According to The United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) there are currently 65.3 million people displaced around the world. This number represents the highest level of displaced people ever recorded. Furthermore, in an effort to better understand the magnitude of this humanitarian crisis I have chosen to examine historical refugee resettlement trends for my Capstone topic. I will specifically focus on the refugee category of displaced people, which as of 2016 make up 20 million people worldwide. According to the UNHCR, a refugee is defined as someone with a "well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group."

The following annotated bibliography summarizes some of the sources that I have gathered to date relating to my topic. My findings for the time period 1960-2015 indicate that on average developing nations admit more refugees than do Western, industrialized nations. This is despite the fact that the international regime supporting refugees and displaced people worldwide was established in 1951 as a direct response to the European refugee crisis following WWII. Developing nations such as Iran and Pakistan have on average provided asylum to 2 million refugees annually since the 1980's. In comparison, the United States has admitted a total of 500,000 refugees every year since 1961 and has not significantly increased refugee intake since 1.

Since 2013 Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon and Turkey have been the top four countries providing asylum to refugees. Turkey, specifically has hosted the most amount of refugees worldwide since 2013. Afghanistan, Syria and Somalia are the top refugee producing countries worldwide since 2013 and since 2014, Syrian refugees make up the largest displaced population worldwide.

Thus, in order to provide a comparative analysis of historical refugee resettlement trends, I will look for data relating to the factors that influence refugee resettlement around the world such as geography, public opinion and GDP for both developing and industrialized asylum host countries. Ultimately, I would like to explain why most refugees flee to developing nations and what factors need to be improved on an international scale in order to better address the needs of refugees worldwide.


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In 2016 the United States will accept a total of 85,000 refugees and by 2017 this number is expected to increase to 100,000. This is not the first time that the U.S. has admitted this amount of refugees. In 1980, 200,000 refugees were admitted into the United States for resettlement. This article addresses some of the concerns relating to refugee resettlement such as security. Since September 11, three refugees have been arrested for planning terrorist activities. The author alleges that flaws in the security screening process have more to do with other countries' weaker screening systems that do not track refugee information as rigorously as the United States does. Furthermore, the article also explains the economic impact that refugees have for host countries. I do not plan on using this article for my capstone because it is not very informative and does not provide any solutions or recommendations with regards to the resettlement process.


This article compares the refugee crises of both Iraq and Syria. The author outlines the lessons that should be taken from the Iraq refugee crisis in order to deal present and future refugee crises more effectively.

According to Berman, the United States has a political advantage in controlling the flow of refugees coming into the nation because of geographic distance. For the United States, the immigration quota system, and the refugee’s nationality are the main factors in determining their chances of resettlement.

According to UNHCR sources mentioned in the article, many Iraqis fleeing civil war did not seek out resettlement in the United States because they deemed it a waste of time. Lack of assistance from the international community as well as stricter visa requirements were among the reasons that refugees became disenchanted with resettlement process.

In 2007 Senator Edward Kennedy introduced the Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act wherein he stated, "If [refugees’ needs are not quickly and adequately met, these populations could become a fertile recruiting ground for terrorists.” From this perspective, the national discourse on resettlement was reframed as a crisis control tactic and this provided justification for Iraqi refugee resettlement of 100,000 people in the United States.

Furthermore, the article also alleges that the majority of refugees worldwide flee to neighboring countries that tend to have their own problems such as weak governance and security conditions. The author recommends that host countries should prioritize the well being of citizens and stability of governance in order to help mitigate potential challenges that refugees might be exposed to such as homelessness.

This article examines the progress that the field of Refugee Studies has made in the last 50 years. The author examines how institutions have evolved to meet the needs of refugees through factors such as policymaking and provides future policy recommendations related for the field of Refugee studies. I do not plan on using this article for my Capstone.


This Op Ed piece is regarding the political problems and histories of refugees. The author alleges that a refugee’s status as stateless has precluded them from becoming bearers of inalienable rights and this has served the function of essentially throwing refugees out of the realm of humanity.

Furthermore, the author suggests that our inability to respond to the refugee crisis in an effective way reveals our weaknesses as nations. I will not use this article for my Capstone because it is not based on factual evidence and is an opinion piece.


Ignatieff’s article outlines several recommendations in dealing with the refugee crisis. He argues that a “successful campaign against nihilism will have to resist nihilism itself (p.2).” In other words, part of the strategy in combating ISIS should reinforce not undermine democratic values because part of ISIS’s strategy is to make Europeans think that refugees are a security threat (p.2). Ignatieff states that ISIS is deliberately using campaign of misinformation as a strategy to destabilize Europe as well as make Muslims feel disenfranchised within their communities. The combination of these factors serves to strengthen their political and ideological power. Furthermore, the human’s loss of political power has the effect of essentially stripping their rights. Hannah Arendt who exiled from Germany in 1933 states, “If a human being loses hi political status, he should, according to the implications of the inalienable rights of man, come under exactly the situation for which the declaration of such general rights are provided. Actually the opposite is the case. It seems that a man who is nothing but a man has lost the very qualities which make it possible for other people to treat him as a fellow man (p.3.”

Mrs. Ardent’s experience challenges the credibility of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1953), which “was meant to provide the stateless the right to have rights (p.3).”

The article suggests that American has dealt with the refugee crisis indirectly such as contributing the majority of the $450 million UNHCR requires to meet the humanitarian needs of Syria (p.4). As of December 2015, the United States had only admitted 1,854
Syrian refugees since 2012 (p.4). The inability of the United States to take responsibility for the refugee crisis they contributed to via U.S invasion of Iraq is destabilizing Europe and specifically Germany. Furthermore, the author emphasizes the necessity of the United States’ role in fixing the refugee crisis.


This book examines Iraq’s refugee crisis and makes recommendations on how to deal with the current Syrian refugee crisis based on the lessons learned from the handling of Iraqi refugees and displaced peoples. According to 2012 estimates, nearly 3 million Iraqis have remained refugees or have been displaced since U.S-led invasions such as those in 1991 and 2003. The book makes the argument that Syrians will suffer the same fate with regard to statelessness.

Furthermore, the book attempts to bring awareness to the humanitarian need in places such as Iraq and Syria. Throughout the book, there are a series of presentations summaries, data and fieldwork regarding the study of refugee population. Using this source, I hope to gain a better understanding of the various approaches and perspectives in dealing with the refugee crisis.


According to 2014 estimates, there are an estimated 59.5 million individuals that have been displaced worldwide. This is the most amount of refugees recorded in history. This source alleges that only 14 million people have gained official refugee status.

The top three refugee hosting countries are Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon and harbor approximately 30% of refugees worldwide. Furthermore, approximately 86% of the world’s refugees were hosted by developing nations, which are ill equipped to handle large refugee populations.

Critics argue that developed nations such as the United States should take on a greater role in protecting these vulnerable communities from harm so that they do not resort to dangerous alternatives to escape persecution. According to the author, ignoring the refugee crisis will have further destabilizing consequences for the United States. And according to the Refugee Crisis in Iraq Act of 2007, "If the needs of refugees are not
quickly or adequately met, these populations could become fertile recruiting ground for terrorists (Brookings).


This report is an assessment of how the refugee crisis has impacted social services in Europe. Part of what I am trying to examine in my Capstone are the social services and resources available to refugees in host countries.

The key findings of the report were that the refugee crisis impacted some states more than others. In some states, refugees have contributed to an over burdening of social services, which has resulted in poor living conditions, delayed emergency healthcare and lack of homes/centers for displaced children. According to Swedish statistics, 25% of unaccompanied children have disappeared from accommodation center, which puts them at risk for human trafficking. Furthermore, lack of jobs available for refugees in host countries also contributes to poorer living conditions and disenfranchisement. Thus, the report suggests that social services need more financial support and must be prioritized by refugee hosting nations.


This article explains the limited role that the United Nations and United States and its allies have had in responding to refugee crisis, specifically, the 2006 displacement of Iraqis (p.18). The authors allege that the plight of Iraqi refugees was “policitized, as concerns about humanitarian assistant overlap with the United States and other government’s efforts to prosecute a war on terror (p.1).” This politicization of the refugee crisis essentially renders them even more powerless and vulnerable. According to the article, Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have had to carry the weight of the politicization of the refugee crisis. The article alleges that, “without the efforts of the NGOs little attention would be paid to the issue (p.19) Thus, the article emphasizes the importance of advocacy, policy making and action coming from all nations, organizations and people in an effort to improve the humanitarian conditions.


One of the catalysts of regional insecurity has been the misuse of humanitarian aid to
refugees. This article specifically uses the case study of the Rwandan genocide to explain how the misuse of aid can lead to the exacerbation of a refugee crisis. The author alleges that two aspects of the political context are oftentimes ignored and are important in explaining conflict. The first aspect is the "level of political cohesion of the refugee group at the outset of the crisis. According the author, a highly politicized group is more likely to "view humanitarian aid as a resource for which to further its political and military goal vis a vis the sending state (pg.4). The second aspect of the political context is the "state response to the crisis (p.4)." According to the author the misuse of aid is likely to happen when the receiving state does not impose political order or demilitarize refugees (p.4).

Thus, this article aims to highlight the need to re-design refugee relief programs in order to prevent the potential exacerbation of refugee crises worldwide.


In William McCant’s The ISIS Apocalypse he provides unique insight into the inner workings of the Islamic State and other Jihadist terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda. This book is important for my Capstone because it examines the impact that ISIS has had on places such as Iraq and Syria and how this has contributed to the global refugee crisis.

McCants examines throughout his book why the Islamic State has been more successful than other jihadist terrorist organizations as well as the following: 1.) The rise of ISIS and their domestic and foreign recruitment success, 2.) ISIS’s acquisition of geographical strongholds throughout the Middle East, 3.) the strategic and ideological differences between ISIS and other Jihadist terrorist organizations and 4.) the relationship between the United States and terrorist groups in the Middle East.

McCants suggests that one of the reasons why ISIS has been successful is due to their brutality, apocalyptic fervor and dedication to state building. He alleges that the rise of ISIS was facilitated by the U.S invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the subsequent withdrawal of U.S troops from Iraq.

Furthermore, McCants also examines how ISIS has evolved into a decentralized organizational model of leadership especially since its break off from Al-Qaeda. The decentralization of ISIS has made them highly adaptive and difficult to target. McCants suggests that because ISIS differs from other terrorist organizations in terms of ideology, strategy and objectives, getting rid of them is going to require innovative ways of combating terrorism.


This article relates to the resettlement experience of refugees living in San Diego.
According to a report by the Partnership for the Advancement of New Americans, which focuses on local refugee populations from East Africa, Thailand and Burma, refugees are facing challenges such as: “poor living conditions, emotional distress and limited access to healthcare.”

The report found that lack of education and English language skills constituted a “barrier for employment” and that the median household income for East African and Burmese & Thai refugees was $1,774 and $1,216 respectively. The article alleges that housing insecurity is one of the most significant problems facing refugees in San Diego. East African refugees without an educational background spend 81% of their income on housing and similarly, refugees from Burma and Thailand report spending 84% of their incomes on housing. Furthermore, 77% of refugees have never applied for affordable housing which suggests that there is a lack of resources and public assistance emphasis on the well being and livelihood of these already vulnerable communities.


According to this article, refugee movements pose a threat to the state and security of society. This article examines the links between security and migration and how this is based on factors such as the duration and size of the displacement. Furthermore, the author uses the case study of the Afghani refugee crisis to exemplify the potential negative repercussions that result from regional and international policies imposed upon refugee communities. According to the author, these policies can lead to security dilemmas for nations such as: the development of the refugee warrior communities among Afghan refugees. Thus, the author suggests that, "all factors should be considered in future refugee assistance in order to assume that human security is not sacrificed for that of states, and that the victims (refugees) are not the only ones held responsible."


The Refugee Project's main purpose is to detail refugee migrations around the world for the time period 1975 through 2015. This data is displayed via an interactive map.

According to the Refugee Project's description of the data, the Project is limited to information regarding refugees registered under the UNHCR due to the fact that they are mandated under international law to protect and track asylum seekers worldwide. The map describes the events that produced the most amounts of refugees for each corresponding year. According to the map, as of 2016, there are 20 million refugees worldwide.

When examining the interactive data, I specifically focused on the years 2013 through 2015. Furthermore the data shows that developing nations host the most amount of
refugees worldwide. Since 2013 Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon and Turkey are the top 4 countries providing asylum to refugees. Turkey, specifically, has been the number one refugee-hosting nation since 2013.


This data visualization chart maps out refugee populations country of origin as well as the number of refugees in each asylum host country for every year from 1960 through 2012. One of the most interesting facts that I gathered from this data was that the year 1992 had the highest number of refugees seeking asylum for the time period 1960-2012. There was a total of 17,838,074 refugees hosted by asylum counties during this year compared to 2012, which only had a total of 10,500,234 refugees. Another surprising finding was that developing nations have on average hosted more refugees than any other industrialized nation in the corresponding 50 year period. Specifically, Iran and Pakistan hosted 2 million plus refugees since the 1980's. In comparison the United States has on average admitted a total of 500,000 refugees since 1961 and has not increased significantly except for two peak time periods. From 1977-79 an average of 734,000 refugees were admitted into the United States for asylum. And in 2006 there were a total of 843,490 refugees admitted into the United States.

Since 2006, the number of refugees admitted into the United States has decreased drastically to 262,023 by 2012 even through refugee populations over the world have increased. The first refugee peak is explained by the Vietnamese refugee crisis whereas the 2006 peak is due to the Iraqi refugee crisis following the 2003 US occupation of Iraq. Even though developing nations on average accept more refugees than Western nations, it is important to mention that among industrialized nations, the United States has on average accepted some of the highest numbers of refugees except for Germany in the recent years.


This UNHCR report contends that 3.7 million of the approximate 6 millions refugee children have no school to go to. In contrast, 90% of non-refugee children have access to an education. These statistics show that there is a growing "lost generation" of children which wont have access to the same opportunities and education. This report stresses the importance of consider not only the "basic survival" of refugees but the increased access to education as well. The author suggests that emphasizing education for refugees will ensure that they "positively shape the future of both their countries of asylum and their home counties when they return."
For my Capstone, I will specifically focus on refugee populations, which as of 2016 amount to 20 million refugees worldwide. Furthermore, this article is useful to my Capstone because the UNHCR, which is the authority in charge of asylum seekers worldwide, defines the differences between categories of displaced people. According to the UNHCR, a refugee is defined as someone with a "well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group." War and religious violence are among the leading causes of refugees for fleeing their native countries.

Furthermore, The 1951 Refugee Convention is regarded as the most important international instrument of refugee law. The convention defines the legal protections, assistance and social rights that refugees should receive from countries who have signed the convention. Additionally, the Convention also outlines a refugee’s obligation to host governments.

An Internally Displaced Person (IDP) is defined as someone who flees persecution for the same reasons as refugees but does not cross an international border. According to the UNHCR, "IDP's are not protected by international law or eligible to receive many types of aid."

A Stateless Person is defined as someone who is not a citizen of any country. Stateless people do not have access to the benefits granted to legal citizens of nations, which includes political, economic and social rights. Reasons for statelessness include: sovereign, legal, technical or administrative decisions or oversights.

An asylum seeker is defined as a person who flees their country in order to seek sanctuary in another country. Asylum seekers have legal protections and are entitled to financial assistance if they are able to demonstrate a well-founded fear of persecution in their native country.

18. Woodward, Bob “Diplomatic Moves, Military Plan was Launched,” Washington Post, April 18, 2004

In this interview Bob Woodward, managing editor for the Washington Post, interviews president Bush and makes the case that Bush was intent on going to war and was not interested in diplomacy. In his interview, he explains that role that members of the Bush Administration had in orchestrating the war.

According to the interview, following the 9/11 attacks Dick Cheney announced at Camp David meeting that the United States was going to have to return to Iraq at some point. Paul Wolfwitz of the Bush administration were intent on taking advantage of the opportunity to strike Iraq but Bush and Cheney had an “Afghanistan first” policy (p.3). When Woodward asks President Bush “why Iraq and why at this time?” the president
responds that “The world had changed after 9/11 and I think he, in the back of his mind was preparing (p.4) “

Powell was among those in the administration who had opposing views on the invasion. Unlike Cheney who wanted to invade, Powell preferred to run the diplomatic course as long as he could (p7) Secretary of defense, Dick Cheney argued against going to congress to seek approval.

Ultimately, Woodward’s interview suggests that the Bush administration achieved its stated military objectives, not political objectives in the Middle East (p6)


In his article, Steven Yetiv explains why the 2003 Iraq war was a failure for both Iraq and the United States as well as the long term implications the invasion has had on Iraq’s security, social and economic conditions. Yetiv suggests that the United States’ failure to prioritize nation building and security exacerbated humanitarian conditions, which contributed to the diaspora of refugees coming out of Iraq.

According to Yetiv the United States justified invasion of Iraq as follows: 1.) WMD, 2.) Rationale that Iraq has ties to terrorism ie: Al Qaida 3.) Intention to topple the autocratic regime of Hussein and to democratize Iraq.

Yetiv suggests that the United States’ justification for invading Iraq was short sighted and did not take into account the long term implications that such war would have on human life and progress in Iraq. This article is important to my Capstone because it was one of the contributing factors to the recent refugee crises.


This article provides an assessment of the relationships among the United States intelligence community agencies and analyzes whether the intelligence community is sufficiently prepared to counter a myriad of terrorist threats, domestically and abroad. This source is relevant to my Capstone because It examines how prepared we are as a nation to counter domestic and international security threats.

Amy Zergert asserts that the intelligence community has failed to adapt to their changing environment. According to Zergert, some organizational shortcomings of the intelligence community include: the lack of interagency cooperation and coordination, the IC’s system of intelligence collection & analysis, and the need for more human intelligence to
help counter terrorist activity. Overall a total of 340 intelligence reform recommendations were issued by several counterterrorism and law enforcement studies in the decade prior to the 9/11 attacks. Of these recommendations, only 35 were implemented and the rest were ignored. Furthermore, this has significant implications for global security and the exacerbations of humanitarian conditions. Amy Zegart suggests that both normative and structural changes need to be made within the United States intelligence community in order to help reduce the consequences on human life and security.

(I PLAN ON EXPANDING MY ANNOTATED BIBLIGRAPHY. SOME OF THE NEW SOURCES ARE AS FOLLOWS)


http://qz.com/711387/the-worlds-least-developed-countries-are-also-the-ones-hosting-the-most-refugees/


- Article states that developing nations host most amount of refugees and details some of he impact this has had on host nations who can barely afford to feed their own citizens.

http://www.salon.com/2016/06/10/the_5_richest_countries_host_just_5_of_refugees_86_are_in_developing_countries/

Muheisen, Muhammed. "The 5 Richest Countries Host Just 5% of Refugees - 86% Are in Developing Countries." Salon. Salon, 10 June 2016. Web. 05 Nov. 2016.


According to this report by OXFAM, the six richest countries which make up half of the global economy only host about 8.88% of the world’s refugees and asylum seekers.

Germany hosts 736,000 people

U.K, US, France, China and Japan host the remaining 2.1 million refugees among them.

According to report, in constant, more than half of the world’s refugees and asylum seekers - 12 million people - are hosted by Jordan, Turkey, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Pakistan, Lebanon and South Africa which only make up about 1.5% of the world’s economy.

Developing nations are now starting to emulate industrialized nations by turning away or imposing tougher restrictions on refugees. In March of 2016, the E.U and Turkey made a deal that political concessions would be made if they would take in refugees in exchange. This has essentially left thousands of people stuck in Greece without legal status. The report comments that trading human beings for political concessions goes against everything the 1951 Refugee Convention stands for. Additionally, Kenya justified the closure of the Dadaab refugee camp by saying that if Europe can turn away Syrians they can turn away Somalis (p.2)