
Thematic Paper IV: Security and Forced Migration

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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.