

# FORCED MIGRATION

# 6

December 1999

# review

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## Culture in exile



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### Special feature on culture:

- culture, welfare and identity of Karenni, Afghan and Tibetan refugees
- the role of art, music and theatre in working with displaced communities

[see pages 4 - 24](#)

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Internal displacement in Turkey, Burma and Algeria

[see page 25](#)

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Issues of the new millennium

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Updates on Burundi, Haiti and the Ombudsman for Humanitarian Accountability

[see pages 42 - 43](#)

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Launch of Global IDP Database

[see page 47](#)

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### PLUS regular features:

- conferences, debate, publications and news
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# from the editors

**Forced Migration Review** 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 three times a year in English, Spanish and Arabic by the Refugee Studies Centre/University of Oxford in association with the Global IDP Project/Norwegian Refugee Council. The Spanish translation, *Revista de Migraciones Forzadas*, is produced by HEGOA in Bilbao, Spain.

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## Forthcoming features

April 2000: Property and land issues  
August 2000: Respect and accountability

We encourage the submission of material in English, Spanish or Arabic, relating either to the special feature of each issue or to any other aspect of forced migration.

## Website

FMR articles can be accessed at [www.fmreview.org](http://www.fmreview.org) or via the Global IDP Project website at [www.nrc.no/idp.htm](http://www.nrc.no/idp.htm)

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**T**his issue includes a feature section on culture in exile, with a brief introduction by the editors on page 4. It also includes a section on the most pressing issues (relating to forced migration) of the new millennium as perceived and written about by eight individuals from different fields.



Corinne Owen

Remember that our regular Debate section is your forum for discussion of any issues arising. If you would like to discuss any aspect relating to our feature section or to challenge or support any of the 'issues of the new millennium', do please write to us at [fmr@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:fmr@qeh.ox.ac.uk) or at the address opposite. In this issue's Debate section, readers respond to FMR 5's focus on 'Learning from Kosovo'.

The next issue - FMR 7, due out in April - will include a feature section on land and property issues. Deadline for submissions for this feature: 14 February. Deadline for submission of information relating to conferences, websites, publications, research and the Debate section: 1 March.

In the August 2000 issue we will be looking at issues of respect and accountability. Deadline for articles: 15 May (but it would be preferable if potential contributors would submit ideas for articles as early as possible). Deadline for other sections: 15 June.

As you may have noticed from the front cover, the Refugee Studies Programme has changed its name to the Refugee Studies Centre. See page 39 to find out why! And it is with great regret that we have to announce that Dr David Turton, Director of the Refugee Studies Centre, will be leaving in late 2000 and that the Director's position is now being advertised. Details are given on page 39. Deadline for applications is 15 February.



On pages 40 and 47, the Global IDP Project (formerly the Global IDP Survey) announces the launch of its database and its plans for the future. Add [www.idpproject.org](http://www.idpproject.org) to your e-bookmarks now!

If you wish to access and download any articles from this FMR (or its predecessor, the RPN), visit our website at [www.fmreview.org](http://www.fmreview.org)

Thanks to further funding by the Ford Foundation, Cairo office, of the Arabic edition of FMR, we are currently establishing a regional Editorial Board with a part-time Coordinator whose job it will be to help ensure a stronger regional flavour to Nashra Al-Hijra Al-Qasriya.

And, finally, congratulations to our colleague Sharon Westlake (FMR Subscriptions Assistant) on her recent marriage - now Mrs Sharon Ellis.

With our best wishes for 2000.  
Marion Couldrey & Tim Morris, Editors

Cover photograph: Burundi, Panos Pictures/Giacomo Pirozzi

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# Introduction: culture in exile

The new millennium may inspire hope and good intentions for the future of our world but it carries with it the burden of conflicts of the past and those, inevitably, of the future. We have invited a number of individuals to write a short piece for this FMR (pp29-34), highlighting one or two issues related to forced migration which they believe need to be tackled with urgency in this, the first decade of the new millennium. Each writer urges action on issues close to their hearts and usually central to their work; some mention developments which give them hope while others find little to support optimism. The topics they discuss are all of major significance to those working with refugees and internally displaced people.

In the light of these and given the pressures on all agencies' resources - both financial and staffing - it may seem that our priorities will need to be ever more tightly focused on the most immediate needs of displaced people, such as shelter, food and protection. Yet there are other, less tangible needs at stake and in this FMR we make space for a different focus, inviting contributors to discuss the significance of art and culture for displaced communities and for those who work with them.

Freedom to express one's cultural identity can be a powerful way to maintain a community's mental and even physical health. Freedom of expression is also a right and, as our language of assistance moves from needs-based to rights-based, respect for the empowering forms of cultural expression should inform our thinking and planning.

*When people flee from the threat of death and total dispossession, the things and stories they carry with them may be all that remains of their distinctive personhood to provide for future continuity.*  
(David Parkin)

Enabling displaced people to retain "all that remains of their distinctive personhood" may be vital for their future, for their health, for holding them together as a community, and for maintaining or restoring their dignity after the trauma of exile. The first three articles focus on this aspect.



Kosovan refugee children play games in Stenkovik Camp 1, FYR Macedonia

UNICEF/HO99.0383/Mark Thomas

**Sandra Dudley**, in 'Traditional culture and refugee welfare in north-west Thailand', describes the concrete links between a refugee group's use of dress and their mental and physical wellbeing. She highlights the need for those working with displaced communities to develop greater awareness of and sensitivity towards cultural issues, in order to maximise the effectiveness of their assistance programmes. In 'Music and refugee lives', **John Baily** examines the role of music in the lives of two different groups of Afghan refugees, in Iran and California, focusing on questions of community solidarity and the continuity of traditional culture. **Clare Harris** looks at how the Tibetan refugee community, during the last 40 years, has consciously constructed a community in exile. In 'Images of exile', she describes the community's objectives in retaining certain aspects of its pre-exile traditions while rejecting others.

The next three articles move from the question of self-expression by displaced people to examining how agencies can use elements of art and culture to improve the health and wellbeing of displaced individuals and communities.

In 'The role of art in psychosocial care and protection for displaced children', **Bo Viktor Nylund**, **Jean Claude Legrand** and **Peter Holtsberg** of UNICEF analyse elements of UNICEF's programmes using

art, drama, dance and music in the psychological care and protection of displaced children. The article draws on examples from Kosovo, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Algeria, Croatia and Rwanda. This is followed by a short article by **Nazim Akhundov**, entitled 'Psychosocial rehabilitation of IDP children', which focuses more closely on using music, art, theatre and sport in working with IDP children in Azerbaijan. Lastly, **Helen Scott-Danter**, in 'Theatre for development: a dynamic tool for change', examines the role of theatre in promoting reconciliation and in helping post-conflict communities in Mozambique address their most pressing social issues.

This feature section also includes a piece on 'Cultural activities in Algahin refugee camp in Yemen' by **Liban Abdikarim**, a Somali refugee in Yemen; an extract from **David Parkin's** writing on 'Mementoes'; and part of a poem by **Joseph Abuk**.

We need to broaden our awareness of what is important for displaced people around the world. Vital though it is to erect shelters, feed families, build clinics and prevent abuses, the continuation of displaced communities' culture in its many forms is also essential and should be inextricably linked to the provision of more tangible forms of assistance.

The Editors



# 'Traditional' culture and refugee welfare in north-west Thailand

by Sandra Dudley

The effects of displacement on culture can have significant impacts on the psychological and physical welfare of individual refugees and on the social dynamics within a refugee population.

**Y**et refugees and relief agencies alike often underestimate or feel too overworked to incorporate the importance of cultural factors in assistance programmes. Potential cultural conflicts **between** refugee communities, host communities and relief agencies are of course important. Less often recognised, however, is the importance of cultural variation and tension **within** the refugee community.

This article argues that if relief agencies develop a greater awareness of cultural patterns and potential cultural conflict within as well as between communities, their assistance programmes may be more effectively and appropriately designed and implemented. The case-study discussed here focuses on the perspective of one group within a refugee population. There is not space to explore fully the perspectives of other members of that refugee population or of the relief agency, except where they impact upon the refugees concerned. My aim, however, is not primarily to criticise the NGO but rather to highlight the experience of one group of refugees. This is not an evaluation of one situation but a description of a **process**. It is partly a case-study of the significance of cultural factors in the refugee experience, and partly an attempt to address an inequality in the extent to which different perspectives (those of different sectors within a refugee population, and those of relief agencies) get aired.

## Background

This article is based on anthropological field research conducted by the author at the request of the NGO concerned during the course of wider field research

conducted in 1996-7 and 1998 with Karenni refugees living in camps on the Burmese border, in Thailand's north-western province of Mae Hong Son. Karenni people have been fleeing from Karenni (Kayah) State in eastern Burma and seeking refuge on the Thai side of the border for some years, the first significant numbers arriving in 1989. The main NGO working with the Karenni is a medical agency, responsible among other things for the training of staff for camp clinics.

In early 1996, the total Karenni refugee population was about 5,500. By the end of 1997, it had doubled to 11,000. It now stands at over 16,500.<sup>1</sup> The dramatic increase between 1996 and 1997 resulted from the arrival of new refugees in one of the Karenni camps in and after June 1996, because of 'village relocations' inside Karenni State, enforced by the Burmese army from 31 May 1996 onwards. Conditions in this camp deteriorated rapidly and great demands were placed upon space, on existing residents and the Camp Committee, on NGO staff and on Karenni medics. New refugees were arriving in poor physical states, as a result of which dysentery and malaria morbidity and mortality rates within the camp markedly increased. By late 1996, conditions had stabilised but to date smaller numbers of people, some of whom have been in hiding in the jungle for over two years, have continued to arrive.

## Diversity within the refugee community

Experiences at the hands of the Burmese army and subsequent displacement to refugee camps have thrown together

people who all originate in Karenni State but differ markedly from each other. 'Karenni' itself is an umbrella term under which a number of different ethno-linguistically self-defined groups gather. Most originate in Karenni State but otherwise show great diversity in ethnicity and language, socio-economic and educational backgrounds, religion, political awareness, and the experience of displacement itself. Displacement has not only brought greater contact with non-Karenni outsiders and the wider world but has also thrown together diverse groups who previously had less contact with, and influence upon, each other. Consequently, the effects of some Karenni groups upon others are sometimes greater than the effects of any single outside force.

The recent, post-1996 arrivals are ethnically Kayah, the majority Karenni ethnic group. The majority of the pre-existing refugee populations in two of the three main Karenni refugee camps are also ethnically Kayah. There are, however, some important differences between these groups.

Unlike many of the pre-existing refugee population, most recent arrivals cannot speak Burmese and in their villages had no access to health clinics or schools. Before crossing the border, most had apparently rarely, if ever, seen motor vehicles or foreigners. Their villages are remote, permanent hill settlements, sustained by subsistence agriculture. Most have not converted to Christianity and instead follow traditional Kayah religion and curative practices. Village-based spheres of activity and contact are small, and travel to local towns and markets is infrequent. Travel farther afield is rare indeed. Unlike the longer-staying refugees, they also (with the exception of some men) have little conception of the pan-Karenni nationalism behind the ongoing conflict between the Karenni and Burmese armies. Furthermore, many women in particular had not previously

seen other Kayah women, such as those among the longer-staying refugees, who do not dress as traditionally as they do.

### The importance of culture: traditional Kayah female dress

In their own eyes as well as in those of the mostly Christian, pre-existing refugees, these recent arrivals are 'traditional' Kayah who 'continue to do as our grandmothers and grandfathers did' while their ethnic cousins apparently do not. For insiders and outsiders alike, the most obvious emblem of this 'traditional' identity is women's clothing.

Almost all pre-existing Karenni refugee women, ethnically Kayah or otherwise, wear a sarong (reaching to mid-calf) and T-shirt or traditional tunic. It is considered improper and unfeminine to show any leg above mid-calf, or to show the chest area (except when breast-feeding). By contrast, all recently arrived Kayah women wear, or wore on arrival, a short skirt-cloth exposing knees and lower thighs, a breast-cloth exposing the back and often one breast, a head-cloth and

various ornaments, including silver ear-plugs, and many rings around the knees. The skirt- and head-cloths are always home-made, using home-grown, naturally dyed, home-spun cotton.

A traditional Kayah woman sees this dress as an extension of herself, marking her not only as Kayah but also as a woman of certain age and marital status. It is also a source of pride and marker of identity for all traditional Kayah, male and female. However, the circumstances in which they had to leave home meant that few women could bring with them spare clothes and/or cotton with which to make more. They had only the clothes they wore and, if those clothes became too worn or dirty, once in the camp the only alternative was to start wearing the ubiquitous sarong and T-shirt.

To change dress in this way, however, is distressing. Both male and female recent arrivals think traditionally dressed women very beautiful. Most importantly, immediately on arrival traditional dress, an obvious marker of difference in a situation of sudden exposure to people

who do not look or act similarly, was the only visible evidence of what and who they were and had been. All new arrivals, of either sex and whatever age, hoped women would be able to continue wearing traditional clothes but were worried this would become impossible in the camp, without cotton and without money to buy it. In 1996 especially, the inability of women to continue producing textile items in the camp directly caused much group and personal distress.

These anxieties were real enough but they were also due to dress becoming a focus for wider stresses resulting from displacement. In part, this was because the production of traditional textiles is as important as the textiles themselves: the process of weaving, like the process of farming, is as important to the integrity of Kayah culture as are its end-products. Suddenly being unable either to weave or farm, was a stressful experience that exacerbated the trauma of violent displacement itself.

### Inter-community dynamics: impacts of host communities and relief agencies

The majority still wear traditional dress but there have been numerous cases of women abandoning it and since 1996 the rate of change has increased. Women concerned feel they had no real choice in the matter and invariably are unhappy in their new sarong and T-shirt. Others' attitudes also play an important part. For example, some women changed after illness and subsequent referral to Mae Hong Son hospital. Sometimes there were practical reasons, such as illness causing weight loss and leg-rings consequently falling off (if a part of traditional dress is removed - even unintentionally, as here - the rest is also removed); but more disturbing were claims that 'doctors in the hospital don't like our clothes'. Certainly, the lack of adequate breast coverage offended Thai cultural norms and contributed to ill feeling.

Such attitudes were difficult for new arrivals to comprehend. Women felt confused and unhappy, uncertain of what was wrong. The medical NGO, while it certainly did not actively perpetuate negative attitudes, neither fully realised their impact nor actively sought to contradict them.

Indeed, in trying to address the conflict between traditional Kayah and Thai ideas of decency, the NGO inadvertently exacerbated the women's confusion. Rather than trying to discuss the matter with the women and with Thai hospital staff, they were complicit in a process whereby it was suggested to women being referred to hospital that, for their own sake, it would be easier if they were to change their dress before leaving the camp. This process was initiated by camp clinic staff, themselves members of the longer-staying, less traditional



Sandra Dudley/Richard

refugee population; that is, NGO staff did not personally suggest changing clothes but nevertheless did not engage with the clinic staff's suggestions.

At that time, the NGO was visiting the camp daily and driving sick women (and others) to hospital. Most of those women were in distressed states, not only because of their illnesses and recent experiences of violence and displacement, but also because for the first time they found themselves in both a motor vehicle and a new sort of dress (the sarong of which they found difficult to keep up). Furthermore, parents reported that when children were ill enough to require hospital referral, both NGO staff and refugee clinic workers advised that it would be easier for the father to accompany them. Such advice was geared towards minimising offence to the host community. This was understandable and expedient but it had less impact in easing the situation of newly arrived refugees.

Also problematic was a later weaving project. In 1996, given the cultural importance of traditional female dress and the anxiety caused by women's inability to continue producing it, I recommended that the relief agency consider facilitating a refugee-run weaving project among the recent Kayah arrivals. The NGO subsequently did indeed facilitate a weaving project but among members of the longer-staying community in another camp.

While this was not necessarily a deliberate decision directly to substitute a project among longer-stayers for one among new arrivals (and from the NGO's perspective there may have seemed no connection), it was nonetheless thus interpreted by and distressing for recent arrivals, particularly as they had discussed a possible weaving project of their own with NGO staff and myself. While no promises had been made to new arrivals, they felt they had been passed over and let down. The project that did get set up was certainly uncomplicated to design and implement, as NGO staff already had reasonable knowledge of and contacts within longer-staying refugee community structures. It would have been more problematic for the NGO to design a weaving project in conjunction with recent arrivals given insufficient knowledge of the new refugees' community, structures and consequent difficulties in developing good working relationships with key individuals within those struc-

tures. It appeared to the new arrivals that the NGO did not fully appreciate either the cultural significance of traditional dress and weaving, or the significance of new arrivals' reliance on their own distinct community structures. While the NGO did not conduct an evaluation of this project-versus-no-project situation, informally they later appeared to share this conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

### **Intra-community dynamics: attitudes of other refugees**

Impacts on culture equal to or greater than those of the relief agency and the host community were also generated within the refugee population itself. The pre-existing, less traditional refugee community's attitudes to the new arrivals were continually reinforced by traditional female dress. Most had seen traditionally-dressed Kayah women before but not in such large numbers. For less traditional refugees, this dress smacked of backwardness, lack of education and an un-Christian immodesty. Longer-stayers' talk about the new arrivals focused on the impropriety of traditional dress, and on what they supposed was the new refugees' ignorance of basic hygiene. Such talk became problematic as it filtered through to interactions between the two groups.

Interactions with refugee clinic staff (members of the longer-staying community, relatively well-educated and almost all Christian) were particularly influential. Even the smallest remark or unintentional hint of disapproval from these individuals could be picked up by new refugees (already in a fragile state) and cause distress. The power of these individuals inadvertently to cause distress was not surprising, given their elevated role as teachers and specialists within the community.

Most significantly from the perspective of relief agencies, these negative refugee-refugee interactions also demonstrated one way in which approaches to cultural factors can affect the success of welfare programmes. The young woman whose baby was acutely ill with dysentery but who tearfully refused to return to the clinic, because its refugee staff had told her it was her own fault for being dirty, was a particularly poignant example of the negative impact of insensitivity.

### **Conclusions**

Relief agencies play a significant part in such situations. It is to the credit of the agency concerned here that they requested the assistance of an anthropologist in understanding more about the new arrivals. Furthermore, subsequent to my research, the NGO did attempt to address clinic staff's attitudes. Nonetheless, while the agency was certainly not to blame for all the clothing-associated tensions, some of its actions exacerbated the situation. It could also have engaged more extensively with the new arrivals than it did. The situation at the local hospital, for example, and the attitudes of refugee clinic staff might have been significantly altered by a strategy of discussing issues of cultural difference and perhaps by facilitating an awareness-building programme of discursive contact between new and old refugees.

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## *cultural differences within a refugee population can cause distress*

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In essence, there was insufficient allowance for (i) the significance of cultural differences within the refugee community and (ii) the importance of culture not only in the pre-displacement past but also in the new refugees' experiences of arrival in a refugee camp and associated contacts with non-traditional Karenni, Thais and expatriate relief workers. There was (and is) slowness to explore social structures within the new refugee community or at least to engage with them to the same degree as the pre-existing population in the design and implementation of relief programmes. The effect of this was exacerbated by its contrast with (i) the relief agency's long-standing, good understanding of and engagement with longer-staying refugees and (ii) an understandable concern not to offend the host community and thus compromise working relationships developed over a long period.

Among the longer-staying refugee community, the agency works closely with those in key positions; such individuals are always, in the context of their community, highly respected, relatively well-educated, and usually Christian. Their influence would in any event have



been significant but it was further strengthened and perpetuated by the agency's reliance on them to act as go-betweens, and by the agency not fully acknowledging the potential impact of longer-stayers' negative attitudes towards the new arrivals. Here, as in the agency's concern that the Thai host community should not be offended, the agency and its partners were effectively sensitive to each other at the expense - albeit unintentional - of the less well understood new arrivals.

Certainly, agencies have to take into account political and practical considerations as well as cultural ones but they are also often in a position to facilitate mutual understanding, both between members of the refugee and host communities with whom they work closely, and within complex refugee populations. Furthermore, in examples such as the one presented here, for new arrivals and other relatively vulnerable sectors of the refugee population 'culture' is often of more immediate concern than political aspects of refugee-agency-host relationships. Refugee populations are not necessarily homogenous in either culture or needs, and cultural differences within a refugee population can cause distress as much as can differences between it and the host community and relief workers. In complex populations, especially - as here - where power, influence and mutual refugee-NGO understanding are not equally distributed, it is not sufficient to rely on good working relationships with representatives of only some sectors of the population.

In sum, cultural elements such as women's clothing may seem, on the surface, tangential to the stark reality of being a refugee but in fact they are integral to it and to associated welfare issues. As such, they should have significant influence on the design and implementation of relief programmes. Equally, increased cultural knowledge and sensitivity on the part of relief agencies can go some way towards minimising further distress (and its negative impacts on physical and psychological health) caused by cultural conflict, be it between refugees and outsiders, or within the refugee population itself.



UNHCR/26018/01, 1996/HI Davies

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1 Source: local NGO.

2 Agency area coordinator, personal communication, 1998.

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Parts of this paper first appeared in S Dudley 1997 'Recent arrivals in Karenni Camp 2: an ethnographic report', an unpublished report prepared for International Rescue Committee in Thailand, and in S Dudley 1998, 'Aspects of research with Karenni refugees in Thailand', Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research (UNESCO), 39: 165-84.

For further information on Burma, Burmese refugees and human rights abuses, visit:  
[www.ilo.org/public/english/20gb/docs/gb273/myanmar.htm](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/20gb/docs/gb273/myanmar.htm)  
[www.hrw.org/hrw/reports98/thai/](http://www.hrw.org/hrw/reports98/thai/)  
[www.freeburma.org/lokanat/index.html](http://www.freeburma.org/lokanat/index.html)  
[www.burmafund.org/](http://www.burmafund.org/)  
[www.soros.org/burma/index.html](http://www.soros.org/burma/index.html)  
[www.karen.org/](http://www.karen.org/)



## Mementoes

The great social and cultural leveller at the point of forced displacement [...] is not the nature of a refugee's national or ethnic identity [...] but whether he or she has the time to gather together enough of what is needed for practical uses as well as for perpetuating a personal and thence cultural identity.

Even under [...] conditions of immediate flight or departure, people do, if they can, seek minimal reminders of who they are and where they come from. Alongside the items to sell or use in defence *en route*, and the food, farming tools, mattresses, blankets, medicines, protective amulets, and children carried on shoulders or running alongside, are sometimes the compressed family photos, letters and personal effects of little or no utilitarian or market value. In rare instances these take precedence: thus, one man is reported as carrying nothing more than a bible, as if to indicate its importance as being greater than that of other property.

It may seem obvious and of little consequence that people about to flee should, if they can, take some small item linking them personally to their life before departure. Yet, writ large among the individuals of a fleeing and sometimes disparate population, these personal mementoes provide the material markers of templates, inscribed with narrative and sentiment, which may later re-articulate the shifting boundaries of a socio-cultural identity.

*by Professor David Parkin of the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford.*

Extracted from 'Mementoes as transitional objects in human displacement', *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol 4 (3), 1999, Sage Publications: London. (Quotation on back cover also from this article.) Website: [www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology)

## Cultural activities in Algahin refugee camp in Yemen

As a group of refugees packs their belongings, ready to be repatriated voluntarily to their homeland, a new group of refugees from Somalia arrives in trucks, guarded by a motley crew of policemen and armed militias. Battered and sometimes robbed of their valuable possessions upon arrival at the beaches, the new arrivals are released into the camp and, after a few minutes, they ask members of the existing camp population about life in the camp. They are told that many refugees choose voluntary repatriation to live in their war-torn country instead of living in an "open air jail" with limited freedom of movement, no job opportunities and a host of unspeakable abuses.

This is a scene from a play entitled 'Somalis, who is to blame for your ills?' which MIDNIMO music group staged for the Somali refugee community in Algahin refugee camp in 1998. The play

addresses the problems that forced them to flee their country in the first place and the problems they face in the new 'place of refuge'.

MIDNIMO came into being in November 1994 in order to a) introduce cultural activities for the Somali refugee community troubled by the monotony of camp life, b) raise health awareness and c) cement unity among the refugees. The group made its debut through staging health dramas, sponsored by CARE International, which contributed significantly to a health centre immunisation campaign. In addition, with the help of pupils of the camp primary school supported by Radda Barnen, MIDNIMO performed educational plays about the rights of the disabled child, with an emphasis on inclusive education for children with disabilities and children affected by war.

Despite the limited number of musical instruments available, MIDNIMO continues to entertain the Somali refugee community in Algahin camp. Recently they released a cassette of educational and health songs, played on the Somali language radio 'The voice of peace' based in Ethiopia. MIDNIMO's plays and songs have a strong emotional impact on the Somali refugee community who remember happier days and who deplore the futility of the civil war in Somalia.

*by Liban Abdikarim*

*You poets, novelists, story-tellers and playwrights,  
Wake up and arise,  
You literary treasurers;  
Folktales, songs, proverbs of your tradition,  
Poems, essays and novels of your new ways,  
Cry out to be recorded and read too.  
See how beautiful your lyrics are;  
Look at your dances  
And your dancers in their wingless  
Race into the skies!*

*From 'Prologue' by Joseph Abuk*

*Joseph Abuk lives in Juba, South Sudan. He is a Mundari elder who has recently been working for the YMCA, Sudan. Until the war disrupted all cultural activities, he was the Director of the Culture Centre in Juba which is now occupied by hundreds of IDPs.*

# Music and refugee lives: Afghans in eastern Iran and California

by John Baily

Refugee communities are often deprived of their customary means of musical expression, either because they have become separated from their musicians or from their traditional musical instruments, or due to a lack of opportunity in the host country.

This matters because of the crucial role that music-making plays in human life, such as the way it brings people together in special relationships, its capacity for emotional expression, its importance in enculturation and its role in the articulation of identity. More broadly, music not only reflects wider social and cultural processes but can also provide a means for creating, interacting with and controlling them. Music is worth investigating for its beneficial potential in dealing with life as a refugee.<sup>1</sup>

Music-making in the Afghan transnational community illustrates the principle very well. This article compares two refugee communities: in Mashad (eastern Iran) and Fremont (California). The comparison allows one to include a number of variables such as: geographical distance between countries of origin and refuge; language, religion and other kinds of cultural similarity; and prospects for the future in terms of security, employment and eventual integration. These factors are likely to have relevance for many refugee communities. In the case of Afghanistan there is an additional consideration – the banning of music by the Taliban.<sup>2</sup> This gives musical activity in the Afghan diaspora added importance, for there are no accessible archives, entertainment industry or body of expert knowledge (as used to exist at Radio Afghanistan). Afghanistan's considerable musical heritage is

now in the hands of expatriate Afghans.<sup>3</sup>

## Mashad

Historical and cultural links between eastern Iran and western Afghanistan, especially between the cities of Herat and Mashad, are very close. The Afghan refugee population in Iran is predominantly Shiah and Persian speaking. Geographical proximity has allowed Afghans to move back and forth over the last 20 years between the two adjacent areas. Most refugees live in rented private accommodation, not in refugee camps. However, their legal status is precarious and they are subject to periodic waves of arrests and forced repatriations. This gives the refugees a chronic feeling of instability and insecurity, with resulting depression and low morale.

Afghan professional musicians have certain advantages over many other refugees in that they have a skill to offer. In Pakistan in the 1980s, for example, when music was banned in the refugee camps run by mullahs, Afghan musicians operated from the musicians quarter of Peshawar and made a reasonable living playing for Pakistani patrons.<sup>4</sup> Afghan urban music is closely related stylistically to the Pashtun music of NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) and most of the musicians from Afghanistan were Pashtun speakers from the south-east of



UNHCR/26263/11, 1996/R LeMoyne

the country, especially Jalalabad. They brought to NWFP a rather 'sophisticated' version of Pashtun music, influenced by classically trained musicians in Kabul, itself an outpost of North Indian classical music. Between 1979 and 1986 music was more or less banned in Iran but things had changed by the late 1990s. In 1998 many of the professional musicians who had lived in Herat in the 1970s were located in Mashad. A few had been there for 20 years; others had recently arrived to evade the Taliban and to be able to continue to make a living from music.

The Afghan musicians in Mashad were busy in their community. As working musicians they played mainly for Afghan weddings, live music for the men's gathering being an essential ingredient for a 'proper' wedding. Not only does good music confer prestige: a long concert of music is important for structuring the

wedding party as an event, and certain ritual songs should also be performed. Thus music is an important part of that most normative of human activities: getting married according to custom.

In 1998 the Afghan musicians and actors in Mashad were well organised. With the help of Nasruddin Saljuqi and other educated Afghans, they had formed an association called Afghan Refugee Artists in Iran - Mashad. Most of these musicians were members of three family bands, and the association also included a number of actors and playwrights formerly connected with the Herat Theatre. The musicians and actors were at the heart of Herati intellectual and artistic life in Mashad. The association had organised a number of public concerts that attracted an Iranian as well as an Afghan audience, and in December 1998 they put on a big comedy show in a cinema in Mashad that ran for eight nights. The song texts being in Dari rather than Pashto made them readily accessible to Persian speakers in Iran.

Stylistically, the music was virtually identical to how it had been in Herat. This is the Afghan urban style, which originated in Kabul and reached other cities largely by radio broadcasts. The typical group consisted of a singer with a small Indian hand-pumped harmonium, tabla drums, and rubab and dutar lutes. Although the style was unchanged, there was some change of repertoire, with fewer of the light romantic popular songs of the past



John Bailly

Rahim Khushnawaz,  
Mashad

and more emphasis on serious Persian *ghazals*, especially those on religious themes, and a new interest in *qawwali*, the Sufi music from India and Pakistan. And there were new songs about Afghanistan that articulated the Afghan refugees' own aspirations.

Talking with people from UNHCR and ICRI in Tehran, it was apparent that this musical activity could be utilised in several ways. There were possibilities for community work in areas with many refugees, including camps near the border. An attempt was made to establish a music school. And it was also realised this was a way of addressing Iranians, presenting a more positive image of the Afghan refugee as someone with something to offer in the way of artistic activity.

The presence of musicians active in the refugee community means that for Afghans there is a 'life of music' which can be readily understood in terms of the following:

...the primary effect of music is to give the listener a feeling of security, for it symbolizes the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work - any or all of these personality-shaping experiences.<sup>5</sup>

Music here can be seen as having a generalised therapeutic role, helping to maintain a sense of normality and stability. Outside support organisations like UNHCR need to recognise the important role musicians play in normalisation and should provide support for their activities. In addition, given the special circumstances within Afghanistan, such agencies need to see musicians as custodians of an important cultural heritage, and as people needing special protection from forced repatriation and retribution by the Taleban.

## Fremont

Unlike Mashad which is very close to Afghanistan, Fremont is home to one of the most distant Afghan refugee communities. In the San Francisco Bay area there are an estimated 60,000 Afghans, with about 15,000 in Fremont. They are predominantly educated people from the cities of Kabul, Kandahar and Jalalabad, and many of those who came as refugees had formerly worked for Western diplomatic, educational, cultural or aid agencies before the Communist coup of 1978.

## Afghans have found it hard to adapt to life in the USA.

Fremont stands in contrast to Mashad on all the points listed above: it is geographically distant, with a different language, religion, culture, customs and laws. The community does not live in fear of forcible repatriation; to the authorities the Afghans are perhaps just another group of immigrants to be eventually integrated into mainstream American society. They appear to be relatively successful economically; there are many Afghan-owned businesses, and the community recently built itself a large mosque.

However, Afghans have found it hard to adapt to life in the USA. There is a good deal of cultural misunderstanding, and Afghans find themselves dealing with officious social service agencies which promote a fear of transgressing unheard-of US laws, especially those regarding the welfare of children. There are inter-generational differences, with young Afghans becoming very Americanized, and problems with lack of respect for the older generation. There is an obsession with what is going on in Afghanistan and with trying to understand what went wrong when the Mujahideen coalition failed to secure peace after the fall of the Communists. The local Afghan radio station, Voice of Afghanistan Radio 24 Hours, has constant phone-ins from listeners who debate the latest news. International Immigrant Services in Fremont plays an important role in monitoring the state of the community and helping individuals. A medical survey<sup>6</sup> revealed a community



with a lot of stress, mental problems, depression and a high death rate.

Among the refugees who went to the USA were a number of musicians, mostly singers, some of whom had been big stars in Afghanistan, such as Khyal, Zaland, Ferida Mahwash, Shah Wali Wali, Haidar Salim and his sister Salma. Typically, such singers were from an educated middle or even upper class urban background (in contrast to the musicians in Mashad, who were mainly from poorly educated hereditary musician families), and usually had had a strong link with Radio Afghanistan. In addition, in the USA there is a younger generation of musicians of amateur background, usually brought up in America and much influenced by American culture.

As in Mashad, the main venue for music-making is the wedding, a modernised version, like the weddings in Kabul

pre-1978, with women and men mixed together, and everyone wearing Western dress. There are also concerts in expensive function rooms like those of the Radisson Hotel in Fremont. Afghan bands in Fremont show a considerable degree of acculturation. Traditional Afghan instruments like rubab, dutar and tanbur are hard to find in the USA. The central performer remains the (solo) singer but now instruments like keyboards with their built-in drum machines, and electric pianos, are used. These can be regarded as modernized extensions of the Indian harmonium. Such bands continue to use tabla drums. The musical style has also undergone some degree of westernization, with the introduction of simple harmonic principles borrowed from Western music.

In recent years there has also developed the practice of bringing celebrated refugee musicians over from Pakistan to make protracted concert tours in the US. These tend to be master musicians from the old musicians quarter in Kabul, such as Amir Mohammad, Rahim Bakhsh and Haji Hamahang. Promoting concerts like this was an Afghan business activity in the 1970s, especially in the month of Ramadan, with concerts every night in hotels, cafes and teahouses in cities like Herat.

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## Music brings unity to the people

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The positive benefits of such concerts for the local community of Fremont are recognised by Afghan community leaders, such as Sher Ahmad, Director of International Immigrant Services. He works not only with Afghans but with many different nationalities, and so has an interesting transcultural perspective. He sees music as an integrating force, bringing members of the community together and serving to maintain Afghan culture and identity. As he told me:

“Music brings unity to the people, old and young together, and helps us not to lose our identity. We Afghans have some differences but the concerts are the only times when we forget about everything. All people from different parts, different sects, we come and buy our tickets and go to the concerts”.

In his view, some immigrant communities that have invested in maintaining their cultures have benefitted greatly; the Afghans have not managed to do this very well,

to which he attributes some of their health problems. He believes that music could provide a therapeutic role for individuals and tells the following anecdote to make the point. Two years earlier the singers Naghma and Mangal were over from Pakistan. One night they were invited to Sher Ahmad's home. Among the guests was the distinguished elderly Afghan historian and journalist Gol Ahmad Karzai, a great music lover. After dinner the musicians asked to play for him, and they performed till two in the morning. Karzai was so weak when he arrived that he had to be supported by two people; when he left he was walking on his own feet. Anyone familiar with the use of music therapy in palliative care in the West will find this a familiar example of the restorative power of music.

In recognition of the important role of music, International Immigrant Services has done what it can to establish a traditional Afghan music course to teach tabla and harmonium. They have secured the services of Ustad Asif Mahmood, a master musician from Kabul, normally resident in London. He stays in Fremont for extended periods to run Afghan music classes. Sher Ahmad's view is that great musicians are dying every day and if new ones are not trained, Afghan music will disappear.

If only a few learn how to do it now, they can pass it on to others.

There may well be an element of wishful thinking here. Communities like Fremont which are far from Afghanistan need an expert assessment of their musical needs and how these are best served. The attempted preservation of 'traditional music' is unlikely to be effective in the long run. Musicians in Fremont need support and recognition for establishing a music that is both modernized and westernized, yet which remains distinctly Afghan. This should help them in forging a new Afghan-American identity.

## Conclusions

Afghan music in Mashad and Fremont shows two rather different roles for music in refugee life. Spatially and culturally proximate, Iran provides a temporary safe haven for a refugee population that will in all likelihood return to Afghanistan, if albeit on a new basis of periodic sojourning to maximise benefits. Music here seems to be all about normalization, reassurance, ticking over, keeping things going through difficult times for a brighter future at home. In the USA, Afghan refugees have perhaps woken up to the probability that they are not going home and that they have got to make the most of what they have in America. Music provides one means through which to create a new identity as permanent citizens, as well as providing therapeutic experiences at individual and community levels.

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1 Reyes Adelaida *Songs of the Caged and Songs of the Free*, 1999, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

2 By music the Taleban mean the sounds of musical instruments, either alone or accompanying the human voice. Unaccompanied song is not classified as 'music'. The Taleban condone and broadcast on Radio Shariat (formerly Radio Afghanistan) recitation of The Holy Koran and various kinds of religious singing, including songs in Pashtu with religious texts and what can be identified as folksong-like melodies.

3 This musical heritage is a complex matter, bringing together elements of musical practice from several regional ethnic groups, with a strong input of North Indian classical music and music theory.

4 As shown in the film *Amir: An Afghan refugee musician's life in Peshawar, Pakistan* (Baily J, 1985, London: Royal Anthropological Institute).

5 Lomax A 'Folk song style', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, 61 (6):927-954.

6 Lipson, J G and Omidian P *Afghan Community Health Assessment San Francisco Bay Area*, 1993, California: Dept of Health Services.

### Music of the East Timorese in Lisbon

East Timorese refugees in Lisbon have for 25 years maintained their distinct music culture (itself a mixture of indigenous and western elements imported by Portuguese colonisation) as a way of articulating their social and cultural identities, expressing their solidarity with the struggle in East Timor, and addressing the Portuguese host community about the problems confronting the ex-colony. In the recent crisis, Goldsmiths graduate student Maria Manuel Silva reports a dramatic increase in musical activity in Lisbon, with several more musical ensembles established and an increase in the number of performances. These groups perform with traditional musical instruments and dance costumes, using both song texts in Tetun and poetry in Portuguese. These groups make great efforts to improve the standard of performance of the traditional repertoire, which they see as a powerful way to display their special identity as a people and a nation.

### Music of Iraqi Jews in Israel

Although not forced migrants in the conventional sense, the Jewish population of Baghdad, and Iraq in general, suffered many of the experiences of refugees after their migration to Israel in 1950-51, following pogroms in Baghdad and Basra (1941) and increasing anti-Jewish measures in Iraq. Goldsmiths graduate Dr Sara Manasseh reports a very high level of musical activity among the older generation in this community, with frequent concerts and trips to the Red Sea and other resorts, where they enjoy the Arab music of 50 years ago. The Iraqi community is fortunate in that many of the outstanding traditional musicians in Baghdad were Jewish, constituting an important source of musical expertise which the community can draw upon today. This musical activity is inward directed, helping to maintain a distinct Iraqi Jewish cultural heritage, and arguably providing continued therapy for the traumas of the past.

# Imagining home: the reconstruction of Tibet in exile

by Clare Harris

Since 1959 when the 14th Dalai Lama escaped from Tibet, more than 130,000 Tibetans have followed him into exile.

This unprecedented mass migration of Tibetans is the result of an ongoing conflict between Tibet and the People's Republic of China (PRC) over questions of political autonomy and cultural self-determination. Tibetans continue to follow their spiritual leader into exile due to a fear of persecution and the ongoing repression of Tibetan religion and culture within what the Chinese government calls the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the People's Republic. This article analyses the reasons why cultural matters have been given a high priority by a particular group of refugees and demonstrates the ways in which Tibetans have asserted their sense of communal identity and agency through the built environment and images.

## Education for the next generation

Like all refugees, Tibetans live in the hope of return to their homeland but in his first year in exile the Dalai Lama recognised that this aspiration might not be immediately fulfilled. From the start he emphasised the need to reconstruct the monastic institutions of Tibet in exile, to preserve cultural traditions and to educate the younger generation in Tibetan values.

In the year when the first refugee school was founded at Mussoorie in northern India (1962) he wrote: "It is even harder for children than for adults to be uprooted and taken to an entirely different environment... We had to do something drastic to preserve their health - and their education was also a

matter of great importance. We know that our children in Tibet are being snatched away from their parents and being brought up as Chinese Communists, not as Tibetan Buddhists... So in the next generation, the children in India may be very important people, a nucleus of the peaceful religious life we wish to retain."<sup>1</sup> In order to meet this challenge he set about acquiring land from the government of India and funding from NGOs. Most importantly, many of the projects established all over India incorporated a cultural component designed to assist in the process of enculturation. In general it could be argued that this culture-specific agenda has played a major role in shaping what, after 40 years, must be considered to be a very successful refugee community.

## The image of Tibet in exile

For the frontispiece to his manual for aspiring Tibetan painters, the exiled artist Gega Lama designed an image of Tibet that placed it at the centre of the world.<sup>2</sup> This depiction of the vacated homeland demonstrates the pride that Tibetan exiles derive from the global awareness of Tibetan culture and their hope that Tibetan Buddhist values, pre-eminently embodied in the figure of the 14th Dalai Lama, will spread far and wide. However, it also suggests the impact of the sense of loss and displacement that accompanies the 'virtual social identity' of refugees, an identity whose core element is "the root of their troubles - they leave home because of who they are".<sup>3</sup> Thinking about the Tibet they have been forced to abandon

unifies Tibetan exiles in the face of challenges to their ethnic and political identity and confirms the idea of an originating source in which their cultural roots may be replenished.

However, the delineation of the historic Tibetan homeland, which appears on many of the publications, T-shirts, posters and books of the exile community, also has a more explicitly political function as an icon of neo-nationhood. The shape of the land 'Tibet' has taken on an iconic status, instantly recognisable to exiled Tibetans and their supporters world-wide, as confirmation that an independent Tibet existed and covered a section of the globe as large as Western Europe. It is essential that the exiles remember and depict the 'Tibet' that was taken over by the Chinese - beginning in 1950 and fully effected by 1959 - and that they continue, despite the ravages of Chinese colonialism, to imagine it in a state of unity with fixed boundaries. Gega Lama has created an icon of the nation that Tibetans dream of while they are forced to make Tibet anew in other locations.

### Reconstruction of pre-exile traditions

Creating exilic Tibet was initially a matter of dealing with the brute facts of physical survival in host countries, particularly India, which is given due prominence in Gega Lama's mapping of the Tibetan local-to-global nexus. The so-called 'capital-in-exile', at Dharamsala in Himachal Pradesh (India), which contains the exile government, monastic institutions and the home of the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, has been the primary location in and from which the self-conscious reconstruction of pre-1959 'traditions' has been executed.

An exilic elite of religious figures and artists, writers, performers and musicians has been at the forefront of the promotion of what is in fact an invented tradition of what it means to be Tibetan after 1959: an invention defined in terms of the imagined communities of Tibetan Buddhism and neo-nationalism. Within and without the elite, Tibetan exiles refer to themselves as  *nangpa*  or



Buddhist 'insiders', a term which emphasises their membership of a community of Tibetan Buddhists and in which pre-exilic regional and sectarian identities have been subsumed for the sake of social and political survival. The  *nangpa*  sense of Tibetan-ness is reflected in cultural style and the dream of redrawing Tibetan nationhood is therefore depicted by Gega Lama in the hand of an artist gripping a (Tibetan-style) brush whose point touches on the hem of the seated Shakyamuni Buddha as he makes the earth-touching gesture. The preservation-in-practice ethos of the Dalai Lama and the exile government has meant that the connection between the Tibetan homeland and the global community into which the refugees have been displaced is mediated through the Buddha and the Tibetan painter; a religio-cultural definition of what it is to be Tibetan has been given priority and painting is recognised as one of the primary signifiers of exilic identity.

In exile,  *thangka*  (religious scroll paintings) remain empowering within Tibetan Buddhist practice and as markers of important life-events. They continue to have a role when commissioned for the commemoration of the dead, to aid good rebirth, to tell tales of the Buddha and

bodhisattvas, to gain merit and occasionally to assist in meditation and visualisation and so on as they did in pre-1959 Tibet. Yet images made by Tibetan exiles (and not just  *thangka*  paintings) also provide recognisable proof of Tibetan identity, the tangible evidence of difference and cultural distinctiveness from the new local context. This is most markedly the case for public images such as murals in the new monasteries and temples of Dharamsala or government sponsored buildings such as the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives where the detailed painting of architectural features dresses the concrete frame in Tibetan style.

### Aims of reconstruction

There are three main aims behind the official agenda.

1. Firstly, it enables exiles to represent exilic Tibet within the host community of India and the wider world. The built environment is the primary focus for marking refugee spaces as Tibetan. Even in the first decade of exile, orphanages such as those at the Tibetan Homes Foundation in Mussoorie, UP, India, were designed according to the principles of Tibetan architecture. In the staging of 'authentic' Tibet in dance, opera and theatre productions, images of the homeland frequently provide the backdrop, with the Potala Palace the favoured imagined location.
2. The second role for images refers to the need to educate the generations growing up in exile and to provide them with appropriate imagery for the new conditions. Some of these images are explicitly didactic but the majority are designed to ensure that the visual world in which refugee children grow up informs them of their culture and religion. Hence at the Tibetan Homes Foundation each home was provided with a simple image of the Buddha for their communal space.
3. Finally, there is a deep consciousness of recent history and the need to counteract the destruction of



Buddhist images in Tibet and the Chinese depiction of Tibet. As Gega Lama's mapping of exile shows, a sharp demarcation must be made between Tibet and China. For exiled image-makers, drawing the lines of difference has been an essential political task and making an image in 'Tibetan' style is thus a statement of resilience and resistance.

The implementation of these three aims has meant that the image of Tibet which is reconstructed in exile is envisaged in terms of the past and the traditional. Since for exiles 'tradition' refers to all that went before the disastrous break of 1959, its appeal is powerful within a process of psychological and cultural retrieval.

The majority of exilic images appear to recreate traditional artistic styles and techniques but an undifferentiated notion of tradition conceals the debates and dilemmas which underpin them. Works which for non-Tibetans may conform to a transparent category of traditional Tibetan art which has simply been preserved and relocated are often

the result of a selectivity exercise in which one historic style has been accorded the equivalent of state patronage. Broadly speaking the religious and preservative ethos of Dharamsala places high value on pre-1959 styles of painting while the politics of representation in that place has meant that other aspects of the history of Tibetan culture have to be negated. Hence the question of exactly how Tibetan exilic images should be designed - that is, in which style - is a matter of consequence, not merely of connoisseurship, in the Dharamsala art-world. In the 1970s, a debate over an important public commission demonstrated that, in their adoption or rejection of certain styles, refugee painters are seen to inscribe a political narrative; for just as there is no such thing as an 'innocent eye', there is no innocent brush. Those who wield the brush are required to demonstrate, both in their works and lives, that their Tibetan-ness is legitimate and authentic.

The continuation of Tibetan cultural practices in exile has therefore largely been entrusted to those who were born in Tibet and who had firmly established

reputations prior to making the journey into exile. The artists within this group are viewed by other Tibetan exiles as an endangered, and therefore extremely precious, species. Their knowledge, determined by years of physical presence in Tibet, means that they are perceived as cultural repositories with an embodied authenticity which the younger generation can only hope to emulate.

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This article is an edited extract from *In the Image of Tibet* (published by Reaktion Books, London), a study of the role of visual culture in Tibetan communities after 1959.

For further information on the culture of Tibet, visit the website of the Tibetan Government in exile at [www.tibet.com](http://www.tibet.com) and the list of links at [www.tibet.org/sft/culturallinks.htm](http://www.tibet.org/sft/culturallinks.htm)

1 Dalai Lama *My Land My People*, 1962.

2 Gega Lama *The Principles of Tibetan Art*, 1983.

3 D De Vos 'The Refugee Problem', *Tibet Journal*, Vol XX, 1981.

Women performing a dance from Central Tibet in front of the Nmgyl Temple



Clare Harris

# The role of art in psychosocial care and protection for displaced children

by Bo Viktor Nylund,  
Jean Claude Legrand and Peter Holtsberg

The psychosocial care and protection of children affected by armed conflict and displacement are extremely important components of humanitarian action.

This is recognized by Article 39 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which deals with the child's right to psychological recovery and social reintegration of the child victim of armed conflict. In recent years emphasis has increasingly been on providing activities for children to create a safe and 'normal' environment, rather than focusing on psychological analysis and treatment.<sup>1</sup>

UNICEF's policy has also developed similarly: that is, towards the need to build an environment conducive to the child's recovery and reintegration. This includes providing education for children but also organising other forms of activities, including facilities for play and artistic activities. Child development is a complex dynamic process that involves growth and change at many levels. Avenues have to be found by which normal development flow can be re-established for children who have experienced trauma. One such avenue that UNICEF has found extremely successful has been the use of art, including drama, music, puppetry and drawing.

Displaced children - in particular internally displaced children - are among those who suffer most. While there is a regime to cover refugees, internally displaced people (IDPs) still have to rely on *ad hoc* arrangements and coordination among agencies and NGOs for a response to their rights and needs. Since there are no international legal instruments on the rights of IDPs and no

single agency in charge of assistance and protection programmes, IDPs tend to fall through the cracks. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement<sup>2</sup> provide certain guidelines but have little focus on children.

This article examines UNICEF's recent experiences in using art in psychosocial care and protection programmes for displaced children, and identifies some key lessons learned. In the context of this article, 'protection' encompasses "all activities aimed at obtaining full respect for the rights of the individual in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the relevant bodies of law"<sup>3</sup>. We are thus not necessarily speaking of physical protection but understand protection as a broader concept. It is also important to note that UNICEF is not doing this alone but is working with local and international NGOs and government authorities, be it Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka, Radda Barnen in Sudan or the Ministry of Labour in Afghanistan.

## Structure for implementation

In implementing psychosocial programmes UNICEF tries to utilise existing structures, such as schools, centres for youth, child-care and social services, or health centres. One such example comes from Algeria:

*...there are many children in the most affected areas who are suffering trauma and who are in need of psychological care and protection. UNICEF implements*

*a programme together with government ministries and NGOs with the goal of addressing the psychosocial condition of the children suffering from trauma. The implementation of this project ... is facilitated by the fact that the social safety net is in good condition, and the social services well-developed and functioning. Activities include group play, sports and cultural activities such as art, drawing, theatre and establishment of recreational parks.*

The school structure is critical, since it fulfils two functions: it addresses the need for normalcy and a sense of stability for children, and it provides a forum for reaching children through the use of art. Schools play a key role, and teachers and educators are trained to be able to deal with these issues, identify children at risk and help the children:

*Given the importance of formal education in Sri Lanka, enrolling displaced and returnee children in classes is a high priority for IDP families. UNICEF Sri Lanka has recognised that many of these re-enrolled students are still deeply affected by the conflict, and that teachers are in a unique position to observe students facing adjustment difficulties. UNICEF has initiated training programmes for primary school teachers to help recognise signs of psycho-social needs in IDP children, and to guide appropriate interventions or referrals.<sup>4</sup>*

UNICEF's Albania initiative to create 'child friendly spaces' in 1999 was important in a situation where there is no existing infrastructure. One objective was to provide integrated basic services for children and mothers, in line with their age and needs, such as baby care, pre-school, primary school, recreational activities, counselling, psychosocial support, basic health and nutrition



Children paint their new reality, Tuzla, Former Yugoslavia.

education in the same physical location. Child participation in the selection and implementation of activities proved to be one of the key factors of success of this initiative.

### Restoring normalcy

After exposure to overwhelming, life-threatening events, children all over the world manifest emotional distress through some form of behavioural change, developmental delay or disturbance. In such situations, the essential premises for healthy development are threatened.

Psychosocial programming consists of structured activities designed to advance children's psychological and social development and to strengthen protective factors that limit the effects of adverse influences. Re-establishing a stable family life and a sense of normalcy is crucial. Familiar routines create sense, purpose and meaning, and allow children to start functioning again as fully as possible. Providing children with nurturing opportunities for expression is also essential. Children need appropriate vehicles to tell their stories and to be heard and acknowledged. This is where artistic

activities offer a number of advantages:

- ▶ They allow children to deal with their past. Art allows the child to remove him/herself from the spotlight of the situation. Through activities promoting their direct expression or even being spectators of performances played in front of them, children are offered a means to mediate their own emotions and feelings. This also allows them to realize that what is happening to them is also happening to others.
- ▶ They allow children to deal with their present. Developed in a culturally appropriate environment, art activities create opportunities for organized non-violent activities aimed at facilitating communication and interaction among peers. These activities keep children away from other more harmful activities, including drug abuse, recruitment as child soldiers, and sexual exploitation.
- ▶ They allow children to deal with their future. The performances open up closed doors within the child, unleashing emotions which they have been forced to hold back. Over time, psy-

chosocial activities instil in the children a sense of hope for themselves by allowing and encouraging them to tell their story and, by so doing, putting the event into perspective. Thus, it allows the child to continue life and start looking positively at the future.

### Forms of art used to address psychosocial care and protection

Art is effective for several reasons:

- ▶ It provides a way for sensitive issues to be addressed in a way which is affirmative and easily accessible by children.
- ▶ Through the use of art it is possible to reach children on their level, since art can be whatever the spectator/performer wants it to be.
- ▶ It allows children to express themselves and to articulate their feelings - feelings that would otherwise be internalised for reasons such as fear and confusion concerning their situation. It is a way to end isolation of traumatised and displaced children.<sup>5</sup>



The role of culture is central for psychosocial programming. Culturally-grounded interventions will take into consideration and respect those beliefs and practices which constitute the framework of local socialisation practices. Local communities have developed over centuries a wealth of indigenous psychosocial resources in response to the daily challenges posed by crises. These cultural resources may include traditional patterns of child rearing, rites of mourning, rituals for healing, norms of caring for children and ceremonies of cleansing; artistic expressions such as dance, songs, music and body painting are essential vehicles for the healing means developed by this culture.

Every culture has its own form of art with which to articulate and express feelings. This facilitates the use of art as a way of reaching children, since the mechanisms are already in place. However, art must be used very delicately and with extreme caution. Cultural awareness and sensitivity are important. If something is presented to children, they need to be able to relate to the characters and gestures. It is also important that what is being taught to the children is reinforced by the adults and the institutions around them.

### Drawing and painting

Through painting, children can express emotions which are too difficult to express verbally, and other people can see what they are feeling. As with performances, these forms of art also show the children that there is more to life than what is happening to them right now.

In Croatia, the pre-school and primary school systems were used to help children who had experienced the war in the Balkans and who had been displaced by it. The Let's Help Them Grow Project involved organising and educating teachers and providing them with the necessary facilities and materials, and the Step by Step to Recovery Project involved using art therapy to help parents and children articulate and express their emotions. UNICEF has improved the education system, crucial in helping children traumatised by war and displacement, through a three-level process:

1. direct help for the children themselves
2. indirectly helping the children through administering support to



UNICEF/94-0876/Roger LeMoyné

their teachers and parents (in particular, to enable a better understanding of the impact of violence on children, to raise awareness and understanding of the importance of communicating with children)

3. through public information and campaigns to convey messages on positive schooling and upbringing

### Dance and music

The non-verbal communication involved in playing music, dancing and performing pantomimes represents a way of communication which children used before they were able to speak, and therefore is a very creative tool, both for the child to express him/herself and for adults to communicate with children. Moreover, it is easy to create and perform art in terms of economic cost. Gestures and sounds can be used, and simple outfits and costumes can be created using everyday items and material.

### Drama

Performing, wearing costumes and playing with puppets present children with

the freedom to act out their emotions under the guise of being someone or something else. Drama can also be used as a form of entertainment in which children are mainly participants yet involved in a theme that is important to them:

*In the refugee camps which were set up across the border from Kosovo in the neighbouring countries of Albania and Macedonia, theatre groups from other countries were invited by UNICEF in order to bring something different into the refugee camps, apart from the tense waiting and the struggle to retain one's dignity which characterised their daily lives. The theatre groups worked together with the psychologists in the camps in order to make the children want to express themselves. The effect was very positive. Although the camps were still there, and the political situation remained the same, the children of the camps were given a chance to be ordinary, to be spectators for once, as opposed to being followed and observed by the world through the media.<sup>5</sup>*

## Challenges in using art in psychosocial programmes

Many critics of psychosocial programmes feel that spending money and resources on abstract things such as the psychosocial wellbeing of children, although important, is a luxury which cannot be justified. Moreover, many contend that the only way in which the children can recover is by improvement of their economic surroundings. The cost of psychosocial rehabilitation for children, however, is extremely small when compared to that of other expenditures, and the benefits can be enormous for the child.

It is difficult to show tangible results of psychosocial programmes and therefore difficult to evaluate them. Furthermore, as many psychosocial programmes are part of a preventive strategy, the results of the intervention will not be noticed. It is also necessary to recognize that the use of art in psychosocial programmes will not always be successful and that it will not be the best method for all children. However, this argument should be weighed against the child's right and need to play and interact with other children.

Some critics also refer to the use of art as a Western concept and say that there may be other culturally more appropriate or relevant interventions for psychosocial support. It is important to remember that psychosocial programmes using art are not an end in themselves, and that taking into account the local culture and the views of the target population will be a useful part of a checklist to ensure an appropriate and useful intervention.

## Two-tiered strategy

For UNICEF the reasoning is simple. In a human rights-based approach to programming, due regard must be given to the full spectrum of children's rights. UNICEF aims to:

1. provide appropriate social services across all the sectors to reach and support children at risk and
2. put in place targeted initiatives to reach disadvantaged children who are missed by or left out of mainstream programmes.

Targeted interventions include the 'El Retorno de la Alegria' programme in Colombia. In this situation, mobile teams

go up the River Atrato to carry out psychosocial programmes with children who otherwise would not be reached. Simply supporting infrastructure would not address the special protection needs of children in urgent need of psychosocial care and protection. Experience also shows that systems change slowly, and the earlier one is able to intervene, the better.

## Building capacity through and involving adolescents in psychosocial programmes

Learning from many years' involvement in the design of psychosocial care and protection, UNICEF has increasingly put emphasis on compliance with humanitarian principles, including the principle of involving local communities and building capacity for purposes of sustainability. An example of this has been the involvement of the IDP community in the design and delivery of programmes in Colombia:

*...leaders for therapeutic games and recreational activities, [including puppetry, singing and dancing] - an important component of El Retorno - were recruited from among the [adolescent] internally displaced, and 'production groups' were formed among IDPs to produce shoulder bags, toys and other programme material. Training materials for El Retorno de la Alegria included a 'Volunteer's Manual' that empowered IDP adolescents by providing basic instruction in early childhood development, and that continually emphasised the essential role of family and community structures to the child's well-being. Community volunteers, moreover, were asked to share their experience and training with other displaced or returnee communities, enhancing their status and self-esteem. Of particular note, numbers of displaced teenagers were recruited as leaders of play groups, providing these adolescents with an important anchor to the community at a time of considerable stress in their own lives.<sup>8</sup>*

## Key lessons learned

- ▶ Psychosocial programmes should be implemented through existing structures wherever those structures exist. Where there are no structures, or where structures are weak, it may be necessary to establish certain areas for women and children where psycho-

social care and protection are looked at in a holistic manner.

- ▶ Psychosocial care and protection allow children to deal with their past, present and future. They are necessary for restoring normalcy and focusing on more than just the material needs of children.
- ▶ Art (in many different forms) has proved a successful form of psychosocial care and protection and this is becoming an increasingly important aspect of humanitarian action.
- ▶ Children have a right to psychosocial care and protection, and these programmes are necessary for the recovery of society as a whole. It is not enough simply to support infrastructure. Targetted programmes are needed in order to ensure that psychological recovery and social reintegration can take place.
- ▶ Psychosocial programmes must include an element of involving the beneficiaries and building capacity. In this way not only will the programmes *per se* be beneficial to children but their actual implementation will also bring benefits to the community.

**The authors all work at the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors, and are not necessarily shared by UNICEF or the UN.**

For specific information relating to issues raised in this article, visit:  
[www.unicef.org/emerg](http://www.unicef.org/emerg)  
[www2.essex.ac.uk/c&acu/](http://www2.essex.ac.uk/c&acu/)  
[www.warchild.org](http://www.warchild.org)  
[www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/](http://www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/)

1 See report from Inter-regional Programming Workshop on Psychosocial Care and Protection; contact UNICEF, Child Protection Section, 3 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA.

2 UN Document E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2 of 11 Feb 1998.

3 The purpose of protection was defined at the Third Workshop on Protection for Human Rights and Humanitarian Organizations, hosted by ICRC, Geneva, 18-20 Jan 1999.

4 'Mission to Sri Lanka with a View to Develop Field Practice in Internal Displacement', UNICEF Office of Emergency Programmes 1998; also available on website at [www.unicef.org](http://www.unicef.org).

5 See Macksoud M *Helping Children Cope with the Stresses of War - A Manual for Parents and Teachers*, UNICEF 1993.

6 Caddell A 'The Healing Power of the Arts', UNICEF Information Bulletin 1999, Macedonia.

7 Cantwell N 'Starting from Zero - The Promotion and Protection of Children's Rights in Post-Genocide Rwanda (July 1994 - December 1996)', UN.

8 'Mission to Colombia with a View to Develop Field Practice in Internal Displacement'; available at [www.unicef.org](http://www.unicef.org).

# Psychosocial rehabilitation of IDP children: using theatre, art, music and sport

by Nazim Akhundov

In any group of IDP children, there will be children who require psychotherapeutic interventions and children who need only social and educational rehabilitation.

**D**ividing them - setting apart problematic children in front of the whole community - is not advisable. On the other hand, setting up only social activities, leaving psychologically severely traumatized children without due attention, is wrong. This article summarizes the central elements of a programme of psychosocial rehabilitation for IDP children in Azerbaijan from 1995 to 1999, implemented by the Norwegian Refugee Council with BUTA Children's Humanitarian Foundation, an Azerbaijani NGO. The methodology balances the 'therapeutic' and the 'social' elements of normal psychosocial rehabilitation, avoiding division and involving children in theatre, art, sport and music.

## Methodology

The major principle is 'restoration of the child's world' and the cornerstone of this is the child's need for play. This implies also working with parents, teachers and the elderly, to re-establish intracommunal, intrafamilial and interpersonal relationships.

The children may participate in one of four 'sections': theatre, art, sport or musical folklore. Depending on the motifs and game scenarios, the level and the focus of intervention shifts from medical-psychological to the educational with an emphasis on children's rights. Each child chooses his/her preferred section and because of this element of free choice, the children and the community as the whole interpret their

participation not as medical treatment but as part of creative, play activities.

### 1. Theatre

This section has roots in common with G Moreno's method of psychodrama.<sup>1</sup> The difference is, however, that children do not re-enact their own experiences and problems. Instead, indirect intervention into problems takes place. Psychiatrists and psychologists individualize and adapt well-known fairy-tales and legends for the 'child-actors'. The lives of the characters, their experiences and behaviour and, what is also important, the ways in which they solve their problems are very close to the lives of the IDP children.

### 2. Art

The methodology applied in the art section is based on art therapy; adaptation lies in the selection of themes. At first, in the 'diagnostic period', children are offered a free theme for drawing. Very often, children illustrate their traumatic experiences. Following this, children are asked to draw pictures with completely different themes, such as 'my worst day' (one drawing) and 'my best days' (three to four drawings). After several lessons, children are once more asked to draw on a 'free' topic. After several such free topics, the number of children who reflect their traumatic experiences in their drawing decreases considerably. It is important to ensure that, after actualization takes place during the drawing process, the children are then directed

towards something good, kind and positive, either recollecting it from the past or transferring it to the future.

### 3. Music

Musical folklore appeals to the age-old mechanism of music's complex psychophysical effect (music, text and rhythm). To a certain degree, these effects are predictable, stereotyped and leave less space for individualized associations. Each lesson starts with songs with a sad component (10-15 per cent of the time); then songs with more neutral content (up to 20-25 per cent); and at the end come songs and dances with an optimistic, happy component (60-70 per cent).

### 4. Sport

Sport yields less possibility for directed intervention into children's psychogenic problems but has more impact on behavioural problems. In general, this section uses team sports such as relay race competitions; the results are improved emotional health, rehabilitation and interpersonal relationships. The games also create favourable conditions for addressing personal characteristics such as withdrawal, egocentrism, depression and frustration.

## Application

This method of complex mass psychosocial rehabilitation of IDP children can be applied on three different levels with the use of various specialists:

**Level 3:** This involves two specialists: a psychiatrist (or psychologist) and a professional group leader whose background corresponds with the section profile (theatre producer, artist, etc). The psychiatrist designs a play scenario for the work of the section; the group leader implements this plan, making it



attractive and interesting for children. Medical-psychological, social and to a lesser extent pedagogical interventions are applied.

**Level 2:** This involves one psychiatrist (or psychologist) and four to eight social workers. The latter are trained in the basics of intervention methodology. The work of the psychiatrist is confined to 'difficult' children and supervision of the social workers. (A common mistake is a tendency on the part of the social workers to focus on either the most talented or the most deprived children.) Mainly social-pedagogical and to a lesser extent medical-psychological types of interventions are applied.

**Level 1:** This involves social workers only, though they still require training. Intervention is implemented on the social-pedagogical and, to a much lesser extent, the medical-psychological level (mild neurotic reactions spontaneously decrease).

What level to choose will depend on the following:

- stage of psychosocial rehabilitation
- occurrence of psychogenic disturbances among children
- availability of psychiatrists/psychologists with experience in group psychotherapeutic and rehabilitation work and familiarity with the ethnic and regional environment in question
- financial resources

### Results assessment

Assessment should indicate:

- whether the work brings tangible benefit
- which types of psychosocial assistance and interventions are the best with

the different groups and ethnic-cultural compounds of IDPs (children, elderly, women, urban, rural, etc)

- which types of psychosocial assistance are the most suitable in the work on different stages of displacement
- which activities social workers should choose in order to bring maximum benefit to IDPs

We would like to comment on the statement in the article by Anica Mikus Kos and Sanja Derviskadic-Jovanovic<sup>2</sup> that "...time is the most important healer. The state of mental health and psychosocial functioning improve in the majority of children without psychosocial intervention". Our experience does not support this statement. Comparative evaluation of the children who took part in our activities and those excluded from them shows a significant difference among them.

### Lessons learned

- Psychosocial rehabilitation, especially with children, should be done as a combination of both the therapeutic and the social, based on examination.
- Depending on the presence and character of psychotrauma and the individual reactions of children, there should be a range of psychosocial activities in the following sequence: from medical-psychological and social-pedagogical to purely social and educational (extracurricular education).
- All these activities can be organised attractively and educationally for children through games in 'sections'. This avoids creating prejudices. Many people in our culture, as well as in many others, still think that accepting any type

of assistance with a 'psycho' word in it implies one is crazy.

- Intervention through games attracts children in large numbers and allows them to interact in mixed groups.
- Freedom of choice of section by children tends to ensure the most suitable type of activity and therefore the most appropriate form of intervention for each child.
- Depending on needs and resources, psychosocial rehabilitation can be done by the combined team of psychiatrists (psychologists) and social workers or alternatively by the trained social workers.
- Of key importance in the three levels of psychosocial rehabilitation is the training of social workers from among the inhabitants of the camp, transferring to them the role of 'rehabilitationist'.

Based on fieldwork experience and the results of examination, we came to the conclusion that the best way to progress in psychosocial rehabilitation is to move from the medical-psychological complex to activities with purely social-pedagogical and educational components. All this should be done with the same group of children, in the same community, especially if their life in the camps spans a long period of time.

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BUTA is currently preparing a book including the main principles of the above methodology plus concrete recommendations about standardized games for use in interventions. Contact BUTA at Najaf Narimanov St, 5A, Apt 17, Baku, Azerbaijan. Tel/fax: +994 12 627432. Email: nazim@intrans.az

<sup>1</sup> Moreno J.L. *The Essential Moreno: Writings on Psychodrama, Group Method and Spontaneity*, 1987, Springer Publishing Co. ISBN 0826-15820X.

<sup>2</sup> *Forced Migration Review*, issue 3, December 1998, pp4-7. See [www.fmreview.org](http://www.fmreview.org) or email the Editors for details.



IDP Camp CI, Sabirabad region, Azerbaijan

BUTA/NIRC

# Theatre for development: a dynamic tool for change

by Helen Scott-Danter

*A group of actors stands in a frozen image of a community whose members do not communicate. A man comes from the audience and moves the actors around to create an image of everyone standing in reconciliation. Then a man and a woman create an image of 'transition', where the actors show a willingness to communicate by sitting in a circle drinking the local brew. The actors then show the three images in succession and the audience applauds.*

These images originate from training in Participatory Learning Appraisal (PLA) techniques and participatory theatre for members of seven theatre companies across Zambezia Province, Mozambique. The programme was funded by UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and took place in November and December 1996.

Mozambique suffered a civil war between 1975 and 1992 as a result of which approximately one third of the country's population was internally displaced.<sup>1</sup> Today, most refugees have returned and the situation has more or less stabilised. In the fairly isolated community of Nawagene in Zambezia Province, much of the population is comprised of displaced people who, for one reason or another, have decided to remain; there is an uneasy mix between those from different areas with little mutual help shown between them.

Traditionally, the use of theatre in a development environment has involved performing plays with a strong social message with little or no audience participation or discussion. More and more, the potential of theatre as a means of discussion and of exploring pertinent

issues within a particular community is being realised, particularly in a country like Mozambique where there is a strong theatrical, dance and oral tradition. Theatre for Development (TfD) is an excellent means of creating a richer picture out of the issues presented. The distance which an enactment provides allows for discussion even of sensitive issues without community members feeling personally implicated.

## Theatre for Development in Nawagene

Two weeks before this training, the people of Nawagene met at the start of a participatory social survey, using PLA techniques. The women are nowhere to be seen; they are sitting under a huge mango tree where they can listen without appearing to participate. Three days later they are sitting with the men, listening to the results gathered from the three days and admitting that they had started by not giving their real names.

A discussion ensues about the problems of the area. They decide to try to create a market together: a symbol of coming together and the trust needed to construct one. The market can be seen as the community seeking to re-establish

the social and economic bases of their lives after the upheaval of war. After the play, one of the men said: "Before the war there was unity and trust between us but the war destroyed that and we still have not built it up."

The concerns that most people raised in Nawagene during the social survey were to do with their lack of local services (need for clean water, more accessible health centre, etc) whereas the issues which surfaced during the theatre presentation and which were discussed and acted out were to do with social relationships and the social causes inhibiting development. Ideally, those working with the community should stay in the area throughout the process, involving the local community in all stages, including the play-making. This also ensures more effective follow-up.

There are many ideas and techniques in TfD, one of the most popular coming from the Brazilian theatre practitioner Augusto Boal and his Image and Forum methods.<sup>2</sup> In **Image theatre**, actors use their bodies to create a frozen image of a situation. This is done through modelling each other to create ever more complex, silent tableaux which can then be animated and analysed in different ways. In **Forum Theatre**, a play is enacted and all or part of it is replayed and the audience can intervene to change the action. One of the actors takes the part of a 'Joker', or facilitator, who helps to generate debate and encourage audience participation throughout the process. However, it should not be too prescriptive in the sense that the exercises should be adapted to the given situation.

Thus, in the play which took place in Nawagene, there were two key scenes offering opportunities for discussion about Nawagene's past and present. At the end, the Joker asked people to choose a scene to be repeated so that a spectator (or spectators) could change

places with a character in order to try to resolve the dilemma.

The image theatre described in the first example is a vivid means of looking at the probable and preferable outcomes of a situation and can pinpoint the point of change to allow for the preferable outcome.

### Social issues

One of the theatre groups involved in the training was attached to a Dutch development agency, Zoa Refugee Care, which saw the drama experience as a tool to discover the social issues which lie beneath the surface.

This group created a play with community workers near Milange, on the border with Malawi, a country which had received more than a million refugees from Mozambique during the war. The area is now economically completely dependent on Malawi. It was particularly interesting to see how the theatre tools were adapted. Instead of one image, there was an image for each chapter of the community's history: from the war to present problems of border police stealing produce (at the end of which a man from the audience commented "the war is not over") and the short initiation ceremony for girls compared to the two-month long one of the past.

The play generated heated discussions, with one woman mentioning incest as a

reason many women wanted to leave home. The drama created the forum for this taboo subject to be mentioned. Even though the subject was not pursued, it gave an opportunity for women to acknowledge it and to learn that they are not alone.

Instead of replaying the play, three spectators chose to improvise different aspects of domestic life in the past showing the mutual respect among family members which contrasted with the disharmony which was evident in the play. Afterwards, a group of women said: "But we don't want to return to the past; we just want respect, unity and patience within the home." These were the qualities, it was agreed, which were needed within the community as a prerequisite to meeting their economic needs.

Theatre is a potent tool as a forum for discussion of problems arising out of the war. It can also determine whether traditional coping mechanisms and resources (such as initiation and burial rites) or traditional social practices (for example, mutual agricultural help or local markets) have been disrupted and to facilitate discussion as to how and whether they should be revived. As the psychiatrist Dr Patrick Bracken said in 1998: "Different societies and different cultural groups have their own ways of coping with suffering and the arrival of Western experts can have the effect of undermining ... both the position of local

healers and the cultural institutions essential for communities to rebuild their way of life."<sup>3</sup>

Because the line between reality and fiction is perilously thin at times, theatre which deals directly with conflict should be used with caution and perhaps only when a certain period has passed. During the conflict itself care should be taken to find a unifying theme which is distanced from the community.

It is essential that the differences of experience between men and women in times of conflict and the resultant displacement be taken into account. For instance rape is often used as a weapon of war but, because of the stigma attached, the stories may remain hidden and untold even to close female relatives. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect these stories to emerge during the theatre in development process. Eventually, the latter may create the conditions whereby they are alluded to, thus enabling women to feel that they are not alone.

### Other examples of Theatre for Development

In Forum theatre, the audience needs to have the same experience as the subject of the play in order to replace the protagonist in their search for a different outcome. A play about asylum seekers which took place in Oxford in 1997 was created in two parts, the first part giving the asylum seeker's story, the second the story about a person representing 'concerned of Oxford'. This gave the audience the chance to replace the protagonists. The ex-detainees, who helped to create the material for the first part of the play, through Boal's Image Theatre, found telling their stories "surprisingly therapeutic"<sup>4</sup> and as a result the theatre company continues to visit the Campsfield detention centre to play drama games to aid communication.

The RISE project (Rural people's Institute for Social Empowerment) in Namibia used an exercise from psychodrama while working with a group

*Unaccompanied Rwandan boys perform a 'psychodrama', acting out the killings they have witnessed. The children have made fake guns. Nyamata, Rwanda.*





experiencing internal conflicts which threatened the continuation of their garden project. The group members had to position themselves around the garden tools to symbolize their relationship with each other as well as the group as a whole. Through the discussion which followed, "hidden attitudes had been uncovered and explored. Reflection had laid the way for new action."<sup>5</sup> This project was supported by OXFAM, who called it Listening Theatre.

In cases where a self-monitoring procedure would be useful, the example from Milange, Mozambique, where community workers were attached to a development agency could be replicated. Another example occurred in Mali, where the development agency SOS Sahel set up a drama unit using local people as a way "to listen to the village performers and monitor the mood and views of the community. Theatre for Development provided an ongoing feedback system."<sup>5</sup>

### Lessons learnt with wider regional or global implications

- ▶ Used in conjunction with participatory survey techniques, Tfd can be used to create a rich picture interpretation of the existing society although it is dependent on the effectiveness of the facilitator or joker to help people to analyse the dramatic situation.
- ▶ The ideal is to stay within the area to encourage participation throughout the process, including the creating and performing of the play or, as in Milange and Mali, to use the community groups in order to ensure continuation and thorough participation. Key players within the area need to have sufficient involvement during the whole process, in order to ensure effective follow up. This is sometimes



Mixing mud for walls of new community meeting house, Zambesia, Rwanda

Panos Pictures/Jan Hammond

difficult to guarantee. For instance, in Nawagene the local administration sent someone with no executive power to watch the proceedings. One example of effective continuation is the Marathodi theatre company in Lesotho which held theatre workshops for village health workers. These then returned to their villages and created theatre with fellow villagers.

- ▶ The power of Image Theatre can be used to look at a group's own issues, to sensitize practitioners to the needs and aspirations of refugees and as a tool to show non-refugees some of the problems encountered in order to encourage more understanding.
- ▶ Legislative theatre: This form of theatre is an extension of Forum theatre and came about through Boal becoming a member of a powerful regional council. He encouraged small theatre companies to use Forum theatre to ask people what laws they would like invented or changed. Even without a cooperative member of parliament, as in the situation of Boal, it may be used in a local way by a development group to look at what aspects of the group the people with whom it works would like to change.

### Conclusion

In situations where there is profound distrust, fear and anger, theatre is a useful medium to bring people together to share stories and trigger emotional responses. The model of using participatory learning methods to explore a group's main concerns and then creating a play in order to debate the issues could be used in many situations. Theatre is a liberating and unifying experience as well as being fun. Follow-up is essential, however, in order to turn the community's reflection into action.

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1 Newitt M A *History of Mozambique*, 1995, London: Hurst and Company.

2 Boal A *Games for Actors and Non-Actors*, 1992, London and New York: Routledge.

3 Bracken P in *Independent on Sunday*, 28 June 1998. See also: Bracken P & Petty C (eds) *Rethinking the Trauma of War*, 1988, London: Free Association Books.

4 Norris A 'Asylum - Theatre for development in Oxford', *PLA Notes*, 1997, 29, pp50-51.

5 Mavrocordatos A 'Theatre for development, participatory monitoring and cultural feedback', *PLA Notes*, 1997, 29, pp29-33. See also: *When People Play People*, 1993, London: Zed Books.

# Hard cases: internal displacement in Turkey, Burma and Algeria

by Roberta Cohen

In some countries, the internally displaced are beyond the reach of international humanitarian organizations.

**A**lthough the displaced populations concerned may be in dire need of assistance and protection, and could benefit immeasurably from outside support, few or no steps are taken, or strategies developed, to gain access to them. Whereas conflict is the inhibiting factor in some cases, in others, the governments concerned do not request aid and by and large reject any that is offered. Only rarely does the UN Security Council deem such situations to be threats to international peace and security and demand entry.

Leading examples of governments that successfully bar international involvement with their displaced populations are Turkey, Burma and Algeria. The situations in the three countries are, of course, quite different. In Turkey and Burma, governments have deliberately uprooted people in order to destroy their possible links to insurgency movements. In Algeria, displacement is a byproduct of conflict, primarily between the government and Islamist insurgent groups.

In Turkey and Burma, the displaced populations are ethnic minority groups that have long suffered policies of exclusion and marginalization by their governments. In Turkey, the Kurdish minority, which comprises about 20 per cent of the population, has been subjected, since the founding of the state, to forced assimilation. The Kurdish language may not be taught; Kurdish language broadcasts are illegal; Kurdish publications and media are restricted; Kurdish political parties are banned or harassed. In Burma, the ethnic minorities, which constitute one third or more of the population and include Karen, Mon, Chin, Shan, Rohingya, Kachin and

Karenni, suffer political and economic exclusion, restrictions in higher education, and 'cultural Burmanization'. The Rohingya are even denied citizenship, while non-Buddhists suffer religious persecution.

Although Turkey and Burma depict the insurgencies in their countries as 'terrorist' and respond to them with military action, the problems at base are political, and require negotiations over autonomy or other forms of power-sharing. In Algeria too, the government exclusively blames terrorists for the violence that causes displacement. It conveniently overlooks the impact of its own role in cancelling the 1992 election that the Islamic Salvation Front was expected to win. Moreover, its failure to protect its own population from the massacres and violence that ensued became a major cause of internal flight.

Outside efforts to influence the three governments are made difficult by their failure to request international assistance and by their shielding themselves behind the 'sanctity' of sovereignty. Burma does not want to acknowledge a problem of internal displacement in its country while Turkey significantly minimizes its magnitude and severity, insisting it can handle it by itself, despite evidence to the contrary. Both try to conceal the extent to which their own policies or actions may have contributed to the conflict and displacement. In the case of Algeria, outside intervention would contradict the government's assertions that it is adequately caring for its population and that the violence is under control.

At a conference organized in Washington DC in January 1999 by the Brookings Institution Project on Internal Displacement and the US Committee for Refugees (USCR), international experts and NGOs examined the plight of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the three countries and suggested possible strategies for dealing with these difficult cases.<sup>1</sup>

## Turkey: regional leverage

Anywhere from half a million to two million Kurds have been forcibly displaced by Turkish counter-insurgency campaigns seeking to root out support for the the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). To be sure, the PKK has also attacked and killed civilians and contributed to their displacement but government operations have been the preponderant cause. The Turkish military reportedly has emptied more than 3,000 villages and hamlets in the southeast since 1992, burned homes and fields, and committed other serious human rights abuses against Kurdish civilians. Hundreds of thousands have crowded into shanty towns outside major cities without access to proper sanitation, health care or educational facilities, and without stable employment prospects.

## *Even ICRC has been unable to operate in Turkey*

Despite repeated promises, the government has taken few steps to facilitate the return of forcibly displaced Kurds to their homes, assist them to resettle, or compensate them for the loss of their property. Nor does it allow others to help. The only local humanitarian NGO allowed to operate in the southeast has been shut down. No international NGO has been permitted entry. Even ICRC has been unable to operate in Turkey. The request of the Representative of the UN

Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, Francis Deng, to visit the country has received no response.

There are nonetheless some possible avenues of action. In 1998, after repeatedly denying entry to the rapporteurs of the UN Human Rights Commission, the Turkish government did permit the Rapporteur on Torture and the Working Group on Disappearances to visit. Some attributed this change in position to Turkey's military victories over the PKK and its desire to be accepted into the European Union (EU). Indeed, the EU's leverage over Turkey is one possible entry point for pressing for better policies and practices toward the Kurds. In 1997, citing human rights grounds in part, the EU excluded Turkey from membership and the European Parliament blocked development aid. Given Turkey's interest in admission, the EU could insist upon certain steps being taken with regard to forced displacement. To gain entry in 1995 into the European Customs Union, Turkey undertook several reforms.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, of which Turkey is already a member, could also play a far more stringent monitoring role with regard to forced displacement, compensation and returns. As a result of cases brought before the European Human Rights Court and Human Rights Commission, Turkey has had to pay some \$800,000 in compensation to Turkish victims of human rights abuse - most of whom were Kurds whose homes and villages were destroyed.

Turkey is also a member of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the regional body best suited to create a political framework in which a dialogue between the Turkish government and Kurdish leaders could be introduced. OSCE can mediate disputes, dispatch missions to ease local tensions, and deploy monitors on the ground. Although its decisions are by consensus, OSCE has special procedures for taking action when governments fail to cooperate with it. Norway and Austria, OSCE's outgoing and incoming chairs, both have been prominent in focusing attention on internal displacement worldwide. Now as members of the executive *'troika'*, they could be encouraged to introduce a more vigorous OSCE role with regard to forced displacement and Kurdish minority rights.

Although generally reluctant to exert pressure on Turkey bilaterally, the United States may be willing to support multilateral initiatives within OSCE. For decades, the US relied upon Turkey as a strategic and military partner, first against the Soviet Union, more recently for air operations over Iraq, and as a bridge to central Asia. As instability within Turkey has become more apparent, however, members of Congress and the foreign policy community have begun to question the US approach. NGOs would do well to press the US to work within the OSCE framework to promote a political solution for the Kurds and support OSCE involvement in monitoring and facilitating IDP returns.

The UN and Bretton Woods Institutions should also be encouraged to play a stronger role. Specifically, the UN Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF and the World Bank could try to expand development programmes in the south-east (the least developed part of the country), set up projects for displaced Kurds outside the major cities, and help with returns. The Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC), the UN's 'reference point' for IDPs, could request the Resident Representative/Coordinator to regularly report on conditions of displacement, and place the issue on the agenda of UN inter-agency meetings. The UN system could also get behind the request of the Secretary-General's Representative on IDPs to visit Turkey.

### **Burma (Myanmar): focus on humanitarian aid**

Forcible displacement is a deliberate policy of Burma's military government. It has three main aims: to break up potential areas of opposition to the regime; to destroy the links between the insurgent movements of ethnic minorities and their local sympathizers; and to make way for large-scale development projects. Over the past decade, up to 1 million people or more have been forcibly uprooted.

The relocations themselves have been carried out brutally, accompanied by rape, pillage, the burning of fields and confiscations of land. The areas of resettlement have in the main been devoid of infrastructure and basic necessities. Many of the internally displaced have

been conscripted as forced labour on road, railways and irrigation projects, or as 'porters' for the military. Thousands who try to escape but do not reach the Thai or other borders (where some 200,000 have become refugees) have ended up hiding in mountains and jungles in dire need of food, shelter and medical attention.

The government has denied entry to the International Labour Organization and, for the past four years, to the UN's Special Rapporteur on Myanmar appointed by the Commission on Human Rights. It has also prevented access by international humanitarian organizations and NGOs to conflict areas. It has gained for itself the reputation of a pariah because of its refusal to honour the 1990 elections which brought the National League for Democracy (NLD) to power and because of its egregious human rights record.

Isolation of the regime has been the policy of choice of most Western governments and human rights organizations. Nonetheless, some policymakers and experts have proposed steps of limited engagement to exert influence. They point out that in recent years the government has begun to open itself up to

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## *OCHA should take the lead in pressing for an inter-agency needs assessment mission.*

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foreign investment, tourism and development aid. Although its overall goal is to reinforce its own position, especially that of its military, it seeks acceptance regionally and internationally and must also deal with a deteriorating economic situation. This could offer some leverage to potential donors to link assistance to political reforms. In November 1998, the Office of the UN Secretary-General, which has been pressing for reforms,<sup>2</sup> introduced the possibility, both to the government and opposition, of providing World Bank loans linked to political reform.

Caution, of course, is in order. An Open Society Institute report found that most of the profits from international invest-



ment "go directly to the regime or the small clique of soldiers and businessmen close to the junta."<sup>3</sup> Any development aid would have to be predicated on full access to those in need, extend to the border areas where ethnic minorities reside and be carefully designed and implemented to include education, health, reforestation and agricultural programmes.

It should be noted that the government has been promising, but not delivering, development aid to ethnic minority groups that lay down their arms. This could suggest an entry point for sponsors of international programmes to explore whether they could introduce projects to the benefit of these groups.

Meanwhile, UN agencies in Burma, such as UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP and WHO, could make a more vigorous effort, through the programmes they do conduct, to find out about the humanitarian relief needs of IDPs. Indeed, the Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) should take the lead in pressing for an inter-agency needs assessment mission. Too little priority has been given to date to providing food and medicines to IDPs. Apart from the obstacle of access, there is the fear that aid will be diverted to the military and profit the government. There is also, however, the tunnel vision of donors, which focuses on long-range democratization goals - the restoration of Aung San Suu Kyi and the NLD to power - but overlooks the immediate humanitarian needs of the displaced.

In particular, strengthening cross-border programmes to reach displaced persons could help address humanitarian needs. The record shows that indigenous organizations have been able to bring food and health services cross-border to isolated IDPs. Another promising development is the government's recent agreement to allow ICRC to maintain "a permanent presence in various border states". This could offer an opportunity to collect information on IDPs and provide them with assistance. Greater presence for UN agencies in border areas is something the Secretary-General should advocate in his talks with the regime and opposition.



Panos Pictures/Jasper Young

Governments in the region, like Japan, could be pressed to raise humanitarian concerns. In 1998 Japan provided quasi-development aid for the first time in ten years but attached no explicit conditions. Lobbying the Japanese government should become a regular feature of human rights and humanitarian strategy. Governments in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which approved Burmese membership in 1997, should likewise be urged to raise human-

itarian issues. The 'flexible engagement' policy, proposed by Thailand and the Philippines, calls for discussion of human rights and democracy issues but should extend to forced relocation practices and the need for humanitarian access.

Some European and US corporations, such as Total and UNOCAL, continue to operate in Burma. Forced relocations and forced labour are reportedly being used

to construct facilities, such as oil pipelines, from which they directly benefit. The two companies in fact are being sued in the US for alleged complicity in such practices.<sup>4</sup> Since their reputations are on the line, the time may be right to urge them to review their policies and practices and raise issues with the government such as the need to avoid displacement, engage in fair labour practices, and compensate those displaced.

### Algeria: the information void

The scale of internal displacement in Algeria and the conditions of the displaced are largely unknown because entry has generally been denied to human rights and refugee organizations, especially since 1997, and to many journalists. Moreover, those who manage to make site visits are limited by lack of access and security risks and have not tended to collect information about those forcibly displaced as a result of the violence. Some place the total number in the thousands, others in the tens of thousands, or far more. What is known is that Algerians since 1992 have been fleeing from villages to larger towns and cities to avoid massacres by Islamist insurgent groups as well as fighting between these groups and government security forces and among the insurgents themselves.

The fact that the army and security forces have frequently failed to intervene to stop the attacks on civilians (up to 100,000 have reportedly been killed) has led some to believe that members of the security forces are directly involved with the armed groups. Government land appropriation schemes, about which little is known, have also been cited as a cause of displacement.

International fear of an Islamic state in Algeria led Western countries to give tacit support to the military government that nullified the 1992 elections. Yet its security forces have engaged in highly abusive practices, such as arbitrary arrests, torture and disappearances. Meanwhile, Islamists have ruthlessly targeted for killing those perceived to be 'enemies' of fundamentalist Islamic values and those directly connected to the state and have carried out indiscriminate

attacks and atrocities against villagers in rural areas.

Notwithstanding problems of access and security, and the government's discouragement of outside fact-finding, entry points do exist to secure information and monitor the conditions of those forced to flee. Local journalists and human rights groups remain active, despite harassment and restrictions, and some NGOs like the Algerian League for the Defence of Human Rights, the Algerian League for Human Rights and the Algerian Refugee Council have managed to collect some information about forced displacement. There are also UN agencies on the ground, in particular UNHCR and UNDP, which, while not dealing directly with the internally displaced, could be tasked with providing information.

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## *serious human rights violations have to take precedence over concerns of state sovereignty*

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Most important, a civilian government came into office in April 1999, and it has introduced an amnesty for Islamic insurgents and pledged to reduce violence. While its record is still unclear, there is reason to believe that it may prove responsive to outside influence. Even in 1998, delegations from the EU and the UN gained entry, and the government subsequently set up offices throughout the country to process disappearance cases. The new government could be encouraged by the UN and EU to establish offices to deal with arbitrary displacement and to invite the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons to visit.

Development agencies could also play a role. They could explore the impact of flight from rural areas on Algeria's poor agricultural output and on the housing shortage in the cities. Their programmes could help absorb at least some of the estimated 70 per cent of Algerian young men who are unemployed and more likely to be drawn into the insurgent activities that produce displacement.

### Conclusion

Even in the most difficult cases, there are strategies available to alleviate forced displacement. Regional organizations, donor governments, and the UN all have potential leverage. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has told the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly that serious human rights violations, in particular "the violent repression of minorities," have to take precedence over concerns of state sovereignty. This should encourage OCHA to turn its attention to the cases of Turkey, Burma and Algeria.


There are some of course who will argue that limited international resources are better spent on countries more likely to cooperate. But would it not be unconscionable to ignore millions of IDPs simply because they are caught up in situations deemed too difficult?

The UN is expected to focus on all IDPs. Although its *modus operandi* is to deal with governments that request aid, it certainly can use its discretionary authority to monitor situations and initiate actions on behalf of those who clearly fall within vacuums of responsibility in member states. To do less would be to fail in its mandate.

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1. The information before the meeting of 28 Jan 1999 was provided by four USCR analysts: Bill Frelick, who visited Turkey, Jana Mason and Hiram Ruiz who visited Burma, and Steve Edminster who researched the Algerian situation. See Bill Frelick *The Wall of Denial: Internal Displacement in Turkey*, USCR, November 1999 (see page 45 of this FMR for details); Jana Mason *No Way Out, No Way In: The Crisis of Internal Displacement in Burma*, USCR, Jan 1999; and Steve Edminster *Internal Displacement in Algeria: The Information Void*, USCR, Jan 1999.
2. The Secretary-General has a mandate from the General Assembly to use his good offices to talk to all parties in the conflict and encourage democratization and national reconciliation.
3. Mason, quoting Open Society Institute, 'Burma, Country in Crisis,' 1988.
4. William Branigan, 'Rights Victims in Burma Want a US Company to Pay,' *Washington Post*, 4-13-99.

# Issues of the new millennium

*In this feature, eight individuals discuss key issues for the coming years and recommend significant books of the last decade (indicated by )*

## Dams and displacement

by Elizabeth Colson

Professor Emeritus,  
University of California



*Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival,*

1995, edited by Carolyn Nordstrom & Antonius Robben, Univ California Press. ISBN 0520089944.



*Understanding Impoverishment: the Consequences of*

*Development Induced Displacement,* 1996, edited by Christopher McDowell, Berghahn Books. ISBN 1-57181-927-4.

*Forced Migration Review* will have no lack of subject matter in the next decades and probably throughout the twenty-first century if the last decade is anything to go by. Ever more massive population movements seem in store. Some will arise from what are probably now irreversible environmental changes such as climatic warming and the sea rises that will overwhelm low-lying areas. These we can hope at best to minimize but they will certainly exacerbate hostility towards immigrants, already so apparent in the hardening of opportunities for refugees and the internally displaced, and will put increasing pressure on resources already in dispute. More hard thinking needs to be done about how the world will cope with such outflows, drawing upon what we now know from experience with the forced migrations of the 20th century.

Research into situations where large-scale enterprises have uprooted populations to make way for hydroelectric dams, irrigation schemes and comparable projects demonstrate that these rarely benefit those uprooted. Benefits to those who do gain, who usually live in cities and have political and economic power, are usually offset in the long run by damage to the environment and the loss of productivity as watertables are affected, riveraine systems jeopardized and, eventually, dams silted up. When academics began the study of forced migration associated with development, the aim was to find ways to minimize the impact on those uprooted. By the end of the century, however, many have concluded that overall the adverse effects would make them non-starters if decisions were based on appraisals of long-term outcomes.

Research has had some impact on international agencies involved in planning and financing major interventions: witness the World Bank guidelines which call for assessment of social consequences of any project and for improving the lot of the displaced. The guidelines, however, can be ignored - and frequently are, by

governments dominated by the desire to imprint their stamp upon the landscape or meet the needs of some segment of their population - and they can be watered down, as indeed they have been recently. What is encouraging is the emergence of a counter-movement of those affected whose locally based organizations are increasingly linked into international networks that publicize plans before they are implemented and recruit allies across the world who are sometimes able to halt those plans while they are still on paper. What academics learn speaks now to those who resist being moved when outsiders want their land and other resources as well as to those responsible for trying to minimize impacts of uprooting or provide better conditions of resettlement.

We have less to encourage us with respect to the forces that create refugees driven out by ethnic cleansing and other forms of violence. But again academics are recognizing that while research on what happens after upheaval has taught us a good deal about the existential world of the refugee, including the response of hosts and the cultural dynamics of international organizations set up to assist them, it has had little or no impact on the interests that continue to produce refugees and the internally displaced. Neither has it made countries more willing to receive large numbers of the displaced, and it is doubtful that it has significantly changed the practice of agencies whose personnel, often in situations of extreme stress, must deal with those defined as powerless victims.

Again, there is some indication that we are beginning to move beyond research on those already in motion to an examination of the violence that precedes flight and exile. Before uprooting, in the camps and first places of asylum, in places of resettlement and on return home, if this is possible, a primary need is access to law, the ability to hold others accountable for their actions.



# Responsibility of international institutions

by B S Chimni

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Jawaharlal Nehru University

It is generally assumed that international institutions are agents of democracy and human rights<sup>1</sup> but this assumption fails the test of reality. While a number of international institutions and their instruments do promote human rights, there are others whose policies undercut democracy and lead to the gross violation of human rights. Yet these institutions are not held responsible in international law for their illegal acts.

There is growing evidence, for example, that the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) recommended by international financial institutions (IFIs) to Third World countries not only lead to the violation of economic and social rights of their peoples but also create conditions in which communal/ethnic conflicts can be ignited by irresponsible leaders resulting in the gross violation of civil and political rights, the root cause of mass displacements. There is also sufficient evidence to suggest that states undergoing SAPs are reluctant to host refugees and are often constrained to violate the cardinal principle of international refugee law, namely the principle of *non-refoulement*.<sup>2</sup> To put it differently, the major project of IFIs - economic liberalisation - has posed grave threats to democracy and human rights and resulted in large scale human displacements, even as it has undermined the institution of asylum. Thus a key issue which needs to be addressed in the coming years is how to make IFIs accountable in international law for their policies and actions.

Likewise, albeit on a different plane, UNHCR with its mandate to offer assis-

tance and protection to refugees needs to be made answerable for its acts of omission and commission. In other words, UNHCR should incur responsibility in international law for violating its mandate. Unfortunately, UNHCR 'still remains largely unaccountable'.<sup>3</sup> For example, it is not responsible in international law if it 'incorrectly declares that a source State is safe for return, closes a camp and permits or facilitates the repatriation of the refugee population who suffer persecution on return'.

A correlative of international institutions possessing legal personality and rights (to offer humanitarian assistance, to advance claims, etc) is responsibility which is 'a general principle of international law' concerned with 'the incidence and consequences of illegal acts', in particular the payment of compensation for loss caused'. Sadly, the law on the subject of responsibility of international institutions is undeveloped. On the other hand, there is no denying the urgency to evolve and adopt in the coming decade a legal instrument, even a non-binding one, which articulates the principles and norms governing the responsibility of international institutions.

1 Orford A 'Locating the International: Military and Monetary Interventions after the Cold War', *Harvard International Law Journal* 38: 443-485, 1997.

2 Rutinwa B 'The Tanzanian Government's Response to the Rwandan Emergency', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 9: 291-302, 1996.

3 Gilbert G 'Rights, Legitimate Expectations, Needs and Responsibilities: UNHCR and the New World Order', *International Journal of Refugee Law* 10: 349-388, 1998.

4 Brownlie I *Principles of Public International Law*, 1990, Oxford University Press, Fourth edition.

# The protection of refugees

by Richard Black

Lecturer in Human Geography in the School of African and Asian Studies, and Co-Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, both at the University of Sussex.

Whether academic study focuses on refugee integration, refugees and the environment, or humanitarian assistance (I have been interested in all three), a key underpinning issue remains that of the legal status/level of protection of refugees.

Too often, the issue of protection is ignored by agencies (it even seems to be sidelined sometimes by UNHCR) and by academics in the social sciences, who assume this to be a legal preserve. The importance of protection as an issue has been increased further by proposals, such as those of the Reformulation of Refugee Law Project (Jim Hathaway), or recent suggestions within the EU to replace the Geneva Convention altogether. This is clearly an issue that is not going to go away.

Imaginative thinking on how refugee protection is best achieved, and how this links with a series of other socio-economic and political concerns, is welcome. However, it is difficult to escape the danger that renegotiation of refugees' rights will lead to their loss, rather than their augmentation.



Aristide R Zolberg, Astrid Suhrke & Sergio Aguayo  
*Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, 1992, OUP.  
ISBN 0195079167.

# Protection of the internally displaced

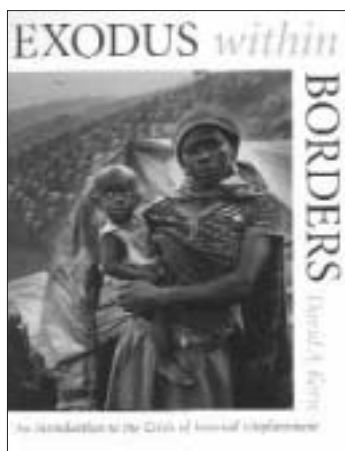
by Francis M Deng

Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons



David A Korn *Exodus within Borders*, 1998, Brookings Institution.

ISBN 0-8157-4954-6.



The final years of the millennium have been tumultuous ones.

The world watched in horror as hundreds of thousands of refugees poured across the Yugoslavian borders from Kosovo into Macedonia and Albania seeking protection and assistance, having been forcibly expelled from their homes for no reason other than belonging to the wrong ethnic group. While the international community scrambled to assist these refugees, those that remained in Kosovo continued to be ravaged by a conflict that did not discriminate between combatants and civilians. In East Timor, militia groups terrorised scores of Timorese into fleeing their homes in fear of their lives. Countless grisly acts of dismemberment were committed on innocent Sierra Leone civilians as part of the ongoing conflict in that country and in an effort to terrorise populations into leaving their homes. Innumerable other examples illustrate the magnitude of the crises we have faced and continue to face that have rendered millions destitute and homeless.

While the international refugee regime can offer ready solutions to those that flee persecution and seek international protection across borders, what solutions exist for the countless others that are left displaced within borders in conflict situations that are increasingly internal in nature?

There is growing awareness within the international community of the magnitude of the crisis of internal displacement that affects between 20 and 25 million people worldwide. While the responsibility for the protection of IDPs falls first and foremost on national governments and local authorities, it is vital that the international community provide protection and assistance for IDPs in cooperation with the governments concerned. International protection and assistance become especially needed where governments lack the will or the capacity to provide for their own displaced populations, which is tragically often the case in conflicts caused by, or resulting in, acute crises of national identity.

Over the past two years, *Forced Migration Review* has kept the international community informed of progress on the development of international

standards for IDPs culminating in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.<sup>1</sup> In a very short period of time, the Guiding Principles have gained international recognition and standing but, to achieve the much-needed improvement on the ground in the treatment of IDPs, it is imperative that the Guiding Principles be given the widest possible dissemination. Further, since the Principles have no monitoring machinery of their own, it is essential that international organisations, regional bodies and NGOs systematically monitor the conditions of IDPs in terms of the Principles and draw attention to the gaps in treatment found.

It is my fervent hope that over the next decade actual monitoring machinery will be created at the international, regional and national levels so as to promote the widest and most effective implementation of the Principles worldwide. It is only when the obligations of the Principles permeate all levels of government and civil society and the international community gives priority to their being observed, that the plight of the internally displaced will markedly improve.

The UN has taken other steps towards enhancing the effective and timely response of the international community to the needs of the internally displaced. The Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has been charged with the responsibility to act as focal point within the UN system for any IDP related issues and as such is attempting to enhance the capacity of the UN as a whole to respond to situations of internal displacement through strong coordination and a clear division of responsibility among international agencies. It remains to be seen whether this collaborative approach will prove successful or whether a more targeted arrangement will be needed.

<sup>1</sup> Available in English, French, Spanish, Russian, Arabic and Chinese. For a copy in English or French, contact: Allegra Baiocchi, OCHA, DC 1-1568, 1 UN Plaza, 10017 NY, New York, USA. Email: baiocchi@un.org  
Also see [www.notes.reliefweb.int](http://www.notes.reliefweb.int)  
For a copy in Spanish, Russian, Arabic or Chinese, contact: Erin Mooney, UNCHR, Palais des Nations, Geneva 10, 1211 Switzerland. Email: emooney.hchr@unog.ch

See also: Deng F and Cohen R *Masses in Flight: The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement*, 1998, Brookings Institution; Deng F and Cohen R (eds) *The Forsaken People: Case Studies of the Internally Displaced*, 1998, Brookings Institution.

# Consistency and conviction

by David Bryer

Director, Oxfam GB



Michael Ignatieff *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, 1998, Owl Books. ISBN 0805055193



Fergal Keane *Letter to Daniel - Despatches from the Heart*, 1999, Penguin UK. ISBN 014026289X

Where you are in the world when forced to migrate largely determines to what extent, if at all, you will have others intervene on your behalf, obtain a degree of protection, and be able to fulfil your basic human rights to water, food, shelter and other necessities. Recognition of the right of refugees and displaced people to protection and the growing willingness of the international community to provide it, even at the expense of down-grading state sovereignty, have been welcome developments of the last half century. Protection is the key to enabling people to achieve all their other basic human rights. Progress has been slow and erratic - sometimes shamefully so - but undeniable. Whatever the mixed motives of those who intervene, forced migrations and human rights abuses have been (belatedly) checked or ameliorated, most recently in Kosovo and East Timor. However, such interventions have further highlighted the sheer inconsistency in the pattern of willingness to intervene.

People unfortunate enough to have been born in areas on the periphery of power suffer a triple burden. Firstly, the position of those places on the margins of the global economy perpetuates poverty and conflict of various sorts. Secondly, out of sight and out of mind (save to the sellers of small arms), few of the leaders or participants in conflict have incentives, positive or negative, to respect international humanitarian law, let alone ceasefires or peace agreements. Finally, the misery is regular and recurrent because in most cases the international community is unwilling or unable either to press for an end to the conflict or to intervene to provide protection for its victims.

Despite calls for consistency, few political leaders have been busting a gut to help protect and succour the hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced being pushed around huge areas of central and west Africa and other parts of the world. This creates or exacerbates the serious dilemmas and difficult ethical choices which aid agencies have to make. In some places, aid workers are murdered so that their organisations cannot assist people who being targeted. In other places, being allowed to help may come at a price, such as the danger of propping up dubious military strategies of concentrating (or dispersing) civilian populations.

The question, then, is what to do. There are no easy answers; responses will often be hampered by particular political factors and competing interests, as has happened in Chechnya. Nevertheless, we see politicians at least now facing up to the inconsistencies. Few now make excuses for them or try to argue that "it doesn't concern us". This is progress. Action follows thought. One great influence could be the growing status and reach of international criminal law - holding criminals accountable for their actions, including their breaches of international humanitarian law.

Yet ultimately it is us - we, the peoples of the UN - who must continue to bend politics in the right direction. We can do this through the force of cultural and moral beliefs, norms and expectations - the conviction among the many that certain things are unacceptable and that something must be done.

## As the millennium rolls over

by Patricia Pak Poy RSM

National Coordinator of the Australian Network - International Campaign to Ban Landmines



Hans Kung *A Global Ethic for Global Politics and Economics*, 1997, OUP. ISBN 0-195122283.

As the millennium rolls over so the desire for peace grows stronger, and the call for peacebuilding efforts grows more urgent. We need to learn the lessons of Bosnia, of Rwanda, of Kosovo and the Former Yugoslavia. In the present reality of global interdependence, the international community will need to be there supporting the endeavours for peace by local groups and by the international community. Such endeavours will include

- exploration and affirmation of the principles and values underlying the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with its implications for international relations, diplomacy and for civil and military cooperation;
- more just and equitable distribution of resources so that political structures respect the right of all people not only to life but to live;
- clarification of the conditions for humanitarian intervention by the international community in an internal conflict, and some agreement by governments to these as part of International Humanitarian Law;
- re-examination of the very concept of the nation-state, its nature and operation, with provision for political alternatives, new structures and processes for indigenous groups;
- re-examination of the concept of national sovereignty and its limits in context of different forms of globalisation;
- re-assessment of the laws of migration, of the implementation of the principle of asylum and refugee law;
- examination of the role and influence of media in international and non-international conflicts;
- regulation and control of the transfers of small arms;



- the protection of civilians and especially of displaced people.

My experience coordinating the Australian Network of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines has given me a resurgence of hope in the will of more and more people to take a stronger stand for a more just and peaceful world. While the Campaign is narrowly focussed on the issue of

antipersonnel mines, the clearance of mines and the social and economic rehabilitation of survivors of mines, it has also alerted the international community to the wider issues of finding other ways of resolving conflicts, of protecting civilians in conflict areas, and indeed of preventing the conflicts by having a social order that makes for the greater safety of and respect for all people.

## UNHCR and the new millennium

by Jeff Crisp

Head of UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit



Adam Hochschild *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, 1998, Houghton Mifflin Co. ISBN 0395759242.



Philip Gourevitch, Farrar Straus & Giroux *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*, 1998. ISBN 0374286973.

(Read consecutively, these two books help to explain the intractable nature of the crisis that is currently gripping the Great Lakes region. The first is a history of the rapacious regime established in the Congo by the King of the Belgians; the second, a compelling account of the Rwandan genocide, examined from both a political and personal perspective.)

Which issues will preoccupy UNHCR in the early years of the new millennium? Given the unexpected nature of the crises which have confronted the organization in recent years, it is difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty but a number of themes seem likely to dominate the UNHCR agenda.

A first priority for the agency will be to reinforce its capacity for emergency preparedness and response - a task which began in the early days of the Kosovo crisis, when UNHCR's performance came under close scrutiny and considerable criticism from other members of the international community. One of the distinctive features of the refugee emergency in Albania and Macedonia was the 'bilateralization' of aid, whereby key donors channelled a large proportion of their assistance through national NGOs and their own military forces. UNHCR will be monitoring this trend with great interest, given its important implications for the role of the organization as well as the maintenance of consistent standards in both refugee protection and assistance.

Second, UNHCR will be making additional efforts to safeguard the physical security of refugees, an issue which has come to prominence as a result of several trends: the growing number of armed attacks on refugee populations; the regularity with which refugee camps fall under the control of armed elements and other non-refugee groups; and the high levels of crime, banditry and violence which currently prevail in many refugee-populated areas. In an attempt to address these problems, particular attention will be given to initiatives which go beyond the agency's traditional protection and camp management functions, but which fall short of military intervention and the use of force. These might include, for example, the deployment of international civilian police and

observers, the use of community-based and commercial security arrangements, as well as efforts to improve the effectiveness of local police and security services.

A third issue which will be of particular concern to UNHCR in the new millennium will be that of promoting reintegration and reconciliation in countries which are emerging from brutal armed conflicts: Kosovo, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and East Timor, to give just a few examples. Hitherto, the international community's efforts have tended to focus on the 'hardware' of reconstruction: rehabilitating schools and health centres, repairing damaged infrastructure, installing water supply and sanitation systems. Much less attention has been given to the task of creating the conditions which will promote a sense of common purpose among individuals and communities who have inflicted terrible abuses on each other.

A final UNHCR preoccupation now and in the years to come will be that of finding solutions to some of the world's longstanding refugee problems. When dealing with the issue of forced migration, scholars and practitioners alike have a tendency to focus on those situations which are characterized by movement, whether in the form of a new refugee emergency or a large-scale repatriation movement. As a result, the many situations where refugees have lived in exile for years on end, and without any immediate prospect of an end to their plight, tend to go unnoticed. And yet millions of people around the world - refugees from Afghanistan, Angola, Bhutan, Eritrea, Somalia and Sudan, for example - find themselves in this situation. A major objective of the new millennium must be to put these neglected refugee problems at the top of the international agenda.

# Dignity

by Howard Davies, photojournalist

The refugee crisis in the Balkans in 1999 witnessed the largest movement of refugees in Europe since the end of the Second World War. Almost as extraordinary is the fact that the majority of the Albanian refugees have now returned home, although this has in turn led to the departure of a further wave of refugees, the former Serb and Roma neighbours of the Kosovan Albanians.

Over three assignments to Macedonia and Kosovo, I have documented the flight, exile and return of the Albanian refugees, as well as the Roma who have become IDPs within Kosovo. The opportunities to make such complete picture stories are becoming increasingly scarce, as the pressure for the instant image becomes ever greater.

The first refugee camp I visited held some of the worst living conditions I have seen. Sham Shui Po camp in Hong Kong was made up of two disused warehouses, each home to more than 3,000 refugees from Vietnam. The refugees were crammed, battery hen style, into bunk cages piled two high. Incredibly, each bunk was home for a family, and most of the families had lived in these appalling conditions for two or three years.

Sham Shui Po afforded me my first opportunity to see another professional photographer at work. A French photojournalist working on a cover story for a major news magazine was in the camp at the same time. The photographer arranged a group of children in a neat line and as jets flew low overhead into Kai Tak airport he screamed "Now!".

The children dutifully looked up and he repeated the process several times until the children were too bored to comply. I asked my colleague what he was doing, and he replied, without a trace of irony: "It symbolizes hope." The fact that these refugees' dreams of reaching the West lay shattered around them seemed to have passed him by. He added defensively: "I have a brief to fulfil for the magazine." As I left, he was busy arranging the hands of refugees on the perimeter fence as if they were mannequins and, with little else to do, the refugees silently complied.

Thankfully, few photographers I have met behave with such insensitivity. Most photojournalists hope they can report honestly on what they see while striving to maintain the dignity of the people they are photographing. In these days outlets for good picture stories are ever harder to find, as the old news magazines are consumed with lifestyle features on food, fashion and celebrities. For the aid organisations I mainly work with, dignity in the portrayal of the refugees they work with has rightly become the most important

issue. But like most photographers, however, I have taken photographs and regretted the intrusion and the feeling sits uneasily whenever I see the pictures.

The acclaimed war photographer Don McCullin has described how he still feels guilt for the impositions he sometimes made and later regretted in order to get a photograph. But McCullin's photographs of the wars he covered in the 60s and 70s remain for me among the greatest images of conflict ever made. The compassion and empathy for the people he photographed, whether refugees or frightened soldiers, and the sheer bravery some of his photography required, emerge from the faces and shadows in his photographs.

Growing up in the 60s, I still remember the *Sunday Times* magazine hitting our doormat, and the deep impression that McCullin's gritty black and white photographs, whether from the Congo, Vietnam or Biafra, made upon me. And, in a way, I think they remain with me each time I enter a refugee camp. McCullin's photographs from this period display emotions raw and without pretence. Grief, loss, fear and loneliness permeate his images. But there is dignity and hope too. And I feel certain that McCullin never had to ask a refugee to look skyward for the notional portrayal of an emotion for the camera.

Website: [www.scip.org.uk/refugepics](http://www.scip.org.uk/refugepics)



Kurdish refugees making for Turkish border. 1998 © Don McCullin. Contact Press Images. Colorific!

In this section, readers respond to the feature on 'Learning from Kosovo' in issue 5.

## New rules of the game

by Arthur C Helton

FMR 5 focused on the implications of the recent Kosovo crisis but may actually say more about current directions in thinking in the aid community.

The intervention in Kosovo has given rise to a sense that we may be seeing the evolution of new rules of the game. No longer will mass killing or severe repression of populations be considered internal matters shielded by a claim of national sovereignty from international humanitarian intervention. Rising expectations among ordinary people, both reflected in and fuelled by media revelations of misery and suffering, serve to pressure policymakers in Western countries to act. The rapid international deployment in East Timor is the most recent case in point.

The nature of intervention, of course, can vary. For many years now, a growing chorus of reports, condemnations and recommendations by a variety of governments, international organizations and NGOs has been heard in relation to the violation by states of the human rights of their inhabitants. This is a testament to the rise of an international human rights movement embodied in organizations such as Amnesty International. Kosovo, as Richard Caplan notes in FMR 5, introduced the notion of a use of force for 'humanitarian' purposes, even without advance authorization by the UN Security Council on grounds of a threat posed to international peace and security. This is alarming to Michael Barutciski, who counsels the obvious - the requirement that peaceful diplomatic

means be exhausted before resorting to the use of force. But the utility of diplomacy, of course, is very much in the eye of the beholder. Barutciski may well be right that more could have been done with the Kosovo Verification Mission. However, while NATO's judgement that President Slobodan Milosevic would respond only to force seems naive in retrospect, it was not an unpredictable assessment given recent experiences in Bosnia.

The most serious task, of course, is to better calibrate international responses to the needs of individuals forcibly displaced, particularly those who are internally displaced, as Roberta Cohen reminds us in her piece. Presumably this should include resort under appropriate circumstances to a proportionate and limited use of force, as discussed below. Social reality seems to demand the option but thinking in this area is still somewhat formulaic.

Many recent humanitarian responses have been characterized by coordination failures, squabbles over organizational mandates, and 'culture clashes' between humanitarian and military actors - perhaps, as Peter Marsden, Nicholas Morris, Peter Morris and Toby Porter note, nowhere clearer than in relation to Kosovo. The issues deserve nuanced treatment but two points seem clear. First, on occasion, the logistical capacities of the military will be needed to respond to sudden, large-scale displacements, and both military and humanitarian actors will have to establish more constructive working relationships. Second, in the Kosovo conflict, where refugees became virtual weapons of war, particular attention to the situation of individuals was warranted. The Serbian forces forcibly uprooted hundreds of thousands of Kosovans, in

part to degrade and blunt the military superiority of NATO which, in return, vowed to assist and repatriate the refugees as soon as possible. This tactical motivation was undoubtedly part of the reason for the relatively generous responses of western countries observed by Alice Bloch and Matthew Gibney. Whether this war-time effort signals a broader resurgence in compassion is less certain.

Perhaps the overriding lesson from Kosovo is that in those circumstances where refugees become pawns of war, concerted steps should be taken to give choices as far as possible to individuals to remain, flee, obtain asylum or be resettled abroad. It is in this sense that the humanitarian evacuation programme for Kosovans was appropriate, even in the face of claims by some that it constituted complicity with Serbian 'ethnic cleansing'. In addition, humanitarian intervention could be justified under rare but appropriate circumstances, for example, to create truly safe areas for IDPs. Of course, a serious commitment would be required by intervening forces to ensure safety, in view of prior problematic precedents (northern Iraq and Bosnia). Nevertheless, by providing such choices to individuals, in the words of Marc Vincent, we may necessarily involve the 'beneficiaries' in their own arrangements for protection, assistance and solution.

*Arthur Helton is Senior Fellow for Refugee Studies and Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

To access articles from FMR 5, visit our website at [www.fmreview.org](http://www.fmreview.org)





## Reproductive health - forgotten health needs in emergency settings

by Samantha Guy

While food, water, shelter and primary health care awaited all the refugees fleeing Kosovo, reproductive health provision was far from universal. Lessons from refugee settings worldwide clearly reveal that ignoring the reproductive health needs of refugees threatens the lives of many people, yet once again this crucial component of emergency aid was almost forgotten.

Although some agencies were providing mother and child health care - traditionally the one aspect of reproductive health (RH) care deemed appropriate for refugee settings - there was little provision for other elements of the RH package: family planning, prevention and treatment of STDs, emergency obstetrics, prevention and management of the consequences of sexual violence, and safe motherhood.

While lack of organisational expertise, funding constraints and lack of awareness of international consensus on RH policy all have a bearing on this delay, observers also note a lack of institutional or individual will at both the field and policy levels. The experience of the majority of Kosovan refugees in Albania highlighted only too well the practical implications of institutional opposition to RH care.

Far from reducing the need for RH services, emergency settings increase the burden of ill health; family planning, treatment of STDs, emergency obstetrics and safe motherhood services become imperative. Kosovan women were vocal in their demand for quality RH services. Refugee women and members of health committees in the camps reported that MSI was the first organisation to discuss their RH concerns with them. Women in the camps and in the Tirana clinic were

clear that they wanted to continue receiving the services to which they were accustomed. Camp administrators and the health committees all gave their support to the demands of the women for comprehensive RH services. Yet evidence shows that their calls were largely ignored by NGOs. Within days of providing ante-natal and family planning services, MSI's presence was being challenged by one of the international health NGOs. In other camps, establishing RH services met with resistance from NGOs. Further experiences of the MSI team ratified the decision to provide RH care despite opposition from other agencies. During a break in services in one camp, it became clear that Kosovan men and women were not prepared to wait for the second phase RH interventions being proposed by other agencies. A group from the camp walked into the local town to demand the resumption of MSI's services.

Health providers have a duty to provide the highest possible level of care to those they serve; reproductive health is a fundamental human right and it is an abuse of human rights if those services are withheld. There is clear evidence that many agencies ignored the RH needs of refugees in Albania, despite the clear recommendations from the ICPD Programme of Action, expert recommendations in the Inter-Agency Field Manual<sup>1</sup> and, most importantly, the demands of the refugees themselves.

Opponents of reproductive health for refugees may quote the need to deal with more pressing issues such as epidemic outbreaks. However, there were no outbreaks of major communicable diseases during this crisis and no discernible excess mortality. In this context, the question of why reproductive health services were not provided becomes even more pertinent. NGOs<sup>2</sup> and the Albanian Ministry of Health distributed Reproductive Health Kits<sup>3</sup> early in the crisis - resulting in an outcry of negative opinion by predominantly Catholic critics. Following this initial critical intervention, however, little action was taken to provide comprehensive RH services through primary health care services.

MSI is continuing to provide RH services to the remaining refugees in Albania as well as contributing to the strengthening of the beleaguered health system. Other agencies are working in the region to provide RH services, including CARE in Macedonia and Kosovo, and the International Rescue Committee which has just completed a psychosocial needs assessment mission to Kosovo.

Reproductive health care is neither optional nor a luxury; it should be integrated in a timely fashion within primary health care. Even when the delivery of reproductive health services calls for special arrangements or resources, there is no justification for its postponement or neglect.

**Samantha Guy is Manager of the Reproductive Health for Refugees Initiative, at Marie Stopes International.**

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**Website: [www.mariestopes.org.uk](http://www.mariestopes.org.uk)**

Note: FMR's predecessor, the RPN, published an issue in November 1995 on 'Women and reproductive health'. Articles from this issue are available on the FMR website at [www.fmreview.org](http://www.fmreview.org)

1 The *Inter-Agency Field Manual on Reproductive Health in Refugee Situations* is available in English and French; Spanish, Portuguese and Russian versions are planned. Free of charge at UNHCR offices for agencies involved in the provision of RH services to refugees/IDPs; also available through the 33 contributing agencies and via the UNHCR website at [www.unhcr.ch](http://www.unhcr.ch).

2 Albanian Family Planning Association, Medicos del Mundo and Marie Stopes International.

3 UNFPA's Reproductive Health Kit for Emergency Settings is designed to facilitate the timely and appropriate delivery of RH services in the initial acute phase of an emergency situation and to plan for services as the situation develops.

### Reconciliation in Kosovo

A recent psychosocial needs assessment led by the International Rescue Committee concludes that "although ethnic reconciliation is a laudable long-term goal, it is not feasible now. Kosovo is seeped in pain, hatred and desire for revenge against Serbs ... no Kosovars speak of reconciliation ... hatred is an accepted norm." The report recommends programmes for ethnic tolerance. Visit the IRC website at [www.intrescom.org/psychosocial.html](http://www.intrescom.org/psychosocial.html)



# conferences

## Recent

### Women in Palestine

21-23 November 1999: Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, Gaza City, Palestine

This conference brought together over 800 professionals, researchers, academics and activists from 20 countries throughout the world to discuss the status of women and their problems, aspirations and future role in development. The conference activities included about 80 presentations in 24 workshops on the various conference themes. Full report plus conference papers will be posted at [www.gcmhp.net/main.htm](http://www.gcmhp.net/main.htm). For further details, contact Husam El-Nounou, PR Office, GCMHP, PO Box 1049, Gaza, Palestine. Tel: + 972 7 2865949. Fax: + 972 7 2824072. Email: [pr@gcmhp.net](mailto:pr@gcmhp.net)

### IDP Training in the Philippines

22-24 November 1999: NRC, Quezon

In November the Norwegian Refugee Council co-hosted a workshop on the Guiding Principles in Quezon with the Ecumenical Commission for Displaced Families and Communities (ECDFC). Some 30 participants from NGOs, the Commission on Human Rights and staff members within the legislative branches of the Philippine government participated in the workshop. 25 recommendations were approved, including a recommendation to re-establish a sectoral committee on internal displacement with the Commission on Human Rights. Other recommendations included requesting that the Philippine Government invite Francis Deng, the Representative of the UN Secretary General on IDPs, to discuss internal displacement in the Philippines and plans for further training for members of the Philippine Armed Forces on the Guiding Principles.

The training workshops are a regular part of the Global IDP Project/NRC's advocacy work for internally displaced.

See below for forthcoming conference in Bangkok. Requests by NGOs and governments to conduct workshops are welcomed. Training modules on the Guiding Principles are available at [www.idpproject.org](http://www.idpproject.org). For more details, email [idpsurvey@nrc.ch](mailto:idpsurvey@nrc.ch)

### Humanitarian Interventions: Constructing the Threshold of Crisis

26 November 1999: ESRC, Newcastle

This workshop was hosted by the Centre for Transnational Studies at the University of Newcastle as part of the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) Politics of Emergency seminar series. The seminar explored a series of related questions: 1) What are the major scientific discourses of risk used in assessing potential disasters? Are the thresholds they established changing in principle? 2) How have these discourses of risk operated in recent times? Are the thresholds changing in practice? 3) What are the implications of developments in this area for the international community's ability and/or willingness to tolerate suffering?

Speakers included Judith Appleton (Oxfam) who addressed the issue of 'Packaging hunger'; David Keen (LSE) on 'The social construction of emergencies'; Jon Bennett (independent consultant) on 'Food for stability', focusing on the WFP operation in North Korea; and Phil O'Keefe (ETC), with an overview of the last decade in the humanitarian system.

For further details, email [C-Trans@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:C-Trans@ncl.ac.uk) or contact Martin Coward, C-Trans Administrator, Centre for Transnational Studies, Dept of Politics, University of Newcastle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 7RU, UK. Tel: +44 (0)191 222 5290. Some papers are likely to be posted at [www.ncl.ac.uk/ctrans](http://www.ncl.ac.uk/ctrans) by late January. For information on forthcoming Politics of Emergency seminars, contact Jenny Edkins at [jfe@aber.ac.uk](mailto:jfe@aber.ac.uk)

### Planning Ahead for the Health Impact of Complex Emergencies

13-14 December 1999: WHO, Geneva

This consultation process concentrated on how to define and monitor impending crises, and how to develop a basic package of relevant health services and public health interventions. Its objectives were to:

- Develop a standard format for country case studies;
- Identify country-based partner institutions who will conduct the studies;
- Outline the follow-up process of study, planning and test implementation;
- Introduce across WHO the planning and operational frameworks proposed by IASC for countries at risk of complex emergencies and discuss how such circumstances can impact upon the Organization's *modus operandi* at country and regional levels.

The consultation report will be posted at [www.who.int/eha/R&D](http://www.who.int/eha/R&D). For further details, contact Dr Alessandro Loretto, Emergency and Humanitarian Action, WHO, CH 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland. Fax: +41 22 791 3111.

## Forthcoming

### Regional conference on internal displacement in Asia

22-24 February 2000: Bangkok

The Norwegian Refugee Council in association with the Brookings Institution Project on Internal Displacement, the US Committee for Refugees, Forum Asia, Chulalongkorn University and UNHCR is organizing a three-day regional conference on internal displacement in Asia. The conference will be held in Bangkok and will include NGOs from all over the region to discuss the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and to search for ways to respond to the needs of the internally displaced. For further details, email [idpsurvey@nrc.ch](mailto:idpsurvey@nrc.ch)



## Visiting Fellowships

Visiting Fellowships are open to senior and mid-career practitioners and policy makers who wish to spend a period of study and reflection in a conducive academic environment, and to academics and other researchers who are working in fields related to forced migration.

Contact: *Visiting Fellowships*

Administrator at RSC address opposite.

Tel: +44 (0)1865 270723.

Fax: +44 (0)1865 270721.

Email: [summer.school@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:summer.school@qeh.ox.ac.uk)

## Master of Studies in Forced Migration

This nine-month postgraduate degree course is grounded in a multi-disciplinary approach that includes the perspectives of anthropology, law, politics and international relations.

Contact: *Graduate Admissions Office, University Offices, 18 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD, UK.*

Tel: +44 (0)1865 270055

Email: [graduate.admissions@adminox.ac.uk](mailto:graduate.admissions@adminox.ac.uk)

## International Summer School in Forced Migration 16 July – 5 August 2000

This three-week residential course provides a broad understanding of the issues of forced migration and humanitarian assistance; participants examine, discuss and review theory and practice. Designed for experienced managers, administrators and field workers and policy makers in humanitarian fields. Involves lectures and seminars by international experts, small group work, case studies, exercises, simulations and individual study. Venue: Wadham College, Oxford. Course fees: £1,950 (incl B&B accommodation; weekday lunches; study fees; course materials). Deadline for enrolment and payment of fees: 1 June 2000.

Contact the International Summer School Administrator at RSC, QEH, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK.

Tel: +44 (0)1865 270722.

Fax: +44 (0)1865 270721.

Email: [summer.school@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:summer.school@qeh.ox.ac.uk)

## Change of name

The Refugee Studies Programme was renamed the Refugee Studies Centre on 1 January 2000. The Programme was established in 1982 and has since grown to become one of the world's leading multi-disciplinary centres for research and teaching on the causes and consequences of forced migration. The new name is in recognition that we are an established academic unit and suggests a more permanent status. The Centre continues to be part of the University of Oxford's Department of Development Studies at Queen Elizabeth House.

## Director of the Refugee Studies Centre

**Dr David Turton, current Director of the Refugee Studies Centre, will be leaving in late 2000.** Applications are invited for the post of Director of the Refugee Studies Centre which aims to increase understanding of the causes, consequences and experience of forced migration, through multidisciplinary research, teaching, publications, seminars and conferences. The position is open to people from any relevant discipline, including anthropology, economics, international relations, law, politics, social geography or sociology. Preference will be given to someone who has significant experience in the field of forced migration.

The appointment, dating from 1 October 2000, will be made for up to five years in the first instance with a stipend based on the University Readership scale. After five years, the Director will be eligible for appointment to retiring age. The successful candidate will be offered a Fellowship at Green College.

**Closing date for applications:  
15 February 2000.**

Further particulars may be obtained from The Administrator, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK. Tel: +44 (0)1865 273600.

Website: [www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk](http://www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk)

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## Elizabeth Colson Lecture 17 May 2000

Professor Jun Jing of the City University of New York will deliver the 2000 Elizabeth Colson lecture. Professor Jing's areas of research include social memory, social movements, Chinese popular religion, the environmental impact of large dams and population resettlement, and children's consumption of food. The title of his lecture will be: *Speaking Bitterness, Seeking Justice: A Memorial Movement on the Yellow River.*

## The Rights of Refugees under International Law 20-21 May 2000

This weekend seminar is presented by Professor James Hathaway from the University of Michigan Law School. It aims to equip policymakers, advocates and scholars with a solid understanding of the international refugee rights regime. Fee: £120 (excl accommodation). Venue: Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford. Contact: *Dominique Attala at RSC, QEH, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK.* Fax: +44 (0)1865 270721. Email: [rscedu@ermine.ox.ac.uk](mailto:rscedu@ermine.ox.ac.uk) Registration form available at [www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsc](http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsc)



## Psychosocial training module now available

The Refugee Experience psychosocial training module, edited by Maryanne Loughry & Alastair Ager, is finalised. It is available in several formats including published manuals, a CD-Rom and a website version. For further details please contact Maryanne Loughry on [refexp@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:refexp@qeh.ox.ac.uk) or c/o RSC, University of Oxford, 21 St Giles, Oxford, OX1 3LA, UK.



Norwegian Refugee Council

# Global IDP PROJECT



Norwegian Refugee Council

## Public launch of the Global IDP Database

by Marc Vincent



After months of preparation, software development and many, many hours of research, the Global IDP Database was launched on 10 December 1999, the 51st anniversary of the Declaration on Human Rights.

With profiles of 14 countries online, the database will be accessible to anyone interested in information on IDPs. In addition to comprehensive profiles on various crises of internal displacement, the website will also have training materials on IDPs, thematic information on, for example, the mandate of the Representative of the Secretary-General on IDPs, and other useful IDP-related links and information.

Throughout the first phase of development, the priority of the database has been to establish a solid foundation of information on selected countries affected by internal displacement. Countries in the initial selection were chosen to reflect different patterns of displacement and varying roles of the international community, and included countries from all regions of the world. The first 14 countries available as of 10 December are: Afghanistan, Angola,

Azerbaijan, Bosnia/Herzegovina, Burma/Myanmar, Burundi, Colombia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Peru, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan and Uganda.

In September 1999 the Norwegian Refugee Council made an initial limited release of the database in order to evaluate its operation and gauge initial user reaction. Feedback to date has been uniformly positive. Even with only a few months of operation, one of the clear added values noticed by users is that the database acts as an information management service which screens, sorts and displays information in an accessible manner and is not just an electronic archive. This is a result of NRC's 'pyramid' approach in developing the database whereby each profile provides users with a 'birds-eye' perspective on displacement within the country.

Information is divided into three levels:

- At the first level, users are given 'headlines' which in themselves provide a brief overview.
- At the second level, information is summarized into bullet points.
- At the third level, complete extracts of reports are provided in self-contained 'envelopes'. Each envelope can be read and understood by itself without reading the whole profile. At the bottom of each envelope is the source with an electronic link enabling the user to access the complete document from which the envelope is drawn.

According to the pyramid approach, the actual profile contains only IDP specific information. A critical component of the database is thus its capacity not only to centralize information but also to manage information in such a way that users can quickly find IDP specific facts without feeling overwhelmed by surrounding contextual information. Another advantage of the approach is that the 'sources section' still acts as an archive of IDP-

related information on a country basis. As the database enters 2000, the NRC is pursuing several new avenues of development including:

- i. An increase to 35 countries covered by the end of the year with regular updating of profiles already in the database

Some of the countries identified for inclusion in the second phase are: Armenia, Croatia, China, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Iraq, Liberia, Nigeria, Philippines, Republic of Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Turkey. The profiles of the existing 15 countries will, of course, also be regularly updated.

- ii. The development of information sharing arrangements with selected organizations that have already established information networks

NRC is hoping that the information sharing agreements and the regional networks will increase the scope and plurality of sources. The actual agreements will be guidelines between the NRC and the organisation concerned on the kind of information that researchers, desk officers, field offices or headquarters can regularly send for inclusion in the database. The agreements are designed to facilitate information exchange by giving permission to share certain kinds of information without going through a lengthy authorization process.

- iii. The development of regional information networks devoted to coverage of IDP issues with national NGOs and research institutions

One of the stated advantages of the IASC 'outsourcing' the database to an NGO was to encourage active information exchange with NGOs who may otherwise be reluctant to share information with the UN. In order to facilitate the search for information, the NRC proposes to

develop regional information networks to bring together national NGOs, research institutions and individuals with information on internal displacement to discuss the establishment of regional information networks.

As Francis Deng remarked on the initial launch of the database, this is a dream come true. We hope that users, along with NRC, will ensure that the database becomes a useful tool in promoting the assistance and protection needs of the internally displaced.

**Marc Vincent is Coordinator of the Global IDP Project.**

See p38 for details of recent and forthcoming IDP workshops.

**The Directorate**

The Global IDP Project is a project of the Norwegian Refugee Council, and is administered through its Geneva office.

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 & Gry Sandö

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**Website**

Visit our database on internal displacement and get more information about the Global IDP Project on [www.idpproject.org](http://www.idpproject.org)

**Contact us**

If you have any questions or comments, please contact us at:

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- Norwegian Refugee Council
- Oxfam GB
- The Ford Foundation, Cairo Office
- Trocaire
- World Vision (UK)





## The dilemma of regroupment in Burundi

During the last three months of 1999, more than 330,000 people have been forced from their homes in the Bujumbura Rural region of Burundi and 'regrouped' into temporary camps. These camps, often remote and isolated, for the most part lack even the most basic services. The health and nutritional status of the population is fast deteriorating and, if the current situation persists, it is only a matter of time before acute malnutrition and cholera (which has already caused fatalities in the camps) begin to claim large numbers of lives.

The forced displacement of the rural population is the result of a deliberate and planned military policy by a government which feels (with some justification) that it has a free hand to do what it needs to in order to secure its own future against the real threat posed by armed opposition. For its part, the international community has done next to nothing to challenge this view. With the notable exception of the several high-level UNOCHA delegations aimed at upholding the rights of the IDPs in Burundi, almost the only voices raised in protest have been those of the NGOs who provide humanitarian assistance on the ground in Burundi - precisely those organizations which risk expulsion if they do so.

To compound matters further, the humanitarian community's ability to present a united front to the government has been compromised by the discontinuity of coordination at UN level. Since the murder of two senior UN officials in eastern Burundi in early October, and the departure of the majority of UN personnel, the UN has been virtually paralysed, unable to effectively coordi-

nate humanitarian intervention or the lobbying of the government and military authorities.

Despite this, several NGOs and some remaining UN agencies have attempted to lay down conditions under which they would intervene in the camps. These conditions include humanitarian NGOs, as far as possible, having independence from military authorities in their work, having free and facilitated access to the camps, being able to carry out human rights monitoring, being assured an acceptable level of security and having access to an independent security monitoring system. To date, these conditions are nowhere near being met, despite the protestations of the government to the contrary.

Some agencies have felt driven by the levels of need to go ahead with work in the camps whether conditions are met or not. The most prominent of these has been MSF, who until recently were working in five of the most accessible camps. At the beginning of November, however, MSF announced that it was suspending its work. The conditions in the camps - lack of accessibility, poor security and more or less open obstruction by military and local authorities - were making it virtually impossible to work consistently or to monitor impact.

For their pains, MSF have earned the scorn of the government and, more seriously, have become the focus in its increasingly noisy threats to expel agencies who refuse to work in the camps. The case of MSF highlights the powerlessness of NGOs working in Burundi and the inability (or unwillingness) of the international community to effect any real impact on the plight of regrouped populations.

With governments largely silent and the UN conspicuously under-resourced,

there is little humanitarian agencies can do at present but undertake small scale 'key-hole surgery' - intervening when and where access and security allows. Such work is never going to achieve anything like a solution to the situation but there is a grudging admission among many agencies that imperfect intervention is better than no intervention at all.

**Ben Taylor**

See: MSF website at [www.msf.org/](http://www.msf.org/)

Jesuit Refugee Service website at: [www.JesRef.org/](http://www.JesRef.org/)

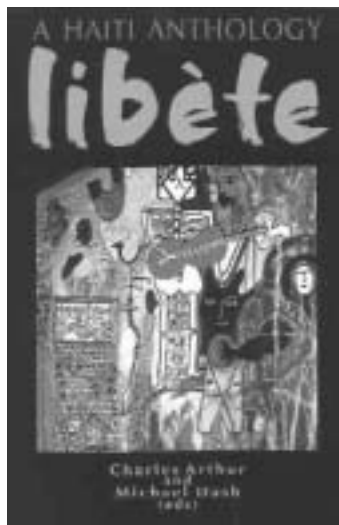
## Forced deportations of Haitians from the Dominican Republic

Nobody knows exactly how many people were rounded up by security forces and forcibly deported from the Dominican Republic to Haiti in November. Human rights groups estimate that anywhere from 8,000 to 20,000 Haitians and people of Haitian descent were deported in the space of a few weeks after the Dominican government reacted angrily to a report published on 30 October by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. The report condemned the treatment of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic, accusing the Dominican government of violating human rights standards by denying citizenship to children born in the Dominican Republic to unregistered Haitian immigrants.

Across the country, Dominican soldiers and police rounded up those suspected of being Haitian and then trucked them to the border. The Haitian authorities were overwhelmed with the numbers of people dumped at the three official border posts of Ouanaminthe, Malpasse and Anse-à-Pitres, and could offer no confirmation of reports that large numbers of people were also being deported at more remote, unofficial crossing points during the night.



The Dominican government said that those deported were illegal immigrants from Haiti but, according to journalists who visited the border, many of them had spent their whole lives in the Dominican Republic and had never lived in Haiti. In a belated response to the wave of deportations, Haiti's President, René Préval, condemned the expulsions and accused the Dominican government of expelling the Haitians without giving them fair hearings or allowing them to collect their belongings.



Estimates of the number of Haitians, and Dominicans of Haitian descent, living in the Dominican Republic range from 400,000 up to one million. The absence of any reliable statistics itself highlights the irregular status of this segment of the population. Since the early decades of this century, thousands of Haitians have crossed the border each year to work as cane-cutters in Dominican sugar-cane plantations. Most return to Haiti after the harvest but significant numbers have stayed on, and they and their children have never been able to register as Dominican citizens. Thousands of these stateless people live in the more than 200 cane-cutter camps - known as *bateyes*. In more recent times, Haitians have crossed the border to find work as coffee pickers, and labourers and gardeners serving the burgeoning Dominican tourism industry.

While the Dominican economy has undoubtedly benefitted from this source of cheap labour, a succession of right-wing Dominican governments has used the Haitian presence as a political scapegoat to distract Dominicans' attention from other issues. The dictators, Trujillo and Balaguer, both stirred up racial antagonism against the darker-skinned Haitians with warnings of a *de facto*

Haitian 'invasion'. In 1991, an estimated 7,000 Haitians were deported and only two years ago, in early 1997, as many as 20,000 people were forced across the border.

According to some analysts, the current deportations are linked to right-wing political manoeuvring ahead of the May 2000 presidential election in the Dominican Republic. Others, however, suggest that the recent privatisation of the Dominican sugar industry means that the presence

of women, children and old men in the *bateyes* is no longer acceptable, and that the new owners are seeking to rid the plantations of unproductive inhabitants.

**Charles Arthur, Coordinator of the Haiti Support Group**

For more information see: National Coalition for Haitian Rights report 'Beyond the Bateyes' at [www.nchr.org/reports/Bateyes.PDF](http://www.nchr.org/reports/Bateyes.PDF) Quixote Center news updates at [//quixote.org/haiti/index.html](http://quixote.org/haiti/index.html) Service Information de CRAD (in French) at [//rehred-haiti.net/membres/crad/sicrad/index.html](http://rehred-haiti.net/membres/crad/sicrad/index.html)

Arthur C and Dash M (eds) *Libète: A Haiti Anthology*, 1999. Latin America Bureau. ISBN 1-899365-29-X. LAB, 1 Amwell St, London EC1R 1UL, UK. Tel: 0171 278 2829. Email: [lab@gn.apc.org](mailto:lab@gn.apc.org) Website: [www.lab.org.uk](http://www.lab.org.uk)

**Ombudsman for Humanitarian Accountability**

After two years of research and consultation on the Humanitarian Ombudsman initiative, the Ombudsman Project Steering Committee has agreed on its general guiding rules and principles.

The objective of an Ombudsman for Humanitarian Accountability is to act as

an impartial and independent voice for those affected by disaster and conflict in order to strengthen the accountability of the international humanitarian system and to facilitate improved performance. The vision is of Ombudsmen operating in the majority of international humanitarian operations by 2010. This will be achieved through: an initial process of testing and refining models and methodologies in at least three operations; building a coalition of willing agencies, organisations and other parties; and then establishing the mechanism in a growing number of operations. The Ombudsman will operate on the basis of concerns raised by the affected population and in response to issues arising from the operation of the system. Its reference will be established humanitarian norms as contained in widely accepted codes of practice and in International Humanitarian Law, Human Rights Law and Refugee Law.

During an in-depth study of the concept in Kosovo, researchers identified a range of circumstances in which an Ombudsman could be seen to add value and, if in place, could improve immediate performance of agencies on the ground. In consultation with both agencies and claimants in Kosovo, they were able to make recommendations for how the Ombudsman could operate in practice.

The aim is to see the concept tested in at least three locations over a two to three year period. In order to prepare the groundwork for this, the project intends to establish a coalition of International Humanitarian Agencies willing to take the concept forward.

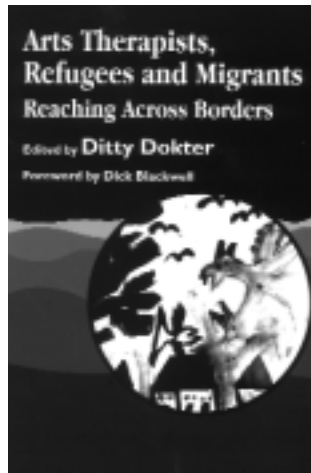
For further information, contact: Humanitarian Ombudsman Project, c/o British Red Cross, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, London SW1X 7EJ, UK. Tel: +44 (0)171 201 5169. Fax: +44 (0)171 235 0397. Email: [ddoane@redcross.org.uk](mailto:ddoane@redcross.org.uk) Internet: [www.oneworld.org/ombudsman](http://www.oneworld.org/ombudsman)

The Steering Committee for the Humanitarian Ombudsman Project includes the British Red Cross, CAFOD, CARE International (UK), DFID, Merlin, Oxfam GB, RedR, British Refugee Council, Save the Children (UK), ODI and World Vision UK.



**Arts Therapists, Refugees and Migrants: Reaching Across Borders**

edited by Ditty Dokter. Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd. 1998. 288pp. ISBN 1-85302-550-X. £15.95 (US\$27.95)



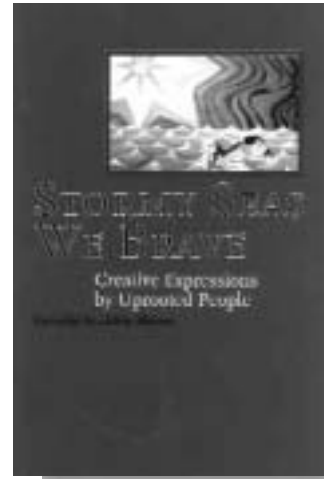
Refugees are subjected to traumatic loss of family and home and the consequent deterioration of cultural identity as they seek asylum in other countries. Ditty Dokter (Senior Lecturer in Dramatherapy at the University of Hertfordshire, UK) and other contributors from a number of multicultural backgrounds examine the issues surrounding intercultural arts therapies as a means of working refugees and migrants. The role of art, music, dance and drama in healing the effects of trauma and restoring the sense of cultural and personal identity is discussed, emphasising the need for sensitivity to cultural differences in practice.

Contact: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 116 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JB, UK.  
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Fax: +44 (0)171 837 2917.  
Email: post@jkp.com  
Website: www.jkp.com

**Stormy Seas We Brave: Creative Expressions by Uprooted People**

compiled by Helene Moussa. World Council of Churches. 1998. 176pp. ISBN 2-8254-1281-3. £12.95 (US\$22.50; Sfr29.50) plus 20% for post/packing.

This book presents poems, lyrics, reflections, dramas and visual artworks by refugees, IDPs and migrants. The contributors "express their struggle to nourish their roots at the same time as they try to rebuild their lives. Feelings of homesickness or longing for the familiar environment are ways of maintaining



what is valued from the past while at the same time searching to belong to the new environment. Remembering is part of the process of reconstructing their lives despite the 'storms' that uprooted them." (taken from the Introduction by Helene Moussa)

Contact: World Council of Churches, PO Box 2100, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland.  
Tel: +41 22 791 6111.  
Fax: +41 22 798 1346.

**East Timor: A Crisis of Displacement**

by Jana Mason. US Committee for Refugees. November 1999. 15pp. \$5.00.

This report examines the background to the crisis and includes recommendations for the international community regarding humanitarian action in this fast-changing emergency.

Contact: Raci Say, USCR, 1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, Suite 200, Washington DC 20036-2003, USA.  
Tel: +1 202 347 3507.  
Fax: +1 202 347 3418.  
Website: www.refugees.org

**East Timor: Forced Expulsions to West Timor**

Human Rights Watch. December 1999.

This report documents the continuing obstacles to return for East Timorese refugees in West Timor and other parts of Indonesia. An estimated 75,000 to 110,000 refugees are still in camps. Obstacles to return include death threats against families seeking to leave, attacks on convoys heading back for East Timor, militia-spread disinformation portraying East Timor as a desperate and dangerous



place, and the presence in the camps of militia leaders believed to be responsible for attacks on civilians earlier in the year. In the report, Human Rights Watch also sets forth new testimonial and documentary evidence that the expulsions were the result of a planned, systematic campaign coordinated by the Indonesian military. Human Rights Watch urges that international investigators preparing for a possible international tribunal should undertake more intensive gathering of evidence, including investigation of militia leaders whose whereabouts in the camps is known.

Contact: Publications Department, Human Rights Watch, 350 Fifth Ave, 34th Floor, New York, NY 10118-3299, USA. Tel: +1 212 216 1813. Also available at [www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)

### **The Wall of Denial: Internal Displacement in Turkey**

by Bill Frelick. US Committee for Refugees. 1999. 44pp. \$5.00.



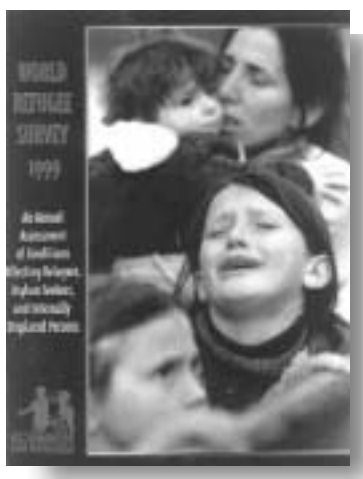
Turkey has the second largest population of IDPs in the world yet neither the ICRC nor UNHCR has undertaken any activities on their behalf. This paper examines the causes and consequences of displacement in Turkey and explores why internal displacement in Turkey has failed to attract international attention and response.

Contact: Raci Say, USCR, 1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, Suite 200, Washington DC 20036-2003, USA. Tel: +1 202 347 3507. Fax: +1 202 347 3418. Website: [www.refugees.org](http://www.refugees.org)

If you produce or know of publications which might be of interest to other FMR readers, please send details (and preferably a copy) to the Editors (address p2) with details of price and how to obtain a copy.

### **World Refugee Survey 1999**

US Committee for Refugees. 1999. 284pp. \$19.00.



The annual *World Refugee Survey* reports on conditions for refugees, IDPs and asylum seekers in 128 countries, with sections on statistics, articles, country reports and a directory of organisations providing information about or assistance to refugees. This edition includes articles on: 'The decade in review' (by Kathleen Newland); 'The strange logic of Internal Flight Alternative' (Bill Frelick); 'Restrictive interpretations of 'agents of persecution' in Germany and France' (Steven Edminster); 'US migration controls move south of the border' (Melanie Nezer); and 'Palestinian refugees in Lebanon' (Steven Edminster).

Contact: USCR, 1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, Suite 200, Washington DC 20036-2003, USA. Tel: +1 800 307 4712. Website: [www.refugees.org](http://www.refugees.org)

### **The US Government and Internally Displaced Persons: Present, But Not Accounted For**

by James Kunder. Brookings Institution Project on Internal Displacement and US Committee for Refugees. Nov 1999. 21pp.

This is an evaluation of US policies and programmes with regard to large-scale, immediate problems of internal displacement. Includes a series of recommendations to promote a more integrated and effective response.

Contact: Raci Say, USCR, 1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, Suite 200, Washington DC 20036-2003, USA. Tel: +1 202 347 3507. Fax: +1 202 347 3418. Website: [www.refugees.org](http://www.refugees.org)

### **Nashra Al-Hijra Al-Qasriya and Revista sobre Migraciones Forzosas**

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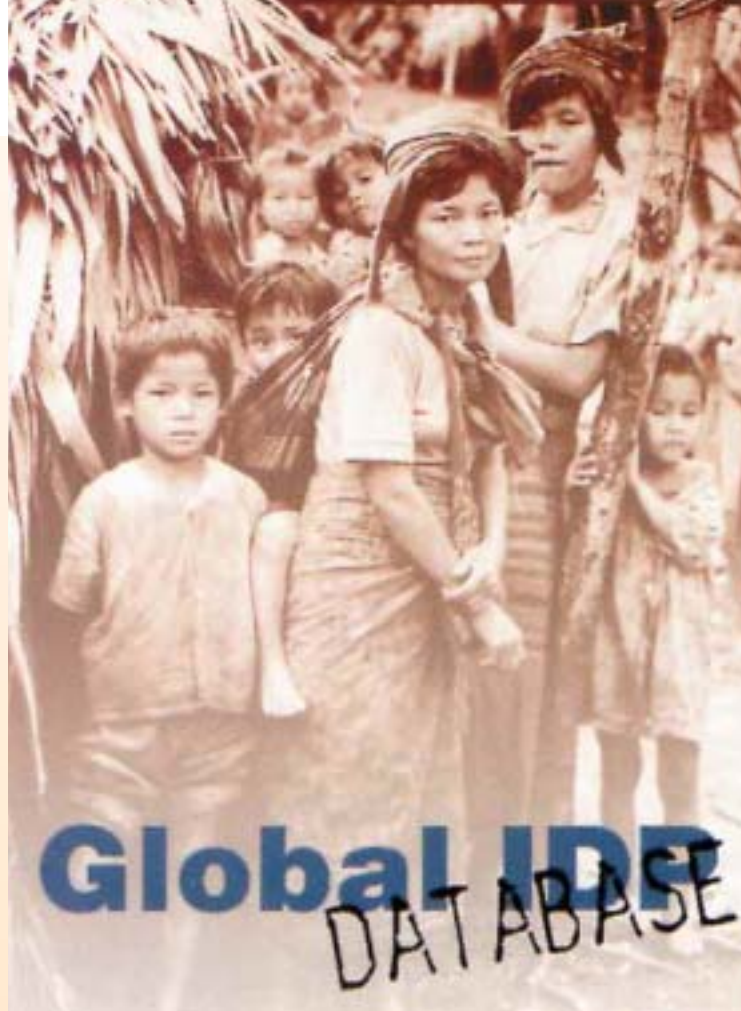
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*When people flee from the threat of death and total dispossession, the things and stories they carry with them may be all that remains of their distinctive personhood to provide for future continuity.*

*(David Parkin: see p9)*