The local receiving community's response to refugees can affect security conditions, and this response is influenced by ethnic, religious and cultural differences and similarities. The prior experience of the receiving community as refugees themselves is an important factor in these relations. Many host communities have been refugees in earlier years, and the empathy (or antipathy) this experience engenders is important. The presence of older refugee settlements and refugee populations (of the same or different origin as the current influx) can influence outcomes, as these can provide assistance or create problems for 'new' refugees.

• The political power of local authorities in the RPA, relations between them and the central government, and the influence, political status and penetration of the central government into the region.

The central government's response and its implementation of refugee policies will be influenced by the power of local authorities such as political leaders or the military, and whether they agree with the central government. Refugee issues can be and have been used by the central government's political rivals to undermine support or to challenge the government directly. The 'penetration' of the central government into the RPA connotes the reach of the government, its ability to shape and control outcomes there, and its legitimacy in the eyes of the local population. Where RPAs are at great distance from the capital, and where physical infrastructure mitigates against communication with the region, the penetration of the central government is often considerably diminished, and in some cases, like eastern Zaire, the central government may well have relinquished all but nominal control, leaving local authorities with the power to control refugee outcomes.

## 2) Regional geopolitics and national security concerns.

Instability and national security concerns in the border region.

Where the RPA has been historically subject to instability or conflict (including insurgencies and ethnic tensions), and whether there is a host government security presence in the RPA (government troops, police) are issues likely to affect the host government's approach to refugees. Many RPAs are also regions of longstanding political instability, sometimes because they abut contested borders, e.g., the Burundian-Tanzanian border, sometimes because their distance from the capital has reduced the central government's penetration and facilitated the rise of rebel forces e.g., the Sudanese-Ugandan border. In almost all cases, the conflict in the country of origin giving rise to the refugee outflow also results in the presence of military forces near the border, and this prompts the host government to post its own security forces there.

• The political relationship between the host government and sending country government, and the political orientation of the host government towards the refugees.

Where the host government is sympathetic towards the refugees and opposed to the sending government, it is more likely to act in the refugees' interests. However, such considerations are likely to be modified by national security or geopolitical concerns. One illustration is the recent influx of Burundian refugees into Tanzania (1993-present). Although the Tanzanian government was favorably inclined politically towards the refugees and opposed to the Tutsi government in Burundi, the Tanzanian government was also very concerned about the destablizing effect of the influx on the region created by the spillover of the Burundian conflict into Tanzania. These security concerns motivated the Tanzanian government to restrict the movement of Burundian refugees, and even to close the border at times. Political considerations and security problems will differ for different caseloads. For example, the Tanzanian