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The Security-Migration Nexus

By Andrea Warnecke

In recent political and academic debate, discussions focusing on the so-called "Security–Migration Nexus" have usually established more or less substantive threat scenarios regarding domestic security issues of the recipient countries, e.g. problems arising from irregular migration, failed integration efforts, or the alleged link between international terrorism and migration. This is, of course, not to say that all of these issues have simply been made up.

However, limiting the nexus of security and migration to the security concerns of the recipient states tends to exaggerate actual threats and causal links and thus leads to an overall "securitization" of migration. Accordingly, a more balanced approach to analyzing the interplays of security and migration would have to equally take into account the following three dimensions.

Firstly regarding security effects on the countries of origin, I would like to point to the role of Diaspora organizations as non-state actors in conflict management.

When analyzing the connection between migration and the security situation in the countries of origin, questions with respect to the importance of (in)security as push and pull factors of migration arise first. This holds true in particular in the cases of forced migration, such as expulsion or flight because of war and poverty. Additionally, however, groups that were so far mainly perceived as refugee communities present themselves as politically or ethnically exiled entities with clear expectations and agendas for the development of their countries of origin.

From an economic perspective, a 2005 World Bank report gave new impetus to this area of study. According to the report, remittances by migrants into their countries of origin surpass the sum of the annual payments of official development aid (ODA) and, partially, the sum of direct investments.

In addition, individual Diaspora represen-tatives caused a stir in the media when they took over central roles in the peace processes in their home countries. Due to personal experiences and the globalization of communication and transport, Diaspora and migrant communities have become important actors both in peace and conflict processes in their countries of origin.

Against this background, one has to investigate in what way Diaspora groups get involved in the conflicts in their home countries and what the consequences of such commitment for peace consolidation and local development processes are. This would also entail looking into possible positive and negative effects of Diaspora activities and the corresponding framework conditions for such activities in the European recipient countries.

The second dimension to analyzing security and migration deals with the living conditions and security needs of migrants in European countries, that is migration and human security.

The social, legal and economic situation of migrants—especially those from conflict regions—should form a major aspect when conceptualizing the security–migration nexus.

Among many other aspects, this includes the reasons that have induced migrants to leave or flee their countries, and also the circumstances and dangers arising during the journey, such as human trafficking. Upon their arrival in the European Union, many migrants face prolonged social and economic insecurity due to unsettled residence permit statuses. On top of that, the political or societal commitment of Diaspora communities originating from conflict regions can result in additional personal risks. These may include a possible loss of an insecure residence permit upon leaving the EU, or, in extreme cases, the repression of political activities of the Diaspora by the governments of their countries of origin.

Finally, the well-meaning attempts to foster Diaspora activities such as remittances for development hardly ever take into account the consequences of these sustained financial transfers for the economic situation of the migrants themselves.

Similarly, EU-programs facilitating circular migration are still primarily designed to cater to the labor needs of the recipient countries.

While there is much to be said for supporting constructive Diaspora activities, both state and non-state actors in the EU have to make sure to not simply consider migrants as a means to an end but as actors in their own right.

The third dimension finally refers to the perspective of the recipient countries, that is to societies in the EU.

There is a broad discourse on migration as a potential source of insecurity to resident citizens. This especially includes the fear that Diaspora communities could 'import' existing conflict potentials into the communities of their residence countries. In order to balance this highly emotionalized discourse, we need to ask why this link has been established so prominently in the first place—that is why migration has increasingly become a matter of security.

For example this should include an analysis of the rhetoric of regular immigration politics to unearth how this securitization discourse has influenced and shaped current perspectives and policies on migration.

By structuring the security–migration nexus according to these three dimensions of migrants, resident and origin countries, it becomes evident that we not only have to question our definition of security, (i.e. physical, social, economic security) but also and firstly *whose* security we are talking about.

Andrea Warnecke, Researcher at BICC. Excerpt of her speech held at the international BICC conference "The Security–Migration Nexus. Challenges and Opportunities of African Migration to EU Countries", 22–23 February 2008, in Bonn

Staff Spotlight

Christian Kraft

Christian has been working at BICC as a student assistant since late 1999. After maintaining the website of the Development and Peace Foundation (SEF) for two years he took on the first redesign and subsequently the administration of BICC's website. Since then the number of BICC websites Christian has worked on has grown steadily. They include online exhibitions like the photo exhibition " *Millenniumsziele 2015 – Global handeln für Armutsbekämpfung, Frieden und Entwicklung*" as well as the page "Value of Water—Different Approaches in Transboundary Water Management" or the information pages on BICC's work on "Capacity-building on small arms control and DD&R in Southern Sudan".

Christian recently completed work on the German website of the "Fatal Transactions" campaign, which is hosted and maintained by BICC. The arms exports website " *Sicherheit, Rüstung und Entwicklung in Empfängerländern deutscher Rüstungsexporte*" was Christian's first work on a database-driven website. The website publishes different data sets concerning the military sector, overall security environment, human rights situation and governance in altogether 170 countries. He created BICC's latest database-driven website, the "Resource Conflict Monitor" (RCM). The RCM monitors how resource-rich countries manage, administer and govern their natural resources and illustrates the impact of the quality of resource governance on the onset, intensity and duration of violent conflict.

Christian studies under the North-America Program at the University of Bonn. The interdisciplinary program includes political science, economics, history and literature. During his studies, Christian focused mainly on development policy and international relations. Christian is currently writing his master thesis on the influence of Human Security on national and international actors' policies exemplified by Canada, Germany, the UN and the EU.

In his free time Christian loves cooking, especially outdoor barbecuing. He likes mountain biking as well as hiking and enjoys Italian horror movies from the 1970s.

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BICC Country Database on Arms Export Control

The German discussion on arms exports often suffers from a lack of information regarding the correspondence of recipient states to the eight criteria set out in the 1998 European Union (EU) Code of Conduct on Arms Exports. With funds from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, BICC regularly publishes updated data sets concerning the military sector, overall security environment, human rights situation and governance in all together 170 countries. The data is arranged in such a way so as to examine the adherence of all countries to seven criteria, which are based on those spelled out in the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports:

- International and regional arms embargoes
- Adherence to human rights
- Good governance
- Internal and external conflict
- Membership in human rights and arms control conventions
- Arms export controls
- Danger of disproportionate military capacities impairing development

In each area, every country is classified in accordance to a 'traffic light' system—'red', 'yellow' or 'green'—with 'red' pointing to a high probability of severe deficits with regard to the criterion in question. This is how the database gives a rough indication of how individual countries correspond to areas important to issues of arms export control policy. As a valuable information source for decision-makers and the general public, it aims at supporting, improving and facilitating critical evaluation of German and European arms exports.

The correspondence of countries to each criterion can also be viewed by means of an interactive map which is set up through a webGIS application.

The information is publicly accessible on the internet at www.ruestungsexport.info

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BICC Websites

www.bicc.de/info/bicc_sites.php

www.ruestungsexport.info

www.resource-conflict-monitor.org

www.fataltransactions.de

www.bicc.de/mdg/

New BICC data base service: Natural resource wealth and conflict

On 12 March 2008, BICC presented a new English data base service, the Resource Conflict Monitor (RCM). With the financial support of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, BICC experts have been able to develop a data base on 90 resource-rich countries, which over the past eleven years has given an insight into the effects of resource governance on the relationship between natural resources and violent conflict. This website can from now on be directly accessed at www.resource-conflict-monitor.org.

Conflicts are by no means the logical consequence of the existence of natural resources and their use by different parties. Greater efforts are needed to test how a better understanding of the way in which natural resources are governed could contribute to conflict prevention and transformation measures.

One look at the Resource Conflict Monitor provides more facts. Charts give a direct overview of conflicts, resource governance and the involvement in international control and protection regimes. For example the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): From 1997 to 2005, a highly violent conflict raged across the country which only abated in 2005 and 2006. Resource governance comprises indicators such as regime type, civil liberties, freedom of assembly and association, workers' rights as well as the compliance with international agreements. The commitment to international agreements is measured with the Resource Regime Compliance Index (RRCI) in an independent curve. It shows that commitment to international control regimes has apparently received very low priority during the war in the DRC.

The data base provides an empirical measure of resource governance with the aim to contribute to discussions on new policy options and instruments to improve and support good resource governance in conflict prone developing countries. Based on an evaluation of the overall data, BICC concludes that improving resource governance, including the integration of international control regimes and conventions, should be a key focus of development assistance. Resource governance, good governance and transparency are fostered by the cooperation on the international, regional, national and local level.

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www.resource-conflict-monitor.org

New BICC Publications

Newsletter *Fatal Transaction* – No. 2
Susanne Heinke, Wolf-Christian Paes, Jolien Schure u.a.
2008. März.

Research paper:
Volker Franke, Aimée Hampel-Milagrosa and Jolien Schure. *2007.* "In Control of Natural Wealth? Governing the resource-conflict dynamic". December.

Fallstudie:
Dr. Volker Böge. 2007. *Das BP Tangguh Erdgasprojekt in West-Papua/Indonesien. Ressourcenextraktion in einem fragilen Umfeld.* November.

Katalog:
Volker Böge, Natalia Krieger. 2007. Tabellarische Übersicht ausgewählter Fälle aus den Bereichen extraktive Industrien, Wald- und Wasserwirtschaft. November.

Übersichtsstudie:
Nathalia Krieger. 2007. „Gewinnung natürlicher Ressourcen in Konfliktsituationen: Bestandsaufnahme zu den Positionen und Strategien relevanter EZ-Akteure". November.

BICC Notes

In the framework of the Fatal Transactions Campaign, Jolien Schure and Lena Guesnet will be traveling to Côte d'Ivoire for four weeks to do field research.

Since the end of the civil war in 2002, the West-African country has been divided in two parts. The north is controlled by the rebels of the '*Forces Nouvelles*' whereas the government is responsible for the south. Between both parts, there is a buffer zone which is protected by French and UN soldiers. Natural resources, in particular cocoa, but also diamonds, gold and oil, play an important role for both parties to the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire.

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The Platform for Peaceful Conflict Management is celebrating its ten-year anniversary at the Evangelische Akademie im Rheinland. The annual conference "Ability for peace put to the test - 10 years Platform for Peaceful Conflict Management" from 4 to 6 April 2008 will remember and honor the results achieved so far. One particular focus will lie on the question in how far civilian conflict management can count on the ability for peace of societies. In the framework of the working group "Lobby for Peace" (5 April) Peter J. Croll will hold an "Appeal for an Integrative German Security Strategy".

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Peter Croll at croll@bicc.de

On 12 March, BICC in cooperation with UNU-EHS launched the 'Resource Conflict Monitor' (RCM). The RCM is a unique tool for research and information on the nexus between natural resources and violent conflict. It was presented and discussed by Peter J. Croll, Director BICC, Prof. Janos Bogardi, United Nations University (UNU), Director Institute for Environment and Human Security (EHS) and Jolien Schure, researcher at BICC.

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Andreas Heinemann-Grueder spoke on "Ethnic Federalism in Comparative Perspective" (in Russian) at the Conference "Federalism and Multiethnicity in Russia" at the MGIMO Institute in Moscow, co-organized by BICC and MGIMO and sponsored by the Forum of Federations and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

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More than 150 participants, amongst them representatives of research institutes, civil society as well as politicians, accepted the invitation by BICC to talk about the challenges of the African Diaspora in Europe on the occasion of an international conference which took place from 22 to 23 February 2008 in Bonn. The two-day event, entitled: "The Security–Migration Nexus. Challenges and Opportunities of African Migration to EU Countries" at the Deutsche Welle was supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

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http://www.bicc.de/events/mig_conf/
content.php

BICC and the Graduate Program in International Affairs (GPIA) at The New School (TNS) in New York have developed an internship program for graduate students from The New School to come to BICC to perform research. This bilateral relationship will provide multiple benefits: for BICC in the form of graduate-level research support, for The New School in relation to expanding upon an already solid curriculum, and for the graduate students themselves in providing real-world experience in the application of research.

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