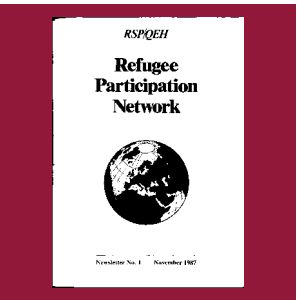


FORCED MIGRATION review

1987-2012
Anniversary
collection





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FORCED MIGRATION review

Forced Migration Review

(FMR) provides a forum for the regular exchange of practical experience, information and ideas between researchers, refugees and internally displaced people, and those who work with them. It is published in English, Arabic, Spanish and French by the Refugee Studies Centre of the Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.

Staff

Marion Couldrey &
Maurice Herson (Editors)
Nina E Weaver (Finance and
Promotion Assistant)
Sharon Ellis (Assistant)

Forced Migration Review

Refugee Studies Centre
Oxford Department of International
Development, University of Oxford,
3 Mansfield Road,
Oxford OX1 3TB, UK

fmr@qeh.ox.ac.uk

Skype: fmreview
Tel: +44 (0)1865 281700

www.fmreview.org

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From the current editors in 2012

Forced Migration Review (FMR) has had a long period to test and prove itself, unlike many other relatively narrowly defined projects. It still aims, as it has done from its start in 1987, to stimulate debate and provide a forum for disseminating experience, analysis, lessons and reflection in relation to refugees, IDPs and stateless people. And to achieve this it still involves a very broad range of those engaged in what has become known as 'forced migration', including forced migrants themselves.

Feedback from readers over the years leads us to believe that FMR has proved itself as a useful forum for which there is a continuing need. We see evidence of this in the stream of articles submitted for publication in each issue; in the continuing willingness of donors to support the publication of FMR; in the constant requests for FMR; in the positive feedback we receive from readers; and in the fact that there is never any difficulty in finding new themes that seem to resonate with readers and writers alike. We also see it in the way that readers have welcomed how FMR has developed technically: available in English, Spanish, Arabic and French, in audio, online, in new formats like the 'expanded listing', suitable for reading on mobile devices from our new website, and free in all these forms online on our own site and other open access sites as well as in print – and with a presence on Twitter and Facebook.

The motivation for putting together a 25th anniversary collection of articles is to take stock and look to the future. Just as we are inviting a number of past contributors to write for this 25th Anniversary collection, here are our thoughts on a few of the challenges we currently face in producing FMR:

- Although there has been a great increase in the number of evaluations and reviews of the effects and modalities of programming, there is still no great willingness to write about what has not worked, what policy or practice has proved unsuccessful, or indeed what thinking or analysis has turned out less helpful than expected. FMR would willingly publish more of this.
- Some of the themes and issues that are notionally mainstreamed in our field receive too little attention in the submissions we receive, despite our attempts to stimulate or request their presence. We are concerned, in particular, that there is so little gender analysis or comment present in the wide range of submissions

we receive. And that disability, age, consultation and accountability rarely get any substantial coverage unless they are the subject of a specific themed issue of the magazine.

- We have observed a disappointing downgrading of the commitment to communication of the kind that is embodied in FMR – despite the hunger for the products that is obvious to us from the response to FMR. This is most evident in the apparent reduction in budgets for communications and learning. We appreciate that agencies have had to make some hard decisions when facing difficult economic times in the past few years but question why this budget-line is apparently so readily expendable. In our view, communicating experience and lessons helps people learn, develop better policies and programmes and put funding to better or smarter use. To cut support for these activities is short-sighted.
- We struggle to give voices to displaced and stateless people themselves. Some FMR authors are currently or have been displaced, and we encourage others to express the experiences of forced migrants using their words. But we have not found the ways that enable us to more consistently publish submissions from displaced and stateless people that fit with the 'style' of the magazine. If you have found ways to do this better, we'd welcome your advice.

It is a credit to those who identified the potential for a newsletter/magazine that would bring together experience, policy and analysis that the Refugee Participation Network newsletter (subsequently Forced Migration Review) has flourished for 25 years. It is a credit to those who have worked on it that they (and we) have made it work. And it is a credit to all those who have written for it, acted as advisors on themes or to the editors, funded it, distributed it and shared it with colleagues, policymakers, students and others.

We know that the need for FMR is still there and we are committed to continuing to make our contribution to improving the lives of forced migrants and stateless people.

Marion Couldrey and Maurice Herson are Co-Editors of *Forced Migration Review* at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford www.rsc.ox.ac.uk They can be contacted at fmr@qeh.ox.ac.uk



25 years of forced migration

Jeff Crisp

During the past 25 years, *Forced Migration Review* (FMR) has played a vital role in enabling researchers, practitioners and policymakers to exchange information and ideas on refugee-related issues. In this article, Jeff Crisp provides a personal (and alphabetical) perspective on some of the events, trends and organisations that FMR has covered over the past two and half decades.

Age, gender and diversity

Twenty-five years ago, refugee populations were often regarded as if they were an undifferentiated mass of people characterised by the single fact that they had been forced to leave their own country and seek sanctuary in another state. Since that time, the humanitarian community has developed a much more sophisticated understanding of such populations, based on a recognition that they include women and men, girls and boys, older people and youths, as well as people with different abilities and disabilities, sexual orientations and ethnic origins. But one form of diversity continues to be neglected, namely that of socio-economic differentiation and exploitation (or what we used to call 'class'). Is it time for a Marxist perspective on forced migration?

Boat people

FMR was launched at a time when the world's attention was still focused on the plight of the Vietnamese (and to a lesser extent Cambodian) boat people, around 1.5 million of whom fled from their countries of origin, the majority of them eventually being resettled in the USA and other industrialised states. While maritime refugee movements of this scale have not been witnessed again, 'boat people' continue to take their chance on the high seas: Somalis and Ethiopians crossing the Gulf of Aden to Yemen; sub-Saharan and North Africans seeking entry to Europe by means of the Mediterranean; as well as Afghans, Iraqis and Sri Lankans sailing from Indonesia to Australia. But the political context of such movements has changed remarkably. Whereas the Vietnamese boat people (and those responsible for organising their departure) were widely acclaimed as heroic figures, asylum seekers who take to sea (and even more so the 'people smugglers' who transport them) are now widely regarded as cheats and criminals.

Central America and Mexico

The current preoccupation with protracted refugee situations has tended to obscure the fact that long-term situations of displacement frequently come to an end – and can do so very swiftly if the political conditions are conducive to the search for solutions. No region is a better example of this than Central America and Mexico, an area that accommodated huge numbers of refugees and internally displaced people in the 1980s, the vast majority of whom were able to go back to their homes after the 1987 Esquipulas peace agreement, signed by the presidents of five Central American countries. Sadly, however, the region is now confronted with a new wave of human displacement, generated not by civil war but by gang, drug and crime-related violence. According to some estimates, around 1.5 million Mexicans have been uprooted by such violence in the last five years.

Development linkages

Ever since the 1984 ICARA 2 conference (Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa), UNHCR and other humanitarian actors have been hunting for the holy grail known as 'relief-to-development linkages'. The idea is a simple one: that in refugee and returnee situations, short-term humanitarian assistance should be quickly succeeded by longer-term development aid that brings tangible and sustainable benefits to both displaced and resident populations. Over the years, UNHCR has launched several initiatives that were intended to put this principle into practice: the Brookings Process, the 4Rs, Development Assistance to Refugees and, most recently, the Transitional Solutions Initiative. But with relatively few exceptions, these efforts have yielded disappointing results. Why is that? Could it be, for example, that developing countries are less than enthusiastic about the allocation of scarce development resources to areas populated by refugees and returnees? And are humanitarian and development organisations so different in their ways of thinking and working that establishing linkages between them will always prove to be an elusive task?

Extra-territorial processing

It's an idea that simply won't go away. Why allow asylum seekers to gain access to the territory and refugee status determination procedures of a potential country of asylum, when they are likely to remain there for months or years and when it may prove impossible to remove them, even if their claim has been rejected? Would it not be more convenient for states to examine asylum applications elsewhere? The USA pioneered this strategy in relation to Haitian asylum seekers in the 1980s. Australia employed the extra-territorial approach with the so-called Pacific Solution between 2001 and 2007, a model that the United Kingdom and some other European Union states were eager to emulate but which they ultimately failed to implement for both legal and practical reasons. Earlier this year, Australia reintroduced extra-territorial processing, despite a High Court ruling there which deemed it to be unlawful. At the time of writing (October 2012), just under 300 asylum seekers had been transferred to a holding centre on Nauru, a Pacific island just over 2,000 hectares in size and with a population of under 12,000. No-one knows how long they will be obliged to stay there, even if their claim to refugee status is accepted.

Faith

Is this the big new theme in refugee studies? There are signs that it might be. Two years ago, the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford convened a workshop on the issue of 'faith-based humanitarianism in contexts of forced migration', which led to the publication of a special issue of the *Journal of Refugee Studies* on this theme. UNHCR has contributed to this trend, sponsoring a book on the contribution of Islam to the development of refugee



law and, earlier this year, convening an international conference on refugees in the Muslim world. UNHCR will also promote a more inclusive approach to religion and refugees in December 2012, when the High Commissioner's Annual Dialogue will focus on 'faith and protection'. What exactly is driving this trend? Has it something to do with the increased presence and visibility of faith-based organisations in the humanitarian sector? Does it derive from the specific challenges and opportunities encountered by aid agencies in the Islamic world? Or is the upsurge of interest in faith (or 'spiritual capital' as it has been described) connected in some way to the newly popular notion of 'resilience'? In other words, are people of faith better able to withstand major shocks in their life than non-believers?

Great Lakes region of Africa

Trawl through the UNHCR archives and it is impossible not to be impressed by the extent of the organisation's engagement in the Great Lakes region of Africa. And that engagement shows no sign of coming to an end. UNHCR and its partners are currently striving to respond to a new wave of internal displacement caused by fighting in North Kivu Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Others who have been uprooted by the conflict have crossed the border into Uganda, creating a new emergency in the west of the country. Meanwhile, UNHCR is still trying to find solutions for the remaining Burundian refugees in Tanzania, some 160,000 of whom are caught up in a stalled naturalisation process and another 35,000 of whom are expected to be repatriated by the end of 2012, following the invocation of the Cessation Clause.¹ There is a great book to be written on the history of displacement in the Great Lakes region; why has no-one yet taken up the challenge? Is it just too complicated?

Harrell-Bond

No review of the past 25 years would be complete without a mention of Barbara Harrell-Bond, the founder of Oxford University's Refugee Studies Centre and FMR's predecessor, the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter. Barbara has at least four achievements to her credit: (1) establishing refugee studies as a legitimate field of research and teaching; (2) enthusing successive generations of young scholars, attracted by her belief that academic analysis could (and indeed should) be combined with activism on behalf of refugees; (3) being a thorn in the flesh of UNHCR through her trenchant (and often contentious) criticisms of the organisation's policies and practices; and (4) being awarded the Order of the British Empire, despite her anti-colonial credentials (not to mention being an American)!

Internally displaced persons

From the early 1980s onwards, advocates such as Francis Deng and Roberta Cohen led a vigorous campaign to highlight the plight of the world's internally displaced persons (IDPs) and to ensure that the international community assumed greater responsibility for their protection. The campaign was in most respects an enormous success, leading eventually to the establishment of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement², the appointment of a Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Internally Displaced Persons and eventually the

introduction of the Cluster Approach, whereby UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations made specific commitments with regard to their engagement with internally displaced populations. But is interest in the plight of IDPs now waning, subsumed within a much broader concern for civilians who are victims of violence and human rights violations? As indicated by the current crisis in Syria (and as was demonstrated in Sarajevo some 20 years ago), displacement is not the only criterion of vulnerability. And in some situations, those people who have been forced to flee elsewhere may actually be able to find better protection than those who remain trapped in war zones.

Journals

Twenty-five years ago it was possible to argue that refugee and forced migration issues were not adequately covered in the academic literature. That is no longer the case. In addition to FMR, researchers have access to a variety of different periodicals – the *International Journal of Refugee Law*, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration*, *Refugee*, *Refugee Survey Quarterly* – not to mention the working paper series published by organisations such as the Refugee Studies Centre and UNHCR, as well as the many refugee-related articles that are published in journals specialising in migration and humanitarian issues. The question now is one of quality control. Are there sufficient articles with something interesting and original to say to usefully fill the pages of the many refugee-related journals that are now on the market?

Kenya

Until recently, Kenya was almost certainly the country most visited by refugee researchers. Not surprising really, given that it is an English-speaking country, is well connected by air to other parts of the world, has a reasonably well developed infrastructure and provides good opportunities to spend some spare time on the beach or in a game park. And of course, the refugee camps at Dadaab and Kakuma are iconic, in the sense that they conform exactly to the stereotypical image of a refugee camp. But things now seem to be changing, with refugee researchers going in ever growing numbers to neighbouring Uganda. This may of course be because Dadaab is now generally off-limits to visitors for reasons of security but could it also be because most of the more obvious research topics in Kenya have already been covered? And what feedback do such highly-researched communities receive from those who come time and time again to conduct interviews and discussion groups? Are the academic and humanitarian communities taking this issue sufficiently seriously?

Local integration

While it has generally been recognised that refugees in the industrialised states should be allowed to remain in their countries of asylum and ultimately gain citizenship there, developing countries have generally been reluctant to offer refugees the option of local integration – hence its description by one author as "the forgotten solution". But is this an accurate assessment? Recent research has demonstrated that *de jure* (legally achieved) local integration, leading to naturalisation and citizenship, is a relatively rare phenomenon but that



many refugees attain a high level of *de facto* integration, finding a niche in the economy and society of the country in which they have settled. At the same time, there are some encouraging signs from West Africa, where governments are demonstrating a readiness to provide long-term residence rights to refugees and former refugees, underpinned by the ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of People. This is a very positive trend. Given that many refugees are unable to return to their country of origin, and in view of the fact that resettlement places are so limited, local integration remains the only viable solution for many refugees.

Migration

When FMR was established, refugee and migration issues were still regarded in very discrete terms, with their own journals, academic institutes, areas of research and communities of practice. UNHCR consciously reinforced this separation, considering that any effort to associate refugees with migrants would undermine the protection claims of the former. Thus as recently as 2005, a senior UNHCR official published an article that was unambiguously titled 'Refugees are not migrants'. Since that time, there has been a considerable turn-around in the organisation's thinking on this matter, epitomised by a 2007 paper on 'Refugee protection and solutions in the context of international migration'. Far from reinforcing the traditional distinction between refugee and migratory movements, the paper pointed out that the two phenomena are in many respects intimately related. People often move from one country to another, the paper suggested, for a complex combination of reasons, including the fear of persecution and human rights violations as well as the desire to attain a better standard of living. At the same time, the paper gave considerable prominence to the growth in the scale of 'mixed migrations', situations in which refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and others move alongside each other in an irregular manner, using the same routes, means of transport and human smugglers. In many cases, moreover, they have similar protection needs.

Northern Iraq

Of all the humanitarian operations of the past 25 years, perhaps none has been as important and influential as that of the NATO-led Operation Provide Comfort, which took place in northern Iraq in 1992-93. There are several reasons for its significance. First, because NATO convinced UNHCR to abandon its initial insistence that Iraqi Kurds fleeing from Saddam Hussein's army should be given asylum in Turkey, and persuaded the organisation to provide them with protection and assistance in a 'safe haven' on the Iraqi side of the border. Second, because humanitarian organisations which had previously eschewed any engagement with military forces found themselves closely and operationally involved with NATO troops, benefiting very directly from the logistical and material support that the armed forces were able to provide. And third, because Operation Provide Comfort initiated an ongoing and unresolved debate concerning the legitimacy of 'humanitarian intervention' and the international community's responsibility to protect the rights of citizens who are attacked by their own state.

OCHA

A further outcome of the crisis in northern Iraq was the establishment of the UN's Department of Humanitarian Affairs, which in 1998 was renamed the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), headed by the UN Under-Secretary-General and Emergency Relief Coordinator. As its title suggests, the principal purpose of OCHA has been to ensure better coordination amongst the growing number of UN, governmental and non-governmental actors involved in humanitarian action. Not an easy or enviable task! Some of the larger operational agencies in the UN system, most notably UNHCR, have been consistently wary of any effort to create a more hierarchical humanitarian system, fearing that such a move would impinge upon their mandate and autonomy. One of the most important humanitarian actors, the International Committee of the Red Cross, is constitutionally prevented from being coordinated by any other entity and thus maintains a semi-detached relationship with the coordination framework established by OCHA. And the NGO community has generally considered that framework to be excessively concerned with the interests of the large UN agencies and the donor states which support them.

Prevention

One of the great hopes of the immediate post-Cold War period was that of 'prevention.' According to this notion, the disappearance of the bipolar world would provide humanitarian organisations and the broader international community with opportunities to avert situations in which people are obliged to flee for their lives. While the concept lives on to some extent in the form of 'the responsibility to protect', the idea of prevention itself quickly became discredited. First, because the post-Cold War world proved to be just as (if not more) dangerous than the one that preceded it, as demonstrated most starkly by the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Great Lakes region of Africa. Second, because the notion of prevention became associated with that of 'containment', whereby displaced populations were expected to seek protection and assistance within the borders of their own country, rather than being granted asylum elsewhere. And third, because actors such as UNHCR, which had attracted unprecedented amounts of funding, visibility and publicity in the 1990s, began to acknowledge that they were at risk of over-reaching themselves. In the words of former UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, "there are no humanitarian solutions to humanitarian problems."

Queer and Questioning

Perhaps no issue has risen to such rapid and recent prominence in the refugee world as that of LGBTI – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex refugees (with Queer³ and Questioning as optional additions). It promises to be an abrasive discourse. While the issue has been firmly embraced by UNHCR and the organisation's major donor, the USA – Hillary Clinton devoted a whole speech to the issue to commemorate Human Rights Day in December 2011 – a good number of the world's refugee-hosting countries and UNHCR Executive Committee members continue to espouse policies which are explicitly hostile to members of the LGBTI(Q) community.



Resettlement

Resettlement is one of the three long-accepted durable solutions to refugee situations – and the one that has also proven to be quite divisive in the humanitarian community. On one hand, there are those who regard resettlement as a vital means of providing the world's most vulnerable refugees with protection and solutions, while at the same time working for better conditions for refugees whose only real option is voluntary repatriation or long-term residence in their country of asylum. Other commentators take a less enthusiastic view of resettlement, arguing that it is highly resource-intensive, does not necessarily target the most appropriate cases, can encourage corruption and can block the search for alternative solutions. Irrespective of this debate, it is evident that resettlement provides some refugees (and more specifically their children) with new opportunities in life, including the opportunity to contribute to the economy and society of the country to which they have been admitted. According to a recent Australian study, the record of resettled refugees “is one of considerable achievement and contribution.” Resettled refugees “help meet labour shortages... display strong entrepreneurial qualities compared with other migrant groups... and also benefit the wider community through developing and maintaining economic linkages with their origin countries.”⁴

Statelessness

One of the most significant developments of the past 25 years has been the inclusion of statelessness issues in the forced migration discourse. Previously neglected because of its highly politicised nature, as well as its relative invisibility when compared to large-scale refugee movements, the issue is only now gaining the attention it deserves. But addressing the plight of the world's stateless people promises to be an uphill struggle. This is demonstrated most clearly by the situation of Myanmar's Rohingya population, a Muslim minority group who are not recognised as citizens by the country's government, who are unwanted by neighbouring Bangladesh – to which some 300,000 of them have fled – and who appear to enjoy little or no support within Myanmar's principal opposition party.

Tuvalu

The South Pacific island of Tuvalu has been at the forefront of recent discussions of the issues of climate change, natural disasters, 'sinking islands' and statelessness – topics that were certainly not on the agenda of FMR when it was launched 25 years ago. But has the connection between climate change and forced migration been oversimplified, with other variables being ignored? And how does one account for the fact that estimates of the number of people who are likely to be displaced by climate change in the years to come vary so widely? Focusing on the emblematic case of Tuvalu, David Corlett's book, *Stormy Weather: the Challenge of Climate Change and Displacement*,⁵ provides a useful corrective to some of the more apocalyptic literature on this issue.

UNHCR

Well, the organisation may appear superficially the same as it did in 1987 but in fact UNHCR has changed a

great deal over the past 25 years. First, it has undergone a process of geographical expansion into areas such as eastern and central Europe, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union and, most recently, North Africa and the Middle East. Second, UNHCR has moved well beyond its original focus on refugees to a new engagement with other groups, including asylum seekers, returnees, IDPs and stateless people. And third, the organisation's policy concerns have expanded beyond a relatively narrow interest in refugee protection and solutions to including issues such as human rights, migration, development, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. But where does the organisation go next? UNHCR's funding seems certain to decline in the near future, and both donor and host states seem unlikely to endorse any further expansion in the organisation's activities, as demonstrated by the chilly reception given to the High Commissioner's suggestion that UNHCR should play a leading role in the protection of victims of natural disasters.

Voluntary repatriation

While generally considered to be a cornerstone of the international refugee protection regime, the notion of voluntary repatriation has come under periodic pressure during the past 25 years. From the mid-1980s onwards, states increasingly referred to voluntary repatriation as the “best” and “most preferred” solution to refugee problems and, in their determination to bring about this outcome, began to encourage, induce and even force refugees to return to countries of origin even when the causes of flight had not been eliminated. On a number of occasions in the 1990s, UNHCR became implicated in such movements, attracting strong criticism from human rights agencies and the NGO community. Most recently, the issue of involuntary repatriation has arisen in relation to countries of origin such as Burundi and Rwanda, where the Cessation Clause has been invoked; nationals of those countries have been deemed not to be in need of continued protection but the refugees themselves are unwilling to return. Rather than these people being obliged to repatriate, could alternative solutions be found for them?

Work

With growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers taking up residence in urban areas, their right to work is slowly moving to the forefront of the forced migration discourse. Research suggests that the majority of urban refugees manage to eke out a living, even if they are officially excluded from the labour market and even if they are sometimes obliged to resort to negative coping mechanisms such as survival sex or criminality. The reluctance of refugee-hosting states to provide refugees with the formal right to work is based on a number of misperceptions: first, that employment is a zero-sum game, in which every job taken by a foreigner means that it is denied to a citizen; second, that refugees who are able to establish sustainable livelihoods will be reluctant to repatriate once it is safe for them to do so; and third, that it is preferable for refugees to scrape by in the informal sector than to provide them with the education and training that would allow them to generate wealth and create new jobs for nationals and compatriots alike. Greater prioritisation of this issue on the international agenda would now seem to be in order.



X-Factor

Try googling 'UNHCR' and you will find that many of the first entries are devoted to actress Angelina Jolie and her role as UNHCR's Special Envoy. Not an isolated phenomenon of course. In the post-Band Aid era, it seems, every humanitarian organisation and movement has to have its own X-Factor celebrity. And what is wrong with that? They attract public and media attention. They often donate much of their own time and money to their chosen cause. And they may even be able to play a role in 'soft diplomacy', encouraging governments to take account of humanitarian issues in their decision-making processes. But is there also a risk that celebrity culture will demean and even undermine the humanitarian enterprise, especially in countries where the cultural values of society are at odds with those of the celebrities concerned?

Yugoslavia

By any standards, the first half of the 1990s was an extraordinary period in humanitarian history: the northern Iraq refugee crisis; the Rwandan genocide and exodus; the massive repatriations of refugees to countries such as Cambodia and Mozambique; and last but not least, the wars in former Yugoslavia. Remember what they entailed. Ethnic cleansing. The siege of Sarajevo. The Srebrenica massacre. A massive movement of asylum seekers from the Balkans to western Europe. The mass expulsion of Kosovo's Albanian population, as well as their rapid return following NATO's bombing of Serbia. And all of this happened just a short drive away from some of the European Union's major cities! Let us hope that the Balkans have well and truly entered the 'post-conflict' era.

Zimbabwe

The growing complexity of forced migration over the past 25 years is perhaps best exemplified by the case of Zimbabwe, a country which has witnessed the departure

of at least 1.5 million citizens (around one tenth of the population), the majority of them moving to South Africa. But how are these people to be categorised? Both South Africa and UNHCR have refrained from granting Zimbabweans *prima facie* refugee status, requiring them instead to provide individual proof of their need for protection by means of a refugee status determination process. While relatively few Zimbabwean asylum seekers have been recognised as refugees in this way, it would be fallacious to suggest that Zimbabweans are 'economic migrants' in the normal sense of the term, given the extent to which their country of origin has been afflicted by poor governance and political violence. Responding to this anomaly, some commentators have suggested that they should be described as 'survival migrants' (a useful descriptive category but one that does not exist in international law), while others have argued Zimbabweans should be recognised as refugees under the OAU Refugee Convention, which extends the refugee definition to people who have been forced to flee by "events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin".

This article has only been able to touch on a few of the forced displacement issues and situations that have arisen during the 25-year history of FMR. We rely on the Review to keep up with its valuable efforts to inform, educate and provoke us on a regular basis. Happy birthday!

Jeff Crisp crisp@unhcr.org is head of the Policy Development and Evaluation Service at UNHCR
www.unhcr.org

1. www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3c06138c4.pdf
2. www.asil.org/pdfs/stlp.pdf
3. 'Queer' was originally a pejorative word used in reference to gay men. In more recent years it has been taken up by both gay men and women to describe themselves, in defiance of its original and negative connotations.
4. Graeme Hugo, *Economic, social and civic contributions of first and second generation humanitarian entrants*, Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011
5. University of New South Wales Press, 2008



Y is for Yugoslavia. Photo used in FMR issue 5 on 'Learning from Kosovo'.



Humanitarian action: a victim of its own success?

Antonio Donini

What we have today is an imperfect international welfare system that provides some assistance and some protection to individuals and communities affected by crisis and conflict. What then lies ahead?

Never have so many people and so much money been devoted to the provision of life-saving assistance and protection of vulnerable survivors of conflict and disaster. One estimate puts the number of humanitarian aid workers at 250,000. As for the financial resources devoted to humanitarian action, 'official' funds have hovered just above US\$15 billion annually for the last three years. This is only the exposed part of the humanitarian iceberg as the contributions of host governments, affected communities and diasporas, and remittances, tithes and other religious contributions are not counted in the official donor statistics. And it is unclear whether it is the official or the 'grey' humanitarian largesse that contributes more to the well-being of those affected by crisis and armed conflict.

More efficient but less principled?

Growth has brought institutionalisation and a mixed blessing of better technique and lesser mystique. Much effort has gone into improving the technical proficiency of the aid system through standards, coordination mechanisms, sectoral approaches, standing agreements, clusters and the like. These changes – in principle – make humanitarian action more predictable and efficient but the humanitarian impulse and the ethos of voluntariness have fallen prey to results management approaches, short-term budgetary concerns, and career paths. Humanitarianism used to be a powerful discourse – a means to an end. Now, like other 'isms', it risks becoming an end in itself.

Moreover, the humanitarian enterprise remains inescapably Northern and Western both in reality and representation. Through the network power it wields – everything from communication technology, eligibility requirements for employment or training, security procedures, coordination mechanisms and policy development hubs – by design or by default the Northern humanitarian establishment sets the rules: "You" can join "us" but only on "our" terms. Studies have shown that core humanitarian values resonate across all cultures.¹ Universality is not at issue but the baggage that outsiders bring with them is.

From Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, we see a worrying disconnect between the functioning of a humanitarian establishment intent on reproducing and expanding itself and the daily reality of the undignified conditions and patterns of harm faced by those it purports to help. Much lip service is paid to the perceptions of, and accountability to, the millions living *in extremis*. But at the same time the system of large agencies and donors that sets the stage of the humanitarian theatre remains stubbornly self-referential. Structures, practices and reward systems tend to value growth, if not turf, over principle and effectiveness.

Principles are far too often sacrificed on the altar of organisational expediency. Moreover, the clash between the pragmatism of realpolitik and the ethical values at the heart of the humanitarian message remains unresolved. Experience from recent crises tells us that the growth and institutionalisation of the humanitarian enterprise

have not immunised it against instrumentalisation. Humanitarian efforts continue to be routinely hijacked by political and security agendas at odds with core humanitarian values. If anything, the size of the enterprise makes the stakes and the opportunity for manipulation greater than in times past. The notion that size matters – national organisations consolidating into mega international constellations – has echoes of contemporary financial systems and banks that are 'too big to fail'.

The picture that emerges is a troubling and sobering one. Instrumentalisation is not a new phenomenon; the temptation to use humanitarian action for objectives that are all but humanitarian is well known to aid workers around the world. From Solferino to Syria, the intrusion of partisan politics, power and economics into the humanitarian endeavour has taken many forms, ranging from the relatively benign diversion of assistance by belligerents as a pre-condition for access to people in need, to the wholesale incorporation of humanitarian action into military or political adventures.

Agencies are sometimes successful in countering blatant manipulation but the risk of being co-opted, stage-managed or steam-rollered is always there. This challenge is likely to be a persistent feature of crises and disasters in the foreseeable future. With the increasing centrality of the humanitarian enterprise to agendas designed to influence 'the world order', the risk has increased; instrumentalisation has tended to become systemic. These pathologies are more visible in high-profile crises such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka or Somalia, where the international community took sides with one set of belligerents, but in one way or another they permeate contemporary humanitarian action.

Reading the tea leaves

The current international humanitarian welfare system does not reach everywhere, and not everyone with life-threatening need has ready access to it; there is no proportionality in addressing suffering. But despite its many warts and biases, it saves countless lives and one should be wary of throwing out the baby with the bathwater. In fact the baby is quite healthy. The humanitarian enterprise is getting better at addressing need – at least the assistance side of need. Protection (see below) is a different matter. Nevertheless the bathwater is quite dirty. Humanitarian action sometimes soaks in the evil that surrounds it; wittingly or unwittingly, it performs functions that are linked to agendas ranging from the promotion of liberal peace to the advancement of partisan objectives, including a worrying tendency to term wars as 'humanitarian'. Sometimes it is hard to distinguish the baby from the bathwater as when human rights, advocacy, development or entrepreneurial agendas get mixed up with the relatively straightforward objective of saving lives.

Then there is the vapour that is coming out of the bath. Over the past two decades, exaggerated claims have been made about the power of humanitarianism, whether its purported



Afghan refugees return to northern Afghanistan, 2007.

ability to address the root causes of crises or its capacity to exist in splendid isolation from Western power and class relations. The hot air is clearing and we see that (Northern/Western) humanitarianism's capacity to act as a mobilising myth has reached its structural limits.

In particular, it

is far from clear that the current love affair between Western donors and 'their' humanitarian enterprise will continue far into the 21st century.

The challenge then is to determine what happens if, as is likely, the plug is pulled on the current dispensation of the humanitarian enterprise. Powerful cross-currents are emerging from 'the Rest', not just the West, that will shape the way in which the needs of the most vulnerable are met, or not. Here are three:

Perhaps the most important challenge to humanitarianism as we know it is the emergence of sovereignty and nationalism-based discourses, especially in middle-income countries. Sri Lanka and Darfur have shown, brutally, that the manipulation of humanitarian action is no longer the preserve of powerful Western states. On the more positive side, we can expect many new players in the humanitarian arena; the BRICS, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico and Turkey are refining their humanitarian tools. When China decides to enter the humanitarian fray, taking a leaf out of the West's approach to promoting soft power, the global humanitarian enterprise will look a lot different from how it does today.

Rather than worry about protecting turf, the leaders of the current humanitarian establishment should welcome the emergence of new actors and engage with them. They can no longer set the rules and control the membership of the humanitarian club. This opening-up is of course fraught with uncertainty. What will happen to our beloved principles? How do we ensure respect for international humanitarian law, and in particular for protection, when more robust states will accept our assistance but only on their own terms?

Secondly, the challenges to the current protection regime, such as it is, are likely to be many. Putting aside concerns about R2P (Responsibility to Protect) and other political or military-driven agendas, it is time to acknowledge that the relief system continues to look at the need for protection – from harmful or abusive behaviour and policies – as an afterthought, rather than as an integral part of humanitarian action. The limited commitment and competence of humanitarians to address threats that marginalise or undermine the safety and dignity of crisis-affected groups in recent crises – Sri Lanka in particular comes to mind – sets unhelpful precedents that will complicate a broadening of the humanitarian enterprise. Again, we will have to put our own house in order before giving lessons to others.

Finally, we have to get real about displacement.

Climate change, massive urbanisation, technological disasters and systemic crises ranging from pandemics to economic melt-downs are likely to be the drivers of the humanitarian crises of the future and of the attendant large-scale population movements. The current categories of refugees, IDPs and economic migrants no longer fit the reality of what is happening on the ground, and the policies of international organisations are woefully inadequate. Just to give one example, the promotion of refugee return to Afghanistan and the policies adopted by the UN and the broader relief system, donors and neighbouring countries are totally disconnected from the reality of the demographics and migratory movements in the region. Encouraging or, worse, forcing refugees to return is a 'dog biting its own tail' approach. Innovative thinking, based on global agreements on how to address population movements that put individuals or communities at risk, is required here.

Back to basics?

Over the past decade and a half, the humanitarian agenda has expanded to encompass activities such as human rights, peace-building, post-conflict recovery and development. Some would say that it has drifted away from its traditional moorings. An evolution toward a more modest humanitarianism, limited in scope, objectives and actors, would not be an entirely negative development. It would reflect a realisation that the current global trends and forces that generate crisis and vulnerability can be neither redirected nor significantly contained by humanitarian action itself. This does not mean that humanitarians – as citizens – are uncommitted to a more compassionate, just and secure world but rather a recognition that their first obligation as humanitarians is to be effective in saving and protecting lives that are in imminent danger.

Humanitarian action is about injecting a measure of humanity into situations that should not exist. Buffeted by strong crosswinds, the flickering light of humanitarianism continues to shine. It lights a narrow path strewn with obstacles and compromises. Working wherever the needs are most urgent and looking for opportunities to push back partisan agendas continue to be fundamentally necessary and worthwhile activities despite, or perhaps because of, the challenges briefly discussed above. Instrumentalisation may well be embedded in the DNA of humanitarian action but so is the impulse to give effect to the humanitarian imperative. Humanitarianism remains fundamentally necessary and ethically worthwhile. The arrow of history does not travel in a straight line. Learning from the past is the best way to ensure that its arc tends toward more dignity and justice for the millions whose protection and survival are at risk.

Antonio Donini Antonio.Donini@tufts.edu is a Senior Researcher at the Feinstein International Center at Tufts University. His edited volume, *The Golden Fleece. Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action*, recently published by Kumarian Press, expands on the issues discussed in this article. He was also a contributor to FMR issue 29 'Humanitarian reform: fulfilling its promise?'

www.fmreview.org/humanitarianreform

1. See for example the Feinstein International Center's series of studies on perceptions (fic.tufts.edu); similar work done by CDA's Listening Project, ICRC and MSF



Refugees and displaced persons with disabilities – from ‘forgotten’ to ‘vulnerable’ to ‘valuable’

Emma Pearce

Recent years have seen a growth in debate, learning and advocacy in the humanitarian sector on the needs and rights of persons with disabilities among displaced populations.

Persons with disabilities are often hidden in communities and may not have access to the same assistance programmes as others, as a result of stigma and discrimination or physical barriers. Whilst there is now a myriad of broad, principle-based checklists and recommendations relating to the inclusion of disability in humanitarian action, there are still some critical gaps at the field level.

Firstly, persons with disabilities have diverse impairments, skills and capacities, which intersect with equally diverse contextual situations and societal attitudes, resulting in varying degrees of vulnerability and marginalisation, making one single approach to meeting their needs unfeasible. Many humanitarian stakeholders now recognise that displaced persons with disabilities may be more vulnerable than other community members and are increasingly attempting to include them in programmes but we still miss the most marginalised and excluded within this population, such as women and girls with multiple disabilities, and those with communication impairments.

Secondly, we lack the evidence of effective strategies for disability inclusion in some specific and highly relevant sectors. A good example is gender-based violence programming. UNHCR's updated Action against Sexual and Gender-Based Violence strategy has one of its six action points dedicated to protecting persons with disabilities² but there is a distinct gap in documented good practices or detailed programmatic guidance to support field staff in adapting gender-based violence programmes for greater access and inclusion.

Finally, the skills and capacity of persons with disabilities remain one of the greatest overlooked resources in humanitarian practice. Despite the advances that are being made, there is still a prevailing attitude at field level that persons with disabilities are unable to participate in the same programmes and activities as others, and need separate services. In most contexts,

field staff fail to recognise the contribution that persons with disabilities can make to humanitarian programmes, representing a missed opportunity to improve services for all community members.

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which entered into force in 2008, has raised the bar for all stakeholders to engage persons with disabilities as rights holders and as people with the capacity to make their own decisions on matters that affect them. Specifically in the context of displacement, Article 11

requires states to ensure that persons with disabilities are protected in situations of risk or humanitarian emergency, and Article 32 requires that international cooperation be accessible to and inclusive of persons with disabilities.³ The universality of the CRPD text means that states are obliged to promote, protect and ensure the rights of all persons with disabilities within their territory – including those who have been displaced across a border.⁴ As more than 120 states have now ratified this Convention, many of which are either host countries to refugees, humanitarian donors or member states of international organisations, there are many channels of influence to promote the rights of persons with disabilities affected by displacement.

The evidence is that persons with disabilities have in the past been overlooked and neglected by humanitarian service providers who paid little attention to this group and rarely considered disability inclusion in the design and

implementation of mainstream programmes. Over the last decade, however, there have been advances in promoting access and inclusion for this sub-group of displaced populations.

There is a growing commitment in the humanitarian community to promoting the rights of persons with disabilities in humanitarian action as demonstrated through the proliferation of standards and guidelines that now consider persons with disabilities and/or disability issues. The latest revision of the Sphere Project's *Handbook*



Photo used in FMR issue 35 on 'Disability and displacement'.



on *Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response* included persons with disabilities as a cross-cutting theme.⁵ The *Minimum Standards on Child Protection in Humanitarian Action*, launched in 2012 by the Child Protection Working Group of the Global Protection Cluster, also recognises children with disabilities as a vulnerable group whose protection requires monitoring, and includes a specific standard and indicators on protecting excluded children.⁶

The World Health Organization estimates that approximately 15% of any population will be persons with disabilities, with potentially higher proportions among populations that have fled war, persecution or natural disaster. Hence, there may be over six million persons with disabilities displaced worldwide.¹

In the forced migration sector, key agencies such as UNHCR are driving the translation of high-level policy into practice. UNHCR's Executive Committee adopted the 'Conclusion on refugees with disabilities and other persons with disabilities protected and assisted by UNHCR' in 2010.⁷ This Conclusion now serves as a form of soft law for UNHCR and its member states and as such informs subsequent policy development and field practice. To facilitate its use, UNHCR has developed operational guidance for its offices and partners. Its Guidance Note on Working with Persons with Disabilities in Forced Displacement describes key actions that can be undertaken to promote access and inclusion for persons with disabilities.⁸ This guidance reinforces the principles of non-discrimination and participation, with the recognition that "exclusion of persons with disabilities during displacement can be inadvertent or purposeful: in either case, nevertheless, it is discriminatory."

UNHCR and the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) are now supporting country offices and partners to contextualise and implement this guidance through the provision of training and action-planning workshops. This is leading to real change on the ground, and providing a growing collection of examples of good practice. Such examples include:

- In Uganda, a fledgling Association of Refugees with Disabilities has been recognised by UNHCR as a representative organisation within the refugee community, and is increasingly being consulted in programme planning.
- The Refugee Law Project, also based in Uganda, has purchased software for people with vision impairments to use their computers in the Refugee Resource Centre, and will soon launch a Global Disability Rights Library.
- In New Delhi, UNHCR has been working with with the local NGO, Family of the Disabled, which has specific expertise in supporting children with disabilities to attend school.
- UNHCR Nepal has been facilitating access to sign language classes for deaf refugees through local partners, including a local Deaf Association.⁹

A positive recent advance has been the growing engagement of disabled people's organisations (DPOs) in issues of forced migration. Despite many host countries having ratified the CRPD, refugees and displaced persons with disabilities are often excluded from CRPD implementation and monitoring processes. They also rarely have contact with host country DPOs which might be able to represent their issues in such human rights mechanisms. Humanitarian organisations are increasingly seeking to bridge this gap by engaging disability organisations at national and international levels in their work. WRC and UNHCR have undertaken global advocacy in partnership with key international DPOs, increasing dialogue on the issue within international disability rights forums, such as the Conference of States Parties to the CRPD. They have also involved host-country DPOs in consultations and workshops with refugees with disabilities; some of these organisations are now actively considering refugee issues in their work.

Reflection on our collective progress on disability inclusion in humanitarian action shows that we still need to:

- move beyond broad, principle-based guidance to design, pilot and evaluate specific strategies in a variety of displacement contexts and programmes, enabling us to answer the question: "What works, where and why?"
- explore who is being excluded from programmes in a more detailed way, recognising the diversity of this population – no single approach or strategy can meet the needs and promote the rights of such a diverse group
- continue to support agencies at field level to define a role for persons with disabilities in their programmes, not just as beneficiaries but also as participants with skills and capacities to contribute.

Emma Pearce emmap@wrccommission.org is Disability Program Officer at the Women's Refugee Commission www.womensrefugeecommission.org

Forced Migration Review published an issue on 'Disability and displacement' in 2010 www.fmreview.org/disability

Authors from the Women's Refugee Commission have contributed many articles to FMR over the years, and the Women's Refugee Commission itself for several years granted core funding to FMR to support its work.

1. Based on data from UNHCR's Global Trends 2011 that 42.5 million people are forcibly displaced worldwide.
2. www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4e01fdeb2.pdf
3. www2.ohchr.org/english/law/disabilities-convention.htm
4. Crock M, McCallum R and Ernst C (2011) 'Where disability and displacement intersect: asylum seekers with disabilities' <http://tinyurl.com/BLED-Crock-McCallum-Ernst-2011>
5. www.spherehandbook.org
6. <http://tinyurl.com/cpwg-child-protection>
7. www.unhcr.org/4cbe1a99.html
8. www.unhcr.org/4ec3c81c9.pdf
9. In 2013 WRC will be publishing the findings from their field work, examples of good practice and lessons learned on disability inclusion in programmes for refugees and displaced persons.



Collapsing societies and forced migration

Johan Kristian Meyer

Looking through a displacement lens at environmental, technological, anthropological, political and other factors affecting societies now and in the past provides food for thought both on how we interpret the past and on how we envisage the future.

I first encountered the issue of climate refugees in 2008.¹ As focal point for refugee issues at the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I was charged with answering a question from the Norwegian parliament on how to respond to forced migration from areas affected by climate change. At the time, the Norwegian government had no good answers and no policy on this issue. Experts were therefore consulted and reports were commissioned from the Norwegian Refugee Council and the Refugee Studies Centre in Oxford. The question thus triggered a series of activities and marked the start of Norway's engagement in the issue of climate change and displacement.

At the time of the UNHCR commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Refugee Convention in 2011, the Norwegian government hosted the Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement in the 21st Century, bringing together climate experts, policymakers and humanitarian organisations. The following year, having unsuccessfully tried to have the issue included in the declaration from the UNHCR Ministerial Meeting in December, Norway (together with Switzerland) decided to establish the Nansen Initiative to address cross-border displacement caused by natural disasters. By the time it was launched in Geneva in October 2012, the Initiative had already gained support from other countries, including some in the global South.²

While the Nansen Initiative has become an important part of my own journey into the issue of migration and climate change, I want to concentrate on slow-onset disasters (as opposed to the sudden-onset disasters which the Nansen Initiative has as its point of departure), and I will use Jared Diamond's book *Collapse* (2006) as a guide. The strength of Diamond's book, in my view, is the breadth of its concerns. It takes a multitude of factors – environmental, technological, anthropological, political and others – into consideration and analyses some past and present societies in the light of these factors. Reading *Collapse* with a displacement lens provides considerable food for thought both on how we interpret the past and on how we envisage the future.

The fundamental questions Diamond asks are: What made certain societies collapse in the past, while others survived? And what can this knowledge teach us today? By 'collapse' Diamond does not mean social transformation (as in the case of the fall of the Roman Empire or the end of the German monarchy after the First World War). Rather he is referring to the demise of whole societies and their populations.

A key lesson he draws from the past is that if a population grows rapidly and there is nowhere for people to settle, there is a real risk of exhausting the resource base and of the society in question breaking down. This phenomenon was described by Thomas Malthus in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* as early as 1798.

Equally important lessons are the need to adapt to the environment and avoid unsustainable exploitation such as overgrazing and deforestation. Most of Diamond's cases of collapsed societies in the past were due either to overpopulation or to unsustainable use of natural resources. Obviously, the geographical and climatic conditions differed and certain societies, especially in marginal areas, were more at risk than others. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that some societies succeeded while others failed.

In some cases it was climate change that put societies under pressure and led to their collapse. The so-called Little Ice Age, normally dated from the early 14th century to the mid-19th century, made many marginal areas uninhabitable. The fate of the people of the Pitcairn Islands in the Pacific and of the Norse settlers in south-eastern Greenland are two prime examples. Exactly what happened to these populations is not clear. Most people are believed to have died of starvation or in conflicts over scarce resources. For some, migration may have been the key to survival. But even in these cases collapse could have been prevented. The Inuit in Greenland survived because of fishing – it is still a mystery why the Norse settlers didn't fish – and superior whale-hunting techniques. And in neighbouring Iceland, strict control of grazing prevented soil erosion, enabling the Icelanders to keep their sheep, one of several reasons why they survived the Little Ice Age.

Another interesting case is that of the genocide in Rwanda. Diamond refers to a study by two Belgian economists, Catherine André and Jean-Philippe Platteau, whose account highlights the problems faced by poor farmers who were working in rapidly deteriorating conditions, partly because of population growth and partly because of over-farming. Many farmers were forced to sell the little land they owned to a few rich families, and were then unable to feed their own families with what remained. According to the two economists, the rural population of Rwanda was close to starvation when the violence broke out. In the villages they studied most closely, Hutu as well as Tutsi were killed. Rather than ethnic hatred, they present the view that land disputes were an ignored driver of the conflict unleashed in 1994. In other words, this tragedy was to a large extent due to poor policies that were unable to prevent the population from growing too rapidly or to develop a diversified economy that could have eased the pressure on agricultural land.

The dangerous combination of rapid population growth and land scarcity has also affected my own country. Norway covers a large surface area but has relatively little arable land. Agricultural production is low due to cold weather and short seasons. From 1814 (when Norway gained its independence from Denmark) to the middle of that century, the annual net population growth was 1.3%, making it the fastest growing nation in Europe.



ECHO/IC/Flavio G. G. G. G.

Floods in Mutarara district, Mozambique, 2007. Photo used in FMR issue 31 on 'Climate change and displacement'.

As the population increased, people started farming less productive forest areas and moorland. Farms were established further north and higher up in the hills and mountains. According to customary law, the right to the farm passed to the eldest son and the others had to clear land for their own farms or work as tenant farmers. Industrialisation came late to Norway and provided few job opportunities. By the middle of the 19th century only a few Norwegians had left for the United States but during the second half of the century, and especially in the 1880s and 1890s, the outflow was significant, with waves of emigration following the economic downturns.

Norway was a poor country at the time, and those who emigrated came from among the poorer segments of society. They were not, however, the poorest, as they had either the means to finance the voyage themselves or relatives to lend them what they needed. They were also influenced by those who had already found a new home in the American Midwest. All in all, around 800,000 Norwegians left for the promised land (the total population of Norway in 1890 was only two million). Without the option of migration, there would have been widespread hunger and many would probably have died. Migration – first within Norway and then outside Norway – was an adaptation strategy.

What can we learn from these examples that is relevant to the issue of migration and slow-onset disasters today? Malthus has been out of fashion in academia and politics for generations but this may now change. Soaring prices on the global food market and increased global competition for resources, including arable land (not least triggered by recent Chinese long-term lease agreements in Africa), are signs that food shortages are foreseeable – an idea that lends itself to Malthusian analysis. Add to this rapid urbanisation, environmental degradation, the depletion of natural resources – and finally the escalating threat of global warming. Climate change will take its toll in different ways from one region to another, depending on local preparedness and resilience. Low-lying islands will disappear as the sea level rises. The most populous deltas, such as those of the Ganges, Mekong and Nile, will not only be hit by rising sea levels but also by salinisation and extreme weather, including flooding caused by heavy rain and, in some cases, ice melting upstream. The Horn of Africa will face severe droughts, as will areas around the Mediterranean and countries such as Australia, Mexico, Russia and the United States.

If Diamond's hotspots differ from those of the climate scientists, it is probably because he takes a wider range of factors into account in his analysis. His hotspots include Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burundi, Haiti, Indonesia, Iraq, Madagascar, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Rwanda, the Solomon Islands and Somalia. He points out that many of these countries are also conflict-ridden and failed states. He may seem to attach greater importance to environmental and resource-related causes than political ones, and this argument obviously has some shortcomings, but his analysis is not in fact based on this approach. Rather, Diamond considers the way people respond, or fail to respond, to environmental and resource problems as a factor in itself. He describes a situation where all the root causes reinforce each other and must be solved simultaneously. The failure to respond adequately could, he suggests, result in the following scenario: "When people are desperate, undernourished, and without hope, they blame their governments, which they see as responsible for or unable to solve their problems. They try to emigrate at any cost. They fight each other over land. They kill each other. They start civil wars. They figure that they have nothing to lose, so they become terrorists or they support or tolerate terrorism."

This is a clear message to those who believe that the dynamics of modern collapse will not affect them, that we who are far away from the hotspots are safe. The global population will continue growing and people in the global South will demand higher standards of living. This will lead to unsustainable growth, depleted resources, failing energy sources, polluted environment and accelerated global warming. If the countries in the global South fail to develop and deliver higher standards of living, it will lead to mass migration to the global North. Either way, it is clear that no country will be left untouched.

However, consolation may be found in these words from a Dutch friend of Diamond's, quoted in *Collapse*: "If global warming causes polar ice melting and a world rise in sea level, the consequences will be more severe for the Netherlands than for any other country in the world, because so much land is already under sea level. That is why we Dutch are so aware of our environment. We've learned through our history that we're all living in the same polder,³ and that our survival depends on each other's survival." If we can apply this mindset globally, surely it provides hope for the future.

Johan Kristian Meyer Johan.Kristian.Meyer@mfa.no is Refugee Policy Director, Section for Humanitarian Affairs, in the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has for several years granted core funding to FMR to support its work and has provided support for specific themed issues too, in particular FMR's special issue to mark the 10th Anniversary of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement www.fmreview.org/GuidingPrinciples10

1. In fact 'climate refugees' is not considered an appropriate term but initially this was the term used. We now prefer to talk about 'environmentally displaced persons'.

2. See 'From the Nansen Principles to the Nansen Initiative' by Walter Kälin in *Forced Migration Review* 41 www.fmreview.org/preventing/kalin

3. 'Polder' is a Dutch word meaning acquired land, created by huge dykes and kept drained by constant pumping.



Meaningful change or business as usual? Reproductive health in humanitarian settings

Samantha Guy

There is more guidance than ever before on what we should be doing in reproductive health in emergency response. Resources being dedicated to this area of health have significantly increased but unequally, and safe abortion and family planning services are still neglected.

Sexual and reproductive services are important for women in all settings. In humanitarian emergencies where even existing services may be disrupted or unavailable, particularly to those who have been displaced, the provision of reproductive health services may mean the difference between life and death. Without emergency obstetric care, pregnancy and childbirth complications quickly become life-threatening. At the same time the lack of contraceptive protection – often at a time of intensified sexual and gender-based violence – can lead to sharp increases in HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, unplanned and unwanted pregnancies and, ultimately, unsafe abortions.

In contrast to when I first wrote about this for FMR back in 2004, I am pleased to say that reproductive health in humanitarian settings is now firmly on the global agenda. We have seen significant progress made through service delivery initiatives like RAISE¹ and advocacy efforts which have led to policies and guidance to encourage service provision on the ground.

These efforts most recently include:

- the IASC/WHO Global Health Cluster's guidance to include sexual and reproductive health in 2009²
- the revision in 2010 of the *Field Manual on Reproductive Health in Humanitarian Settings* coordinated by the Inter-agency Working Group on Reproductive Health in Crises³
- the 2011 updated version of the Minimum Initial Service Package for reproductive health in crisis situations⁴
- the extension of the 2011 edition of the *Sphere Handbook* (the principal resource for virtually all humanitarian agencies in the field) to include a dedicated section on sexual and reproductive health.⁵

So, more guidance than ever now exists. We should know what we should be doing. But has this momentum resulted in meaningful change on the ground? According to a study reviewing funding patterns for reproductive health in conflict-affected countries between 2003 and 2009, the answer is yes – but unequally so.⁶ During this period, funds allocated to comprehensive reproductive health increased by 176% in 18 sampled countries; this was largely attributable to funding for HIV/AIDS activities which increased by 280% during the period. Unfortunately, other important components of sexual and reproductive health remain relatively neglected. Family planning services experienced a decline in Overseas Development Aid

between 2003 and 2007 but encouragingly funding for these services increased in 2008 and 2009.

Safe or unsafe abortion

This suggests that, despite the progress being made, serious gaps remain in meeting reproductive health needs in humanitarian and conflict settings. One of the most critical gaps is the lack of provision for safe abortion services. Unsafe abortion remains a major global public health concern and a human rights imperative. It also remains a controversial issue that the international community continues to dance around. Left out of the improved global health policies and guidance for crisis situations listed above, access to safe abortion services remains near to impossible for the majority of women caught up in humanitarian emergencies. Without clear guidance, clinics in emergency settings are not usually prepared to provide this type of care and health-care professionals are often unsure of when international humanitarian law and organisational policies allow for the provision of safe abortion services.

The consequences of our inaction over safe abortion services are devastating. Feeling they have nowhere left to turn, women risk their lives by resorting to unsafe abortions and go to great lengths to hide them. One study of maternal mortality amongst refugees in ten countries found maternal deaths from childbirth or abortion to be as high as 78%. However the limited amount of information on causes of maternal mortality in humanitarian settings makes it difficult to estimate the real level of damage unsafe abortions are having.

The World Health Organization (WHO) has taken steps to address this through its safe abortion guidance which was updated in 2012.⁷ The revised guidelines make important headway in trying to prevent unsafe abortion in order to reduce maternal mortality and do refer to refugees and emergency settings. But the potential for implementation of these recommendations has yet to be realised.

Family planning

One of the best ways to reduce unsafe abortion, of course, is to help prevent unplanned pregnancies through family planning services. The reproductive health rights of refugees and displaced persons must be respected but here again we are still seeing gaps. A study conducted by UNHCR and the Women's Refugee Commission in 2011 found that contraceptive use is generally lower in refugee settings than in surrounding settlements and awareness of family planning methods is low. There are many contributing factors but whilst organisations may support some family planning services, there seems to be a prevailing attitude that there is no demand for longer-term methods or that the subject is too sensitive. Results from a study carried out in northern Uganda in



Health worker explaining birth control in Juba, South Sudan.

2007-2010 demonstrate how at odds with reality this belief is. Recording a marked rise in modern contraceptive use (from 7.1% to 22.6%) and an increase of long-acting and permanent methods (from 1.2% to 9.8%), the study showed that when comprehensive family planning services are made readily available and accessible among conflict-affected populations, women will choose to use them.

In these challenging settings, logistics and supply chains continue to be major constraints for service delivery, as does the critical shortage of clinical expertise. And historically the shortage of health-care professionals has hindered women's access to long-term or permanent methods of contraception and emergency obstetric care.

Here there are signs of improvement, thanks to the implementation of initiatives like task-sharing. Put simply, task-sharing is the enabling of mid- and lower-level health-care professionals like midwives, health officers and lay health workers to perform procedures that were previously restricted to provision by higher-level health workers only. Many countries, for example, continue to limit the provision of tubal ligation to doctors and contraceptive injections to nurses, despite ample evidence that clinical officers and lay health workers respectively can be safe and effective at these tasks given appropriate training. At the end of 2012, WHO published task-sharing guidelines for maternal and new-born health care.

A beacon of light for the future, these guidelines recommend that a much wider range of different health worker cadres be trained to provide family-planning and safe-delivery services to overcome shortages of health workers and improve access to these life-saving services. Again, like the new WHO safe abortion guidelines, we need to see these applied in humanitarian settings where the shortage of higher health worker cadres such as doctors is especially acute.

More to achieve

Progress is undoubtedly being made but we need to be braver, and all the more demanding for reproductive health in humanitarian settings. We must continue to

advocate for policy change but, crucially, we must make sure that policy change makes it from paper to people. We should be extending critical advances found in guidelines, and building capacity for their implementation.

And, finally, we need to stop prioritising components that we, or indeed the donor community, feel most comfortable with and make sure that all areas of sexual and reproductive health are provided for from the onset of any emergency.

The needs and importance of sexual and reproductive health have been recognised. The momentum for change has picked up speed. Now is our chance to make comprehensive sexual and reproductive health in emergencies a reality.

Samantha Guy sam.guy@mariestopes.org is Executive Office Director at Marie Stopes International (UK) www.mariestopes.org

Samantha Guy was one of the guest editors for the 2004 issue of FMR 'Reproductive health for displaced people: investing in the future'. www.fmreview.org/reproductive-health

From 2007 for several years, Marie Stopes International, with the Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, provided funding for FMR on an annual basis.

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20 years of internal displacement in Georgia: the international and the personal

Julia Kharashvili

Commitment and capacity to address Georgian IDPs' needs took a long time to build, and depended heavily on non-governmental interventions and support, ranging from visits by the UN, reports and articles, legal advice, pilot projects and pressure from civil society.

Internal displacement for Georgia is not a new problem. While people displaced by the August 2008 war over South Ossetia are still displaced five years later, IDPs from Abkhazia have been displaced for almost 20 years and IDPs from Tskhinvali town in South Ossetia for about 22 years. In Georgia, as in many other parts of the former Soviet Union, the breakdown of the USSR and rapid deterioration in socio-economic conditions were accompanied by changes in the distribution of power among different groups, including among ethnic elites and within political circles.

Extreme tension in two regions of Georgia – Tskhinvali region in the north (1991-92) and Abkhazia in the west (1992-93), both bordering on Russia – led to open clashes and bloody armed conflicts and resulted in displacement for more than 300,000 persons, mainly of Georgian origin and mainly to internal regions of Georgia. In 2008, a new war between Georgia and Russia displaced more than 135,000 people, of whom approximately 26,000 could not return to their native lands due to Russian military presence and the total destruction of their villages. Currently, according to data from the Georgian Ministry of IDPs from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees, there are 88,499 IDP families, comprising more than 270,000 people.

International protection

In 1993, the Georgian government asked UNHCR to establish a presence in Georgia and assume responsibility for the protection of IDPs. The government itself did not have the capacity at that time to organise real protection and for many years concentrated mainly on providing humanitarian assistance. Georgia participated in the CIS Conference on Refugees and Migrants (in Geneva, 1996) and following process but no consolidated efforts were made to improve the institutional situation; the Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation was created but worked more on emergency cases than on systematic planning and elaboration of a national approach. For many years, Georgian IDPs were marginalised and forgotten.

The first signal from the international community came in 2000, when a high-level UN delegation led by Dr Francis Deng (Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on IDPs) visited Georgia to promote the implementation of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The Georgian government's subsequent official acknowledgement of the Guiding Principles triggered increased attention to Georgia's case and the involvement of international and local NGOs. In 2001, the magazine *Forced Migration Review* published an article focusing on the IDP situation in Georgia. In 2002, in collaboration with the Brookings IDP project, the compliance of Georgian legislation with the Guiding Principles was tested and some amendments made to

the law. Later, in 2003-04, as part of the New Approach to IDP Assistance programme managed by UNDP (the only programme for IDPs), ten policy papers were published describing IDP status and rights-related problems (including access to health and education, and opportunities to become economically self-reliant); two rounds of micro-projects to improve IDPs self-reliance were announced; from more than 300 applications, 15 micro-projects were selected by the Steering Committee and successfully piloted – but no further steps were planned and the initiative was left hanging in mid-air.

In December 2005, the new Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on the Human Rights of IDPs, Dr Walter Kälin, presented his report on Georgia and highlighted the "miserable conditions of IDPs in collective centres"¹. From this moment, the government started to become more systematically interested in IDP issues. In 2006 the process of developing a State IDP Strategy was launched, with the active involvement of local NGOs. In February 2007 the Strategy was approved but not much changed for IDPs – still neither the state nor the international community could offer the funds necessary for its implementation.

The situation changed dramatically in 2008. After the August 2008 war, Georgia received US\$4.4 billion from international donors for its recovery programmes. Part of this money was envisaged for IDPs. A new Action Plan was prepared, the main focus of which was the improvement of the living conditions of IDPs.

In an article published in December 2008 in *Forced Migration Review*, one of the co-authors, the Minister for Refugees and Accommodation, confirmed the government's commitment to use these funds also for the improvement of the situation of people displaced in the early 1990s.² This commitment was taken seriously by the international community: a Steering Committee of donor agencies was formed to observe the resettlement process for IDPs and provide the government with recommendations.

Challenges and opportunities

Since 2009 there has been an active programme of privatisation of living spaces and construction of new buildings for IDPs. It has been mainly IDPs who were registered in collective centres (44% of total number of IDPs) who have benefited from these programmes. However, regardless of the hard work of state agencies and active monitoring by civil society, more than 62,000 families still need improved living conditions. The new government which came to power after the October 2012 elections decided to speed up the process of resettlement/privatisation of living spaces, and announced that



over the following four years it would provide durable housing solutions for all IDPs in need of housing.

One of the concerns expressed by civil society in this regard relates to the lack of livelihoods support programmes and to continued problems in access to decent education and health programmes. The IDP community tends to be considered as one homogeneous social group whereas it is really quite diverse in origin, reasons for and period of displacement, language, skills and customs, access to resources and possession of social capital; such diversity of needs requires an adequately diverse response.

Another concern of IDPs is related to the absence of mechanisms for working on conflict transformation and for IDPs' active participation in this process (which could increase opportunities for them to return). Currently, the official negotiations at the Geneva international discussions attended by the high-level participants from Georgia and Russia plus Abkhazian and South Ossetian participants, while including potential return on the agenda of the second working group and, in principle, theoretically providing a platform for such discussion, are not yet proving successful. Even such measures as "go and see" and "go and inform" visits are still not agreed. Politicisation of debates prevails over the humanitarian dimension which has not been taking the lead in the negotiation process.

On the occasion of the 23rd round of the international discussions taking place in Geneva in March 2013, an information session was organised for all participants of both Working Groups on the topic of the role of women in conflict resolution. This could potentially have a positive influence as participants are now sensitised about UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and 'sister' resolutions and might be expected to take into greater account the humanitarian dimension.

After 2008, check points on the administrative borders with the de facto separated regions are guarded by the Russian military. This reduces the opportunities for IDPs from Gali district (the southern tip of Abkhazia, populated almost exclusively by Georgians) who are living in the border region to cross the administrative boundary to work their lands in Gali. IDP women living in border areas face additional challenges, their personal safety constantly being threatened.

Striving to become equal – the role of IDP women

A wide range of challenges confront any woman who is an IDP or living in a post-conflict zone. Human security – physical, psychological, material – is very fragile and dependent on external conditions. The participation of women in decision making is minimal. Women find work anywhere they can, mostly low-paid; they put all their efforts into caring for children and protecting their family; they have to replace men during and often also after the conflict; they often suffer gender-based violence and domestic violence.

And because of all this, IDP women have become the strongest advocates for peace and for positive change.

For many years, the IDP Women's Association 'Consent' has supported IDP and conflict-affected communities by helping women to increase their social, economic and civil status and providing opportunities for IDP youth and children. The wide range of Consent's activities includes training seminars, handicraft courses, adult education and small business support, creation of advocacy groups and work with local and central authorities in the framework of different projects to empower women and provide them with necessary skills to survive and develop in post-conflict conditions. Special care is provided for children and youth to give them better opportunities and help them escape the vicious cycle of internal displacement. After 20 years of displacement, stigma still exists, preventing many of them from successfully integrating and from accessing good-quality education. Consent assists women in organising Sunday schools, vocational training, celebrations and special events to enhance the employability of IDPs and to improve relationships between people from different communities now living in the same settlements.



Women return to Gugutiantkari village after Mother's Day celebrations.

Many useful policies have been agreed during the last few years in Georgia, including the Action Plan for implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. This Action Plan declares support for women affected by the conflicts and for their participation in decision making and peace building. Consent supports women from grassroots communities to participate in cross-border activities (through CARE/EU- and EED-supported projects³) and find common ground with women from the other parts of this divided society. But the participation of women in post-conflict rehabilitation, as stipulated in Resolution 1325 and the Action Plan, has still not been secured. Women, especially IDP women, are not included in local councils and have no access to decision making about the most crucial issues influencing their lives. There is a long way to go to achieve equal opportunities for IDPs with the rest of society and to make their starting conditions comparable.

As mentioned in *Forced Migration Review* issue 33 on protracted displacement: "...years after the war's end,



International Day of Peace in Digomi community.

renewed national and international efforts are needed to complete the work of securing durable solutions for IDPs.⁴⁴

Conclusions

IDPs in Georgia continue to require international assistance and attention. In border areas, the IDPs' security is threatened, and demands additional security measures. For the whole IDP community, there needs to be access to decent education, employment opportunities and dignified living conditions. Support at the international level for IDP efforts to gain equal status and the sharing of best practice from the other countries are extremely important and will continue to be a priority for the coming years. The role of women must be strengthened and the provisions of UNSC Resolution 1325 and CEDAW should be fully applied in post-conflict Georgia.

The IDP Women's Association congratulates *Forced Migration Review* on their 25th Anniversary and expresses gratitude to the Editors and authors of this publication for their continuing and highly professional work, for their support of research and provision of recommendations and, finally, for their efforts to ease the situation of internally displaced people worldwide.

Julia Kharashvili julia.kharashvili@yahoo.com is Chairperson of the IDP Women Association 'Consent'. From 2008-11 she was Deputy Head of Department of International Relations in the Georgian Ministry of IDPs from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees. Having been forced to leave her home in Abkhazia in

1993 during the 1992-93 war in Abkhazia, Julia with other displaced women created Consent in 1995 in Tbilisi.

Julia Kharashvili has written twice before for FMR:

'Experience of the Guiding Principles in Georgia' (co-authored with Ilya Kharashvili and Koba Subeliani) in FMR's special issue in 2008 on Ten Years of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/GP10/16-17.pdf

'Internal displacement in Georgia: a personal perspective' in FMR's 2001 Oslo supplement
www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/Supplements/osloidp.pdf
From this article comes the following extract:

I speak as an IDP woman whose husband was missing after the war in Georgia, and who was displaced with two small children, no shelter and no job. I speak also as a leader of an NGO which I set up with several friends to organise psycho-rehabilitation programmes for our traumatised children and vocational training programmes for the disabled women in our community; and, finally, as a member of the UN team in Georgia who has been given the opportunity to promote the needs of the IDP community at the UN level.

From all these points of view I want to give you one message: we do not want to be IDPs. We do not want our children to be labelled as IDPs; we want to return home and – until this is possible – we want to live as equal citizens, with dignity and equal rights.

1. public buildings temporarily given to IDPs as shelters

2. www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/GP10/16-17.pdf

3. Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (German donor)

4. Erin Mooney and Naveed Hussain 'Unfinished business: IDPs in Bosnia and Herzegovina' www.fmreview.org/en/FMRpdfs/FMR33/22-24.pdf



Accountability – a long but necessary journey

Andreas Kamm

Today, many humanitarian agencies have set up systems that enable their end-user stakeholders to submit feedback, including formal complaints. Their purpose is to remove the real and perceived barriers to giving the intended beneficiaries of humanitarian action a real say in it. This is a core part of a larger project of accountability and setting of standards.

"I am missing one of the six-month Cash Relief payments. I went to the bank on five consecutive days but there was nothing. Please tell me what the solution is." (IDP in Mogadishu)

This is one of 350 examples of feedback received by text by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) in Somalia.

It has not always been the case that agencies even thought about giving recipients of aid a say. The Humanitarian Accountability Partnership's first accountability perceptions survey in 2005¹ found that no fewer than 58% of the 320 respondents in the humanitarian sector rated agencies' accountability to the intended beneficiaries as 'low'. This was in stark contrast to their rating of the accountability to official donors. Here, just 5% rated it as 'low' – accountability to those who pay obviously comes more naturally. Moreover, the respondents also had low expectations about the sector's ability to improve its overall accountability, predicting no or little improvement in 2006.

As the head of an organisation which aims to ameliorate and resolve problems related to forced displacement, I have a particular interest in making sure that we are accountable not just to those who fund our work but in particular to all the refugees, IDPs and other people affected by migration and conflict whom we try to assist.

When I first got involved in the integration of refugees in Denmark in 1980s, 'accountability' was about accounting to the government for every penny spent, rather than a matter of quality. Gradually, quality became part of accountability but it remained an 'upward' relationship: i.e. to the donor paying for the action. I saw the same when discussions about the Humanitarian Ombudsman project took place in the 1990s.

In the Humanitarian Accountability Project, which succeeded the Ombudsman Project and in 2003 became the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP), we spent much energy discussing what standards humanitarian NGOs should be measured against. My initial position was that a humanitarian NGO, as a value-driven civil society organisation, should only be measured against its own proclaimed values and standards; this would enable civil society to judge it without compromising diversity. However, later we realised the need to define minimum standards which would apply to all HAP members and become a cornerstone in a certification scheme, that is, external verification alongside the individual organisation's own values.

Of course, we also had long discussions about the value of certification. Some held the view that certification would not result in or even contribute to good quality and accountability. Others thought that it would not

be feasible to implement in the large humanitarian network organisations, while others were anxious about how they would deal with certification in their collaboration with their local partners.

These questions are still going around but progress has fortunately been made in the sense that many NGOs have shown the way and overcome some of the practical challenges.

Where are we now?

In HAP's latest accountability perceptions survey in 2011, of 756 respondents only 16% gave a low rating for accountability to intended beneficiaries and 3% for accountability to official donors, compared to the 58% and 5% of the 320 respondents six years earlier. The same improving trend, although less steep, was seen for accountability to host governments and to private donors. Something has happened, at least with our perception of our practice.

This reflects the reality that accountability has, at last, come to be embraced as a concept in our sector by donors, UN, scholars and NGOs.

My main concern now is how and whether all the professed accountability commitments actually affect humanitarian practice and, indeed, what accountability will mean in the future. In his contribution to FMR's 25th Anniversary collection, Antonio Donini points to three challenges to humanitarianism:

- the emergence of sovereignty and nationalism-based discourses
- protection not being integrated in humanitarian action
- the current categories of refugees, IDPs and economic migrants no longer fitting the reality

As value-based NGOs which together deliver a sizeable part of the world's humanitarian assistance, we wish to influence the debate about how these challenges are resolved. In fact, it is a precondition for maintaining our relevance when others – host governments, funders and the media – will try to determine what that relevance is. But will others listen when we are not clear about what standards we use and when we have not convinced them that we do indeed practise what we preach? In other words, that we are accountable, not just to ourselves but to recognised principles and standards and to those whom we aim to assist.

Inexperienced organisations will continue to come into the sector. Even the experienced organisations will continue to deliver mixed quality and their coordination be affected by the absence of a joint frame of reference.



People's lives and dignity will be affected because of want of professionalism and accountability.

Many humanitarian standards

In the absence of universal criteria for access and quality, governments in many countries affected by disaster and displacement will unilaterally define their own criteria for provision of humanitarian assistance, domestic as well as foreign. This can be a step forward but the risks are obvious: it will lead to significant differences, which will undermine global humanitarian quality and preparedness.

A recent international study commissioned by the Joint Standards Initiative² identified no fewer than 71 different quality and accountability initiatives related to the humanitarian sector. This suggests that there is an encouraging movement out there to define what good humanitarian work is and is not. The flip side is that the many – more or less competing – initiatives signal confusion about what good humanitarian work is.

The Joint Standards Initiative responded to a call from many humanitarians to consolidate standards that many of us refer to, in this case HAP, Sphere and People in Aid. We need that consolidation, not only to make life easier for our field workers but also to provide a clear quality standard that affected populations, host governments and donors can demand of us. Endorsed by the Humanitarian Standards Forum in Geneva on 27 June 2013, the resulting Standards Project will try to reach out to even more stakeholders in order to develop a common verifiable humanitarian standard within a standards 'architecture' that includes relevant technical standards. This is a welcome development. If it is successful, it may be embraced by other humanitarian actors, host governments and donors. A great achievement – but not enough.

Accountability deficit

Humanitarian principles are about the rights of affected populations and our commitment to promote them. How

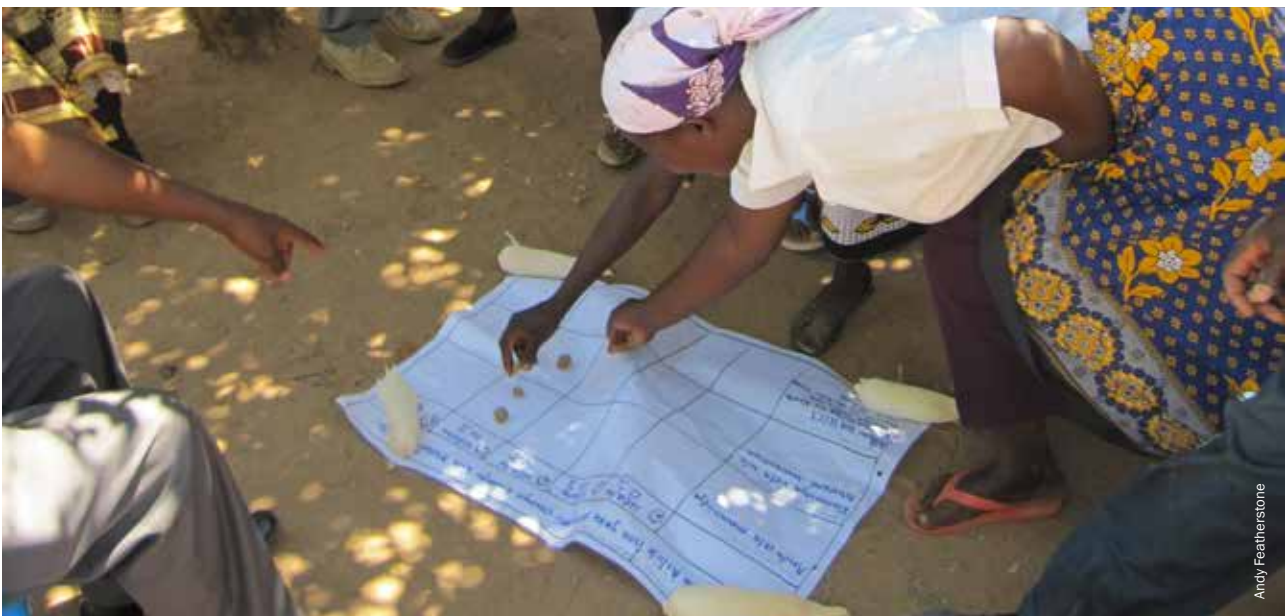
we are accountable to the people we claim to assist is therefore fundamental. Several studies have shown that affected populations have less confidence in humanitarian agencies' accountability to them than we ourselves have. Numerous studies have also shown that affected populations – across religions and cultures – have more or less the same expectations from those who wish to assist them. This is fundamentally to our advantage.

As NGOs, we can sometimes be closer to the affected populations than anyone else, particularly when local authorities are unable or unwilling to protect their rights or listen to them. People supported by us have very little power in their relation with us, unlike donors who can withdraw their support. We must give that power to them. We cannot claim to help people if we are not accountable to them. We cannot claim to strengthen people's resilience if we disempower them by not involving and listening to them. And we cannot claim to do good-quality work if it is not tested against affected populations' knowledge and feedback. These are the ethical, empowerment and quality dimensions of beneficiary accountability.

Effective accountability to those whom we claim to assist assumes that we provide them and other relevant stakeholders with the means to hold and make us accountable to them: we must provide the information that is relevant to the specific stakeholder; we must provide a framework that ensures stakeholders' participation and feedback, including complaints; and we must be willing and able to demonstrate how we learn from the feedback we receive. If we can bring about effective accountability to those we claim to assist, it provides a quality check for all our activities, not just of those few activities that are formally evaluated.

Verification of accountability

Some humanitarians believe that we can deliver good accountability, and be trusted for it, by using internal quality-control measures. Some fear that external certification of humanitarian agencies



Participants in a resilience project implemented by Ukamba Christian Community Services in Makueni County, Kitui, Kenya take part in opinion-ranking exercises as part of research by Christian Aid, HAP and Save the Children into accountability mechanisms. Research results at <http://tinyurl.com/Improving-impact-2013>



could be abused by donors or host governments to discipline or even exclude organisations. This same fear existed in the early days of the Sphere Project.

The fact is that the pressure for disciplining the humanitarian sector will only grow. We can ignore it but we cannot avoid being affected. I believe it is better to try to seize the initiative. I do not think that assurances about internal quality-control systems will be enough. First, I know from the DRC's experience how difficult it is to really prioritise quality development, competing as it does with the pressing humanitarian demands of the day. We need a push – at all levels – to help us do what we say we will do. Second, our arguments carry less weight when they can be dismissed as subjective.

Since 2007 we have subjected DRC's international activities to external verification of compliance with the HAP Standard in Humanitarian Accountability and Quality Management. During those six years we have managed to significantly strengthen the quality of our work and almost triple our activities. I do not think this would have been possible without the stick and the carrot provided by the certification. Yes, it has required a significant investment to do it. And yes, this will continue to be the case for some time because we are not yet where we should be. But the investment is not the modest cost of the certification as such – it is in the quality improvement that we want to make.



Participants in a child protection and non-formal education project implemented by Save the Children International in Meiktila, Myanmar.

It has become natural for all of us to subject our books to external financial audits. So why not also have external audits of the quality of our work? In the end, what matters to affected populations is not what we spend but the 'volume x quality' of what they get. DRC chose to be certified under the HAP Standard because of its strong focus on accountability to affected populations but other certification regimes might also have helped us do the trick.

A way forward?

I believe that we humanitarian NGOs need to do two things:

- Promote the status of humanitarian standards: ideally, one basic humanitarian standard, perhaps with progressive steps, but we could live with a few co-existing 'big' standards
- Subject ourselves to external verification of our compliance with the standard we have chosen.

External verification of organisations' use of and compliance with the standards will make more convincing cases about what standards work well. This will support further convergence in the longer term. I am not particularly concerned that the Standards Project may result in DRC's certification in future being under a new standard. It will contain the same basic elements, and certified we must be.

We NGOs can do a lot and many of us will. But the humanitarian sector needs both a push and support to accelerate its accountability and quality development. Government and institutional donors should send a strong signal that they want us to deliver good-quality assistance that is accountable to its end-users – and that they want external verification of it. But they must also recognise that they must help cover the modest additional cost of ensuring good quality and end-user accountability; this investment will be offset many times over in better value for money.

Finally, was the complaint from Mogadishu resolved? Yes. It was forwarded to DRC's Mogadishu team which investigated the case and found that the complaint was justified; the missing money was subsequently transferred to the beneficiary and improvements were made to our procedures. This is most unlikely to have happened 25 years ago.

Andreas Kamm andreas.kamm@drc.dk is Secretary General of the Danish Refugee Council www.drc.dk DRC has been certified under the HAP Standard in Humanitarian Accountability and Quality Management since 2007.

The Danish Refugee Council is one of FMR's longest-supporting donors.

An issue of FMR on accountability was published in August 2000 and is online at www.fmreview.org/accountability-and-displacement

1. HAP accountability perceptions survey 2011. Figure 2. Cross-year comparison of perceived accountability rating to four stakeholder groups. See also 2013 Humanitarian Accountability Report online at www.hapinternational.org/pool/files/2013-har.pdf
2. www.jointstandards.org/



The logistics of the last mile

George Fenton

As the number of people affected by disasters globally continues to grow, preparedness and 'last mile' operational assistance must be adaptable and connections with the commercial world maximised.

As logistics accounts for between 60% and 80% of emergency programme costs, donors increasingly are encouraging consolidation of supply chains that all actors can use. Governments are also likely to increase the use of military and civil defence logistics assets both for operational reasons and to leverage funds to maintain such capabilities. Commercial companies will continue to enter the humanitarian aid market attracted by the public relations benefits, lucrative profit margins for customised services and the commercial leverage of their own businesses. However, all of these inputs are unlikely to address the essential, specialised capability for 'last mile' logistics to deliver goods and services directly to those who are in need of assistance.

Since I last wrote for the special logistics issue of *Forced Migration Review* ten years ago, the humanitarian logistics landscape has evolved considerably. Over that period 'humanitarian logistics' has become a recognised term and an essential service in disaster response. Humanitarian logisticians face many challenges, however, partly because investment in building capacity and recognition for this emerging profession are still limited. The quality, capability and effectiveness of any humanitarian programme

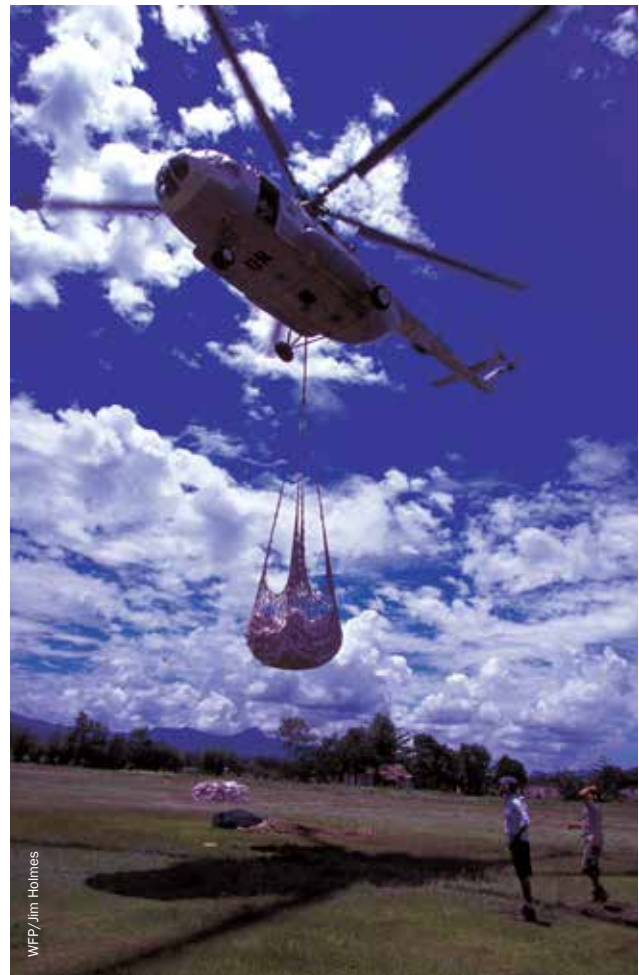
will be directly proportional, among other things, to the capacity and competence of its logistics teams.

With funding for humanitarian assistance dwindling, logisticians may increasingly be asked to take on work beyond their original, more technical, mandate. The question then is: how do they undertake all aspects of this ever increasing portfolio effectively? More innovative capabilities are certainly needed. Logisticians are central to effective, fast disaster relief as they serve as a bridge between disaster preparedness and response, between procurement and distribution, and between headquarters and the field programmes. As logistics operations are inherently costly and since logisticians must track goods through the supply chain, the logistician is often the repository of data that can be analysed to provide post-event learning. Such data reflect all aspects of execution, from the effectiveness of suppliers and transportation providers to the cost and timeliness of emergency responses and to the appropriateness of donated goods and the management of information.

Logisticians must demonstrate not only this type of technical competence but also broader competence as humanitarian professionals.¹ For example, they could



Local transport in Cambodia. Photo used in FMR issue 18 on 'Delivering the goods'.



East Timor



be expected to support economic recovery projects that may include activities such as infrastructure rehabilitation, loans or grants to traders, transport subsidies, etc. Market-based programmes aim to help protect, rehabilitate and strengthen the livelihoods of people affected by crisis. It will be increasingly important for humanitarian logisticians to develop skills to support such interventions as these.

Although there also continues to be a lack of understanding in the humanitarian community at large as to the differences between commercial and humanitarian logistics activities, the humanitarian logistics sector has been leading the way among the aid community in the drive to professionalise. Humanitarian logisticians are required to develop competences in skills and technologies such as information management, market assessments and cash and voucher distribution, as well as the more typical procurement, transport, tracking and tracing, customs clearance and warehouse management functions.

Professionalism and the commercial link

Nevertheless, to support the evolution of the humanitarian logistics profession there is a need to open it up to specialists from the private and public sectors who can bring in new skills and thinking. To that end, work has begun to define suitable career pathways. Research suggests that aspiring humanitarian logisticians, when compared to those in commercial roles, need to possess a broad range of skills and should consider the importance of contextual knowledge before entering the profession. There is a strong requirement for technical and functional knowledge² and educators need to place a stronger emphasis on appropriate training in the technical and programmatic aspects of the role, in logistics administration and on educating future humanitarian logisticians in how to train others.

Although humanitarian logistics has much in common with commercial logistics, good practices from the corporate world have not fully crossed over. Furthermore, given that disasters are now more frequently affecting the developed world and are having a direct and often dramatic affect on global business, there is also much that can be learned by companies from humanitarian logisticians about how to operate in chaotic environments. The most critical area for humanitarians to learn from the business sector may be supply chain risk management (SCRM), argues Paul Larson from the University of Manitoba.³ He notes that humanitarian action is the ultimate risky business. Humanitarian logisticians need the latest technical knowledge and business techniques and should develop risk management skills rather than be forced simply to take risks.

It is paradoxical that a sector that has such extreme requirements in terms of timeliness, affordability and oversight has been still relatively under-developed. It is precisely this paradox that creates both a great need and a great opportunity to professionalise the humanitarian logistics sector. In 2001 the Fritz Institute was formed to help address this concern and explore new ways of working by bringing in ideas from the corporate world. Through a series of annual humanitarian logistics

conferences several initiatives emerged which have influenced the development of the sector. Of note has been the launch of the Fritz/CILT(UK) certificate in humanitarian logistics, in which 1,200 students have enrolled since 2006, and the creation of the Humanitarian Logistics Association (HLA), which in 2005 was the first professional association within the aid sector.

As an independent NGO since 2009, the HLA aims to enhance the professionalisation of humanitarian logistics and the recognition of its strategic role in the effective delivery of relief during humanitarian crises. The association supports training initiatives, best practice exchange and representation for a growing worldwide community of practice; it now has nearly 2,000 members based in 106 countries. Still in the development phase, the HLA has the backing of the UK's Chartered Institute of Logistics and Transport and has partnered with training agency RedR UK to provide technical advice and support to a new generation of humanitarian logisticians.

More and more aid organisations are turning to the private sector for money and expertise. Some agencies are realising that significant financial savings can be made through the implementation of efficient controls and have now begun to take the role of humanitarian logisticians more seriously. For example, the outsourcing of key tasks such as procurement to experienced service providers often allows an aid organisation to focus on its core expertise. These issues are just as salient for aid organisations as they are for the commercial sector.

Commercial logistics is about 'getting the right thing to the right place at the right time at the right cost' but in the humanitarian sector there isn't that level of predictability. To help overcome this problem at least in part, a number of aid organisations now pre-position relief supplies in WFP Humanitarian Response Depot (UNHRD) warehouses around the world.⁴ The HLA is collaborating with academics to study ways of sourcing relief items closer to a potential event and pre-positioning these nationally rather than globally or regionally. The aim is to take cost, import restrictions and time out of the supply chain while encouraging resilience in the local economy.

When sourcing supplies in Asia for emergency distribution in Africa, for example, agencies rely on commercial air transport – the cost of which always rises dramatically after a disaster. When a major disaster occurs, even large freight companies such as DHL or Kuehne & Nagel are affected by what some observers have described as 'vulture pricing', which is why there is optimism regarding new initiatives such as 'Care By Air', begun by Maximus Air Cargo CEO Fathi Buhazza, and Airlink, started by the ISTAT Foundation in 2010, to run an air transport support portal connecting NGOs with airlines that can provide free or low-cost transport. These not-for-profit approaches have significant potential to provide predictable and affordable access to air cargo capacity.

Corporate response to natural disasters has grown significantly during the last decade as companies embrace the idea of global citizenship. A pivotal move in improving humanitarian logistics emerged from the



Afghanistan

World Economic Forum in 2008 with the setting up of Logistics Emergency Teams (LET) which includes freight companies such as Agility, AP Moller-Maersk, UPS and TNT. This began as an offshoot of the companies' CSR initiatives – largely thanks to the inspiration of former TNT CEO Peter Bakker and his work with WFP. The LET has been instrumental in supporting rapid responses to sudden-onset natural disasters.

There is a need for greater understanding between commercial logistics companies and NGOs, and the first step is communication and dialogue; barriers that have so far existed should start to fall away once humanitarian and commercial logisticians realise that they have a lot in common. While the logistics competence of the LET is unquestioned, the aid community has yet to fully recognise logistics as a core competence, so training and professionalism have suffered as a result. The picture has started to change over the past ten years as we have seen a change in perception of a logistics professional from truck driver to NGO logistics manager with a professional qualification. However, NGOs are still some way behind the commercial world in recognising the strategic importance of logistics.

The last mile

What makes humanitarian logistics quite different from its commercial counterpart is 'the last mile' – not from port or airport to a convenient warehouse but quite literally the last mile. This can mean having to use any means of transport available, including bicycles, donkeys, camels and elephants.

It is a sad reality that in some regions, such as eastern DRC, aid workers are no longer regarded as neutral actors and in such situations increasingly have to rely on the military to secure and maintain humanitarian

access. Considerable work has therefore been undertaken to ensure that effective civil-military protocols are in place to do this, as only the military has the resources to deliver supplies to the remotest locations. NGOs are frequently faced with the dilemma of wanting to provide neutral aid while being forced to use a far from neutral resource. Sometimes, there is no other choice for that last mile.

Agencies also need to be wary of other potential pitfalls. When transporting supplies by air within Africa, for example, agencies must be wary of chartering aircraft that have been used for illicit arms transfers or narcotics activities. The ECHO procurement guidelines cite EthicalCargo as a resource for addressing

this under-discussed issue.⁵ EthicalCargo does not recommend banning or blacklisting companies but offers humanitarian organisations practical negotiation techniques that can influence the behaviour of air cargo companies.

Over the past ten years, humanitarian organisations have been able to access greater capacity to mobilise resources to provide relief in chaotic environments, for example via the UNHRD network or with support from the Logistics Cluster. Many have learned that complex supply chains are often crucial for effective delivery of emergency food, shelter and medical supplies from around the world. An MSF spokesman, in announcing their decision to stop accepting money for the tsunami relief operation, said: "What is needed are supply managers without borders: people to sort goods, identify priorities, track deliveries and direct the traffic of a relief effort in full gear."

George Fenton George.Fenton@humanitarianlogistics.org is Chairman of the Humanitarian Logistics Association www.humanitarianlogistics.org

FMR 18 'Delivering the goods: rethinking humanitarian logistics' was published in September 2003 www.fmreview.org/logistics

1. According to the Consortium of British Humanitarian Agencies' Core Humanitarian Competency Framework, humanitarian workers need to demonstrate competence in: understanding humanitarian contexts and how to apply humanitarian principles; achieving results; developing and maintaining collaborative relationships; operating safely and securely; self-management in a pressured and changing environment; and leadership in humanitarian response.
2. Kovács, G and Tatham, PH 'What is Special About a Humanitarian Logistician? A Survey of Logistic Skills and Performance', *Supply Chain Forum: An International Journal*, 2010, Vol. 11 No. 2. <http://tinyurl.com/SupplyChainForum-Kovacs-Tatham>
3. Larson, P 'Risky business: what humanitarians can learn from business logisticians – and vice versa', in *Humanitarian Logistics, Meeting the Challenge of Preparing For and Responding To Disasters*, 2011, Kogan Page.
4. The UNHRD is a WFP-managed inter-agency warehouse network with coordination office in Brindisi, Italy and centres in Panama, Ghana, Dubai, Malaysia and the Canary Islands.
5. See <http://tinyurl.com/ODIHPN49-air-services>



Asylum space in Kenya: evolution of refugee protection over 20 years

Lucy Kiama and Rufus Karanja

Kenya's traditionally accommodating asylum regime has been rocked by changes in the main causes and contexts of displacement, both internally and externally. Those working to protect refugees in Kenya have had to adapt to new threats and adopt new practices.

For over 20 years, Kenya has been hosting refugees of different nationalities from across the region and is home to one of the biggest refugee camps in the world. Very few African countries can claim to have an asylum regime that has been as flexible and accommodating as that of Kenya, yet in recent years Kenya's asylum regime has undergone substantial changes in both its policy framework and management practice due to changing security dynamics and the changing push factors that cause displacement within the region. To this end, both the government and humanitarian actors have been forced to find new approaches and practices.

security management in the context of changing security dynamics both within Kenya and in the region.

The prevalence of security threats

Of the refugee caseloads that have been heavily affected by this debate, one has been that of Somali refugees. Kenya's continued hosting of Somali refugees and granting them *prima facie* status has been a thorny issue among the Kenyan public due to increased incidences of insecurity in the form of terrorist attacks that have taken place in various Kenyan towns.

It is no secret that Kenya's borders are porous and are prone to infiltration by external forces and undocumented persons. According to the Kenyan government, their decision in January 2007 to close the Kenyan-Somali border at Liboi was as a security measure against external forces. However, it did not prevent many asylum seekers from seeking refuge in Kenya; on the contrary, they continued arriving in large numbers. Yet the closure of the border meant that screening of asylum seekers for diseases and illegal items such as weapons was suspended, leaving locals and host communities worried about security threats from Al-Shabaab insurgents as well as disease (with cholera, diarrhoea and measles outbreaks having been reported in Somalia's capital). In 2012, there were several incidents when Al-Shabaab militants crossed over to Kenya and kidnapped humanitarian workers or carried out attacks on members of the Kenyan security forces.

UNHCR/E. Hockstein



Children play in Ifo camp as the sun goes down. Photo used in FMR issue 38 on 'Technology'.

In the formative years of the 1990s, prior to the setting up of the refugee camps, the small numbers of asylum seekers and refugees that Kenya received were scattered throughout the country, including in transit towns such as Mombasa and Thika. The number of registered refugees was very small compared to today's figure of over 474,000. Currently, Dadaab hosts 388,627 refugees, Kakuma hosts 53,518 and Nairobi hosts 32,679.¹ The Dadaab refugee camp was established to host and provide protection to Somali refugees who had fled persecution after the fall of President Siad Barre triggered a civil war and displaced thousands of Somalis. Kakuma refugee camp, on the other hand, was established in the early 1990s mainly to host and assist refugees fleeing civil war in Sudan.

The changing asylum space in Kenya has been characterised by a key debate on the balance between protection of refugees and asylum seekers vis-à-vis

The year 2011 witnessed the highest influx of Somali refugees Kenya has ever seen. According to UNHCR, 113,500² new arrivals in Dadaab were recorded within a period of eight months, a result of the famine, drought and insecurity that were being experienced in Somalia. This high influx of refugees put a lot of strain on essential resources such as food and shelter and on other things such as social amenities. It also created hostility between the host community and the refugee community due to competition for scarce resources within the North Eastern Province where the camps are located. Rises in cases of insecurity and gender-based violence were also reported due to congestion within the camps.³ In response, the government and UNHCR established new camps Ifo 2 and Kambioos, despite there having been a stalemate over the establishment of any new camps as the government had previously maintained categorically that they would not establish any new camps within the Dadaab complex due to security reasons. The opening



of these additional camps in 2011 helped ease congestion in the camps but insecurity was still prevalent.

Cases of insecurity were experienced not only in Dadaab camps but also in urban areas such as Nairobi and Mombasa where grenade attacks took place; Al-Shabaab took credit for most of these – in retaliation for Kenya's military incursion into Somalia. Service providers were under pressure as more refugees were in need of assistance ranging from legal counselling to medical attention. The 2011 influx also brought to light the debate about climate refugees and the need for the international community to have a formal discussion around this recent phenomenon and whether there is need for a revision of the conventional definition of refugee.

Repatriation v protection?

The growing resentment within Kenya to 'imported' insecurity has led to the current debate about repatriating Somali refugees following the government's claim that south and central Somalia are now safe and 'liberated'. The Government of Kenya, UNHCR and the Somali government are currently in the early stages of making preparations for the repatriation of Somali refugees. However, there is deep concern among agencies working on refugee protection that these preparations are being done hastily without due regard for the changing security dynamics within Somalia; from the preliminary surveys done, it appears that most Somali refugees do not want to go back to Somalia for fear of persecution and insecurity.

Somali refugees are not the only caseload of refugees thinking about repatriation. Rwandans who fled their country prior to 1998 are being asked to return to their country of origin following the invocation on 30 June 2013 of the cessation clause whereby the conditions in Rwanda are now deemed conducive for safe return. The Rwandese government recently announced that they were ready to start receiving all refugees and that measures have been put in place to ensure that the returnees are well reintegrated into the communities.⁴ This announcement has caused a lot of anxiety among Rwandese refugees, and the Kenyan government's delayed indication of their position on the cessation is not helping the situation. Refugees have asked whether they can benefit from any other alternative legal status such as becoming citizens of Kenya or regularising their stay in Kenya instead of going back to Rwanda. Agencies working with refugees have started lobbying the Kenyan government to allow an alternative legal status for such refugees as provided for under the Citizenship and Immigration legislation in Kenya.

In late December 2012, however, agencies working with refugees received an unprecedented directive from the government requiring all refugees living within urban areas to relocate to the respective refugee camps (those of Somali origin to relocate to Dadaab refugee camp and those of other nationalities to relocate to Kakuma refugee camp). This directive essentially sought to introduce a *de facto* policy of encampment in Kenya given that the



Makeshift shelters and new tents in a section for new arrivals at Ifo, one of the three refugee camps at Dadaab in north-east Kenya. 2009.



UNHCR/E. Hockstein

government has never previously officially registered the refugee camps through the *Kenya Gazette*⁵ nor officially given notice that Kenya would adopt an encampment policy as part of its asylum regime. This directive also was and continues to be a significant threat to UNHCR's urban refugee policy which seeks to expand protection for the increasing numbers of refugees living in urban areas.⁶

Changing approaches and lessons learned

One of the lessons that agencies working on protection of refugees have learned is to combine both advocacy and legal interventions in the context of a changing asylum regime. To this end, the agencies working together under the Nairobi Urban Refugee Protection Network (URPN⁷) went to court to challenge the December 2012 directive; as a result, the High Court issued orders stopping the government from implementing the directive until a full hearing of the matter. This legal intervention by refugee agencies has been heralded as a bold move given that over the years refugee agencies have always endeavoured to take collaborative advocacy initiatives – rather than initiate legal confrontation – with the government when it comes to refugee protection and management.

Although the issuance of the orders by the High Court provided a reprieve for urban refugees, to date the Department of Refugee Affairs (DRA) has yet to comply with the court order and resume full operations (including refugee registration). Further, the government through the State Law Office has issued a Notice of Appeal indicating their intention to appeal the High Court decision. However, of particular concern is that the DRA's lack of registration of new arrivals puts them at risk of arbitrary arrest by law enforcement officers for lack of documentation; such persons also cannot access health services, education and other essential services. The issuance of this directive was a clear testament that the asylum space in Kenya is shrinking and demonstrated the government's determination to adopt a strict encampment

policy as well as a strongly securitised asylum regime in Kenya, something that is unprecedented in the country.

Another area of advocacy that agencies working on refugees have been involved in has been on the lobbying for the Refugees Act, 2006. The Act is currently being reviewed following the promulgation of a new Constitution but agencies fear that the current discussions around rising insecurity in the country may prejudice the review process of the Act such that gains made while lobbying for the 2006 Refugees Act may be lost. An advocacy strategy adopted by the refugee agencies has been to not push for the review process of the Act at this moment since discussions within government circles are prejudiced towards securitising the asylum space.

Over the past 20 years, refugee management and protection in Kenya have come a long way but there is still

much to be done in the future to ensure the protection of refugees and asylum seekers. Humanitarian agencies must continue to be vigilant to ensure that asylum space in Kenya is protected, especially at this time when it appears that the government is keen on shrinking this space by securitising refugee management and operationalising a national RSD process through the taking up of RSD functions by Kenya's Department of Refugees Affairs from UNHCR. It is envisaged that the process of RSD which has mostly been conducted by UNHCR through a non-adversarial process will now shift to an adversarial process where asylum claims will be adjudicated as provided for in the Refugee Regulations of Kenya, 2009. Of particular importance will be to ensure that the review process of the current Refugees Act, 2006 upholds the provisions and standards of protection for refugees and asylum seekers provided for within the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU Convention.

Lucy Kiama refcon@rckkenya.org is the Executive Director of the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK). Rufus Karanja rufus@rckkenya.org is the Advocacy Programme Officer of the RCK. www.rckkenya.org

Over the years, RCK staff have written for FMR and have helped to distribute copies of FMR in Kenya. Lucy Kiama is the second Executive Director of RCK to be an International Advisor to FMR. She has been an Advisor since 2009.

1. www.data.unhcr.org as at 7th October, 2013
2. www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483a16.html
3. RCK Asylum Under Threat: Assessing the protection of Somali refugees in Dadaab refugee camps and along the migration corridor, 2012. <http://tinyurl.com/RCK-AsylumUnderThreat-2012>
4. <http://tinyurl.com/Rwanda-gov-2July2013>
5. Official government publication
6. www.refworld.org/docid/4ab8e7f72.html
7. www.urpn.org/



Internally Displaced Persons 1998-2013

Khalid Koser

The very first issue of *Forced Migration Review* (successor to the RPN newsletter) in April 1998 was dedicated to internal displacement, just two months after the publication of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Since then we have seen the remarkable rise of internally displaced persons (IDPs) on the global agenda, as a result of a growing body of evidence and research, the development of national and regional legal frameworks, and the mainstreaming of IDP policy in the UN system.

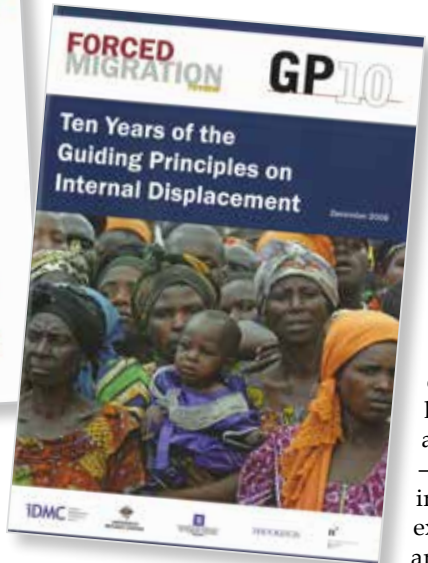
While there was a growing number of people by the late 1990s who recognised the significance of internal displacement and were actively lobbying for greater international attention, there was as yet very little research on the topic. Since then, a significant body of research has emerged covering all of the major internal displacement situations, including Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Kosovo, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sudan, Turkey and Uganda, and on a wide variety of aspects such as internal displacement in the context of camps, children, climate change, development, durable solutions, education, the elderly, HIV, housing, humanitarian reform, land, legal frameworks, literacy, national policies, natural disasters, peace, profiling, property, reproductive health, return, trafficking, urban settlement and voting rights. FMR has published articles reflecting almost all of this and the growing development of the topic.

In parallel with the emergence of a new field of research and academic enquiry, and a growing evidence base, has been the evolution of a legal, normative and institutional framework for protecting IDPs. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement – soft law at best – have begun to evolve into hard law, and national IDP laws and policies in well over 30 countries, as well as the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (the ‘Kampala Convention’), have been developed. The Guiding Principles also apply to, and have increasingly been recognised by, not just states but also non-state actors in conflict, law-makers and jurists, civil society activists and peace mediators.

A third feature of developing a more effective response to internal displacement over the last decade or so has been the mainstreaming of IDP policy into the international humanitarian system, despite there being no UN agency with a specific mandate on IDPs. Specialised projects like the Global IDP Survey, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Brookings Project on Internal Displacement have grown up, and the interests of IDPs have been promoted

by both the UN Emergency Relief Coordinator and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Coinciding with the last 15 years of FMR’s publication, very significant progress has therefore been made to raise awareness of the crisis of internal displacement, provide an evidence base for policy making, and develop the foundations for a more effective response. Still, as Walter Kälin observed in 2011 in his outlook for IDPs in FMR issue 37, much work remains to be done with regard to the new legal and normative challenges for protecting IDPs that perhaps we had not even envisaged 15 years ago when the Guiding Principles were published. These include in particular the risk of large-scale displacement arising from the effects of climate change.



One of the pitfalls of mainstreaming is complacency, and there is the risk of a gradual waning of interest in internal displacement. Especially if international attention is beginning to fade, contributions from local NGOs, scholars and aid workers – providing direct insights into the experiences of IDPs and the everyday successes and failures

of IDP policy – will become ever more relevant. There may also be a case for placing internal displacement in a wider context. It is striking that very few FMR articles on internal displacement over the last 15 years have placed IDPs within the context of other displaced or mobile populations; and only rarely have they compared IDP situations across different countries. One of the strategies for putting IDPs on the international agenda during the last 15 years has been to emphasise their unique situation. Perhaps the best way to maintain attention for the next 15 years will be to view internal displacement as part of a wider crisis of displacement, conflict and state failure.

Khalid Koser k.koser@gcsp.ch is Deputy Director and Academic Dean at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy www.gcsp.ch, Non-resident Senior Fellow to the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement www.brookings.edu/about/projects/idp and one of FMR’s group of International Advisors.



Change and continuity in displacement and response

Rachel Hastie

For 25 years *Forced Migration Review* has tracked the disasters and crises, concerns and responses to forced migration, from Vietnamese boat people to Syrian refugees. So what has changed and where do we go in the next 25 years?

On the FMR website it is possible to see the first edition of the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter – the precursor to FMR – from April 1988. At first glance this scanned copy of a hand-typed and photocopied newsletter, complete with hand-drawn graphs, is in sharp contrast to today's glossier FMR which can be read online while readers are able to interact with the journal and its editors through Twitter or Facebook and listen to podcasts of articles.

However, on reading those first articles we are aware that the picture in 2013 is not that dissimilar to 1987. When people are in danger from conflict, unrest and disasters, they flee that danger if they can. The journeys they undertake are hard and expose them to new hazards and uncertainties, and frequently to onwards displacement; durable solutions are slow to materialise and many live in unresolved situations for years. That early edition raises very contemporary concerns about the relationships between refugees and host communities, the socio-economic impact on refugee-receiving countries, the unmet needs of urban displaced, and the lack of educational support for displaced children.

There continues to be a significant shift towards more assertive and exclusive state sovereignty and diminishing space for international humanitarian action. With greater focus on internal displacement in recent decades, the action and inaction of states have been a focus of humanitarian and human rights campaigners across the world, with humanitarians managing a fine balance between the necessity of speaking out and the need to retain the ability to provide aid. With increasing state pressure to limit the actions of external humanitarian actors, and greater recognition of national humanitarian capacity, future humanitarian action will need to look significantly different. International actors working for the better protection of refugees and IDPs will need to rethink their relationship with states, working to build state capacity where appropriate but also to find new models of supporting national civil society.

International aid organisations will shift to a facilitative and influencing role, supporting national capacity for assistance and protection, both state capacity and national civil society capacity. This will have to mean more equal partnerships, based on mutual respect and learning, transfer of technical skills and a network of actors in different roles and spheres of action and influence combining their skills and expertise as a collective international civil society.

FMR has continued to tackle these and many other issues over its history, providing an invaluable resource for policymakers, practitioners and academics alike. A number of well-thumbed issues sit on my desk,

two in particular which I have frequently referred to in taking forwards Oxfam's protection work.

Technology

The world is more connected, disasters and conflict are more accessible, and action to show solidarity, give support and bring about change can be taken at the click of a mouse. In 2011 FMR issue 38 – 'the technology issue' – drew heavily on the advances made in the response to the Haiti earthquake.¹ Since then the speed of change and innovation has gathered pace.

Advances in technology mean that whilst we may have seen grainy photographs of Eritrean or Sudanese refugees in 1987, we now have live feeds from Za'atari camp in Jordan, and Syrian refugees use WhatsApp and Facebook to talk to their families back home and try to assess when it will be safe enough for them to return. Humanitarians have their work cut out to keep up, let alone lead the way.

Technology can be used for multiple purposes, and not just by humanitarians and refugees and other displaced people. In November 2013 the M23 armed group in eastern DRC announced through Facebook that it would end military action, surrender its troops and pursue its goals through political channels. The Al-Shabaab armed group based in Somalia – where conflict has resulted in massive displacement and created the largest refugee camp in the world in neighbouring Kenya – has an active Twitter account.



Front cover image for FMR issue 38.

Technology can also offer great benefits and opportunities for people outside the traditional humanitarian or activist box to contribute, either through the potential for fundraising and campaigning that it offers, or through more direct means. When Typhoon Haiyan caused massive devastation across the Philippines and displaced more than four million people, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian affairs activated the Digital Humanitarian Network² to carry out a rapid needs and damage assessment by tagging reports posted to social media. The initial assessment of damage was created by a global network of volunteer micro-taskers, many of whom have never been and probably never will go to the Philippines.

Whilst technology has enabled faster communication, it has also created high expectations of an immediate response – after all, if cameras can get there, why not aid? Within Oxfam we have seen the time it takes to launch a



Heal Africa Transit Centre for women victims of sexual violence. Photo used in FMR issue 36 on 'Democratic Republic of Congo'.

response reduce significantly but it still takes longer to set up a water system for thousands of people where roads and infrastructure have been destroyed than it does to post an image online or tweet a heart-rending anecdote.

We need to make full use of the technical advances available to us but also need to do so in an appropriate and ethical way that neither further marginalises those without access to the technology nor exposes people to risks. Digital activism has an important role to play but we need to be wary of creating a digital illusion of action where there is limited impact in the lives of those who need concrete tangible changes.

Sexual violence

Another area that has seen significant change is in relation to gender, gender-based violence and sexual violence in particular. In 2007 FMR issue 27 focused specifically on sexual violence and that issue remains a key reference point for practitioners.³ In the last 25 years there has been a growing awareness of the scale and impact of sexual violence in conflict, from the war in Bosnia and genocide in Rwanda, through Liberia, Darfur and eastern DRC. There have been several UN Security Council Resolutions, including one that seeks to 'name and shame' perpetrators, a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict has been appointed, and the International Criminal Court has indicted a sitting head of state for a range of crimes including that of rape. However, whilst progress has been made in the policy and judicial sphere (although there is still a long way to go), this has not always resulted in better prevention of sexual violence or more effective and timely service provision for survivors.

It is widely recognised that, given the increased risks for them in displacement, protecting IDPs and refugees from the risk of sexual violence is essential. But more action is still needed to ensure that a commitment in principle turns into real action to prevent and respond to sexual violence including tackling the underlying gender inequalities that cause and perpetuate gender-based violence. Work to address inequalities within countries

needs to tackle not just the violent manifestations of gender inequalities but also the root causes.

So where next?

What do the next 25 years have in store for us? UNHCR estimates there are more than 45 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. Those of us working to prevent their displacement, assist and protect refugees and IDPs, and facilitate and support durable solutions will have much to do in the years ahead.

In 2014 we shall continue to face some of the most difficult challenges of forced migration on a par with the worst situations of the last 25 years. 2.2 million refugees⁴ have fled conflict in Syria and a further 6.5 million are estimated to be internally displaced.⁵ Conflict continues to wreck the lives of millions of people in Mali, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Yemen and the Central African Republic, as do more frequent disasters, including Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in late 2013. Challenges such as these will require long-term planning to ensure the resources and skills of a wide range of actors can be utilised effectively and efficiently.

Reflecting on the past 25 years of FMR, it is possible to see an impressive history of individual and collective thought, action and commitment to supporting those forced from their homes. In the next 25 years we can foresee an expansion of this network to include a greater number and even wider diversity of actors who should be able to continue using the platform of FMR to build relationships, present ideas and learning, and influence policy and decisionmakers.

Rachel Hastie rhastie@oxfam.org.uk is Protection Advisor in Oxfam GB www.oxfam.org.uk and is one of FMR's International Advisors.

Oxfam GB is one of FMR's longest-supporting donors.

1. www.fmreview.org/technology
2. <http://irevolution.net/2013/11/08/volunteer-typhoon-yolanda/>
3. www.fmreview.org/sexualviolence
4. UNHCR, 1 December 2013
5. IDMC, 1 December 2013



What's in a name?

Erin Mooney

Over the past 25 years, *Forced Migration Review* and its precursor the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter have not only captured, but arguably have also contributed to, important evolutions in the thinking and practice of approaches for protecting, assisting and finding solutions for forcibly uprooted people.

Some of the more significant of these changes are reflected in the change of name of this publication, from the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter (November 1987-1998) to *Forced Migration Review* (April 1998 to present). At the same time, it is important to recall the objectives and principles guiding this publication from the outset, which were reflected in its original name and which remain true.

From 'Refugees' to 'Forced Migration'

As its name suggests, the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter focused on persons who were outside their country of origin and met the international (or regional) definition of a refugee. Yet, belied by the emphasis on refugees – which was maintained, with few exceptions, for the lifespan of RPN – was another group of forcibly uprooted persons: those who also were fleeing persecution, human rights abuses, conflict or violence but who had not crossed an international border. At the time, these so-called 'internal refugees' were very much the hidden face of forced displacement. By 1990, and for every year since, internally displaced persons (IDPs) constituted more than half of forcibly displaced peoples;¹ today, IDPs from conflict and violence outnumber refugees by a ratio of more than 2.5 to 1.

It was only in its eighth year of publication, in 1995, that RPN featured the first articles explicitly focused on IDPs, specifically regarding Guatemala and Peru. It is noteworthy that these articles on internal displacement appeared in the RPN edition devoted to 'Burning issues'. By that time, the challenge of how the international community could effectively address the protection of millions of IDPs had indeed begun to become a burning international issue. However, a closer look at the content of RPN in earlier years reveals a growing recognition of the need for an approach, both in research and response, extending beyond refugees. An article by Alex de Waal on the 1984-85 famine in Darfur, Sudan, appearing in the very first issue of RPN, pointed to the phenomenon of people who were uprooted as a result of a slow-onset natural disaster but who remained in their country. Even so, recognition in the pages of RPN of the phenomenon of internal displacement still took some time. For example, an RPN article on 'The Kurdish refugee crisis', in March 1989, made no mention of the fact that the same human rights situation that had produced an exodus of refugees had also displaced people inside Iraq.

Almost ten years later, the transition in 1998 from the *Refugee Participation Network* newsletter to *Forced Migration Review* was significant because it reflected the recognition that the phenomenon of displacement was much wider than refugees: it also included displaced people who had not crossed an international border and other groups. This has been reflected in several issues of FMR devoted to internal displacement and in FMR issues focused on trafficking and statelessness, phenomena which often

are significant causes or consequences of displacement. Even further from the 'refugee' definition, but uprooting millions more people, especially inside their country, development-induced displacement was the focus of an issue of FMR in 2002. More recently, mixed migration – complex population movements including refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants travelling in an irregular manner along similar routes, using similar means of travel, but for different reasons – has also been addressed on the pages of FMR.

Participation: from principle to practice

As explained in the first issue of RPN, it was considered essential to include the word 'participation' in the name to make clear this publication's orientation. At the time, there was growing awareness of the need, both in research and in practice, for "greater respect for refugees as people and their more active involvement". Commitment to the principle of participation has found practical expression in RPN/FMR in a number of ways.

First, and from the earliest days, it has been reflected in the content. The second issue of RPN, in 1988, featured an article entitled 'Refugee enterprise: it can be done'. Twenty-five years later, there is increasing recognition of the need to do much more – and much earlier – to support refugees' and IDPs' self-reliance or, in the current terminology, their 'resilience'. In exploring the question 'Who's in charge?' (RPN 13, 1992), the articles on management and leadership focused on these themes and practices not by relief workers but among refugees themselves. Over the years, a number of additional articles have analysed the extent to which participatory methodology has been utilised and integrated into programming (see, in particular, 'Promise and practice: participatory evaluation of humanitarian assistance', FMR 8, 2000). Another recurrent theme of articles has been the importance of listening to the voices of refugees and IDPs (in particular, 'Listening to the displaced: analysis, accountability and advocacy in action', FMR 8, 2000).

Second, listening to the voices of the displaced is reflected in FMR's approach to authorship. RPN, in its first issue in 1987, expressly encouraged refugees as well as researchers and practitioners to write for RPN "as a means of communicating and sharing your experiences and views". From the outset, RPN/FMR has regularly featured contributions from refugees, asylum seekers and IDPs. These have taken various forms: poetry; illustrations and other artwork, including serving as the cover page (for the Indian Ocean tsunami special issue in 2005); and many articles by refugees and IDPs, addressing a wide range of issues. Among the collection of pieces for this 25th anniversary collection is an example of this.

Third, accessibility is a critically important dimension of participation. Currently, FMR is disseminated in more



than 160 countries. That FMR is available both online and in print free of charge – unusually for a journal coming out of a university – greatly facilitates its accessibility by refugees and IDPs. Indeed, the majority of FMR's readers live in the 'global south'. On a personal note, I once received an email from a refugee from the Democratic Republic of Congo living in Namibia who wrote to me to express appreciation for an article I had written for FMR ('GP 10' issue, December 2008) on the linkages between the doctrine of 'Responsibility to Protect' and situations of displacement. The greatest indicator of FMR's relevance surely is its resonance with forced migrants themselves.

FMR is regularly published in four languages: Arabic, French, English and Spanish. On an ad hoc basis, specific issues have been published in additional languages, e.g. Bahasa Indonesia, Sinhala, Tamil, Burmese, Hebrew, Portuguese and Russian. Readers have taken the initiative to translate articles into languages including Armenian and Korean.

Moreover, in a groundbreaking innovation, beginning with FMR issue 35 in 2010 on 'Disability and displacement', articles have also been available online in audio versions. FMR thereby not only raised awareness, through the published collection of articles, of the particular challenges faced by refugees, asylum seekers and IDPs with disabilities; it led by example to do its part to facilitate the accessibility of its content to persons with disabilities.

Fourth, also relevant to the theme of participation, is the way in which individual refugees and IDPs are visually portrayed in its pages. Beginning in 2010, FMR decided to refrain, to the extent possible, from publishing recognisable faces of persons of concern. In

an explanatory note entitled 'Facing facts' the editors set out the rationale for the decision. On the one hand, it was undeniable that "real people's faces are important to bring to life the words – facts, thoughts, ideas and feelings" and to "show the personal reality of forced migration, trafficking and statelessness". On the other hand, there was recognition that there may be:

"...cases where individuals would not wish their image to be used in such a way that they might be identifiable for ever in a situation that is, in all likelihood, a temporary one that catches them at a low point in their lives. We cannot be sure either that showing their image will not – at some time and in some way that could not be foreseen – damage them or undermine their dignity."

Erring on the side of caution, FMR has since then taken steps, wherever possible, to protect the identities of the refugees, asylum seekers, returnees, IDPs, stateless persons and migrants shown in FMR by ensuring that the photos used appear in such a way (e.g. photographed from behind, faces cast in shadow, obscuring of facial images, etc.) that they generally cannot be identified. At a time when the visual remains as important as ever and in an age of telecommunications where the boundaries of protections of personal identity are constantly being tested by advances in technology, this decision was a bold move. The fact that the editors, in taking this decision, also considered the downside for the persons concerned, who may feel this decision "robs them of their full identity; they may feel that we are playing into the hands of those who would typecast refugees as second-class citizens or as 'undesirables'", demonstrated sensitivity to the range of possible views held by the persons concerned. Further, acknowledging that this dilemma undoubtedly was being faced also by other publications and agencies,



Front cover image of FMR special issue on 'Tsunami: learning from the humanitarian response', 2005: Children in Batticaloa district, Sri Lanka, painted pictures to help erase painful memories of the tsunami. This picture was one of 62 such pictures exhibited at the National Gallery of Wales in 2005 to raise funds for an orphanage in the village of Kathiraveli (where many of the children lived) and the Living Heritage Trust, a local organisation which was working to support tsunami survivors in rebuilding their lives.



feedback was solicited on others' approaches to managing this dilemma, thereby encouraging an exchange of ideas and good practices on this important matter.

From 'Network' to 'Review'

The objective set out in the first issue of RPN was "to establish a link through which practitioners, researchers and policy makers can communicate and benefit from each other's practical experience and research results." At the time, in 1987, such a forum for the exchange of ideas was found to be missing, in particular because "[t]hose working for host governments, voluntary agencies and international humanitarian agencies acquire invaluable experience but are often too busy to record it; those doing research publish in places and in a style which often make their findings inaccessible or irrelevant to practitioners". RPN sought to bridge this gap. In fact, the idea of RPN had first arisen at a workshop convened by the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) and UNHCR in December 1985, which had identified "an urgent need to devise a method of rapid dissemination of information in the form of short, easy-to-read articles of common interest to those involved in refugee assistance".²

With the name change in 1998, this 'network' transformed into a forum for 'review', reflecting the word's definition as "a formal assessment or examination of something with the possibility or intention of instituting change if necessary." The range of issues which RPN/FMR has covered over 25 years of publication is far too extensive to summarise. The direct impact of these articles in affecting change on these various issues also is difficult to trace in terms of direct attribution. What is certain is that FMR poses questions – Who's in charge? (1992), Who protects refugees? (1996), Humanitarian reform: fulfilling its promise? (2007), September 11: has anything changed? (2002), When does internal displacement end? (2003), Home for good? Challenges of return and reintegration (2004) – that practitioners and researchers want to discuss, and provides a forum for a wide range of views to be voiced, exchanged, and often debated, towards advancing the search for answers.

In addition to broadening the scope of persons of concern, RPN/FMR has also often been at the forefront of acknowledging a broader set of causes of forced migration. A number of recent issues of debate about how best to respond to protecting and assisting refugees and IDPs in fact were raised within the pages of RPN/FMR years, if not decades, ahead of contemporary discourse. Natural disasters as a cause of displacement featured in the very first issue of RPN in 1987, as mentioned above; in 2005 an issue of FMR was devoted to analysis of the response to the Indian Ocean tsunami. Debate around the terminology and possible category of 'environmental refugees' was aired in RPN in 1995. Climate change and displacement was first explored in RPN in 1995 and in 2008 an entire issue of FMR was devoted to this theme. Chemical weapons attacks as a cause of displacement were discussed in RPN in 1989. Development-induced displacement was the theme of an issue of FMR in 2002.

Moreover, RPN/FMR has consistently emphasised that any review of responses to forced migration must

include attention to the specific situation, vulnerabilities and capacities of different groups of affected people: women, children and youth, older persons, and persons with disabilities. Specific attention has been given to issues of gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, sexual violence, HIV/AIDS and reproductive health.

The recurrence in RPN/FMR of certain thematic issues is noteworthy; education has been the focus of four RPN/FMR issues over the years as well as addressed in many articles in other issues of the magazine. The search for durable solutions for refugees and IDPs has been the most frequent thematic focus and a subject addressed in numerous other articles in RPN/FMR. This reflects and underscores the persistence of the challenges in how best to support refugees and IDPs to rebuild their lives.

Contemporary issues of concern often appeared years earlier in RPN/FMR. In recent years, there has been growing awareness of the need to broaden the focus of response in recognition of the fact that many – often most – refugees and IDPs live outside camps; 'Avoiding camps' was the title story of RPN 10 in May 1991; in 1998 FMR's 'People in camps' issue critically examined the emphasis on and experience in camps, and in 2009 FMR 34 focused on urban displacement. 'Partnership', which has been given renewed emphasis in recent years, for example in the Structured Dialogue on Partnership recently initiated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, provided the theme for RPN 17 in August 1994 and the role of NGOs and host states in RPN 19 in May 1995. That not only states but also non-state actors have a responsibility to protect and assist refugees and IDPs was a focus of FMR in 2008. 'The role of the military in humanitarian work' (RPN 23, January 1997) remains a topical concern, in particular in discussions about integrated missions. The question of 'Who's in charge?' posed on the cover of RPN 13 in June 1992 resonates with ongoing efforts to ensure effective response through the three pillars of the 2011 Transformative Agenda of Humanitarian Response: improved coordination, empowered leadership, and enhanced accountability, both institutionally and towards affected people. 'Accountability' – a key emphasis in contemporary discourse and ongoing reforms of the international humanitarian response system – was the focus of FMR 8 in 2000. As we approach the tenth anniversary in 2015 of the international reforms of the humanitarian system, it will be timely to return to, and reflect anew upon, the question posed by FMR 29 in December 2007: 'Humanitarian reform: fulfilling its promise?'

For now, reflecting on the past twenty-five years of RPN/FMR, it appears to this reader that FMR has remained faithful to its founding principles, and continues to live up to its name.

Erin Mooney erin.d.mooney@gmail.com has been a member of the Editorial and International Advisory Board of FMR since 2000. She is Senior Protection Adviser, UN ProCap.

1. IDP and refugee numbers from 1989-2011, IDMC, available at: <http://tinyurl.com/IDP-and-refugee-numbers>

2. *Refugee Participation Network*, Newsletter No. 1, November 1987, p. 1.



Thank you to all RPN's and FMR's donors, 1987-2013

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FMR 25th Anniversary cover images – captions, credits and links

From left to right

Top row:

1. Cover image of first issue of Refugee Participation Network newsletter, published November 1987. www.fmreview.org/RPN/01
2. Refugees from Kosovo. UNHCR/Le Moyne. FMR 5, August 1999. www.fmreview.org/kosovo
3. Kabul, Afghanistan. Shawn Baldwin. FMR 21, September 2004. www.fmreview.org/return-reintegration
4. Forced repatriation in December 2006 of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees from Tanzania at the Kagera river crossing. UNHCR/R Chalasani. FMR 35, July 2010. www.fmreview.org/disability
5. Sabine Larribeau receives a Brighter Futures Award in recognition of 'advocating for a young refugee's rights' while working with Just for Kids Law. Simona Aru. FMR 40, August 2012. www.fmreview.org/young-and-out-of-place

Second row:

6. Local transport for the UN World Food Programme in Cambodia. WFP/Jim Holmes. FMR 18, September 2003. www.fmreview.org/logistics
7. Painting by Sri Lankan child from Batticaloa district, after the Indian Ocean tsunami. FMR special issue, July 2005. www.fmreview.org/tsunami
8. IDPs in Burma. Free Burma Rangers. FMR 30, April 2008. www.fmreview.org/non-state
9. Two friends meet again in Yambio, South Sudan, following a repatriation programme. UNHCR/C Hamm. April 2007. Intended for use in FMR 28, July 2007. www.fmreview.org/capacitybuilding
10. Spanish coastguard intercepts a traditional fishing boat laden with migrants off the island of Tenerife in the Canaries. UNHCR/A Rodríguez. FMR 32, April 2009. www.fmreview.org/statelessness

Third row:

11. Gulu Disabled Persons Union, northern Uganda. Christine M Carlson, Advocacy Project Peace Fellow. FMR 35, July 2010. www.fmreview.org/disability
12. The FMR website in its four main languages – English, Arabic, Spanish and French. Some issues and articles have also been published in other languages, such as Russian, Hebrew, Burmese, Tamil, Bahasa Indonesia, Sinhala, Portuguese and Korean. www.fmreview.org/issues/additional-languages

13. Internally displaced Congolese women wait during a food distribution in Kibati, just outside the eastern provincial capital of Goma, DRC. IRIN/Les Neuhaus. FMR special issue, December 2008. www.fmreview.org/GuidingPrinciples10
14. From the cover of FMR 27. Per-Anders Pettersson. FMR 27, January 2007. www.fmreview.org/sexualviolence
15. Satellite image taken in 2006 of village of Shangil Tobay in North Darfur showing 75% destruction since earlier image taken in March 2003. DigitalGlobe Inc. FMR 38, October 2011. www.fmreview.org/technology

Fourth row:

16. Eldoret IDP camp, Kenya, January 2008. Pedram Yazdi. FMR GP10 special issue, December 2008. www.fmreview.org/GuidingPrinciples10
17. Heal Africa Transit Centre for women affected by sexual violence. IRIN/Aubrey Graham, FMR 36, November 2010. www.fmreview.org/DR Congo
18. Demobilisation ceremony, transit camp near Rumbek, southern Sudan. UNICEF/Stevie Mann. FMR 21, September 2004. www.fmreview.org/return-reintegration
19. FMR's Creative Commons licence includes three conditions: Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivatives. See www.fmreview.org/copyright for more information. You can follow FMR on Facebook and Twitter
20. After confirmation of their citizenship, Biharis in Bangladesh can now have hope of leading a normal life after decades of exclusion. UNHCR/G M B Akash. FMR 32, April 2009. www.fmreview.org/statelessness

Bottom row:

21. Sudanese refugee woman from Darfur carries firewood back to her tent in Oure Cassoni camp in eastern Chad. UNHCR/J Clark. FMR 29, December 2007. www.fmreview.org/humanitarianreform
22. Elia Kidibu, a 1972 Burundian refugee, sorting through photos as he packs his belongings for repatriation to Burundi in November 2008. UNHCR/B Bannon. FMR 33, September 2009. www.fmreview.org/protracted
23. Mugunga IDP camp outside Goma, DRC. Norwegian Refugee Council/Truls Brekke. FMR 36, November 2010. www.fmreview.org/DR Congo
24. Haiti Adolescent Girls Network. Nadia Todres. FMR 40, August 2012. www.fmreview.org/young-and-out-of-place
25. FMR 1987-2012: 25 years of sharing information, research and learning

