

conflated, and if not, how should we separate and address them? Clearly, perceived national security threats can lead to security problems for refugees if the host government responds in such a way as to endanger refugees, by forcing them into camps or even repatriating them. But these two problems appear to lead in different directions; discussion is warranted.

Finally, a last question of interest is whether security problems have increased since the end of the Cold War. The security problems associated with refugees are not new and were recognized long before the Great Lakes crisis. As Table 2 shows, refugee camps have a long tradition of been militarized or used by 'refugee warriors', and have been subject to all manner of attack. According to Roger Winter,

The mixing of civilians and combatants in "refugee camps" was almost the (unacknowledged) rule during the Cold War: Cambodian camps in Thailand, Afghan camps in Pakistan, Nicaraguan camps in Honduras, Sudanese camps in Ethiopia, and Eritrean camps in Sudan. Countries of first asylum and distant superpowers alike manipulated the refugees and the international humanitarian community to suit their ends.³⁴

There have been some changes since the end of the Cold War. In most cases, superpower involvement has been reduced, and camp militarization has become less acceptable to the West. How different are these situations from those occurring in the 1970s and 80s, and if they are different, what has changed? One thing that has changed is the increased attention in international circles that is now being paid to security problems associated with refugees.

Has there has been a real increase in security problems in RPAs, or is the recent interest in security just a matter of perception and political convenience? In order to make any sort of empirical assessment we need data. But there are few data on security incidents and nothing that has been systematically explored.³⁵ Two problems are associated with data collection. The first is conceptual: how do we measure security threats? Can threats be quantified, in terms of deaths or injuries? What about more insidious problems like psychological trauma, or fearfulness that leads to restrictions on freedom of movement? Second, even if these conceptual problems could be resolved, there is still the problem of gathering data in refugee situations -- the lack of trained personnel, inconsistency, biased reporting, and so forth. At present, we do not know what proportion of RPAs experience security threats and how significant these are, nor how these threats have changed over the years. For the purposes of this workshop, we have tried to assemble some rough counts of threatened RPAs, as set out in Table X. (Security threats by region and period).

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³⁴ 'The Year in Review', in *World Refugee Survey*, 1998. Washington D.C. US Committee on Refugees. p. 17.

³⁵ K. Van Brabant, "Greater security: developments in aid agency policy and practice," *Relief and Rehabilitation Network*,