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“No More at the Edge” Refugees and Local Communities at the Centre of Development: A New Approach to Local Integration and Its Impacts on Food Security

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**“NO MORE AT THE EDGE”:
REFUGEES AND LOCAL
COMMUNITIES AT THE CENTRE OF
DEVELOPMENT**

A New Approach to Local Integration and its impacts on Food
Security.

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“We sometimes describe persons of concern as “the people we care for.” And this is surely true – our emergency and post-emergency assistance literally saves lives – thousands of lives. But I think it is now time to see our goal as describing refugees as “the people we empower” – in effect, to put hands and feet on the person in our emblem. This must be our cause if we are to be true to the theme of this World Refugee Day.”

Aleinikoff, T. Alexander, United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees, 20 June 2015.

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Once Theodor Roosevelt said that “*Nothing in the world is worth having or worth doing unless it means effort, pain, difficult*”. After having spent so much time working on my thesis, I can definitely say that there is something true in this quote. Nonetheless, I think that Roosevelt missed an important aspect. Surely, efforts, pain and difficulties give you a sense of deserved ownership when you achieve something, but one thing is more important to me, namely the chance to share your achievements with your beloved ones. I would like to thank the EMA staff for this incredible opportunity to learn from highly qualified academics, to gain new skills and competencies and to be part of an enriching multicultural environment. In particular, I would like to thank EMA for the Kosovo study tour, which gave me the chance to know a fascinating and contradictory country, but above all to meet nice people whose welcoming attitude and hospitality I will never forget. During my stay in Graz, I had the opportunity to work with well-qualified and motivated people. In this regard, I would like to thank my supervisors, Lisa and Stefan, for their extremely important support throughout the writing process. In particular, I would like to thank Lisa for being, as she usually says, a “bit bossy” because it helped me to constantly improve my work and Stefan for his more comprehensive and holistic comments that made me reflect deeper to understand the complexity of the issue. Then, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Benedek for his supervision and invaluable help. To conclude, I want to say that this amazing learning experience would have not been possible without the endless love and support of my parents. A learning experience can be a difficult process to go through and there are moments when you feel tired or discouraged. Nonetheless, I have never felt alone. For this reason, I would like to thank my family, who is always backing my efforts; my true friends, the old ones (whom I’m looking forward to see again, especially my SVs) and the new ones (the Masterini), who were there to share pre-exam anxiety and post-exam celebrations and finally YOU, for your unconditional love. All together you have made this experience possible, but what makes me really happy is the feeling that you will always be at my side in future ones. You are my safe haven and my greatest achievement. Thank you all!

List of Abbreviations

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CFW	Cash For Work
CHS	Commission on Human Security
CIREFCA	International Conference on Central American Refugees
CPA	Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAR	Development Assistance to Refugees
DALY	Disability-Adjusted Life Year
DLI	Development through Local Integration
ExCom	Executive Committee
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FFT	Food For Training
FFW	Food For Work
ICARA	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IDPS	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
IGOs	International Governmental Organisations
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LDCs	Local Development Committees
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NGZ	National advisory Group on local integration in Zambia

OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRS	Protracted Refugee Situations
RHAs	Refugee Hosting Areas
SRS	Self Reliance Strategy
TDA	Targeting Development Assistance
TSI	Transitional Solutions Initiative
ZI	Zambia Initiative
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRWA	UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation

Abstract

This thesis explores the topic of local integration in protracted refugee situations with a special focus on the aspect of food security. It presents an overview of the multidimensional and complex nature of protracted refugee situations' causes and consequences. In particular, it focuses on the impact of protracted displacement on the different dimensions of food security in refugee hosting areas. In order to maximize the potential benefits of protracted refugee situations, the thesis promotes to overcome existing humanitarian-dominated approaches and to adopt a developmental approach to local integration. Different attempts have been made within the international community to link humanitarian and development assistance, but the reality shows that little has changed and that the dominant paradigm in the response to PRS still tends to focus on short-term needs, emergency assistance and protection. Therefore, the relevance of the thesis lies in its attempt to outline a new way for dealing with local integration as a durable solution to PRS. In advocating the need to adopt a developmental approach to local integration, the thesis underlines how the abovementioned approach can be beneficial for host countries since it enhances refugees' contribution to the economic and social development of RHAs, and in particular to the improvement of their food security.

General Introduction

In 2014, the rate of global displacement has increased reaching unprecedented levels and involving a total of 59.5 million individuals.¹ This dramatic increase in the number of forcibly displaced (including refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum-seekers etc.) is associated to the outbreak of new crises and continuing unsolved protracted conflicts. The rapid acceleration and the scale of the problem have unfolded emergency situations, such as the Syrian refugee crisis, which require an immediate and quick response. Nonetheless, even in a situation of emergency the international community should not forget the so-called protracted refugee situations (PRS). For instance, it is important to notice that “it is the emergencies that grab the headlines, but just as troubling – even if less well noticed – is what comes after.”² PRS are ‘what comes after’ and they are increasingly becoming “the rule and not the exception.”³

PRS refers generally to “large refugee populations that are long standing, chronic or recurring”.⁴ PRS are not a new phenomenon, however, since the 1990s a sharp rise in the total number of PRS has been recorded.⁵ A large percentage of the world’s refugee population is currently living in protracted refugee situations.⁶ Moreover, the length of stay in exile of refugees is strikingly increasing due to the changing nature of conflicts and the unstable and unsafe conditions in the countries of origin that make repatriation impossible. Therefore, more and more refugees are expected to remain trapped in PRS. For instance, the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon has recently maintained that “many long-standing conflicts remained unresolved and the number of refugees who were able to return home last year was the lowest in over three decades.”⁷ In particular, during 2014, around 126,800 refugees returned to their home country, which is the lowest number recorded since 1983.⁸ The number of countries that reported repatriation of refugees from their territory also dropped from 93 in 2013 to 90 in 2014.⁹

¹ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.2.

² Aleinikoff, 20 June 2015.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Loescher and Milner, 2005 (a), p.14. A more detailed definition will be given in paragraph 1.2

⁵ UNHCR, 2006, p.108.

⁶ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.11.

⁷ UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, 18 June 2015.

⁸ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.20.

⁹ Ibidem, p.20

In addition, the significance of third country resettlement (i.e the resettlement of a particular number of refugees to a country other than the host country) as a solution to PRS is still limited.¹⁰ Moreover, despite the growing awareness of the challenges that PRS pose to first asylum countries, countries of origin, third countries and to the refugees themselves due to their severe humanitarian, human rights and national security implications, the international community's response to these situations leaves much to be desired. Even though PRS in different countries can present different standards of refugees' living conditions, forms of settlements and different patterns of refugees' interaction with the environment and the local population, the positive and negative implications of PRS on local communities are not to be underestimated and need to be systematically identified and addressed. In focusing on PRS' impact on food security of refugee hosting areas (RHAs), the thesis aims to show that a developmental approach to local integration offers a concrete and fruitful way to deal with the positive and negative implications of PRS and to maximize the former. By doing that, the thesis tries to promote further discussion at the international level on the approaches to be used in PRS and on their potential outcomes.

In the first chapter, a conceptual and analytical description of PRS will be made. Due to space constraints and its rather particular features, the protracted situation of displaced Palestinian refugees, falling under the mandate of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), will not be part of the research. Moreover, the thesis will refer only to refugees although PRS usually involve a mixed population of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The chapter will also present a good overview of the main causes and consequences of PRS in order to provide an understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon. To conclude, a brief analysis of the traditional international community approaches to PRS will also be provided.

In the second chapter, the thesis will examine the impact refugee camps and refugee settlements in PRS may have on the food security of RHAs. For this purpose, the chapter will not address specifically the problem of food security in relation to refugees

¹⁰ The issue will be further discussed in paragraph 1.3.

themselves; it will rather focus on the overall food security situations in RHAs. The shift from a refugee-centred approach to a more comprehensive approach, involving both refugees and local communities, is considered essential in order to apply an effective developmental approach to PRS.¹¹ For instance, the engagement of the local population plays a fundamental role when it comes to the implementation of development programmes aimed at improving PRS.¹² In this regard, the unaddressed vulnerability of refugee hosting communities may prevent any sustainable development of the overall refugee situation- a vicious cycle that needs to be broken by a participatory and community approach as will be promoted by the thesis.

PRS are heterogeneous and differ considerably across countries. In certain instances, there may be a high level of integration and interaction between the refugees and the local population. In other cases, the refugee settlements will be far away from local dwellings and exist as parallel societies with little interaction. The thesis will focus on PRS where there is a good level of commingling of refugees with the host community and a substantial interaction and peaceful coexistence between refugee camps and local communities. Furthermore, the research acknowledges that there may be different levels of integration and interaction as regards different groups of refugees within the same country as is the case for Tibetans and Bhutanese refugees in Nepal¹³ and that a relationship between a certain group of refugees and the local population can change over time as is the case in Pakistan.¹⁴

Since the thesis focuses on the impacts a large-scale presence of refugees may have on a local community, it will not specifically address the impacts of self-settled refugees, even though it is generally recognised that RHAs are characterized by a combined presence of refugee settlements and self-settled refugees. For the purpose of this thesis, RHAs will be defined as *areas hosting refugees who live in refugee camps or settlements and where social or cultural interaction and/or economic exchanges between refugees and the local population take place on a regular basis.*

¹¹ Chambers, 1986, p.245.

¹² Ibidem, p.261.

¹³ Banki, 2004, p.6.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p.8.

Since the concept of food security is multidimensional and complex, the research will first provide a definition of food security, food insecurity and their main components. Then, it will explain the relevance of food security in PRS by showing the interlinkages between food insecurity, poverty and vulnerability. Afterwards, it will describe the strong relationship between food security and the right to food and the role of the latter in achieving food security. Finally, it will try to identify the main effects of PRS on the food security in RHAs. The thesis does not aim to eventually draw up an exhaustive list of all effects PRS may have on the food security of RHAs; it will rather try to identify those that constitute the main obstacles humanitarian and development organisations should take into account when designing and implementing activities in PRS. One of the main challenges in identifying the effects of PRS on the food security of RHAs will be to distinguish between factors that are actually related to the large-scale presence of refugees and other detrimental factors already existing in the RHA of concern. By acknowledging the existence of this challenge, the research will try to avoid misconceptions as far as possible.

The third chapter will deal with the most consistent part of the thesis and will be divided into different sections. After a brief introduction, the second section will present a general explanation of the concept of local integration. The third section will deal with the historical analysis of local integration as a durable solution to PRS. The fourth section will give an overview on the main obstacles and challenges to local integration as identified by the existing literature. Fifthly, the chapter will explain the need of a new approach to local integration against the background of current developments. In this regard, the so-called “relief-to-development” will be discussed as one of the main current challenges to the existing approaches to PRS. The proposed developmental¹⁵ approach to local integration will be, therefore, presented as a solution to the abovementioned gap. The sixth section will, indeed, describe the developmental approach in details by focusing on its three main pillars i.e self-reliance, livelihoods and participation. Finally, the chapter will give a general overview on the positive

¹⁵ For the purpose of this thesis, the word developmental specifically refers to an approach that overcomes the traditional distinction between humanitarian and development assistance by including both approaches.

consequences of the abovementioned approach on the food security of RHAs. The aim of the research is not to present the developmental approach to local integration as a “one-size-fits-all” solution, but to show its benefits for certain PRS and especially the positive impacts it may have on the food security of refugees and local communities. The research takes into account that this particular approach should be considered a part of a comprehensive framework solution to PRS.

The fourth chapter will be devoted to a case study on Zambia. The latter has been selected because it provides a perfect example of a developmental approach to local integration in a PRS. The case study focuses primarily on the Zambia Initiative (ZI) for the local integration of Angolan refugees in the Western province of Zambia and its main results in terms of enhancing food security while strengthening the local integration process. The chapter will also take into account current government initiatives, such as the Strategic Framework for Local Integration of Former Refugees, to see how the Zambia Initiative’s best practices and results have been capitalised. Through the case study, the thesis aims to show that a developmental approach to local integration can have a positive impact on the food security of RHAs. Nevertheless, the research is fully aware that the results obtained in Zambia cannot be completely generalized.

Methodology

The first, second and third chapters of the thesis will be characterized by a theoretical and conceptual approach based on a comparative analysis of primary and secondary sources. The first and the second chapter will be characterised by a mainly expository approach. In particular, the second chapter will make use of evidence collected from case studies, research papers and reports on specific countries. The third chapter will adopt a combination of expository and evaluative approaches. For instance, it will promote a new conceptualisation of local integration as a way to overcome the failure of existing approaches to PRS. The fourth chapter will be focused on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the case study of Zambia. It will be based primarily on UNHCR documents describing the overall facts and figures of the refugee situation in the country. The quantitative data about food security levels and living conditions in RHAs will be collected from projects documents such as mission assessments and reports from international and local organisations. Finally, official governmental policy documents, national legislations as well as international conventions will be used to describe the legal regime in force in the country. The main challenge, the research will deal with will be primarily related to the accessibility and availability of updated data.

Chapter 1 - Protracted Refugee Situations (PRS)

1.1. Introduction

According to the 2014 UNHCR Global Report, it is estimated that some 6.4 million refugees lived in a protracted situation amounting to 45% of the total refugee population.¹⁶ According to the abovementioned statistics, the total number of PRS amounted to 33.¹⁷ Moreover, the duration of PRS has risen significantly, meaning that not only are a large percentage of refugees currently living in PRS but also that the length of their stays in exile with no prospects of finding durable solutions is dramatically increasing. In 2012, UNHCR estimated that “the average duration of major refugee situations, protracted or not, has increased: from 9 years in 1993 to 17 years in 2003.”¹⁸ According to the 2014 UNHCR figures, the average duration of the recorded PRS reached 25 years and “most of the situations (24) have been lasting for more than 20 years”.¹⁹ Moreover, by the end of 2014, 86% of the total refugee population was concentrated in developing countries, with the least developed countries hosting nearly 25% of the world refugee population.²⁰ The largest concentration of refugees is mainly located in regions under political, economic and social stress: Pakistan around 1.8 million Afghans, Syria over a million Iraqis, Kenya around 400,000 Somalis.²¹ The overall statistics regarding PRS would be even more dramatic, if the crude minimum threshold of 25,000 refugees was not included in the definition. For instance, 19,000 Burundians in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 16,000 Somalis in Ethiopia, 19,000 Mauritians in Senegal, 15,000 Ethiopians in Sudan and 19,000 Rwandans in Uganda would be included in the statistics of PRS.²² Moreover, the estimated data provided by the UNHCR do not include many of those PRS in urban settings because refugees live

¹⁶ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.11. The estimation is based on the UNHCR definition according to which a protracted refugee situation is “as one in which 25,000 or more refugees of the same nationality have been in exile for five years or longer in a given asylum country.”

¹⁷ Ibidem, p.11.

¹⁸ EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004, p.2.

¹⁹ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.11.

²⁰ Ibidem, p.2.

²¹ Long, 2011, p.1.

²² UNHCR, 2006, p.108.

clandestinely and avoid contacts with the authorities.²³ The category of urban PRS includes, for example, almost 40,000 Congolese urban refugees in Burundi, more than 36,000 Somali urban refugees in Yemen and almost 15,000 Sudanese urban refugees in Egypt.²⁴ Finally, the abovementioned statistics do not include smaller residual displaced populations, who remain in exile after mass repatriation processes such as the 20,000 Rohingya who lived in Myanmar by the end of 2006.²⁵

1.2. Defining PRS

The definition of PRS has evolved over time. In 2002, UNHCR adopted a working definition of PRS as “a situation where, over time, there have been considerable changes in refugees’ needs, which neither UNHCR nor the host country have been able to address in a meaningful manner, thus leaving refugees in a state of material dependency and often without adequate access to basic rights (e.g. employment, freedom of movement and education) even after many years spent in the host country”.²⁶ In 2004, a numerical threshold of “25,000 or more refugees living in exile for five or more years in developing countries” was adopted as a parameter to measure the dimensions of the PRS problem.²⁷ In 2009, UNHCR defined PRS as “the plight of millions of refugees worldwide who continue to be trapped in ‘protracted refugee situations’ for 5 years or more after their initial displacement, without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions”.²⁸ The 2009 definition avoided the indication of the quantitative limit of 25,000 or more people thereby becoming more inclusive and comprehensive.²⁹ Nevertheless, the crude minimum threshold of 25,000 is still being used in official reports dealing with PRS.³⁰

²³ UNHCR, 2006, p.108.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.108

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p.108.

²⁶ UNHCR, 2002 (a), p.1.

²⁷ EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004, p.2.

²⁸ ExCom Conclusions No. 109 (LXI), 8 December 2009.

²⁹ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.15.

³⁰ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.11.

1.3. The main causes of PRS

PRS are a multidimensional phenomenon with various root causes. First of all, it is important to acknowledge that the political and strategic inability of national policy makers to address PRS is one of the main reasons for refugees living in extenuating circumstances. As identified by UNHCR, the existing PRS all over the world depend on “political action and inaction both in the country of origin and in the country of asylum”.³¹ PRS are the result of lacking or inefficient long-term solution strategies. The international community has committed itself “in cooperation with UNHCR and other international organisations, to ensure, in a spirit of burden sharing, timely availability of adequate development and humanitarian funding and other resources, including sufficient support for host communities and countries of origin in order to provide assistance and achieve durable solutions in protracted refugee situations”.³² Still, despite this commitment, the international community as a whole has failed to fulfil its commitment to burden-sharing and the developing countries are still shouldering the greatest responsibility in dealing with PRS.³³

First-asylum countries' responses: economic and security reasons

Along with the collective failure to address PRS, the approach of many countries of first asylum plays a significant role as a cause of the prolonged duration of refugee situations. As it has been pointed out, most of the countries of first asylum are developing countries, which more and more tend to consider refugees as economic and environmental burdens on their already scarce resources.³⁴ For instance, in 2014, “more than 5.9 million refugees, representing 42 per cent of the world’s refugees, resided in countries whose GDP (PPP) per capita was below USD 5,000.”³⁵ Therefore, countries with a low level of economic development face many challenges to find the adequate resources to respond to PRS. Moreover, although not explicitly mentioned as such, national security concerns are increasingly used by governments across the world to waive their obligations under international refugee and human rights law and to adopt

³¹ EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004, p.1.

³² ExCom Conclusions No. 109 (LXI), 8 December 2009.

³³ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.15.

³⁴ Jacobsen, 2001, p.3.

³⁵ UNHCR, 2015 (f), p.16.

more restrictive refugee policies. These worrying trends have a substantial negative impact on the duration of PRS in general and on the protection of refugee rights and on their security in particular. For instance, Jordan has started to impose growing restrictions to Syrians trying to enter the country since 2012 before announcing the policy officially in 2013.³⁶ From January 2015, Lebanon has followed Jordan's example by establishing that Syrian nationals have to fulfil specific and very strict criteria to be allowed to enter the country.³⁷ According to recent UNHCR figures, the new regulations adopted by the Lebanese government have already resulted in a dramatic decrease of refugee registration which dropped by 80% compared to the same period in 2014.³⁸ The closure of borders and the increasingly limited protection to refugees, however, are not a unique characteristic of Middle East countries dealing with the Syrian refugee crisis. For instance, since May 2015, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand have refused boats carrying potential refugees as well as migrants to land on their soils.³⁹ Many countries are restricting their refugee policy and many more are expected to do so.

Limited support of the international community

As has been mentioned, the international community's approach contributes significantly to PRS. First, the international community has not been able to engage with the host countries reinforcing their perception of refugees as a burden and a security concern.⁴⁰ Therefore, host countries perceive the encampment solution to be the only strategy worth consideration because it facilitates control over the refugee population and it is expected to promote early repatriation.⁴¹ Instead, the international community has paid little attention to the promotion of other solutions such as local integration, the potential benefits of which will be discussed subsequently.⁴²

³⁶ Amnesty International, 2013, p.10.

³⁷ Amnesty International, 2015, p.13.

³⁸ UNHCR, 2015 (e).

³⁹ The Japan Times, 15 May 2015.

⁴⁰ Loescher and Milner, 2005 (a), p.19.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p.19.

⁴² Crisp, 2003, p.3.

Repatriation instead of integration has been the guiding principle in particular during the mid-1980s and 1990s.⁴³

Secondly, the international community has not been able to ensure a continued support from donors for finding durable solutions to PRS. A consistent decrease in financial contribution to support assistance programmes for chronic refugee groups has contributed to the rise in PRS.⁴⁴ A decline in the funding was first recorded in the 1990s and heavily affected many development and assistance programmes in Africa with regard to the achievement and the maintenance of minimum international standards of refugee protection and assistance.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, a declining donor engagement this is still a reality nowadays. For instance, PRS are perceived to have neither the urgency nor likelihood of resolution that draws heightened donor interest. Donors perceive programmes addressing PRS considerably long-term and expensive.⁴⁶ The limited availability of funds negatively affect the outcomes of projects in RHAs thereby increasing the likelihood of conflicts between refugees and local populations for scarce resources and the negative attitude of host countries towards refugees.⁴⁷ For instance, the Tanzanian government, usually regarded as a positive example of host country, has adopted more restrictive policies in response to the lack of international support to its effort in hosting refugees.⁴⁸

Finally, the international community's attempts to solve PRS by means of third country resettlement remain rather marginal and cannot still be considered a consistent option to address PRS. First, resettlement needs are not met by the annual availability of places (i.e the number of refugees they are willing to resettle).⁴⁹ Even though in recent years the number of countries implementing resettlement programmes has increased, the number of places for resettlement has remained not only the same but, compared to the rising numbers of people in need of resettlement, it has also remained very low.⁵⁰

⁴³ Ibidem, p.3.

⁴⁴ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.28.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.29.

⁴⁶ Crisp, 2003, p.4.

⁴⁷ Loescher and Milner, 2005 (a), p.21.

⁴⁸ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.29.

⁴⁹ EC/65/SC/CRP.11, 6 June 2014, p.3.

⁵⁰ EC/65/SC/CRP.11, 6 June 2014, p.3.

Additionally, some resettlement countries have not yet created predictable, regular and protection-needs based programmes.⁵¹ Second, some resettlement countries show unwillingness to receive certain groups of refugees in need of resettlement.⁵² For instance, the widespread diffusion of Islamism in Somalia has reinforced xenophobia and negative stereotypes usually associated with the Somalis reducing their opportunities of resettlement in Western countries.⁵³

Fragile and failing States

Considering the international community's failure to find a durable solution for PRS, one must call into question its role in the underlying causes of these situations of protracted displacement. For instance, PRS are deeply informed by the changing nature of international and non-international armed conflicts affecting the situation in the country of origin and making repatriation impossible for many refugees.⁵⁴ Internal armed conflicts that cause mass displacements of refugee populations have become increasingly prolonged.⁵⁵ Many of the countries of origin are so-called 'fragile or failing states', characterized by situations where conflicts, violations of human rights and political and socio-economic instability are systemic. The argument can be made that one reason for these endemic and unstable situations is the international community's failure to actively engage in finding durable solutions due to its limited geopolitical and economic interests in these areas of concern.⁵⁶ An interesting example is the PRS involving Somali refugees in East Africa and the Horn resulting from the failed intervention by the US and the UN in Somalia in the early 1990s and the lack of engagement of the international community as whole in rebuilding this failed state.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Ibidem, p.3.

⁵² Ibidem, p.3.

⁵³ Kagwanja and Juma, 2008, pp.214-215.

⁵⁴ Crisp, 2003, p.2.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.2.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p.3.

⁵⁷ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.27.

1.4. Human rights, human security and national security consequences of PRS

PRS are characterized by severe risks of violations to human rights and challenges to human security, as it can be derived from the definition given by UNHCR in 2004. “A protracted refugee situation is one in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance.”⁵⁸ The main cause of these significant restrictions on refugee rights derives from the fact that the vast majority of refugees are forced to live in designated camps or settlements limiting their movement, employment and educational opportunities.⁵⁹ The encampment solution prevents refugees in PRS from enjoying their rights and becoming “productive members of the society”⁶⁰, leading to a number of violations of the rights contained in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (hereinafter the Refugee Convention).⁶¹ While the Refugee Convention is the most fundamental document defining human rights specifically linked to the refugee status, there are also other fields of international law that apply to refugees such as international human rights law and international humanitarian law.⁶² The principle of *non-refoulement*, contained in article 33 of the Refugee Convention, is considered the cornerstone of refugee protection⁶³. Nonetheless, there are other human rights that may be violated in PRS.

What are the major restrictions on human rights refugees in PRS are facing?

- “limited physical security since they are likely to experience threats or abuses;

⁵⁸ EC/65/SC/CRP.11, 6 June 2014, p.1.

⁵⁹ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.30.

⁶⁰ EC/65/SC/CRP.11, 6 June 2014, p.3.

⁶¹ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.30.

⁶² Ferris, 2008, p.86.

⁶³ See Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Article 33 - Prohibition of expulsion or return ("refoulement"):

1. No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

2. The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgement of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

- limited freedom of movement since many refugees can leave camps or settlements only under restrictive conditions;
- limited civil and political rights since they cannot engage in any kind of political activity
- limited legal rights since refugees in many PRS lack a clear legal status;
- limited freedom of choice since refugees in protracted refugee situations may fall under the control of authoritarian political and military leaders within their community;
- limited economic rights since refugees lack the possibility to engage in wage-earning and income-generating opportunities or even when they have been given, for example, a piece of land for agricultural purposes, they face practical challenges in effectively exercise their rights.”⁶⁴

Additionally, refugees are usually prevented from enjoying economic and social rights, “such as the right to the highest possible standard of health and to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food, shelter and clothing”.⁶⁵ The limited protection of refugee rights contribute to increase their vulnerability towards different forms of exploitation.⁶⁶

Besides these limitations on the effective enjoyment of a series of human rights, PRS inherently contradict the concept of human security.⁶⁷ The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) definition of human security encompasses two main components: first, safety from chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and second, protection from sudden and hurtful shocks to the everyday life.⁶⁸ According to the UN Commission on Human Security (CHS) human security means, instead, to “protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment”.⁶⁹ In PRS, however, refugees are prevented from enjoying fundamental

⁶⁴ Crisp, 2003, pp.11-12.

⁶⁵ Ferris, 2008, p.85.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.85.

⁶⁷ The concept as currently understood emerged in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, 1994.

⁶⁸ UNDP, 1994, p.23.

⁶⁹ Commission on Human security (CHS), 2003, p.4.

freedoms, realizing the full enjoyment of their lives and experiencing relief from chronic and temporary threats. Moreover, PRS are characterized by a high level of economic, food, environmental, personal, community and political insecurities. PRS present, indeed, all the main threats to human security as listed by the UNDP.⁷⁰ While human security focuses on creating the conditions that enable people to live in safety and dignity and to earn a livelihood⁷¹, PRS hinder people's opportunity to master their lives without becoming a burden on the society. In PRS, refugees remain highly dependent on international and local aid, thereby being unable to contribute to their personal and community development. The long-term dependency on external aid leads to high levels of frustration among both the refugees and the host communities. The increasing dissatisfaction may push refugees and local communities to adopt negative and aggressive behaviours, worsening their human security.⁷² These negative coping mechanisms may encompass illegal activities such as the theft of crops, cattle and other assets or the illegal collection of natural resources as well as dangerous activities such as the premature and unsafe repatriation to the country of origin and the abuse of drugs.⁷³ Finally, unsolved PRS are indicative of the transnational nature of modern threats to human security since they exacerbate and raise other issues of insecurity both for States and individuals.⁷⁴ For instance, due to the miserable conditions in large-scale refugee camps, refugees often try to escape and continue their journey to the so called 'Global North'.⁷⁵ For example, in 2013 UNHCR reported that 80% of Eritrean refugees resorted to smuggling networks in order to escape Sudan's refugee camps and look for better opportunities abroad.⁷⁶ The unsafe routes refugees undertake to reach their final destinations present many risks for their human security. For instance, smuggled

⁷⁰ "The list of threats to human security is long, but most can be considered under seven main categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security" in UNDP, 1994, p.24.

⁷¹ Edwards, 2009, p.765.

⁷² Crisp, 2003, p.21.

⁷³ Ibidem, p.21.

⁷⁴ Edwards, 2009, p.763.

⁷⁵ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.2.

⁷⁶ UNHCR, 2013, p.1.

individuals become easy targets for traffickers, while being moved into, within or out of a country.⁷⁷

Although the concept of national security does not have a legally binding definition in international law, its meaning seems to “be inferred from the right of every State to choose freely its political, economic, social and cultural system, to its *prima facie* exclusive competence in the *domaine reservee*, and to its right to use force in self-defence”.⁷⁸ For the purpose of the thesis, the concept of national security used is in line with the abovementioned conceptualization and includes economic, social and political state interests as well as national border and territorial issues. As regards national security concerns, PRS may contribute to a regional destabilization and can, in the worst case, hinder development and stability in both countries of origin and host countries.⁷⁹ Since the 1990s, refugees have been increasingly linked to threats to national borders and security as well as to international peace and security.⁸⁰ For instance, a number of UN Security Council Resolutions have recognized the significance of providing security to refugees and of maintaining the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁸¹ The relationship between refugee flows and national and international insecurity is manifold. First, refugee flows across the borders are considered a threat to state sovereignty, especially by developing countries, since they are perceived as limiting the state’s ability to exercise control over its borders or to pursue independent policies.⁸² Second, the presence of large numbers of refugees is associated to detrimental impacts on bilateral and regional political and diplomatic relationships due to the possibility of cross-border attacks between neighbouring countries.⁸³ For example, the presence of Burundian armed rebels in the refugee camps of Western Tanzania was the source of political and military tensions between the two states.⁸⁴ Third, host countries and region

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.1.

⁷⁸ Zimmermann and Wennholz, 2011, p.1415.

⁷⁹ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.2.

⁸⁰ Edwards, 2009, p.775.

⁸¹ See for example: S/RES/1208, 1998, p.1.

⁸² Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.6.

⁸³ Loescher and Milner, 2008, p.33.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, p.33.

usually associate PRS with direct threats such as spill-over of conflict and the presence of refugee warriors.⁸⁵ The case of the Tutsi refugees fleeing Rwanda and creating the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which later invaded Rwanda from Uganda, is taken as one of the most indicative example in regard to the spill-over effect and refugee warriors.⁸⁶

According to Salehyan and Gleditsch, refugee flows can facilitate the spreading of conflict in host countries through the expansion of rebel networks and the real or perceived negative externalities associated to the refugee presence.⁸⁷ First refugee flows may involve the direct importation of combatants, arms and ideologies.⁸⁸ Second, refugees can support domestic opposition groups of similar ethnicity or political belonging (as it happened with the Somali refugees helping ethnic Somali separatists in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia).⁸⁹ Third, the refugee influx can change the balance of power and fuel conflicts in the host country by altering the ethnic composition of the population (as it happened with the influx of migrants and refugees from Bangladesh in North-Eastern India).⁹⁰ And last but not least, refugees may pose real or perceived negative consequences on the economic and living conditions of the local population leading to local conflicts and violence between the refugee and the host communities (as it happened in Macedonia with the large influx of refugees from Kosovo).⁹¹

Nonetheless, the comparison between different countries hosting refugees shows that the presence of refugees is only one of the factors explaining the rise in conflicts in the host country.⁹² Large numbers of refugees may be an indicator for the likelihood of a conflict outbreak, however, they alone will not automatically increase the risks for conflicts in the host country.⁹³ Instead, there are other important elements to be

⁸⁵ Ibidem, p.33.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, p.34.

⁸⁷ Salehyan and Gleditsch, 2006, p.342.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, p.342.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, p.343.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, p.344.

⁹¹ Ibidem, p.344.

⁹² Whitaker, 2003, p.227.

⁹³ Bohnet, 2012, p.3.

considered related to the management of the refugee presence by international organisations and national authorities contributing to an increased risk of conflict.

First, the size, location and composition of refugee camps are crucial to the maintenance of security.⁹⁴ Large-scale refugee camps are often situated in poor and remote areas characterised by a lack of livelihood opportunities and scarce resources leading to an increased risk of conflict between the refugees and the local communities to ensure access to the limited resources.⁹⁵ As the situation becomes protracted, the presence of large numbers of refugees may increase local grievances.⁹⁶ Indeed, refugees are often seen as privileged beneficiaries of services and welfare provisions to the detriment of the local population, or as the direct cause of low wages and unemployment among the local workers.⁹⁷ Additionally, due to political reasons, refugee camps are usually established close to national borders and thereby to the conflict zone.⁹⁸ As a result, refugee camps can easily become targets of military raids and attacks by rebel forces, creating human security impacts for both the refugees in the camps and the local people living in the surrounding areas.⁹⁹ Second, refugee camps can be used as a recruitment pool for guerrilla, insurgent or terrorist activities by armed groups, in particular in the context of the so-called 'failed states'.¹⁰⁰ For instance, recruiters are reported to be active in the Dadaab camps and in the surrounding villages in northeast Kenya, where they recruit young Somali refugees to fight in Somalia.¹⁰¹ Finally, as the composition of the refugee camps is concerned, members of different ethnic groups (tribes, religions etc.) are often forced to live together without considering the risk of eventual tension between the different groups.¹⁰²

Second, the geographical distribution of refugees without careful deliberation in the host country may lead to a deteriorating security situation as well.¹⁰³ For instance,

⁹⁴ UNHCR, 2006, p.85.

⁹⁵ Bohnet, 2012, p.11.

⁹⁶ Loescher and Milner, 2005 (b), p.32.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p.32.

⁹⁸ UNHCR, 2006, p.86.

⁹⁹ Jacobsen, 2001, p.13.

¹⁰⁰ Loescher and Milner, 2005 (b), p.31.

¹⁰¹ Human Rights Watch, 22 October 2009.

¹⁰² Crisp, 1999, p.29.

¹⁰³ Bohnet, 2012, p.4.

when refugee settlements are concentrated in a limited area, conflict is more likely to happen compared to situations where refugee settlements are more dispersed.¹⁰⁴ The likelihood of conflict outbreak seems to be associated to the proximity of refugee settlements, which facilitate refugees' mobilization, increase pressure on already limited local resources and makes control more difficult.¹⁰⁵

Third, the living conditions of refugees play an important role for the security of RHAs.¹⁰⁶ Refugees experience the breakdown of social and cultural norms during their period of exile, for example a change in the role of men and women, which produces a feeling of uneasiness.¹⁰⁷ Many refugees do not have opportunities for adequate employment and education in the camps, which is especially dramatic when it comes to younger refugees.¹⁰⁸ Refugees' instable and unsafe living conditions influence their attitude to behave in a violent way.¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, better educational and training opportunities have been often associated to a positive impact on security since they help refugees to become self-sufficient, restore their self-esteem and re-establish peaceful and functioning societies.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, p.25.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, p.12.

¹⁰⁶ Crisp, 1999, pp.24-25.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.25.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, p.28.

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem, p.25.

¹¹⁰ UNHCR, 2006, p.87.

1.5. Evolving responses to PRS

The international community has dealt with numerous and diverse PRS and different responses and policies have developed over the years. Subsequently this section will explain the main evolutions and setbacks of the international community's approach to PRS.

The first time UNHCR was confronted with a PRS, it concerned the displacement of thousands of people within Europe as result of WWII.¹¹¹ Resettlement, repatriation and local integration were part of the comprehensive approach the international community decided to adopt in that situation.¹¹² The same comprehensive utilised after WWII was applied to the PRS of Indochinese and Central American refugees in the late 1980s.¹¹³ For instance, the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA) and the International Conference on Central American Refugees (CIREFCA) emphasised the need for durable solution through different combinations of repatriation, resettlement and local integration.¹¹⁴ Additionally, both the CPA and CIREFCA were built on the principles of burden and responsibility-sharing between countries of origin, host countries and third countries and on the involvement of a broad range of actors such as UN agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), development and humanitarian actors.¹¹⁵ During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the international community elaborated the so-called "refugee aid and development strategy" aimed at enabling refugees to move towards self-sufficiency, but rather than focusing only on refugee camps and communities, it involved the local population as well.¹¹⁶ In the 1980s the international community organized two International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I and ICARA II), which emphasised, in particular the second, the complementarity between refugee-related aid and development assistance.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, during the 1980s and '90s the ICARA II principles were largely ignored and the experiences of the CPA and CIREFCA represented the

¹¹¹ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.6.

¹¹² Loescher and Milner, 2005 (c), p.72.

¹¹³ Ibidem, p.71.

¹¹⁴ Betts, 2006, p.5.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, pp.5-6.

¹¹⁶ Crisp, 2001, p.2.

¹¹⁷ United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 1984, p.12.

exception rather than the norm in responding to PRS. For instance, the mainstream approaches to PRS were the so-called ‘care and maintenance’¹¹⁸ and ‘warehousing’.¹¹⁹ Additionally, after the Cold War, voluntary repatriation became the cornerstone of the international community’s approach to PRS and other approaches were largely ignored and dismissed.¹²⁰ During the 1990s, the international community’s interest towards PRS diminished due to new massive refugee flows and emergencies.¹²¹ With the beginning of the new millennium, however, the global refugee situation changed and, thanks to fewer refugee emergencies, PRS came back on the international agenda.¹²²

At the theoretical level, UNHCR started to publish series of documents (including evaluation reports, statistics, official documents) analysing causes, consequences and main characteristics of PRS.¹²³ In 2001, in the context of this revitalized engagement from the international community, UNHCR Africa Bureau organized a major panel discussion, in which the need for comprehensive and coherent strategies to solve PRS re-emerged.¹²⁴ An additional emphasis was placed on linking refugee assistance to national development programmes in order to strengthen refugee empowerment and self-reliance.¹²⁵

At the political level, in 2003, the consultative process started with the launching of the Global Consultations on International Protection gave birth to the Agenda for Protection.¹²⁶ The latter consisted of a comprehensive Plan of Action based on cooperation between UNHCR, national governments, NGOs, IGOs and refugees themselves.¹²⁷ Most importantly, the Agenda for Protection reaffirmed the States’ commitment to respect the Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol as well as to

¹¹⁸ The ‘care and maintenance’ approach is based on the assumption that refugees are a temporary presence, who will be soon repatriated or resettled.

¹¹⁹ The warehousing refers to the “practice of keeping refugees in protracted situations of restricted mobility, enforced idleness, and dependency—their lives on indefinite hold—in violation of their basic rights under the 1951 UN Refugee Convention” as defined in Smith, 2004, p.38.

¹²⁰ Crisp, 2004, p.4.

¹²¹ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.8.

¹²² Ibidem, p.9.

¹²³ Milner and Loescher, 2011, p.9.

¹²⁴ UNHCR, 2001, p.1.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, p.4.

¹²⁶ UNHCR, 2003 (a), p.5.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, p.7.

implement the burden and responsibility-sharing principles.¹²⁸ In the same year, UNHCR launched the Convention Plus Initiative, a process of negotiations bringing together different actors including States, intergovernmental and non-governmental actors in order to find special agreements to respond to refugee emergencies and enhance refugee protection.¹²⁹ One of the most important element of the Convention Plus' debate was the "Targeting Development Assistance to refugee solutions" (TDA), aimed at facilitating local integration and repatriation by including refugee in national development plans.¹³⁰ In a renewed attempt to strengthen the cooperation between humanitarian aid and development agencies, UNHCR adopted the Framework for Durable Solutions (2003).¹³¹ The Framework comprised a programmatic development approach (Development Assistance for Refugees, DAR), a framework for local integration (Development through Local Integration, DLI) and a tool for reintegration in countries of origin (Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, 4Rs). The DAR was conceived as a programme to provide additional development assistance to refugee hosting countries by improving burden-sharing among countries of first asylum, countries of origin and third countries, promoting better living conditions and enhancing self-reliance for refugees pending different durable solutions and also improving the quality of life for host communities.¹³² While DAR would help empowered refugees to attain either of the durable solutions, DLI was conceived as a strategy to be applied in host countries where local integration of refugees was a workable solution to PRS.¹³³ This strategy would promote additional development funds by the donor community to attain local integration, increase refugee self-reliance and improve the living conditions of the host population.¹³⁴ The Zambia Initiative (ZI) launched in 2002 by the Government of the Republic of Zambia in collaboration with

¹²⁸ Ibidem, p.10.

¹²⁹ Kelley and Durieux, 2004, p.14.

¹³⁰ Betts, 2004, p.1.

¹³¹ Mattner, 2008, p.114.

¹³² UNHCR, 2003 (b), p.8.

¹³³ Ibidem, p.11.

¹³⁴ Ibidem, p.24.

UNHCR is one of the best example of an innovative ‘Development through Local Integration’ project.¹³⁵

Under the office of the High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers, UNHCR tried to strengthen the notion of burden-sharing and to ensure a long term financial support from donor countries to address the challenges of the refugee presence in developing countries.¹³⁶ This was further promoted by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres, who, in 2008, launched the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges, a process of informal consultations between UNHCR, governments, IGOs and NGOs. During the second meeting of the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges, the members of the international community renewed their commitments to address PRS in a more effective and equitable way.¹³⁷ These commitments range from political action, acceptance of the burden- or responsibility-sharing principle, activities coordination, human rights compliance and the use of complementary solutions to PRS.¹³⁸ Concerning strategies and solutions for dealing with PRS in countries of first asylum, the meeting acknowledged the failure of the ‘care and maintenance’ approach to refugee assistance and promoted an approach based on improving refugees’ livelihoods and self-reliance.¹³⁹ In 2009, the negotiations for an Executive Committee (ExCom) Conclusion on Protracted Refugee Situations¹⁴⁰ reaffirmed the need for comprehensive, multilateral and multi-sectoral collaboration and action.¹⁴¹ In the context of a renewed emphasis on comprehensive strategies, the UNHCR launched the implementation of comprehensive strategies in three of the Africa’s most longstanding refugee situations involving Angolan, Liberian and Rwandan refugees.¹⁴² These strategies included voluntary repatriation alongside with assistance to help refugee to reintegrate in their country of origin or to find alternative

¹³⁵ Mirtenbaum and Malik, 2002, p.2. The thesis will elaborate on this initiative further and more in depth in the IV chapter.

¹³⁶ Mattner, 2008, p.115.

¹³⁷ UNHCR, 2008, p.3.

¹³⁸ Ibidem, p.3.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, p.3.

¹⁴⁰ For Executive Committee Conclusions on International Protection see generally: A Thematic Compilation Of Executive Committee Conclusions, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Division of International Protection, 7th edition, June 2014.

¹⁴¹ ExCom Conclusions No. 109 (LXI), 8 December 2009.

¹⁴² UNHCR, 2012.

legal status to reside in the country of asylum after the cessation of the refugee status.¹⁴³ Since 2010, UNHCR, UNDP and the World Bank (WB) have worked together under the umbrella of the so-called Transitional Solutions Initiative (TSI). The latter aims at strengthening the “collaboration between humanitarian and development, bilateral and multilateral actors, aiming to work together with national governments in finding solutions and sustainability of interventions, for displaced persons and local community members, well into recovery and development programming”.¹⁴⁴ Finally, in 2014 the Solutions Alliance, a network of humanitarian actors, development organisations, States, academics, private sector, civil society organisations etc, was established.¹⁴⁵ This Alliance aims at bringing together a diverse range of actors with the view of finding and rethinking solutions to end protracted displacement.¹⁴⁶ In particular, the Alliance’s mission is to develop approaches that “take full account of the political, humanitarian, security and developmental dimensions of displacement” and promote “the transition for displaced persons away from dependency towards increased resilience, sustainable self-reliance and development”.¹⁴⁷ In conclusion, the history of the international community’s approaches to PRS shows that for future responses to be comprehensive and effective they must involve and coordinate different kinds of actors as well as try to address simultaneously root causes and challenges of PRS.

¹⁴³ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁴ UNDP, UNHCR and the World Bank, 2010, p.6.

¹⁴⁵ Solutions Alliance, 2014 (a), pp.1-2.

¹⁴⁶ Solutions Alliance, 2014 (b), p.1.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem, pp.1-2.

1.6. Conclusions

PRS and how to deal with them represent a significant challenge for the international community. Nowadays, the problem has reached huge dimensions involving around 6,4 million refugees worldwide. Although numbers alone are already impressive, they do not reflect the complexity of PRS. Indeed, the situation is even more dramatic. PRS are characterised by multidimensional causes, encompassing political inaction, strategic inability and economic, political, security and military concerns. Additionally, PRS have significant consequences and impacts on the human rights and the human security situation of local communities and the refugees themselves. Finally, PRS pose a threat to the national security of host countries.

Although the challenges related to PRS have been widely recognized at the international level, the international community as a whole has failed to adopt an appropriate and consistent approach to PRS. Despite numerous commitments to international solidarity, burden- and responsibility-sharing and the acknowledgement of the need for a multilateral and comprehensive strategy, the international community is lacking the practical implementation of such commitments and its response is fluctuating as can be seen from the variety of agreed principles and strategies adopted over the years.

Chapter 2 - Protracted Refugee Situations and Food Security

2.1. Introduction

It has been widely recognized and demonstrated that PRS have both positive and negative consequences on host countries. Besides other elements of human security, one important aspect of the refugee presence concerns food security. Therefore, in the subsequent sections, the thesis will try to identify the causal positive and negative impacts of PRS on the food security in RHAs by describing the impact of the refugee interaction with the surrounding environment and the local population. By doing so, this section will build upon a conference paper prepared by Arthur Mabiso, Jean-Francois Maystadt, Joachim Vandecasteele and Kalle Hirvonen, “Refugees, Food Security and Resilience in Host Communities: transitioning from humanitarian assistance to development in protracted refugee situations”.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the thesis will further develop some aspects presented in the abovementioned paper and add evidence that were not discussed therein.

2.2. Defining food security

The concept of food security has evolved over time resulting in a definition reflecting the complexity and the multi-dimensionality of the issue.¹⁴⁹ Thus, “The State of food insecurity in the World 2001” defines food security as “a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life”.¹⁵⁰ To understand the dramatic evolution of the concept, we should consider that, at the time of the 1974 World Food Conference, food security was nothing more than a synonym for availability and stability of world food supplies.¹⁵¹

According to the current definition, food security presents four main dimensions:

¹⁴⁸ Mabiso, Maystadt, Vandecasteele and Hirvonen, 2014.

¹⁴⁹ FAO, 2003, p.25.

¹⁵⁰ FAO, 2001, p.49.

¹⁵¹ Mechlem, 2004, p.633.

1. The first dimension is food availability, which is defined as “the amount of food that is present in a country or area through all forms of domestic production, imports, food stocks and food aid”.¹⁵² Food availability is linked to the supply side of a food system.
2. The second dimension is access, which refers to “the household’s ability to acquire adequate amounts of food regularly through a combination of production, purchases, barter, borrowing, food assistance or gifts”.¹⁵³ Food access is characterized by three sub dimensions: physical, economic/financial and sociocultural.¹⁵⁴ Physical access refers to a situation where food is available at the location where people actually need it.¹⁵⁵ Economic/financial access means that households have the financial ability to regularly access adequate amounts of food to meet their requirements.¹⁵⁶ Socio-cultural access refers to a situation in which there are no cultural/social barriers to the households’ consumption of food commodities.¹⁵⁷
3. The third dimension is food utilization, which has been defined as “the selection and intake of food and the absorption of nutrients”.¹⁵⁸ Food utilization implies different elements. Food utilisation depends on the health status of the individual and his/her ability to use the food properly.¹⁵⁹ Food utilisation should also take into account the specific requirements of certain groups of individuals such as children or pregnant women in order to respond to their biological needs.¹⁶⁰ Utilisation also refers to cooking and hygienic practices, access to safe clean water, proper storage and conservation of the food.¹⁶¹ Moreover, it refers to socio-cultural practices, which affect the distribution of food inside the household, whereby the food needs of certain members can be prioritized.¹⁶²

¹⁵² WFP, 2009 (a), p. 170.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, p.170.

¹⁵⁴ Simon, 2012, p.6.

¹⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.6.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem, p.6.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, p.6.

¹⁵⁸ WFP, 2009 (a), p.170.

¹⁵⁹ UNHCR, Food security in the refugee settings, p.4.

¹⁶⁰ Ibidem, p.4.

¹⁶¹ Ibidem, p.4.

¹⁶² Ibidem, p.4.

4. The fourth dimension is stability, which underlines that the conditions described for the three basic dimensions of food security (availability, access and utilization) do not have to occur only at a single moment in time but need to be present all the time and with sustainability.¹⁶³

2.3. Food insecurity: temporal and severity dimensions

Since food security can be best identified through its absence, it is crucial to understand what food insecurity means. A temporal and a severity dimension characterize food insecurity.¹⁶⁴ The temporal dimension has been defined by the concept of chronic versus transitory food insecurity.

- “Chronic food insecurity is a continuously inadequate diet caused by the inability to acquire food. It affects households that persistently lack the ability either to buy enough food or to produce their own”.¹⁶⁵
- “Transitory food insecurity is a temporary decline in a household's access to enough food. It results from instability in food prices, food production, or household incomes-and in its worst form it produces famine”.¹⁶⁶

The temporal dimension is of particular concern when it comes to PRS. Such situations are, indeed, characterised by low level of development, limited access to assets and resources, which hamper, temporarily or permanently, the ability of refugees and local hosts to ensure a stable and adequate access to food. Thus, PRS are generally characterised by a high level of incidence of chronic food insecurity with higher peaks in the occasion of sudden shocks such as droughts, famine, violence that severely affect the already low resilience of the poorest households and the most vulnerable individuals.

The temporal dimension is usually considered along with the severity dimension, which refers to the magnitude or intensity of the problem.¹⁶⁷ Different degrees of intensity can

¹⁶³ Simon, 2012, p.8.

¹⁶⁴ Devereux, 2006, p.5.

¹⁶⁵ World Bank, 1986, p.1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.1.

be identified taking 2,100 kcal as an average daily energy requirement.¹⁶⁸ Although, the early stage of a refugee situation is likely to show a more severe level of food insecurity, the effect of the refugee presence on the food security of RHAs are not only concentrated in the first stage of the refugee emergency.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, PRS might experience the occurrence of episodes of severe food insecurity, for example, in the period before the harvest or due to prices increases.¹⁷⁰

2.4. The vicious cycle of food insecurity, poverty and vulnerability in PRS

The concept of food security interlinks with the concept of poverty. The linkage between poverty and food security is confirmed in the multidimensional definition of poverty given by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): “Poverty encompasses different dimensions of deprivation that relate to human capabilities including consumption and food security, health, education, rights, voice, security, dignity and decent work[...]”.¹⁷¹ Moreover, as underlined by the World Bank, food insecurity is not caused by a lack of supply or high prices but by the fact that households have a very limited purchasing power due to their poor condition.¹⁷²

Another important concept, which is interrelated with the concepts of food insecurity and poverty, is vulnerability. On one hand, poverty is one of the main factors affecting vulnerability.¹⁷³ On the other hand, the concept of vulnerability can be considered as an intrinsic element of the definition of food insecurity since vulnerability and insecurity have a similar meaning.¹⁷⁴ The concept of vulnerability is characterized by an internal and external dimension of risk: the exposure to hazards or shocks and the resilience or ability to cope with these shocks.¹⁷⁵ Children, women, elderly people, people with

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, p.5.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, p.5.

¹⁶⁹ Chambers, 1986, p.249.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, pp.249-250.

¹⁷¹ OECD, 2001, p.10.

¹⁷² World Bank, 1986, p.13.

¹⁷³ Wisner and Adams, 2002, p.13.

¹⁷⁴ Devereux, 2006, p.7.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, p.8.

disabilities and diseases are usually considered as ‘vulnerable categories’. Refugees can also be considered as a ‘vulnerable group’ because of their dependency status.

PRS are the perfect scenario for the vicious cycle of food insecurity, poverty and vulnerability to perpetuate. On one hand, PRS are characterized by high level of poverty, which make people particularly vulnerable to food insecurity. On the other hand, food insecurity and vulnerability perpetuate poverty.

2.5. Food security and the right to food

Food security as a concept is younger than “the right to food”.¹⁷⁶ While the former was conceptualized for the first time during the 1970s, the right to food was already enshrined in Article 25 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and in Article 11 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹⁷⁷ Although the right to food is recognised in different international law instruments, the ICESCR is so far the most comprehensive international document for the protection of the right to food.¹⁷⁸ In 1999, the Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) adopted the General Comment No.12 on the Right to Adequate Food, where it defines the right to food as the right of everyone “to have physical and economic access at all times to food in adequate quantity and quality or to means of its procurement.”¹⁷⁹ The core content of the definition provided by General Comment No.12 implies that food must be available in quantity and quality necessary to respond to individuals’ dietary needs and to the customs of a given culture.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, food must be accessible in sustainable ways that do not undermine the enjoyment of other human rights.¹⁸¹ It is important to notice that the right to food includes the right to have access to resources and to the means necessary for producing one’s own food, to income opportunities enabling individuals to buy adequate and

¹⁷⁶ Mechlem, 2004, p.633.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.633.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, p.637.

¹⁷⁹ UN CESCR, E/C.12/1999/5, 12 May 1999, para 6, p.3

¹⁸⁰ Ibidem, para 8, p.3

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, para 8, p.3

sufficient food and to social security schemes for the most vulnerable and discriminated groups.¹⁸²

The definition of food security (see paragraph 2.2 of the current research) and the CESCR's definition of the right to adequate food present some similarities.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the right to food and food security also present some distinguishing features, which require distinctive approaches in order to be fully realized.¹⁸⁴ Firstly, food security is still a policy concept without a normative binding content, while the right to food is a well-recognised human rights both in treaty and customary law.¹⁸⁵ Secondly, food security can be linked to different moral and economic grounds, whereas the right to food is, as all human rights, inherently linked to the concept of human dignity.¹⁸⁶ Thirdly, food security can be achieved by choosing different ways of managing food production, markets and access to resources¹⁸⁷, while the realization of the right to food implies the fulfilment of three legal obligations (i.e respect, protect, fulfil).¹⁸⁸ These different levels of obligations imply different actions on the side of the State. Although States enjoy a margin of discretion in choosing the most appropriate ways and means of implementation, the right to food imposes upon Contracting Parties to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the full realization of the right to food.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, as is practically associated with being 'a right', the right to food has specific monitoring mechanism to ensure the identification of violations and obstacles to its realisation.¹⁹⁰

Notwithstanding their similarities and differences, it is possible to maintain that the right to food has become an operational tool central to the success of food security strategies.¹⁹¹ For instance, the right to food contribute to the eradication of hunger and

¹⁸² UNGA, A/HRC/7/5, 10 January 2008, para 18, p.9

¹⁸³ Mechlem, 2004, p.640.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, p.640.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, p.643.

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, p.643.

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem, p.644.

¹⁸⁸ UN CESCR, E/C.12/1999/5, 12 May 1999, para 15, p.5.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem, para 21, p.6.

¹⁹⁰ Ibidem, para 31, p.8.

¹⁹¹ UNGA, A/68/288, 7 August 2013, para 3, p.3.

malnutrition at three levels.¹⁹² Firstly, as already mentioned, it directs the obligations to respect, protect and fulfil the right to adequate food toward States.¹⁹³ Secondly, it creates legal entitlements for individuals and households to benefit from governmental food security and welfare schemes.¹⁹⁴ In this way, individuals are no longer considered beneficiaries; instead they become rights-holders.¹⁹⁵ Thirdly, it requires the adoption of national strategies aimed at realizing all the components of the right to food in compliance with the principles of participation, accountability, non-discrimination, transparency, human dignity, empowerment and the rule of law.¹⁹⁶

Taking into account what has been mentioned, the right to food can play an important role as part of the developmental approach to local integration (that will be described in section 3.6 of the current thesis). For instance, the right to food, by way of transforming refugees from passive recipients of food aid into empowered rights-holders, can reinforce the role refugees play in their personal and community development.

2.6. The impact of PRS on food security in RHAs

PRS have significant consequences for a wide range of aspects of the living conditions of refugees and local communities.¹⁹⁷ In the subsequent sections, the research will focus in particular on the impact of the refugee presence on the food security of RHAs.

2.6.1. Explaining the variables

The overall impact of the refugee presence on the host community is the result of different factors. First, the length of time over which refugee have been living in an area can produce long-term or short-term consequences for the receiving area.¹⁹⁸ Second, the settlement patterns set the parameters of refugee interaction with the host community

¹⁹² Ibidem, para 8, p.5.

¹⁹³ Ibidem, para 8, p.5.

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem, para 20, p.9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibidem, para 20, p.9.

¹⁹⁶ Ibidem, para 33, p.13.

¹⁹⁷ This issue has been discussed in paragraph 1.4.

¹⁹⁸ Black, 1993, p.2.

and with the surrounding environment.¹⁹⁹ For instance, due to their originally temporary-nature, refugee camps are often unable to meet the needs of a long-term displaced population thus exacerbating refugee-host community competition for already scarce resources.²⁰⁰ Third, the size and the geographical distribution of the displaced the population shape the impact of PRS since larger and more concentrated refugee populations are likely to put a greater pressure on RHAs.²⁰¹ Fourth, the economic situation and the level of resources available in the receiving area before the arrival of the refugees (especially related to the availability of land, the need of labour force and the existing livelihood in the local communities).²⁰² Other important factors that influence the impact of PRS on RHAs are as follows: the existence of close kinship and linkages between refugee and local population²⁰³, the response of the international community to the refugee situation²⁰⁴ and the government refugee policies.²⁰⁵ The management of the refugee situation by international organisations and national authorities is the underlying factor influencing how PRS affect RHAs, as has been already explained in relation to national security concerns (paragraph 1.4).

The research will take into consideration the existence of the abovementioned variables when dealing with the impact of the refugee presence on the food security of RHAs. The research is also aware that the extent to which local hosts are able to benefit depend on different factors such as gender, age and socio-economic class.²⁰⁶

2.6.2. Indirect effects on food security

Indirect consequences for the food security in RHAs result from the impacts that large numbers of refugees may have on the health system, the security situation, the environment and the economy.

¹⁹⁹ Jacobsen, 1997, p.20.

²⁰⁰ Jacobsen, 2001, p.7.

²⁰¹ Black, 1993, p.3.

²⁰² Whitaker, 2002, pp.353-354.

²⁰³ Black and Sessay, 1997, p.66.

²⁰⁴ De Waal, 1988, p.128.

²⁰⁵ Whitaker, 2002, pp.351-352.

²⁰⁶ Ibidem, p.345.

Health

Health plays an important role in all the three dimensions of food security. First, the health status of individuals is an important factor for the economic accessibility to food and food availability. In rural areas, which are usually the ones most interested by the presence of large refugee populations, the economical ability of households to buy adequate amounts of food depends on the health status of the its adult members, since income depends largely on labour-intensive agricultural activities.²⁰⁷ In the case of subsistence farmers, in particular, the individual health status, determining his/her ability to perform working activities, might affect the availability of food at the household level. If those, who are responsible to carry out agricultural works, are not able to perform them, the household's production will decrease, leading to less income, increased poverty and so on and so forth.

Second, health and sanitation are also related to food utilisation. For instance, food utilisation includes the preparation of food, which requires the adoption of hygienic standards and practices in order to ensure a good quality of the food prepared. Additionally, food utilisation refers to the biological utilisation of the nutritional elements of the food consumed, that can be hampered by the presence of diseases and illnesses.

Considering these facts how does the presence of large numbers of refugees impact on health related aspects of food security?

First, the presence of refugees can impose a heavy burden on local medical infrastructures and the provision of health services. Additional people quickly overburden local health facilities, which have already limited capacities and resources to meet the regular needs of the local population.²⁰⁸ For instance, the demand for health services in Lebanon has increased significantly after the arrival of Syrian refugees.²⁰⁹ In particular, "crowding out of hospitals with refugees is compromising access to healthcare by the Lebanese and exerting financial pressure on hospitals, pushing up

²⁰⁷ Mabiso, Maystadt, Vandecastelen and Hirvonen, 2014, p.9.

²⁰⁸ Whitaker, 2002, p.343.

²⁰⁹ World Bank, 2013, p.63.

costs and generating medication shortages for Lebanese”.²¹⁰ Therefore, there is a decrease in the access to local health services, a decline in the quality of the service offered as well as a shortage of drugs and treatments.

Second, the presence of refugees is generally linked to an increase in the influx of diseases. For instance, in Tanzania, high-fever malaria, intense dysentery, skin diseases and an increase in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS were registered after the arrival of large numbers of refugees.²¹¹ More recently, in Lebanon the influx of Syrian refugees has been associated to the spreading of new diseases brought by the refugees and the increasing risks of epidemics such as water-borne diseases, measles etc.²¹² Unsurprisingly, the combination of a large concentration of people constipated in refugee camps often lacking proper sanitation systems with the collapse of the local health system lead to the spread of infectious diseases.²¹³ In particular, inadequate sanitation facilities can result in the pollution of water resources, seriously endangering human health and the nutrition of people.²¹⁴ According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), unsafe water supply, scarce sanitation and hygiene are responsible for the 88% of the total DALY global burden of diseases.²¹⁵

Nevertheless, the development of health facilities supported by humanitarian agencies working with refugees may have a positive impact on the access to and the availability of health services for the local population, as will be discussed in paragraph 2.6.3.²¹⁶

Security and Conflict

Armed conflict and civil strife are among the major sources of food insecurity.²¹⁷ Security consequences on food security are numerous during situations of conflict. Generally speaking, the economic losses (output, means of production and infrastructure) and the disruption of food supply are the most dramatic effects of

²¹⁰ Ibidem, p.63

²¹¹ Whitaker, 2002, p.343.

²¹² World Bank, 2013, p.63

²¹³ Baez, 2008, pp.24-25.

²¹⁴ World Health Organization- Water Sanitation Health.

²¹⁵ Ibidem.

²¹⁶ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.36.

²¹⁷ FAO, 2000, p.69.

conflicts on food security.²¹⁸ For instance, the disruption of normal livelihood and access to markets due to an on-going conflict was identified as one of the main drivers of food insecurity in Yemen in 2014.²¹⁹ In conflict-like situations, food production may be negatively affected through changes in the production behaviour and the delay of agricultural harvesting and planting activities.²²⁰ The consequences are basically twofold. First, agricultural production will decline leading to less food being available at the local level. Second, since farmers earn less money from the selling of agricultural products, they are not able to purchase food for themselves and their families. Besides agricultural production, other labour opportunities are likely to be hindered by conflict leading to a decreased household purchasing power, which will have implication on the quality and quantity of the food consumed.²²¹ For instance, conflicts may affect also those manufacturing sectors that are linked with agriculture such as processing of crops, crafts and transport enterprises.²²² Conflicts can also induce massive population displacement and limit the humanitarian access to those in need thereby exacerbating food insecurity in certain areas.²²³

Insecurity and conflict-related risks may also affect trade routes through which the food is distributed within the nation and cause the breakdown of local markets, which are fundamental for the food security of rural farmers, fishers and livestock-dependent populations.²²⁴ Ongoing conflict coupled with limited functioning of the government may affect the distribution of existing stocks of food to local markets.²²⁵ Conflicts may also induce higher transportation costs because, for example, fuel gets scarce. Higher transportation costs will increase the prices of agricultural and non-agricultural goods, which in turns affect the purchasing power of households.

²¹⁸ Ibidem, p.69.

²¹⁹ Famine Early Warning Systems Network (Fews Net), 17 April 2015, p.2.

²²⁰ FAO/WFP, 7 March 2014.

²²¹ Fews Net, 17 April 2015, p.2.

²²² Ibidem, p.86.

²²³ Ibidem, p.2.

²²⁴ FAO/WFP, 7 March 2014.

²²⁵ Fews Net, 17 April 2015, p.3.

Conflicts may also have long-term effects on agriculture that can delay the recovery of agricultural productivity when the conflicts end.²²⁶ For instance, the population displacement is likely to cause the abandonment of crops leading to a greater exposure to pests and diseases, from which the crops will take time to recover.²²⁷

Environment

The link between food security and environment has been widely accepted by the international community. The relationship between food security and the environment is a two-way relationship. Food systems have an impact on the environmental resources and environmental conditions have a significant impact on food security. For the purpose of this thesis, the term environmental impact will refer to “the process of change that occurs with respect to natural resources such as forest, soil and water”.²²⁸ It will not be denied that large-scale inflows of refugees increase the population pressure on the environment and the use of natural resources in host areas, leading to a physical deterioration of the environment.²²⁹ Nonetheless, the thesis will also take into account that local population is partly responsible for the environmental degradation.²³⁰ Moreover, other external factors such as socio-economic and political changes can also contribute to environmental degradation, along with the large numbers of refugees.²³¹ Additionally, the thesis acknowledges that environmental degradation is contextually specific and cannot be determined *a priori*, meaning that the present conclusions cannot be completely generalised.²³²

The main environmental impact that have been associated with a large-scale presence of refugees is the deterioration of renewable natural resources such as forests, soil, water etc. The first main impact is related to the depletion of forestry resources.²³³ A case study conducted in Nepal’s eastern Terai region showed that large-scale presence of refugees in close proximity to the forest had a great impact on the forestry resources,

²²⁶ FAO, 2000, p.85.

²²⁷ Ibidem, p.85.

²²⁸ Jacobsen, 1997, p.20.

²²⁹ UNHCR, 1998, p.3.

²³⁰ Berry, 2008, p.13.

²³¹ Black and Sessay, 1997, p.66.

²³² Kibreab, 1997, p.24.

²³³ Oucho, 2007, p.12.

since the refugees used the forest as a supply source for fuelwood and fruits and to poach small animals.²³⁴ The refugees' utilization of the forestry resources combined with its original utilization by the local population led to a rapid acceleration in the depletion rate.²³⁵ The 1998 UNHCR Environmental Guidelines have identified the refugee demand for energy as the cause of the most serious environmental problems in RHAs.²³⁶ For instance, refugee demand of energy is generally higher than the existing level of energy consumption among the local population partly because cooking rationed food, distributed to refugees, takes longer than fresh food.²³⁷ Moreover, it has been proven that, although refugees are given kerosene, they normally use fuelwood since kerosene represents a source of income²³⁸ or a commodity that they can sell or trade for food in periods of food scarcity.²³⁹ The deforestation is also directly linked to the "start-up costs" resulting from the construction of refugee camps and settlements.²⁴⁰ The construction of such camps requires, indeed, the cutting of many trees to provide space and to obtain construction material.²⁴¹ However, in PRS the need for wooden poles for building purposes is not limited to time of the construction of the camp. For instance, the demand for wood of long-term camp refugees continue to remain high due to the building of larger and more permanent structures over the years.²⁴²

As has been pointed out, the depletion of forestry resources can have a negative impact on the food availability of local communities because forests are a source of nutrition (vegetables, fruits and animals).²⁴³ Besides these direct impacts, indirect economic costs for the local population may arise since the reduced availability of fuelwood, for instance, can lead to a rise in the price of fuel.²⁴⁴ Nonetheless, some members of the local community may benefit from trade and prices increases.²⁴⁵ Deforestation has also

²³⁴ Birendra and Nagata, 2006, p.307.

²³⁵ Ibidem, p.308.

²³⁶ UNHCR, 1998, p.3.

²³⁷ Ibidem, p.7.

²³⁸ Birendra and Nagata, 2006, p.310.

²³⁹ Jacobsen, 1997, p.24.

²⁴⁰ Ibidem, p.23.

²⁴¹ Ibidem, p.23.

²⁴² Enghoff et al, 2010, p.51.

²⁴³ Birendra and Nagata, 2006, p.307.

²⁴⁴ Lynch, 2002, p.19.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.19.

an impact on the social conditions of the local population and it is particularly women bearing the consequences of the environmental impact.²⁴⁶ Women and children are usually responsible for fuel gathering. Since there is little fuelwood available they spend more time in collecting wood due to the longer distances required to retrieve the necessary amount.²⁴⁷ As result, women have less time and energy to dedicate to other activities such as child-care, family and social functions.²⁴⁸ The longer walking distance can also expose them to higher risks of being assaulted.²⁴⁹ Finally, a reduced availability of fuelwood can result in food not being properly cooked, having negative consequences for the quality of food consumed and therefore for food utilization.²⁵⁰

The second main environmental impact concerns land utilisation.²⁵¹ In refugee settlements, refugees are allocated land for agricultural purposes. Since the land is often limited and insufficient to meet their needs, refugees are forced to cultivate it without fallow periods leading to an increase in the level of soil erosion and to a yield decline.²⁵² The extent of land degradation induced by the refugees' presence often depends on the traditional land-use practices adopted by them. When refugees find climate and habitat conditions similar to those of their home countries, their native land-use practices will be more similar to the ones of the host communities and more appropriate for the local environment.²⁵³ However, where the environmental conditions differ a lot from the refugees' home countries, their cultivating practices may be inadequate and even dangerous for the local environment.²⁵⁴ The lack of access to adequate agricultural tools and equipment may worsen the situation even further.²⁵⁵

The third main environmental impact is related to surface and ground water.²⁵⁶ For instance, recently, the large influx of hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees into the

²⁴⁶ Whitaker, 2002, p.345.

²⁴⁷ UNHCR, 2005 (a), p.7.

²⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.7.

²⁴⁹ Ibidem, p.7.

²⁵⁰ Ibidem, p.7.

²⁵¹ Oucho, 2007, p.13.

²⁵² Jacobsen, 1997, p.24.

²⁵³ Ibidem, p.24.

²⁵⁴ Ibidem, p.24.

²⁵⁵ Kibreab, 1997, p.29.

²⁵⁶ Oucho, 2007, p.13.

northern governorates of Jordan, has significantly increased the demand for water and has placed considerable strain on the already aging water supply and disposal system.²⁵⁷ In Tanzania, some rivers crucial for the water supply of local villages were diverted to refugee camps cutting of local communities.²⁵⁸ Moreover, refugee camps are usually built under great time constraints and without careful planning.²⁵⁹ This may result in many wells constructed inside the camp before an actual assessment of the aquifer capacity has been conducted leading to over-depletion of water or to decline in the water quality.²⁶⁰ For example, in Kenya, the only permanent sources of water in the RHA of Dadaab are deep boreholes that tap into the Merti aquifer.²⁶¹ According to recent studies, the rate of water discharge is exceeding the rate of recharge.²⁶² The current rate of water discharge may lead to a situation of over-use of the water resources in the RHA.²⁶³ On the other hand, though, the construction of refugee camps and settlements can improve the water supply situation in RHAs if newly built water points are available both to locals and refugees.²⁶⁴ For example, in the Islamic Republic of Iran, a new well, constructed by UNHCR and Iran's Bureau for Aliens and Foreign Immigrants' Affairs, to supply water to the Sarvestan refugee settlements, is also being used to provide water for about 2,000 residents in four neighbouring villages.²⁶⁵ In Kenya, many water development initiatives have been implemented in local communities located close to the Dadaab refugee camps leading to an increased access to potable water compared to other arid areas of Kenya.²⁶⁶

The impact on water resources can have negative effects both for the availability of food and its utilisation. First, a reduced availability of water negatively affects agricultural productivity, since crops need water to grow. Second, the waste produced within refugee camps often lacking adequate waste disposal systems can pollute water sources.

²⁵⁷ International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 22 December 2014.

²⁵⁸ Whitaker, 2002, p.342.

²⁵⁹ Jacobsen, 1997, p.25.

²⁶⁰ Ibidem, p.25.

²⁶¹ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.59.

²⁶² Ibidem, p.61.

²⁶³ Ibidem, p.61.

²⁶⁴ Ibidem, p.25.

²⁶⁵ UNHCR, 2015 (c).

²⁶⁶ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.35.

Bad water quality has various implications. First of all, the health of the people may be heavily affected by polluted drinking water and diseases are likely to spread affecting the ability of individuals to absorb food adequately. And the vicious cycle of bad health, little productivity and poverty starts again.

Economy

Besides impacts on the health system and the environment, PRS may also have an impact on the local economy. In regard to the economic impact of protracted displacement, this section will focus the impacts on the labour market, the price of goods and general business and trade.

As regards the labour market, refugees are a source of cheap labour, which can boost the local agricultural productivity.²⁶⁷ For instance, in the Karngwe district (Tanzania), local farmers were able to benefit from the larger pool of refugee labour force to double the size of their production of bananas and beans.²⁶⁸ Increased agricultural production leads to more food available at the local level. The extent to which refugees can contribute to increase local crop production has been demonstrated by the occurrence of food shortages in and around Zambian refugee settlements following the repatriation of Angolan refugees.²⁶⁹ For instance, the refugee settlement of Meheba used to produce “over 12,000 tonnes of maize in the season before the repatriations began, but the most recent harvest only yielded 1,600 tonnes. Cassava under cultivation fell from 2,000 hectares to 20 hectares, while the sweet potato crop declined from over 5,000 tonnes to less than 800 tonnes.”²⁷⁰ In addition to the increased availability of food at the local level, the boost of agricultural production allows farmers to sell the surplus, resulting in greater earnings enhancing their ability to purchase food and non-food items (economic accessibility to food). Moreover, the fact that refugees undertake unskilled works such as collecting wood enables local farmers to invest more time and energy in other more profitable activities resulting in an increase of income.²⁷¹ However, it is big farmers in

²⁶⁷ Whitaker, 2002, p.341.

²⁶⁸ Ibidem, p.342.

²⁶⁹ Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN), 13 September 2006, p.1.

²⁷⁰ Ibidem, p.1.

²⁷¹ Christensen, 1984, p.56.

particular who profit from refugees as cheap labour forces, while subsistence farmers cannot make an advantage out of the situation.²⁷² As has been proven by various studies, the agricultural sector is not the only one benefiting from the refugee labour. For instance, refugees can also contribute by teaching new skills to local people or helping them to start new businesses (as has happened with a group of Congolese refugees in Kampala helping to train Ugandan nationals in tailoring).²⁷³

Still, large numbers of refugee available on the local labour market can have also downsides. For instance, the inflow of Syrian refugees in Lebanon has exacerbated a situation of high unemployment especially for females, youth and poorly educated local individuals.²⁷⁴ Besides the impact on the total labour supply, the presence of refugees is also associated to lower earnings. For instance, refugees due to their particularly vulnerable situations are forced to accept lower wages and longer working hours thereby affecting the earning opportunities and the working conditions of local workers.²⁷⁵ At the same time the fact that refugees provide a source of cheap labour, leading to a depression of wages, might have a positive impact on the prices of goods, where labour is an important input.²⁷⁶ An additional positive consequence of the refugee presence on the labour market is the creation of new employment opportunities for locals due to the presence of international aid agencies and NGOs.²⁷⁷

A population increase may also have a double impact on local prices due to changes in the demand and supply sides of the market.²⁷⁸ First, it results in an increased demand for all sorts of goods.²⁷⁹ Increasing demand for local goods can lead to a depletion of local food supplies, which is particularly likely to affect the local poor.²⁸⁰ The impact on local markets is more severe at the beginning of the refugee crisis but it is not limited to it.²⁸¹ Indeed, the negative effects on local food supplies will be more apparent whenever there

²⁷² Whitaker, 2002, p.347.

²⁷³ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.20.

²⁷⁴ World Bank, 2013, p.84.

²⁷⁵ Ibidem, p.86.

²⁷⁶ Alix-Garcia and Saah, 2009, p.154.

²⁷⁷ This issue will be further developed in the next chapter.

²⁷⁸ Ibidem, p.154.

²⁷⁹ Ibidem, p.154.

²⁸⁰ Chambers, 1986, pp.249-250.

²⁸¹ Ibidem, pp.249-250.

is a reduction in the local production of food (for example in the season before the harvest).²⁸² When local food resources are scarce, the prices of goods are likely to increase.²⁸³ Price increases are reported to be greater in markets closer to refugee camps and settlements since there is greater demand, but they will also depend on the size of the refugee camp and on the diet of the refugees themselves.²⁸⁴ The rise of the local demand for products is likely to benefit producers, while consumers are likely to suffer from price increases and food shortages.²⁸⁵ The effects on the prices of goods can be mitigated through food aid, which will be discussed in the next section.

The last aspect of the economic situation that this research will take into consideration is the impact PRS might have on business and trade. Generally speaking, the increase in the size of the local market produces an increase in business and trade opportunities both for the local population and the refugees.²⁸⁶ For instance, in 2010, the refugee camps of Dahaley, Ifo and Hagadera (Kenya) were reported to have 5000 shops, which can be comparable to major cities figures.²⁸⁷ Moreover, the annual economic turnover of business and trade activities in the three refugee camps mentioned amounted to USD 25 million, demonstrating the importance of trade between refugees and host communities.²⁸⁸ Another example is the refugee camps of Nakivale and Kyangwali in Uganda, which show the role of refugee settlements as economic centres attracting investments, traders and customers and providing goods for the agricultural supply chain of the country.²⁸⁹ The emergence of new markets and trade opportunities at the local level may have a positive impact on the physical accessibility of food and non-food items. Studies in the Dadaab refugee area have shown that new business opportunities associated with refugee camps are not only beneficial to wealthy individuals or households.²⁹⁰ On the contrary, it is the low-middle income group

²⁸² Ibidem, pp.249-250.

²⁸³ Alix-Garcia and Saah, 2009, p.160.

²⁸⁴ Ibidem, p.150.

²⁸⁵ Ibidem, p.164.

²⁸⁶ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.43.

²⁸⁷ Ibidem, p.42.

²⁸⁸ Ibidem, p.43.

²⁸⁹ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.14.

²⁹⁰ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.47.

benefiting the most from the selling of products in the refugee camps markets.²⁹¹ The increase in business and trade opportunities will also be discussed in relation to the presence of the international assistance in the following section.

2.6.3. Direct effects on food security

PRS have, through food aid and the presence of the international organisations, two main direct effects on the food security in RHAs.

Food aid

Regarding the food security of RHAs, food aid has mainly two impacts. The first impact concerns the availability of food. First, food aid increases the amount of food available when is also distributed among the local population, or when refugees sell their rationed food to the local population or start trading with it. Studies have shown that is very common that refugees and local communities sell or barter a high percentage of the allocated food rations.²⁹² In Tanzania, for instance, the percentage of food sold or traded by refugees amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole amount of food distributed.²⁹³ At the same, food aid can have a disincentive effect on local production, since the supply grows faster than the demand leading to a depression of food prices.²⁹⁴ As prices decrease, revenues from the sale decreases and local producers are less willing or able to invest in the local production.²⁹⁵ A lack of motivation or capacity from essential producers of food may lead to an overall reduction in the local production, increasing the vulnerability of the local food system to sudden shocks, and thereby the threats to the food security of the local population. On the contrary, food aid may have a positive and stimulating effect on agricultural production both at the household and national level when the food distributed is produced and bought within the country.

²⁹¹ Ibidem, p.47.

²⁹² Whitaker, 2002, p.342.

²⁹³ Ibidem, p.342.

²⁹⁴ Abdulai, Barrett and Hoddinott, 2005, p.1689.

²⁹⁵ Ibidem, p.1689.

The second impact of food aid is on the prices of goods in the local market.²⁹⁶ To understand the real effect of food aid on prices, it is necessary to distinguish between foreign food aid and domestic food aid. Foreign food aid is likely to depress prices of local goods thanks to the competition exerted by subsidised food-aid products.²⁹⁷ Reduction of prices from foreign aid is going to benefit local consumers.²⁹⁸ On the contrary, local producers' earnings will suffer the reduction of local good prices. Nevertheless, if the food-aid effect on the local market is limited, the impacts of large numbers of refugees might still be positive for local producers since it increases the demand of products.²⁹⁹ Domestic food aid is likely to increase the prices of local goods, because it puts pressure on the local production system due to the rise in the local demand of products.³⁰⁰ The increase in the price of local goods is likely to cost local poorer hosts, while it will benefit local producers. The impact of food aid on local prices will be higher on markets closer to refugee camps and settlements, but it will quickly reduce as the distance increases.³⁰¹ Since the refugee presence will increase the demand of aid and non-aid goods, they will both experience an increase in the prices. Taking into account positive and negative impacts, it is possible to maintain that food aid, if properly managed, can play an important role in meeting refugee needs, reducing the pressure on the local food resources, and therefore the competition between refugees and local communities.³⁰²

Presence of international organisations

Another direct effect of PRS is that various international and national organisations, NGOs, UN agencies etc. will start assistance programmes in the RHAs. The presence of these organisations can have both positive and negative effects. With regard to food security, these assistance programmes have a particularly positive impact on the improvement of health and educational services, as well as infrastructures.

²⁹⁶ Alix-Garcia and Saah, 2009, p.149.

²⁹⁷ Ibidem, p.149.

²⁹⁸ Ibidem, p.164.

²⁹⁹ Ibidem, p.164.

³⁰⁰ Ibidem, p.160.

³⁰¹ Ibidem, p.164.

³⁰² Chambers, 1986, p.250.

Improved services, such as schools and hospitals, might have a positive impact both on the overall health status and the level of education of the local community and refugees alike. For example, in Kenya, some of UNHCR's funds were invested in permanent local infrastructure to serve both the refugee camps and the local population.³⁰³ Improved access to, and quality of local health services enhances food utilisation, food accessibility and food availability.³⁰⁴ Improved education facilities have a manifold impact on the food security of refugees and local populations. First, education can improve economic production by increasing the knowledge and skills of local farmers, and enable them to maximize agricultural production.³⁰⁵ Second, education can produce a so-called 'social and institutional change' by making people more aware of their health, nutritional and hygienic practices and how to improve them.³⁰⁶ Third, education can increase the earning and employment opportunities of individuals.³⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the positive impact of improved health and education services and facilities will be widespread only if local hosts can use them. Local hosts may benefit from the establishment of new services at the local level only if the conditions under which they have access to them are favourable.³⁰⁸ This is the case for instance of three hospitals established in the refugee camps in Kenya which can be accessed free of charge by the local population.³⁰⁹ Additionally, humanitarian agencies have supported the construction of schools in the host communities leading in an improved access to education by the local population.³¹⁰ In other cases, if the delivery of services focuses only on the refugee population, it might lead to a situation where refugees are seen as privileged, which can be detrimental to refugee-host relations.³¹¹ Contentious relationships are most likely to occur when a parallel system of services for refugees is established.³¹² The establishment of a system of service delivery separated from the already existing one has varying consequences, such as resource and treatment

³⁰³ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.47.

³⁰⁴ The issue has been discussed in paragraph 2.5.2.

³⁰⁵ De Muro and Burchi, 2007, p.6.

³⁰⁶ Ibidem, p.5.

³⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.5.

³⁰⁸ Chambers, 1986, p.253.

³⁰⁹ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.47.

³¹⁰ Ibidem, p.36.

³¹¹ Rowley, Burnham, Drabe, 2006, pp.162-163.

³¹² Ibidem, p.162.

discrepancies between refugees and local community members.³¹³ In order to avoid negative consequences, it is therefore important to conceive refugee services as part of the overall development of the local population.³¹⁴

Improved infrastructures such as water or energy supply systems and road and transportation facilities can have a positive impact on food security. For instance, in the Somali Region in Ethiopia, the development of the Jerar Valley Water System helped to provide water for people's consumption and use as well as for agriculture and livestock's purposes.³¹⁵ Thanks to new water supply system, "the overall rate of people with access to safe water for the Somali Region in Ethiopia thus increased by two per cent, considerably reducing social tensions and improving the wealth of both local and refugee populations."³¹⁶ Improved, rehabilitated and newly built road and transportation facilities can make travelling easier and cheaper for the local population (as has been demonstrated in the Dadaab area where 80% of interviewed host community members reported an increased use of vehicular transport).³¹⁷ The decrease in transport costs mainly produced by the investments made by international organisations is one of the main reasons for the welfare improvement recorded in certain RHAs.³¹⁸ Better transport possibilities improve access to markets and goods, including food. Moreover, road improvements are likely to decrease the prices of traded goods since transport becomes easier and safer.³¹⁹ For all these reasons, local producers are expected to benefit from road improvements because it will be easier to reach the markets and sell their products, while local consumers will benefit from the increased availability of food locally. Moreover, improved public transport facilities enhance people's access to health services and facilities leading to positive impacts on their overall health status.³²⁰ Additionally, some refugee camps' infrastructure and facilities, such as buildings, warehouses, boreholes etc., can be used by the local communities after the closure of

³¹³ Ibidem, pp.162-163.

³¹⁴ Ibidem, p.167.

³¹⁵ EC/54/SC/CRP.5, 18 February 2004, p.4.

³¹⁶ Ibidem, p.4.

³¹⁷ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.37.

³¹⁸ Maystadt and Duranton, 2014, p.20.

³¹⁹ Ibidem, p.21.

³²⁰ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.37.

the camps.³²¹ For example, in 2006, after the closure of the Nangweshi refugee camp, UNHCR handed over its facilities including office blocks, houses, a police station, two clinics, eight schools and two secondary schools to the Government of Zambia.³²² Furthermore, the World Food Programme (WFP) donated to the Government of Zambia a food distribution centre, a canteen, mechanical workshop, water points and hammer mills for grain.³²³ Nevertheless, in order to ensure that the local population will be able to benefit from these infrastructures and facilities, it is necessary to take into account handover strategies. For instance, host developing countries face recurrent budget constraints, therefore the newly built facilities and infrastructures might become an economic burden if they require expensive maintenance.³²⁴

Another aspect of the presence of international and national humanitarian and development organisations is the implementation of development projects specifically targeting local host communities. Since the 1970s, the international community has widely recognized the severe consequences that large-scale refugee populations might produce for the social, economic and political situation of host developing countries.³²⁵ Projects focusing on RHAs are, therefore, motivated by the underlying effort to compensate local communities for the negative impacts derived from the refugee presence. The degree of support for host community initiative has been increasing, although they still represent a small proportion of the total budgets of the refugee operation.³²⁶ An important factor, which can influence the effect of projects focusing on local hosts, is where the projects are implemented. Indeed, host communities closer to refugee camps are more likely to benefit from development opportunities associated to refugee assistance programmes, while communities further away will not be provided with the same benefits and opportunities.³²⁷ Finally, the traditional humanitarian approach adopted by international and national organisations concerned with refugee

³²¹ *Ibidem*, p.47.

³²² Shimo, 2006, p.1.

³²³ *Ibidem*, p.1.

³²⁴ Chambers, 1986, p.253.

³²⁵ EC/47/SC/CRP.7, 6 January 1997.

³²⁶ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.71.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp.71-72.

assistance does not take adequately into account the development opportunities that the presence of large numbers of refugees can offer for RHAs.³²⁸

Finally, as has been pointed out in the previous section, the presence of international and national organisations may open new business and trade opportunities and create new jobs for the local population.³²⁹ Increased economic and employment opportunities for the host community means that the local people might improve their food security thanks to improved income earnings. In Tanzania, for example, local entrepreneurs opened commercial centres and shops where they sold products to meet the needs and the demand for luxury goods of international development and humanitarian workers.³³⁰ Additionally, international organisations often offer employment to the local population, in particular to unskilled workers.³³¹ Moreover, local businessmen may obtain contract for the provision of services or work to the organisations involved in the refugee operation.³³² The main downside of the refugee-related employment opportunities is the so-called ‘brain drain effect’. For instance, since the salaries offered by these organisations are usually higher than those offered by local institutions, many employees quit their jobs in schools, hospitals or government departments which might endanger the sustainability and existence of those institutions.³³³ Finally, the employment and business opportunities offered by the presence international organisations only benefit some segments of the local population. For instance, young adults are the ones most profiting from these new opportunities, whereas elderly people and people with disabilities are not only largely excluded but also suffer under the changed socioeconomic dynamics since they may be left without the necessary care when the young ones leave the villages to work for these international organisations.³³⁴

³²⁸ Ibidem, p.71.

³²⁹ Whitaker, 2002, p.342.

³³⁰ Ibidem, p.342.

³³¹ Enghoff et al, 2010, p.74.

³³² Ibidem, p.75.

³³³ Whitaker, 2002, p.343.

³³⁴ Ibidem, p.346.

2.7. Conclusions

Food security is an important element of human security. Since PRS produce a wide range of impacts on the human security of local communities and refugees, this research has analysed how, and to what extent, PRS affect the food security of RHAs. A low level of economic development, scarce resources and limited access to assets and opportunities characterizes PRS. Additionally, PRS are usually concentrated in the most remote and least developed areas. Since food insecurity, poverty and vulnerability can be seen as elements of a vicious cycle, PRS present a great risk of vulnerability to food insecurity. For instance, the already limited ability of local households and individuals to ensure access to an adequate amount of food can be worsened by the large-scale influx of refugees. When the refugee situation becomes protracted, limited access to assets and resources becomes a structural condition both for the refugees and the local communities. In this regard, PRS affect the food security of RHAs in different ways. For instance, the indirect consequences of PRS are usually felt through their impact on health, security and conflicts, environment and economy, whereas the direct consequences are associated with food aid and the presence of international and national organisations. Despite the existence of negative effects for the food security of RHAs cannot be denied, this chapter has also demonstrated that PRS can create positive consequences as well.

Chapter 3 - A New Approach to Local Integration as Solution to PRS?

3.1. Introduction

Local integration is commonly enumerated as one of the three UNHCR durable solutions and its normative ground can be found under certain norms of international refugee law concerning the naturalization of non-citizens. Nevertheless, the implementation of local integration programmes has been not a common practice of the international community for dealing with PRS. Moreover, the limited support of the international community and donors have induced many host countries to limit the practice of local integration of refugees in their territory. Thus, local integration is an underestimated and underutilized response to PRS. The subsequent chapter of the thesis will give an overview of the conceptual dimension, the practice and the main challenges of local integration for PRS. Then, it will present a specific conceptualization of local integration as a developmental process emphasising the role of self-reliance, livelihoods and refugee-host communities' participation. Finally, it will conclude with an analysis of the potential positive impacts of this approach on food security in RHAs.

3.2. Defining local integration

Article 34 of the 1951 Refugee Convention lays down the legal and normative grounds of the concept and the practice of local integration.³³⁵ In spite of the fact that it does not grant the refugees the right to naturalisation since the final decision remains with the host State,³³⁶ it maintains that “the Contracting States shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. They shall in particular make every effort to expedite naturalization proceedings and to reduce as far as possible the charges and costs of such proceedings.”³³⁷ The article can be divided into two parts: the first dealing with the general principles of assimilation and naturalization of refugees, and the second concerning the procedural implementation of these principles.³³⁸ As regards

³³⁵ Marx, 2011, p.1442.

³³⁶ Ibidem, pp.1450-1451.

³³⁷ Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951.

³³⁸ Marx, 2011, p.1443.

the first part, the word assimilation should be not understood in a negative sense as the loss of the specific identity of a person, but more as a process of integration into the economic, social and cultural life of the host country.³³⁹ In addition, the word naturalisation refers to the process through which refugees acquire the nationality of the host State.³⁴⁰ As regards the proceedings for allowing the assimilation and naturalization of refugees in the host country, reducing waiting periods, fees, and removing requirements for the renunciation of the citizenship of the country of origin have been generally used to translate Article 34 of the 1951 Refugee Convention into national laws.³⁴¹

Local integration is also known as one of the three durable solutions developed by the UNHCR (the other two being voluntary repatriation to the home country and resettlement in a third country). Local integration offers a solution to those refugees, who are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin.³⁴² The concept of local integration is based on the assumption that refugees will settle permanently in the country of asylum and find a permanent solution to their situation.³⁴³ Local integration is perceived as a three-dimensional process that allow refugees “to rebuild their lives, to become self-sufficient and generate new livelihoods as contributing members of their host societies.”³⁴⁴ First, it has a legal dimension under which, over the years, the host country grants refugees an increasing number of rights and entitlements.³⁴⁵ Second, it has an economic dimension through which refugees implement their livelihoods, become more self-reliant and less dependent on international or local assistance.³⁴⁶ Finally, it has a socio-cultural dimension whereby refugees are expected to get used to local traditions and customs and the local population has “the responsibility to accommodate refugees into the socio-cultural fabric”.³⁴⁷

³³⁹ Ibidem, pp.1447-1448.

³⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp.1449-1450.

³⁴¹ EC/55/SC/CRP.15, 2 June 2005, p.5.

³⁴² UNHCR, 2011 (a), p.6.

³⁴³ Ibidem, p.6.

³⁴⁴ Ibidem, p.6.

³⁴⁵ EC/55/SC/CRP.15, 2 June 2005, p.5.

³⁴⁶ Ibidem, p.5.

³⁴⁷ Ibidem, pp.5-6.

According to a narrow approach, local integration is concluded with the naturalization of refugees by the host country since they cease to be refugees and become citizens of the asylum country.³⁴⁸ However, the reality shows that it is possible for refugees to be locally integrated (meaning to exercise their rights, become self-sufficient and develop social and cultural relationships) without obtaining the citizenship in the host country.³⁴⁹ In this regard, local integration can sometimes overlap with situations of *de facto* integration. *De facto* integration refers to a situation where economic, social and cultural relationships have developed among self-settled refugees and host communities, without official policies promoting local integration at the state level. Existing situations of *de facto* integration can facilitate and promote official local integration processes, especially by underling the importance of establishing viable livelihoods opportunities for refugees to become fully integrated.³⁵⁰

Finally, local integration must be distinguished from local settlement, although sometimes the two terms have been used interchangeably.³⁵¹ The main distinction between the two concept lies in the fact that the local integration refers to a process that enable refugees to find a durable solution to their condition in the host country, while local settlements refers to a practice of building organized and segregated refugee settlements. Refugee settlements are considered as temporary measures to manage the refugee presence pending the finding of a durable solution, or “until the circumstances that forced them to flee cease to exist” and they can repatriate.³⁵² Local settlements should support refugees in becoming self-reliant but they are not necessarily intended to promote local integration.³⁵³

3.3. History of local integration

The implementation of local integration as a durable solution to PRS has been particularly limited but the situation has not always been so negative. From the 1960s

³⁴⁸ Crisp, 2004, p.2.

³⁴⁹ Ibidem, p.2.

³⁵⁰ Meyer, 2008, p.8.

³⁵¹ Crisp, 2004, p.3.

³⁵² Kibreab, 1989, p.470.

³⁵³ Ibidem, p.470.

until the mid-1980s, Western states were generally willing to grant refugees the possibility to remain on their territory and to avail themselves of a wide range of rights and entitlements.³⁵⁴ The policy of Northern states in that period allowed for a certain degree of local integration because it was favourable to their political and economic interests. First, refugee numbers were relatively limited.³⁵⁵ Second, refugees were seen as by-product of the Cold War and the rivalry between two different ideologies.³⁵⁶ Therefore, refugees “were treated as pawns, if not strategic trophies” since granting protection to refugees was seen as a sign of virtue against the evilness of the rival.³⁵⁷ However, between 1970 and 1980, refugee numbers rapidly increased.³⁵⁸ Moreover, refugee flows started to involve no more only people coming from Eastern Europe, as during the Cold War period, but rather from all over the world with an increased potential for cultural clashes.³⁵⁹ Finally, refugees started to be seen as exploiting the Western welfare system rather than contributing to the development of the economy.³⁶⁰ Based on these considerations, Western states changed their approach towards local integration by granting only limited and temporary forms of asylum in order to encourage refugees to return to their country of origin.³⁶¹ The response to refugee problems in Northern states influenced the way host countries in the South were dealing with local integration and reinforced the practice of warehousing of refugees.³⁶² Between the 1960s and the 1980s, many African countries were characterized by an open-door policy towards refugees.³⁶³ For instance, in 1969 the newly independent African states established the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention, introducing a broad definition of refugees and stating unambiguously that repatriation of refugees should be on a voluntary basis.³⁶⁴ Large numbers of refugees were admitted, provided with land and facilitated in their attempts to become self-

³⁵⁴ Crisp, 2004, p.4.

³⁵⁵ Troeller, 2008, p.44.

³⁵⁶ Ibidem, p.44.

³⁵⁷ Ibidem, p.44.

³⁵⁸ Ibidem, p.44.

³⁵⁹ Ibidem, p.45.

³⁶⁰ Ibidem, p.45.

³⁶¹ Crisp, 2004, p.4.

³⁶² Troeller, 2008, p.43.

³⁶³ Crisp, 2004, p.1.

³⁶⁴ Crisp, 2000, p.4.

reliant.³⁶⁵ Refugees were generally able to enjoy secure living conditions and to benefit from a range of legal, social and economic rights.³⁶⁶ Many host states in Africa offered refugees the opportunity to become locally integrated and to be naturalized.³⁶⁷ After the 1980s, however, the opportunities of local integration and the practice of allowing self-settlement became reduced for a few reasons: first, the increasing size and the changing character of the refugee population;³⁶⁸ second, the restrictive policies adopted by Northern states to keep out the refugees;³⁶⁹ third, the increasing reluctance of donor states to support long-term assistance programmes;³⁷⁰ fourth, the perception of refugee populations as security threats and burden on resources;³⁷¹ fifth, the inequitable distribution of the refugees among the members of the international community.³⁷² Finally, the limited implementation of the local integration solution to PRS at the global level can be linked to the existence of a hierarchy among durable solutions. For instance, in spite of the fact that opportunities for voluntary repatriation have dramatically declined during 2014³⁷³, the UN High Commissioner António Guterres, referring to the protracted displacement of Afghan refugees, has recently asked the international community to support “initiatives aimed at creating long-term incentives for durable return and conditions conducive for sustainable reintegration in Afghanistan”.³⁷⁴ His statement shows that voluntary repatriation is still the preferred solution to PRS.

3.4. Obstacles and challenges to local integration

Local integration is not an easy or rapid process and it faces diverse challenges and obstacles. The challenges and obstacles are not present in all contexts to the same

³⁶⁵ Ibidem, p.4.

³⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.4.

³⁶⁷ Ibidem, p.4.

³⁶⁸ Ibidem, p.5.

³⁶⁹ Rutinwa, 1999, p.1.

³⁷⁰ Crisp, 2000, p.7.

³⁷¹ Jacobsen, 2001, p.3.

³⁷² Rutinwa, 1999, p.17.

³⁷³ See UNHCR, 2015 (f).

³⁷⁴ UNHCR, 25 June 2015 (g).

extent, since they depend partially on country-related aspects.³⁷⁵ Nevertheless, it is possible to identify common challenges, which can influence the successful implementation and the pace of the local integration process.³⁷⁶ Among the abovementioned common elements, the background of the refugee population, the receptivity of the host community, the financial capacity and the political will of the host country play an important role.³⁷⁷

The background of the refugee population and the receptivity of the host community are two main elements of the relationship between the local population and the refugees. The receptivity of the host community is significantly influenced by the belief in the temporary nature of the refugee presence, which can be the initial motivation for local people to assist them.³⁷⁸ Nevertheless, when the situation becomes protracted or when new refugees come, the willingness of local hosts to accommodate refugees diminishes as refugees start to be perceived as competitors for natural resources, jobs etc.³⁷⁹ Therefore, the initial receptivity of the host community gives space to completely different attitude, which can hinder the integration process. Another element of the refugee-local population relation is the fear that large-scale refugee inflows might lead to the collapse of traditional and cultural systems, in particular when the refugees exceed the local population.³⁸⁰ In this regard, the background of the refugee population and the existence of cultural, linguistic or ethnic affinities between local communities and refugees play an important role in facilitating integration. In Gabon, for example, Congolese refugees did not encounter many challenges in settling within local communities due to the fact that the Gabonese and the Congolese shared a similar ethnic background and there were trade and inter-marriage relationships between the two communities.³⁸¹

The second main challenge to the process of local integration is the attitude of the host country. The financial and political will of the host government is influenced by

³⁷⁵ EC/55/SC/CRP.15, 2 June 2005, p.7.

³⁷⁶ Ibidem, p.6.

³⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.6.

³⁷⁸ Jacobsen, 2001, p.19.

³⁷⁹ Ibidem, p.19.

³⁸⁰ Ibidem, p.20.

³⁸¹ Stone and De Vriese, 2004, p.8.

different factors, such as the perception that refugees represent a national security problem and a burden on resources.³⁸² Moreover, the will of host governments may depend on whether or not they see refugees as useful pawns for their political purposes.³⁸³ Indeed, in an attempt to gain votes and accountability, political parties might promise to find solutions to the refugee problem as part of their electoral campaign.³⁸⁴ Finally, the financial and political will of the host government needs the support of the international community, since without such engagement host governments are unlikely to take any action to improve the refugee situation.³⁸⁵ Nonetheless, since the international community support is rather limited, host countries are less prone to adopt better policies and strategies to deal with PRS.

3.5. Explaining the rationale behind a new approach to local integration

Until now, the research has dealt with local integration as has been described by the existing literature. Nevertheless, from now on this research will adopt a particular conceptualisation of local integration as a developmental process. The rethinking of existing approaches to local integration is part of a broader attempt of reviewing existing responses to PRS. For instance, a rethinking of the existing approaches to PRS, focusing mainly on humanitarian assistance, is imperative due to the acknowledgment that the former have revealed inefficient and unsustainable.³⁸⁶ With the growing number of PRS and their increasing duration, “it is clear- for both moral and practical reasons-that the long-term dependency of millions of displaced persons cannot be an acceptable outcome for the international humanitarian system”.³⁸⁷ The current humanitarian-dominated approaches leave refugees trapped in the so-called “relief-to-development gap” rather than facilitating their reintegration and development.³⁸⁸ The

³⁸² Jacobsen, 2001, p.11.

³⁸³ Whitaker, 2003, p.224.

³⁸⁴ Rutinwa, 1999, p.19.

³⁸⁵ Stone and De Vriese, 2004, p.1.

³⁸⁶ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.4.

³⁸⁷ Aleinikoff, 2015, p.8

³⁸⁸ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.4. For the purpose of the thesis humanitarian aid or assistance mandate can be understood as to be concerned with saving lives and it is bound by four main

“relief-to development gap” has different “institutional and financial dimensions that arise from unclear organizational mandates for the transition period, the slow process of getting reconstruction/ development projects off the ground, inflexibility in donor budgetary lines, lack of coordination among actors, and traditionally weak links among humanitarian and development agencies”.³⁸⁹ For instance, the gap between humanitarian and development assistance has to be found in their different mandates, objectives and scopes as well as in the different budgetary lines, used in donor countries, to finance development and humanitarian projects.³⁹⁰ The “relief-to-development” mantra presents serious pitfalls when applied to PRS.³⁹¹

Why a developmental approach to local integration will help to overcome the loopholes of the “relief-to-development gap”?

PRS represent the perfect environment for a shift from the classic division between humanitarian and development assistance to a developmental approach to local integration that allows to integrate humanitarian and development concerns in a more holistic and comprehensive response to people’s needs. The sudden influx of refugees in a receiving area creates situation of emergency, where humanitarian intervention is required. Nevertheless, when the situation becomes protracted, the short-term perspectives of humanitarian responses that helped to save lives “may conversely make longer-term solutions harder to attain”.³⁹² For instance, the construction of large refugee camps, which is required to respond to the emergency phase, might create negative consequences for the further development of the situation.³⁹³ Indeed, PRS are usually characterized by situations where refugees have moved beyond the emergency phase, but no sustainable development process has started. For instance, in PRS humanitarian assistance, which is supposed to last only for the emergency period, continue for years

principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence. Humanitarian assistance has a short-term mandate.

On the contrary, development assistance targets individuals and communities and tries to promote and enhance their broad development. Development assistance has a long-term mandate.

³⁸⁹ Suhrke and Ofstad, 2005, p.2.

³⁹⁰ Ibidem, pp.3-4.

³⁹¹ Aleinikoff, 2015, p.2

³⁹² COM(96) Final 153, 30 April 1996, p.1.

³⁹³ Ibidem, p.1.

and eventually creates a situation of refugees' dependency on external aid. Although humanitarian assistance can help to achieve the minimum standards pertaining to sectors such as security, water, food, health etc. upon which refugee survival depends, it is unable to meet refugees' needs that go beyond basic survival.³⁹⁴ Development assistance, instead, can help refugees to realize a wider range of human rights and to substantially improve their living conditions.³⁹⁵ In this regard, the cooperation between humanitarian and development actors can have a strong added value by ensuring a strong consistency in the use of the same targeting mechanisms, which allows to reach the population in need and to double the positive outcomes of the interventions.³⁹⁶ In addition, since PRS are often located in the same country where large development projects are undertaken, the cooperation between humanitarian and development organisations can help to solve situations of long-term displacement that can endanger the achievement of sustainable development unless their root causes are not adequately addressed.³⁹⁷ As the Somali refugee crisis demonstrates humanitarian assistance alone cannot meet the needs of long-standing refugee populations.³⁹⁸ The protracted nature of the Somali refugee crisis- along with large numbers of new refugees, growing discrimination and no durable solutions in sight- requires attention and resources from not only humanitarian actors but also from the Kenyan government, international donors and development actors.³⁹⁹ The adoption of a humanitarian approach in PRS enables to secure lives and protection, but it is unable to address the significant development challenges and opportunities that these situations of displacement present.⁴⁰⁰

On the contrary, a developmental approach to PRS has manifold positive consequences. First, it considers refugees as active economic actors and strengthens their contribution to maximize the socio-economic benefits for their own self-reliance as well for the host

³⁹⁴ Arafat, 2000, p.11.

³⁹⁵ Ibidem, p.11

³⁹⁶ Halkin (video), 2015.

³⁹⁷ Mattner, 2008, p.118.

³⁹⁸ Refugees International, 29 November 2010, p.1.

³⁹⁹ Ibidem, p.2.

⁴⁰⁰ Zetter, 2014, p.1.

country.⁴⁰¹ For instance, by promoting the interaction between refugees and local population, developmental approaches can expand market, labour and trade opportunities and foster the exchange of knowledge and skills.⁴⁰² Second, development actors can make a positive contribution in PRS by addressing the socioeconomic roots of the crises.⁴⁰³ For instance, they can mobilize the necessary resources for addressing the underlying drivers of conflicts, which have provoked PRS.⁴⁰⁴ Finally, development actors also play an important political role in the establishment of long-term relationships with host countries and countries of origin, which are essential to achieve durable solutions to PRS.⁴⁰⁵ In this regard, they are able to mainstream refugees into development strategies and plans and promote their inclusion in national development programmes.⁴⁰⁶ In addition to these positive aspects of a developmental approach to PRS, the thesis will specifically focus on the benefits of this approach in terms of improving the food security of RHAs.

The discussion on the need to overcome the so-called “relief-to-development gap” is not new to the international community. For instance, “there is growing evidence of a global policy agenda which is transforming the way international agencies both recognise the significance of developmental impacts and opportunities in the context of humanitarian crises, and the value of promoting development-led responses to mass displacement”.⁴⁰⁷ For example, UNHCR has embarked in different attempts to strengthen the cooperation between relief and development actors resulted for example in the adoption the Framework for Durable Solutions, the Targeted development assistance and other initiatives.⁴⁰⁸ More recently, other actors have also emphasised the need of development-led approaches. For instance, the EU has emphasised the importance of linking the protection of refugees with development programmes. In this regard, the EU has promoted a few initiatives, such as the creation of Regional

⁴⁰¹ Ibidem, p.20.

⁴⁰² Ibidem, p.20.

⁴⁰³ Mattner, 2008, p.109.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibidem, p.119.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibidem, p.120.

⁴⁰⁶ Zetter, 2014, p.23.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.6.

⁴⁰⁸ The issue has already been discussed in paragraph 1.5.

(Development) and Protection Programmes (RDPPs) with the view of “enhancing economic opportunities and general development of local host communities through social and economic measures aiming to mitigate the negative impacts and maximise the opportunities arising from the presence of refugees; and sustaining and developing the livelihood capacity and self-reliance of refugees.”⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, the EU has endorsed the so-called twin-track approach to food security, which includes both humanitarian assistance addressing the emergency needs and the survival of the affected people but also development activities aiming at creating more sustainable economic and social living conditions as well as reducing the risks of recurrent food crises.⁴¹⁰ Finally, the World Bank has also called for a greater involvement of development agencies.⁴¹¹ These attempts demonstrate that “the international community has long been concerned with the need to strengthen the synergies between humanitarian and development assistance and improve the transition from relief to recovery and, ultimately, to longer term development.”⁴¹² Despite these efforts to address the ‘relief-to-development gap’ have achieved some positive results, they are still a small and limited part of the response of states, international and national organisations to PRS.⁴¹³ For instance, in spite of the fact that numerous development and humanitarian organisations have engaged and supported efforts to design and implement developmental approaches in PRS, their attempts still “remain somewhat ad hoc and uncoordinated responses and initiatives”.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, the aim of the thesis is to emphasise the significance of discussing the topic as well as to ensure that discussions are translated into practice in order to produce a concrete and substantial impact for host countries, local communities, refugees and the international community as a whole.

⁴⁰⁹ Zetter, 2014, p.8

⁴¹⁰ Development and Cooperation-EuropeAid, 2015.

⁴¹¹ World Bank, 2015, p.11

⁴¹² Pavanello, 2008.

⁴¹³ Ibidem.

⁴¹⁴ Aleinikoff, 20 June 2015.

3.6. Conceptualizing local integration as a developmental process

This section builds on the previously described attempts of linking humanitarian and development assistance in PRS with a view of integrating them in the local integration process. In doing that, the thesis promotes a concept of local integration as a developmental process composed of three main elements: self-reliance, livelihoods improvement and participation. Subsequently, this section will provide an overview of these elements, their inter-linkages and their roles in the local integration process.

Although the proposed developmental approach to local integration seems to focus mainly on economic and socio-cultural elements, the legal component of the process of local integration is not underestimated. For instance, the developmental approach to local integration is not completely law-unrelated. First, the legal grounds of the developmental approach can be found in the 1951 Refugee Convention, which requires contracting parties to grant refugees rights, including the right to engage in income-generating activities and to have access to local facilities and services. Second, the developmental approach to local integration takes into account that the legal protection of refugee rights is essential, for instance, for the establishment of sustainable livelihoods and for the achievement of sustainable results.⁴¹⁵ Therefore, the developmental approach to local integration can be understood as a complementary bottom-up approach in the process of legal integration of refugees in the host country. For instance, the thesis acknowledges that this developmental approach to local integration will achieve sustainable results only in countries willing to implement initiatives aiming at enhancing the legal protection of refugee rights. For example, Uganda which has taken some positive steps in terms of refugee right to work and freedom of movement⁴¹⁶ or the Government of Zambia which has committed itself to facilitate the local integration of certain group of refugees, in particular of Angolan and Rwandan refugees.⁴¹⁷

Additionally the thesis is aware that the present conceptualization can be more successful where the potential for local integration is higher. This includes situations

⁴¹⁵ De Vriese, 2006, p.7

⁴¹⁶ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.4

⁴¹⁷ The issue will be further discussed in the next chapter

where: the refugees and the local population share the same ethnic origin; the hosting areas offer a surplus of agricultural land or other economic opportunities; refugees are able to establish sustainable livelihoods although their legal status and residence rights remain unclear; or there are strong social and economic links with the country of asylum.⁴¹⁸

3.6.1. Self-reliance

Self-reliance has been defined as “the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity. Self-reliance, as a programme approach, refers to developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance.”⁴¹⁹ Although sometimes self-reliance and local integration have been presented interchangeably,⁴²⁰ the current research is fully aware of the distinction between the two concepts. While local integration is a durable solution based on the fact that refugees will settle permanently in the host country, self-reliance can be considered as part of a comprehensive strategy leading to any of the three durable solutions.⁴²¹ Nonetheless, for the purpose of this developmental approach to local integration, self-reliance is considered a necessary element of the local integration process.

The importance of self-reliance has been widely recognized within the international community. For example, the Agenda for Protection clearly affirms the importance of achieving self-reliance of refugees by calling upon UNHCR and States to elaborate and implement strategies for self-reliance and empowerment in refugee programmes.⁴²² More recently, the UNHCR Global Strategy for Livelihoods 2014-2018 has restated that self-reliance is a critical component in ensuring the achievement of durable solutions for

⁴¹⁸ Crisp, 2003, pp.25-26.

⁴¹⁹ UNHCR, 2005 (b), p.1.

⁴²⁰ Meyer, 2008, p.5.

⁴²¹ EC/55/SC/CRP.15, 2 June 2005, p.3.

⁴²² UNHCR, 2003 (a), pp.80-81.

displaced people.⁴²³ Nonetheless, host states are reluctant to implement programmes promoting refugees' self-reliance.⁴²⁴ First asylum countries consider refugees as temporary and the promotion of their self-reliance through economic activities and participation is considered by host states as a way to promote a policy of local integration or to give incentives to other refugees to enter the country.⁴²⁵ Therefore, in order to change the attitude of host governments is important to show them the opportunities and the benefits associated to self-reliant refugees. For instance, host states will benefit from the contribution of self-reliant refugees to the social and economic development of the country and from an increased availability of resources.⁴²⁶ Moreover, self-reliance programmes are expected to benefit also the international and donor community as well as the refugees themselves.⁴²⁷ The international and donor community will benefit from a reduced need of long-term and expensive "care and maintenance" refugee programmes.⁴²⁸ The refugees will become less dependent on international assistance and they will be able to develop their human capabilities and to conduct dignified lives.⁴²⁹

The 'self-reliance mantra' is not a new one. For instance, a Self-Reliance Strategy (SRS) was elaborated and implemented by the Office of the Prime Minister and UNHCR Uganda in 1999. The SRS was based on the main principles of empowerment and integration: on one hand, it involved activities offering the refugees the possibility to acquire and strengthen their skills and knowledge with the aim of empowering them; on the other hand, it aimed at creating common service delivery in different sectors such as health and nutrition, education, agriculture in order to facilitate the process of integration between refugees and local communities.⁴³⁰

By building on previous initiatives aiming at strengthening and promoting refugee self-reliance, the present developmental approach to local integration integrate self-reliance

⁴²³ UNHCR, 2014, p.7.

⁴²⁴ Aleinikoff, 2015, p.3

⁴²⁵ Ibidem, p.3

⁴²⁶ EC/55/SC/CRP.15, 2 June 2005, p.3.

⁴²⁷ Ibidem, p.3.

⁴²⁸ Ibidem, p.3.

⁴²⁹ Ibidem, p.3.

⁴³⁰ Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2004, p.30.

in a three-tier approach including livelihoods and refugees-host communities' participation.

3.6.2. Livelihood approach

The concept of self-reliance is inextricably related to the concept of livelihood. Self-reliance can be considered either as a results of livelihoods or as a precondition. Refugees become self-reliant when they are able to meet their essential needs and, in order to do that, they need to improve their livelihoods. At the same time, a certain degree of self-reliance is needed for people to start working on their livelihoods. The concept of livelihoods in its simplest meaning can be understood as “gaining a living”.⁴³¹ Indeed, it involves all the activities that people undertake “to secure basic necessities of life, such as food, water, shelter and clothing.”⁴³² Livelihood activities are conducted “within an income stream such as agriculture, pastoralism, fishing, employment within a market sector, or as an entrepreneur”.⁴³³ To take a closer look, the concept of livelihoods appears as an integrating concept, which combines capabilities, equity and sustainability.⁴³⁴ For instance, it offers the possibility to expand and develop new or pre-existing human capabilities, requires and improves the equitable distribution of assets among individuals and households and aims at increasing developmental sustainability.⁴³⁵

Therefore, a livelihood approach to refugee situations needs to take into account the interrelationship between these concepts. First, it should include activities aiming at the development and the strengthening of human capabilities such as trainings and workshops. Second, it should enhance a more equitable distribution of assets and resources, for example by providing the most vulnerable individual with initial inputs and assets to start their livelihoods. Third, it should improve the economic, social and environmental sustainability of livelihoods by analysing the environmental, social and environmental impacts of existing and future individual and community livelihoods.

⁴³¹ Chambers and Conway, 1991, p.5.

⁴³² UNHCR, 2014, p.7.

⁴³³ Ibidem, p.7.

⁴³⁴ Chambers and Conway, 1991, p.5.

⁴³⁵ Ibidem, p.5.

A livelihood approach should not consider refugees as economically homogenous; rather it should take into account the diverse refugees' economic strategies.⁴³⁶ It is therefore important to consider not only the diversity of refugee livelihoods according to their socio-economic status, but also to their nationality and ethnicity.⁴³⁷ Additionally, it is relevant to take into account the different roles of women and men in maintaining and performing livelihood activities.⁴³⁸ In the same way, it is necessary to identify different socio-economic groups within the beneficiaries of the livelihood programme, such as extremely poor, economically active poor households, medium income households etc.⁴³⁹ The disaggregated picture of the beneficiaries will facilitate the understanding of already existing livelihoods and create opportunities to enhance them.⁴⁴⁰

A livelihood approach should also avoid the misconception that refugees are aid-dependent since the reality shows that although many refugees have their own livelihood strategies beyond humanitarian assistance.⁴⁴¹ Therefore, existing strategies should be taken into account and refugees' skills, talents and capacities should be strengthened.⁴⁴² Nevertheless, it is also advisable to further promote the diversification of households' livelihood strategies.⁴⁴³

Finally, when designing a livelihood programme it is mandatory to analyse the existing local labour market and the private business sectors.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, there might be a conflict between the skills people want to learn and what the labour market demands.⁴⁴⁵

Programmes aiming at strengthening refugees' and local hosts' livelihoods might include some of the following measures: non-food support to livelihood activities, the creation of small income generating activities (IGAs), Food for Work (FFW), Food for training (FFT) and Cash for Work (CFW). 'Non-food support to livelihood activities'

⁴³⁶ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.22.

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, pp.22-23.

⁴³⁸ De Vriese, 2006, p.22.

⁴³⁹ UNHCR, 2011 (b), pp.12-13.

⁴⁴⁰ De Vriese, 2006, p.11.

⁴⁴¹ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.37.

⁴⁴² Ibidem, p.40.

⁴⁴³ De Vriese, 2006, p.29.

⁴⁴⁴ Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata, 2014, p.40.

⁴⁴⁵ Sesnan, Wood, Anselme and Avery, 2004, p.33.

consists of providing people inputs and services to improve and rebuild their assets, and it is used in local or reintegration situations.⁴⁴⁶ The creation of ‘small income generating activities’ refers to the development of local activities such as agriculture, livestock and food processing.⁴⁴⁷ The creation of small IGAs is usually applied in PRS in rural areas, where the local production and access to markets are limited.⁴⁴⁸ Other important measures are FFW and CFW, which consist of training and working activities to rebuild and create livelihoods and local assets.⁴⁴⁹ FFW is preferred to CFW when food prices are unstable and food is not always available on the local market.⁴⁵⁰ Finally, FFT refers to a measure that uses food as an incentive for people to take part in workshops and trainings.⁴⁵¹ FFT can result in improved livelihoods outcomes by enhancing and developing individual skills and increasing their earning opportunities.⁴⁵²

To conclude, it is evident that the promotion of livelihoods has to be an integral part of a developmental approach combining humanitarian and development concerns. A livelihood approach is, indeed, not limited to a particular phase of the refugee situation, but rather it can be applied from the outset of a refugee emergency as well as when the situation becomes protracted.⁴⁵³ For instance, in PRS, the promotion of livelihoods should sit alongside with the provision of food aid or other humanitarian actions, which are essential to ensure the basic survival of the population especially in the emergency phase or in the event of sudden shortages.⁴⁵⁴

3.6.3. Refugees’ and local communities’ participation

The concept of participation has been given different meanings by different actors and according to the operational context in which it should be applied.⁴⁵⁵ The various definitions of participation imply different level of “empowerment, influence and

⁴⁴⁶ UNHCR, Food security in the refugee settings, p.10.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibidem, p.11.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.11.

⁴⁴⁹ WFP, 2014, p.29.

⁴⁵⁰ UNHCR, Food security in the refugee settings, p.8.

⁴⁵¹ Ibidem, p.9.

⁴⁵² WFP, 2011, p.3.

⁴⁵³ De Vriese, 2006, p.27.

⁴⁵⁴ WFP, 2009 (c), pp.2-3.

⁴⁵⁵ OECD, 1997, p.88.

control on the part of grassroots participants”.⁴⁵⁶ According to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) definition “participatory development, or what is sometimes referred to as popular participation, may be defined as a process by which people take an active and influential hand in shaping decisions that affect their lives”.⁴⁵⁷ Popular participation is considered a complicated and long processes but it is associated with positive “changes in knowledge, skills and the distribution of power across individuals and communities thus improving social equity”.⁴⁵⁸ For the purpose of this developmental approach to local integration, the concept of participation will be understood in the light of the abovementioned DAC definition.

To ensure a positive outcome for the integration of refugees in local communities, participation plays a decisively important role. According to the UNHCR’s view, participation implies the engagement of refugees and local hosts in the designing, implementation and monitoring phase of the programme.⁴⁵⁹ For instance, according to the Agenda for Protection, strategies to promote refugee self-reliance and empowerment should be designed with a participatory approach involving refugees and local communities.⁴⁶⁰ The involvement of the local population can serve many purposes. First, it is necessary to understand to what extent they are willing to accommodate the refugees within their own livelihood strategies.⁴⁶¹ Second, it allows development and humanitarian organisations, with (usually) limited knowledge of the local context, to understand the living conditions of the local population, which problems are faced both by the refugees and the local communities and how refugee livelihoods can contribute to the socio-economic development of the RHA.⁴⁶² Third, the local population can provide important information that can be used as baselines for analysing the improvements in self-reliance and integration produced by the implemented projects.⁴⁶³ Fourth, the participation of refugees and host communities is particularly important in

⁴⁵⁶ Ibidem, p.88.

⁴⁵⁷ OECD, 1993, p.4.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibidem, p.4.

⁴⁵⁹ UNHCR, 2011 (b), p.20.

⁴⁶⁰ UNHCR, 2003 (a), pp.80-81.

⁴⁶¹ De Vriese, 2006, p.26.

⁴⁶² Ibidem, p.25.

⁴⁶³ USAID, 2005, p.16.

order not to create unrealistic expectations about the results of the intervention.⁴⁶⁴ Finally, jointly designed livelihood projects involving refugees and local hosts can be a means for improving social cohesion and peaceful coexistence.⁴⁶⁵ Indeed, the promotion of local hosts' livelihoods alongside the refugees' ones can reduce potential conflict between refugees and local communities over limited natural and economic resources as well as employment opportunities.⁴⁶⁶

3.7. Positive impacts of a developmental approach to local integration on food security in RHAs?

The adoption of a developmental approach to local integration will not only help to understand and mitigate the sudden impact of refugees on the food security RHAs, but it will also create more sustainable conditions to address transitory as well as chronic food insecurity by enhancing the resilience of refugees and local populations and their permanent ability to buy or produce enough food. For instance, the aim of the proposed approach to local integration is to show that a positive side effect of the integration process is the improvement of the food security of RHAs.

A growing trend in the international community's approach to food security crises shows that food security can only be achieved through "a long-term and systematic approach to building the resilience of vulnerable countries and populations".⁴⁶⁷ The need to combine humanitarian approach, which is vital in the emergency situations, with a long-term development approach, addressing the roots of food crises and building the ability of the populations at risk to cope with sudden shocks and pervasive threats, is increasingly recognized.⁴⁶⁸ The need for 'a long-term and systematic approach' is primarily based on the recognition that humanitarian actors working in food security crisis face an unsolvable challenge when they work alone since they are unable to adequately address chronic food insecurity.⁴⁶⁹ As the current research has

⁴⁶⁴ U.S Department of State, 2014, p.23.

⁴⁶⁵ UNHCR, 2011 (b), p.10.

⁴⁶⁶ USAID, 2005, p.15.

⁴⁶⁷ EU, COM (2012) 586 final, 3 October 2012, p.2.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibidem, p.2.

⁴⁶⁹ Maxwell et al, 2010, p.94.

already discussed, PRS are characterised by widespread poverty and vulnerability compounded in many instances by other external affecting factors such as natural disasters, environmental degradation, economic, social and political instability and the spill-over effects of conflicts undermining ‘the households’ ability either to buy enough food or to produce their own’.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, PRS are situated in remote and underdeveloped areas, where local communities are already likely to experience either chronic or transitory food insecurity. In this context, the presence of large-scale numbers of refugees can further increase the local population’ vulnerability to food insecurity.

What are the positive impacts of self-reliance, livelihoods improvement and participation on food security?

As it has been underlined by this research, vulnerability plays a key role in determining the food security of individuals and households. Vulnerable households are more likely to suffer from the exposure to hazards and shocks, which result in “eroding their ability to cope and pushing them towards chronic food insecurity”.⁴⁷¹ On the contrary, resilient households might be exposed to the same shocks and hazards but experience less severe consequences due to the fact that they can count on “effective adaptive strategies (e.g. livelihood diversification)” that protect their assets and resources.⁴⁷² But increasing self-reliance cannot be achieved with a sole focus on life-saving activities and objectives, indeed it requires a combined humanitarian and development approach as the one proposed by this thesis. For instance, increasing self-reliance calls for a long-term approach aiming at addressing the underlying causes and risks while at the same time enhancing the ability of individuals and households to meet their needs in a sustainable manner and to reduce their vulnerability to food insecurity over time.⁴⁷³ The positive role played by self-reliance in increasing food security was demonstrated by the achievements made by the refugees under the SRS.⁴⁷⁴ For instance, in Northern Uganda

⁴⁷⁰ See the definition of chronic food insecurity (paragraph 2.3)

⁴⁷¹ Devereux, 2006, p.8.

⁴⁷² Ibidem, p.8.

⁴⁷³ EU, COM(2012) 586 final, 3 October 2012, p.2.

⁴⁷⁴ UNHCR, 2003 (c), p.4.

60% of the refugee population was able to become self-sufficient in terms of food production and was no more dependent on the food distribution of WFP.⁴⁷⁵

When poor households are hit by hazards and shocks, the first response is usually to employ negative coping strategies, which might create further risks for their lives and livelihoods and increase their vulnerability.⁴⁷⁶ The more assets and resources a household has and the more diversified are its livelihoods, the less vulnerable a household will be to shocks and hazards.⁴⁷⁷ Therefore, the improvement of refugees' and local communities' livelihoods can have a positive impact on their food security by strengthening the ability of individuals and household to respond to shocks and hazards, reinforcing or creating new assets and resources, which they can count upon, and avoiding the adoption of negative coping mechanisms. For instance, FFW and CFW can contribute to livelihoods recovery and rehabilitation or creation of assets, while at the same time improving the food consumption as well as the nutritional status of individuals and households.⁴⁷⁸ In Pakistan, for example, the WFP noted that cash programmes led to improvements in dietary diversity, with an increased consumption of animal products (protein rich foods), fruits and vegetables, especially benefiting households' vulnerable members such as pregnant or lactating women, and children less than 5 years of age.⁴⁷⁹ To conclude, it is therefore possible to say that the improvement of refugees' and local communities' livelihoods is likely to result in an improvement of the overall standard of living of refugees and host communities due to a rise of economic activities and resources that are going to benefit also their food security.

Finally, participation of both refugees and local communities can also have a positive impact on the food security of RHAs. The joint participation of the two communities is essential to understand the different interests that the two groups have. The participation of refugees and host communities in the collection of information allows a better understanding of "how different groups experience, adapt to and, in some cases, benefit

⁴⁷⁵ Ibidem, p.4.

⁴⁷⁶ WFP, 2009 (b), p.22.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibidem, p.22.

⁴⁷⁸ WFP, 2014, pp.29-30.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibidem, p.29.

from an emergency, and how these differences lead to variations in food security”.⁴⁸⁰ The participation of local hosts is also relevant to identify some factors such as “external processes (chronic poverty or prolonged adverse climatic conditions) and political, social or economic processes”⁴⁸¹ that can contribute to food insecurity and that are related to the context, of which the local population has a better knowledge than the refugees have. Finally, the participation of refugees and host communities can reduce the likelihood of local conflicts based on the perception that refugees have better access to relief resources.⁴⁸²

3.8. Conclusions

Although different legal instruments address the naturalization of refugees, and the international community has largely accepted local integration as one of the UNHCR durable solutions, the overview of the traditional approaches to PRS shows that the implementation of local integration programmes has been limited. For instance, voluntary repatriation has been preferred over local integration in many instances. In particular, since the 1980s, Northern states have adopted restricted policies towards local integration of refugees, which have influenced the attitude of first asylum countries, usually Southern states. Therefore, the space for local integration of refugees in host countries has considerably reduced. Nevertheless, current developments have led to a reconsideration of local integration as a durable solution to PRS. The acknowledgement of the failure of the ‘care and maintenance’ approach, the increasingly prolonged nature of conflicts and situations of displacement, and the still limited opportunities of third country resettlement have pushed the re-emergence of local integration. Moreover, the different attempts to design innovative approaches, which take into account refugees’ self-reliance and the synergy of humanitarian and development assistance in PRS, have prompted the need to revise the traditional concept of local integration. In this regard, this chapter has presented a new developmental approach to local integration. The proposed approach is based on the underlying

⁴⁸⁰ WFP, 2009 (c), p.7.

⁴⁸¹ Ibidem, p.7.

⁴⁸² Jacobsen, 2001, p.14.

assumption that local integration is easier to be achieved when there are the socio-economic conditions for an effective improvement of the living conditions of refugees and local communities. Therefore, self-reliance, livelihood improvement and the participation of refugees and local communities are the main pillars of this developmental approach to local integration. Besides all the benefits that this developmental approach to local integration can have for the refugees' self-reliance as well as for the well-being of the local population, the chapter has primarily focused on highlighting its positive impacts in terms of the food security of RHAs.

Chapter 4 - The Case of Zambia: A Developmental Approach to Local Integration

4.1. Introduction

For more than four decades, Zambia has been hosting a consistent number of refugees fleeing from civil war in neighbouring countries.⁴⁸³ Despite being among the least developed countries, Zambia is regarded as a positive example of generosity towards refugees in Africa.⁴⁸⁴ This chapter will first provide a brief analysis of the refugee situation, focusing in particular on the dimension of the refugee population, the state refugee policy and the relationship among the refugees and the local communities. After this introductory analysis, it will go on describing the Zambia Initiative (ZI) launched by the Government of Zambia and the UNHCR as an example of a developmental approach to local integration. Finally, it will give an overview of the current initiatives of the Government of Zambia in the field of local integration, in particular the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees. The main aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the positive impact of a developmental approach to local integration, like the one endorsed by the ZI, on the food security of RHAs as well as on the development of governmental strategies and policies addressing local integration with a more developmental perspective.

4.2. The overall refugee situation in Zambia

4.2.1. Figures and numbers

Zambia's history of hosting refugees dates back to the 1960s when the first refugees entered the country fleeing from the devastating civil war in Angola. Since then, different phases of refugee inflows have been registered. For instance, between 1982 and 1983 there was a first dramatic increase of refugees hosted in the country.⁴⁸⁵ Again,

⁴⁸³ UNCHR, 2007, p.11.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibidem, p.11.

⁴⁸⁵ UNHCR and WFP, 2007, p.8.

in 2000, Zambia faced a serious refugee crisis due to conflicts in neighbouring countries such as Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) reaching a total number of 224,472 refugees hosted in the country.⁴⁸⁶ After this high peak, refugee numbers have decreased significantly thanks to the political stabilisation of neighbouring countries, which has allowed the voluntary repatriation of thousands of refugees.⁴⁸⁷ For instance, since January 2014, the Government of Zambia, UNHCR and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) have supported the repatriation of 1,629 refugees and former refugees (the majority of which were Angolans).⁴⁸⁸ According to the May 2015 UNHCR Factsheet, Zambia currently hosts 51,281 persons of concern.⁴⁸⁹ The biggest group comes from the DRC (20,834), followed by Angola (18,552), Rwanda (6,171), Somalia (2,746), Burundi (2, 568) and other nationalities.⁴⁹⁰ According to the 2014 UNHCR statistics, the majority of the refugees live in the two refugee settlements of Meheba and Mayukwayukwa.⁴⁹¹ Other large groups of refugees are located in the two refugee camps of Kala (Luapula Province) and Mwange (Northern Province).⁴⁹² While the largest percentage of the refugee population seems to reside in formal settlements and camps, an unknown number of refugees, in particular long-staying Angolans, have self-settled in rural and urban areas.⁴⁹³

4.2.2. National refugee laws and international obligations of Zambia

Zambia is a party to many international and regional human rights treaties covering the protection of refugee rights. In particular, it has ratified the Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol.⁴⁹⁴ It has, however, made important reservations in relation to the rights of wage-earning employment (Article 17), education (Article 22 (1)), free movement

⁴⁸⁶ IRIN, 25 August 2000, p.1.

⁴⁸⁷ UNHCR, 2007, p.11.

⁴⁸⁸ UNHCR, 2015 (a), p.1.

⁴⁸⁹ UNHCR, 2015 (b), p.1. "Persons of concern include refugees, asylum seekers as well as former refugees whose status has ceased, such as Angolans and Rwandans, but who are still receiving assistance from UNHCR and are thus considered "of concern", Government of the Republic of Zambia/Ministry of Home Affairs, 2014, p.7

⁴⁹⁰ Ibidem, p.1.

⁴⁹¹ UNHCR, 2015 (d).

⁴⁹² UNHCR and WFP, 2007, p.9.

⁴⁹³ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2013, p.3.

⁴⁹⁴ UNCHR, 2007, p.12.

(Article 26) and travel documents (Article 28).⁴⁹⁵ In addition, Zambia is also party to many international human rights instruments whose protection can be extended to refugees, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC).⁴⁹⁶ Nonetheless, the reservation to Article 22(1) of the Refugee Convention coupled with the reservation to article 13 (2) (a)⁴⁹⁷ of the ICESCR have a negative impact on the provision of education services to the refugees.

In addition to the abovementioned international treaties, Zambia is also part to important regional treaties. For instance, it has signed and ratified the 1969 OAU Convention governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.⁴⁹⁸ Additionally, the right to seek asylum is also enshrined in Art.12 para.3 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), which Zambia has also ratified.⁴⁹⁹ Finally, the fundamental principle of *non-refoulement* is considered, by a largely accepted interpretation, to be included in the prohibition of torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment contained in Article 5 of the ACHPR although there is no explicit reference to it.⁵⁰⁰

Concerning domestic legal instruments, the most important legislative framework for the protection of refugee rights is the 1970 Refugees Control Act.⁵⁰¹ Nevertheless, this Act has been widely criticised by the international community since it is inconsistent with the provisions of the OAU Refugee Convention.⁵⁰² First of all, the Act gives wide

⁴⁹⁵ UNHCR, Reservations and declarations to the 1951 Refugee Convention, pp.13-14.

⁴⁹⁶ Heaney, 2012, pp.6-7.

⁴⁹⁷ "The Government of the Republic of Zambia states that it reserves the right to postpone the application of article 13 (2) (a) of the Covenant, in so far as it relates to primary education; since, while the Government of the Republic of Zambia fully accepts the principles embodied in the same article and undertakes to take the necessary steps to apply them in their entirety, the problems of implementation, and particularly the financial implications, are such that full application of the principles in question cannot be guaranteed at this stage", see OHCHR, at: <http://indicators.ohchr.org/>.

⁴⁹⁸ UNCHR, 2007, p.12.

⁴⁹⁹ Van Garderen and Ebenstein, 2011, p.188.

⁵⁰⁰ Lauterpacht and Bethlehem, 2003, p.144.

⁵⁰¹ Heaney, 2012, p.3.

⁵⁰² Van Garderen and Ebenstein, 2011, p.195.

control to the relevant national minister to determine refugee status and it allows less strict conditions for the expulsion of refugees, which could amount to a violation of the principle of *non-refoulement* under Art.2 para 3 of the OAU Refugee Convention.⁵⁰³ Second, it poses heavy restrictions to refugees' freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom of association.⁵⁰⁴ For instance, it provides the conditions for the government encampment policy allowing the confinement of refugee in designated camps and settlements, which practically restricts their freedom of movement.⁵⁰⁵ Refugees can obtain the permission to live outside the designated location upon request from the Ministry of Home Affairs but only for medical, employment, education, security, or family unity reasons.⁵⁰⁶ The encampment policy creates disparities between the refugees in the settlements and those in the camps. While refugees in the settlements are allocated land for farming and self-sustaining through agricultural activities, in refugee camps the population is not provided with land and there is no promotion of self-reliance activities.⁵⁰⁷ At the national level, there are two other important documents potentially affecting refugee rights protection, namely the Immigration and Deportation Act and the Extradition Act. In particular, some provisions of the Immigration and Deportation Act can overlap with the 1970 Refugee Control Act leading to situations wherein refugees and asylum seekers fall under the provisions of the Immigration and Deportation Act, which are far below the international standards of refugee protection.⁵⁰⁸

In spite of evident gaps in the protection system, the Government of Zambia has maintained an open door and rather generous policy towards refugees. For instance, there have been no major cases of *refoulement* at the country borders and asylum-seekers are generally admitted into its territory.⁵⁰⁹ For example, when a worrying case of deportation of 36 Congolese refugees was reported in 2010, the Government of Zambia renewed his commitment to refugee assistance and hospitality and justified the

⁵⁰³ Ibidem, p.196.

⁵⁰⁴ Heaney, 2012, p.4.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibidem, p.13.

⁵⁰⁶ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2013, pp.3-4.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibidem, p.3.

⁵⁰⁸ UNCHR, 2007, p.13.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid, p.18.

expulsion as a matter of ensuring security in the Meheba refugee settlement.⁵¹⁰ Second, the Government of Zambia has declared its commitment to replace the 1970 Refugee Control Act with the 2002 Refugee Bill, which would be more in line with international protection standards.⁵¹¹ Nevertheless, the Refugee Bill has met with resistance from the Parliament due to its provision for the naturalisation and assimilation of refugees.⁵¹² Moreover, the Refugee Bill would also extend refugee rights concerning employment, freedom of movement and access to land.⁵¹³ Third, although voluntary repatriation remains the preferred solution for thousands of refugees, in 2011 the Government of Zambia pledged 10,000 Angolan refugees the opportunity to locally integrate.⁵¹⁴ Afterwards, it promised to extend this opportunity to Rwandan refugees as well.⁵¹⁵ In this regard, the Government of Zambia, according to UNHCR, has already considered around 6,000 former Angolan refugees eligible for local integration.⁵¹⁶ Additionally, it has already identified more than 2800 plots of land to be used for the resettlement of refugees and has already allocated 359 plots of land to both former Angolan refugees and local community members.⁵¹⁷

4.2.3. Refugees and local communities

The relationship between refugees and local communities has generally remained peaceful and positive over time. The positive attitude of host communities is, indeed, among the main opportunities for a successful process of integration identified by the Government of Zambia.⁵¹⁸ For instance, the refugee settlements of Meheba and Mayukwayukwa show a high degree of intermingling between the refugees and local communities particularly in relation to inter-group trading and exchange of labour force.⁵¹⁹ Furthermore, refugees and local communities have access to common health and education facilities inside the camps, thus increasing the interaction between the

⁵¹⁰ IRIN, 15 April 2010.

⁵¹¹ Heaney, 2012, p.12.

⁵¹² Relief Web, 19 December 2002.

⁵¹³ Ibidem.

⁵¹⁴ Government of the Republic of Zambia/Ministry of Home Affairs, 2014, p.8.

⁵¹⁵ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2013, p.5.

⁵¹⁶ UNHCR, 2015 (a), p.3.

⁵¹⁷ UNHCR, 2015 (b), p.3.

⁵¹⁸ Government of the Republic of Zambia/Ministry of Home Affairs, 2014, p.6.

⁵¹⁹ UNHCR and WFP, 2007, p.12.

two groups.⁵²⁰ For instance, some schools in the two refugee settlements of Meheba and Mayukwayukwa are managed by the Ministry of Education and are used by refugees as well as by local communities.⁵²¹ The high degree of interaction and the peaceful coexistence of refugees and the local population seem to have been strengthened by the growing awareness of the potential contribution from refugees to the socio-economic development of RHAs.⁵²² In this regard, the ZI has contributed to an improvement in the local population's attitude towards refugees, leading to an increase in the degree of interaction, intermarriages, cultural and social exchanges and to a decline in xenophobic behaviours.⁵²³

Another important factor influencing the relationship between the local population and the refugees is the attitude of the traditional leadership towards the integration of refugees.⁵²⁴ According to a recent study, the strongest level of the local population's acceptance of refugees can be found in those communities where the traditional leaders are more supportive towards and more involved in the designing of the local integration programmes.⁵²⁵

Nonetheless, few incidents involving the use of violence or acts of hostilities against refugees have been reported. These incidents have included, for example, the damage of refugee facilities and businesses and the refusal of refugees request for employment.⁵²⁶ Moreover, a growing concern is related to the refugees' negative environmental impact in certain areas where Angolans have been accused of having depleted many of the natural resources including wood, fish and wild animals.⁵²⁷ Although no major conflicts have occurred yet, there is increasing resentment over this issue.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁰ Ibidem, p.12.

⁵²¹ Ibidem, p.12.

⁵²² UNHCR, 2007, p.15.

⁵²³ Ibidem, p.15.

⁵²⁴ U.S Department of State, 2014, p.22.

⁵²⁵ Ibidem, p.22.

⁵²⁶ UNHCR, 2007, pp.15-16.

⁵²⁷ U.S Department of State, 2014, p.23.

⁵²⁸ Ibidem, p.23.

4.3. The Zambia Initiative

The Government of Zambia in cooperation with UNHCR launched the Zambia Initiative in 2002. The implementation of the projects started in 2003 and focused on the Western Province (in 2005 it was extended to the North Western Province), which at that time was home to the Nangweshi refugee camp and the Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement hosting mainly Angolan refugees.⁵²⁹ The Western Province had been selected for the following reasons: the peaceful coexistence between refugees and local population, the under-utilized natural resources providing opportunities for the development of the area, and the positive role of the local administration in managing the refugee presence.⁵³⁰ At the same time, the Western Province was characterized by already existing deteriorated geographic, climatic, economic and infrastructural conditions, which were negatively and dramatically affected by the presence of large numbers of refugees requiring an appropriate intervention.⁵³¹ The project was expected to benefit a total number of 456,000 persons including more than 100,000 refugees residing in the settlements as well as self-settled refugees.⁵³²

As has been already mentioned, the ZI can be considered a positive example of a 'Development through Local Integration' project.⁵³³ It represented, indeed, an innovative approach to development connecting refugee assistance and poverty reduction, usually treated as separated issues.⁵³⁴ It acknowledged the role refugees can play in the development of the host country and in reducing poverty.⁵³⁵ Moreover, it was a response to the need for finding sustainable solutions to ensure that refugees and local communities become self-reliant, thereby avoiding potential conflicts over resources which could affect the social and economic stability of the area.⁵³⁶ The main goal of the ZI was "to alleviate the combined effects of food deficit, poor infrastructure, limited access to public services and economic opportunities, and in the process finding

⁵²⁹ UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, p.5.

⁵³⁰ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.4.

⁵³¹ UNHCR & Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, p.5.

⁵³² *Ibidem*, p.5.

⁵³³ *Ibidem*, p.3.

⁵³⁴ Amara, 2005, p.35.

⁵³⁵ UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, p.3.

⁵³⁶ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.2.

durable solutions for refugees.”⁵³⁷ In order to achieve its objective, the ZI combined both short and long-term activities. While its short-term activities aimed at responding to the needs of the refugees and at reducing the poverty level of the RHA, its longer-term objective was to ensure the overall social integration, peace security and stability in the region.⁵³⁸

To take a closer look, it is possible to say that the ZI combined all the three elements of the developmental approach to local integration proposed by this thesis.

Self-reliance and Livelihoods

The main areas of intervention of the ZI were agriculture and livestock, health, education and skills development, infrastructure and natural resources management.⁵³⁹ Cross cutting issues such as governance, gender and HIV/AIDS were also considered in the planning and implementation of all the activities.⁵⁴⁰

In order to improve the self-reliance of refugees and local communities, agriculture played a substantial role since it represented the main source of income and employment both for the refugees and the local population in RHA.⁵⁴¹ The main activities promoted by the ZI in the field of agriculture involved the construction of common facilities such as wells or storage grain bins, the organization of vocational training in food processing and crop demonstration activities, the improvement of animals’ health, the capacity building of Local Development Committees (LDCs) to implement rural credit scheme, and the distribution of agricultural inputs such as seeds and fertilizer.⁵⁴²

As regards health, the ZI focused on the provision of quality basic health services and the improvement of the local health system⁵⁴³ through the construction of new health facilities or the rehabilitation of already existing ones.⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁷ UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, p.3.

⁵³⁸ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.2.

⁵³⁹ Ibidem, p.5.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibidem, p.5.

⁵⁴¹ Ibidem, p.6.

⁵⁴² UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, pp.9-13.

⁵⁴³ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.6.

Concerning the educational sector, the project activities included the construction of new educational facilities, the rehabilitation of old schools and the provision of material as well as of training.⁵⁴⁵

Finally, interventions in relation to infrastructure included small-scale projects concerning the improvement of irrigation systems and rural roads.⁵⁴⁶ With regard to natural resources, the problem of the sustainable use of forestry resources was addressed through the construction of community tree nurseries.⁵⁴⁷

Participation

The participation of refugees and local communities was considered an essential factor in implementation and for the sustainability of the intervention. In order to ensure the participation of refugees and local communities in the designing and implementing of the activities, the ZI promoted the creation of LDCs composed of refugees and local populations.⁵⁴⁸ The aim of these LDCs was to identify, implement and manage project activities in their villages of concern.⁵⁴⁹ Thanks to the establishment of these LDCs, beneficiaries were given the possibility to identify the priority areas for the development of their community.⁵⁵⁰

The ZI's impacts on food security

The ZI has had a diverse range of impacts on the living conditions of refugees and local communities. In particular, the developmental approach endorsed by the ZI has contributed to address certain causes of food insecurity thereby improving the food security of RHAs.

In terms of food availability, the intervention in the agricultural sector has improved agricultural productivity. For instance, 120 000 farmers including refugees and local communities' members benefited from credit loans to increase the cultivated land area

⁵⁴⁴ UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, pp.13-16.

⁵⁴⁵ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.7.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibidem, p.7.

⁵⁴⁷ UNHCR and Commissioner for Refugees (Ministry of Home Affairs), 2004, p.19.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibidem, pp.6-7.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibidem, p.7.

⁵⁵⁰ Amara, 2005, p.36.

from 2 to 2.5 hectares and the crop production from 1.5 Mt/ha to 3.5 Mt/ha.⁵⁵¹ The increased agricultural productivity improved the households' consumption of food due to a larger and more diversified amount of food available at the local level.⁵⁵² Moreover, farmers were able to triple their income thanks to the surplus of agricultural products⁵⁵³ resulting in an increased economic accessibility to food products. As regards livestock, the increased availability of animal vaccines and veterinary facilities reduced the number of dead cattle per year and therefore the economic losses of farmers.⁵⁵⁴ Finally, 1200 women were trained in food processing of butter, cheese and other products for domestic consumption and marketing use⁵⁵⁵ increasing the quantity and quality of the food consumed as well as the households' income opportunities.

The improvement of health system with the construction of new facilities improved the situation in the Western Province where the health system was deemed to be overburdened and deeply affected by the presence of large numbers of encamped and self-settled refugees.⁵⁵⁶ The construction of new health facilities and the rehabilitation of existing medical establishments improved the access to health services as well as the quality of medical assistance provided to refugees and local communities. The improvement of local health facilities resulted in an improved health status of both Zambians and refugees resulting in a positive impact on individuals' and households' work productivity boosting agricultural production and so on and so forth.

The construction and renovation of educational facilities and the provision of school material increased both the accessibility and the quality of the education provided to refugees and local communities. Prior to the ZI, the number of government schools in the area was limited and local children were forced to attend community schools offering a lower level quality of education.⁵⁵⁷ With the building of new schools and the improvement of already existing educational facilities, both refugees and the local population benefited from better educational opportunities. The improved quality of the

⁵⁵¹ Ibidem, p.36.

⁵⁵² Ibidem, p.36.

⁵⁵³ Ibidem, p.36.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibidem, p.36.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibidem, p.36.

⁵⁵⁶ UNHCR, 2002 (b), p.4.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibidem, p.4.

education increased refugees' and local communities' awareness of the importance of a diversified and nutritious diet as well as of hygienic practices, resulting in improved food consumption and utilization patterns.

The limited interventions regarding infrastructural development had a positive impact on the overall level of development of the area, and paved the way for future interventions aiming at utilizing the potential and under-estimated natural resources of land, water and forests found in the area. The infrastructural improvements led to the creation of more sustainable economic, social and environmental conditions and contributed to reduce the underlying risks for food security.

Finally, the creation of LDCs composed of refugees and local community members improved the opportunities for refugees to express opinions and participate in decision-making organisms despite the provisions of the 1970 Refugee Control Act generally restrict their freedom of speech and assembly.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, they offered the opportunity for peaceful exchanges of views between refugees and local populations thereby increasing inter-community dialogue. Although the creation of the LDCs was a positive step forward in the promotion of refugees' and local communities' participation, their concrete impact was more limited than expected.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁸ The issue has been discussed in paragraph 4.2.2.

⁵⁵⁹ UNHCR, 2007, p.31.

4.4. The Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees: A Lesson Learnt?

The ZI, alongside other interventions of the Zambian Government and UNHCR, have contributed to reaching a high degree of economic and social integration of refugees into their host communities, in particular in the case of Angolan refugees.⁵⁶⁰ Additionally, the ZI has positively informed the relevant policies and strategies of the Government of Zambia related to local integration. For instance, the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees (hereinafter the Strategic Framework) has benefited from the lessons learnt during the implementation of the ZI.⁵⁶¹

The Strategic Framework, launched by the Government of Zambia in 2014, represents, indeed, an important step forward in the process of local integration, started by the ZI, particularly in terms of legal integration. The Strategic Framework is the practical response designed by the Zambian Government to fulfil its commitment to integrate 10,000 former Angolan refugees as well as 4,000 Rwandan refugees.⁵⁶² It is composed of a three pillars-strategy addressing: the legal integration of eligible former refugees, the resettlement of refugees and local communities, and the development of RHAs.⁵⁶³ The first pillar addresses the legal status and the protection of the rights of former refugees through the provision of the so-called 'alternative legal status'.⁵⁶⁴ The second pillar focuses on the resettlement of former refugees and local communities to designated settlement areas where they will have access to land, basic services and infrastructures in order to improve agricultural productivity, employment and income opportunities.⁵⁶⁵ The third pillar deals with the provision of development assistance to RHAs to ensure the sustainability of the process of local integration.⁵⁶⁶ The main

⁵⁶⁰ U.S Department of State, 2014, p.iv.

⁵⁶¹ Government of the Republic of Zambia/Ministry of Home Affairs, 2014, p.8.

⁵⁶² Ibidem, p.5.

⁵⁶³ Ibidem, p.10.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibidem, p.11.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibidem, p.16.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibidem, p.27.

activities of the Strategic Framework are foreseen to be implemented in the period 2014-2015, but others will be extended into 2016.⁵⁶⁷

Despite the obvious legacy of the ZI, it is nevertheless important to admit that the Strategic Framework is also driven by a number of political considerations and elements of the refugee situation that are specific to the Zambian context.⁵⁶⁸ First, the refugee population is relatively small, long-term and quite well integrated with the local population in RHAs.⁵⁶⁹ Second, the territory of Zambia offers land resources for the refugees to become self-reliant.⁵⁷⁰ Third, by allowing the integration of former Angolan refugees the Government of Zambia aims to achieve political and economic objectives such as a reciprocal good treatment for its citizens in Angola as well as the strengthening of foreign and trade relationship with the Government of Angola.⁵⁷¹

Moreover, the adoption of the Strategic Framework has met with substantial and solid support from the international community. For instance, the Government of Zambia and UNHCR have promoted the creation, in the framework of the Solutions Alliance, of a National Advisory Group on Local Integration in Zambia (NGZ) with the aim of drawing upon the support and expertise of relevant partners and stakeholders for the successful implementation of the Strategic Framework.⁵⁷² The NGZ comprises representatives of the Government of the Republic of Zambia, representatives from donor countries, UN Agencies, civil society organisations and the private sector.⁵⁷³ The presence in the NGZ of development agencies such as UNDP, IOM and WB is a positive signal of the increasing recognition of the need of a more consistent engagement of development actors in PRS.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibidem, p.6.

⁵⁶⁸ World Bank, 2015, p.40

⁵⁶⁹ Ibidem, p.40

⁵⁷⁰ Ibidem, p.40

⁵⁷¹ Ibidem, p.40

⁵⁷² Solutions Alliance, 2015, p.1

⁵⁷³ Ibidem, p.2

Self-reliance, Livelihood improvement and Participation

The second and the third pillars of the Strategic Framework include activities aiming at strengthening and improving refugees' and local communities' self-reliance and livelihoods that are in line with the developmental approach to local integration proposed by this thesis. These activities will involve the provision of inputs and facilities to support agricultural production, the creation of new markets and shops, the rehabilitation and construction of educational and health centres, the improvement of transport and other infrastructures such as electricity and water systems, and the organization of training and workshops.⁵⁷⁴ Moreover, the process of identification of the needs in the RHAs, followed in the elaboration of the Strategic Framework, has been characterised by a high degree of participation of local and traditional leaders as well as the local population.⁵⁷⁵ The inclusion of the host communities in the development of the activities has been considered a key to the sustainability of the local integration process, in particular for ensuring the sustainability of the local settlement strategies and for the peaceful coexistence and integration of refugees and local communities.⁵⁷⁶

Unfortunately, since the adoption of the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees is a recent event, there is still no evidence concerning the impacts of the abovementioned activities on the food security of refugees and local communities in the areas of the intervention.

⁵⁷⁴ Government of the Republic of Zambia/Ministry of Home Affairs, 2014, pp.22-30.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibidem, p.31.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibidem, p.27.

4.5. Conclusions

The case study of Zambia shows the potential of local integration in PRS, and the impact that local integration programmes can have on the development of RHAs and in particular on food security. For instance, the ZI has contributed to strengthening the economic and social integration of refugees into local communities while at the same time dramatically increasing the level of food security in the area of implementation. The positive results achieved through this initiative have had a further positive impact on the development of national policies and strategies addressing refugees and local communities' needs in a view of starting local integration processes. For instance, in 2014 the Government of Zambia launched the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees, a new local integration strategy for former Angolan and Rwandan refugees that benefited from the lessons learnt and the best practices of the ZI. While some challenging factors, especially concerning the legal framework for the protection of refugee rights, remain in place, the Government of Zambia has shown a real commitment towards the implementation of local integration programmes for refugees. Although it is necessary to admit that the successful degree of implementation of local integration programmes in Zambia depends also on elements that are context-specific and that cannot be found to same extent in many host countries, it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that a developmental approach to local integration, as the one endorsed by the ZI, present a lot of opportunities in terms of increasing the living conditions of refugees and local communities in RHAs, especially in relation to their food security.

General Conclusions and Recommendations

The in depth analysis conducted in this study has shown the need to reconsider existing approaches to PRS and to promote a further discussion at the international level about the impacts of these responses to PRS on specific aspect of the host country's situation. The figures related to PRS are increasingly worrying. For instance, the total number of PRS around the world, as well as the duration, have dramatically risen. Hence, PRS have become a permanent reality for a large number of refugees resulting in severe violations of human rights, human insecurity, loss of potential human development and situations of national and regional instability. In addition, PRS have a significant impact on the already poor living conditions of local communities. PRS, indeed, are usually located in remote and poor areas lacking of infrastructure and services, which increase the competition with the local population over natural resources, labour and health or educational services.

In particular, the thesis has shown that PRS have a diverse and mixed impact on the food security of RHAs. Among the numerous effects of PRS, this thesis has identified both negative and positive effects. As regards negative consequences, PRS are associated with the disruption of normal patterns of agricultural production, the overexploitation of natural and environmental resources, the increasing pressure on services and infrastructures as well as the impact on the labour markets and employment opportunities for the local population. Nevertheless, the thesis has also identified some positive effects of PRS primarily related to the refugees' contribution to the economic and social development of RHAs and to the fact that PRS can attract international and national humanitarian and development organisations as well as additional funds to commonly underdeveloped and remote areas. The existence of both negative and positive effects shows the need to design and implement approaches that can limit the negative consequences and maximize the benefits usually associated with PRS.

In this regard, it is important to acknowledge that different attempts have been made within the international community to elaborate innovative approaches to PRS taking into account the development opportunities that the former can offer. Nonetheless, the reality shows a limited and inconsistent degree of implementation of these approaches.

First, programmes dealing with PRS suffer from recurrent lack of funding affecting the achievements of sustainable results. In addition, host countries are increasingly hostile to the presence of refugees and are unwilling and unable to consider the benefits of their presence for the overall development of RHAs. Another major challenging element is the so-called ‘relief-to-development gap’. For instance, PRS are still characterized by a very limited coordination and cooperation between humanitarian and development actors, leading to a strong prevalence of the short-term approach. Although different tools and strategies have been created in the attempt of reinforcing the synergy between humanitarian and development organisations, the role of the latter in responding to PRS is still extremely unsatisfactory. Thus, the thesis has promoted a developmental approach to local integration in order to raise further awareness of the development opportunities related to PRS. This developmental approach clearly benefits from the different international community’s attempts to overcome the ‘relief-to-development gap’ as well as to strengthen refugees’ contribution to the economic and social development of their host country.

The developmental approach to local integration promoted by this thesis has integrated self-reliance, livelihoods, refugees’ and local communities’ participation. The tripartite structure of this approach emphasises the need to expand refugees’ and local population’s capacities and skills and to adopt a people-centred approach resulting in a high level of participation of refugees and local communities in each phases of the programme. Moreover, it enables refugees to contribute to the economic and social development of the RHA by creating or reinforcing livelihood opportunities and reducing the competition among refugees and local communities. In particular, this developmental approach to local integration has shown that the refugees’ contribution to the development of RHAs has a definite positive impact on the food security. In this regard, the thesis has identified the Zambia Initiative as a positive example of a developmental approach that enhanced food security as well as refugees-local communities’ interaction. The thesis has also shown how the best practices and the positive outcomes of the ZI have favoured the adoption of governmental policies conducive to local integration processes, such as the Strategic Framework for the Local Integration of Former Refugees. In particular, the thesis have emphasised the role of

self-reliance, livelihoods and community participation in these local integration strategies.

In conclusion, although the successful implementation of local integration programmes depend on political, social and economic factors that change from one country to another, the thesis wants to promote the understanding that a different approach is not only needed but it can also be beneficial, especially in terms of food security (as the case of Zambia can confirm). By not treating refugees as passive beneficiaries and by strengthening the participation of local communities in assistance programmes, a developmental approach to local integration paves the way to a sustainable solution to PRS. Nevertheless, the thesis is fully aware that a durable solution to PRS also requires a parallel process of legal integration (which, due to space constraints, has not been dealt within the thesis). The aim of this thesis is therefore to present this developmental approach to local integration as a complementary or conducive process within the framework of a broader approach involving also legal integration. The main goal of the thesis is, indeed, to show the international community, host governments, international organisations and donors the benefits of a developmental approach to local integration in terms of overall economic and social development of RHAs, but in particular in relation to the improvement of the food security.

In order to implement this developmental approach to local integration, different actors have to commit themselves to undertake concrete actions.

The international community is recommended to:

- Promote further and more consistent discussion on the topic of PRS in international fora involving a broader range of stakeholders such as states, UN agencies, humanitarian and development organisations, NGOs, the civil society and the private sector. Since PRS are a multidimensional phenomenon, the response must be comprehensive and inclusive and must draw upon the support of different actors with different expertise and resources.
- Ensure political and economic support to host countries that are shouldering the greatest responsibility in dealing with PRS with the view of fulfilling its

commitment to the principles of burden-sharing and international solidarity. In this regard, a reform of the international funding architecture can have positive impacts on strengthening the cooperation between humanitarian and development actors (as suggested at Copenhagen Roundtable on Solutions, 2-3 April 2014)⁵⁷⁷.

- Finally, since the developmental approach to local integration promoted by this thesis is consistent with the so-called human security approach, this research calls for further discussion of the human security approach within the international community as well as for a more consistent application of the human security approach by humanitarian and development actors. For instance, the aspects of empowerment and participation as well as the comprehensive and holistic nature of the human security approach can create the suitable conditions for the implementation of the developmental approach to local integration.

The governments of host countries are recommended to:

- Include refugees in National Development Plans and Poverty Reduction/Eradication Strategy, in order to address the issue of PRS in the context of the broader development of RHAs and to maximize the benefits for the host communities as well (as suggested at Copenhagen Roundtable on Solutions, 2-3 April 2014).⁵⁷⁸
- Adopt national legislations that enhance the protection of refugee rights and promote refugees' self-reliance (see for example the Uganda Refugees Act) in the respect of international standards of refugee protection.
- Sign and ratify (if not yet done) the main international and regional legal instruments concerning refugee protection and endeavour to reconsider the reservations made to the 1951 Refugee Convention negatively affecting refugees' attempts to become self-reliant and to enjoy their rights.

Development and Humanitarian organisations are recommended to:

⁵⁷⁷ Zetter, 2014, p.23

⁵⁷⁸ Ibidem, p.22

- Create an institutional framework to ensure concerted and multilateral interventions in PRS overcoming the traditional ‘relief-to-development gap’ and creating the conditions for the achievement of durable solutions for the refugees and for reducing the negative impacts of PRS on RHAs.
- Ensure that refugees and host communities are involved in the designing, implementing and monitoring of the projects to guarantee that their needs are met and that the outcomes of the projects are sustainable in the long-term.
- Establish mechanisms and tools to share best practices and lesson learnt in order to better understand how to maximize the positive economic and social aspects of PRS.

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