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Globalization and the Refugee Crisis

Anthony H. Richmond

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CRS Working Paper Series Editors: Pablo Bose and Johanna Reynolds
Centre for Refugee Studies
York Lanes, York University
4700 Keele Street, Toronto, Ontario, M3J 1P3

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Anthony H. Richmond

Abstract

Various aspects of globalization are reviewed. It is noted that money and goods move freely but people may not. A distinction is made between proactive and reactive migrants, recognizing that this is a continuum not a dichotomy. The global system is characterized by extreme inequality, as measured by GDP per head, and by the Human Development Index. The majority of armed conflicts occur in poorest countries, which are also the source of most political refugees. Environmental crises also precipitate population displacement. Developing countries carry the main burden of refugee protection. Asylum seekers in industrialized regions are a small proportion of those needing protection world-wide. It is concluded that the global refugee crisis will only be solved, in the long-run, by reducing inequality, and addressing the question of global disarmament.

Key Words: globalization; refugees; asylum; environment; human development.

The term globalization has acquired a variety of meanings according to context. Colloquially, it is manifested in ubiquitous Coca Cola and other franchises symbolizing a capitalist economy that now extends world-wide (Klein 2001). It was accelerated by the electronic linking of banks and stock markets, facilitating the rapid transfer of funds internationally. Post-industrial communication technologies created networks that transcend formal organizations and political entities (Castells 1996). Automation, ease of transportation and the availability of cheap labour in developing countries have resulted in the de-industrialisation of more advanced economies and the phenomenon of "out-sourcing". Kaldor (1999) noted the impact of globalization on the generation of "new wars" which generate refugee movements. Globalization has led to changes in the composition and scale of international migration. More than thirty-five years ago it was noted that :

> Individual migrants in post-industrial societies are of the 'transilient' type who do not necessarily settle permanently in any one locality.... they are involved in the world-wide communication network....the migrants are agents of the post-industrial revolution itself providing the society with the knowledge and power to effect the necessary transformations (Richmond, 1969, p 280).
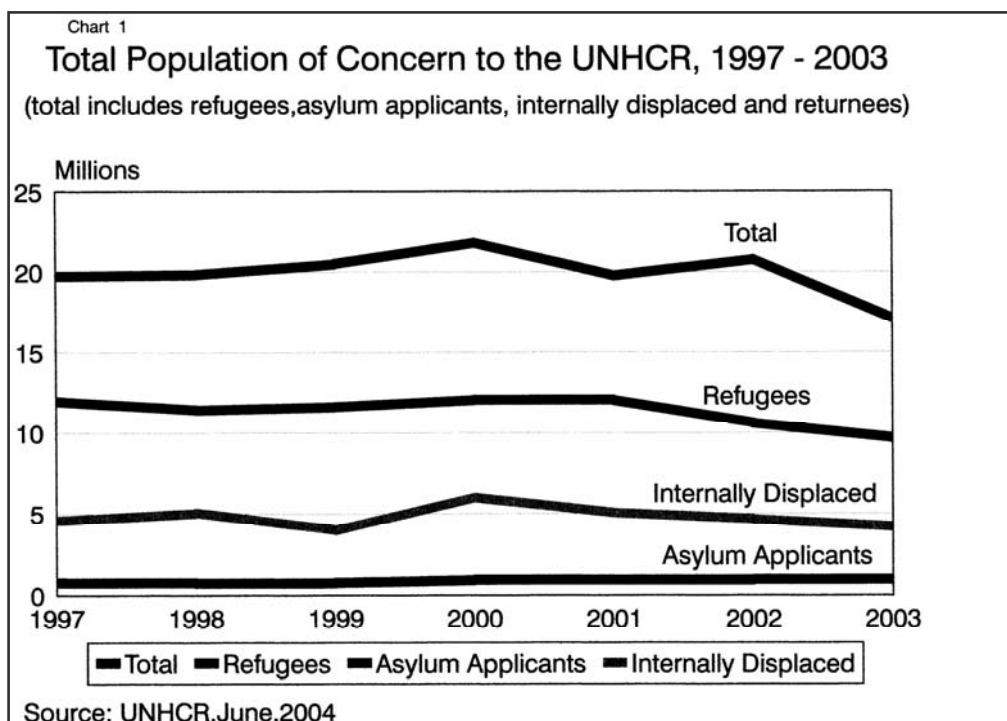
This description applied to what is generally understood as "voluntary" migration and is distinct from "involuntary" migration. However, it has been shown that, rather than a simple dichotomy between free and forced migration, there is a continuum between *proactive* and *reactive* migration with varying degrees of freedom and constraint in the decision to move, the timing of the move, its direction and its eventual consequences in terms of where people are allowed to go, how long they may stay and the recognition of their rights (Richmond 1994, p.

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47-74). When the options of not moving, of moving again, or returning to place of origin are added, a more complex system of international population movements, rather than a simple "push-pull" model, is created (Van Hear,1998: 43-45).

Some economists and others have envisaged a "borderless world" in which people are free to move within and between countries in response to economic demand and personal inclination (Ohmae1990; Harris 1995). This is clearly not the case in a world that still recognizes state boundaries and sovereignty. In discussing the human consequences of globalization, Bauman (1998, p.77-102) suggests a distinction between "tourists" whose wealth, power and status enable them to travel widely and who are welcome, and "vagabonds" who are unwelcome. The terminology is exaggerated, but refugees and asylum seekers clearly fall into the latter category in the eyes of most Western policy makers.

Refugee Crisis

The contemporary refugee crisis is not a consequence of globalization although the political, economic and social changes associated with the contemporary world system have aggravated the problem, and raised awareness of the plight of numerous people displaced by war, political persecution, environmental crises and rapid economic change, particularly in developing countries. Just as the origins of a world capitalist system can be traced to seventeenth century (Wallerstein 1974), the history of refugees fleeing persecution goes back to the Huguenots in 1685. Since then, pogroms in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, the persecution of Jews by the Nazis in the twentieth, the first and second world wars, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Korean war, and the war in Vietnam, all gave rise to large refugee movements. At the beginning of the 21st century an estimated 21.8 million people were of concern to the UNHCR. The trends 1997 to 2003 are shown in Chart 1:

Chart 1
Total Population of Concern to the UNHCR, 1997 - 2003
(total includes refugees,asylum applicants, internally displaced and returnees)

Millions

Total

Refugees

Internally Displaced

Asylum Applicants

1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003

■Total ■Refugees ■Asylum Applicants ■Internally Displaced

Source: UNHCR,June,2004

The main sources of refugees in 2003 were Afghanistan, Sudan, Burundi, DR Congo and Somalia. The total numbers fell slightly after the peak in 2000, due mainly to the end of hostilities in Afghanistan. However, the situation in the Sudan deteriorated in 2003-4 due to civil war.[1] Crises persist in other parts of Africa and Asia. Not all of those of concern to the UNHCR, however, qualified as "Convention refugees" by the narrow definition adopted by the Convention of 1951, as amended in 1967. A *Convention refugee* is defined as a person who "owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it." The UNHCR also takes responsibility for assisting people internally displaced by civil war and other disasters, as well as asylum seekers who may or may not be recognised as qualifying for refugee status, or other forms of humanitarian protection.

The 1951 Convention definition of a refugee has proved inadequate in the light of other human rights abuses occurring since the end of World War II. A broader definition, that recognises flight from violence and conflict, was adopted by the Organization of African Unity and by some Central American countries. Some countries, such as Canada, have recognised the refugee claims of women subject to genital mutilation, homosexuals experiencing persecution, and others simply fleeing a war zone. Britain distinguishes Convention refugees from those in need of protection who were given "exceptional leave to remain". In 2003, the latter category was replaced by two types of temporary asylum. "Humanitarian Protection" is defined as "though no refugees would, if removed, face in the country a serious risk of life or person arising from the death penalty, unlawful killing or torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". Those qualifying will be granted three years leave and then, if still in need of protection, may apply for settlement in the U.K. " Discretionary Leave" is now given to those who " do not otherwise qualify for leave. Periods of three years or less may be granted. After which a person will be able to apply for a further period of leave, but not for settlement". Other European countries, together with the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, have all developed their own administrative procedures and different criteria for determining whether asylum seekers have a legitimate claim for protection.

A critical issue concerns the difference between "persecution" as defined by the Convention and "discrimination", including systemic and institutionalized discrimination against particular ethnic groups, such as the Romany in some Eastern and Central European countries. A ruling in an appeal to the British House of Lords held that a critical test was whether the state in question was able and willing to afford protection. It was held that complete protection was not practical, and the appeal against deportation was rejected [2]. Britain and other countries have used visa requirement to limit the flow of Romany migrants although this will be more difficult now that many of the countries of origin of Romany travellers are now part of the European Union. In Canada, the asylum claims of homosexuals from Mexico, and elsewhere, have raised similar legal arguments. The borderline between "persecution" and "discrimination" has yet to be clearly defined. Furthermore, population

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displacement by civil war and economic development are not covered by the 1951 Convention, although there is an obligation to assist under more general humanitarian criteria. In practice, political, economic, environmental and social factors combine and exacerbate refugee-creating situations .

The numbers in each of the categories of concern to the UNHCR, in 2003, and the changes in the course of that year are shown in Tables 1a and 1b below (to these must be added approximate 4 million Palestinian refugees for whom a different agency, UNRWA, is responsible[3]). At the end of the year 2002, the UNHCR was responsible for approximately 20.8 million people, including refugees, asylum seekers, returned refugees and the internally displaced. Twelve months later, the total had fallen to 17.1 million, largely due to the return of Afghanistan refugees previously located in Pakistan and Iran. The number of asylum seekers increased slightly in the course of the year. Afghanistan (2.1 million) continued to be the largest country of origin of refugees, followed by Sudan and Burundi (over half million each) and DR Congo and Somalia (over 400,000 each).

Table 1a PERSONS OF CONCERN TO THE UNHCR

By REGION (2002-2003)

REGION	REFUGEES	ASYLUM SEEKERS	RETURNED REFUGEES	INTERNALLY DISPLACED*	STATELESS & VARIOUS	TOTAL
ASIA	4,188,100	25,800	1,996,700	2,989,100	225,700	9,425,400
AFRICA	3,343,700	158,100	345,300	715,100	29,600	4,591,800
EUROPE	2,336,100	325,300	84,000	1,171,500	648,000	4,564,900
N. AMERICA	615,100	440,200	-	-	-	1,055,300
LATIN AMER. & CARIBBEAN	40,900	5,200	-	950,000	50,100	1,046,200
OCEANA	70,100	8,900	-	-	-	79,000
TOTAL	10,594,000	963,500	2,426,000	5,825,700	953,400	20,762,600

* Includes 1.1 million internally displaced who returned home in 2002

Table 1b PERSONS OF CONCERN TO THE UNHCR

End-2003

REGION	REFUGEES	ASYLUM SEEKERS	RETURNED REFUGEES	INTERNALLY DISPLACED*	STATELESS & VARIOUS	TOTAL
ASIA	3,635,700	48,800	713,700	1,565,400	224,200	6,187,800
AFRICA	3,135,800	166,100	345,100	571,600	66,500	4,285,100
EUROPE	2,207,100	392,200	35,600	1,038,500	594,600	4,268,000
N. AMERICA	585,600	376,400	-	-	-	962,000
LATIN AMER. & CARIBBEAN	38,300	7,200	300	1,244,100	26,500	1,316,400
OCEANA	69,300	4,400	-	-	400	74,100
TOTAL	9,671,800	995,100	1,094,700	4,419,600	912,200	17,093,400

* Includes 232,800 internally displaced who returned in 2003

Source: UNHCR, June 2004

Global Context

The global demographic context of contemporary refugee movements is one in which advanced industrial countries are expected to age, and to decline in population, over the next twenty-five year, in the absence of net inward migration. At the same time, the population of developing countries, notwithstanding the effects of HIV/AIDS, will likely grow rapidly. Low, medium and high estimates of world population by 2050 range from seven through eight to ten billion persons, with almost all growth occurring in developing countries. In the absence of net inward migration, a decline is likely in industrialized countries, but growth in the rest of the world is not expected to cease before the end of this century (Lutz, Sanderson and Scherbov 2001). The demographic situation is aggravated by the extreme differences in wealth and income between countries, regions and continents. In 2003, gross national income per capita ranged from US$ 430 in the poorest countries to $26,510 in the richest (UN Development Programme 2003).

The global refugee crisis is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of refugees are confined to camps on the borders of the poorer countries, who carry the greatest burden of care and responsibility for housing and welfare of the refugees in question (See Table 2). In the period 1997 to 2001, based on the ratio of persons of concern to the UNHCR and a host country's GDP, Sierra Leone and Pakistan carried the heaviest burden.

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Table 2   **WHO CARRIES THE BURDEN?**

Persons of Concern to the UNHCR*

Main Host Countries in Relation to GDP per capita

1997-2001

MAIN HOST COUNTRIES (in rank order of burden carried)	RATIO OF TOTAL PERSONS OF CONCERN TO UNHCR to host GDP p.c.
1. Sierra Leone	**3768**
2. Pakistan	**3579**
3. Democratic Rep. Of Congo	**3045**
4. Tanzania	**2440**
5. Ethiopia	**2181**
6. Burundi	**2181**
7. Rwanda	**1495**
8. Eritrea	**1453**
9. Iran	**1274**
10. Yugoslavia	**1183**
55. United States	**0027**
72. United Kingdom	**0007**
74. Canada	**0007**

* Includes refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced and returned refugees

Source: UNHCR: Statistical Yearbook, 2001.

Six out of ten refugees are located in the poorest areas of Asia and Africa. The pressure on poor countries arises as a consequence of the link between under-development and the incidence of violence. The Human Development Index, which takes into account not only income, but also life expectancy, literacy and education achievement, is closely correlated with the incidence of war (Project Ploughshares 2003). In turn, this is associated with the creation of a refugee crisis in the country concerned and its immediate neighbours (see Chart 2).

Chart 2   SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND CONFLICT: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

At the beginning of the 21st Century

Human Development Index

	High HDI .908	Med HDI .684	Low HDI .441	Total/Av .722
Total Population 2001	903 million	2,328 million	2,823 million	6,054 million
GNI percapita $ U.S.	$ 27,510.00	$ 3,680.00	$ 1,230.00	$ 5,150.00
No. of armed conflicts: 1993-2002	3	18	21	42
In 2002:No. of Refugees from*	0	2.9 million	7.5 million	10.4 million
No. of Refugees re-settled 1993-2002	1.2 million			1.2 million
No. of Asylum seekers 1993-2002	1.3 million accepted **			5.3 million asylum claims submitted

* Does not include Palestinians; or internally displaced, returnees and others under care of the UNHCR .

** Includes : Convention Refugee Status and other humanitarian reasons.

Sources: UN Development agency; UNHCR; UN Population Division; Project Ploughshares .

Asylum Seekers

The trend in asylum applications and the level of acceptance in industrialized countries, throughout the decade 1992-2001, is shown in Table 3. On average, only 15% of all applications were given full Convention refugee status and a further 10% temporary asylum. During the same decade 1.2 million selected refugees were re-settled in industrialized countries through planned schemes under UNHCR auspices.

Table 3   ASYLUM RECOGNITION RATES

1992-2001

Place of Asylum or Resettle- ment	New Asylum Claims	Convention Refugee Status	Humanitarian Allowed	Other Temporary	Asylum Recognition Rates
EUROPE	4,279,208	538,925	521,823	527,302	37%
CANADA	286,343	129,111	0	0	45%
U.S.A.	868,967	146,635	0	0	17%
AUSTRALIA & N.Z.	100,939	22,956	0	0	29%
OTHER	1,704	95	126	0	13%

TOTAL	5,537,161	837,722	521,949	527,302	34%

Source: UNHCR, 2002.

Table 4   **New Asylum Applications: Recent Trends**

Country/Region of asylum	2001	2002	2003
Austria	30,140	39,350	32,340
France	47,290	51,090	51,360
Germany	88,290	71,130	50,450
United Kingdom	91,600	103,080	61,050
Rest of Europe	228,070	200,410	178,370
Total Europe	485,390	465,060	373,570
Australia	12,370	5,780	4,260
Canada	44,730	33,430	31,860
United States	83,200	81,810	60,670
Total non-Europe	142,290	122,320	98,040
All Industrialized Countries	614,650	579,040	463,130

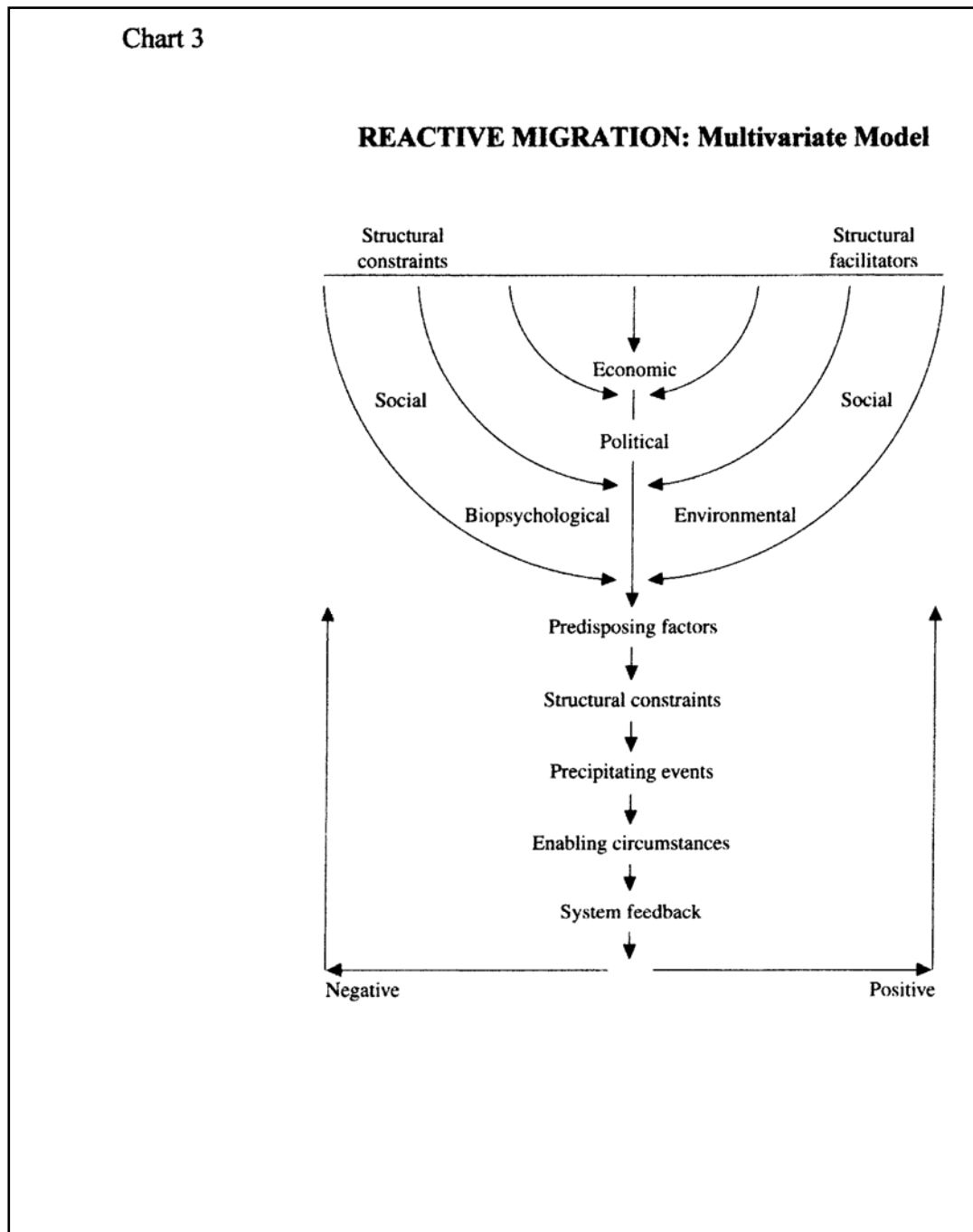Source: UNHCR, Population Data Unit

Over the decade 1992 to 2001, an average of half a million asylum applications were made annually, in industrialized countries. The numbers varying from year to year according to the level of crisis and the effectiveness of deterrent measures against supposed bogus claims. Table 4 shows the more recent trends, indicating a twenty-five per cent decline from 2001 to 2003. Processing asylum applications, including appeals, may take a year or more. In addition, not all claims will be accepted. In 2001, initial acceptance rates, including both full refugee status and temporary asylum, averaged one in three.

As Boswell and Crisp (2004) have noted, the increased scale of international migration and accompanying refugee movements are viewed as threatening by industrialized countries. As a consequence, legal avenues for international migration have been closed to many refugees and asylum seekers, leading to human smuggling.

Root Causes of Refugee Movements

Politicians and policy makers pay lip service to the idea of addressing "root causes" of population problems and the refugee crisis. However, in the case of reactive migration, this oversimplifies the situation, and fails to recognise the complex relationship between

predisposing factors, structural constraints, precipitating events, enabling circumstances and the feedback effects on the world system of particular policy responses (Richmond 1994: 58-67). (See Chart 3).

Chart 3

REACTIVE MIGRATION: Multivariate Model

Structural constraints

Structural facilitators

Economic

Social

Social

Political

Biopsychological

Environmental

Predisposing factors

Structural constraints

Precipitating events

Enabling circumstances

System feedback

Negative

Positive

Predisposing factors include the inequality in distribution of wealth within and

between countries, ethnic nationalism, militarism and the global arms trade, political instability, super-power intervention and corporate exploitation of resources. Structural constraints include the control of borders by sovereign states, as well as lack of resources by potential migrants. Precipitating events may include the overthrow of a government, the outbreak of war, an environmental disaster, or other life-threatening events. Enabling circumstances include the intervention of outside agencies, international and non-governmental organisations, as well as clandestine bodies offering to smuggle people out of crisis situations.

When political, economic, environmental, social and psychological factors combine to cause a refugee movement, or to induce people to seek asylum, the policy response itself may have unintended consequences. For example, the imposition of visas, or the use of interdiction, may increase the reliance on illegal methods, forgery, the use of "people smugglers" and other clandestine means of evading controls. The recognition of "legitimate" refugees, and their re-settlement, creates social networks and leads to the establishment of chain migration, including relatives and friends of the first wave. The investment of resources in education and the economy, to improve living standards in developing countries, may raise expectations and actually promote proactive migration by those whose skills and experience are valued in more developed countries.

A purely hypothetical example of such cumulative and compounding events is shown in Chart 4 (next page). The example postulates the effects of building a hydro-electric dam in a developing country, but similar consequences could follow oil exploration, pipe-line building, or the exploitation of uranium, diamonds or other valuable minerals, as well as natural disasters such as an earthquake. The linkage between environmental factors, population displacement and war is well documented (Richmond 1994 p.75-88; Homer-Dixon 1999).

Chart 4 HYPOTHETICAL REFUGEE CRISIS IN NOWHERESTAN (NWS)

1. NWS is a former colonial territory that obtained independence in the 1960's. It is an overpopulated, low income country subject to periodic droughts and floods. It is multi-ethnic and involved in border disputes with neighbouring countries.

2. The government of NWS is heavily in debt having bought arms and built up its military ostensibly for defence purposes, but also for internal repression.

3. With funds from the IMF and export subsidies, a TNC (transnational corporation) plans to build a large hydro-electric plant and dam main river to provide power source. This causes internal population displacement and forced relocation of local residents.

4. Dam building creates temporary water shortages, combined with periodic drought, leads to crop failures and serious famine. INGO's (International non-governmental organizations provide short term relief.

5. Economic crisis promotes further internal migration to cities where shanty towns ae built on outskirts. There is widespread unemployment. This exacerbates ethnic tensions and some violent conflict, suppressed by government forces.

6. A political crisis ensues in which the government is overthrown; but military remains loyal to previous administration. Civil war breaks out.. Neighbouring countries take sides in the war.

7. Refugees cross borders and set up camps. UNHCR and INGO's send food aid, medicines and assist in organization of camps.

8. Young males in camps are recruited to fight for various sides in the dispute. Crime syndicates supply arms to all sides. Conflicts worsen, war is prolonged and economy collapses. Terrorist attacks on TNC's and their governments.

9. TNC invites neighbouring country's army, and/or mercenary forces, to defend its investment in the hydro-electric operations. Civil war spreads as former government temporarily regains power.

10. Despite UN sanctions, clandestine arms sales to all sides in the struggle continue.

11. Political and military leaders on the losing side seek asylum in western countries. They continue directing political and military opposition from abroad. Other former supporters, who have suffered persecution, and their families from NWS , join them as political refugees.

12. Economic conditions in NWS get worse; chain migration leads to flight of "economic refugees" to western countries. Latter refuse to recognize them as UN Convention refugees. Asylum refused and "refugees" are deported.

13. Sporadic wars in region continue. TNC abandons hydro-electric project, setting losses against profits earned elsewhere thus avoiding taxes.. Arms manufacturers and dealers continue trading. Further internal and external displacement of population occurs. Terrorist activity intensifies.

14. Retaliation for terrorist attacks leads to further war involving one or more major powers, without UN approval. Refugee flight magnified; humanitarian aid impeded. Casualties mount; crisis spreads to neighbouring countries.

Pragmatic Measures: Social Exclusion

Although there is a growing recognition, in Europe and North America, that immigrants are needed to meet shortages of labour at both the unskilled and the professional and high-tech sectors of the labour force, there is widespread opposition to any "open-door' policy. Some countries, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, work with the UNHCR to admit selected refugees as part of a broader immigration programme. However, these countries, together with Britain and most European countries, also experience large numbers of asylum seekers, many of whom are regarded as not having a legitimate claim to protection. Faced with a growing problem of illegal migration, and "people smuggling", the receiving countries have adopted a variety of responses designed to deter such unregulated movements. They include the issue of visas, interdiction of passengers on planes and ships, and penalties on carriers for transporting undocumented migrants, as well as deportation of those who succeed in entering illegally and are subsequently discovered. Also removed are the failed asylum seekers unless they voluntarily depart. Australia adopted extreme measures by intercepting ships carrying potential refugees and directing them first to Papua New Guinea, and then to the island of Nauru, where they were detained while their refugee status was determined (Wazana 2004).

The problems facing refugees and asylum seekers do not end when they gain recognition and acceptance in a new country (Beer 2003; Richmond 2002). Although immigrant receiving countries, such as Australia and Canada, prefer well-educated and professionally qualified immigrants and refugees, they are not necessarily fully integrated into the receiving society. The evidence suggests that a combination of language problems, and non-recognition of professional qualifications, together with prejudice and discrimination, relegates many refugees, and other new immigrants, to a subordinate status in the receiving country. This gives rise to *subclusion*, or what Hoffman-Nowotny (1981) called *unterschictung* or "undercasting" (See Chart 5 next page).

U.K. and European proposals for asylum seekers

Human rights questions came to the fore early in 2003 when the U.K. government, in consultation with other European Union countries, explored the possibility of deporting many asylum seekers to "safe havens" on the borders of the countries from which they had fled (Betts, 2004). It was alleged that the cost of doing so would be less than providing for them in the U.K., although this is doubtful. Deportation of failed asylum seekers to countries where they might face torture or death threats was also considered, despite the breach of UN and EU human rights conventions that this would entail (Shepherd 2004). The UNHCR was very critical of the European Union's proposals for "harmonized" asylum and refugee policies on the grounds that they failed to guarantee full protection, restricted access to legal representation, and that the definition of a "safe third country" was inadequate (Kumin 2004).

Chart 5

GLOBAL SYSTEMS OF MIGRATION
POWER/STATUS
(high)

PROACTIVE

INCLUSION   SECLUSION

D

I   *Investors*   *Wealthy (enclaves)*

S   *---Professionals*   *Retirees*

T   *---Skilled (scarce)*   *Religious sects*

A   *Families (of above)*   *Irredentist moves*

N   *Visa workers*   *Nostalgic returnees*

C HIGH   **LOW**

I   *"Guest" workers*   *Internal displaced*

T   *Migrant Labourers*   *Exiles/Deported*

I   *Domestic/service*   *Repatriates*

O   *Illegals*   *Ethnic Cleansed*

N   *Asylum Applicants*   *Refugees 'in orbit'*

SUBCLUSION   EXCLUSION
Power and Status
(LOW)

REACTIVE

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Conclusion

The treatment of economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers closely resembles the apartheid system in South Africa, i.e systemic discrimination by birthplace, race or ethnicity by use of identity cards, work permits, residence permits, the militarization of borders, the expulsion of people to so-called "Homelands", and the exploitation of cheap labour, both in developing countries and so-called illegal workers in wealthy countries (Richmond 1994). The global system perpetuates inequality and maintains segregation. However, refugees and asylum seekers should not be seen necessarily as a burden on receiving societies, or a loss to the countries of origin. Koser and Hear (2003) have shown that, in the global network system, return migration is not the only solution. Migrants can contribute to their receiving societies, if given the opportunity, but also assist in the development of the sending countries through remittances and the transfer of knowledge and experience. Migration and development are not necessarily incongruent. Among the options available are liberalizing international migration regimes, increasing protection for threatened peoples in regions of origin, addressing root causes, influencing the public perception of immigrants, and establishing an orderly international migration regime that meets the needs of sending and receiving societies (Boswell and Crisp, 2004).

There are no simple solutions to the refugee crisis, which is likely to remain a serious concern in the foreseeable future. Among the policies which may be advocated in their own right, as well as eventually to reduce the extent and degree of trauma associated with reactive migration, are measures designed to reduce violent conflict, including both civil and inter-state wars. Disarmament, and the elimination of the 'military industrial complex', may seem utopian but until they are achieved there will continue to be refugees fleeing war-zones. As Mary Kaldor (2003) argues, it is time for global civil society to implement a new agenda for peace. Gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth, both within and between countries and regions of the world, must also be reduced, although this will not discourage proactive migration within an integrated world system. Environmental conservation policies, together with measures to deal with floods, droughts and other natural as well as man-made disasters, will also help. Above all, the various forms of persecution, ranging from "ethnic cleansing" to systemic discrimination against ethnic and other minorities, must be eliminated.

None of these measures represents a "quick fix" for refugee problems. However long term they may be, all are desirable in their own right and as part of a broader agenda to deal with the demographic problems, and human rights crises, facing the world in the next few decades.

Notes

1. The refugee crisis in Sudan is of long standing. It reached a crisis situation in February 2003 when an estimated one million people were displaced by conflict between the Sudanese government and rebel forces. The situation worsened in June 2004 when the UN World Food Program stated that the country was facing 'the worst humanitarian crisis in the world.' (www.allAfrica.com accessed 30 June,2004).

2. See House of Lords - *Horvath v Secretary of State for the Home Department*, 4 July,2000.

3. Estimates of those originally displaced as a result of the 1948 conflict with Israel vary between 700,000 and one million. Since then the numbers have grown through natural increase. Currently, there are 3.97 million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA, of whom 1.7 million are in Jordan, and 879,000 in the Gaza Strip. Others are in the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon. A further 1.3 million are not registered (See Said 2003, p 89).

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