REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES AND REGIONAL SECURITY: THE CASE OF DADAAB REFUGEE CAMP

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A Research Project submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree in Masters of Arts in International Conflict Management, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.

2017
DECLARATION
This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any
Other University.

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AHMED MOHAMED ABDI Date

R52/82935/2015

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University of
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I thank you Almighty God for everything you have bestowed upon achieving this academic milestone. The production of this research project was made possible by the assistance and support given to me in a variety of ways by various stakeholders. I am greatly thankful to my supervisor, Dr. Kizito Sabala for his guidance, support and supervision during my course work. I also greatly appreciate all the study respondents who provided me with the necessary information needed for my research work. Special thanks to my family members for their helping hand throughout my study time frame.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my wife, Amina Muktar who has always been available for offering endless care and support for me. It is through, support and unwavering care I have been able to come to the end of this work. I strong belief that my work makes and will always makes you proud.
ABSTRACT
This study explored repatriation of refugees and regional security with a special focus to the refugees in Dadaab camp. The study focuses on establishing the link between repatriation of refugees and regional security. The specific objectives of the study are to establish the nexus between repatriation refugees in Dadaab Camp and regional security; to evaluate the threat posed by Dadaab Camp refugees to regional security and also to identify the role of repatriating Somalia refugees in the peace building process. In the effort to examine the link between refugee repatriation and regional security situation, a comparative case-study approach was used. The study employed a qualitative descriptive research method. The method adopted was deemed suitable because it allows for utilisation of both primary and secondary data so as to get reliable sources and to address the objective of the study. To get a refugee context, Dadaab refugee camp was used as a case study. The first part of the study gives a background of repatriation effort as a peace seeking strategy. The second part of the study highlights a review of previous studies relating to the nexus between repatriation refugees and regional security, the threat posed by refugees to regional security, the threat posed by refugees to regional and the role of repatriating refugees in the peace building process. The third part covers the regional security situations in selected regional segments in Africa in which the general state of insecurity in Africa, regional insecurity within the African continent and the role played by the refugee phenomenon in the prevailing insecurity conditions in the region together with the insecurity within the four main sub regions are addressed. The chapter also covers refugee generated insecurity and the drivers of regional insecurity. The fourth chapter is a presentation of a critical analysis of the nexus between refugee repatriation and regional security with a special attention to the proposed repatriation of Somali refugees. The chapter focuses on examining the impact of refugee repatriation to regional security. This chapter highlights the study findings.

The study findings show that repatriation of refugees has an insignificant role in regional security. It shows that when refugees are repatriated, the reintegrate with the communities and engage in civic education that promote peace. It further revealed that returnees engage in economic activities that promote the involvement of conflicting communities and thereby reduce incidences of continued conflict. The study concludes that regional security may be negatively affected by presence of Refugees especially where the migrants have not been able to harmoniously relate with their hosts or where conditions are too deplorable to push them into criminal tendencies. The study also concludes that the likelihood of radicalization or even recruitment into terror groups depends so much on the measures put in place to manage and monitor refugees’ activities. The Refugee problem is not an African one but is global in nature as witnessed by the current crisis actually taking place in Europe. It has emerged that security is a multi-faceted concept that has many factors other than the state that get actively involved in refugee generated insecurity management within the refugee regime. The study recommends that future studies should focus on deepening the analysis of restoration and regional security. Thus, it should achieve this by creating a theoretical thesis about the connection between repatriation and reconciliation. The study also recommends that there should be a reasonable opening position for developing the logical thought of grassroots peace building and conciliation.
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Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Study Background

Recently, a displacement of persons has attracted scholarly discourse. Whether the
displacements are internal or across border, the phenomenon is above the level of
humanitarian domain and is today a security and political concern that affects the stability
of regions.1 By the year 2011 over 40 million people had been displaced and lived as
refugees, majority fleeing from violence from their home countries.2 The displacement
phenomenon results in persons settling in refugee camps and eventually repatriation of
the refugees.

Even though repatriation is significant in the cycle, it is often ignored as significant
aspect of regional security. In conflict and security studies, considerations have been
made to the effects of refugee presence in other states, factors pushing refugees to move
and refugee repatriation and peacebuilding.3 Only less attention has been paid to
repatriation and its impact on regional security. As a result the potential impact of the
influx of large groups of persons to the stability of fragile states is ignored.4 At the same
time there is no cognisance of the innate ability of repatriation have certain factors that
can reignite conflict.5 Tension between host and home countries is influenced by
repatriation through its ability to remove insurgent groups and refugee warriors who

1 UNHCR 1951 Convention – Article 1A(2)
2 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2011
4 James Milner; Refugees and the Regional Dynamics of Peacebuilding. Refugee Survey Quarterly 2009; 28
interact with most of the refugees depending on the host countries and engage in an unfair campaign against their mother country. Stein opines that repatriation contributes to the creation of a stable environment for the peacebuilding process through removal of aspects that affect the relationship between host and home countries. Also, the alleviating causes of tension between states. Repatriation also has positive social and economic gains for the home country; funding is normally provided for rebuilding and restorations efforts. As a matter of fact, the linked funds during repatriation will considerably reduce if there was no repatriation. The economy of the home countries will equally benefit from the return of educated skilled population. Patriotism is further enhanced in the repatriation process, the returning individuals for the love of their countries will work to ensure stability of their home countries and as such will help in the peace building process.

The intensification of the Somalia conflict has led to massive movements of refugees towards neighbouring countries over the past decades. A high number of refugees run in Kenya especially Nairobi and other refugee camps which include Ifo, Dagahaley, and Hagadera located in the North-Eastern of Kenya. These camps were initiated for 90,000 persons in the early 1990s, although at this time they were occupied by more than 270,000 refugees. Further, they were occupied by former rebels and active rebels from Somalia against Al Shabaab terrorist group. The Kenyan government was not able to handle refugees in large groups, and the impact on the situation and security status of the

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country started to worsen, and it was planning to return the Somali refugees coercively. After UNHCR intervention, there was a safety zone especially in Somali border which slowed down the influx refugees from Somalia, and it promoted voluntary restoration. Around the year 1993, estimates of 30,000 Somali refugees already returned to their country.  

It was after the Fund for Peace in November 2000 publication report that the insecurity cases came into light in the Dadaab refugee camp. According to the report, the camps were used were used by illegal groups such as arms-trafficking networks, ethnic militia, and bandits. The investigation was conducted within three months by the arms trafficking expert Kathi Austin, who researched the arms prevalence in the Dadaab refugee camps in 2000. The researcher concluded that the Camps had been transformed into a nerve centre for the arms transfer in and other illegal activities.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Kenya has witnessed a high movement of refugees from its neighbouring countries. Refugees from Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan have particularly stayed longer in Kenya. Since refugees started arriving in Kenya insecurity has been on the rise not only in Kenya but the region at large. The burden of refugees has heightened insecurity in the region due to planned bandits by trading small arms within the borders. The refugee camps are situated along the Kenya-Somali borders in Kenya, as a result, the border points have

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11 Ibid, 48
13 UNHCR Refugee Emergency Relief No. 91 (Dec 1992)
become extremely insecure. The threat posed to the region by refugees has been observed by Weiner who noted that most of the refugees pose a threat to the regime of the host as well as home country.\textsuperscript{14}

For many years, Kenya has lived in an unstable neighbourhood. Kenya has overtime become host to refugees fleeing from its neighbouring countries. Kenya has thus had a legacy of generosity. Amidst this generosity, Kenya has increasingly been attacked by Al-Shabaab terrorists at the cost of innocent citizens. In May 2016, the Kenya’s government announced that it wanted to stop hosting refugees to protect her national security. While this decision was made, it was not backed by any evidence of a link between Somali refugees and Shabaab attacks. Kenya hosts about 600000 refugees from Somali are in the Dadaab camp. In a statement in May 11\textsuperscript{th} 2016, the interior cabinet secretary Joseph Nkaissery gave a statement indicating that the refugees camps had have been transformed into residing sites of Al Shabaab and places of smuggling and Illegal trade such as illicit weapons propagation. In the bid to offer its primary role of protecting her citizenry, the government had then decided to close the camp that had become unsecure to the hosting state security. The Kenya’s government went ahead and launched a National Taskforce on Repatriation of Refugees with a specific assignment of seeing that the Dadaab Camp is closed. For practical reasons, the Dadaab Camp is considered unsafe; what is not clear is whether repatriation of the refugees would indeed offer the security issue and if so if the insecurity will stretch to the region. There are no known studies that have examined the effect of the refugee’s repatriation on

Region security. The present study endeavours to fill the gap by examining the effect of repatriation on regional security with a special focus on refugee in Dadaab camp.

1.3 Study Objective

The objective of this research is examining the effect of repatriation of refugees on regional security with the following objectives

Specific Objectives

1.3.1 To establish the nexus between repatriation refugees in Dadaab Camp and regional security
1.3.2 To evaluate the threat posed by refugees in Dadaab Camp to regional security
1.3.3 To identify the role of repatriating Somalia refugees in the peace building procedure

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 What is the link between refugee repatriation of refugees from Dadaab Camp and regional security?
1.4.2 Is the presence of refugees in Dadaab Camp a threat to regional security?
1.4.3 What is the role of repatriating Somalia refugees in peace building process?

1.5 Theoretical Framework

1.5.1 The World Society Theory

The was championed by eminent scholars such as John Burton with the World Society perspective being historically linked to John W. Meyer and other collaborators at Stanford University in the 1970s and 1980s. The basis for this theory arises from the fact that from a realist point of view, the realm is either revolutionary where participants pursue interests without affecting its overarching authority structure or where the actors
intentionally construct interdependent systems of economic and political competition.\textsuperscript{15} Pettiford takes note that although non-state actors are given recognition as important actors in the international system though they do not supersede state sovereignty. Of importance to note is that the resting point of the World Society paradigm is the individual hence giving prominence to individuals in transactions within the International System. The rights of individuals whether among the Refugees or host community are thus a hallmark of the World Society. This Society belongs to the pluralist paradigm, that include interdependence approaches which reject the Realist “billiard ball” model of International Relations in which states predominate.\textsuperscript{16} According to this theory, there are many actors in the international system who are engaged with societal issues at variety of and in various ways. Logically, the state is therefore a penetrated society and interactions in the international system are not exclusively state centric but include other actors as well. The operations of these actors’ causes’ different reactions which tend to strain the refugees conflict sources. These actors can work together towards achieving mutual objectives towards refugees’ peaceful coexistence in the camps. There is also noted that Refugee matters are not only a domain of the state but for a myriad of many other actors such as local and international humanitarian organizations.\textsuperscript{17} Refugees are themselves an important component of the refugee regime which basically addresses their management and the impacts that they may pose to the rest of society.

\textsuperscript{15} Meyer et al. World Society and the Nation-State. (American Journal Sociology. 1979, 103(1))pp.144–81
\textsuperscript{17} Pettiford, L. Changing Conceptions of Security in the Third World, ibid
According to Burton, the World Society Theory explains that war and other conflict situations do not come from the nature of states or its external relations but from the way in which the environments acts on the individual. This implies that the individual have certain needs they try to fulfil and that it’s the frustration of failure to achieve these needs either individually or collectively that leads to violence within the system. These needs may include need for identity, participation, and security.18

Looking at the refugee problem then with the World Society Theory lens is quite appropriate in that when aggression takes place; it is within the human right of the individual. For this to be effectively managed it is imperative that state actors, non state actors and individuals have to be involved. In regard to this study the theory considers refugee repatriation which may cause regional insecurity as the independent and dependent variables respectively. This is because when refugees are repatriated, they needs are not provided for and may be easy targets to radicalised groups like Al Shabaab, in turn this will affect the security of the whole region.

1.6 Justification of the Study

1.6.1 Academic Justification

Several studies have looked at the refugee issue from different perspectives. However, the issue of the nexus between refugee repatriation and regional security have not been extensively explored. It is the hope of this study that it will be of great significance. This study will broaden the knowledge on the nexus between refugee repatriation and regional security. Besides, the study will contribute to testing the applicability of Social Exchange Theory in regional security discourse.

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1.6.2 Policy Justification

The findings of this study will be of significance to policy makers as it will demonstrate ways of enhancing regional security in regions that have high refugee presence. The civil societies handling refugee affairs will greatly benefit from the findings as they will understand how the processes of refugee repatriation can affect the security of a region. Security agencies are equally going to benefit from the findings by having a broader knowledge on the relationship between refugee repatriation and regional security.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research seeks to explore the impact of repatriation of refugees on regional security using Dadaab Refugee Camp as a case study. The study will focus on the factors hindering refugees from accepting voluntary repatriation, the threat caused by residents in the refugees’ camps situations to regional security and the function of repatriation in the peace building process. The study will only focus on the issues as presented from refugees in Dadaab camp and not refugees in any other camp. The study may be limited by constraints of funds and as such will restrict itself to the highlighted areas only.

1.8 Methodology of the Research

1.8.1 Research Design

In the effort to examine the link between refugee repatriation and regional security situation, a comparative case-study approach was used. The study employed a qualitative descriptive research strategy. The design is deemed useful for this study as it allows for utilisation of both secondary and data in the secondary sources so as to get a reliable sources and objective of the research. This approach allows for review of a wide based

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literature with an aim of exploring interrelated concepts pertinent to understanding the nexus between refugee repatriation and regional security.

1.8.2 Data Sources

Data will be gathered from variety of academic scholars, policy institutions, public domains, and individual scholars. The Case study of Dadaab will be used as a host to Somalia refugees to provide the refugee context. Multiple sources of data will improve the quality of the study as suggested by Osuala. Document analysis and literature review are the major methods of secondary in collecting data and analysis of previous data. The sources of these data will be scholar’s article, previously researched materials and academic materials related to the subject. Primary data will be collected with the aid of key informants through informal discussions and semi structured and open ended interviews. Notes from key informants will be written down and analysed later, no recording will be used. The uses of either tape recording or writing down notes in the discussion are both accepted in social sciences.

1.8.3 Ethical Consideration

Every research procedure requires ethical approaches that ensure the best practice of integrity in the research is upheld. For the purposes of this research project, the study will follow the ethical guidelines of University Of Nairobi Code Of Conduct for Research. A research permit will be obtained from ICM and National Commission for Science and Technology (NACOSTI)

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1.9 Chapter Outline

On this chapter, the study will cover the background, the problem statement, objectives of the study theory and chapter outline.

The second chapter will highlight the structural variations with respect to refugee regime with a special emphasis on restoration and reconstruction of the link between refugees and their motherland country. The chapter will cover refugee hood and the implication of repatriation of refugees.

The third chapter will delve in a relative study analysis of the security situation in selected regional segments in Africa (Southern Africa, Horn of Africa and Western Africa). The chapter will also highlight refugee generated insecurity and the drivers regional insecurities.

Chapter four will be a critical analysis of the nexus between refugee repatriation and regional security with special reference to the proposed repatriation of Somalia refugees from the Dadaab Camp, and lastly chapter five will be study summary, conclusion and suggestion for further readings
Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter focuses on the literature review relating to refugees and security nexus. It begins with presenting a background on how spills overs of instabilities from other countries to neighboring countries. To highlight the research gaps, the chapter delves into past studies of refugees and security conducted internationally and locally. The chapter is presented in subsections beginning with literature on refugee-security nexus; international refugee movement and security; refugee movement as a threat to security; repatriation as a peacebuilding process; repatriation and reconstruction and lastly the repatriation of Somali refugees.

There is a shared concern in multicultural politics that vulnerability in one country will empty over into bordering countries, the interesting ever-increasing percentage of individuals and complexity to resolve. For instance, Turkey and Iran are frequently reported for the inability of the American-led coalition in restoring law and order within Iraq.\(^{22}\) Provided the ethical and ethnic links among the countries, it's not clear that the spillover impact would establish these borders.

In recent past, United States has been involved in peace restoration in Bosnia, then-President Bill Clinton added that in the absence of such intervention, the conflict could have affected the larger region indeed.\(^{23}\) On this case, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan gave a warning that every war interferes with the neighbouring countries. The previous


Cold War world showed that conflicts are spreading and explosions of destruction in one place will result in broader violence. Often, refugee migration is mostly considered to contribute and cause the spread of insecurity across borders. According to Arthur Helton, UN Security Council has reported that population displacements pose threats to the global peace and security on most occasions.

Indeed, previous years, these concerns have resulted in various focuses to reduce refugee flows to prevent insecurity cases.

Due to the imminent problem influx of 350,000 Kurdish refugees camping from Iraq, Turkey and some of its NATO allies demanded the creation of a safe zone through UN Security Council resolution in the northern Iraq. As a result, the potentially volatile situation with its Kurdish population was avoided after international protection at home was facilitated. At the beginning of 2003, there were worries of a possible influx of Kurdish refugees as the build-up to the U.S that led war against Iraq. It is reported that the troops along the border massed up and prepared to invade Iraq. However, in the end, avoidance of mass exodus of refugees from Iraq was successful. At the beginning of 1999, briefly closed the Macedonian officials closed the border with Kosovo borders. The refugees of ethnic Albanian were estimated to be approximately more than 200,000 and threaten the security of a country with two-thirds Macedonian and one-fourth of the

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home population. According to the one report quipped domino theory of the 1950s, it did not focus on the communism but rather on the spread of conflict, “the domino is wobbling.” The general theme carrying all of these cases was the thought that refugee migrations spread opposition from country to another, conceivably immersing a whole region and endangering regional security.

2.2 Refugee-Security Nexus

Although there is almost little scholarly literature especially on expatriates and the extent of the conflict, there is an increasing basis of work about the globalization of friction more broadly. Investigation in this area has centered on distinguishing factors that provide to the cross-border scope of instability, and refugee migrations are often incorporated on the list. However, most studies fall short of sufficiently connecting the mechanisms within which each supporting determinant points to the spread of vulnerability, depicting the process alternately of as a “disordered, unexpected and highly critical sensation.” Literature proposes that expatriates movements can give to the spread of insecurity in two intermediate forms. Firstly, during a refugee entrance changes the stability of power in the host country and by developing the country’s ethnic structure. For instance, issues concerning access to available resources. This method of spread, as described by Lake and Rothchild, can create disorder in the host nation. If the procedure

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28 Ibid
is neglected and remain unchecked, some analysts argue that the dispute can ultimately immerse an entire country.”

Fearon fantasizes a feasible “connection of reaction in which racial conflict makes expatriates, which unstabilize a new area, creating more conflict, hence increase in refugees, and so on.” Even further excitingly, Premdas holds that movement increases of ethnic conflict crossed boundaries creates “an ungovernable link of ever-widening reflection of host societies” and “disordering and expanding oppositions and uncommon bedfellows, through developing extensive and more unreasonably out of restraint.” Secondly, the literature recommends that fugitive issues can present to the scope of a disorder through a method of intensification that delivers new belligerents toward the dispute or conflict. “This refugee conflict can start to recriminations among the two concerned countries and, in instances of ‘hot pursuance,’ direct boundary conflicts that may run out of host government control Fearon.” The appearance of “refugee soldiers” is not different; for cycles, expatriates have conveyed military practice and launched invasions beyond the boundary from support in host nations. This could involve mediation by the host authority in the friction or the control of its region by soldiers for mobilization and aggression back into their home nation. Lake and Rothchild explain. At the edge of Cold War and the deterioration of outside support, though,

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34 Ibid
certain associations have frequently combined themselves with non-military refugees and utilized philanthropic support to facilitate their military purposes.\textsuperscript{36} This position spoils relationships with the host state, as well as global support bureaus, and intensifies security anxieties along the boundary.\textsuperscript{37}

The research on the global scope of conflict thus contributes some helpful perspicacity about the causative role of expatriate tendencies, amongst many other circumstances. Behind these first considerations, nevertheless, existing bibliography does not sufficiently explain the exact means within which emigrant moves and additional such variables create intensity in bordering nations. Conceivably, more essentially, most interpretations concentrate on situations in which disagreement was viewed as having extended from one nation into another (conflict results) and do not examine states in which comparable circumstances may have happened already but seemed not appear to the extent of conflict (non-violent consequences). Therefore, it is important to create on this research and explore in deep feature the particular circumstances under which expatriate flows can cause to the conflict.

Sarah Lischer\textsuperscript{38} Sarah Lischer corresponds that violent and non-violent refugee circumstances have an equal level of forces. Her case investigations include refugees from Rwanda, Afghan refugees in Pakistan, Zaire and Tanzania, and Iran, and others in Croatia. Within this study, Lischer recognizes three constituents that circumscribe the possibility of conflict spreading beyond boundaries. The degree of political coherence

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid
and military with the fugitives the capability and will consist of the host nation authority to demilitarize some of the refugees in camps. Also, the degree to which the third participant provide support to demilitarize the renegade units. This is a political strategy that serves to predict the situations beneath which refugee movements may increase friction, although it further extracts additional proposals. Of appropriate significance to the contemporary study is the inquiry of why some host countries authorities are further prepared and capable than others to disarm the refugees in the camps.

Some political circumstances usually circumscribe the procedures that an authority holds to refugees, and consequently the degree to which it can counter the increase of violence spreading. Also, local political differences affect the process in which expatriates are supported by owners and form consequent cooperations within the two groups of the community. Subsequently, ability to balance power in a nation has significant relationships for the consequence of an extensive expatriate influx. A nation with a steady and stable administration is apparent to encounter diverse consequences than those who continue on authority is tenuous. By more exploration of political divergencies in the nations where refugees vacate, we can adequately comprehend the potential consequence of the refuge entrance and the possible spread of violence.

39 Ibid
40 Ibid
2.3 International refugee movement and security

Refugee matters are no longer left to department of labour and immigration, but are current key to global politics, attracting heads of states attention, cabinets and key executives related to defence, internal and external relations. Undoubtedly the mass migration of East Germans to Austria and it was through Czechoslovakia and Hungary in July and August in 1989 was the most vivid politically-intensive event concerning international migration in the contemporary time, led to the Democratic Republic of Germany which opened the Western borders resulting in a great movement west side trailed by the downfall of the Eastern regime of German and its collapse into the Federal Republican of Germany. It was migration of people from the East German nation that led to it collapse and not an invasion.

Histories is replete with examples of flows of refugee movement whether it led to economic push and pull elements relating to uneven employment opportunities or those fleeing from violence within and between countries. In Europe for example experienced a rise in right-wing anti-migrant political parties; conflicts between Great Britain and America concerning forced repatriation of refugees from Hong Kong; differences over the Soviet Jews settlement on the West bank between the U.S. and Israeli. The armed Tutsi refugees in Uganda invaded Rwanda an act that was aimed at overthrowing the Hutu-dominated government.

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From the examples, three things are apparent; the first is the realisation that refugee movement is here to stay. This perhaps has been occasioned by secessionist movements that have seen more refugees fleeing from different areas in the world. Breakups of many empires into smaller countries have created minorities that feel insecure. Economic instability in many developing countries has seen many of its citizens fleeing to countries with advanced economies for economic reasons. Other factors that have enhanced refugee movement include environmental degradation, climate change (droughts, floods, famines), and conflict.

While refugee movement is alive, challenges are abound, many people are pushed to flee while not many countries are willing and have the capacity to accept them. The refusal of countries to make their borders pass free for refugees are partly administrative, relaxing upon a concern that an influx of people applying to another ethnic association may cause xenophobic opinions, battles between citizens and vagrants, and the fullness of anti-migrant right-wing individuals.

Third, it is important to take that the news media have reviewed South/North refugee movement and East/West movements. The attempt is narrow and to some extent misleading. The refugee’s migration between North Africa and Western Europe, Asia and Latin America through United States and Canada, and the increase in the population from the Third World and some part of Eastern Europe claiming refugee status in the West a

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large aspect of the global flows of refugees. Only a small portion of seventeen million refugees in the world that are in the developed countries and another part of global flow movement to Western Europe or to the United States. Several refugee movements have from country to another and the world's largest refugee movement have been witnessed in Africa. Other parts include South and South East Asia, and some part of Persian Gulf. South Asia as a whole produced 35 to 40 million refugees who crossed across international borders in the region.

In part of Middle East, civil disputes and conflicts have driven to large-scale refugee movement from Lebanon, Saudi Arabia Kuwait, Israel, Iran, and Iraq. Civil wars and famines crisis in Africa have contributed to some of the substantial refugee communities to be located anyplace in the globe. Consideration was given by Keynesian how commercial differentials within nations impact movement, and by any political experts to whence disputes in the states result in refugee movements. However concise, similar systematic consideration has transpired given to how global community flow devises disputes inside and between nations, that is, to emigrants flows as an objective moderately than as dependent components. A research of such consequences is important to know why countries and their residents frequently have an antipathy to global immigration even though there are commercial advantages.

52 Ibid
Some of the refugee's movement features are growth driven by economic divergences, domestic political revolution, and international systems of information and transport. The political and also economic restrictions on the admittance of emigrants and expatriates and the international aspect of immigration-contend the necessity for a safety/stability structure for the research of global movement that concentrates on state strategies toward immigration and settlement as developed by matters over internal endurance and global security.\(^\text{53}\) Also, this framework should reflect political variations inside states as a significant predictor of global population movement, and immigration, including expatriate, settlement, both as ground and as outcomes of global conflict.\(^\text{54}\)

The largest part of the concurrent discussion on expatriate movement concentrates on international economic contingencies as the major predictors of refugee’s movements. Diversity in salaries and work opportunities where the high market for workers in one nation and an overabundance in another, thus, causing the shift of labour.\(^\text{55}\) Based on the theories of economy, immigration, people will migrate if the predicted advantages surpass the expenses, with the effect that the capacity to relocate from one region to another is considered as circumscribed by ordinary wages, the cost of shifting, and employment market provisions. It is established, differences in the international economy, for instance, a rise in the price of oil globally or changes concerning commerce and global capital flows, insistence increment in the labor demand in many countries and lower it in other countries. Further, the expansion approaches persevered by single


nations may drive to large growth percentages to some states and moderate growth percentages and while others will experience stagnation. Irregular economic expansion among nations and a critical uneven distribution of income in countries may cause people and groups to shift beyond global borders to explore greater opportunities.\textsuperscript{56}

Certain economic information goes a long way to solving a lot of global community moves, but they underestimate two most significant political components. Firstly, global community migrations are frequently motivated, inspired, or restricted by authority and other political units, and thus, they may have little effects on economic circumstances. Certainly, sufficient of the global community flows, particularly in Africa and some part of South Asia, is circumscribed simply marginally, if by all differences in the international or domestic political situations. Secondly, despite when economic circumstances constitute incentives for movements between countries, it is legislatures that determine whether its residents should be entitled to migrate or should be authorized to access, and such decisions are usually based on non-economic concerns.\textsuperscript{57}

Furthermore, governments differ with the ability to control the entry of refugees. Countries that are proficient of securing themselves from rocket, tank, and grunts attacks are often powerless to protect themselves from the invasion of massive of expatriates crossed a boundary searching for employment o and safety. Authorities need to restrain the entrance of population and view their disability to do so as a menace to supremacy.\textsuperscript{58} Therefore, any efforts to advance a structure for the investigation of


\textsuperscript{58} Ibid
transnational refugees' movement need also to necessitate in the description of the political predictors and limitations of this emigration.

2.4 Refugee Movement as a Threat to Security

Refugee flow can be regarded as intimidating by authorities of either people-sending or population-supporting neighborhoods. The intimidation can be an assault by well-armed fugitives; migrants can be a fulmination to either state’s political establishment, or emigrants can be regarded as a warning to the important societal preferences of the accepting country.\(^59\)

"Security" is a common structure with diverse interests in diverse communities. A partly uniform society, for instance, may arrange a greater emphasis on conserving its ethnic sense than does a complex society and may, accordingly, notice a community influx as an intimidation to its safety. Giving a shelter for those you experience one's purposes (political independence, for instance) is necessary for some nations, in some countries. Therefore, an influx of "freedom fighters" may not be regarded as a threat to security. \(^60\)

Also, in some given country, what is extremely considered may not be accorded by bests and stands-elites. The entrance of migrants viewed as extremists may be started by a sovereign, but embraced by the antagonist. One ethnic unit may embrace expatriates, while different is vehemently denied. The trading centre may be added the feeling that the common residents to introduce immigrant employees. Furthermore, nations contrast on how they view the violation of their nationals outside as a peril that invites for country intervention. Some nations are served to practice armed conflict in support of their away


residents; others fancy not to offend a state that has approved its residents to obtain vocation and a nation that is an origin of much-required transmittals.61

The effort to distinguish sorts of security threats from expatriate movement instantly runs into differences within "original" and "perceived" perils, or toward absurdly neurotic awareness of threat or expanse tensions that can properly be characterized as xenophobic and racist. However, these radical notions are components in the response of authorities to refugees.62 It is important to obtain a precise position that, in another case, does not release anxieties, and or value all tensions over settlement and expatriates as grounds for their exclusion.63

Secondly, a plausible but inadequate description is the extent of expatriate flow. A nation experienced including a large-scale refugees' entrance should feel more threatened than a country experiencing a small influx of refugees. In the mid-1980s this prospect one strength has demanded the Germany Federal Republican attend a trickle of Sri Lankan Tamils with serenity. However, to move speedily to terminate the 1989 influx of 2,000 East Germans every day, or Africa countries to respond further endangered by the attack of refugees and therefore less sensitive than the nations of Western Europe faced by Third World trickle. Repeatedly, though, the opposition has been the predicament.64

Necessarily, Economics, of course, plays an important role and it matters. Also, a nation prepared to receive refugees when its prosperity is growing is more reasonable to

61 Ibid
terminate its entrances in a collapse. Though Economics appears not to solve several of the diversity between nations, nor makes it define the measures countries apply to determine whether a distinct organization of migrants is admissible or is perceived as threatening. Furthermore, mass can mean, but repeatedly it depends on the current authority policies.65

Thirdly, it is a most probable reason for the readiness of nations to acquire or discard refugees is group connection. A state and its residents are expected to be sensitive to those who encounter the identical language, belief, or culture, which might be as threatening those of no particular identity. Simply what establish "ethnic connection" is, repeatedly, social structures that can develop within a period. Americans and Australians, for instance, reconsider like Asians who are no long-drawn ejected as not identical peoples. The larger parts of Western Europeans promptly regard to East Europeans as their fellow-Europeans and are more satisfactory as wayfarers than other community from North Africa. Historically variable lies on the value who is or part of us. In nineteenth-century too many American Protestants including Jews, and Catholics were regarded as not one of us, and now, for several Europeans, Muslims are called not "one of us." Furthermore, what establishes an educational association for one society in a multi-ethnic community may steward a social, social, as well as economic threat to another state. Note, for instance, the antagonistic acknowledgment of some Cuban migrants by African-Americans in Florida. Cultural relationship -or its existence- apparently strikes a significant performance in how several societies within nations answer to a refugees' population entrance.

65 Ibid
2.5 Repatriation as a Peace Building Process

Refugee movement literature emphasizes on different issues and the same is true with repatriation literature. Of the many areas, one deals with when and how refugees are repatriated. The repatriation literature focuses on both voluntary and forced repatriation. Different authors have varied opinions on the way repatriation should be executed. According to Stein, repatriation should happen rapidly and fairly and before conflict resolution because returnees could be a force that could stabilize their home country and as such repatriation will alleviate the destabilizing effects of refugees in the host countries. The destabilising effects of refugees movement is further considered by Loescher and colleagues and Milner who believe that repatriation should only be done once conflict has settled or else it will enhance conflict in the conflicting states. Other scholars are however of a different opinion, they opine that repatriation is a peace process and is a significant step in the establishment of peace.

Repatriation literature also involves comparative case studies, while considering the successful repatriation of refugees returning to Cambodia, Eastmond and Ojendal in so doing, considerations of forced and voluntary repatriation are made while looking at individual cases and the different methods employed. In their findings, the difficulty and complexity in the implementation of repatriation are enforced. They suggests that future

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66 Chimni 2002; Loescher et al. 2007; Milner 2009; Stein 1994
67 Ibid
68 Ibid
repatriation efforts should take into consideration the desires and needs of home populations.

Focusing on Haiti and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Fagen\textsuperscript{72} analysed the challenges of repatriation for the individuals involved. He highlights that while these are two different cases, they have a lot of similarities, for instance both countries struggle with insecurity and in both still, international communities has hindered the process of reconstruction. He concludes that while in the process of rebuilding, international assistance is important, it should not be an open-ended proposition, and that there should be exit strategies in place early in the rebuilding phase.

Using Kosovo and Bosnia case study, Zaum\textsuperscript{73} analyses the role of repatriation and refugees in conflict resolution and state building, his analysis reveals that repatriated refugees play a significant and complex role in shaping the new political structure in post-conflict societies. He is also cognisant of the strain adduced to fragile states by large scale repatriation. Focusing on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nagorno-Karabakh, Johansson\textsuperscript{74} studied peace building and repatriation, he suggests that repatriation is one of the main steps in peace building, and that it should be a main tactic used to settle conflicts and create peace.

Some scholars that have contributed to the repatriation and peace building discourse have focused on persons or groups that have attempted to disrupt efforts of reconciling

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{72} Ibid
\end{itemize}
conflicting parties through violent strategies, these scholars have described such groups as spoilers. They contend that spoilers repeatedly try to stop the peace and reconciliation processes. Repatriation scholars are particularly concerned with spoilers since they work against the overall objective of sustainable peace. The impact of spoilers in the quest for peace is well documented.

Newman and Richmond further looks at these groups not so much as spoilers but as individuals left out in the peace process. In so doing, they opine that the approach given to the ‘spoilers’ should be different, and that the conflict settlement process should be all inclusive as that is the only way of attaining a sustainable peace. While contributing to the spoiler’s literature, Zahar focuses on the mediation process and notes their impact in the peace building process. She suggests that mediators should not wish-off the spoilers but to critically analyse the factors that made it possible for the spoilers to exist in the first place and attempt to deal with those factors. Consideration of spoilers in the repatriation and peace building scholarship is essential as it bridges the gap by considering the dilemma in the peace process.

Literature suggests that a number of issues have been studied with the aim of sustainable peace in the migration-repatriation discourse. Considerations of power sharing and its implications in the peace process have been made. Hartzell and Hoddie factor variables

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77 Ibid
79 Ibid
such as the presence of a third-party enforcer, previous experience with democracy, and war duration in their analysis. Their findings reveal that an inclusive approach to in addressing security concerns is very effective as it allows every player to make their contribution by affording a chance to play by means of power sharing.\footnote{Ibid} A closer look at the effectiveness of the stages proposed by the peace commission in 2005 reveal that to establish a sustainable peace, political solutions needs to be augmented by military and economic support.\footnote{Collier, Paul, AnkeHoeffler, and Mans Soderbom. 2008. “Post-Conflict Risks.” Journal of Peace Research 45(4): 461-478.} Gurses, Rost, and McLeod\footnote{Weiner, Myron. 1996. “Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows.” International Security 21(1): 5-42. 15/6/2017 http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2539107} examined the effect of mediation on attained peace considering the duration of conflict and the involvement of super powers. They found that involvement of third parties enhances attainment of longer peace, but if the mediating agreement left out key issues they only worsen the already bad situation.\footnote{Ibid} An examination of the type of victory achieved and the duration of peace reveal that the varied types of victories have no effect on the duration of peace. Rather, it is revealed that negotiated settlements have lasting peace as opposed government imposed victory.\footnote{Mason, T David, Patrick T Brandt, and Jason Michael Quinn. 2011. “When Civil Wars Recur: Conditions for Durable Peace after Civil Wars.” International Studies Perspectives 12: 171-189.}

In the refugees’ movement cycle repatriation is often the final step. Literature suggests that multiple reasons push individuals to flee from their home countries, but the key contributor to forced migration is violent conflict. Reviewed studies indicate that focus has been laid upon reasons for fleeing, the spreading conflict to the host countries.\footnote{Bohra-Mishra and Massey 2011; Chimni 2002; Davenport and Moore 2000; Fagen 2003; Johansson 2010; Milner 2009; Moore 2004, 2006, 2007; Salehyan 2007; Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006; Stein 1994; Weiner 1996} Literature has also suggested that repatriation should happen in small batches arguing that
large scale repatriation has a potential for destabilising the home country. The submission of most of the reviewed studies is that repatriation is an element of attainment of peace in the home country, and by extension I wish to argue that it is a significant contributor to regional peace because once peace has been attained in the home countries, there will be no conflict to spread to the region.

Repatriation should therefore be considered as a factor in achievement of sustainable peace. The aspect of regional peace is apparent in the process as repatriation would lessen the inter-state tensions associated with refugee movements. Stein echoes these assertions by suggesting that refugee camps are usually the source of refugee warriors and a place where insurgents rest, regroup and train new sympathisers. Repatriating the refugees thus enhances regional peace as a secure environment will be created once tension between home and host countries is reduced. The use of refugee camp as a safe haven for refugee warriors like the Al-Shabaab will be eliminated by repatriation, instead they will be more inclined to continue with conflict settlement negotiations.

A more stable region for peace building efforts will be achieved by repatriation as the movement of refugees has the conflict potential in the region. Repatriation will also eliminate the bad neighbourhood effect since the spread of conflict in the region will have been dealt with by repatriation efforts. Attainment of a sustained regional peace demands that the refugees are not ignored and that efforts are made to repatriate and

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87 Op Cit
89 Op Cit
include them in the peace process within their home countries. It will equally break the structures that make conflict possible even during the times when they are in camps.

The reviewed literature has also indicated that repatriation does provide social and economic benefits to the home country. The involvement of international and national non-governmental organisations in the repatriation process by means of support to the refugees and home countries play a major role in the economies of such countries. In a refugee situation, UNHCR recommends 4Rs to address the situation with repatriation being the first. The other steps include reintegration of refugee populations, rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure, and reconstruction of political order, institutions, and productive capacity in that order. Repatriation determines the levels of support for the other steps, the beginning of repatriation marks the beginning of the involvement of other international organisations in the execution of the other steps in the 4Rs program.

For example in the 2012 Liberian case, UNHCR needed approximately USD 69 million to assist with the situation. The funds went a long way in assisting not only the returning refugees but also refugees from other countries notably from Côte d’Ivoire. Kosovo alone saw the UNHCR spend over USD 12 million in 2012.

The 4Rs program are essential in attainment of sustainable peace as they allow for the refugee populations to become productive members of the society. The 4R steps are key in this respect because the refugees were not economic migrants in the first place, but rather a people that fled violence and as such would need means of reestablishment upon return to their home countries. The brain drain effect occasioned by the civil conflict will be reversed by repatriation as the skilled workers and educated individuals return. The

91 UNHCR Handbook 2004
92 UNHCR Country Operation Profile – Liberia 2012
93 Ibid
4Rs program also aids the restoration of economic and political institutions in the host countries and lays ground for peace to thrive. Unless all the steps are diligently followed, the risk of backflow is alive in which refugees would once more leave their countries to seek asylum in other states.\(^9^4\)

Furthermore, among the refugee populations, repatriation can have beneficial impacts to reviving nations. According to Milner\(^9^5\) and Stein\(^9^6\) almost all refugees coming back into their country of origin do not have a desire to engage in violence and that all they want is for their lives to go back to the way it used to be.

Many refugees hold a great desire in their hearts to one day be able to return to their country of origin, and those who achieve this desire return with a rejuvenated and new feel of loyalty. The new feel of loyalty is a boost to the efforts of restoration peace building activities by presenting people who are inspired to form a working society and make it possible to have a nation that is stable for future generations. In this study repatriation is viewed as deliberate and voluntary and hence the returning refugees do so freely. Voluntary repatriation is a topic that calls for deeper research. Johansson is of the view that these returning refugees elect good leaders and show confidence in their home country, something which they did not have in the past. No one wants to run from their country for a second time and so refugees who return home work hard to protect rather than disrupt the peace of a delicate, post-conflict nation.

\(^9^4\) Op Cit
Repatriation in large numbers does not in certainty result in conflict or act as a threat to a delicate nation. Present-day scholars on repatriation study individual cases and puts emphasis on the outcome of repatriation on the individual, not the nation, and every so often appeals for limited movement of refugees only after peace has been restored.\textsuperscript{97} Repatriation should be in small numbers so as to not disrupt the fragile peace in the nation. They contend that repatriation is a weak solution in a case where refugees return before peace is fully attained.\textsuperscript{98} On the other hand, this study contends that repatriation should be in large numbers. If reconciliation talks are occurring, it is in the best interests of the nation for refugees to return in large numbers even before peace treaties are reached.

Repatriation of a large number of people in a short period of time is too large: conversely there are a few cases that proven that large number of people returning to their home country can support long-lasting peace.\textsuperscript{99} In Liberia in the period between 2005 and 2007 more than 200,000 refugees returned home. Large numbers of people returning to the country did not threaten the weak nation. Data by UNHCR shows that repatriation for Liberia has been continuous reducing the refugee number from 353,300 people in 2003 to 66,780 in 2012. Peace in a nation will always be unattainable as long as a large number of its population live outside the country.\textsuperscript{100}


\textsuperscript{99}Ibid

There are a number of aspects that determine whether peace will last or not, ranging from the time and gauge of violent conflict, to the economic level of the nation. This study argues that repatriation should be deliberated with these aspects as a key element in creating and supporting peace in societies after conflict. According to Stein\textsuperscript{101}, it is challenging to establish which came first, the return of refugees or peace, and it is possible that repatriation and peace work together for the achievement of peace. Scholars such as Salehyan\textsuperscript{102}, Salehyan and Gleditsch\textsuperscript{103} and Weiner\textsuperscript{104} who have written on the topic indicate the challenges brought about by refugee populations, these people every so often lead to creation of an area where violent conflict has a high possibility of enduring and even blowout to other areas. Reduction of the number of refugees will lead to stabilization of the area resulting in long-lasting peace.

Additionally, in nations that peace treaties are attained but do not plan to repatriate, available refugees have a high possibility of breaking into violence. This is partly caused by large refugee populations. This study contends that repatriation is a key element in instituting long-lasting peace and that it should not be trivialised as just an outcome of a peace treaty. The change from the bad neighbourhood effect, relief which repatriated refugees get and professionals are all elements that occur alongside repatriation and each is crucial in the forming of a lasting peace for societies which have undergone conflict.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid
\textsuperscript{105} Op Cit
2.6 Repatriation and Reconstruction

Repatriation is a fundamentally complicated issue, for which, according to global models and in patients, the opening point requires a significant change in the underlying circumstances of displacement. When circumstances authorize, the repatriation of foreigners can afford to confidence-building in the agreement and peace means at home, and it is regularly the approved resolution from the viewpoint of most host management with investment in defeating their commitments to asylum-seekers.

As a security matter, the global goal for repatriation is a ‘spontaneous repatriation in protection and presence’ to an atmosphere in which ‘the movements of ascent have been definitively and enduringly liquidated.’ Repatriation, concerning mysteries of change, individual rights, and suspension of status, has been described as a strength training in itself. In the normalizing framework of universal law, repatriation is favored as a material of principle because it indicates the right of a resident to retort to his or her nation. 106 Repatriation can terminate the ‘summary’ or ‘palliative’ function of global protection, in which stability is explicitly contingent on the risk for expatriates in their nation of origin.Intentional repatriation to a competent and protected atmosphere is the hope of the fugitives: Refugees normally to be restored to their countries to serve and patch in their prosperity outwardly conflict and fighting. 107

2.7 Kenyan refugee Regime

The refugee situation in Kenya has undergone though significant changes in the last 20 years. Faced with the refugee predicament of the 1990s, there was a major swing away

from a beforehand Government-led, open, and laissez-faire approach on refugees. The Government’s budding strategy was clear: offer short-term protection, hand over dealing with the refugees to UNHCR, and restrain them in far-off areas of the country.

Kenya is a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention that relates to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol,\textsuperscript{108} and also the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention that governs definite facets of Refugee Problems in Africa.\textsuperscript{109} Up until the year 2006, the country did not have a national legislation for refugees, though Kenya has over the years been recipient of thousands of Somali refugees as prima facie refugees, on a group basis, offering short-term protection in camps.

At the Government’s appeal, in the early 1990s the UNHCR swiftly went from supporting a comparatively small number of urban-based refugees to taking care of large camp operations. Originally large sums of donor funding flooded in to cope with the high-profile humanitarian emergency. As such, by 1993, this had helped to steady morbidity and death rates among the refugees, and there was a remarkable fall in new displacement, so that UNHCR confirmed that the emergency was over.\textsuperscript{110}

The situation changed into a chapter of “care and maintenance” whereby as time progressed obtained the character of a prolonged refugee situation: huge numbers of refugees in longstanding exile with no access to long-lasting explanations to their loss of nationality. As donor fatigue set in, from the late 1990s there were spectacular and persistent shortfalls in refugee funding, with UNHCR still having to cope with

\textsuperscript{108} 189 UNTS 150, 28 Jul. 1951 (entry into force: 22 Apr. 1954)
\textsuperscript{110} J. Milner, Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
maintaining humanitarian standards ten years after it declared the end of the emergency.\textsuperscript{111}

Government’s then was to try contain the refugees in the Dadaab camps in the North Eastern Province adjacent to Somalia, and to a lesser extent in Kakuma camp located in the north west. In the 1990s many refugees were resettled to these camps from other localities where they had originally settled. The decision to position the main camps in Dadaab is momentous: the North eastern region has a considerable native Somali Kenyan populace and a troubled history of segregation, repression, and aggression under both colonial and independent rule. North eastern benefited from little development intervention and there is still a substantial economic gap between it and the rest of Kenya. Many refugees in this context, voted to remain in urban areas, with the belief that this would help escape the punitive camp conditions, among them scarce rations, insecurity, heat, and recurrent sickness among children; to gain access to better educational prospects as well as health amenities; to find employment and build a different future for themselves; to keep touch with those relatives living abroad with an eye towards arranging migration to those countries.

There have been some significant modifications in the institutional structure set up over the last five years. Increased government participation in regards to refugee matters commenced with the designing of the Refugees Act. The Act was finally passed into law in the year 2006, after an earlier bill was hindered by the initial Somali refugee catastrophe in the early 1990s. The Refugee Regulations came into force in 2009 whereby the Department of Refugee Affairs was incorporated and put in the Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons. The DRA took over the reception and

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid
The registration of refugees in March 2011 as part of a three year plan to take from the UNHCR the responsibility for chief sections in refugee policy implementation.\textsuperscript{112}

The Department of Refugee Affairs up to date also is the chair of an active cross-governmental Refugee Affairs Committee.\textsuperscript{113} The DRA in this context engages executives from the ministries of Local Government, Foreign Affairs, Public Health, Internal Security, and the National Registration bureau who are in constant discussions with regards to refugee issues. Major legal and policy frameworks are at the moment undergoing re-development a process which possesses both opportunities and risks for refugees.

In 2010, two new bills; the Citizenship and Immigration Bill and the Refugees Bill were drafted. The passing of a new Constitution in 2010 had prompted a review of all refugee legislation.\textsuperscript{114} Proposals from the refugee bill were on modifications to current law appear to lay emphasis on addressing security concerns by among others requiring immediate registration of all asylum seekers, tightening bureaucratic control of the refugee population, and increasing penalties for non-compliance. This was in addition to expounding offences and penalties that related to documentation fraud.\textsuperscript{115}

Latest policy discussion between UNHCR, the Kenyan Government, and civil society has seemingly also laid emphasis on coming up with the various methods to enhance protection of urban refugees as well as easing their access to work permits. Twenty two several lines of tension however is prevalent between policy actors. This is both in the


\textsuperscript{113}Ibid

\textsuperscript{114}Ibid

context of this important institutional changes as well as in the longer term. It is no secret that the DRA is not happy with the levels of support it receives from donors support from both the donors and UNHCR who are reluctant “to be partake in the creation of an externally backed public refugee bureaucracy”, due to unsustainability and corruption fears.\textsuperscript{116}

There has been a rise in tension between both the DRA and the UNHCR with regards to the handing over of responsibilities. On one hand, the UNHCR is fretful about protection as well as the setting up of dependable systems. Often by government officials, this caution can also be interpreted, as a reluctance to surrender control which is deep rooted in the self-interests of the organization. The UNHCR has over the years been critiqued a range of civil society actors, refugees and also NGOs for stressing “soft diplomacy” in the wake of concerns with regards to “hard” human rights which border on closure, refoulement, as well as the substantial congestion of the Dadaab camp. This is all in fear of endangering its relationship with the Government. With UNCHCR taking the main operational accountabilities of keeping large refugee camps running, its ability to hold into account the Kenyan and donor Governments on protection concerns has been generally perceived as having diminished. This is because the UNHCR has over time depended on those same Governments when it comes to access and funding the camps’ operations.\textsuperscript{117}

2.8 Repatriation of Somali Refugees

In the 1990s the Civil War in Somali beginning to thousands of people escaping to seek shelter in adjacent nations. Although Kenya had been collecting to expatriates for a long

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{117} Ibid
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
period, the Somali refugees who attempted protection in Kenya caused to increase meaningfully at that time. This directed to some differences in the Kenyan outlaw administration and indicated the commencement of a more conditional entrance towards expatriates. Somali outlaws were essentially received in Dadaab Refugee Camp, which commenced development in 1991 and 1992. In the year 2011, different large migration of expatriates from Somalia transpired because of on-going destruction, aridity, and starvation. By August 31st, 2014, only 339,606 recorded refugees in Dadaab Refugee Camp and further in December 31st, 2013, were almost 32,401 recorded refugees in Nairobi camps with 53,816 refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Nevertheless, informal assessments for municipal refugees have been estimated to be 100,000, of which Somali refugees approximated to 58% of the total.

Somali refugees in Kenya, had three permanent solutions have been regarded as not viable alternatives for most expatriates. The local alliance was largely restricted when Kenya adopted a system of detention after the large penetrations at the beginning of the 1990s and resettlement today is a “rare suspension to refugee emergencies,” it considers for a diminutive division of some refugee's population. UNHCR’s Global Report 2013, only 1,356 refugees were resettled from Dadaab Refugee Camp that year. Moreover, until recently, repatriation was not considered as a possibility for most refugees due to the continued insecurity in Somalia. Consequently, the majority of

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Somali refugees have remained in a protracted situation, with some refugees living in the camps for more than twenty years. This, however, all changed when the governments of Kenya and Somalia and UNHCR and signed a Tripartite Agreement on November 10th 2013, even though UNHCR’s ‘essential preconditions’ for repatriation had not been satisfied.

The Tripartite Agreement serves as a legal framework and, hence, provides a means for the repatriation of Somali refugees living in Kenya. The conditions in Somalia, however, are not yet ready for large-scale returns. Although UNHCR has emphasized on numerous occasions that the returns would be voluntary, this is difficult to ensure in practice. There have been mixed reactions from donors, asylum seekers and the international community as to the viability of promoting this as a durable solution since regions of Somalia remain insecure and under Al-Shabaab control. Moreover, the Federal Government of the Republic of Somalia was only established in 2012. Therefore, future political stability and the government’s ability to provide protection, particularly against Al-Shabaab, are questionable. Heritage Institute for Policy Studies in Mogadishu, analyst AnabNur argues that the government of Somalia does not yet have the capacity to resettle a significant amount of people as it has not been able to effectively relocate the internally displaced persons (IDPs) currently in Somalia.

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Chapter Three

Regional Security Situation in Selected Regional Segments in Africa

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have introduced the concept of refugee’s movement and how its connection with regional security. This chapter looks at the general state of insecurity in Africa, regional insecurity within the African continent and the role played by the refugee phenomenon in the prevailing insecurity conditions in the region. It examines the insecurity within the four main sub regions include the Great lakes region, Western Africa, East Africa, Northern Africa, and South Africa.

3.2 Insecurity in Africa

As stated earlier regional security or insecurity, the dependent variable of this study is perceived as a contested and unclear effort which is largely loaded with emotions and heavily loaded morals. According to Zacarias, insecurity potential occurs when “a person, gang or group or state come into disagreement with another’s life, livelihood, values and/or interests”. Security here is therefore seen to imply stability and continuity. As a result in there is pervasive anxiety and fear in society. Zacarias opines that in relation to the state, national peace is considered as the capacity of a state to secure itself and its citizenry from threats emanating from within and without; maintain sovereignty and territorial integrity and maintain peace, stability and prosperity.125 Bereketeab points out that various forms or types of crisis can be broadly connected to the factors such as Survival and life hood, natural epidemics, crisis and violence, state sponsored persecution, civil conflict and war, social vulnerability, as well as health.


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Most scholars classify conflicts in Africa as either intra-state or interstate conflicts. Achankeng powerfully argues that most of the African conflicts are rooted in its colonial legacy as the creation of most independent states did not put into consideration the underlying social, economic and political character of the people concerned.\textsuperscript{126} Cohen asserts that the political stability of most colonial states were susceptible to conflict due to regional and ethnic diversities with inherent unequal distribution of national resources, development opportunities and ethnic/regional power imbalances.\textsuperscript{127}

The general nature of most African conflicts can thus be categorized as Inter-ethnic conflicts, where rival ethnic groups clash usually within a country but can also become transnational due to the colonial boarders that split communities/ethnic groups across national boundaries.\textsuperscript{128} Such is the case of the Somali who inhabit four East Africa countries of Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya and the Hutu and Tutsi who inhabit the central African republics of Rwanda and Burundi. Conflicts in Africa also occur between governments or peoples of two different states and are mainly as a result of territorial or resource disputes. Such inter-state conflicts have occurred between Tanzania and Uganda during the reign of Uganda’s despot Idi Amin, the Libya/Chad conflict over the Aouzou strip in 1987, the Ethiopia-Somalia and Somalia-Kenya wars of 1963-'67; and the Cameroun-Nigerian conflict which arises from the ownership of Oil rich Bakassi Peninsula.\textsuperscript{129}

Other categories of conflicts in Africa involve political transition disputes especially during and after elections. Achankeng notes that with the exception of Tanzania, Ghana, 

\textsuperscript{126} ibid
\textsuperscript{127} Cohen, H.J., 1993. Interview at the Conclusion of his Four-year Term as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Center for Strategic & International Studies. Africa Notes, 147
\textsuperscript{128} ibid
\textsuperscript{129} ibid
Benin and Botswana and post-apartheid democratic South Africa, literally all African countries have had tumultuous political transitions at one point or another after independence leading to massive displacement of civil populations.\textsuperscript{130} Closely linked to this are civil right conflicts in which one part of the population in a state feels oppressed or does not receive its fair share of the ‘national cake’. The African independence liberation struggle is a distinct illustration this though even after independence, minorities ethnic or marginalized unit due to power have continuously fought for personal interest, emerging from liberation movements to other groups such as dissident, and tribal political parties.\textsuperscript{131} Examples of such conflicts include the Sudan -South Sudan conflict that broke out immediately after the greater Sudanese independence, the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict and the Morocco-Western Sahara conflict among others.

It is important to note that civil rights conflicts often are an integral part of most other conflicts in Africa. The most Common Era for this type of conflicts was during the struggle for plural democracy immediately after the cold war in 1990.\textsuperscript{132} While some African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia for instance were spared the bloody consequences, others like the DRC then Zaire, Liberia and Congo Brazaville to name but a few descended into civil strife. The same can be cited in northern Africa from 2011 during the Arab Spring that toppled long term rulers in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} ibid
\textsuperscript{131} Achankeng, F., 2013. Conflict and conflict resolution in Africa; Engaging the colonial factor, African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes, ACCORD
3.3 Regional Security Situations

The security challenges in most African regions have been volatile for many years even during colonial times. This was characterized by inter-ethnic/communal conflicts and later on with the struggle for independence, a situation that did not change with the attainment of independence of all African states.\textsuperscript{134} Indeed, the scale, frequency and intensity of conflicts has grown resulting in a vast and protracted refugee crisis in most regions albeit, at different times. Currently, conflicts that are state based together with increase in terrorism are the core causes of increased movement of Refugees and other displaced people across the world. The “new wars” as Kaldor refers to them have been marked by increased civilian casualties and forced human displacement.\textsuperscript{135} Hutchful notes that security became a major problem in most regions on the continent from the 1990s when most Africans regions were marred by various sources and forms of violence. These range from civil wars, ethnic tensions, religious conflict, political repression, forced migrations and upheavals associated with structural adjustment programmes (SAPs).\textsuperscript{136} In 1992, Otunnu draw attention to the nexus between adverse climatic conditions and Africa’s growing refugee problem.\textsuperscript{137} There is an increase in cases where conflict caused or compounded by competition over limited resources like water and pasture due to changing climatic conditions that have rendered traditional coping mechanisms (mobility) ineffective.\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{134} ibid
\textsuperscript{137} Otunnu, O., 1992. Environmental Refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa; Causes and Effects,York University Centre for Refugee Studies
\textsuperscript{138} ibid
The drought and famine resulting from such adverse weather lead to displacement of populations sometimes across borders increasing the number of IDPs and refugees which granted the scarcity of resources in Africa acerbates conflicts with host communities. This view has become central to the refugee discourse of 21st century as there is a growing recognition among researchers and policy makers that environmentally induced factors, and climate change in particular, contributes directly or indirectly to insecurity, further compounding the refugee problem in Africa. However, armed conflicts have by far and large remained the main generator of forced migrations and its associated security implications in the continent. The following section gives an insight into the regional security situations and how these have contributed to the refugee question in the five African sub regions.

3.3.1 The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa is considered one of the most regions in the world affected by conflict in the world which is exacerbated by external factors and catalyst by widespread violations of human rights within and between states. Most conflicts in the Horn of Africa bear the hall marks of colonial legacy when in the sixties and seventies as the end colonialism ended, minorities groups in newly democratic states got into control of other ethnic units and in countries where there is no limits to the lines of ethnic differentiation. The Horn of Africa is in fact home to the longest-running continent inter-state and intra-state conflicts, the Ethiopian-Eritrean crisis to the Sudan- South

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139 ibid
142 ibid
Sudanese conflict where the death toll ranged to over two million. It is also subject to bouts of perennial droughts and famines which have spawned the largest protracted refugee situation in the world\footnote{OCHA (2008) ‘Horn of Africa Crisis Report.’ A Report for the Regional Humanitarian Partnership Team}

As result of aforementioned natural epidemics disasters, the African Horn has the refugees of the highest percentage estimated to be as high as 700,000 in 2003, which is equal to the Djibouti’s population. It is also home for many IDPs in Africa, a pattern that has caused four cycle types of conflict. In the 2008, the total number of IDPs the in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia, was estimated to be 2.74 million in which an estimate of 1.3 million people were from one country, Somalia.\footnote{Atim, G., 2013. The Impact of Refugees on Conflicts in Africa; Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution Abuja-IOSR Journal} In Sudan as a whole, in the year 2003, the number of IDPs was 4 million which is equal to the Eritrea’s population.

The collapse of the Somalia state in 1991 remains one of the most vexing regional and international security problems of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. Conflict has not only sucked in neighboring countries (Kenya and Ethiopia), but its effect is felt far and wide in the continent and beyond due to the massive number of fleeing Somali refugees.\footnote{ibid} Most alarming however is that the conflict has assumed a religious fundamentalist dimension, with elements sympathetic to global terrorist group Al Quida and lately Islamic State (IS) finding a safe haven in Somalia. Currently, military contingents from Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Liberia-AMISOM, in command of African Union (AU) and UN are engaged in a war to route out the terrorists and stabilize the Somalia government.\footnote{ibid}
The Sudanese conflict did not end with the creation of an independent republic of South Sudan in 2011. An internal power struggle in 2013, prompted civil war for over three years that has resulted to 1.5 million people to be displaced to Sudan, Kenya, DRC, Ethiopia and Uganda, making Africa the largest IDPs holder and the third in the world after Syria and Afghanistan, according to the report of UN. Furthermore, the UNHCR report 2016 estimates that there are over 2 million internally displaced persons in South Sudan. The conflict continues to pester inspite the presence of international peacekeeping.

Mesfin gives an account in regard to the security scenario in the sub region pointing out that it has historically being one of the most conflict ravaged regions in the continent. Among the ills facing it include political exclusion or power struggle, ethnic and religious based discrimination, piracy, terrorism, extreme violence, violation of human rights, proliferation SALWs, as well as ecological based disasters such as drought leading to famine and poverty which are a major threat to human security. Among the reasons why conflicts in this sub region emphasizesince causes are multi-layered and there are manyactors multiple. This implies coming up with the solution to the underlying problems is a complex process.

The long history of conflicts has had a net result of refugee movements to Ethiopia and other countries of eastern Africa particularly Kenya adversely affecting the state of

\[147\] UNHCR 2016
\[150\] Ibid; Bahta, S. Equitable Resource Management and Regional Security in the Horn of Africa
security within the sub region. Majority of Refugees resident in Kenya have their origin from the Horn of Africa sub region.\textsuperscript{151} The large populations of Refugees that have been generated over time specifically in Kenya and Ethiopia have their own security challenges especially where policing and governance systems are wanting such as it is currently in Kenya.

3.3.2 Northern Africa

Though not much of historical documentation (pre and colonial) of conflict situations in Northern part of the African region is available, the region has had its share of security challenges. The previous scant literature can be attributed mainly to marginalization, remoteness and climactically hostile (desert) nature of the region.\textsuperscript{152} Available accounts such as the Barber/Fulani conflicts highlight the historical inter communal conflicts common amongst nomadic/pastoral communities’ over pasture and watering points in a mostly arid region.\textsuperscript{153} It also shows the perennial conflict between pastoral communities and their sedentary counter parts on the fringes of the Sahara desert in northern Nigeria, Senegal and Cote d’ivoire among others. The armed liberation struggle between Algeria and France for instance, mirrors the fight for independence common in most African regions during this period.\textsuperscript{154}

Since the beginning of the century however, the trans-Saharan region of Africa otherwise called the Sahel Region, has emerged as a hotbed of political instability and insecurity.\textsuperscript{155} The region comprises of many countries whose people share not only the geographic

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{151} Ibid
\item\textsuperscript{152} ibid
\item\textsuperscript{153} ibid
\item\textsuperscript{154} Cordesman, H. A., 2016. Risks and Instability in the Middle East and North Africa in 2016;Centre for Strategic & International Studies
\item\textsuperscript{155} UN, 2011
\end{footnotes}
location, but also several socio-cultural characteristics including economic lifestyle and religion. These countries include; Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Chad, Egypt and northern parts of Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Cameroun. The security of the region is highly intertwined due to the uncontrollable borders where insecurity or political crisis often spills across borders posing serious threats to neighbouring states.

The United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime UNODC 2016 report highlights the political instability and general insecurity that has dogged most countries in the Sahel region. The uncontrolled borders have benefited criminal networks of human traffickers, slave traders, illicit arms trade and drug traffickers. The UNODC estimates that most of the illegal movements are connected to the criminal activities in the Sahel were estimated to $3.8 billion every year. Among the aforementioned countries, Algeria endured almost a decade of a terrible religious fundamentalist insurgency from the mid-1990s which crippled the country economic growth and led to significant number of refugees flows to neighbouring countries and Europe.

Morocco and the Western Sahara region on the northern tip of the continent has been a flash point for conflict since the early 1970s after Morocco annexed the region. Continuous armed clashes between Morocco security forces and Western Sahara’s Polisario Liberation Front that seeks independence have been on-going despite numerous continental and internationally brokered cease fires. In Mali, their stable democracy was

158 ibid
159 ibid
in crisis after the military coup of March 2012 that continued for 20 years. Further, terrorists who had occupied most of the northern region shifted to other parts of the country and taking control of the whole country. It is only the French and Chad military intervention in January 2013 that halted the possible takeover of the country by Islamic fundamentalists. The Mali crisis worsened the security and humanitarian conditions of the population as food supply was curtailed leading to widespread state of hunger and malnutrition especially among infants.

On the other hand, only Egypt and Tunisia seem to have survived the political instability occasioned by the Arab Spring that brought about the collapse of several Arab countries. The Arab Spring heralded the end of Mummar Gadaffi regime and aggravated the insecurity in the fragile region as Libya is currently a divided state with no centralized political authority.\footnote{Lacher, W., 2012. Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region; State Complicity with Organized Crime is at the Heart of Instability in the Sahel and Sahara Region, Fomenting Conflict and Fueling the Rise of Al-Qaeda.} In the absence of law and order, trans-Mediterranean criminal cartels, particularly human traffickers and terrorists have established routes to Europe and the Middle-East.\footnote{UNHCR, 2015. Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015} In Niger, the International Crisis Group notes that in 50 years of independence, it has experienced several armed rebellions and coups, and seven terms of governments.\footnote{ibid} The Darfur crisis in Sudan due to the armed rebellion in the east of Chad has also shattered the years of relative peace. Darfur remains case of case scenario of genocide and other international crimes in this century and has spawned bigger humanitarian crisis among those refugees.

Individual states’ political instability aside, the advent of extremist religious ideology around the world has proved to be a particular challenge to the mostly Muslims
inhabiting states of the region. After September 11, 2001 tragic events where terrorist group Al quad easily found significant sympathetic elements in the region that gave rise to an affiliate known as al-Qaeda abbreviated as (AQIM).\textsuperscript{163} Western governments worry that the due weak forces of the state will allow al-Qaeda in the Islamist Maghreb (AQIM) and to continue expanding their terroristic activities and establish safe havens in areas beyond the control of the government. The recent upheavals in the form of the Arab spring have generated refugees most of whom have found their way to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea. According to the UNHCR the key challenge facing the North Africa region continues to be the arrival of asylum-seekers where the countries are unstable and witnessing a period of political transition. As such there are possibilities that these Refugees could become easy targets for recruitment by terrorists groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda which in consequence negatively impact the security situation in the region.\textsuperscript{164}

3.3.3 Western Africa

According to Fawole and Ukeje, West Africa is known as a sub region of violent conflicts, political instability and state implosions. It is ravaged by terror groups such as the Boko Haram and most countries have seen to have experienced internal strife and insurgencies\textsuperscript{165} As noted by Adebajo and Rashid, military coups have invariably been a common feature in the sub region with a number of countries having been under military juntas notably in Chad, Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso among others. The strong man mentality has also ensured that

\textsuperscript{163} ibid
\textsuperscript{165} Alade Fawole and Charles Ukeje (eds.). The Crisis of the State and Regionalism in West Africa: Identity, Citizenship and Conflict. (Dakar, Codesria, 2005)p.1
democracy and civil liberties are curtailed making it quite hard for the opposition leadership to thrive in these countries.\textsuperscript{166} These conflicts have in due course of time generated massive dislocation of populations in pursuit of refuge within the region generally creating a situation of fluid security.

Annan argues that for the better part of the 1990s into the 2000s, West African countries such as Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Sierra Leone, Guinea- Bissau development efforts have been bogged down by civil strife characterized by mass murders, rapes, destruction of property, illicit trade in valuable natural resources that created an acute refugee crisis.\textsuperscript{167} She attributes this to a shift from inter-state conflicts of cold war era to intra-state crisis of the post-cold war era. The protracted Liberia and Sierra Leone civil wars that witnessed serious citizen atrocities only ended after international military intervention led through ECOWAS, civil society and a United Nation peacekeeping force.

The conflicts seemed to decline with the end of the first decade into the new century but the fragile peace and tranquility is threatened by insurgencies in the neighboring Sahel in Mali, Mauritania and Niger states and other ‘low severity conflicts’ in previously stable states of Cameroun, the Gambia, Nigeria and Senegal which are to a large extent caused by poverty, violations of human rights, corruption and poor governance, small arms proliferation and ethnic conflicts.\textsuperscript{168} Another threat to the political stability of the region is hinged on the weak political transitional process. The 2016 political transition process in Gambia for instance, lead to massive population of refugees into Senegal and other neighboring states.

\textsuperscript{166} Adebajo and Rashid. West Africa’s Security Challenges: Building Peace in a Troubled Region, ibid
\textsuperscript{168} ibid
Côte d'Ivoire could have retrieved in a civil wars between 2010 and 2011, which almost disputed November 2010 election resulting to crisis confrontations among the loyalists such as President Laurent Gbagbo and the leader of opposition Alassane Ouattara. The crisis claimed live of more than 3000 Ivoirians and displacing many.169 These are some of the cases that raise questions on the capacity and mechanisms which can be applied in solving ethnic crisis in West Africa and other effective mechanisms to ensure sustainable peaceful coexistence in the sub-region. Fearon observes that although civil wars related to coup- in the region are mostly few, insurgent and rebel group induced conflicts are perceived be more complex to resolve as they are hinged on ethnic fragmentation and undemocratic nature of leadership such as dictatorship.170

Such is the case for the West African regional political and economic giant, Nigeria which has for many decades tottered on the brink of internal implosion since independence. In the late sixties, it had to deal with an internal secessionist rebellion of the Biafra region and is currently grappling with a similar conflict in the Niger Delta region. Both of these conflicts are caused by a perception of inequality in the distribution of national resources where the inhabitants of the Oil rich Delta region for instance feel it is not fairly distributed by the Abuja government.171 They attribute increase corruption rate at the executivethat hinders oil wealth to shift down to the ordinary part of ‘Deltarians’ and the larger citizens of Nigeria.172

169 ibid
171 ibid
172 ibid
Currently, the resurgence of religious extremist fueled insurgencies and terrorism directs a potential threat to the political peace of the region, have enveloped the region.\textsuperscript{173} Though originally based in northern Nigeria, the Boko Haram terrorist has spread into the neighboring countries of Cameroun and Chad with adverse security consequences.\textsuperscript{174} The Boko Haram’s reign of terror has not only dislocated massive populations internally in northern Nigeria but continues create more refugees into neighboring countries.

3.3.4 The Great Lakes Region

Conflicts in this region have resulted to huge populations of people being uprooted from their home countries and finding refuge in neighboring countries either within the sub region, other African sub regions and abroad. Unlike other African regions, the main cause of high number of refugees is due to political instability manifested in ethnic strife, external interference and poor governance. While DRC previously named as Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, and Uganda are considered the core states in the region, other studies include South Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola as part of the region. This is because the security situation of the region is so intertwined that most of the refugees are from the core countries usually are scattered around the region a situation that equally poses considerable problem to the peace and security of the region.\textsuperscript{175}

While during colonial time most Great Lakes countries did not experience the liberation struggle induced refugee problem, there exited to this day toxic inter-ethnic rivalries and


\textsuperscript{174} ibid

conflicts that were acerbated by the colonial administration keen to play one group against the other. This is what has been referred to as ‘divide and rule’ colonial strategy where some ethnic groups or individuals that collaborated with the colonial administration were rewarded while those who resisted were persecuted or marginalized.\textsuperscript{176} Central to the Great Lakes refugee crisis is the long running Hutu-Tutsi conflicts in Burundi and Rwanda republic. This is follow able to and is partly fueled by resentment amongst Hutus majority that the Tutsis, who are a minority, were favored by the colonial administration and were rewarded with entrenched positions of authority in the government at the expense of Hutus.\textsuperscript{177}

Since independence, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict has been to a great extent the source of a myriad of ethnic massacres and proxy interstate wars that flare-up every now and then.\textsuperscript{178} In Rwanda, the withdrawal of the Belgian colonial administration led to the establishment of a Hutu led government that is accused of exerting revenge on the minority Tutsis for decades of mistreatment under the colonial rule. For the next decade, about 300,000 Tutsi- a significant number at the time, fled into neighboring countries then Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda.\textsuperscript{179} The same ethnic conflict was also replicated in Burundi during the 1972 civil war that killed many civilians and lead to a further massive dislocation of civil population into neighbouring countries. Coupled with the proliferation of light arm, it gave rise to the common problem of militarization of refugee camps in the great lakes where they are used as recruitment, training and staging camps for (rebel/insurgent)

\textsuperscript{178}ibid
military attacks in their countries of origin particularly from the DRC and Uganda. At times this can lead to open interstate confrontations and contribute to general insecurity in host countries.

In the Rwandan case for instance, the exiled Tutsi refugees joined then Ugandan rebel group National Revolution Movement (NRM) then led by Yoweri Museveni in their bid to topple then Ugandan leader Milton Obote. After NRM came to power, it fell out with the exiled Rwandese contingent whose only recourse was an attempt to return to their homeland (Rwanda) by force of arms through the formation of Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) led by Paul Kagame in 1990. This led to the Rwandan Civil War that culminated in the genocide of 1994 that killed between 500,000-1,000,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Ironically, while the massive number of exiled Tutsis was able to return, almost 2 million Hutus comprised of former genocide militia (interahamwe) and civilians fearful of retribution or revenge attacks under the new Tutsi led regime fled to Eastern DRC and other regional countries. There presence in the DRC, Burundi and Tanzanian refugee camps since 1994 have since been a source of constant diplomatic and political instability to this day.

The Rwandese government holds that the presence of militarized refugee camps particularly in the DRC holds a potential threat to its national peace and fears of the armed Hutu elements in the refugee camps across the region may replicate what the Tutsi

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181 ibid
182 ibid
183 ibid
184 ibid
Indeed, over the past two decades, the Rwandese and Ugandan armed forces have made incursions into the DRC to ostensibly deal with the alleged remnants of the 1994 genocide perpetrators within the refugee camps. This at times escalates into military confrontation with the DRC armed forces with both countries accusing each other of supporting armed rebel groups seeking to oust respective governments. Such confrontations lead not only to a further displacement and insecurity of refugees, but also blows into interstate confrontations which compounds the fragile security situation in the region.\textsuperscript{186}

The above case scenario is reflected in the current political instability in Burundi that resulted from a botched political transition that has seen tens of thousands of Burundian refugees cross over into Tanzania, Rwanda and the DRC. The Burundi government is wary that the refugee camps in these countries are used for the recruitment and training of military elements bent on overthrowing the current leadership of Pierre Nkurunziza.\textsuperscript{187} Currently, the diplomatic relations between the said countries are at an all time low despite Tanzanian government granting citizenship and resettling over 160,000 Rwandan and Burundian refugees from past conflicts, most of them victims or survivors of past conflicts such as the 1972 Burundian massacre and the 1994 Rwandan genocide.\textsuperscript{188} The refugee brewed conflicts in the great lakes is thus a significant regional

\textsuperscript{185} ibid
\textsuperscript{186} International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGRL). Regional Programme of Action on Humanitarian and Social Issues (Framework For Durable Solutions To The Humanitarian, Social And Environmental Issues In The Great Lakes Region, 2006)
\textsuperscript{187} ibid
security challenge and poses a great challenge to common held objectives of closer economic, social and political integration under the East African Community (EAC).^{189}

3.3.5 Southern Africa

The southern Africa sub region sometimes gives an impression of an area which is peaceful. However there were mass massacre where the peoples’ body were dispossessed, and others forced to become refugees in neighboring states, due to frequent wars, conflicts, and destabilization, social and natural calamities.^{190} States in the Southern region of Africa, mostly member states of SADC comprises of the republics of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi, Seychelles, Madagascar, DRC, Mauritius, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa.^{191} Throughout the 1960s to 1980, the refugee problem in the region was mostly brought about by the liberation movement as the concerned states sought to gain independence from colonial administrations.

The liberation struggle in the SADC countries of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia and South Africa was particularly brutal and resulted in the displacement of a huge number of refugees. It is essential to acknowledge that unlike while several states in the region such as Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Mauritius, Lesotho, Swaziland and Lesotho gained their independence in the 1960s, independence came rather late to the rest of the countries and therefore as neighbors were at the forefront of military and diplomatic efforts to ensure freedom for all African states under colonial rule.^{192} During

^{189} ibid
^{190} Zacarias, A. The Security Concept in Southern Africa: Prospects for the Post-Apartheid Era, op. cit
^{191} ibid
^{192} Twala, C., 2013. An Analysis of Attempts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Solving Immigrants and Refugees Problem in the SADC Region: A Case of South Africa-
Faculty of Humanities, Department of History, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa
the independence liberation struggle, most SADC member countries were referred to as ‘Frontline States’, that were obligated to not only provide material and moral support for liberation movements but also carry the immense burden of refugees fleeing from brutal conflict between liberation movements and colonial administration.¹⁹³

In this region, the fight for independence generated many refugees from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and Namibia forced into exile in neighboring countries like Zambia and Tanzania.¹⁹⁴ This in itself occasioned great national security risks as colonial regimes, mostly the South African Apartheid regime) launched military offensives and convert operations against freedom fighters camps and political leaders in exile (usually frontline states). This remained the case till in the late 1980’s when the South African apartheid regime accented to democratic rules and Namibia’s independence.¹⁹⁵ The civil wars in Southern Africa region as witnesses in Angola and Mozambique immediately after independence has been attributed to ‘external forces’, mainly related wars characteristic of the WW II and Cold War era as the West and Eastern blocks sought to expand their spheres of influence on the African continent. It was also blamed on the Apartheid regime of South Africa as it sought scuttle a united front on its doorstep by to installing friendly regimes in the region¹⁹⁶

With the total liberation of the South African states and the restoration of democratic rule in South Africa, the region faces a new immigrant and refugee crisis as people fleeing conflicts and economic hardships from elsewhere in the continent flood the relatively

¹⁹³ ibid
¹⁹⁵ ibid
¹⁹⁶ ibid
stable SADC region. Currently, South Africa hosts a huge number of refugees from relatively poor SADC countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique, but also as far as Kenya and Nigeria. It also host a large number of refugees from conflict prone African regions such as Somalia, South Sudan, the DRC, Burundi and Ethiopia. Other SADC Countries such as Namibia, Botswana and South Africa have become haven for ‘economic immigrants’, people seeking to better their quality of lives.

3.4 Refugee Generated Insecurity

According to Bell, the population of Refugees in Africa has been raising exponentially during the last 60 years mostly as a result of the many civil wars and unrests all over the continent and the availability of peaceful states willing to host them. By mid-2014 the Sub-region’s population of refugees is estimated to be 3.4 million, most of them residing within camps mostly under very difficult living conditions. Loescher holds that linking of global and local security interest to humanitarian efforts and asylum is common and African states in particular have always attached significant issues to the security issues relating to the refugee migration. The new perception of human security according to the Commission on international human safety, it provides the basis of interdependent of the crisis threats for the refugee.

198 ibid
As noted by Helton, the UN Security Council has been able to find out that movement of refugees have potential threats to the safety and peace in several situations. These threats arise due to various reasons such as fighting for resources, recruitment of insurgents and also through petty crime. Refugee camps in Africa are seen as areas of organized criminal activities ranging from drug smuggling, human trafficking, illegal exploitation of natural resources and gun trafficking among others and are also used as rear bases by armed rebel groups. This is in addition to the threats they pose to the economic as well as environmental sectors, which have led African host governments to maintain that they are not able to keep their borders free from the refugees and help to pack in their countries for extended periods of terms. Camps also provide the right conditions for radicalization and recruitment to extreme violence. The location of refugee camps can be and are commonly one of the major sources of insecurity. Camps like Dadaab which are located near borders of the conflict generating countries such as Somalia can become sources of insecurity in the host country.

It is pointed out that in cases where states have failed to settle Refugees in appropriate locations, the refugee protection becomes compromised and has negative impacts on local, national and regional security. On the other hand quite a number of today’s Refugees due to lax regulations, corruption or their ability to solicit for resident status no longer live in camps but in cities and other urban areas. This has many implications for security as it becomes difficult to monitor their movements and activities.

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3.4.1 Conflict between Refugees and Host Communities

Besides the conflict and tensions between the governments hosting the Refugees discussed earlier, there have been noted occurrence of conflicts among the hosting country and the Refugees community in a number of countries. In the receiving country they are alleged to destabilize host countries by changing ethnic balances, disrupting political arrangements and cultural identities as well as causing social-economic stress. A feeling of biased treatment between Refugees and hosts often breeds hatred amongst them. According to Loescher, majority of Kenyan Somalis cannot afford the services offered to Refugees by various humanitarian organizations and takes refugees mostly from Somalis as bandits for having it nice while they are starving in their home country.206

Business rivalries are also high and reach levels where competitors get eliminated. It is also noted while nearby villages have no water schools or health facilities the camp is supplied with these, prompting Dr. Ekuru Aukot a Kenyan constitutional expert to suggest that its more appealing Refugee in the camp compared to a Kenyan resident in refugees camp in Kakuma.207 Competition for natural resources such as food, wood and water also provides a platform for mistrust and hatred. While Kenyan nationals have to buy water or get it with a lot of difficult, Refugees simply get free water in their camps from drilled boreholes. The hostilities from time to time flare out to full blown conflicts pitting the host communities and the Refugees.


207 Nimrod Tabu. TV commentary on Millionaire Refugees. (NTV news 9.00pm, 20-3-16)
3.4.2 Drivers of Refugee Based Insecurity

Resource scarcity is among the main causes of conflicts in the African Region.\textsuperscript{208} It is also a cause of conflict between host communities and Refugees as ecological marginalization can happen if people relocate to fragile ecosystems which then may cause conflicts with host communities.\textsuperscript{209}

Several factors are seen to bear on the major sources that aggravate the conflicts in Africa which vary from country to country. These factors make refugee generated insecurity sustain in continent. In addressing the problem of Refugees in Africa these factors or drivers require to be picked as well as analysed so as to develop a long term strategies. A number of drivers are identified and discussed as follows.

3.4.3 External Involvement within Refugee Populations

Information held by the Geneva Peace building platform indicate that transnational terror units like Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda and Islamic State of Syria and Islamic State in Libya (ISIS/ISIL) have penetrated refugee camps to propagate their doctrines and recruit foot soldiers that become a major threat of security in the African Region. The vulnerable nature of refugee populations has made it easy and possible to recruit from within the refugee camps in their endeavour to establish a caliphate by these terror groups. These groups have also been associated with involvement of Refugees in increased insecurity from whom they recruit. As discussed earlier these groups take advantage of Refugee vulnerability to recruit and use them in activities that adversely impact on the

security situation in the region. According to Sude et al, most refugee-receiving countries however do not always report Refugee involvement in violent activity objectively.210

3.4.4 Religious Fundamentalism amongst the Refugee Population

Fundamentalism is commonly used to describe the ultra-conservative expressions of Islamic, Christian, and Jewish faith groups, among others. These phenomena are quite apparent in the refugee camps. Idle young Refugees easily become susceptible to radicalization and recruitment to terror groups such as the Al-Shabaab. Religious fundamentalism has also been attributed to the increased recruitment of terrorists and persons with tendencies of extreme violence from Refugee dominated settlements, be they in camps or within the urban settlements.

3.4.5 Use of Armed Criminal Units in Refugee Camps

In presence of armed groups within refugee populations poses major threats to the host communities, state and the humanitarian workers alike. Refugee camps have in a number of occasions been known to be the breeding grounds for these criminal gangs. This is arises from the fact that camps host idle and energetic populations that are easy and sometimes willing to recruit.211 Sude et al indicate that majorly, the stay of Refugees in remote isolated as well as crowded camps, criminal activity may usually occur, and is sometimes violent.212 Most of the problems are made worse if the Refugees live are

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210 Sude, et al. Lessening the Risk of Refugee Radicalization Lessons for the Middle East from Past Crises, op.cit
211 Brown, M. Internal War: Causes and Cures, Review of; ‘The International Dimension of Internal Conflicts
hosted for long time and they are denied livelihood opportunities.\textsuperscript{213} This is the situation facing the Somali Refugees in Kenya.

\textbf{3.5 The Civil Strife Externalities: Source of Global Conflict by Refugees}

Political upheavals and oppression over long period of time commonly results to people moving to the areas with peace and thus mass movement of refugee across state boundaries. Additionally harassments of political opponents by the government, and violation of human rights are some of the domestic politics matters that may lead to migrants fleeing from their government jurisdiction. The resultant movements of refugees can be a bit greater.\textsuperscript{214}

States now tend to view international massive refugees migration as a potential cause of insecurity to their national and regional borders, as well as hazardous effect to the economy.\textsuperscript{215} Countries such as Turkey and Germany which prior to 2012 had an open door policy for Refugees have become more concerned about their security. Turkey for instance has closed all borders with Syria citing security concerns.\textsuperscript{216} The fear of increased insecurity has prompted Germany to request Turkey take in a large number of Germany bound Refugees.

Political upheavals within the nation may have effects that in other nations which may arouse strong reactions by some of the states when external costs are high. By deciding to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{214} Idean Salehyan. The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict. http://www.cas.unt.edu/ideal/RefugeesWar.pdf
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
pursue the Rebels among the asylum seeker, refugee generating countries may therefore cause conflicts with neighbouring countries.

3.5.1 Refugees Possession of Small Arms and Light Weapons

Most of the policy makers and scholars have acknowledged that Refugees trafficking of illegal arms is the major threats to the insecurity. Presence of illegal arms in Kenya poses threats to the safety host community particularly in the arid as well as semiarid pastoral parts in the country. According to the African Union the large Refugees movement between states during conflicts as a key external contributor factor for illegal weapons spread.

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Chapter Four

Critical Analysis of the Nexus between Refugee Repatriation and Regional Security

4.1 The Impact of Refugees on Regional Security

The study focuses on examining the impact of refugee repatriation to regional security. The study main objective is to establish the connection between repatriation among the two variables. The study begins with a brief review of the objectives before the complete analysis. Also, it embarks its investigation the effects of refugee restoration to the regional safety and peace coexistence. It is based on the assumption that refugee presence, crime rates and insecurity have increased in the region. To explore the threat posed by presence of refugees in Dadaab camp to regional security is part of the study objective. It is clear that an increase in insecurity in the region, what is not clear is the contribution of refugees’ presence to insecurity situation. The study analysed the final objective which was to identify the role of refugees repatriating in Somalia as part of peace building processes. This study has continually made use of the concepts of the world society model to draw its findings. Among the security of a group, the major concern is the societal security. It is a shift that from a realist’s dominant concept of states and it only applies only on the referent object of security which includes individuals as well as the community as whole. The study collected in the study will help in drawing the fact on the perception of refugee’s repatriation with relation to security situation. However, as the analysis of the study continues several issues have emerged, noted and taken into considerations.
4.2 Threat Posed By the Presence of Refugees

4.2.1 Securitisation of Refugees

The study sought to establish the threat posed by refugees to regional security. To understand the threat, the study first sought to understand the view of the respondents on the concept of securitisation, it was revealed that the common understanding of securitisation was a phenomenon that brought threat into being, a definition that is in agreement with Balzacq’s definition that holds that securitization as a concept that involves interrelated process and activities in their diffusion, production and reception that causes threats.219 The study found that the state of Kenyan insecurity situation in is on the rise. One of the issues that were pointed out is the proliferation of small arms, situation that puts the country and the region at large at a potential tack of armed violence, terrorist groups and high level of crime.

The study further revealed that refugees are not the main reason for the increased insecurity.

“Aaaah, it is easy to point fingers at refugees, the easiest thing to do when faced with any situation is to apportion blame. My experience tells me that refugees are not at all to blame for the insecurity situation in Kenya and in the region. You can’t miss criminal elements in the camp but that does not necessarily mean that refugees are solely responsible for insecurity situation. You need to reflect at what made these people “refugees” in the first place, these are people who for one reason or the other ran away from their countries, to places they considered peaceful. They would not be the ones to cause insecurity that they ran away from in the first place. To understand the cause of insecurity, one needs to go deeper than just blanket blame on the refugees”.220

In yet another interview, similar sentiments were expressed to suggest that refugees’ population should not be held responsible for the insecurity situation in the region.

“As refugee vacate from areas occupied with violence, it is evidence that they want to settle in areas with without devastation or fear. The notion is that refugee are

219 Thiery, 2011
220 Views from UNHCR staff
surrounded by circumstances filled with fear and as their right of mind is not subjected to the circumstances in the host country and foreign country. These sentiments were further echoed by other interviewees. I would say that the only thing that is unique about refugees is that at their moment of movement they are vulnerable and all they want is protection and understanding. Thus, it would be unfair to associate someone who has vacated from the home due to violence with grounds of causing insecurity in a country where they have been received with love and care. Therefore, it is important to put ourselves in their situation and act humanely”.

While the general thinking was that refugees’ population do not take responsibilities for the insecurity situation in the region, there were views that supported the notion that refugees are the main reason for insecurity in the region.

“Well, what can you say? Do you want to say that refugees are not without blame in the current security situation in the region? It would be naïve for me to think so, haven’t you had of the atrocities caused by refugees in other regions? Take Pakistan and Chad for instant, weren’t the refugees responsible for or at least take part in coups d’etat and other violent and civil wars activities in the country hosting them? Well, we can’t expressly say this in the case of Kenya but we must be alive to that possibility”.

It was further noted that the practice of shifting blames is an easy scape-goat that security agencies use when they are unable to conduct thorough investigations to get the perpetrators of crime. Vulnerable groups then become the easier targets. Securitisation of refugees is thus an evasive means of security agencies of absconding their duties said a discussant. When this happens, we fail to get to the root cause of the problem thereby complicating a rather simple security situation.

In understanding the refugee situation, the study sought to establish whether the refugees in Dadaab camp were political actors of any sort. The study revealed that the refugees are just victims of rather political actions in their host countries but are themselves not political actors.

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221 Sentiments from a member of civil society
222 Views from a security officer
“It must be noted that signifying refugees as a threat to the security has been transformed from normal realm into specific politics. Traditionally, state would consider such a case as a emergency condition and go ahead to use all means possible to block a threatening development. When refugees are securitised, they become subjects to police raids and harassment in disguise of searching for criminal elements.223 Terrorism complicates the handling of refugees; the presence of Al-shabaab in the region has made it difficult to discern who is a terrorist and who is not. Refugees in Dadaab camp specifically bear the brunt of this suspicion. While Al-shabaab recruits all sorts of individuals, persons of Somali decent are mostly associated with the group. Therefore, refugees from this camp are suspected to be advancing the interest of the group. There is however no direct evidence to support this claims‖.

The study further revealed that while Al-shabaab is a political faction disguising itself as a religious group that has claimed responsibility for many of the terrorist activities in the region.

“The thought that these terrorists are refugees is a far-fetched idea. It is the duty of any responsible government to protect her citizen from any form of aggression and by extension to bring to book any persons responsible for any acts that compromise security of her citizens. To therefore have a generalised belief that refugees are terrorists is a misplaced view that must be condemned by any well-meaning person or group”.225

In another interview, it was revealed that delinking refugees from the political activities in their home countries may not be very easy. However, it was also revealed that refugees are not in any way involved in local politics in their host countries.

“These people have families back in their home countries, they therefore have to keenly follow the politics of their countries. When you talk to them you will realise that they are following the politics of Somali, and to that extent one can say that they are politically active. This does not necessarily mean that they are political actors‖.226

223 Views from a UNHCR officer
224 Ibid
225 Ibid
226 Views from a security agent
4.2.2 Refugees a Force of Peace/Conflict

The study also sought to establish whether the presence of refugees was a force of peace or conflict in the region. The findings of the study are mixed, it was revealed that directly linking refugees to peace and or conflict was not easy. The respondents were of the opinion that refugees were victims of insecurity and thus not active players in either peace or conflict.

“I will say that the only event that makes refugees peace agents is when they are repatriated and they became ambassadors of peace in their home countries. Then they will have a role in creation of peace in the region. On the other hand, when refugees are forcefully repatriated and they choose to engage in actions that threaten the peace of the region, then they will be actors in conflict in the region”.

In yet another interviews, an officer from the UNHCR corroborated the sentiments of a security agent expressed above. In her opinion, the issue of refugees being a force in peace and or insecurity in the area is neither here nor there. However, she reiterated the views by saying that;

“Refugees are a vulnerable group that are hosted by a host community usually in areas they consider peaceful enough to accommodate their interest. To that extent it can be said that refugees are thus not agents of either peace or insecurity. However, once in the host community they may be influenced by their families back home to push their agendas across borders and in turn compromise the peace condition in the region. In this sense, refugees in Dadaab camp, you are aware that there is the complexity of Al-Shabaab that can penetrate into the camp because of its seemingly safe haven with the view of planning actions that would jeopardise the security situation in the region. However, to the best of my knowledge, no such incidence has been reported. It may be suspected but there are no evidence to suggest the same”.

Refugees are sometimes viewed as a force of conflict, for example, the way the host community relates with the refugee can be a potential for conflict. The state of imbalance is evidently seen in cases where refugees are donated humanitarian assistance. As a result

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227 Ibid
228 Views from a UNHCR officer
they are able to supplement their “incomes.” The outcome is a possible scapegoating, that portrays refugees as the cause of cultural, economic, political, social, and problems. However, the blame is placed on the refugees for pressuring an almost non-existent economy such as the retailers who complaint that prices are controlled and taxed.

4.2.3 The Nexus between Refugees and Insecurity

The study sought to establish the link between refugees and insecurity. The study found that there was a general perception that relationship exist between refugees and insecurity.

“As a security agent, I can tell you without a doubt in my mind, I don’t know the feeling out there, but for us that work in the security department; we view Somali’s with suspicion. Our fear is not just that of unfounded profiling of a people but it is informed by the events of the 1960s when Somalia claimed some territories of Kenya. By extension, refugees from Somalia have fallen victims of our fears and we of course view them as that to our security. Take for instance the issues of piracy that threatened the security of the region. Besides that, there is still Al-Shabaab alive as we speak today in Somalia, a group that has wreaked havoc in the entire region. So yes, refugees and security have connection”.  

229 These sentiments are echoed by the views of Rono who claims that in the Kenya’s security circles for example, since 1960 Somalis and Kenya there has been suspicious connection that makes the fears real towards refugees from Somalia. These fears are fuelled by the aggression memories such as the ‘shifta’ groups formed in the 1960s. These movements were waged secessionist crisis in the former province of North-Eastern supported by Mogadishu. The support was based on the claim that Somalia’s expanded into Kenya’s North-eastern province. 230 The claim has led to Somali’s is being viewed by

229 Views from a security agent
230 Rono, 1999
suspicion in Kenya. The refugees from Somali are thus viewed with utmost suspicion with the hope of sealing any possibility of renewed insecurity.\textsuperscript{231}

The assertions that suggest the existence of a relationship between refugees and insecurity have received strong criticism.

“It is wrong to profile a group of people to be the cause of insecurity in a country or region. The claim that there is a link between refugees and insecurity is just in the mind, I have worked in this camp for a while and I can tell you that that is just the wildest claim one can make. You and I know that the Somali-Kenya border is porous, with no proper security; criminals can easily pass together with refugees. When these criminals engage in crime, it is not because they are refugees, rather because they are criminals. Another thing that you need to consider is corruption; criminals can corrupt their ways into any country and engage in acts that compromise the security in any country then go back to their source without security agencies noticing. So those that in engage in actions that compromise the region’s security are purely criminals”.\textsuperscript{232}

4.2.4 Repatriation of refugees and regional security

The study sought to establish the relationship between refugee repatriation and regional security. The study revealed that repatriation is one among the very many ways of peacebuilding in a conflict situation. I believe that the process of voluntary repatriation leads to peace, when refugees are repatriated, the process entails establishment of conducive reception of the returnees in their home country. The process also ensures that rights of the refugees are not violated by allowing them to voluntarily accept to be repatriated.\textsuperscript{233} These assertions are echoed by Barbero who opines that voluntary repatriation is often considered as the solution that may be more effective in addressing Refugee issues that are facing many countries and has been favored by both host countries and donors, because normalcy is regained when refugees relocate to their home country. The refugees can also often prefer to return if only provided with the necessary

\textsuperscript{231}Ibid
\textsuperscript{232}Views from a UNHCR officers
\textsuperscript{233}Ibid
assistance to make a safe return and to reintegrate in their home country. Host countries therefore often only offer temporary settlement while waiting for voluntary repatriation to become possible, while UNHCR is engaged in activities which aim to promote such safe repatriation and reintegration.  

“It is not always true that there should be complete security in the home country for repatriation to be initiated. For example the repatriation of refugees to Somalia began way before Somalia could be considered peaceful. Once there was assurance that there are sections of the country that peaceful enough to accommodate the returnees peacefully, the process began.”

Barbero concurs with these claims and suggests that the humanitarian programs of repatriation have showed that complete peace in the country of origin may not always be a prerequisite for return, for reintegration and for development programs. She further adds that voluntary return of qualified and skilled Refugees to less than ideal conditions can serve as an important step towards the reconstruction and peace building process, and to have skilled Refugees returning to support in ensuring peaceful coexistence of the country would also ensure a more efficient use of development funds and implies a longer term pay off and transfer of knowledge and skills. Voluntary repatriation has proved to be the most preferred solution by Refugees and the host states.

The assurance of the security of the returnees is the first step before any refugee is repatriated. This is in line with the Tripartite Agreement which underlines that a voluntary return does not have an effect on the assessment of protection requirements for Somalia asylum seekers. This implies that the Refugees cannot be repatriated back

234 Barbero. 1993
235 Views from a security agent
236 Barbero, 2000
237 Ibid
238 UNHCR. 2014
home if their security is not guaranteed. Returnees drastically reduce the numbers who are likely to cause tension and subsequent insecurity in host country. The study revealed that voluntary repatriation is indeed a solution to conflict situations and by extension a contributing factor in regional security.

“I can confirm that there are no reported cases of conflict with the group that has been repatriated. At the same time it has been noted that those that were repatriated have reintegrated with the community and they are living peacefully.”

Literature is replete with cases that support these experiences. According to Adepoju, as a result of the general amnesty in Guinea in mid-1971, about 30,000 exiles returned home. A similar number of Refugees were repatriated from Gabon and Cameroun to Equatorial Guinea eight years later. The general amnesty in Zaire in mid 1978 also encouraged the repatriation of an estimated 220,000 Refugees by 1979. The return of over 200,000 southern Sudanese to the Sudan after peace agreement signed in Addis Ababa in March 1972 among the Sudan government and the SPLM demonstrates how negotiated peaceful settlement can greatly facilitate voluntary repatriation of Refugees. These examples reveal a relationship between repatriation and peace.

4.2.5 The interdependence of repatriation and peace in Somalia

The study focuses on assessing the interdependence of repatriation and peace in Somalia. The study revealed that repatriation depends on peace in Somalia while peace in Somalia does not depend on repatriation.

“As per the Tripartite Agreement, we cannot initiate repatriation process unless we are sure that the security of the refugees is guaranteed. In which case repatriation greatly depends on peace. On the other hand in the process of initiating repatriation we do not tell the home countries that they need to have peace to enable repatriation. So I think

239 Views of a UNHCR official
240 Adepoju. 1984
resolution of prevailing conflict in the home countries does not depend on repatriation or the need for it.\textsuperscript{241} In yet another interview similar sentiment were aired. The return of refugees from Dadaab the campground will be a symbol that peace is in position, and that is why we require a political resolution to the dispute soon, so reverse— the only credible permanent solution to displacement—can start.\textsuperscript{242}

Similar views were given by other discussants in the study;

“Return of refugees to Somalia will be a symbol that agreement is in point, but because the union is not in judgment we must look to other permanent stoppings to displacement”.\textsuperscript{243}

These assertions are supported by other findings which suggest that refugees do not prefer repatriation back to their countries either due the prevailing security situation and or the difficult socio-economic conditions likely to confront them back home. Not surprisingly, then, the return of Somali Foreigners are not demanded to make an outstanding addition to peace. Union will make a return potential, and return will support to solve the intricacy of displacement, but the return is not regarded as something that will secure peace any more acceptable or sustainable. Concerning how the performance would commit to reconciliation, a few interviewees indicated that returnees would provide to the substantial rehabilitation of the war-torn regions and the construction of the post-conflict administration. Also, returnees can afford to authorize the post-conflict administrative command, in this instance not principally through the performance of returning, but by attacking in an imminent election, should it display expedient to establish one.\textsuperscript{244}\

\textsuperscript{241}Views of a UNHCR official\textsuperscript{242}Views from a security agent\textsuperscript{243}Ibid\textsuperscript{244}Ibid
4.2.6 Resolution of Somali Conflict without Repatriation

The study sought to establish whether the Somali conflict could be resolved without repatriation. The study findings reveal that the resolution of the Somali crisis is not dependent on repatriation. It was noted that the Somali conflict can only be resolved by addressing the issues that brought the conflict in the first place. It was further revealed that the refugees are just victims of conflict and do not have a fundamental role in resolving the conflict.

“I do not think that repatriation hinders resolution of the Somali conflict. As a matter of fact, while they may have a hand in resolving the conflict, they are not the key reasons as to why the conflict is existing in the first place. Moreover, repatriation should begin when conflict has been resolved. So you cannot repatriate refugees when the conflict still threatens their security”. 245

These views are echoed by other interviewees, in one interview, the respondent said….,

“Why, why must there be repatriation for the conflict to be resolved. I think that is a misplaced question. The refugees are not a function of the conflict, they are just but a collateral damage in the conflict process. Fixing the conflict has nothing to do with them, they will naturally benefit in the event that the conflict is resolved”.

4.2.7 The Role of Repatriating Refugees in the Peace Building Process

The study seeks to examine the role of repatriating Somali refugees in the process of peace building process. The study revealed that repatriation would be helpful in peace building process. It was established that the return of refugees would create a reassurance of peace as it would give hope to communities in Somali that peace is achievable.

“Repatriation would carry with it a peace initiative element as those repatriated will educate their communities the essence of peace. They will also take back skills gained in different fields that will play a significant role in economic empowerment of

245Views from a UNHCR officer
individuals, this in turn would encourage the communities to engage in constructive activities. In essence, less time will be spent in activities that fuel conflict”.

Return of refugees means return to normalcy from living in camps, the refugees would not long to go back to the camp experience, this would be an opportunity for a partial return to normal everyday life. Adelman\textsuperscript{247} opines that the conventional wisdom has it that “agreement depends on fugitive repatriation, and each peace treaty must present for it. So far several efforts have continued made to guess the counterfeit contact between repatriation and reconciliation. Ordinarily, it is solely one of some exercises reported variously as primary duties of peace structure or as circumstances for peace erection expert, outwardly additional designation either how it promotes unity building or whether it prepares so only under certain situations. As a command, the concrete consequences of restoration for peacebuilding are practiced for the award, and, at least completely, expected to continue beyond all instances of peace restoration. To investigate the application that repatriation is essential for order the connection needs to be added explicitly designated.

The philosophical underpinnings of the peace-by-repatriation dissertation can be discovered in numerous fields of inquiry, through exposition and presence do not accurately touch any additional in any of them. The plan is to retain a distinct locus on the peace-by-repatriation argument, and that not pretend to furnish a general representation of any of certain departments of study.\textsuperscript{248} Beginning, however, I will shortly abstract two previous summaries of the connection between repatriation and security, byUNHCR, which will frame the foundation for the appearance at the earlier

\textsuperscript{246}Ibid
\textsuperscript{247}Howard. 2002.
\textsuperscript{248}Ibid
From the discussion on fugitive restoration and peace structures, particularly infrequent occurrence investigations in Stedman, Rothchild, and Adelman excerpts four regions, rendering diverse aspects of the connection among expatriate repatriation and reconciliation implementation.\textsuperscript{249} At first, he recognizes two soft areas, one (Soft I) that holds any commitment of a refugees difficulty as a symbol that unity is in position, and one (Soft II) specifies the repatriation as such a symbol. Current to the two soft posts is that others recognize the determination of the foreigner issue as “a demonstration of unity.”\textsuperscript{250} Also, Adelman shows two hard points, one (Hard I) that views agreement and refugee restoration as required health of one different, furthermore one (Hard II) that challenges common causation linking peace and refugee restoration. Further accounts of the hard stands may be considered of in the application of unidirectional situation and causation. According to Adelman “the hard aspect persists the powerful confidence and pre-opinion of those who combine refugee repatriation and the practice of peace arrangements.”

More particularly, he claims that “the common understanding of most refugee specialists” is that “unity depends on fugitive repatriation.” This condition, insisting unidirectional position—that repatriation is a fundamental stipulation for peace.

Eventually, rendering communities can make significant increases to the commercial rehabilitation of war-torn countries. “repatriation may indeed be a requirement for that purpose to be accomplished.” Personalities with training and other means may have a glorious chance of avoiding generalized intensity, and their statement is then likely to be

\textsuperscript{249} Stedman, Rothchild & Cousens (eds.). 2002.
\textsuperscript{250} Howard. 2002.
essential for restoring war-torn communities.\textsuperscript{251} Expatriates can also perceive different sorts of exercise during displacement, which may evidence important to the peacebuilding manner once they retreat.

Outlaws proposing with their feet and the industrial participation of returnees are associated with the appropriate clarification of repatriation. The problem of replacing stability, however, is directed as well to the resolutions of local integration and third-country restoration and does not significantly order re-patriation. And to a numerous range, the impression of refugee combatants is a mystery of de-militarization, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) somewhat than a proposal of restoration to their country.\textsuperscript{252}

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\textsuperscript{251} ibid

\textsuperscript{252} UNHCR. 1997.
Chapter Five
Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Findings
This research sought to establish the link between repatriation of refugees and regional security. That is the study specific objectives that were to establish the nexus between repatriation refugees in Dadaab Camp and regional security, to evaluate the threat posed by refugees in Camp of Dadaab to regional peace, and to identify the role of repatriating Somalia refugees in the peace building process. The study findings show that repatriation of refugees has an insignificant role in regional security. It shows that when refugees are repatriated, the reintegrate with the communities and engage in civic education that promote peace. It further revealed that returnees engage in economic activities that promote the involvement of conflicting communities and thereby reduce incidences of continued conflict.

The study also reveals that refugees in Dadaab camp do not pose a threat to regional security. While some studies claim that refugees have potential threats to the safety of the host communities, the findings of this study contradict such studies. The evidence presented in this study does not suggest any connection among the presence of the Dadaab camp refugees and insecurity in the region. It was also revealed that repatriating Somali refugees would have some impact in the peace building process. The study found that the return of refugees would create a reassurance of peace in their home countries. By extension this would have a significant impact on regional security at large.

5.2 Conclusions
The study reveals some situations whereby the movement of refugees will likely cause more conflict and insecurity cases. Somalia befits one such country with characteristics of a political climate of a failed state and in which existing government lacks popular legitimacy. Second, situations of Somali refugee’s shows that the dispute has ethnic aspects, a tremendous rate of the politics of racial identities in the host nation may
commit to intensity and uncertainty. Third, the possibility of opposition may also improve when the owner nation leader obtains it worthwhile to practice the fugitives as victims in the struggle to keep power. Of course, the succession of these circumstances can have individually destructive outcomes.

The study presumes that disputes do not utterly spill over from one nation to another through the flow of expatriates. Alternatively, refugees penetrate into a current legislative circumstance, constructing new arrangements and balances and modifying old ones. In some instances, disagreements may emerge, each with its changes, but in others, do not happens. The consequence depends principally on the requirements that survive in the host realm even ere the refugees appear. This establishes a completion of Lake and Rothchild concerning the standard of competition more broadly: “struggle does disperse overseas,” they contend, “but principally to elements that previously include the seeds of contention.”

The study demonstrates that regional security may be negatively affected by presence of Refugees especially where the migrants have not been able to harmoniously relate with their hosts or where conditions are too deplorable to push them into criminal tendencies. The likelihood of radicalization or even recruitment into terror groups depends so much on the measures put in place to manage and monitor refugees’ activities. The Refugee problem is not an African one but is global in nature as witnessed by the current crisis actually taking place in Europe. It has emerged that security is a multi-faceted concept that has many factors other than the state that get actively involved in refugee generated insecurity management within the refugee regime. The management of refugee affairs in

the face of raising insecurity however requires a humanitarian face in accordance to the appropriate human rights and international laws as well as all related international and regional conventions and respective laws of the concerned states.

The research raises severe doubts regarding the observation of the unity-by-repatriation. No backer has been observed for the hypothesis that repatriation is a fundamental requirement for peace. Concerning Adelman’s points, the summary alternatively finds assistance for the hard variant of the Soft I opinion, which demands that ceasing displacement—nevertheless, this is accomplished—is necessary for the corporation of the sustainable peace after an outfitted dispute. This suggests that the discourse of the “repatriation experience” does not reproduce the experimental correlation linking displacement and security situations.”²⁵⁴ It is meriting returning that there are numerous incentives to support the restitution of uprooted personalities after the cessation of armed bandits. The interpretation conferred in this paper has concentrated on the influence of repatriation for maintaining unity, a general hypothesis that has been observed aspiring. Host nations cannot uncritically hold to the peace-by-repatriation exposition to encourage the return of dismissed characters to backgrounds that are not significantly safe.

5.3 Recommendations

The study makes the following three recommendations

5.3.1 There is Need to Expand the Understanding of the Nexus between Repatriation and Regional Peace.
Future studies should therefore seek to expand the investigation of the repatriation and regional peace in two approaches. First, by explaining the philosophical dispute about the

correlation between restoration and settlement and, second, by appending to the well-organized consciousness about interethnic connections in particular circumstances.

5.3.1 There should be a reasonable opening position for developing the logical thought of grassroots peace building and conciliation. This would be a possible starting point for developing the theoretical argument is lederach’s notions of grass roots peace building and reconciliation through encounters. Lederach calls for a paradigmatic shift “away from a concern with the resolution of issues and toward a frame of reference that focuses on the restoration and rebuilding of relationships”. Similar concerns have been voiced by Prendergast and plumb, who argue that in order for peace agreements between warring parties to lead to durable peace, there needs to be, alongside the top-down implementation of the peace agreement, concurrent bottom-up processes aimed at constructing a new social contract and healing societal divisions. The implication for this for the peace-by –repatriation thesis that in the absence of repatriation, there will be no encounters, and hence relationships cannot be renewed

5.3.2 There is need for a more experimental research.

More empirical research would be important, beginning with case studies, structured in a way that allows systematic comparisons. Case studies of Bosnia and Nagorno-Karabakh suggest that the relationship between repatriation and peace is influenced by pre-war interethnic relations. However, it is not yet possible to corroborate this finding in a

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systematic way. What is needed is data on how ethnic groups interacted before a conflict, and how people intermix in the aftermath of conflict. Global datasets based on census data cannot provide such information, if only because censuses are not conducted even on a decimal basis. Further, existing datasets on ethnic intermixing—whether various forms of data on fractionalization or the MAR data on group concentration—tell us little, if anything, about the quality of relations between ethnic groups. Quantitative studies will be important once there is enough systematically collected data on relevant variable; presently there is not. I believe, therefore, that next step in the furtherance of research on the peace-by-repatriation thesis needs to be case studies based on a common format. In addition, such studies will help pinpointing what kinds of data are needed to compile relevant datasets that would allow quantitative analyses of the regional security-by-repatriation thesis.
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