overall response of policy makers remains compartmentalised with security, development and humanitarian issues mostly being discussed in different forums, each with their own theoretical frameworks, institutional arrangements, and independent policy approaches. (Castles *et al.*, 2003) There exists little or no strategic integration of approaches and little effective coordination in the field.

One notable exception at the UK level is the joint DFID, FCO, Cabinet Office and MoD Conflict Prevention Pools initiative. This programme was established by the UK to integrate the policy making and programme delivery of these departments in order to reduce both the number of conflicts around the world and the number of people affected by war. A recent evaluation of the Conflict Prevention Pools (Austen, 2004) found that this mechanism has led to increased inter-departmental collaboration and consensus on conflict prevention policy in a number of regions. While this is a welcome development, it should be noted that this effort does not specifically address the security implications of protracted refugee situations nor does it address the considerable negative impact of chronic and long-standing refugee populations on host state and regional security.

Another important initiative in which the UK government has been involved is recent efforts to increase the capacity of African peacekeeping capabilities, particularly in West Africa. Building up regional peacekeeping capabilities is an important part of the Conflict Prevention Pools and DFID should continue to give priority to this. Conflict prevention goes hand in hand with development initiatives to help restore stability in war torn regions.

There also has been a dramatic increase in the number of UN peacekeeping operations in Africa during the last year and a half. The UN Security Council has authorised new missions in Liberia and Burundi and has strengthened existing ones in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is likely to authorise a large-scale mission to Sudan later this year to support the implementation of a comprehensive peace accord designed to end the twenty years long civil war there. These missions are overwhelmingly staffed by troops from developing countries. All these missions are also so-called complex peacekeeping operations, involving multiple tasks and combining military and civilian components. (Berdal, 2004) Indeed, in May 2004, Kofi Annan outlined for the Security Council the multidimensional tasks of today's peacekeeping missions: "Peacekeeping today has become increasingly multidimensional. The missions you mandate are implementing peace agreements, helping manage political transition, building institutions, supporting economic reconstruction, organizing the return of refugees and internally displaced persons, assisting humanitarian aid programmes, supervising or even organizing elections, monitoring human rights, clearing minefields, disarming and demobilizing militias, and reintegrating their members into the civilian economy." (UN Secretary General, 2004)

Neither the DPKO nor the under-resourced peacekeeping forces from developing countries have adequate capacity (especially in logistics) to sustain this level of multiple operations effectively. Therefore there is an urgent need for DFID along with other stakeholders in the international system to address how the UN should respond to the problems of state incapacity, including protracted refugee situations, and how to empower regional bodies to assist in meeting this challenge.

Despite all the rhetoric to the contrary, neither the UN nor governments have adequately integrated the resolution of recurring regional refugee problems with economic and security issues. International involvement in nation-building, reconstruction, and rehabilitation in war-torn regions is still piecemeal and under-resourced. Consequently, there is a pressing need to develop a policy agenda that extends beyond conventional boundaries and seeks to integrate the resolution of chronic and recurring regional refugee problems with economic development and security issues. It is clear that DFID along with its sister agencies must be engaged in these discussions.

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