A Refugee Sensitive Framework for the Horn of Africa for Africa Peace Forum (APFO) and IDRC

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By

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Acronyms

UN-United Nations

OAU-Organization of Africa Unity

AU-African Union

IGAD-Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

EAC–East Africa Community

UNHCR-United Nation High Commission for Refugees

OCHA-Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

CPMR-Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution

DLI-Developing through Local Integration

SPLM/A- Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army

LRA-Lords Resistance Army

NGO-Non Governmental Organization

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Executive summary

The research problem is situated in the realization that, whereas there is a large number of refugees and IDPs in the Horn of Africa, the framework for their security among humanitarian bodies, agencies and governments focuses on physical protection rather than on ensuring human security. This research thus focuses on examining avenues for having in place a refugee security framework that prioritizes human security of refugees through fundamentally addressing their basic human needs and fears.

The conceptual framework of this research is situated in the relatively new yet widely used concept of 'human security' that serves to describe the complex of interrelated threats associated with civil war, genocide, and the displacement of populations, among others. Important to note is the distinction between human security and physical security. While physical security focuses on the defense of individuals and communities from external attack, human security is about protecting individuals and communities from any form of violence. While all proponents of human security agree that its primary goal is the protection of individuals, consensus breaks down over what threats individuals should be protected from. Proponents of the 'narrow' concept of human security focus on violent threats to individuals, while recognizing that these threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and various forms of socio-economic and political inequity. Proponents of the 'broad' concept of human security argue that the threat agenda should be broadened to include hunger, disease, and natural disasters because these kill far more people than war, genocide, and terrorism combined. This is where the proposed security framework finds its ground.

In the Horn of Africa, the refugee problem has been recurrent dating back to the early 1990s when serious armed conflicts began to erupt in the various nations of the Horn. Since then, the political situation has remained volatile and countries in the region continue to experience both domestic crises and external pressures.

For the case of the Horn of Africa, several main factors that compel migration include increasing armed violence, ethnic and racial conflict, environmental degradation, shortage of land, drought, and denial of democracy. Put another way, migration cannot be explained only as a rational choice by persons who have evaluated the costs and benefits of relocating and made a choice they felt most likely to fulfill their needs. Rather, account must also be made of "macro" factors that encourage, induce or often, compel migration. Many people who today do so in response to factors such as armed conflict, adverse environmental catastrophes, political oppression, ethnic and tribal/clan clashes, and State collapse

In pursuit of designing a refugee sensitive security framework for the Horn of Africa, strengths and weaknesses of existing frameworks for refugee protection have been evaluated and an appropriate framework designed. This refugee sensitive framework could serve as a basis for integrating all the Horn nations, neighboring host nations and the donor and humanitarian agencies' efforts towards realization of adequate security and human living conditions for refugees. Such a framework, in the context of conflict and insecurity, must not be viewed as an end, but rather as a means to attaining long-term stability in the Horn of Africa. This will require concerted efforts from each party that is affected by or affects the nature of interaction that refugees face in new foreign environments.

The various frameworks for refugee security that are applied by several bodies and agencies that are working for refugee well being in the Horn region include international legal frameworks, physical protection, host governments' institutional frameworks, and humanitarian assistance and resettlement frameworks. In the paper, a number of interventions that will strategically support the successful implementation of the human security framework are also presented. In general, all these various national and international frameworks tend to focus on immediate interventions of relief aid and assistance to the detriment of long-term interventions that would ensure the empowerment and self-sufficiency of displaced populations. Similarly, there is often little specific concern for, and attention being paid to, gender issues with regards to refugees. Huge gender gaps can often be identified as women are most vulnerable to attacks and become the victims of sexual exploitation, forced marriages, and more. As women face different challenges than men, both in magnitude and scope, through the lens of a comprehensive human

security framework, women should rightly be protected from abuse by uncouth aid agencies workers and other often-abusive male camp dwellers.

The elements that embody the proposed human security framework are demonstrated through critically analyzing the frameworks that have been operational in refugee handling sections in the Horn of Africa. First, there is a need to consolidate the exiting frameworks through their strengthening and respect by IGAD member states in the Horn region and their re-orientation in order to address the human security needs to refuges. Second, emphasis should be placed on the coordinated management dimension whereby coordination and management are identified as cross-cutting functions that are critical for the successful implementation of all the dimensions and the coherence of the refugee security framework. Coordination entails developing strategies, determining objectives, planning, sharing information, the division of roles and responsibilities, and mobilizing resources. Mandates, roles and activities should as such be synchronized. Third, the governance dimension should be improved, involving the development of legitimate and effective political institutions in all the affected nations, encouraging democratic participatory processes, and reforming the bureaucracy at all tiers of government. Fourth, the physical security component addresses those activities aimed at ensuring a safe and secure enabling environment for the internal and external actors. Finally, other elements of the proposed framework are the re-integration of refugees, the rebuilding of conflict-torn societies, the promotion of respect for human rights and justice and, lastly, the strengthening of existing national frameworks/creation of new frameworks in nations where none exist.

Section 1:   **Introduction**

The refugee question is very crucial on the global stage as a large number of people across nations have been internally displaced mainly as a result of conflicts and natural calamities while many more have fled for safety to other nations. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)[i], the vast majority of all refugees are located in developing countries. In 2004, the number of refugees worldwide fell for the fourth year running to 9.2 million, the lowest figure for 25 years.(UNHCR, 2006).

However, the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) – or refugees who have not crossed a state border – asylum seekers, and stateless people rose by more than two million in the same period. This took the number of people being helped by the UNHCR to 19.2 million compared to 17 million in 2003. The drop in refugees largely reflected the continuing high number of voluntary returns, with some 1.5 million former refugees opting to go home.[ii]

However, in 2006 the number of people of concern to UNHCR worldwide rose to 20.8 million, up six percent from the 2005 total of 19.5 million. The increase reflected the sum of various ups and downs among the different groups assisted by the agency, including refugees, civilians who have returned home but still need help, people displaced internally within their own countries, asylum seekers, and stateless people. [iii]

It should be mentioned that there are approximately 20 million displaced peoples in the world, the majority of whom are to be found in the poorest countries of the world, as Europe and North America continue to tighten restrictions for entry of refugees from the third world countries. In the early 1960s, there were only about 900,000 refugees on the African continent, but today, for reasons including civil wars and political instability, the number has more than quadrupled. [iv]

At the continental level, the conflict landscape in Africa today shows marked improvement when compared to that of six years ago when eleven major armed conflicts were occurring. Sierra Leone is now in the post-conflict rebuilding phase while in Liberia, 57, 000 refugees have returned and, along with many IDPs, continue to make the journey home. In Burundi, Hutu rebels and the Tutsi-dominated army declared an end to hostilities and elections were

successfully conducted in July 2005. Following the end of a 27-year civil war, Angolans are gearing up for elections in September 2006.[v] As noted before, the refugee problem in most African states has been mainly caused by civil wars.

However, Africa continues to face serious challenges, with a majority of these challenges directly related or linked to armed conflict, differences in social and religious norms and practices, human rights violations, economic instability, preventable diseases and natural disasters. These challenges have together exacerbated an underreported challenge – that of refugees and IDPs. At the end of 2004, UNHCR estimates placed the number of refugees in Africa at 2,748, 400 – 30% of the global refugee population. Of the world's estimated 25 million IDPs, Africa was home to over half, or 13 million. (Harriete, 2005). Such numbers represent a daunting challenge for African nations when one takes into account that a majority of countries on the continent lag behind on most global development indicators.[vi] It should be noted that whereas the number of refugees has been significantly gone down, the number of IDPs has on the contrary gone up.

When we zero down to the Horn of Africa sub-region[2] , we realize that the refugee problem has been recurrent dating back to the early 1990s after the collapse of the Said Barre regime when serious armed conflicts began to erupt in the various nations of the Horn. Since then, the political situation has remained volatile and countries in the region continue to experience both domestic crises and external pressures. By the end of 1999, the Eritrea-Ethiopia border conflict had caused hundreds of thousands of people to be displaced internally or deported. During that same year, the total number of refugees in the Horn of Africa ranged between 1,370,690 million in January to 1,226,770 million in December.[vii] On the other hand, Somalia remained fragmented and unstable as more factions emerged in the south, and northeast Somalia was thrown into turmoil over competition for its presidency.[viii] Much as in any other conflict prone area, more people continue to flee for safety to neighboring nations all through the Horn of Africa.

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2 For the purposes of this research the Horn will refer to all IGAD member states namely; Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda

There has been a recurring problem of refugees through out the recent history of the Horn of Africa and there is an urgent need for preventive intervention to check further refugee crises. However, in light of the existing problem of the very large numbers of refugees and other displaced people, this research seeks to find a curative through availing safe living conditions to the current refugees while at the same time finding ways of checking conditions that cause flight.

In 2001, UNHCR assisted 97,000 refugees to return to their places of origin in safety and dignity: 53,947 Somalis; 9,329 pre-1991 Ethiopians; 32,741 Eritreans; 458 Djibouti Afars; and 154 Ugandans. Those refugees with concerns about security and integration in their countries of asylum were helped whenever possible to resettle in a third country. Where neither of those solutions could be attained, refugees continued to receive protection and assistance to live in dignity in their countries of asylum. These interventions were possible only with the cooperation and support of host and recipient governments, regional organizations and other partners.[ix] Whether they arrive in massive numbers or not, with few exceptions, most refugees find their own way within the host society and, whether in rural or urban areas, become what have been termed as 'self-settled'.

> Most refugees in the Horn have always been, as UNHCR described them, 'spontaneously' or freely settled among the local population and their survival has been as a result of their own efforts, the generosity of local hosts, and the extent to which they could gain access to employment in the formal or informal economic sectors and share in the health, education and other services intended for nationals. Studies have repeatedly shown that despite the availability of food aid and services in places of encampment, people prefer freedom and the autonomy to decide and rebuild their own lives.[x]

Table I: IDP Distribution in the Horn of Africa

Country	No. of IDPs	UN Figures
Eritrea	50.509	50.509, August 2005
Ethiopia	150.000-265.000	150.000, December 2004; 265.000 April

		2005
Kenya	381.924	381.924, August 2005
Sudan	5.355.000	5.355.000, April 2006
Uganda	2.000.000	2.000.000, May 2006
Somalia	370.000-400.000	370.000-400.000, August 2005

Source: International displacement monitoring centre, 2006 [xi]

Definitions

Refugee

The UN 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol identifies five main characteristics that should be used to determine individual refugee status: a refugee is a person who leaves her/his country of residence to escape persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular group, or political opinion.[xii]

In Africa, the 1951 Convention is complemented by the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention that recognizes a refugee as "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality."[xiii]

IDPs

UNHCR describes these as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border. Both refugees and IDPs often leave their homes for similar reasons. Civilians become internationally recognized as 'refugees' when they cross a national frontier to seek

sanctuary in another country. The internally displaced remain for whatever reason in their own states.(UNHCR, 2006).

How does UNHCR treat IDPs in contrast with refugees?

IDPs often face a far more insecure future than refugees do. They may for example, be trapped in an ongoing internal conflict, without a safe place to stay. The domestic government, which may view the uprooted people as 'enemies of the state', retains ultimate control over their fate. There are no specific international instruments covering the internally displaced, and general agreements such as the Geneva Conventions are often difficult to apply. Until now, donors have been reluctant to intervene in internal conflicts and help this group. A second country generally offers a newly arrived refugee a place of safety, food and shelter and a well-defined body of international laws and conventions protects refugees. The UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations work within this legal framework to help refugees restart their lives in a new country or eventually return home. (UNHCR, 2006).

Migrant

A migrant is "a person on the move, either voluntarily or involuntarily, in the person's own country, internationally, or both". Migrants are not always living in the fear or danger of persecution experienced by refugees who are forced to flee the troubles of their homes. Nevertheless, migrants deserve the welcome and support commensurate to their dignity as human persons. [xiv] Today there is an estimated 27 million migrants in the world.[xv]

The decisions made by individual human beings to uproot themselves, leave their homes and homelands and migrate elsewhere, are based on a number of factors rather than one simple reason. Any discussion of motives for human migration must include consideration of political, economic, social and environmental aspects.

Human security

Human security is a relatively new concept, but one that is now widely used to describe the complex of interrelated threats associated with civil war, genocide and the displacement of populations. The distinction between human security and national security is an important one.

While national security focuses on the defense of the state from all attacks, human security is about protecting individuals and communities from any form of violence. While all proponents of human security agree that its primary goal is the protection of individuals, consensus breaks down over what threats individuals should be protected from. Proponents of the 'narrow' concept of human security focus on violent threats to individuals, while recognizing that these threats are strongly associated with poverty, lack of state capacity and various forms of socio-economic and political inequity.

Proponents of the 'broad' concept of human security articulated in the UN Development Programmes' 1994 Human Development Report, and the Commission on Human Security's 2003 report 'Human Security Now', argue that the threat agenda should be broadened to include hunger, disease and natural disasters because these kill far more people than war, genocide and terrorism combined. [xvi]

Purpose of a refugee sensitive security framework

A refugee sensitive framework will be a basis for integrating all the Horn nations, neighboring host nations and the donor and humanitarian agencies' efforts towards realization of adequate security and human living conditions for the refugees.

This broad framework was developed through studying and analyzing the current refugee protection frameworks in place and understanding their weaknesses and strengths.

The refugee problem in the Horn of Africa

Among the major problems in the Horn is displacement of populations as a result of instability and conflict. The effects/shockwaves thereof are seen in the ever-increasing numbers of refugees and migrants all over the states of the region. The multi-faceted crises taking place have become the identity card of the region which is well known for its civil and interstate wars, internal displacement, refugees, famine and hunger. Most of the states in the region are either weak or failed (Somalia). [xvii]

Refugees' human rights are also severely abused in many ways, including but not limited to denial of access to education, jobs, and protection, sexual harassment, and relegation to the

poorest human living conditions. There is also a recognizably rising trend in inter-group conflicts especially with hosting communities as a result of competition for scarce resources such as land and social services. The refugees on many counts have been the weaker, oppressed, suppressed and vulnerable side (legally, politically, financially and physically). This is seen through the lens of refugees' dependence on camp provisions for basic survival unlike the hosting populace that normally live on what they produce.

Further to this, it is apparently clear that women refugees face a number of challenges that are completely different in scope and magnitude from those faced by male refugees. It should be categorically noted that women are more often than not subject to sexual abuse. This is not limited to the adults, but also to a cross-section of the girl children and adolescents. With regard to survival of mothers and their children, this is also another glaring challenge that this specific security framework seeks to address. When it comes to refugee security in IDP and refugee camps[4], these rights are not an exception but rather have to be defended. The children and women refugees are normally very vulnerable to abuse as they have limited ability to struggle for survival with men on such unleveled ground as a refugee settlement or camp.

Gender gaps are evident in issues where one group, especially women and children, are not deliberately protected from exploitation and abuse, and are not given equal opportunities in comparison to their male counterparts. For example, in the IDP camps in Northern Uganda cases of sexual exploitation of women in exchange of favours for food aid have been widely reported. In another instance in Somalia, young girls among populations displaced by conflict are time and again forced into marriage with older men as second, third or fourth wives so that the men can support their starving families. (Angela, 2005) [xviiixlviii].

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4 A refugee camp is a collection of tents and shelters that are home to refugees. Some of the larger camps are home to thousands of people and rows of tents stretch for miles. British Broadcasting Corporation. URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/cbbcnews/hi/newsid_4020000/newsid_4026000/4026055.stm [2 August 2006]

In the face of this unfortunate state of affairs, there is no adequate refugee sensitive security framework in the sub-region that addresses the plight of refugees in terms of their social and physical well being. The framework for their security among humanitarian bodies, agencies and governments focuses on physical protection rather that on meeting human needs. Whereas there are many efforts to resettle and protect refugees in all major hosting nations, human security for refugees remains wanting.

Furthermore, the current international debate is simply revolving around the question of attainment of 'permanent refugee status'. Similarly, the most significant issues in the current debate among the scholars and policy makers regarding refugee-related work has been the non-uniformity of immigration rules and refugee tracking systems across hosting nations that have seemingly disfavored the refugees all through. This has to be changed if a refugee sensitive security framework that focuses on human security is to be put in place.

Such a framework, in the context of conflict and insecurity, must not be viewed as an end, but rather as a means to attaining long-term stability in the Horn of Africa. This will require concerted efforts from each party that is affected by or affects the nature of interaction that refugees face in new foreign environments.

Research Methodology

Secondary data in form of published literature was the main source of the information used for this study. To achieve clear and coherent product in the research, a standard thematic format was followed in process of data analysis.

The scope of study is the Horn of Africa, neighboring host nations and several of the aid agencies that are involved in providing humanitarian assistance and protection of refugees and their rights. Wherever it was not in the interest of the informants, the researcher does not mention names of the same without their permission.

The need for a refugee sensitive framework

A security framework that is sensitive to the plight of refugees in the Horn of Africa is urgently needed. Based on an understanding of the plight of refugees on security, legal and social grounds, it is prominently pertinent that this kind of framework be designed and adopted for immediate application. Refugees in the Horn are living in unpleasant conditions where they survive on the bare minimum with little or no medical care services, clothing, food or adequate shelter. They are not sure of tomorrow and as such, a user-specific security framework has to be designed so as to allow for specific-standards for better livelihoods in camps and other refugee settlements. Refugees are often helpless people who will only wait for peace and security to be restored in their areas of origin before thy return. They must through such a framework as this have a voice so that their human rights are not violated with impunity.

It should be noted that an applicable response to refugee sensitive security in the context of the changing economic patterns and political environment demands a new conceptual and institutional framework. Initially, it must be realized that as a result of the persistent problems of governance and violations of human rights in the Horn of Africa, those suffering persecution and caught up in violent conflict will inevitably continue to seek asylum and refuge outside their mother nations. Durable solutions for refugee situations must be sought bearing in mind the human security needs of refugees and the security threats posed to hosting nations.

It is also important to note that the refugee situation and refugee reception in the Horn of Africa is changing as new restrictions and refugee policy changes are instituted; this calls for quick interventions. The willingness of hosting nations to accept refugee inflows is clearly fading especially with regard to the question of national security. Refugees are perceived not simply as victims of conflict and deserving of refuge, but also as bearers of direct threats to security. Classification of refugees as threats to security is prompted by the fear that among those arriving at the border alongside refugee populations are armed combatants. [xix] This calls for swift intervention to come to rescue many of those fleeing people.

On the other hand, protection of displaced populations is also a very important part of refugee work, and has increasingly come under siege in recent conflicts. These wars result in

extraordinary violence and produce huge numbers of refugees who cannot be screened individually on routine basis, yet they include people who may have committed atrocities and participated in human rights abuses and genocide. Helping the innocent may entail unintended support for the conflict and lead to serious problems, not the least of which is ensuring security for genuine refugees including foreign relief officials. [xx] With regard to this, the study would seek to justify physical security for affected refugees as an important sub-component of human security.

An effective refugee security framework cannot be developed without first understanding the plight of the refugees, and displaced and fleeing persons as victims of impending circumstances. The number of refugees is statistically on the rise and therefore the need to have in place a refugee sensitive security framework is a priority. A refugee sensitive security framework for the Horn of Africa is needed if refugees' human security is to be prioritized.

Therefore, if a refugee sensitive framework for security is developed, the chances of occurrence of human catastrophes resulting from refugee insecurity will be technically reduced as a matter of cross-border and bi-lateral policy.

Section 2   Refugee situation in the Horn of Africa

This section describes refugees' situation in each country in the Horn of Africa with emphasis on exposing the number of affected people and the conditions to which they are subjected. Another sub-section explains the major causes of flight[3] in the region.

Djibouti

There are 25,605 refugees in Djibouti, the majority of which come from Somalia. Despite its modest resources, the country has always applied a generous hospitality in hosting refugees whose welfare is managed by the National Office for Assistance to Refugees and Disaster Victims (ONARS). (WFP, 2006). Food assistance to the refugees is crucial because they have no

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3 Flight refers to the act or an instance of running away; an escape and to take flight means to retreat; run away; flee. *Dictionary.com Unabridged. Flight.* URL: http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=flight&x=40&y=8 [7 July, 2006]

other means to feed themselves. They cannot grow their own food due to the arid climate and water shortage in Djibouti. Moreover, there are no employment opportunities in the remote areas where the camps are located. There are hardly any IDPs in Djibouti save for nomadic peoples who are victims of the persistent cyclic drought that occurred in the region during recent years.[xxi] According to the UN World Food Programme (WFP) 2006, by September 2006 food supplies for some 25,000 refugees living in Djibouti were rapidly running out, posing a serious risk of malnutrition. Within the same period, the aid agency was forced to reduce food rations by 20 percent due to insufficient resources. Refugees are no longer receiving rations of corn-soy blend, nutritious flour enriched with vitamins, while vegetable oil rations have been cut by 50 percent. Refugees are getting rations well below agreed international nutritional standards.

Eritrea

Eritrea is host to some 4,321 refugees from neighbouring countries. Eritrea also continues to host more than 50,000 IDPs who cannot return home due to delay in the border demarcation process following the 1998-2000 conflict with Ethiopia.

In 2005, roughly 45,400 persons remained displaced, out of whom 38,000 lived in 16 camps in Gash-Barka (12,850), Debub (24,250) and Northern Red Sea (600), and the rest (7,700) outside camps in Gash-Barka (ICC, May 2005). (IDMC, 2006).

The vast majority of the 1.1 million people displaced by the 1998-2000 border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea have long gone home. However, Ethiopia's refusal to accept the decision of an international arbitration commission has left approximately 40,000 Eritrean IDPs still unable to return. [xxii]

The internally displaced depend completely on relief assistance. Their living conditions are critical, with many emergency needs unaddressed. They live in makeshift settlements in camps and with host communities. Serious water shortages and poor sanitary conditions and a lack of adequate schools and clothing are just some of the difficulties they face. In order to rebuild their livelihoods, shelter is one of their basic needs, especially for families headed by women and without any income support. In addition to this, there are other categories of people to be reintegrated and whose livelihoods need to be reconstructed. Over one million former IDPs, expellees from Ethiopia and refugees who have returned to their home villages since the end of the fighting are unable to resume their livelihoods and remain dependent on humanitarian

assistance. Host communities, equally affected by the ramifications of war and drought, are struggling to cope with the added burden of returns.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia has so far repatriated 250,000 Somali refugees and continues to host 15,142 Somalis. The country has been hosting Sudanese refugees since 1983 and is currently hosting 73,588 refugees from Sudan. (IDMC, 2006).

This country also has IDPs whose estimates vary from 100,000 to 280,000, including some 60,000 drought IDPs. This report considers the displacement situations in the four regions of Tigray, Somali, Oromiya and Gambella. Drought displacement and the national resettlement scheme are mentioned as well. Displacement has been mainly caused by ethnic tensions exacerbated by the government's regionalisation policy along ethnic lines, tight political control from the centre, and widespread resource shortages in a chronically food-insecure country. There is no official line on who is an IDP and official recognition of IDPs is politically sensitive. While the displaced in some regions, such as Tigray and parts of Gambella, are said to be integrated in the government's food-for-work programme or receive food aid, many displaced are currently not recognised as such, which puts them in danger of being excluded from national food distribution schemes and the required protection. The refugees and IDPs situation of living is well below the minimum standards.

The rejection by Ethiopia of a supposedly legally binding Boundary Commission border demarcation ruling, issued in April 2002, caused renewed tensions between the two states, leading up to a stand-off at the end of 2005 along the border, and raising fears of renewed internal displacement in both countries.(IDMC, 2006).

Kenya

There are now 240,000 registered refugees in Kenya. There were thousands of more new arrivals from Somalia which had been wrecked by fighting between the Supreme Council of Islamic Courts, which took control of much of southern Somalia in June 2006 and Transitional Federal Government (TFG). Kenya's refugee camps were set up 15 years ago, and mainly host refugees from Somalia (62 percent) and Sudan (33 percent). These refugees are in Dadaab, Kakuma and other major urban centres. [xxiii] Kenyan authorities insist though, that that there are no IDPs in the

country apart from those temporarily displaced by drought, floods and other natural disasters. However, the majority of those internally displaced continue to live in dire conditions in urban areas, often in makeshift settlements, abandoned buildings or church compounds. Many of them lack access to clean water, food and sanitation. Over 70 per cent of the heads of household are single mothers. Women are often exposed to physical and sexual violence. Coping mechanisms among IDPs include petty trade, casual labour, charcoal burning and commercial sex work. Although women have a sad history of nearly universal and systematic suffering, the idea of group human rights for women is fatally undermined by problems of collective agency for a diverse group that includes half of humanity. In practice, of course, women in all countries of the world continue to suffer (more or less severe) deprivation and indignities as women. [xxiv]

The government has made primary level schooling free of charge and thereby removed a major obstacle for displaced and destitute children to attend classes, but statistics on displaced children attending classes are unavailable. There have been reports of rapes, arbitrary arrests and other human rights violations, often exacerbated by prolonged drought, unresolved land disputes, pauperization, lingering insecurity and evictions. The latter is part of the new government's policy of demolishing illegally constructed houses which affects IDPs, regular residents and urban migrants alike.[xxiv]

Somalia

Millions of refugees, returnees and IDPs are subjected to daily acts of violence, general insecurity, recurrent famine, widespread diseases, epidemics, and abject poverty culminating in loss of an entire generation. Refugees by and large receive protection and to a certain extent, their basic human rights are being satisfied, while IDPs on the other hand need to be protected with determination both nationally and regionally. In this regard, the primary concern is the protection of citizens despite the weak capacity of the national institutions to respond appropriately to internal displacement. [xxv] By the end of 2005, there was an estimated total of 370,000 to 400,000 IDPs out of a population of 6.8 million in Somalia. [xxvi] What is happening in Somalia is of concern to wider audiences in Africa and elsewhere. We face an era where the integrity of the state is challenged, large pieces of territory are ungoverned, and informal circuits of trade and finance are everywhere.

Currently, Mogadishu is under control of the interim transitional government supported by the Ethiopian army. Ugandan troops are also currently in Mogadishu as part of an AU peacekeeping mission aimed at ensuring safety for Somali populations in the clashes between the transitional government and the warlords.

Sudan

Sudan has been hosting a large number of refugees and currently continues to host about 665,829. (IGAD, 2002). Refugees have been categorized according to their ethnic, occupational and political affiliations into three distinct groups, namely those politically motivated because they hold views that are contrary to their political system, those who are of rural origin and who fled their countries in the face of oppression and injuries, and those who are urban dwellers who lost their means of livelihood as a result of uncertainties and political unrest. The second category, i.e. rural population, constitutes the majority of the refugees in the Sudan.[xxvii] The above categories have been used to define the settlement types in the country, namely agricultural settlements, rural settlements and urban settlements.

Since 1983, Sudan has suffered from a war between the Sudanese government and the SPLA/M rebels which has led to the death and displacement of millions of southern Sudanese and the destruction of its economy. While the conflict has ended, Sudan is still characterized by enduring violence, and Islamic law and oil have become the centerpieces of the Sudanese conflict. Furthermore, conflict is still devastating the population and its economy in the western Sudan region of Darfur. Since the outbreak of the war in 2003, more than 70,000 civilians have died, villages have been attacked, houses burnt, the economy destroyed, and citizens chased away from areas of oil exploitation. (Balachew, 2005). The conflict has displaced over 1.45 million people and sent another 200,000 fleeing across the border into Chad. Thousands have also been forced too flee into Uganda. [xxviii]

Interesting to note also is that, due to a lack of security, women and girls in camps are vulnerable to gender-based violence as they go about their daily activities. Women are vulnerable to attacks in sleeping areas, communal latrines and washing facilities. In addition, the incidence of rape is high when women leave camps in search of water, food and firewood. Several such incidents have been reported in Chad and in Darfur where Sudanese women have been raped by Janjaweed

militia and state soldiers on their way to fetch firewood. In some circumstances, refugees face detention if they leave the confines of camp for any reason; thus women in search of food or without identification documents have been placed in detention facilities where they risk being assaulted. [xxvix]

Uganda

Uganda has been hosting refugees since the 1940s and, given its geo-political location and the continued conflicts in its Northern region and in Southern Sudan, it currently hosts 250,000 refugees. On the other hand, the problem of IDPs in Uganda is mainly caused by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) war in Northern Uganda, which has resulted in the displacement of about 1.6 million people.

Generally, due to various reasons including war, famine and droughts, there is a reasonably large number of refugees in the Horn of Africa if compared to more stable and relatively developed regions like the North and South of Africa. All nations in the Horn at one time or another are either victims of refugee flight or hosts of fleeing populations.

Refugees are living in very deplorable conditions characterized by lack of enough food, adequate healthcare, and shelter. The refugees have access to minimum or no social and economic services, thus their survival is limited to the bare minimum. Both human and physical security is inadequate in refugee settlements and other scattered refugees and IDPs groups. This is because most host governments retain the absolute right to provide physical security for the refugees. However, in most cases, governments are not able to adequately handle refugee issues alone. Pertaining to human security, humanitarian aid agencies are commonly providing food, health care, and shelter to refugees, but only to a minimal level because the refugees are so many in number while the resources few and the duration of refugees' abode unpredictable as it is only dependent upon future conditions in the host countries as well as in the countries of origin.

Camps are getting very overcrowded and aid agencies are struggling to cope. There is not enough food to go around and despite the best efforts of these agencies, thousands are dying of starvation and disease.[xxxxxvix] Most refugees are living at the mercy of humanitarian agencies and

host governments without meaningful legal recognition. They lack solid legal rights to assimilation, equal access to opportunities in employment, education and the economy of hosting nations even after a long time. The African Charter on Human and people's rights (ACHPR) adopted OAU contains several guarantees on economic and social rights and provisions on non-discrimination and equality in enjoyment of such rights to all persons within a state's jurisdiction, whether nationals or non-nationals. For the case of most refugees, this Charter is only a dream.[xxxi] Moreover, those who desire to be assimilated into the hosting populace are often shunned or ignored.

On the other hand also, the majority of the refugee population is composed of women and children. This is mainly due to the fact that women and children are very vulnerable groups that find it hard to adequately defend themselves from emerging catastrophic conditions. At the same time, they own very few or no assets and productive resources that could cause them to persist in a troubled area of abode, so they often flee at the simplest scare. Unfortunately, women leave their homes in search of security, only to arrive in camps and find themselves vulnerable to serious atrocities and gender-based violence. Even though they make up the majority of camp residents, women are for the most part excluded from decision-making processes; they have little say on how the camp should be set up or run, which leads to the entrenchment of camp policies that fail to address their needs and concerns. [xxxii]

The situation of refugees, IDPs and occasional migrants vary from region to region and also from nation to nation. The situation in the Horn region is definitely shocking especially as the numbers of refugees are not going down as well as their conditions of living not changing for the better in any substantial and verifiable way.

Major causes of flight in the Horn of Africa

For the case of the Horn of Africa, several main factors that compel migration include increasing armed violence, ethnic and racial conflict, environmental degradation, shortage of land, drought and denial of democracy. Put another way, migration cannot be explained only as a rational choice by persons who have evaluated the costs and benefits of relocating and made a choice they felt most likely to fulfill their needs. Rather, account must also be made of "macro" factors that encourage, induce or often, compel migration. Many people who migrate today do so in

response to factors compelling them to move in order to survive and provide for the safety, dignity and well-being of themselves and their families.[xxxiii]

Armed conflict

War is the major cause of flight in the Horn of Africa. Since 1999, there has been an increase in the number of conflicts in the Horn and these have perpetuated misery and insecurity, consequently resulting in flight.

Pursuit of safety from conflicts is noticeably a common reason for flight in the Horn. Examples of major refugee flights arising from armed conflicts can be cited from the last century when Uganda was host to over a million refugees from Rwanda during the Genocide and in 2004-2005 when over half a million refugees fleeing Southern Sudan were being hosted by Uganda. Currently, there are thousands of refugees from conflict-affected areas of Somalia and Eritrea that are being hosted by Kenya. Inter-State wars, such as the recent conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and internal wars with cross-border dimensions, such as the civil wars in Sudan and Uganda, have caused massive displacement not only within their own borders, but also within one another's countries. There are also cases of more purely internal conflicts such as that in Somalia, and situations of generalized violence, such as in Kenya, where political and ethnic clashes and looting by cattle raiders had driven over 200,000 persons from their homes. [xxxiv]

Adverse environmental catastrophes

Adverse environmental problems which include, but are not limited to, drought and shortage of land have forced many of the affected people into flight in the form of massive movements. While pastoralist movements are considered normal and optimal for use of rangelands by livestock, land degradation, overgrazing or overstocking may force pastoralists to move out of normal rangeland areas into more marginal land or onto other crop lands. Such movements occur in all IGAD countries and increase tensions between pastoralists and farmers. Migrations lead to increased urbanization, degradation of marginal cropping areas, and break-up of communities and families. In Uganda, however, border insecurity and increasing cattle rustling have led to abandonment of improved pastures and illegal harvesting of forests. [xxxv]

Since the end of July 2006, heavy rains have caused significant flooding in areas throughout Ethiopia, affecting nearly 120,000 people. On August 6, flash floods in Dire Dawa town, Dire Dawa Region, killed 257 people and displaced more than 9,000, according to the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). The Government of Ethiopia (GOE) confirmed that 364 people were killed in South Omo Zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Region (SNNPR), when the Omo River overflowed on August 13, destroying 15 villages and disrupting economic and livelihood activities in the area. (USAID, 2006). Flooding in Amhara Region has displaced more than 14,000 people, affected more than 72,000 people, and damaged and destroyed farmland. [xxxiv]

In the recent past, an important cause of displacement in the Horn of Africa sub-region was natural disaster, including both droughts and floods, which had touched most of the IGAD member states, but especially those in the Horn. Droughts had been a particular burden, contributing to famines, most notably in the 1980s, and displacing hundreds of thousands from their homes. A particularly severe drought has seized the Horn in the last three years, exacerbating existing situations of displacement due to conflict. Government figures indicate that over 270,000 persons were displaced due to drought in Ethiopia from 2000 to 2003, joining over 300,000 who had been displaced by the border conflict with Eritrea as of the year 2000. (IGAD, 2003). Figures were not readily available on the drought-displaced populations in Eritrea and Somalia, but it was clear that in these countries, as in Ethiopia, drought conditions combined with the ravages of armed conflict both to create displacement and to hinder return.[xxxv]

Currently across the globe, there are already some 30-40 million people displaced either across state boundaries or within states, and this figure is expected to rise dramatically as the consequences of global climate change begin to have an impact. (Rogers, 2006). There is already much displacement-taking place as a direct result of changing climate in the Horn characterized mainly by floods and droughts affecting mostly traditionally pastoral communities from Somalia to northern Kenya. [xxxvi]

Political oppression

25

Intolerant and dictatorial governments in the Horn harass and oppress their political opponents thus forcing them to flee for safety. The numbers of refugees that have fled due to political oppression is smaller, but substantially important compared to other general cases. A good example is in the state of Sudan where the government in the north has ignored the Janjaweed militias in the Darfur region as they unleash terror on the politically opposing populations that are seeking safety. Many of the affected populations have fled to Northern Uganda while a great many more have fled over into the Republic of Chad.

Ethnic and tribal/clan clashes

Ethnic and tribal clashes are also a major cause of flight in the Horn. When clashes arise, especially clashes for land and territorial rights, the weaker side or the side that finds disfavor with the government will escape to safer places in neighboring countries. This again can be elaborately seen in the clashes between the black southern Sudanese Christian population and the Arabic northern Sudan populations.

However, there is a differing example in Somalia which is also common to tribal and ethnic clashes. To understand Somali politics, it is necessary to appreciate the importance of the clan system. Somalis are ethnically, homogeneously and fiercely independent. They have a strong sense of superiority over other cultures. However, they are divided into an elaborate system of clans and sub-clans. Siad Barre maintained power by both manipulating clan loyalties and employing violence. These tactics culminated into uprising from one of the clans 'Issk' in the north west of the country precipitating national rebellion against his rule and consequently ousting him.[xxxvii]

State collapse

Conflicts at different levels (clan, ethnic and state) are ubiquitous in the Horn of Africa. Most of these conflicts emanate from state failures to respect the rights of citizens, and to provide justice and equity in distribution of resources. In such cases, the affected populace often flees to areas where they expect to live freely.[xxxviii]

In Somalia again, the humanitarian tragedy of 1991-1992 was a result of the civil war and subsequent disintegration of the state that followed the fall of the Siad Barre government. Said

Barre came into power in the 1960s and ruled Somalia in a brutal and discriminatory fashion. Currently, Somalia is still struggling with internal civil conflict and the question of warlords and their effects are adversely reflected in continued flight.[xxxvix]

However, since 2002, negotiations to resolve the Somali conflict have been ongoing in Kenya mediated by the Kenyan government on behalf of IGAD. Other players like the Egyptian government have also lent a hand in facilitating peace talks but in vain. There is skepticism that these talks will yield an agreement mainly due to the lack of representativeness of parties involved, the lack of willingness of the powers that be to accept an overall concept of peaceful negotiation, and by the political interests of neighboring nations, most recently and prominently Ethiopia and the USA.[xl]

Section 3: The refugee frameworks for the Horn of Africa: Their strengths and weaknesses

This section concurrently describes, analyses, and assesses the various frameworks for refugee security that several bodies and agencies that are working for refugee well-being have been operating under in the Horn sub-region.

International Legal framework for refugee protection

The UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries met in Geneva in 1951 to draft a Convention regulating the legal status of refugees. As a result of their deliberations, the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted on 28 July 1951. Following the deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification it entered into force on 22 April 1954.

The 1951 Refugee Convention provides grounded basis for other international instruments like the OAU Declaration on Refugees and provides the most comprehensive codification of the rights of refugees yet attempted on the international level. It lays down basic minimum standards for the treatment of refugees, without prejudice to the granting by states of more favorable treatment. The Convention is to be applied without discrimination as to race, religion or country of origin, and contains various safeguards against the expulsion of refugees. It also makes provision for their documentation, including a refugee travel document in passport form. [xli]

Although the UNHCR legal framework has been a crucial tool for refugee protection and security in the Horn of Africa, it does not, to a certain extent, cover for human security needs as it focuses mainly on physical protection.

It is apparently clear that the implementation of the requirements of the 1951 Convention depends on the host nation's willingness to follow through on its commitments. In many cases, when there is no adequate follow up from the concerned bodies such as the UNHCR and the host governments, refugees are left with no choice but to forsake specific rights that are freely theirs. On top of this, it is common for most refugees to be ignorant of their rights and at the same time timidly reserved as they are at the mercy of their hosts. A uniform system for application of international instruments' provisions for benefit of the refugees is lacking: if it is put in place, human security concerns will be addressed directly.

The problem of refugees outside Europe after WW II was tackled by the newly formed UN. The General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution in February 1946 directing governments, UN secretariat and agencies already involved in the question of displacement to protect the rights of refugees and displaced persons, and to set up machinery to deal with their situations. (Kiapi, 2006). The fruit of deliberations over the issues led to the establishment of the office of the UNHCR and its statute adopted in 1950. The duties of the High Commissioner were laid out: to give formal protection to all legitimate refugees, coordinate international action on their behalf and to cooperate with and through voluntary agencies and governments. The preamble of the statue calls upon governments to cooperate with the UNHCR in performance of official functions concerning refugees falling under the competence of the commissioner's office. [xlii]

A legal system such as an international legal system does more than simply create expectations and promote stability, it also fulfills the essentially social function of transforming applications of power into legal obligations, of turning 'is' into 'ought'. [xliii]

However, in spite of the existence of a legal refugee protection system through the UNHCR, this system has yet to be reformulated to encompass human security needs, as indicated before, in the form of prioritizing the basic needs of refugees. Although there are current legal provisions for the protection of the rights of refugees, this legal framework has to be reframed in order to have it focus not only on the legal challenges of refugees in the hosting nations, but to also address the

refugees' humane treatment concerns. UNHCR is particularly interested in the restoration of a credible rule of law system, including the re-establishment of a national protection and law enforcement environment that is conducive to the safe and sustainable return of displaced populations.

Human security framework

The only conceptual framework able to address all displacement-related problems is the human security framework. It allows for a broad approach to assistance and places the emphasis on protection and empowerment. By maintaining the focus on people, human security builds safeguards into post-conflict recovery programmes to address the gaps that often arise as aid moves towards development. Human security can be seen as a complement to development as it highlights conditions and situations that threaten an individual's survival and well-being.[xliv] It is also a complement to state security by addressing issues that are not usually considered direct state security threats. Though the human security approach has been earmarked by UNHCR, it is not in any exclusiveness operational at the moment. Some of its core components like prioritization of meeting basic needs only appear as overlapping factors in humanitarian assistance interventions.

Humanitarian assistance framework

Within the international NGO community, humanitarian organizations are by far the most extensive group and comprise some of the largest agencies. These include the Red Cross, CARE, Oxfam, the International Rescue Committee, World Vision, Médecins Sans Frontières, and the Catholic Relief Services. Some of these agencies specialize in responding to humanitarian crises and some divide their efforts and resources between relief and development efforts. Development is characterized by long term projects which help the communities achieve sustainable, social, economic and political structures. Development assistance focuses on the development of vital components of society: agriculture, education, infrastructure, employment, and is deemed a success when continued aid becomes unnecessary because the community has become self-sufficient. Relief, on the other hand, is characterized by short term, emergency service in the face of a disaster, both natural and man-made. These operations include air lifting food, provision of clean water and sanitation equipment to distressed populations, establishing

shelter for homeless victims, providing repair for salvageable structure, prevention, containment and treatment of life-threatening diseases.[xlvi]

It should be noted however, that humanitarian action cannot substitute political action in a nation. One of the hallmarks of a complex emergency is that the political/diplomatic (including conflict resolution), human rights, humanitarian, military/peace-keeping, and development aspects get inextricably intertwined-before during and after the peak of the crisis.[xlvii]

Although humanitarian assistance continues to be a key component of refugee interventions in organized camps, there is no sustained emphasis on ensuring that at all times basic needs are catered for as long as the affected are legal refugees. Most humanitarian efforts as seen above intervene in the first stages of refugee incidence and thereafter withdraw when their funding is used up. This is to the detriment of refugees who cannot be in this case able to immediately cater for their basic and pressing needs. In the humanitarian angle, a refugee sensitive security framework that caters for sustained support to the affected refugees by all concerned bodies and host governments is not in place.

Resettlement framework under UNHCR

Resettlement is a coordinated activity undertaken in partnership with resettlement countries, the UNHCR, NGOs and other actors. It includes a variety of specific actions, from the identification of refugees in need of resettlement in the field to screening, processing and reception and integration of the refugees in the country offering resettlement as the durable solution to their plight.[xlviii]

Representing a specific element of this partnership, the Working Group on Resettlement was established in the mid-1990s to foster and enhance common efforts on resettlement. It is a consultative body composed by all the concerned resettlement countries at the time and the UNHCR which meets three times a year to discuss policy directions on resettlement and steer the partners' efforts to enhance the use of resettlement as a tool of international protection, a durable solution and a responsibility and burden–sharing mechanism. The UNHCR has strengthened and consolidated resettlement programmes in new host countries through exchanges with traditional resettlement countries. While contributing their fresh insights to resettlement, emerging countries

benefit from the experience of the traditional resettlement countries. The process will result in an expansion of resettlement opportunities for refugees. The rationale behind the resettlement approach is to find and relocate refugees to nations that may be willing to offer permanent residence in the form of citizenship status. This approach also focuses on ensuring that refugees are facilitated to return to their places of origin when it is safe enough to return.

Whereas this framework has been able to address resettlement concerns of refugees, it apparently does not prioritize the provision of basic human needs such as water, sanitation and medical care. Whenever host governments and refugee agencies have chosen to help resettle refugees, they have ignored the core basic needs that are crucial for modest human living. This can be seen in a number of camps in Uganda whereby refugees suffer through living on a bare minimum just because concerned bodies are focused on resettlement efforts. Human security has to be prioritized even as resettlement is being pursued.

Host government institutional framework

In the IGAD region, there are a number of existing, active and operational governmental institutional structures that are in place to provide security for displaced peoples, migrants and refugees. This is yet another of the several frameworks for refugee security in the Horn of Africa. It should be noted that these institutional frameworks that are in place, as seen in Table 2, are merely governmental setups for ensuring specific responses to refugee issues rather than legal frameworks.

Table 2: Governmental frameworks for refugee security in the Horn of Africa

Country	National Policy Committee	National Operational Agency
Djibouti	Inter-Ministry Committee (under the Minister of the Interior)	Ministry of the Interior
Eritrea	Inter-Ministry Committee under	Eritrean Refugee and Relief Commission

	discussion	
Ethiopia	National Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Committee (NDPPC)	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
Kenya	Inter-Ministerial Committee on Drought and Food Security (to become National Disaster Management Authority)	Office of the President
Somalia	-----------------	---------------------
Sudan	Inter-Disciplinary Committee proposed	Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC)
Uganda	National Disaster Management Commission under discussion	Office of the Prime Minister

Source: IGAD 2006 Report; Ministerial conference on refugees, returnees and IDPs. [xlvix]

Although most governments in the Horn have been willing to act host to refugees from neighboring nations, they at the same time have not been able to adequately finance the refugee departments that are used to operate their refugee reception and surveillance systems. On top of this, most of these governmental offices are specifically concerned with simply providing the refugees with settlement areas where they can be physically located. These government frameworks do not specifically emphasize human basic needs as core components of refugees' well-being, thus priority is not given to human security. Some countries like Somalia do not as

yet have any governmental refugee protection frameworks in place according to the IGAD findings in the previous table. This has mainly been a result of clustered political factions that have made central government of Somalia impossible.

With regard to the assessment of the existing human security frameworks, it is generally clear that all the above frameworks have one general and cross-cutting feature in that they mainly focus on immediate interventions in form of relief aid and assistance. As such, they hardly look beyond to human security sensitive interventions which should involve assisting and empowering the displaced people to settle and be self-sufficient either in the camp area, the nation of abode or the country of origin. This makes these existent frameworks severely limited in sustainably addressing prominent questions of 'Human security' for refugees in the Horn sub-region. However, Uganda and Kenya have elaborate IDP policies which are informed by the United Nations guidelines on IDPS and these are operationalised respectively under the office of the prime minister in Uganda and the office of the president in Kenya.

Section 4: Key ingredients for a refugee sensitive security framework for the Horn of Africa

This section focuses on a number of fundamental elements that should embody the proposed human security framework. These ingredients are demonstrated herein after critically analyzing the frameworks that have been operational among refugee handling circles in the Horn of Africa. A number of issues that will strategically support the successful implementation of the human security framework are also highlighted. It should be noted however, that there is no single agency or government in the sub-region that exclusively operates within the human security framework. As noticed in the previous section, all existing frameworks only address specific issues as humanitarian assistance, legal protection, physical protection and resettlement of refugees and do not exclusively demonstrate an operationalisation of any of the requirements of the human security framework. Issues such as meeting basic needs are only addressed as overlapping components of humanitarian assistance and rational requirements for any reasonable intervention but in this case not exclusively as priority issues.

Key ingredients:

Consolidation of the existing frameworks

The existing institutional frameworks for refugee protection (Legal, human security, hosting governments' institutions, humanitarian assistance and resettlement) should be consolidated, strengthened and respected by the IGAD member states of the Horn of Africa. This is mainly because all the discussed existent frameworks enshrine a number of approaches that address security of the refugees but do not specifically prioritizing human security. Therefore, all these frameworks should be consolidated, but also collectively re-oriented to address human security needs of the refugees.

Above all, the 'Human security' framework for refugee protection should be emphasized because it specifically addresses the main concerns of this study in allowing for a broad approach to assistance while at the same time placing emphasis on protection and empowerment.

The coordinated management Dimension

Coordination and management are cross-cutting functions that are critical for the successful implementation of all the dimensions, and the coherence of, the refugee sensitive security framework. All these dimensions in the framework are interlinked and interdependent. No single dimension can achieve the goal of the security framework – attaining sustainable human security – on its own. The success of each individual programme in the system is a factor of the contribution that this programme makes to the achievement of the overall refugee security objective. It is only when the combined and sustained effort proves successful in the long term that the investment made in each individual programme can be said to have been worthwhile. Coordination entails developing strategies, determining objectives, planning, sharing information, the division of roles and responsibilities, and mobilizing resources.

Coordination is concerned with synchronizing the mandates, roles and activities of the various stakeholders and actors in the system and achieving this through joint efforts aimed at prioritization, sequencing and harmonization of programmes to meet set targets. In this context,

coordination is the process that ensures that an individual programme is connected to the larger system of which it is a part and without which it cannot succeed. The coordination of management of refugee concerns should in this aspect be managed by a central coordination office that should ensure standardization of 'human security' concerns among all concerned actors and governments in the Horn sub-region.

Governance Dimension

Improving governance issues involves the development of legitimate and effective political institutions in all the affected nations, encouraging democratic participatory processes, and reforming the bureaucracy at all tiers of government.

The governance process includes reforming service delivery, strengthening public sector management, reviving organized settlements governance, facilitating enabling legislation and policy frameworks and broadening the participation of refugees in the decision-making process. In this regard, good governance will cater for ensuring that with knowledge of human security needs, the hosted refugee communities are well served or that at least minimum standards in provision of basic needs are upheld.

The physical security component

The security dimension refers to those activities aimed at ensuring a safe and secure enabling environment for internal and external actors. In the initial stages, this will comprise of actions aimed at minimizing physical insecurity and opportunities for spoilers, criminals and other opportunists who thrive in these near chaotic environments. Unlike humanitarian agencies, the hosting governments can most effectively provide the needed security as they are already well positioned to use a sizeable amount of force in cases of aggression without rising suspicions. In a progressive way, long-term measures aimed at helping refugees to be sustainable can then be embarked on.[Lli] In this respect, human rights and freedoms of refugees which are central components of the human security approach will be fully addressed through physical protection.

Re-integration of refugees

Human rights monitoring and institution building alone are not enough to create safe conditions for potential and returning refugees in countries of origin or in hosting nations that would wish to integrate hosted refugees. The international community needs to take into account the relationship between underdevelopment and displacement. Relief and development are now seen as a continuum rather than as separate and discrete activities. Humanitarian aid activities should be conducted in ways that not only provide relief from life-threatening suffering, but also reduce local vulnerability to recurring disasters, enhance indigenous resources and mechanisms, empower local institutions and leadership, reduce dependence on outside assistance and improve prospects for long term development. Closer coordination between UN development and refugee agencies is very much required in situations involving refugees, returnees and the internally displaced. In a recent development, the UNDP and UNHCR have established joint management structures to create preventive zones and cross-mandate programs to stabilize and prevent displacement in border areas'.[lii] This approach is very complimentary to the Human security approach as it prioritizes empowerment of affected people. With regard to cases where local integration of refugees in countries of asylum is a viable option, the High Commissioner has proposed a strategy called **"**Development through Local Integration"*,* or "DLI**"**. In situations where the State opts to provide opportunities for gradual integration of refugees, DLI would solicit additional development assistance with the aim of attaining a durable solution in terms of local integration of refugees as an option and not an obligation. [liii] The re-integration approach is key to sustainably addressing refugee fears and inadequacies as seen above.

Rebuilding of conflict-torn societies

This socio-economic development dimension revolves around first ensuring adequate relief, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction of basic social and economic services as well as securing the return, resettlement, and reintegration of populations displaced during the conflict including refugees and internally displaced persons. Secondly, this intervention needs to focus on an approach that ensures effective dynamic linkages between activities related to the provision of emergency humanitarian needs and longer-term measures for economic recovery, sustained growth and poverty reduction. Requisite projects in this area may include: emergency humanitarian assistance; rehabilitation and/or reconstruction of physical infrastructure; provision of social services such as education, health, and social welfare; and enhancement of economic

growth and development through employment generation, trade and investment, and legal and regulatory reform. The social-economic component critically addresses human security concerns on a long-term basis through these foundational interventions aimed at ensuring that returnees are empowered to live a life that is different from that of helpless refugees.

Promotion of respect for human rights and justice

The human rights and justice dimension is concerned with ensuring accountable refugee assistance regimes, and enshrining respect of human rights in the whole process. Human security prioritization within this dimension should also help to create an environment of peace, safety/security, self-sufficiency and increased involvement of women at all levels.

Strengthening existing national frameworks/Creation of new frameworks where there is none.

Each nation in the Horn sub-region should develop and have in place a national framework for provision of human security for the refugees they host. These different frameworks should inform the process of having a concerted regional framework that should be operationalized as a standardized framework for all IGAD member states in the Horn sub-region. Somalia for example has no single refugee security framework in place owing to the protracted state of anarchy to which the nation has been subjected.

Suggested requirements for operationalisation of the framework

- Identification of practical arrangements for responding to complex emergencies, particularly at the national and also sub-regional level is a must. These should include systems for the collection and analysis of information to facilitate establishment of an early warning system for taking of preventive measures. This will mainly assist in checking conditions that could easily trigger off conflicts which are currently central to the burgeoning refugee crises in the Horn sub-region.

- In cases of emergency, mechanisms should be put in place whereby hosting states may request and obtain support in responding to situations that threaten law and order and

public security, particularly in relation to swift stabilization of a situation. Existing inter-governmental institutional structures such as IGAD should be strengthened, supported, and encouraged to be more active in all member nations. Bilateral cooperation and cross-border development of other regional or sub-regional supplementary structures should be encouraged. Along side this measure, military and policing capabilities in the Horn states should be enhanced where by each government maintains well trained and equipped manpower for timely intervention in refugee protection should the need arise at both national and regional level.

- Refugee security regional and sub-regional fora and bodies like IGAD should be formed so that all concerned member states and other actors can discuss and assign coordinated responsibilities in case there are eventualities of emergencies. At the same time, it should be noted that the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention relating to the Specific Problems of Refugees in Africa makes explicit the notion that protecting refugees is a collective responsibility. Unquestionably, the host state has the primary responsibility for protecting refugees and host communities and ensuring public order and security. In many situations, however, resource limitations and political instability renders this task extremely difficult and therefore the need for cooperation. There is a need to develop clearly agreed upon operational guidelines for the conduct of procedures in situations of mass influx in order to identify with dignity refugees in need of protection, to exclude and separate those who may have committed serious crimes or who threaten the civilian nature of asylum, and to separate those whom security considerations require that they are kept apart from the majority of the refugee population. This will serve for ensuring human security for all the affected refugees since the host states will be sure that they are hosting the right people.

- For purposes of ensuring respect of human rights in emerging refugee security arrangements, lead bodies in humanitarian assistance and aid should take the lead in providing accurate information on conditions in the host country and country of origin. This should help in encouraging the use of all available channels to hold migrant criminals accountable, and to assist with the provision of appropriate training in applicable human rights standards to all actors involved in response to complex

emergencies. However, the registration of refugees at point of entry and any subsequent status determination or screening procedure must be conducted in a manner that ensures the confidentiality of the process and the safety of the political refugee.

- The particular security problems posed by the establishment of camps and settlements, and how concerned hosting governments might address them collectively should be mutually agreed upon by all the nations in the Horn sub-region. Where camp policies are particularly inflexible, for example, even those refugees who choose to self-settle may face additional difficulties in being accepted by the host populations.

- The NGO community in the Horn sub-region should explore its role in, and potential responsibility for, dealing with issues relating to human security for refugees. This is because the majority of refugees are supported in one way or another by the many international humanitarian organizations that are currently in place. This might include consideration of capacities for information sharing, working with local populations to reduce refugee-host community tensions, providing assistance to separated persons, and monitoring the rights of refugees.

- Participation by refugee communities in decision-making relating to the management and security of camps and settlements should be strongly emphasized. Qualified camp and protection personnel should of course oversee this participatory approach to ensure equal and representative participation. In addition, awareness of refugee needs and rights at all levels of society particularly in the context of growing xenophobia (common to Europe, but with time becoming evident in Africa) and misperceptions about the impact of refugee populations on host communities should be prioritized.[liv] When societies fully appreciate refugees' needs rights, human security is automatically boosted.

Section 5 Conclusions

It is apparently clear that there is a serious refugee problem in the Horn as a result of the various conflicts, as well as environmental and political problems among the concerned states. The Horn of Africa has been for long faced with wars, famine, drought, floods and all these have perpetuated the refugee crisis leading to increases in numbers of refugees as well as IDPs.

The changing character of refugee movements poses a challenge to the categories and diversities of the traditional refugee humanitarian framework. The refugee and humanitarian assistance regimes must no longer be the only channels for action. There is a need for a range of responses and the re-vitalizing of a variety of existing instruments, both international and national, in responding to various scales of human movement. In this research, various existing refugee security frameworks have been assessed and have informed the effective identification of opportunities and gaps in provision of human security among humanitarian and aid agencies as well as governments that host refugees and IDPs.

Despite the fact that there are international agencies and governmental institutions that have been and are still responsible for refugee protection and care, the frameworks under which they have been operating hardly addressed the human security aspect in refugee protection as a priority. It is in this respect that a refugee security framework that will inform all IGAD member states has been advanced.

End Notes

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