FMO Thematic Guide: Armed Conflict, Peace Processes and Forced Migrants
Author: Anastasia Bermúdez Torres

Contents

1. Introduction

Wars and armed conflict are one of the main causes of forced migration. As the nature of wars has changed since the middle of the 20th century, especially in the post-Cold War era, civilians have become increasingly affected by these conflicts. Not only do civilians account for a majority of war casualties today, but they are also disproportionately affected by involuntary displacement, both internally and across borders. However, these refugees are not just passive victims whose needs have to be taken into account. They can also play a key role in subsequent peace processes and reconstruction efforts, as recent research into diasporic populations and transnational communities have started to emphasise. This thematic guide is thus an attempt to offer an introduction into the relationship between forced migration and the different stages of armed conflict: pre-conflict, conflict, conflict resolution and post-conflict (as described by El Jack, 2003, p.9).

Website:
El Jack, A. (2003) 'Gender and Armed Conflict. Overview Report'. BRIDGE (development – gender). Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton.

2. Armed conflict and forced migration

2.1 Definitions and changes in the nature of armed conflict

The term armed conflict seeks to encompass the complexity of today's wars and violent world, but as Pankhurst (2004, pp.8-9) argues it can also result in "conceptual confusion". Conflict, for instance, does not necessarily equal physical violence, but can also have a positive dimension as part of normal social interactions (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999). Common to all types of conflict is the issue of power relations. However, when conflict is not, or cannot be, peacefully resolved it can lead to violence and armed conflict or warfare (Moser and Clark, 2001). Definitions of armed conflict are varied and contested. According to the Uppsala Conflict Database: "An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year." However, other definitions, like that by Fisas (2004), include the armed confrontation between different types of organised groups others than a government, and put the threshold at more than 100 deaths per year.

Armed conflicts can also be divided into different types according to their causes, whether they are seen mainly as ethnic, social or civil struggles, or depending on their geographical realm. The Canadian Red Cross distinguishes between international and non-international (within a single country) armed conflicts, both of which are considered to be wars in international law. SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), on the other hand, classifies most post-1945 violent conflicts under three categories: inter-state conflicts, internal conflicts and state formation conflicts. However, the complexity of today's wars makes such typologies sometimes hard to sustain on the ground.

What is clear is that the nature of armed conflict has changed significantly from the middle of the 20th century onwards, with a shift from inter-state wars to violent conflicts within states, a pattern that has accelerated since the end of the Cold War. Between 1989-1992 only three out of 82 conflicts were inter-state (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999). Many of these internal conflicts are protracted, have complex causes, and despite the use of low-tech weaponry have accumulated millions of deaths. For instance, an estimated 1.5 million deaths has been the cost of the Sudanese conflict since it started in 1983; 300,000 in Somalia since 1988; and 200,000 in Burundi since 1979 (Fisas, 2004). Many of these wars occur in the developing world and disproportionately affect civilians, as there is a growing blurring of categories such as 'home' and 'front'. It is widely quoted that nowadays civilians account for 75% to 90% of war casualties, compared with 90% military casualties at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, civilian victims are no longer just part of what militaries describe as 'collateral damage', but in many cases are deliberate targets of violence (Skjelsbaek and Smith, 2001).

Websites:
Canadian Red Cross
http://www.redcross.ca/article.asp?id=001733&tid=006

SIPRI
http://www.sipri.org

Uppsala Conflict Database
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/definitions_all.htm

2.2 Forced migration: a consequence of armed conflict

According to SIPRI, in the 14-year post-Cold War period there were 59 'major armed conflicts' (those resulting in the battle-related deaths of at least 1,000 people in any single calendar year) in 48 different locations. In 2003, there were 19 major armed conflicts in 18 locations throughout the world, the lowest figure in this period with the exception of 1997, when there were only 18 conflicts. Only two of the major conflicts in 2003 were classified as inter-state: the war in Iraq and the long-standing confrontation between India and Pakistan. The main type of armed conflict thus continues to be intra-state, mainly as a result of the continuation of protracted conflicts, such as in the cases of Colombia and Israel-Palestine, and the sudden and rapid escalation of the intensity of conflict in other cases, such as Burundi, Indonesia and Sudan. Out of the 18 locations affected in 2003, eight were in Asia and four in Africa. Six of the conflicts in 2003 (Liberia, India/Kashmir, India-Pakistan, Indonesia, Nepal and Iraq) caused 1,000 or more deaths each. Many of these conflicts as well were responsible for the forced displacement of thousands of people.

Although the causes of forced migration are a complex mixture of political factors, such as gross violations of human rights, as well as economic and environmental aspects, armed conflicts have always been a major cause of the involuntary displacement of people. This is especially true given the changes in nature of modern wars, and how these increasingly affect civilians rather than mostly combatants. At the start of 2004, the number of people 'of concern' to the UNHCR, which includes asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returned refugees, and stateless persons, was just over 17 million, down from more than 20 million the year before. The fall in numbers was partly due to some improvements in the state of wars and political violence throughout the world, and the increasing number of people returning to their homes. Latin America and the Caribbean was the only region that saw an increase in the number of people of concern to the UNHCR, mainly because of the continuing problems in Colombia. Top of the list of countries that produced the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers in 2003 are those experiencing long-standing conflicts, such as former Palestine, Afghanistan, Sudan and Myanmar (more than 500,000 each). Sudan, Congo-Kinshasa, Colombia, Uganda and Angola headed the list of IDPs (ranging between one million to close to five million) (USCRI 2004).

Websites:
SIPRI
'Patterns of Major Armed Conflicts'
http://www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/MAC_patterns.html

UNHCR
'Refugees by Numbers' (2004 edition)

http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/basics/+AwwBmeLqZw_MwwwxFqAvxxvWW9WWwmFqtFEIfgIhFqoUfIfRZ2ItFqtxw5oq5zFqtFEIfgIAFqoUfIfRZ2IDzmxwww1FqtFEIfgI/opendoc.htm

U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCRI)
'World Refugee Survey 2004: Principal Sources of Refugees'
http://www.refugees.org/data/wrs/04/pdf/principal_sources.pdf

Internally Displaced Persons
http://www.refugees.org/data/wrs/04/pdf/idps.pdf

2.3 Case studies: current armed conflicts and forcibly displaced populations

Iraq
The war in Iraq is one of the only two major armed conflicts at the inter-state level registered by SIPRI in 2003. The current conflict in Iraq started with the launching of Operation Iraqi Freedom on 20 March 2003 by the US armed forces and other allies with the aim of bringing down the existent regime. On 9 April US forces took control of Baghdad and the Iraqi government fell, leading to the formal end of the war on 1 May. However, fighting and violence has continued until this day. Out of the many thousands of people that were displaced (internally and abroad) by the war, and the political problems beforehand, the UNHCR estimates that some 400,000 had returned to the country by September 2004. Nevertheless, other sources estimate that there are at least 1 million IDPs in the country, with the largest new population displacements as a result of continued fighting between the US-led coalition forces and Iraqi insurgents (Global IDP Database). In addition, Iraq was still home in 2003 to more than 130,000 refugees, including 100,000 Palestinians, some 14,500 Iranians, 13,000 Kurds from Turkey, and about 4,000 Syrians (USCRI, 2004). Some of these people have been displaced anew following the war in Iraq.

Websites:
Forced Migration Online
Research Guides: Iraq
http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo015/

Global IDP Database
http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Iraq

INCORE
Guide to Internet Sources on Conflict and Ethnicity in Iraq
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/countries/iraq.html

SIPRI
http://www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/MAC_patterns.html
http://editors.sipri.se/pubs/yb04/SIPRIYearbook2004mini.pdf

UNHCR
http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/partners/opendoc.pdf?tbl=PARTNERS&id=421368ea2&page=partners

USCRI
'World Refugee Survey 2004: Country Report'
http://www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?area=investigate&subm=19&ssm=29&cid=119

Colombia
The internal armed conflict in Colombia between the state, left-wing guerrillas and right-wing paramilitary groups remains one of the most intractable ones in the world. The modern origins of this conflict go back more than 40 years, and despite several attempts at negotiating peace, two guerrilla organisations and several paramilitary groups remain in arms. The armed conflict in Colombia has resulted in more than 40,000 deaths (Fisas, 2004), and the country leads the Western hemisphere in reported human rights and international humanitarian law violations (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Although there are signs of some improvements in levels of violence and human rights violations based on official data, these figures mask some regional differences and vary according to the type of violation (Amnesty International, 2004). It is estimated that more than three million people have been internally displaced by the conflict since 1985. Although the number of new displacements fell in 2003, Colombia remains one of the countries in the world with the largest number of IDPs. In addition, an estimated 230,000 Colombians were seeking refuge abroad in 2003, mainly in Venezuela, Ecuador and the US (USCRI, 2004). Violence and insecurity, together with a deteriorated economic situation, have contributed to a growing diaspora, with an estimated 4-5 million Colombians, or one in ten of the country's population, now living abroad (Semana, 2003)

Websites:

Amnesty International
Report 2004: Colombia
http://web.amnesty.org/report2004/col-summary-eng

Forced Migration Online
Research Guides: Colombia
http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo003/

Global IDP Database
Country Information Page: Colombia
http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpProjectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Colombia

Human Rights Watch
Human Rights Overview: Colombia (January 2004)
http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/01/21/colomb6978.htm

International Crisis Group
http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1094&l=1

INCORE
Guide to Internet Sources on Conflict and Ethnicity in Colombia
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/countries/colombia.html

USCRI
'World Refugee Survey 2004: Country Report'
http://www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?area=investigate&subm=19&ssm=29&cid=83

Afghanistan
As SIPRI points out, Afghanistan is an example of an armed conflict that resists neat classification as 'inter' or 'intra-state'. The country has been in a state of effective war for some 25 years. Although the Taliban regime was removed in late 2001 with the help of the US-led coalition forces, security and stability has still not been achieved in Afghanistan. Warlords still control parts of the country, while the central government remains weak, which makes it difficult for the millions of displaced Afghans to return home. At the end of 2003, some 2.5 million Afghans were living as refugees in other countries, while over 612,600 refugees returned to the country (whether voluntarily or through deportation) (USCRI, 2004). In addition, some 14,500 Afghans applied for asylum in Europe, North America, and Oceania, and following the return of some 82,000 internally displaced persons, an estimated 200,000-300,000 Afghans remained internally displaced by the end of the year (USCRI, 2004).

Websites:
Forced Migration Online
Research Guides: Afghanistan
http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo006/

INCORE
Guide to Internet Sources on Conflict in Afghanistan
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/countries/afghan.html

International Crisis Group
Afghanistan
http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1266&l=1

SIPRI
SIPRI Yearbook 2004, Chapter 3: 'Major Armed Conflicts'
http://editors.sipri.se/pubs/yb04/ch03.html

USCRI
'World Refugee Survey 2004: Country Report'
http://www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?area=investigate&subm=19&ssm=29&cid=56

3. Conflict resolution, peace processes and the post-conflict stages
3.1 Definitions and theory

Conflict resolution is a field of study within peace research, as well as being a generic term defined variously but developed mainly as a further step from conflict management and settlement in international relations (based mainly in the work of Burton and Azar) (Fetherston, 2000). Fisas (2004) dates the origins of the study of conflict resolution and peace back to the 1930s and the research on wars by Sorokin at

Harvard University. By the 1950s, following the end of the two world wars and the increasing concern about nuclear weapons and the beginnings of the Cold War, peace studies began to consolidate as an academic discipline. As the discipline continued to evolve, different theories, perspectives, paradigms and methodologies developed with emphasis on different ways of treating a conflict. These can be summarised as conflict management, settlement, regulation, resolution, analytical problem solving, transformation and reconciliation (Fisas, 2004). All these forms of intervention in a conflict can be divided into four stages: pre-negotiation, negotiation, agreement and implementation.

A study looking at the decade from 1989 to 1999 determined that out of 75 armed conflicts, 22 ended in a victory/defeat, 21 in a peace agreement and 32 in other situations, such as a ceasefire, new negotiations or another type of stalemate (Fisas, 2004). Throughout the 1990s, according to Incore (International Conflict Research): "peace processes have become the orthodox way in which low intensity, seemingly intractable, ethnic conflicts reached an accommodation...[with a] clear trend towards internally agreed initiatives, rather than externally imposed settlements, is noticeable." Nevertheless, international participation in peace processes continues to be important. According to SIPRI, there was a total of 52 multilateral peace missions in operation in 2003 (19 of them conducted or led by the UN; the rest by regional actors and ad-hoc coalitions). Of these, 14 missions were launched in 2003, the highest number in a single year since the end of the Cold War, a result of the steady decline in the number of major armed conflicts since 1998. But it is also an indicator of the fragility of peace processes in some countries, such as Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia.

The majority of peace accords fail, mainly because they do not anticipate post-conflict problems, or because they are seen more like "a staging post in the conflict" (Incore). Using the most recent data, the *Escola de Cultura de Pau*, in the period January-March 2005, registers 32 armed or unresolved conflicts in formal peace negotiations or exploring the possibility of a peace process. Among the most significant current events, this report cites the new attempts at negotiation in Burundi, the Philippines, Indonesia (Aceh) and Iraq; the decision by an armed opposition group in Rwanda to stop the fighting; the signing of a peace agreement between the SPLA and the Sudanese government, which could end 22 years of war; and the decision to send peacekeeping forces to Somalia and Sudan. In addition, the report points out that most of the peace negotiations suffered serious difficulties for reasons such as the existence of paramilitary groups, the lack of safety guarantees for the negotiators, or the rejection of facilitators.

Websites:
Escola de Cultura de Pau
http://www.pangea.org/unescopau/img/programas/alerta/barometro/barometre7.pdf

Fetherston, A.B. (2000) 'From Conflict Resolution to Transformative Peacebuilding: Reflections from Croatia'. Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, Working Paper 4.
http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/confres/papers/pdfs/CCR4.pdf

INCORE
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/

SIPRI
http://www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/MAC_patterns.html
http://editors.sipri.se/pubs/yb04/SIPRIYearbook2004mini.pdf

UN
http://www.un.org/peace/

3.2 Case study: the recent peace processes in Sri Lanka

The origins of the Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka can be traced back to the colonial emancipation period in the late 1940s and the following discrimination of the Tamil minority by the Sinhalese majority. In the latter half of the 1970s, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) started a violent campaign against the government, with fighting intensifying throughout the 1980s, together with retaliatory attacks against the Tamil population. During the 20 years of civil war, an estimated 65,000 people were killed and some 1.8 million people were displaced. Following several failed attempts at peace-making and the resumption of violence in the last half of the 1990s, by the year 2000 war fatigue led the LTTE to declare a unilateral ceasefire. With the help of Norwegian diplomacy, the peace process progressed and in February 2002 both parties signed a memorandum of Cessation of Hostilities. Formal peace talks were launched afterwards, with the process stalling in April 2003 after the LTTE suspended its participation and despite further attempts at negotiation the political crisis within the government in late 2003 prevented agreement. Although external mediation has been suspended and the political conflict has not been resolved yet, the ceasefire stands despite sporadic violence (Uppsala Conflict Database). While negotiations between the government and the LTTE continue, there is the possibility of UN intervention to support the peace process (Escola de Cultura de Pau, Barometro 7, 2005).

Websites:
Escola de Cultura de Pau
Barometro 7 (Jan-March 2005)
http://www.pangea.org/unescopau/img/programas/alerta/barometro/barometre7.pdf

Forced Migration Online
Research Guides: Sri Lanka
http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo032/

INCORE: Guide to Internet Sources on Conflict in Sri Lanka
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/services/cds/countries/srilanka.html

Uppsala Conflict Database
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/conflictSummary.php?bcID=151

3.3 The post-conflict stage and refugee return

The achievement of lasting peace does not end with the termination of violence and the signing of a peace process. In the post-conflict stage, the emphasis is on the difficult tasks of reconstruction, reintegration and reconciliation. These could include

aspects as complex as the demobilisation and reintegration of combatants, the return of the internally displaced population and refugees, the reconstruction and rehabilitation of physical infrastructure and institutions, the treatment of past crimes and human rights abuses, as well as addressing the root causes of the conflict. Often these processes require international aid, in the form of peace-keeping forces, financial assistance, expertise and verification. Failure to address some or all of these issues can lead to a resumption of the conflict or increased levels of violence in other forms. This has been the case of El Salvador, where following the peace accords signed in January 1992 that ended more than a decade of civil war, the number of violent deaths is now higher than during the armed conflict.

In its latest study of armed conflict, human rights and peace building, the *Escola de Cultura de Pau* (2004) analyses 19 countries in the post-conflict stage in 2003. Looking at different indicators, it classifies 13% of these as in a good situation, 82% as regular and 38% as bad. Among the most difficult issues to resolve, the study points out the following: security and demilitarisation, human rights and impunity (important for reconciliation), humanitarian aspects and the resettlement of displaced people. As the UHNCR points out, a majority of refugees would prefer to return home as soon as it is safe for them to do so and the conditions are right. The number of returnees aided by the UNHCR has grown significantly, from under 500,000 in 2001 to almost 2.5 million in 2002 and over 1 million in 2003, mostly due to the massive return and repatriation of refugees to Afghanistan and Angola. Ensuring the sustainability of returns through its involvement in repatriation and resettlement has become one of the key current issues for the UNHCR (FMR issue 21).

Websites:
Escola de Cultura de Pau
Rehabilitacion Posbelica
http://www.pangea.org/unescopau/castellano/programas/rehabilitacion.htm
Alerta 2004
http://www.pangea.org/unescopau/img/programas/alerta/alerta/alerta04.pdf

Forced Migration Review (FMR)
Issue 21
http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR21/FMR21contents.pdf
Issue 11
http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR11/fmr11contents.pdf

UNHCR
Refugee by Numbers (2004 edition)
http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/basics/+AwwBmeLqZw_MwwwxFqAvxxvWW9WWwmFqtFEIfgIhFqoUfIfRZ2ItFqtxw5oq5zFqtFEIfgIAFqoUfIfRZ2IDzmxwww1FqtFEIfgI/opendoc.htm

Uppsala Conflict Database (El Salvador)
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/conflictSummary.php?bcID=137

Case Study: Returnees duringthe conflict and in post-conflict Guatemala
During the long armed conflict in Guatemala, an estimated one million people became IDPs and another 150,000 sought refuge in neighbouring Mexico and other countries.

Formal negotiations for peace started in 1990, but already in 1986 there was a wave of repatriations sponsored by the government whereby refugees were returned to communities of origin or new 'model villages'. Also during the 1980s and 1990s refugees returned spontaneously and without assistanve, while in 1993 was the first UNHCR-sponsored return. The return and reintegration of those uprooted by the armed conflict was a crucial part of the peace accords that ended the confrontation. Refugees themselves played a key role in influencing the negotiation of these accords and their implementation, especially in those aspects that affected them most. However, this does not mean that the process of return and reintegration has been problem-free. One of the biggest challenges still remain: the effective social and economic development of the areas where returnees have settled. In addition, there have been tensions between returnees and locals, as well as between different types of returnees and even within organised groups. Nevertheless, to date the Guatemalan peace process is considered one of the most successful.

Websites:
Forced Migration Review: J. de Rivero 'Reinventing Communities: the resettlement of Guatemalan Refugees'. FMR 11, pp.8-11 (October 2001).
http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR11/fmr11.3.pdf

Forced Migration Online
Research Guides: Guatemala
http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo014/

4. The role of refugees in conflict resolution and post-conflict
4.1 Political linkages with the homeland

Although it has long been recognised that immigrants, ethnic minorities, alien resident populations and other groups of people living outside their homeland retain political allegiances with the latter, this has become of key interest more recently given current global security threats. However, this issue has been relatively marginalized in migration studies, with some exceptions. For instance, the literature on the political connections between diasporic populations and their countries/regions of origin has looked at how established generations of long-standing diasporic populations, such as the Jews or Africans, have had to grapple with questions of national identification, and how this is happening again among the descendents of, for example, South Asian immigrants worldwide (Evans Braziel and Mannur, 2003). Some of the work done on transnational migration has also focused not only on economic and personal social exchanges, but also on political activities and more specifically on the impact that transnational communities and diaspora populations can have and often do have on political events in their countries/regions of origin – helped by forces of globalisation, such as developments in communications and transport (Van Hear 2003). More recently, there has been some research looking at the role that modern diasporas or so-called transnational communities, including refugees, play (or can potentially play) in armed conflict, peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction in their countries of origin.

Website:

Van Hear, N. (2003) "Refugee Diasporas, Remittances, Development and Conflict". *Migration Information Source*.
http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=125

4.2 Refugees

The role that refugees play during an armed conflict and its resolution is not limited to their reintegration into society after return. As noted above in the Guatemalan case, refugees can play an active role in the peace negotiations. They can also be key to the success or failure of a peace process. One of the most contentious issues in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, for instance, is the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes in the case of a successful peace process. Some recent literature has begun to include refugees in the study of transnational migration and diasporas, to analyse how "refugee groups are also developing transnational linkages" (Al-Ali et al., 2001, p.579; see also Koser, 2002; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Van Hear, 2002; Wahlbeck, 1998). One way of looking at this is analysing migrant remittances. Although the data on remittances sent by asylum seekers and refugees is scant and difficult to estimate, Koser and Van Hear (2003) argue that the extent of this phenomenon can be ascertained by looking at the figures for countries that have experienced conflict and produced refugees in recent years: Colombia (more than $650 million annually), Sri Lanka (close to $1 billion).

Such remittances can have both beneficial and negative impacts on the people and countries receiving them, especially in the case of societies in conflict (Van Hear, 2003). Remittances, for instance, can further inequalities because of the unevenness in their distribution, and they can help fuel the conflict in the homeland by providing funding for warring parties (Van Hear 2003). The Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, like some other guerrilla groups, relied on a wide network of offices and cells across the world to raise funds from the diaspora (Uppsala Conflict Database). However, the contribution of refugee groups to their countries of origin are not only economic, but as with other immigrant groups they extend into the political and social fields as well, and can have beneficial effects. Recent research, for example, has began to look at the impact that refugee communities, and wider diaspora populations, can have on societies undergoing post-conflict reconstruction.

Websites:
Forced Migration Online
Thematic Resources: Summaries: Palestinians
http://www.forcedmigration.org/browse/thematic/solidarity-palestinians.htm

Uppsala Conflict Database
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/conflictSummary.php?bcID=151

4.3 Two contrasting case studies: Bosnia and Eritrea.

Eritrea. The case of the Eritrean diaspora has been used as a key example of political transnationalism, given their active role in the achievement of Eritrean independence. The country was initially an Italian colony, was later run by the British and following decolonisation it was finally annexed by Ethiopia, which led to the beginnings of 30 years of fighting by Eritrean liberation groups led mainly by the EPLF (Eritrea

People's Liberation Front). Following political events in Ethiopia, Eritrea became *de facto* independent in 1991 and *de jure* independent in 1993. The contribution of the large Eritrean diaspora to independence and the viability of the new state has been crucial: they participated massively in the independence referendum in 1993; they contributed to reconstruction through regular payments, remittances and investment; and they maintained political linkages with the homeland, stimulated by the government.

Bosnia. By constrast, refugees have played a much lesser role in the pacification and reconstruction in Bosnia. Up to 1992, the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of six Yugoslavian republics. In the early 1990s, armed conflict broke out in Bosnia, largely as a result of the war for independence that broke out in some of these republics. At the end of the war in Bosnia in 1995, there were more than 1 million IDPs and 1.3 million refugees abroad. Bosnian refugees have had a low participation in elections and political parties back home, with the exception of some groups seeking to promote democracy and other issues. This is partly because the government in Bosnia, unlike in the case of Eritrea, has not sought to boost their political or economic participation in the reconstruction phase. Although personal and social linkages have been maintained, the continuing political and social instability in Bosnia has made the issue of return less desirable for some refugees.

Websites:
Black, R., Koser, K. and Al-Ali, N. (1998-2000) "The Mobilisation and Participation of Transnational Exile Communities in Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Comparison of Bosnia and Eritrea" <u>Research Briefing No.1</u>, Transnational Communities: An ESRC Programme
http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/

Uppsala Conflict Database
Eritrea
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/conflictSummary.php?bcID=28
Bosnia
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/conflictSummary.php?bcID=172

Web-based Resources

Amnesty International
http://web.amnesty.org

Black, R., Koser, K. and Al-Ali, N. (1998-2000) "The Mobilisation and Participation of Transnational Exile Communities in Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Comparison of Bosnia and Eritrea" <u>Research Briefing No.1</u>, Transnational Communities: An ESRC Programme
http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/

Canadian Red Cross
http://www.redcross.ca/article.asp?id=000005&tid=003

El Jack, A. (2003) "Gender and Armed Conflict. Overview Report". BRIDGE (development – gender). Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton
http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/CEP-Conflict-Report.pdf

Escola de Cultura de Pau
http://www.pangea.org

Fetherston, A.B. (2000) "From Conflict Resolution to Transformative Peacebuilding: Reflections from Croatia". Centre for Conflict Resolution, Department of Peace Studies, Working Paper 4.
http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/confres/papers/pdfs/CCR4.pdf

Forced Migration Online
http://www.forcedmigration.org

Forced Migration Review
http://www.fmreview.org

Global IDP Database
http://www.db.idpproject.org

Human Rights Watch
http://hrw.org

Incore (International Conflict Research)
http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk

International Crisis Group
http://www.crisisgroup.org

Semana magazine
http://www.semana.com

SIPRI
http://www.sipri.org

Uppsala Conflict Database
http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php

UNHCR
http://www.unhcr.ch

U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI)
http://www.refugees.org

Van Hear, N. (2003) "Refugee Diasporas, Remittances, Development and Conflict". *Migration Information Source*
http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=125

Non-electronic Resources and Bibliography

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