

BROOKINGS

The Role of Civil-Military-Police Coordination in Supporting Durable Solutions to Displacement

Report from Brookings Workshop

May 8, 2015

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Summary

On May 8, 2015, the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement convened a workshop at the Australian Mission to the United Nations, which brought together scholars, government, UN, and IGO/NGO experts to look at the role of military and police forces in resolving displacement. This workshop was part of a larger research project supported by the Australian Civil-Military Centre. Participants prepared by reading the four case studies commissioned by the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement (Kosovo, Colombia, Liberia, Timor Leste), as well as the concept note (see appendices for links to the case studies and the concept note). The workshop focused on tracing the intersections between security, development, and humanitarian actors, with a particular focus on security sector reform and peace support operations. It highlighted the importance of coordination between humanitarian, development, and military actors in working together to find durable solutions to displacement.

After the welcome and introduction, there were two panels, the first of which examined connections between security sector reform (SSR), peacebuilding, and ending displacement. The second focused on how peace operations could more effectively support durable solutions to displacement.¹ There was also time for formal and informal discussions following the panels.²

¹ Note: Chatham House Rules applied during the workshop so that participants could speak more freely.

² The Brookings-LSE Project would like to extend a special thanks to the Australian Mission to the United Nations, who helped make this workshop possible by providing the venue and logistical assistance, as well as substantive input, analysis, and preparatory insight.

Opening remarks and introduction

The workshop opened with a welcome and statement by Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations, Caitlin Wilson. Her comments helped frame the workshop by highlighting key issues relating to police, peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and finding durable solutions to displacement. She emphasized that restoration of national authority is key to protection and that national protection mechanisms are linked to sustainable development goals.

Beth Ferris, Senior Fellow and Co-Director of the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, then provided an introduction to the day's discussion and an overview of the relationship between displacement and peace processes. Refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) tend to be given limited roles in peace negotiations and when they are referenced in peace agreements, it is usually only in terms of their return home, rather than the range of durable solutions outlined in international law. She stressed that displacement and security are interconnected. IDPs cannot return or find other solutions without security. At the same time, it is difficult to provide security and stability when large numbers of people are displaced. Too often the peacebuilding/security component is considered separately from durable solutions discussions, and actors in the security and humanitarian relief/development sectors tend to work separately. The UN, governments of affected countries, donor governments, NGOs, and academics all struggle with this disconnect.

Participants were thus challenged to consider the siloes in which we work, many of which are the products of humanitarian and security professionals simply being so busy and with the lack of tangible career pay-offs to work with institutions beyond one's own sector. Cooperation between security, humanitarian, and development actors is further limited by different institutional mandates, constituencies, cultures, budgets and capacity constraints. By bringing together participants from different organizations and different areas of expertise, this workshop sought to identify ways of improving collaboration between those working to find solutions to displacement and those with a mandate to enhance security and stability in conflict and post-conflict situations.

Session I: Examining connections between Security Sector Reform (SSR), peacebuilding and ending displacement

➤ **Durable solutions and security**

Displacement occurs because of the lack of security as well as the loss of livelihoods and breakdown of social services which result from conflict. In some cases, displacement is more than a byproduct of conflict, but rather is an *explicit objective* of armed groups, seeking ethnic/sectarian cleansing or control of territory. Governments, who are responsible under international law for protecting and assisting IDPs, have often played a role in displacing people. Understanding and addressing the root causes of conflict are thus difficult and complex tasks. And yet it is difficult to find durable solutions for those displaced without tackling these root causes. Moreover, large-scale displacement itself can actually become a source of conflict or political instability, especially in cases where displacement is the product of identity or sectarian conflict.

Durable solutions require political commitment and political solutions. The international community often talks of the humanitarian/development nexus, but there is a need to reconsider it as a relief “and” development process rather than a relief “to” development process; it is not a linear process. It is also important to acknowledge the importance of a triangular relationship that includes political/humanitarian/development considerations. Too often actors pass the buck between humanitarian aid and development projects without acknowledging the need for political action. Security, humanitarian and development actors also sometimes find themselves in competition for funding in post-conflict situations which can create obstacles to better coordination. Even when conflicts end, there is still a need for humanitarian funding at the same time that development funds are needed to support essential tasks such as reconstruction and the development of rule of law.

A holistic perspective is needed so that the needs of both host communities and IDPs are addressed in order to avoid further conflict, particularly over livelihoods and land. One participant cited the example of Cambodia, where refugees returned but issues over land ownership led to tensions between returning refugees and those who had remained – tensions which lasted for years.

Speakers also noted that displaced persons—including both refugees and IDPs—are often perceived as victims or second-class citizens, and thus are not entitled to the same level of security services as other citizens. A lack of security for the displaced can jeopardize broader peace and security.

Some participants stressed the need to look beyond traditional, narrow understandings of security focusing on physical safety, to broader conceptions of human security affecting not only those who are displaced, but also groups such as besieged populations and stateless people who are often excluded in these discussions.

➤ **SSR in particular**

Security sector reform, a key component of post-conflict programming, is not a technical exercise, but rather is a hugely political undertaking with significant implications for solutions to displacement. Reintegration of IDPs and refugees depends on protection and effective law enforcement. In communities with a large number of IDPs, security forces often have a large role in reconstruction and creating connections between IDPs and host communities, particularly in cases where there is competition over resources and livelihoods. In Bosnia, for example, military escorts were needed to support returnees as they went back to reclaim houses. Likewise in Cambodia, the military contributed to the security of refugees returning by train. At the very least, security forces are needed to help maintain order as rebuilding happens. In some cases, security forces may be the only actor with the ability to do “heavy lifting” (e.g. help move heavy machinery or large loads of supplies).

One way that SSR can contribute to solutions to displacement is by developing and implementing vetting processes to ensure that the perpetrators of violence that led to displacement do not end up in the security sector. The case studies of Kosovo and Colombia also demonstrate that SSR actors can practically link to durable solutions to displacement when SSR actors incorporate IDPs and local communities in needs assessments and programming for SSR. SSR actors can also play an essential role in rebuilding trust between those displaced and the new security and political sectors. Just as SSR actors should consider the impact of their activities on displaced populations, humanitarian and development actors should include security and justice needs of the displaced, and SSR programming in assessments and programming for sustainable solutions.

Speakers also commented on new trends, including the fact that massive numbers of IDPs have taken refuge in UN compounds in South Sudan, and complex operations such as the one in Central African Republic, where populations needed to be evacuated in order to protect them. The case studies prepared for the workshop, including Colombia and Kosovo, brought out broader themes in the discussion, including the need for the displaced to have more than just effective security forces protecting them, but also a sense of trust in security actors before returning to their communities of origin or integrating into host communities. In many cases the state was the perpetrator of violence that caused displacement, and thus efforts to reform the security sector are essential to both protect those who are displaced as well as to contribute to durable solutions. In order for displaced persons to see security actors as trustworthy and legitimate, they need to see accountability for past and potential future wrongs. They also need to feel that the security forces represent their communities and to see security and justice as a public service, which includes justice for past wrongs, solutions to property disputes, and access to justice services. There are also opportunities to apply lessons learned from civ-mil coordination mechanisms in other areas to strengthen relations between those working on SSR and resolving displacement.

➤ **Discussion**

In the discussion, participants emphasized the importance of humanitarian engagement with peacebuilding processes. Providing emergency assistance year after year is not a solution. Moreover, it is important at the outset of a crisis to think about what will happen in five or

six years. National government and development partners need to be engaged from the outset in thinking about long-term solutions, even in the earliest phases of emergency response. Given the protracted nature of displacement, one participant suggested that actors need to develop outcome goals or targets: “In X years, how many of the displaced can be returned or integrated?”

But more is needed beyond enhancing collaboration between those working on displacement and SSR. Several participants emphasized that UN member states need to hold each other accountable for protecting civilians. In situations such as Syria where displacement is used as a weapon of war and communities are besieged, there is a need to clearly call out whoever is responsible. The Security Council should make issues around both the protection of civilians and resolving displacement central to its work. And the Security Council needs to recognize that there are solutions other than return for those who are displaced.

Participants also noted that the time is right to push for greater collaboration between different actors. Indeed, there is a confluence of global reviews of peace support operations³ and sustainable development goals.⁴ The upcoming World Humanitarian Summit will also be an opportune time to highlight the connections between peacebuilding and humanitarian action, such as resolving displacement.

³ In 2014, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established a High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, which was to make a comprehensive assessment of the state of UN peace operations today, and the emerging needs of the future. It was the first such panel to examine both peacekeeping operations and special political missions. For more, see <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=49221#.VVfVvEv6H8E>.

⁴ See <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org> for more.

Session II: How can peace operations more effectively support solutions to displacement

➤ **Considering some examples, including South Sudan**

The second session considered how peace operations can more effectively support solutions to displacement, beginning with an examination of the particular challenges to durable solutions and security in South Sudan, which is a continually unfolding emergency. Presently almost 120,000 IDPs have sought protection in UNMISS bases. These UN peacekeeping forces have been unable to protect all of the IDPs, or even to meet the basic needs of IDPs living on the bases. The IDPs do not necessarily trust the peacekeepers, who are not seen as neutral and are vilified by the population, and the peacekeepers have focused on protecting the bases themselves and have been unable to guarantee protection outside of the camps – where 90 percent of IDPs are living.

There has been significant pressure from UN headquarters and from some leadership within the mission around the peacekeeping mission on ground to relocate people currently living in the bases to other places. There are also concerns that UNMISS cannot protect civilians within bases if they were overrun by militias. The peacekeeping forces also face financial and staffing pressures, and struggle to protect their own staff, installations and assets in addition to civilians.

➤ **Broader concerns and comments on peacekeeping amidst displacement**

Participants raised the question of how the UN can carry out peacebuilding in partnership with governments that are perpetrating human rights violations and causing displacement in the first place. Among the lessons learned from the South Sudan case and more broadly in reference to peacekeeping, humanitarian and development work, speakers noted that integrated missions can perform well when there is strong leadership from OCHA; more clarity on red lines in negotiating access; more information sharing between peacekeepers and other actors; a strong protection cluster (UNHCR needs to be especially strong, particularly when the government is the perpetrator of human rights violations); a strong civilian component to peacekeeping; biometric registration; more flexibility with executive orders for police to provide protection; creative thinking around how the UN and countries with more experience in vetting security actors can work together; more independent analyses of conflicts; and more coordination between donors and embassies.

Speakers during this session also reminded the group that peacekeepers and police forces cannot do everything and be everywhere, and are not a one-size-fits-all solution (“they are paramedics, not elective plastic surgeons”). Police in particular are not always armed, and while they may be able to provide some policing functions, they are generally deployed to offer advice and to build the capacity of the host state police force. This is obviously a difficult task when the state is complicit in the abuses. Moreover, peacekeeping operations do not usually have executive mandates which allow them to arrest people. While they usually have the authority to detain, they then turn over those arrested to the national criminal justice system that may not comply with international standards. Ultimately the key role of uniformed personnel in post-conflict settings is to restore public safety, which in part requires understanding why people are displaced. Once that is identified, both a counter-force and internal reform are needed.

Participants once again highlighted the need to address the stigma attached to IDPs. An IDP camp of 60,000 people, for example, is not served in the way as a town of 60,000 (which would have a town hall, courthouse, police forces, and other security and justice institutions). IDPs are somehow seen as being less entitled to support and there is thus a need to emphasize that while IDPs have specific vulnerabilities due to their displacement, they are entitled to the same rights as all citizens and others living within the territory.

➤ **Discussion**

In response, participants offered a variety of questions and comments. Some reiterated the “do no harm” principle, given the reported sexual abuses by French soldiers in the Central African Republic, which speaks to broader concerns about accountability for peacekeepers. Indeed, accountability for peacekeepers’ actions is also needed for the displaced to gain trust in their presence and actions. Emerging from conflict situations where security institutions failed to provide safety or were complicit or responsible for displacement, it is not surprising that displaced populations are often wary of peacekeeping forces or other security actors. Many also see organized crime thrive in the absence of proper police and security forces among displaced populations who are lacking solutions. Thus, peacekeepers and other security actors must actively earn the trust of displaced persons.

At the same time, there is a need to strengthen not just peacekeeping and law enforcement personnel, but also broader institutional capacity, such as relevant ministries. Others noted the key role played by civilian components of peacekeeping (e.g. civil affairs officers, protection advisors), who may be well-placed to serve as links with the humanitarian community.

Participants also emphasized that peacekeeping institutions need to be aware of the particular vulnerabilities of IDPs, and to incorporate this analysis into their assessments and plans. Although many peacekeepers on the ground routinely see the intersection between activities such as the protection of civilians, security sector reform, and displacement at the headquarters’ level, these are usually dealt with by different agencies or departments.

Other participants commented on terminology, and the ways that actors still struggle to define and understand concepts like SSR (versus rule of law/justice) and durable solutions (versus protection). These concepts have been the subject of discussion for years, but there are still gaps between conceptual and practical understandings of the terms. In order to resolve displacement in the long term, national governments must include IDPs in their own national development plans.

Conclusions and moving forward

In summing up, Elizabeth Ferris emphasized the need to look for solutions from the beginning of a crisis (e.g. Ukraine is showing all the signs of becoming a protracted crisis) and suggested that the security of displaced people is essential not only to finding solutions to displacement, but also to long-term peace and stability in the affected country. The intersections between security and displacement suggest many areas of overlap and mutual interest between security, development and humanitarian relief sectors.

Some of the main themes emerging from this workshop that deserve further discussion and exploration include:

- The central role of restoration of public safety in resolving displacement;
- The need to do everything possible to break out of the siloes in which both national and international actors work;
- The need to recognize that linear solutions are not effective and that development, humanitarian and political actors need to work simultaneously and with each other;
- The recognition that actors seeking better collaboration are not starting from scratch. There are some cases where there have been good relations between military and humanitarians, as in the Balkans and Cambodia in supporting solutions to displacement;
- There is a need for stronger information flows between those working on DDR and SSR in post-conflict situations with those humanitarian and development actors focused on resolving displacement;
- Those working on peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations need to recognize durable solutions to displacement as their only “exit strategy;”
- After security, the question of livelihoods is the most important factor shaping durable solutions to displacement;
- Durable solutions to displacement are unlikely without security actors (e.g. the recovery of property);
- Using civilian advisors in peacekeeping operations may help to build links between security and humanitarian actors;
- This particular moment in time offers many opportunities to advance collaboration between these disparate sectors, including the review of peace operations, the review of peacebuilding, and the review of the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325, as well as the discussions around the Sustainable Development Goals, the World Humanitarian Summit and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing+20) process.

This workshop will feed into a longer, more substantive report prepared by the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, highlighting many of the themes and issues that emerged, and outlining some recommendations for enhancing collaboration between actors working on peacebuilding/security and humanitarian/relief/development for durable solutions to displacement.

Appendix A

The Role of Civil-Military-Police Coordination in Supporting Durable Solutions to Displacement

May 8, 2015

Agenda⁵

8:45 A.M. Coffee/tea

9:15-9:30 A.M. Welcome and Introduction

- Caitlin Wilson, Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations
- Elizabeth Ferris, Senior Fellow and Co-Director, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement

9:30-10:45 A.M. Examining connections between SSR, peacebuilding and ending displacement

- Izumi Nakamitsu, Assistant Secretary-General and Assistant Administrator, Crisis Response Unit, UNDP
- Udo Janz, Director, UNHCR New York
- Maria Derks-Normandin, Consultant, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement

10:45-11:00 A.M. Break

11:00 A.M.-12:00 P.M. How can Peace Support Operations more effectively support solutions to displacement

- Alison Giffen, Senior Associate and Co-Director of Future of Peace Operations Program, Stimson Center
- Andrew Carpenter, Chief, Strategic Policy and Development Section, Police Division for Peacekeeping Operations

12:00-12:15 Brief discussion and closing remarks

- Elizabeth Ferris, Senior Fellow and Co-Director, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement

12:15-1:15 P.M. Lunch

Appendix B

⁵ The agenda was adjusted the day of the workshop in order to accommodate some last-minute changes. Two speakers were unable to attend, and the last panel was thus canceled. Instead, the other two sessions were given more time with the intention that speakers could go a little longer and that there would be more time for discussion.

List of Participants

1. Raiman Khalid Al-Hamdani, Yemeni Mission to the UN
2. Mohammed Alnaqshabandi, Iraqi Mission to the UN
3. Katrina Burgess, Canadian Mission to the UN
4. Aurelien Buffler, OCHA
5. Andrew Carpenter, Police Division for Peacekeeping Operations
6. Ha Thanh Chung, Vietnamese Mission to the UN
7. Leah Denman, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
8. Julio Dery, Philippine Mission to the UN
9. Maria Derks-Normandin, Consultant, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
10. Elizabeth Ferris, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
11. Alison Giffen, Stimson Center
12. Jaime Fernando Hidalgo, Philippine Mission to the UN
13. Ernesto Granillo, ICRC
14. Agnes Hurwitz, UNHCR
15. Udo Janz, UNHCR
16. Allanah Kjellgren, Australian Mission to the UN
17. Hilde Klemetsdal, Norwegian Mission to the UN
18. Hossein Maleki, Iranian Mission to the UN
19. Zoe Martin, Australian Mission to the UN
20. Sarah Miller, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
21. Izumi Nakamitsu, UNDP
22. Aroldo Rodriguez, Argentine Mission to the UN
23. Bianca Selway, Australian Mission to the UN
24. Leanne Smith, DPKO
25. Eugeniusz Szajbel, EU Liaison to the UN
26. Elio Tamburi, UN-DPA
27. Sonam Tobgye, Bhutanese Mission to the UN
28. Louise Virenfeldt, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
29. Ambassador Caitlin Wilson, Australian Mission to the UN

Appendix C

Concept note and links to case studies

Concept Note for Workshop:
The Role of Civil-Military-Police Coordination in Supporting Durable Solutions to Displacement
Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement
8 May 2015

Introducing the issues

Finding durable solutions for those displaced by the conflict is critical to building sustainable peace in post-conflict situations. When refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs) are unable to find solutions to their displacement, stability and peace are more difficult to sustain. Rather than being a part of the peace and rebuilding process, refugees and IDPs may be left out at best, or at worst, become obstacles to maintaining peace and stability. At the same time, durable solutions for the displaced usually depend on ending the conflict and establishing security, rule of law and legitimate government in areas where the displaced are living or to which they hope to return. Put simply, without security, there cannot be solutions to displacement; and without solutions to displacement, peace and security can be challenging to maintain.

This complex relationship has received increased attention, as underscored in several recent reports by the UN Secretary-General.⁶ However, in practice organizations that focus on displacement and actors that work on peacebuilding, security and conflict prevention tend to work separately with little overlap, and lack knowledge of how durable solutions strategies and peacebuilding and conflict prevention strategies may be combined. Indeed, peace operations and the overarching peacebuilding architecture do not always intersect with plans for durable solutions to displacement. The different sets of actors working on displacement on the one hand, and peacebuilding and security on the other, do not always coordinate with one another, or even take into account broader implications for this complex relationship. Moreover the existing infrastructure of relations between these actors may not be well-suited for greater collaboration.

With the support of the Australian Civil-Military Centre, the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement is holding a half-day workshop on the role of military and police forces in supporting durable solutions to displacement in post-conflict situations. The workshop is intended to expand the understanding of the synergies between peacebuilding, conflict prevention and durable solutions to displacement. It also seeks to inform and strengthen the capacity of key actors (including states and UN agencies such as UNHCR and UNDP) to integrate the resolution of displacement into peacebuilding and conflict prevention strategies. The workshop is being hosted by the Australian Mission to the United Nations on 8 May 2015.

⁶ “Ending Displacement in the Aftermath of Conflict: Preliminary Framework for Supporting a more coherent, predictable and effective response to the durable solutions needs of refugee, returnees and internally displaced persons,” UN Secretary General’s Policy Committee decision No. 2011/20.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1265299949041/6766328-1265299960363/SG-Decision-Memo-Durable-Solutions.pdf>.

The results of this workshop, together with previously-published case studies (briefly described on the next page), will feed into a longer research brief published by Brookings on the role of the military and police in supporting solutions to displacement in post-conflict situations.

The Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement has worked for over twenty years to promote more effective national, regional and international responses to internal displacement and to support the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of IDPs. In recent years, the Project has focused much of its work on the challenging question of how to support solutions for IDPs.

Case studies informing the discussion

Four case studies were commissioned by experts in security sector reform and displacement to examine the connections between peacebuilding/conflict resolution and durable solutions to displacement in Kosovo, Timor Leste, Liberia and Colombia. In all four cases, conflicts caused widespread displacement and in all four cases, military forces and issues of security sector reform have had an impact on both the conflict and displacement.⁷ Broadly speaking, the cases further demonstrate the need for overlap in planning and response strategies between military, police, humanitarian and civilian actors.

In **Kosovo**, security and justice developments directly impacted durable solutions for the displaced. Trust-building within security sector reform (SSR) was essential to assuage the mistrust of IDPs toward security actors. Without trust, durable solutions could not even begin to be entertained and without solutions for the displaced, progress toward peace and security was difficult. For the international community, the Kosovo case demonstrates the intrinsic link between SSR efforts and durable solutions. Both humanitarian and security actors need better communication and coordination.

While there were a number of successful humanitarian, peacebuilding and development initiatives in **Timor Leste**, those successes were compartmentalized. Lessons from reconciliation and peacebuilding activities were not applied to a transitional development plan, and the 2006 crisis could have been mitigated if more attention had been paid to ensuring that the returns of IDPs carried out in 1999 had been durable ones.

Experiences in **Liberia** – where most of the population was displaced at one time or another during the country’s fourteen years of war – indicate some of the difficulties that result when a government is anxious to close the IDP file before durable solutions are found.

The case of **Colombia** demonstrates that SSR efforts need to address IDP security concerns directly in order to succeed more broadly. This includes addressing impunity within the security sector itself, and ensuring that local security needs are taken into account in security operations in order to limit further displacement. The case study also indicated that local voices – of those

⁷ For some preliminary reflections on the interconnections and links to the four case studies, see <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2014/09/17-durable-solutions-displacement-peacebuilding-ferris>

who implement SSR and IDP policies at the local level, as well as local communities that are supposed to benefit from them – are essential to ensure that plans developed at the national level address the appropriate issues at the local level, and have the appropriate resources, capacity and support to be effectively implemented.

Kosovo case study available at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/09/04-kosovo-displacement-peacebuilding-derks-normandin/linking-peace-security-and-durable-solutions-in-a-multiethnic-societythe-case-of-kosovo-september-5-2014.pdf>

Colombia case study available at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/09/16-displacement-colobmia-derks-normandin/building-peace-in-the-midst-of-violenceimproving-security-and-finding-durable-solutions-to-displacement-in-colombia-september-17-2014.pdf>

Timor Leste case study available at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/09/04-displacement-peacebuilding-timor-leste/timorlestelinks-between-peacebuilding-conflict-prevention-and-durable-solutions-to-displacement-september-5-2014.pdf>

Liberia case study available at:

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2014/09/05-displacement-peacebuilding-liberia/liberia-links-between-peacebuilding-conflict-prevention-and-durable-solutions-to-displacement-sept-5-2014.pdf>