Protracted Refugee Situations: A Feminist Perspective on Refugee Depiction by UNHCR

By

© 2017

Carly Shinn

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Political Science and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Chair: Dr. Mariya Omelicheva

_____

Dr. Nazli Avdan

_____

Dr. Hannah Britton

Date Defended: June 9, 2017

The thesis committee for Carly Shinn certifies that this is the
approved version of the following thesis:

Protracted Refugee Situations: A Feminist Perspective on Refugee Depiction by UNHCR

_____

Chair: Dr. Mariya Omelicheva

Date Approved: June 9, 2017

Abstract

Protracted refugee situations are some of the most complex political, human rights, and humanitarian challenges facing the international community today. While scholarship on the phenomenon typically focuses on empirical data using non-critical methods, this paper uses a feminist approach to study the discursive depiction of refugees in protracted situations by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As the largest organization mandated with the protection of refugees and finding solutions for their plight, UNHCR has a unique responsibility, position, and capability to shape discourse and influence policy. Gendered characteristics used in the construction of protracted refugee narratives can contribute to the way protection is packaged, which accordingly can determine how states perceive and therefore respond to refugee situations at the community, state, regional, and international level. A qualitative content analysis of UNHCR documents obtained through the online resource Refworld reveals that UNHCR's depiction of refugees in protracted situations as dependent burdens capable of self-reliance if empowered simultaneously genders them in feminine and masculine ways.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank members of the committee for their expertise, time, and service. I am especially grateful to Dr. Mariya Omelicheva, whose guidance and patience throughout the process was invaluable. I would also like to thank family and friends for their moral support along the way.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Since 2015, the world has watched hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants from

Syria, Afghanistan, and North Africa flood into the European continent. Stories and images of

people risking and losing their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea in rickety boats, climbing

over fences to enter new countries, and sleeping in train stations appeared in media around the

world. The influx of arrivals highlighted the danger and risk some take to escape violence and

get a chance to resettle. It also ignited heated rhetoric and debate over asylum and immigration in

Western countries. The European community was pressured to respond quickly and struggled in

their commitments to grant asylum to persons of concern. But this European refugee and migrant

crisis, though highly visible, only serves as a small example of the challenges of mass

displacement. A larger global refugee crisis exists.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), also

known as the UN Refugee Agency, estimates there are 65.3 million forcibly displaced persons in

the world today, the highest level ever recorded (UNHCR, 2016, p.8).[1] This number includes

refugees, asylum-seekers, and internally displaced persons (IDPs). UNHCR, as the largest

organization mandated with the protection of refugees and finding solutions for their plight,

works with and facilitates communication between states, international organizations, and other

UN agencies on resolutions related to mass displacement and refugee issues. The global number

of refugees under UNHCR's mandate was 16.1 million in 2015, with an additional 5.2 million

looked after by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near

East (UNRWA) (UNHCR, 2016, p. 2).[2] Providing immediate assistance like shelter, food and

---

[1] Global Trends reports are released in June by UNHCR for the previous year. This statistic comes from the Global
Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015 report which was released on June 20, 2016.
[2] UNRWA was established by the United Nations General Assembly following the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict and is
unique in its commitment to one group of refugees. It provides education, health care, and social services to

clothing to those fleeing violence or persecution and seeking asylum is a priority of UNHCR and the international community in emergency situations but when these situations persist, UNHCR, host states, donor states, and other humanitarian aid organizations struggle to find adequate funding and resources to sustain long-term support.

A protracted refugee situation is defined by UNHCR as one in which 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five years or more in a given asylum country.[3] At the end of 2015, an estimated 6.7 million refugees were living in protracted situations, representing 41% of the world's total refugees (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20). In these situations, refugee groups live in exile after their initial displacement without immediate prospects for implementation of durable solutions. Some long to return home while others prefer to resettle; many are born in camps and know nothing except a life in exile. In 1993, the average duration of a protracted situation was estimated to be nine years (Betts, Loescher, & Milner, 2012, p. 89). Today, that average duration estimate is 26 years (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20). The PRS Project website gives one of the most concise summaries of the complex challenges stemming from protracted situations:

> Refugees facing protracted displacement often suffer from a lack of physical
>
> security, legal status, and protection of their fundamental human rights. Their presence
>
> can lead to tensions with local populations and to the exacerbation of regional conflicts.

---

registered Palestinian refugees, including survivors from the 1948 and 1967 wars and their descendants. It is separate from UNHCR and is not considered in this research, though it assists the world's oldest and largest protracted population.

[3] "While this criterion is applied for monitoring purposes, it has some limitations. For instance, as long as a group of refugees from the same nationality does not reach the threshold of 25,000, it is not included as a 'protracted situation' for statistical purposes, irrespective of the group's duration in exile. Further, returns and new arrivals of individuals from the same nationality can 'renew the refugee population in a given country of asylum," (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20).

These situations can have negative effects both on the human security of refugees and on the national security of states that host them. (The PRS Project)

The scholarship on protracted refugee situations has been emblematic of two practical concerns reflected in the majority of studies. The first is the impact of protracted situations on security, and the second is about ways to make UNHCR's work more effective. With an eye on these two questions, empirical research on protracted refugee situations has examined a variety of organizational, bureaucratic, and other factors affecting UNHCR's performance. Some works seek to understand why protracted displacement has become the norm and the ways in which changing political climates exacerbate conditions, ensuring the phenomenon's continuance. Other studies consider the limitations of existing legal frameworks or examine the efficacy of camp management policies and practices. As important as these analyses are, they take the language of refugees as a given and rely on narratives about refugees without critically examining how the perpetuation of such narratives affects outcomes. It is important to recognize that discourse has productive power. It gives meaning to situations and provides ways of evaluating content while also setting limits on what is possible and impossible in action. It is because of UNHCR's unique responsibility, position, and capability to shape discourse and influence policy on issues related to displaced groups at the community, state, regional, and international level, that the broad objective of this research was to gain insight into the organization's discursive depiction of protracted refugees. This deeper exploration was warranted because refugee representations contribute to the way protection is packaged, which accordingly can determine how states perceive and therefore respond to refugee situations.

More specifically, the goal of this study was to use a critical feminist approach to investigate the representations of protracted refugees. Does UNHCR convey a consistent

representation of "refugees" in protracted situations? How is it gendered? Are representations static or do they change over time? Do they differ by policy, situation or region? Does the language give insight into the way UNHCR views its role in protecting refugees in protracted situations? To explore and answer these questions, a content analysis of UNHCR documents obtained through the online resource Refworld was conducted.

I begin by offering a brief history of UNHCR, theories, concepts, and empirical evidence on refugees, especially those in protracted situations, along with a discussion of feminist theory and gender analysis. This historical and theoretical information has informed the questions and design of this paper, and will provide the reader with an explanation of the lens through which the analysis focuses. A methodology section explains the research design choices and chronicles the steps taken to collect the data used for analysis. The findings are presented before concluding.

The Responsibilities and Global Influence of UNHCR

Established in 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly as a temporary organization to deal with refugees in Europe displaced by the Second World War, the role of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has grown over the decades both geographically and operationally. Today the organization works in 126 countries and faces ever-expanding challenges as global mass displacement reaches unprecedented levels. Alexander Betts (2008; 2009), Gil Loescher (2001), and James Milner are three authors who extensively chronicle this history in their respective and joint academic work on refugees. They believe one must consider UNHCR's past to understand the current challenges it faces and the adaptations it has made and will continue to make in order to fulfill its mandate within the refugee regime and in contemporary international relations. Published on the sixtieth anniversary of the organization and the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,[4] the second edition of *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection* is grounded in rich empirical data and offers an assessment of the organization's response to changing political environments. The authors show why under the direction of different High Commissioners through different periods of time like the Cold War, decolonization, and the "war on terror," the Office has had to adapt to serve the needs of refugees and other displaced populations around the globe.

Betts et. al (2012) say at the time of its creation, UNHCR's function, scope, and autonomy of activities were reflections of the political and strategic interests of the powerful

---

[4] The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees went into force April 22, 1951 and its additional protocol on October 4, 1961. Along with providing for the definition of a refugee, "A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it," the Convention establishes rights to asylum and non-refoulement. States party to the treaty also agree to cooperate with UNHCR in the exercise of its functions.

states that created it (p. 15). The organization was limited to its core mandates of providing international legal protection for refugees and finding durable solutions to their plight through three options: voluntary repatriation, local integration, or the resettlement of refugees to a third country. This mandate did not include material assistance and the work of the High Commissioner was to be entirely non-political (Betts, et al., 2012, p. 14). Restricted by both international norms of sovereignty and limited financial support, UNHCR's activity was mainly in countries of asylum rather than in countries of origin. But the Cold War and growing tensions between East and West soon required the organization to look beyond its Eurocentric orientation and allowed the Office an opportunity to truly demonstrate its relevance.

Betts, Loescher, and Milner (2012) point to UNHCR's role in handling the Hungarian crisis of November 1965 as a particular success for the organization. The authors say the moment was important because UNHCR overcame some of the legal restrictions imposed on its activities by its Statute, acquiring power it could exercise autonomously in ways initially unintended by states (p. 22). UNHCR coordinated with other intergovernmental organizations and NGOs and argued for all Hungarians in Austria and Yugoslavia to be seen as prima facie refugees whose individual refugee status could be deferred to a later stage rather than determined on a case-by-case basis. By doing this, Betts et. al (2012) say UNHCR demonstrated the value in "having an international agency to deal with the humanitarian consequences of international and regional conflict" (p. 23). This also allowed UNHCR to earn the confidence of the United States, a country that previously sought to limit the Office's functional scope and independence because American leaders considered refugee policy a national security issue best dealt with by domestic policies. Becoming its principal donor state, the crucial endorsement of the United States meant

the organization could continue to expand its capacities and operational services (Betts et al., 2012, p. 24).

That further expansion of the Office was soon needed, too, as decolonization in the 1960s produced many refugee situations that directly involved the political interests of Western colonial powers that helped create and fund UNHCR. A "good offices" approach emerged to give the organization authority to raise funds and to assume material assistance responsibilities (Betts et al., 2012, p. 25). By the mid-1970s, with humanitarian disasters and refugee emergencies on all continents, Betts, et al. (2012) say UNHCR had transformed from a small legal protection agency to the world's largest humanitarian relief organization (p. 33). But the intensification of the Cold War, coupled with conflicts and persecution across the developing world in the 1980s, was overwhelming for the refugee protection system. International migration was growing and the United States and Europe felt particular strains. According to the authors, governments believed "the most effective way to limit asylum seekers and unwanted migrants was to prevent them from arriving in the first place" (Betts et al., 2012, p. 36). Fueled by political climates, Western governments' asylum policies began to restrict refugees into areas of containment. But providing "care and maintenance" in refugee camps was no substitution for comprehensive, long-term political solutions. "The international community failed… to provide any alternatives to prolonged camp existence, and finding durable solutions for these refugee situations became increasingly difficult" (Betts et al., 2012, p. 38). The authors are critical of this period because even though UNHCR worked to develop a strategy that shifted focus to countries of origin to deal with "root causes" of refugee exoduses, the organization's approach still privileged the strategic interests of Western donor states (Betts et al., 2012, pp. 41-48).

The post-Cold War period continued in this same fashion. UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations were encouraged to deal with the consequences of conflicts while governments used financial humanitarian relief as a substitute for intervention and political action. Betts et al. (2012) refer to the 1990s as a "decade of repatriation" for UNHCR as it often facilitated the return of refugees to unstable countries of origin in response to demands from host and donor states (p. 51). States struggled or were unwilling to commit to addressing the underlying causes of conflicts and to finding political solutions that could help alleviate the growing number of refugees. Ethnic conflict trends also increased during the decade so the Office became involved with assisting in intra-state conflicts, expanding its role in humanitarian relief to internally displaced persons (IDPs), a task it found itself ill-equipped to do (Betts et al., 2012, p. 60). By the end of the 20th century, UNHCR was facing significant criticisms because it appeared to be failing to fulfill its mandate. And while it is noted the beginning of the 21st century saw fewer refugee emergencies and a reduction in the level of armed conflict, restrictive asylum sentiments were again renewed as the "war on terror" began following the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. States increasingly saw refugees as threats to national security and UNHCR could do little to alleviate the tension due to its diminished influence, moral authority, and past failures. It wasn't until 2005, under the leadership of Antonio Guterres, that Betts, et. al. (2012) say the Office began to restore its credibility in the eyes of donor and host states (pp. 77-78). Guterres worked to restructure the organization, encouraging more decisions to be made at the field level and for the increased collaboration with other international actors. He also worked to further expand the organization's responsibilities in the protection of IDPs and involvement with those displaced by natural disasters.

All of these historical adaptations and shifts, which the authors say UNHCR has been largely successful in navigating, were directly influenced by the relationship the organization has with the sovereign states that create and support it. This relationship makes the question of UNHCR's role and operations in international relations one of the most important to theoretical debates in the field. Getting states to cooperate and contribute to refugee protection is a challenge for UNHCR and many authors find that the packaging of refugee protection in relation to other issue areas in interstate bargaining determines how states perceive and therefore respond to refugee situations. This means that although states effectively control the scope of UNHCR's work, UNHCR, in turn, can shape states' understanding of the refugee situation. Security and human rights are the two most common frames states use to approach refugee situations, according to the literature. Furthermore, states' responses to the refugee problems also reflect domestic and international configurations of power, interests, and competing ideas. For UNHCR to persuade states to contribute to refugee protection, it must appeal to the basis of a state's perceived wider interests. Policy recommendation literature highlights the value of using issue linkage as part of multilateral negotiations to do this.

As highlighted earlier, UNHCR was created to serve very specific functions. The refugee regime consists of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees that defines who a "refugee" is and the rights they are entitled to, and UNHCR, the organization with the responsibility for overseeing states' implementation of the Convention. It is premised on the understanding that states have the primary responsibility for the protection of refugees and that UNHCR will assist and oversee states in meeting their obligations. UNHCR's dependence on donor, host, and resettlement countries is vital because the organization is unable to function without monetary contributions and authorization to work within a state's borders. This often places the

organization in a delicate position, further complicated by relationships with other actors in the international system including UN agencies, and international, national, and local NGOs. Institutional proliferation has led to competition between organizations, yet UNHCR is expected to uphold and operate on its mandate. This type of institutional strain presents an additional barrier to finding durable solutions for refugees, especially for those in situations of protracted displacement.

Protracted Refugee Situations

A protracted refugee situation is defined by UNHCR as one in which 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five years or more in a given asylum country (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20). While there are limitations to this definition (Loescher & Milner, 2008, p. 21), UNHCR estimates there were 6.7 million refugees living in protracted situations at the end of 2015, representing 41% of the world's total refugee population under UNHCR's mandate (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20). Overall, 32 major protracted situations were identified with refugees living in 27 host countries, the majority located in the world's poorest and most unstable regions.[5] In 2012, the average duration of a refugee situation had more than doubled from nine years in 1993 to almost 20 years (Betts et al., 2012, p. 89). In 2015, the average duration of these situations was estimated to be about 26 years (UNHCR, 2016, p. 20). These statistics help illustrate why protracted refugee situations continue to present one of the most complex political, human rights, and humanitarian challenges for the international community today.

The PRS Project was based at The Refugee Studies Centre and the Centre for International Studies at the University of Oxford from 2005 until 2010. The project, directed by Loescher and Milner, analyzed protracted refugee situations to develop more effective policy frameworks. The website provides one of the most concise summaries of challenges stemming from protracted situations:

Refugees facing protracted displacement often suffer from a lack of physical security, legal status, and protection of their fundamental human rights. Their presence can lead to tensions with local populations and to the exacerbation of regional conflicts.

---

[5] Again, these statistics are for those who are under UNHCR's mandate only. They do not include Palestinian refugees who fall under the UNRWA mandate.

These situations thus can have negative effects both on the human security of refugees and on the national security of states that host them. (The PRS Project)

A large amount of information on refugees in protracted situations comes directly from UNHCR, however, one can also find academic literature on the topic in multiple fields of study, approached from various perspectives: migration, development, human rights, security, etc. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, for example, dedicated an entire issue to unlocking the protracted displacement of refugees and IDPs. In the introduction, Roger Zetter (2011) explains why protracted displacement has become the norm and differs from "normal" models of a refugee crisis. The subsequent articles go on to analyze the failures of orthodox conceptual tools and policy frameworks in resolving and preventing protracted situations through regional case studies. Another notable contribution to the field that undertakes a similar task is the 2008 volume *Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*. It is perhaps the most comprehensive collection of empirical work on the subject, with authors raising questions about definitions, causes, solutions, and research methods, in addition to making policy recommendations.

One of the most important questions these authors look to answer, of course, is what causes a protracted situation? As one can imagine, the answer is complex. Protracted situations can be seen as both a source and consequence of instability or conflict, with populations originating from states with chronic regional insecurity. UNHCR says these situations stem from political impasses, as noted during the 30th Standing Committee meeting of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme in 2004:

They are not inevitable, but are rather the result of political action and inaction, both in the country of origin (the persecution or violence that led to flight) and in the country of

asylum. They endure because of ongoing problems in the countries of origin, and

stagnate and become protracted as a result of responses to refugee inflows, typically

involving restrictions on refugee movement and employment possibilities, and

confinement to camps. (UNHCR, 2004, p. 1)

For Andrew Shacknove (1993), protracted situations are also symptomatic of a geopolitical

landscape that no longer values refugees as it once did during the Cold War period when

permanent asylum and local integration were widely practiced, particularly in Western asylum

countries. Writing in 1993, Shacknove said there was reason to believe that "refugee policy in

the post-Cold War era would involve a diminished commitment to asylum by affluent states and

a preference for containment" (Shacknove, 1993, p. 516). He concluded:

In an effort to limit the availability of asylum and its social and budgetary consequences,

host States will pursue a triad of policies: strict application of the 1951 UN Convention

definition of refugee; erection of barriers to entry; and containment of forced migration in

countries or regions of origin. Such policies allow States *de facto* to circumvent the letter

and spirit of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol. (Shacknove, 1993, p. 532)

Sadly, as statistics and later research show, these insights and predictions proved correct.

For UNHCR, the ultimate goal is to find durable solutions for refugees in protracted and

all other displacement situations. UNHCR's Statute lists three options: voluntary repatriation,

local integration, or resettlement to a third country. The role and relative importance of these

solutions has changed over time but none of these options is seen as feasible for refugees in

protracted situations. Instead, a traditional and common characteristic in responding to the

prolonged presence of refugees is through policies of containment in isolated and insecure

refugee camps (Betts et al., 2012).[6] Here, basic and often life-saving assistance is provided for

years after initial emergency phases have ended. Under international law, host states have

jurisdiction over refugees and refugee camps within their borders but in practice they are usually

governed by additional sets of administrative regulations adopted by relevant government or

camp management bodies that are specific to refugees. Camps are meant to provide their

residents with a safe and secure environment, personal physical security, respect for fundamental

human rights, and access to basic needs such as food, water, and shelter. But common problems

like overcrowding, risk of disease, physical abuse, sexual violence, and exploitation can plague

residents and exacerbate already difficult situations.

Michel Agier's (2011) research on refugee camps and humanitarian governments inside

them shows that this approach of containment is essentially a "fourth solution" for UNHCR (p.

84). Sometimes referred to as "refugee warehousing," encampment can extend years or decades

and offers limited opportunities for residents. Starting in 2001, UNHCR made a fundamental

shift in its approach to the management of these situations with a move away from long-term

"care and maintenance" programs to an integration approach that focuses on self-reliance and

local solutions that include naturalization and integration. The "care and maintenance" approach

refers to the fact that even though, as Anna Lise Purkey (2014) notes, the primary responsibility

for refugee assistance falls upon host states, UNHCR has had to adopt an "increasingly

pragmatic and assistance-oriented role" because "refugee-hosting states lack the political will to

offer long-term protection and assistance" (Purkey, 2014, p. 694). Local integration, by contrast,

set out in international refugee conventions, refers to the granting of full and permanent asylum,

---

[6] Authors are careful to note that not all refugees in protracted situations reside in refugee camps. Many living outside formal camps and settlements are unassisted by UNHCR. Today, 60 percent of refugees and 80 percent of IDPs live in urban environments (UNHCR 2016, p. 51). It is difficult for the organization to protect and support these "urban refugees," who may face exploitation and harassment or be subject to arrest.

membership, and residency status by a host government. This integration takes place "through a process of legal, economic, social, and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating in the offer of citizenship (Kibreab 1989: 469)" (Jacobsen, 2001, p. 1). Unfortunately, though, this approach may be better in theory than in execution because as Karen Jacobsen (2001) writes, the likelihood a host government will offer refugees permanent asylum and integration is small:

> The promise of local integration applies to relatively few refugees in protracted situations today… In developing countries, host governments tend to view refugees living in border zones as *prima facie* refugees, because they have not undergone determination procedures and therefore do not have full refugee status. Most refugees in these countries never become Convention refugees and do not experience the rights and privileges of Convention refugees, nor are they ever likely to be legally integrated into the host country. (p. 2)

Case studies examining UNHCR's response to protracted situations in Central America, Iraq, and Uganda (Allen, Li Rose, & Skei, 2010; Bradley, 2011; Chatty & Monsour, 2011) offer opposing perspectives on whether the integration approach is truly feasible. While authors do agree on the valuable role UNHCR plays in prompting states and the international community to come together to negotiate solutions and in the necessity for the organization to engage with other UN agencies to ensure long-term support for resolutions to refugee-related issues, the literature seems to offer little hope that the international community will find solutions and policies to alleviate protracted situations as the trend continues to grow. Jacobsen (2001) writes that local integration is a desirable outcome for refugees and their host countries, and a realistic alternative to keeping refugees in camps, but cautions that such an approach must be judiciously used. "Local integration will only work if it is acceptable to the host government, to the local

community and to refugees. It should not be advocated if it threatens the security and instability of either the local community or the refugees," (Jacobsen, 2001, p. 27). Yet, suggestions for solutions like those from Jeff Crisp (2003) point to alternative avenues. In summarizing Arafat Jamal (2000), who recognizes the city-like nature of many large refugee camps, Crisp suggests promoting programs within camps that "concentrate on developing refugee communities and the individuals that comprise them as useful for refugees' current well-being and in preparation for future durable solutions" (Crisp 2003, p. 29). In the same vein, Zetter (2011) recommends policies and programs place "refugees and displaced people at the center of decision-making about their present and future circumstances. Greater autonomy and better access to resources will enable them to make their choices about building their futures in uncertain and often chronic conditions" (pp. 11-12).

Amy Slaughter and Jeff Crisp (2008) suggest UNHCR has been limited in its ability to address the problem of protracted displacement. They attribute this to the intractable nature of contemporary armed conflicts, the policies pursued by other actors, the priorities chosen by UNHCR, and the limited amount of attention which the organization devoted to the issue during the 1990s (Slaughter & Crisp, 2008, p. 123-140). They argue UNHCR could take a more focused "catalytic" role of facilitation and leadership between UN agencies and NGOs as part of a broader "clustered" approach within the international community. Jamal (2008) agrees UNHCR should act as a catalyst to achieve more effective interagency cooperation, arguing that the organization needs "a realistic, segmented and reinvigorated approach to resolving protracted situations," despite his criticism of the ways the organization, along with asylum countries and donors, perpetuates protracted situations by failing to offer adequate responses and political solutions (pp. 141-161).

One can see the history of UNCHR is well documented and that research on the organization within IR scholarship can incorporate many different theories (international organizations, regime theory, international law, etc.) to help explain its function in world politics. The abundance and focus on empirical research is, perhaps, with good reason. The lives of millions of individuals depend on effective policies and practices so understanding challenges of displacement at every stage supplies researchers, policy makers, and others in the field indispensable information. However, an argument can be made that critical approaches are largely absent from the literature. Inclusion of such perspectives has the power to illuminate previously unexplored aspects of study, help refine theory, and expand knowledge necessary for continued improvement of policy and practice. Non-critical theories can overlook how non-material factors and underlying relations of power produce and affect fundamental understandings of the way the world works. Critical theory questions the nature of knowledge, its acquisition, and utility. Importantly, critical theory's emancipatory stance means that its insights are designed to empower those dominated and constrained by existing power structures in order to improve and transform them. For feminists, this has meant using gender as a category of analysis to highlight pervasive, embedded biases. The coming analysis used such a feminist method in an attempt to better understand UNHCR and protracted refugee situations. A brief discussion of feminist theory and gender analysis will further explain this decision.

Feminism in International Relations (IR)

For decades within the discipline of International Relations (IR), especially in the United States, mainstream scholars have used positivist methodological frameworks found in the natural sciences and economics to explain the behavior of states in an anarchical world. But in the late 1980s, a "third debate" emerged around skepticism in the ability of social scientific theories to offer adequate understanding of global politics. Post-positivists began to question and critique the nature of knowledge and its acquisition. This is when feminist scholarship entered the discipline. From war and peace to the study of security and economic globalization, feminist perspectives in IR go further than state-level analysis to examine how politics involves individuals and other organizational actors. "Whereas much of IR is focused on explaining the behavior of states, feminists are motivated by emancipatory goals — investigating the often disadvantaged lives of women within states or international institutions and structures in order to change them," (Tickner, 2005a, p. 2178). IR feminists like J. Ann Tickner (1992; 1997; 1998; 2001; 2005a; 2005b; 2006), Cynthia Enloe, Laura Sjoberg, and Carol Cohn (2013) have all effectively challenged existing beliefs on global politics to show that gender matters. With research on the representation of women in positions of power, roles of women in war and labor industries, and the gendered language and imagery used in discourse, their contributions to the field are indispensable and continue to inspire the inclusion of gender in theory and practice. It is also important to note that not all feminists think alike, and that feminism is not just about women and gender. Feminist scholars make significant contributions across disciplines to the study of a variety of marginalized groups including children, LGBT, and disabled people. An emphasis is also placed on issues affected by the intersection of identities and systems — race, class, gender, ability, ethnicity, age, religion, etc.

Tickner's extensive writing on the place of feminist perspectives in IR pays particular attention to the way feminist methodologies differ from conventional IR. She says "…feminist empirical research has been situated in critical, constructivist or post-modern rather than empiricist frameworks" (Tickner, 2005b, p. 2). Robert Keohane (1998) once challenged them to come up with research programs that used the social scientific method favored by mainstream IR scholars that operates by specifying and testing hypothesis, feminists, as part of a post-positivist orientation that believes the social world cannot be explained by causal analysis alone, continued to challenge the often unseen androcentric or masculine biases within IR (Tickner, 2005b, pp. 2-3). And while there is no one unique feminist method because feminists draw upon a variety of methods including ethnography, statistical research, survey research, discourse analysis, and case study, there are many methodological frameworks, linguistic constructivism and textual analysis for instance, that can better support the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis in the study of international politics (Tickner, 2005a, p. 2186).

That key term, "gender," as opposed to sex, does not refer to biological differences. Instead, gender refers to a set of culturally shaped and defined characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity.[7] Charlotte Hooper (2001) explains:

> Gender is neither a thing nor a property of individual character. It is a property of collectives, institutions, and historical processes. It is also a linking concept, whereby biological difference is engaged with, and social practices are organized in terms of, or in relation to, reproductive divisions. (p. 35)

Gender is important because as Jonathan Wadley (2010) points out, "ignoring gender means not recognizing the ways key actors are defined and differentiated by their relationship to norms of

---

[7] The "genders" used in this research align with conceptions found in contemporary Western culture. There isn't just one "masculinity" and one "femininity" in any given time and place.

masculinity and femininity" (p. 38). As dichotomized terms, masculinity and femininity are defined in oppositional relation to each other; they are seen to have nothing in common because whatever qualities each depict must belong to one and not the other. Examples associated with the concepts of masculinity and femininity, where the first (masculine) term is valued over the (feminized) second, include, but are not limited to, rational/irrational, autonomous/dependent, strong/weak, dominant/submissive, aggressor/victim, war/peace. Of course, as Wadley points out, masculinity and femininity is only one identifiable binary oppositional pair. Other examples include parent/child, white/non-white, Western/non-Western, civilized/barbaric, Self/Other. Though categorizations like these are often used as necessary simplifying devices, recognizing how and when the use of these dichotomous pairs signify or contribute to gendered identities and, or, establish hierarchies among the actors upon which they are prescribed is a central idea for feminists.

> Anne Sisson Runyan and V. Spike Peterson (2014) elaborate on this point by saying:
> Everyday parlance is rife with gender appellations and metaphors. This constant gendering of natural, artificial, and social worlds through language and, thus, thought, is no trivial matter. It directs us to how the power of gender operates to set up and reinforce dualistic, dichotomous, or either-or thinking *and* to foster hierarchical thinking in which those people and objects assigned masculine qualities are valued or given power over those assigned feminine qualities. (p. 7-8)

It is easy to see how gendered characteristics can be analyzed at the individual human level, however, as feminists contend, their application goes further. "A gender-sensitive lens reveals that masculine and feminine 'natures' are not simply inscribed on what are assumed to be distinct male and female bodies, but also are applied to other objects, including things,

nonhuman beings, groups, institutions, and even nations and states" (Runyan & Peterson, 2014,

p. 7). In IR, feminists argue gender is a fundamental part of the construction of a state's identity,

or the personhood of a state. For example, when it comes to security, a state is generally seen as

a masculine actor based on rationality and aggressiveness. Yet, as Cohn (2013) says, the

discourses of nationalism and other forms of collective identity will also frequently symbolize

the nation as a woman, as a "symbolic body" that must be protected against violation,

penetration or conquest (p. 14). Both genders, therefore, can simultaneously exist. Cohn (1987)

also famously conducted research on the gendered discourses of U.S. national security elites.

Motivated by her claim that the power of language and professional discourse shapes how and

what people think, she used textual analysis of U.S. Department of Defense official reports,

military documents, and media accounts to investigate how gender shapes and distorts national

security practices. Recognizing there are multiple masculinities and femininities that vary across

cultures and have different levels of power is an important concept needed when investigating

complex representations, relationships, and identities at any level of analysis. Examining

discourse for dichotomies associated with gender is one tool feminists frequently use to help

understand how unequal, relational identities can privilege some actors and marginalize others.

R. Charli Carpenter (2005) provides an example of the strategic use of gender

essentialisms in action. Drawing from several areas found in IR literature (social constructivist

framing, norm promotion, advocacy networks), Carpenter found that gendered discourse by

human rights advocates in the protection of civilians in war promotes the use of "women and

children" as a proxy for "civilians," despite recognition from many civilian protection advocates

of the misleading and potentially counter-productive aspects of this imagery (p. 326-327). Her

method included a qualitative analysis of documents, verbatim minutes, and online text to

identify and analyze the use of gender essentialisms in the "protection of civilians" discourse. She also conducted interviews with individuals at organizations active in civilian protection to gain insight into their rationales, finding acknowledgement to the belief that a message using terms of protecting "women and children" is better received by media and transnational actors. From one interview:

> I think there's an obsession within the whole so-called humanitarian world about women and children… I have argued before in UNHCR and I often continue to argue that we rewrite our policy papers to change this… but it has been very much in vogue to talk about women, children and the elderly when you talk about vulnerable groups. – UNHCR Official, August 2002. (Carpenter, 2005, p. 325)

This quote offers insight into an important finding that gendered rhetoric can and is used as part of strategic framing processes; that the traditional notion that "women and children" are "innocent" and "vulnerable" can be used to promote a particular agenda. This equation of vulnerability with femininity is also observed by other authors who, while not explicitly working within feminist methodological orientations, provided insights applicable to the investigation of this thesis.

Anthropologist Liisa Malkki (1996) says there is a "substantially standardized way of talking about and handling 'refugee problems' among national governments, relief and refugee agencies, and other non-governmental organizations" (p. 386). One of her interests is in how the international community conceptualizes refugees as a category of humans; how refugee administrators, specifically in the case of international organizations administering the Hutu refugees in Tanzania, construct a visual representation of a refugee. Malkki says the ideal construct of a "real refugee" is as a victim in need of professional help. She also writes:

… refugees were thought to be at their purest when they first arrived and when their

condition was visible at its worst. So, instead of refugee status imagined as a state of

being attained gradually (as the Hutu refugees themselves saw it) or as a legal status that

one has or has not, the administrators tended to imagine refugee status as a processual

condition that was at its purest and most recognizable early in exile, and was there-after

subject to gradual adulteration over time. (Malkki, 1996, p. 385)

For protracted refugees, whose status is indefinite, the implications of a finding like this that

effectively links a refugee's status to duration are troubling. Malkki stresses the importance of

narratives because as she and others observe, the framing of refugees as helpless victims is

common in humanitarian policy discourse but is often contrary to the way refugees see

themselves. Presumed vulnerabilities and expectations do not always line up with the way

refugees describe their own histories and situations.

Agier (2011) is another anthropologist conducting field research on what everyday life is

like for those living in camp settings. One immediate statement comes in the form of his book

title *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government.* Agier's use of

the word "undesirable" as an observed, descriptive, categorical term for refugees, is a

simultaneous condemnation of the world's humanitarian treatment of the forcibly displaced.

When Agier says, "Every policy of assistance is simultaneously an instrument of control over its

beneficiaries" (Agier, 2011, p. 12), though not explicitly elaborated upon, he hits on an essential

point in understanding the power relationship between refugees and the organization mandated to

help them. Dorsh Marie de Voe (1981) explained this in terms of the benefactor-client

relationship between refugees and organizations engaged in international charity and refugee

programs, saying, "Like other people who are clients, refugees are categorized with an

impersonal quality, like property. Then, institutions interested in absorbing or rehabilitating refugees impose an organization of relevant facts, needs and goals in a way that the institutional structures can handle them" (de Voe, 1981, p. 91). There is a clear mutual dependence between international charity programs and refugees, however, organizations still perpetuate the tendency to view refugees as victims. And while it is true that refugees are victims when forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster, the reinforcement of a singular feminine "victim" identity works counter to knowledge advanced by feminist scholars.

The majority of empirical feminist case studies on protracted situations (or refugees in general) will typically look at refugees at the individual or group level to assess program impacts on health, development, human rights, etc. Studies on gender-based violence within refugee camps, for example. Others, like Amani El Jack's (2011) case study on gender relations of the protracted situations in southern Sudan, highlight critical observations as well. In addition to pointing out why inequalities that women and girls experience before, during, and after displacement must always be considered in context of social and cultural institutions, El Jack identifies this key observation:

> Feminist scholars caution that to emphasize the perception of refugees as weak, dependent, and deficient has serious consequences: it reinforces simplistic images of refugees as passive, vulnerable, and powerless and therefore overlooks the complex gendered, socio-economic, and political relations that have resulted from their displacement" (p.1).

Critical feminist approaches that go beyond empirical case studies at individual or group levels recognize the consequences of such depictions and explore broader theories of gender. One such work by Jennifer Hyndman and Winona Giles (2011) on the "feminization of asylum"

provided inspiration for the research at hand. They explain the necessity of such critical examinations by saying:

> Our main point is that neither refugees nor camps can be the fixed 'object of inquiry' for scholars or the 'problem to be solved' for policymakers. We use this shorthand frequently without realizing that we, as researchers and writers, may *produce and reproduce* a voiceless, passive refugee subjectivity. Without vigilance, we may well feminize refugees in these long-term situations, representing them as helpless or in need of solutions to problems that are not of their own making. (Hyndman & Giles, 2011, p. 367)

Their work effectively shows how, as they contend, refugees from long-term camps and other protracted situations are feminized based on their location and their legal lack of status, while refugees on the move to more affluent states are seen as potential threats to security and the welfare state (Hyndman & Giles, p. 363). They also argue "that refugees who stay in camps or safe countries of the global South on temporary status are not seen to be as great a threat as those on the move" (p. 362). The research presented here looks to advance knowledge related to these conceptions, to see if UNHCR's depiction of protracted refugees is consistent with the feminized and masculinized versions that Hyndman and Giles say states view them.

Methodology

The broad objective of this study was to gain insight into UNHCR's discursive depiction of refugees in protracted situations. As discussed earlier, UNHCR has a unique responsibility, position, and ability to influence discourse and policy on issues related to displaced groups at the community, state, regional, and international level. The information the organization produces, therefore, is invaluable. Does UNHCR convey a consistent representation of "refugees" in protracted situations? How is it gendered? Are representations static or do they change over time? Do they differ by policy, situation or region? Does the language give insight into the way UNHCR views its role in protecting refugees in protracted situations? To explore and answer these questions, a content analysis of UNHCR documents obtained through the online resource Refworld was conducted. This methodology section explains the research design choices and chronicles the steps taken to collect the data used for analysis. The considerations and decisions are presented for transparency.

Content analysis is a research technique used to analyze data within a specific context. As Klaus Krippendorf (1989) says, "Communications, messages, and symbols differ from observable events, things, properties or people in that they inform about something other than themselves…" (p. 403). They inform and reveal information that may not be readily apparent to the senders or receivers. One can analyze communication in various formats between individuals, groups or other types of public communication. Verbal discourse, written documents, and visual representations are common data for content analysis. Data embodies the discourse of its producers and the production process, so, as a researcher, it's important to maintain the intended meanings throughout analysis while also trying to extract themes that might not have been apparent during its creation.

This study was a qualitative substantive content analysis. Instead of quantifying the numbers of specific references to refugees in protracted situations, dichotomous gendered terms or the structure in which they appear, the substance of the communication based on words, themes, and items was studied. It is important to acknowledge there are inherent problems with this type of substantive content analysis. First, researchers must always be aware that communications are released and designed for a purpose. Authors Craig Leonard Brians, Lars Willnat, Jarol B. Manheim, and Richard C. Rich (2011) say, "…whether it be description, persuasion, exhortation, direction, self-protection, or even obfuscation…we must attempt to interpret their content in the context of their apparent purpose" (p. 204-205). Published works are final products, their messages carefully crafted through multiple revisions. Access to personal communications between UNHCR staff is unavailable along with insight into considerations, intentions, and drafting decisions. Second, it is possible my own biases contributed to my evaluation and may not accurately reflect meanings conveyed by UNHCR.

UNHCR has several informational resources that provide support to staff, governments, aid partners, academics, and members of the public. Among them are UNHCR's archives preserved in their Geneva headquarters, maps and statistics from the Field Information and Coordination Support Section, and assessment reports from the Policy Development Evaluation Service (PDES). Refworld, an online tool containing a collection of documents used to help make decisions on refugee status, was used for this research. The reports and information available in the database are compiled from UNHCR's global network of field offices, governments, international, regional and non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, and judicial bodies. Its collection of reports and information relate to situations in countries of origin, policy documents and positions, and documents relating to international and national

legal frameworks. The database is updated daily and includes special features on topics of importance to UNHCR such as refugee status determination, statelessness, migration, gender equality and women, IDPs, resettlement, voluntary repatriation, and children. All documents are available in English, an official language of the United Nations, so this did not present a challenge from a translation standpoint.

An initial, general search of the term "protracted refugee situations" on August 31, 2016 produced 3,797 results from the Refworld database. Before proceeding, it was considered whether the keyword "protracted refugee situation" would extract the same number of results as the plural "protracted refugee situations." This subsequent search was performed and no difference was found. It was then determined that an advanced search would need to be done to refine the results in order to have a manageable sample size for analysis. Refworld provides a number of options for possible refinement including category, publisher, document type, date, country of origin, country of asylum, and language. Because the research questions were interested in assessing the way UNHCR depicts refugees in protracted situations, it was decided to only review information published by UNHCR. With this refinement, the advanced search of the exact phrase/keyword "protracted refugee situations" conducted on August 31, 2016 produced 447 results. After sorting by relevance, the first 100 were used for analysis.[8] This number helped ensure the issue under investigation was well-reviewed without information becoming repetitive. The data sample contained items from the following document types: Annual Reports; Conclusions on International Protection; Conference Reports; Country News; Country Reports; Handbooks/Manuals; Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries; Policy/Position Papers; Regional Reports; Research, Background and Discussion Papers; Sessional Reports;

---

[8] See Appendix

Speeches/Statements;[9] Thematic Reports. The publishing dates of the documents spanned 2001 to 2014.

It should be noted that some of the collected materials came from UNHCR's Policy Development Evaluation Service (PDES) which examines and assesses UNHCR policies, programs, projects, practices, and partnerships. The service promotes the exchange of ideas and information between the research community, policymakers, and humanitarian organizations, and its evaluation reports are posted on UNHCR's website. However, the work PDES publishes comes with a disclaimer: "This is not a UNHCR publication. UNHCR is not responsible for, nor does it necessarily endorse, its content. Any views expressed are solely those of the author or publisher and do not necessarily reflect those of UNHCR, the United Nations or member states." This content, though not specifically endorsed by UNHCR, was included for analysis in this study because of its significance and availability. The likelihood that UNHCR staff read, process, and internalize findings within the evaluation reports filed by PDES make them worthy of attention. Their presence in the UNHCR database also means the perspectives and policies on refugee protection they contain could influence other parties reading the documents.

As discussed earlier, feminists challenge existing beliefs and often seek to uncover gendered meanings in socially constructed interactions, practices, institutions, and systems. Gender is complex and there are multiple terms related to masculinity and femininity so counting these in a quantitative study would not capture the contextual references they indicate. To achieve that objective for this research, the collected documents were read and analyzed in their entirety to identify whether masculine or feminine terms or descriptions were used when portraying refugees in protracted situations. Common terms related to masculinity and femininity

---

[9] Transcripts of speeches allow for textual analysis, though it is recognized additional meanings could be found in the original delivery through inflection and body language.

were expected to be found. These included references to masculine terms like autonomous, strong, dangerous, powerful, defensive, rational, self-reliant, versus feminine terms like dependent, weak, victims, powerless, vulnerable, defenseless, disadvantaged. If these terms or descriptions were identified or alluded to, a closer reading of the surrounding information and context was required. Explicit references to gender-based violence were also expected to be found because UNHCR has made efforts to highlight and address the issue within camp settings, signaling an awareness of difference in experience for women and girls who research show are the most affected by GBV.

Discourse matters because how we perceive and understand an issue affects how we act on it. The production and consumption of language establishes and reinforces power relations. Critically examining the gendered language in these documents, whether explicit or implicit, was meant to highlight UNHCR's contribution to the larger perception and understanding of refugees in protracted situations. Guided by feminist theory and knowledge, the analysis answers the research questions and highlights additional findings applicable to the discussion.

Analysis

The findings of this content analysis begin by touching on how the word "refugee" is used in UNHCR materials. It then explains why the depiction of refugees in protracted situations as burdens capable of self-reliance if empowered, simultaneously genders them in feminine and masculine ways. Lastly, the gendered role of UNHCR is examined before other stray, yet relevant, observations wrap up the analysis. But first, some broad observations of the material as a whole will help orient the study.

The 100 documents collected from RefWorld contained items from the following document type categories: Annual Reports; Conclusions on International Protection; Conference Reports; Country News; Country Reports; Handbooks/Manuals; Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries; Policy/Position Papers; Regional Reports; Research, Background and Discussion Papers; Sessional Reports; Speeches/Statements; Thematic Reports. Their lengths and substances varied, but ultimately they all related to UNHCR's mission of finding durable solutions for refugees. The publishing dates of the documents are from 2001 to 2014. Some duplication of information was found because several reports are annually produced.

For the most part, the documents are uniform in language and tone. Only slight differences in writing styles between document types exist. Official reports and summaries of situations are formal and technical, meaning prior knowledge is required to understand the terms and concepts they contain. Because of the intended audience of these materials (UNHCR staff, states, academics, etc.), this makes sense. Demographics, figures, or statistics are also formal, with global trends and data presented, seemingly, as objective facts with neither positive nor negative connotations attached. However, as feminists argue, facts are never neutral. Established knowledge and understandings of how the world works are constructed in part by the gendered

meanings that shape concepts, practices, and institutions. That UNHCR, an organization built by Western thought and practice, would uphold masculine principles of "truth," "rationality," "formality," and "objectivity" in its published documents is unsurprising.

The realities of everyday life for refugees are largely absent from the data sample; anecdotes are sparingly used. Descriptive, emotional language is generally reserved for speeches. On the surface, this, too, could be attributed to the targeted audience of the materials being those already familiar with the organization's mission. Appeals to the public would certainly contain different language and incorporate more narratives and anecdotes. Nevertheless, this also, once more, points to gender bias. Emotions are feminine; reason and objectivity are masculine. These concepts, as part of the preferential hierarchical dichotomy that values masculine over feminine, therefore, help determine what "measurements" generate "data." If UNHCR, in its official, authoritative capacity, operates on underlying assumptions about the value in creating and implementing policy and practice based on "objective" facts, then the representations of protracted situations will reflect this.

There are two notable exceptions to these generalized findings, however. First, papers produced as part of the Policy Development Evaluation Service (PDES) that are categorized under the document type of Research, Background and Discussion Papers, contain the most critical and prescriptive language in the data sample. Variations or inconsistencies in these reports are because there are multiple authors and each writer has their own style and perspective. Secondly, speeches in the data sample stand out because they go beyond general updates and goals. At times, they employ descriptive narratives of an abstract refugee life, a facet, as pointed out earlier, largely missing from other documents. These formal addresses were

delivered to audiences of peers and colleagues at meetings and conferences. They were crafted with intent, meant to remind the audience of the main purpose of their work.

Erika Feller, former Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, delivered four out of eight speeches from the sample. Other documents are not as blunt in their assessments, but in all her speeches, Feller was direct in her criticisms and calls to action. The language she uses is meant to grab the audience's attention by painting an image. During one specifically addressing the issue of protracted refugee situations, Feller's opening statement illustrates a candor not often found elsewhere. She said, "People wile away hours, days, their youth, even a lifetime in shabby camps or shanty settlements all over the globe. They are no-one's priority, an ignored statistic. These are facts which are extremely difficult to alter, but this is, of course, not a reason not to try" (UNHCR, 2008d, p.1). And while Feller's core messages usually revolve around protection, she also expresses concern for the way mischaracterizations of refugees and their needs fuel global intolerance of their presence (UNHCR, 2006). By saying the refugee concept has been distorted (UNHCR, 2008e), Feller's remarks signal an awareness of the impact and consequences representations and narratives play. It is important UNHCR recognize its role and responsibility in helping shape such a concept of a refugee, whether positive or negative.

"Refugees" in Protracted Situations

Protracted refugee situations were not the sole focus of every collected document in the data sample. In many cases, they present information on all "people of concern" for UNHCR — refugees, asylum seekers, IDPs, returnees, and stateless. That said, each document *does* mention protracted refugee situations in some form, from acknowledging their existence to addressing specific challenges they present. Each protracted refugee situation is unique, so while some

documents provided updates on individual countries, or initiatives in specific camps, others only generalize or present trends at global, regional or state-specific levels.

A number of synonyms are used interchangeably for "refugees" in the sample. These include: humans, individuals, people, persons, uprooted, exiled. They add variety but do not alone give insight into the thing this analysis is interested in investigating. Other synonymous terms used for refugees living in protracted refugee situations include: long-term refugees, warehoused refugees, protracted caseload. Similarly, when a particular situation and context is discussed, the nationality of a refugee group is often used. For example: Afghan refugees in Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan; Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh; Bosnian and Croatian refugees in Serbia; Burundian refugees in the United Republic of Tanzania; and Eritrean refugees in eastern Sudan. These groups are commonly referenced in the data because their situations were a focus of the High Commissioner's Special Initiative on Protracted Refugee Situations launched in 2008. The documents discuss refugees in protracted refugee situations in two ways. They either refer to refugees *in* protracted situations or to a collective protracted refugee situation/situations. Because a protracted refugee situation, by definition, includes the individual refugees who constitute its collective, this analysis considered any mention of protracted refugee situations discussed in an abstract or theoretical manner to be a part of the way UNCHR discursively represents those refugees.

As summarized earlier, research by Hyndman and Giles (2011) effectively shows how refugees from long-term camps and other protracted situations are feminized based on their location and their legal lack of status while refugees on the move to more affluent states are perceived to be potential threats to security and the welfare state (p. 363). That sentiment was confirmed in this cited example from the data sample, which says, "As the government of

Tanzania has stated, 'the refugee problem seems to have no end... it is a threat to host

governments – a reality which needs the appreciation of the world community'" (Phillips, 2003,

p. 1). The use of the word "threat" to describe refugee movements and settlements implies an

active danger, which in gendered terms, is considered a masculinization of refugees. But the

belief that refugees are a "threat" is not held by UNHCR, verified by the word's general absence

from the data sample and as stated in a clear rebuke via remarks by former High Commissioner

António Guterres. In his opening statement at the Intergovernmental Event on Refugees and

Stateless Persons in December 2011, Guterres said, "Refugees are not a security threat, but the

first victims of insecurity" (UNHCR, 2012b, p. 140). This succinct statement is another example

of directness found in speeches. His description, which dismisses a masculine conception of

refugees as threats, simultaneously reinforces a feminine conception in its labeling of refugees as

victims. Yet, interestingly, this analysis finds elsewhere in the data sample that refugees are

rarely explicitly referred to as victims, though, here, it could also be argued a collective

victimhood is implied in the foundational concept of a refugee being forced to leave their

country to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster. Because UNHCR documents do not

consistently describe refugees in protracted situations by using these two, clear, dichotomized

gendered terms, as threats or victims, further examination for other gendered patterns was

needed.

Two words that *were* consistently found in the data sample used to describe the condition

of refugees living in protracted camp settings are "trapped" and "languishing." The following

examples from various document types highlight their frequent usage (emphasis added):

- "Noting with deep concern the plight of millions of refugees worldwide who continue to

  be **trapped** in 'protracted refugee situations'…" (UNHCR, 2009, p. 3)

- "Many of these refugees are effectively **trapped** in the camps…" (UNHCR, 2008b, p. 2)

- "In simpler terms, refugees in protracted situations find themselves **trapped** in a state of limbo…" (Crisp, 2003, p. 1)

- "Currently, over two-thirds of refugees in the world are **trapped** in prolonged exile." (Omata, 2012, p. 1)

- "This **trapped** group includes some of the most vulnerable types of refugee such as less-skilled young people and the elderly left behind by other family members." (Omata, 2012, p. 18)

- "On the issue of protracted refugee situations, most delegations stressed that refugees should not be left to **languish** for long periods in refugee camps, awaiting voluntary repatriation with no hope of access to other durable solutions…" (UNHCR, 2002a, p. 4)

- "…delegations agreed that refugees should not be left to **languish** for long periods in refugee camps." (UNHCR, 2002d, p. 1)

- "This number included large groups of persons living in protracted situations, such as IDPs in Colombia, Bhutanese refugees in Nepal, and Saharan refugees still **languishing** in camps." (UNHCR, 2003b, p. 1)

The verb "trapped" can be defined as preventing someone from escaping from a place (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). The verb "languish," when referring to a person, means to lose or lack vitality; to grow weak or feeble. Languish can also refer to suffering; to being forced to remain in an unpleasant place or situation (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). Both words connote a lack of autonomy, and their use in the construction of the image of a protracted refugee emphasizes this point. One's lack of freedom from external control or influence, also known as independence, is a characteristic inescapable for one with refugee status. Because

autonomy and independence are terms associated with masculinity, to describe refugees in

protracted situations as trapped or languishing contributes to a feminine construction.

The Burden of Protracted Refugee Situations

"Burden" is another consistent description for refugees in protracted situations. In many

cases UNHCR reports these as perceptions of host states, but in others it is posed as a recognized

fact:

- "Acknowledging that protracted refugee situations also **impose considerable burdens**

   and generate significant problems and challenges…" (UNHCR, 2009, p. 3)

- "…as refugees spend longer periods in exile, refugee-hosting states come to see

   prolonged presence of refugees as a **burden** and a security concern; …" (Milner, 2011, p.

   6)

- "Countries hosting large numbers of refugees for a long period, with no durable solution

   in sight, have to contend with resulting economic, social or security problems which can

   be additional **burdens** on often fragile domestic structures." (UNHCR, 2002c, p. 3)

- "A number of delegations from countries hosting large numbers of refugees described the

   massive impact these refugees have on their society, infrastructure, economy and

   environment. Some warned that the international system for refugee protection might

   collapse unless the international community assumed its responsibility to help States

   shoulder the **burden** of hosting refugees, particularly for protracted periods." (UNHCR,

   2002b, p. 10)

- "A number of delegations expressed concern at such an approach, in view of the **heavy**

   burden of hosting large numbers of refugees for protracted periods." (UNHCR, 2002b, p.

   27)

- "This not only constitutes years of misery for refugees, but it also testimony to the fact that asylum has been made available by host States for millions of people for long periods of time. The generosity and the **burden** this represents should not be underestimated. Both need to be acknowledged." (UNHCR, 2008c, p. 3)

"Burden" refers to that which is carried or which is borne with difficulty; an obligation (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). In the above instances, it is used negatively to refer to refugees. For host states, the monetary burden in expending resources for long periods as well as the societal and environmental impacts are a real concern.

One may not immediately associate the word burden with gendered characteristics, but to describe refugees as burdens is to also comment on an implied power dynamic between refugees and states. The relationship refugees have with host states is often one of dependence, a term also repeatedly found in the data sample to describe refugees in protracted situations:

- "The existence of refugees in protracted situations of restricted mobility, enforced idleness, and **dependency** can contribute to future conflicts and instability and undermine prospects for development, peace and human security." (UNHCR, 2005a, p. 37)

- "Living in camps can engender **dependency** and weaken the ability of refugees to manage their own lives, which perpetuates the trauma of displacement and creates barriers to solutions, whatever form they take." (UNHCR, 2014, p. 4)

- "In protracted refugee situations, however, refugees - sometimes for decades - remain **dependent** on humanitarian assistance." (UNHCR, 2003a, p. 3)

Gender associations are much clearer here. "Dependence" is the state of relying on or being controlled by someone or something else (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). It is the

opposite of autonomy or independence. By describing the burden or dependency of refugees in protracted situations, UNHCR reinforces a feminization of them as a group.

Yet, lost in these discussions is an acknowledgement of the role Western states, UNHCR, and other actors in the international system have played in the creation and perpetuation of situations that produce these "dependent burdens." As chronicled earlier, decolonization, regional conflicts, the Cold War, and the "war on terror" have directly shaped policy and practice. Besides mentioning the adoption of the 1967 Protocol to the Refugee Convention that expanded protections to address the refugee flows following decolonization, there are few other comments on the lasting effects of colonialism in the documents. Instead, references serve as brief, passing historical notes. Examples of this include mention of lands acquired by colonial governments (Dryden-Peterson & Hovil, 2003), the natural resources in Côte d'Ivoire developed during colonial times (Kuhlman, 2002), and the anti-colonialism ideologies of specific political leaders (Crisp, 2006). Critical theory helps here by pinpointing the hegemonic narrative that excludes any responsibility of the "West" for refugee situations. Obscuring such critical causal factors like colonialism or exploitation of the world by the "North" minimizes, even silences, alternative perspectives, narratives, and voices of non-Western orientation.

The feminine terms and representations discussed so far are not the only way refugees are gendered by UNHCR. The organization also represents them in masculine ways. In fact, many times, simultaneous gendered representations are presented in the same sentence, thought, or passage. For example, UNHCR can acknowledge that the tendency to think of refugees as burdens is understandable while at the same time saying:

> On the other hand, refugees bring human and material assets and resources. They are
>
> people with tremendous courage, determination and potential to thrive - a potential

demonstrated time and again by them. Refugee women in particular have shown

resilience and survival skills. When given the opportunity refugees become progressively

less reliant on State aid or humanitarian assistance, attaining a growing degree of self-

reliance and becoming able to pursue sustainable livelihoods, equally contributing to the

economic development of the host country. (UNHCR, 2003a, p. 7)

So, just because a refugee in a protracted situation is a burden does not mean, according to

UNHCR, they are incapable of contribution. This is a perfect example of the gendered duality of

a refugee. Both representations are used at the same time. A refugee can be a burden, a

dependent requiring assistance, while also capable of empowerment and self-reliance.

Promoting Empowerment and Self-Reliance

Documents referencing the care and maintenance approach of containing refugees to

camps were expected to represent refugees as vulnerable and in need of protection, consistent

with feminization, while those referencing the integration model, in contrast, would require

UNHCR to present a masculine depiction of refugees as strong, independent, and capable of

contributing to a host country's society. It turned out no document explicitly advocated for the

care and maintenance approach because 96% of the data sample were published from 2002 to

2014. This time frame is significant because of the policy shift that took place during it. Adopted

in 2002, the Agenda for Protection contained the Convention Plus initiative that aimed to

redouble efforts at finding comprehensive solutions in protracted refugee situations while

promoting self-reliance for refugees. Further emphasis for turning away from the care and

maintenance model of refugee assistance to strategies and solutions focusing again on the

promotion of livelihoods and self-reliance came in 2008 with the High Commissioner's Dialogue

on Protection Challenges. All this to say, the data sample contained significant amounts of language about empowerment and self-reliance and scant about restrictive containment.

To empower someone means to make them stronger and more confident, especially in controlling their life and claiming their rights. As it relates to the previous discussion of the word "trapped" and the lack of autonomy it connotes, the word "empower" does the opposite in its definition of giving someone the authority or power to do something (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2010). If one is to be empowered, it would perhaps imply previous weakness. Weakness, or a lack of power, is a feminine characteristic. By strengthening someone, in these cases refugees through developmental programs, one could rise to obtain a position of power. In this way, empowerment could be a masculine trait. UNHCR says, "If empowered for self-reliance within an environment that allows socio-economic interaction with the local population, refugees can become agents of local development" (UNHCR, 2003b, p. 11). This stresses active, masculine capabilities of refugees, versus passive feminine ones.

In her PDES working paper, Sarah Meyer (2006) explores the discourse of refugee empowerment though self-reliance strategies and best summarizes her findings on refugee aid development (RAD) approaches saying:

> The key aspects of the RAD literature identified here are threefold**.** Firstly, the literature portrays refugees as 'burdens,' and proposes RAD approaches as a way to shift refugees from being a 'burden' to 'benefit' to host states and communities. Secondly, there is the suggestion that the RAD approach can bridge the gap between relief and development paradigms in protracted refugee situations. Finally, the concept of self-reliance is central, positioned as the polar opposite to refugee dependency. (Meyer, 2006, p. 11)

This analysis affirms Meyer's observations. Self-reliance is a central concept to development programs found in the data sample. UNHCR defines self-reliance as "the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity – developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian assistance" (UNHCR, 2005b, p. 7). The specifics of self-reliance strategies involve opportunities for education or skills training to enhance or to acquire valuable skills in leadership, advocacy, mediation, and conflict resolution. Though it has cultural and social dimensions, self-reliance is primarily an economic concept "rooted in the principle that exiled populations should be able to meet a progressively greater proportion of their own needs and enjoy a steadily growing level of prosperity and human security" (UNHCR, 2008a, p. 14). These strategies appeal to different stakeholders for different reasons. Host states, for example, may be more inclined to support self-reliance strategies if the potential benefits are framed in terms of development and economic growth. Still, that the intent of self-reliance strategies is to help empower and transform refugees from burdens to benefits once again raises questions about the reinforcement of the conception of refugees as a burden.

For refugees, the idea of self-reliance promises autonomy. Autonomy, as previously discussed, is the freedom from external control or influence. Refugee status is a clear contradiction of this conception, however, when isolated, its application to discussions of self-reliance support the claim that self-reliance strategies aim to represent refugees in protracted situations as possessing positive masculine potential. UNHCR hopes that its programs lead refugees to a level of autonomy, agency, and choice during prolonged exile and to sustainable

opportunities once durable solutions are made available to them. Still, self-reliance alone cannot guarantee a durable solution.

The Role of UNHCR

Erika Feller outlined the many roles UNHCR sees itself fulfilling in a 2008 address to the Executive Committee:

> If not the primary provider, UNHCR is, though, the system's main oversight body. The authority of the positions of the High Commissioner and the advice of his Office stems not only from the legal instruments themselves [article 35, Statute] but also very practically from our experience on the ground, where the refugee experience is actually lived. UNHCR's supervisory role is unique in that it finds its expression in a formal statute, it is reinforced through a legally binding international convention, and it is facilitated through UNHCR's very operational character. UNHCR is both an overseer of what is delivered, and a deliverer in its own right. These are two distinct but mutually reinforcing aspects of our mandate, which have important implications for the authority and expertise we bring to what we do. (UNHCR, 2008e, p. 6)

Here, UNHCR is portrayed as a powerful entity — its involvement in nearly every aspect of refugee matters makes it so. However, it is important to point out limits to this power. UNHCR is dependent on donor and host states. This dependence is a feminization of the organization. However, in its relationship with refugees, a reversal of this power dynamic places UNHCR in the dominant, masculine position.

UNHCR would not exist without refugees to protect and assist. Refugees, especially in protracted camp settings, subsist on the protections and assistance UNHCR offers. This reflexive codependence informs the identity, role, and function of each party — the organization is both a

cause and consequence of its relationship with refugees. UNHCR's representations of refugees, therefore, are also a product of its relationship with them. These thoughts are better explained by a brief note on the basic tenets of constructivist research approaches within IR. Constructivism shines a light on how ongoing processes of social practice and interaction explain the construction of reality. By engaging concepts of norms and identities, constructivists look at reality as socially constructed and actors participating in international relations as producers *and* products of the world they operate in. At its most basic, constructivism holds that people make society and society makes people. It is a continuous, two-way process, just as UNHCR's identity and role are established in part through the process of interaction with the refugees its mandated to protect. Gender, which is also a construct, is a perfect tool to help better understand UNHCR's role and relationship with refugees because UNHCR is defined, in part, by its relationship to constructed gendered norms of masculinity and femininity.

In his PDES paper "'We live in a country of UNHCR' The UN surrogate state and refugee policy in the Middle East," Michael Kagan (2011) argues that a UN surrogate state offers advantages over some host states for refugee protection. Referencing Slaughter and Crisp (2008) as well as a 2010 keynote address by Volker Türk, Kagan says, "In carrying out these functions, the UN acts to a great extent as a 'surrogate state,' performing a 'state substitution role,' but without the capacity to fully substitute for a host government" (Kagan, 2011, p. 1). To further hypothesize on this idea of UNHCR's surrogate state status, one can apply insights gained from feminist theorists about the gendered roles of states. IR scholars tend to treat the state as if it were a person — states are actors in an anarchic world, with "interests" and "intentions," who "act" and may even experience "death" (Wadley, 2010, p. 38). Attributes such as rationality, identity, interests, and beliefs which we associate first with human beings, are properties given to

states in the international system. Alexander Wendt (2004) says this concept of state personhood

pervades social science and IR, but it is important to realize that what state persons really are is

"the behavior and discourse of the individual human beings who make them up" (p. 289).

Feminists argue that gender is a fundamental part of this construction of a state's identity, or the

personhood of a state. When gendered traits are given to states instead of individuals, one can

begin to understand the gendered construction of state interactions. So, just as a state can be

gendered, so too can an institution or organization like UNHCR.

Citing fieldwork by Simon Turner on Burundian refugees living in Tanzania's Lukole

camp, another PDES paper titled "A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee

situations" provides an example of a recognized gendered dynamic between UNHCR and

refugees:

> According to Turner, UNHCR's identity had blended with that of wazungu (white
>
> people) and the international community at large. Refugee women are quoted as saying
>
> that 'UNHCR is a better husband,' in the sense that the organization provides for the
>
> household what a Hutu man would normally provide for his family. Turner goes on to
>
> argue that traditional social structures often break down in this context, with UNHCR
>
> assuming the role of the patriarch. According to one refugee man he interviewed, 'there is
>
> a change. People are not taking care of their own life. They are just living like babies in
>
> UNHCR's arms.' (Slaughter & Crisp, 2009, p. 8)

The gender implication of UNHCR being considered a husband by providing for a household is

plain. The other refugee-supplied metaphor, of people living like babies in UNHCR's arms, is

more of a matriarchal allusion because in taking care of camp-based refugees by administering

aid, UNHCR is fulfilling a traditionally feminine role of nurturing. In contrast, legal or physical

protection/security duties would find UNHCR acting in a patriarchal role. Another example from a PDES report featuring field research on the lives of Somali refugees living in Cairo further illustrates why UNHCR can exhibit these dual gendered roles. Commenting on the space and role UNHCR occupies in the hearts and minds of Somali refugees, author Mulki Al-Sharmani (2004) says, "The refugees look at it - more than they do towards the Egyptian government or society - as responsible for not only their protection but also for sustenance" (p. 28). Again, in gendered terms, UNHCR is masculine when providing protection and feminine when supplying basic provisions like food and water.

Taken a step beyond surrogate status, could UNHCR be described as a mother, father, stepparent, adopted parent or foster parent? UNHCR is not a state that "birthed" refugees. The organization assists states, after obtaining permission to do so. It tends to refugees within camp settings, but only until durable solutions can be found. Each designation and the gendered qualities they connote may be appropriate depending on the lens one chooses to operate under. Still, as critical approaches point out, one should apply caution when advocating for UNHCR's surrogacy. After chronicling criticisms of the UN and UNHCR, Kagan (2011) says refugee policy has "an air of neo-colonialism," with humanitarian infrastructure in large refugee settlements in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East "dominated by international agencies based in the West, funded by Western states, and led by international staff" (p. 5). Though written as part of a PDES paper that, as mentioned earlier, do not represent the official views of UNHCR, this assessment does challenge recognized understandings of the organization's responsibility and raises questions about unintended consequences of its role and operations in this way.

Other Observations

Before advancing to conclusions, as promised, a couple stray findings from the analysis deserve attention. The first comes from the opening remarks to the Dialogue on Protection Challenges in 2012 given by former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and current United Nations Secretary General António Guterres. In them, Gutteres refers to all refugees as "the world's most vulnerable people," but it is his use of a possessive plural pronoun when saying, "our persons of concern," this analysis found unique. The usage is rare for UNHCR because official reports do not use pronouns "our" or "we" or "us." They also don't use objective pronouns "he" or "she" or "them." As the highest-ranking official in the organization, the words the High Commissioner uses matter. In the speech, a collective address to the attendees of a UNHCR event, the use of the word "our" signals a responsibility and ownership of refugees on the part of the organization. Another example of this comes from Erika Feller, who used the pronoun "we" when discussing what UNHCR can, does, and should do to further protection goals (UNHCR, 2010). When these informal possessive pronouns are used, they point to an internalization of duty. These duties are articulated in other official documents as well, but not with the intimate language discovered in speeches. This finding is a credit to speaker personality rather than being emblematic of deeper institutional change. It is also indicative of common characteristics found in speech communications. As previously discussed, this format is less restricted and from a gendered standpoint, the emotional language used in the messaging of these speeches can be characterized in a feminine way.

Finally, as expected, references to gender-based violence were found in the data sample. In times of war and humanitarian crises, refugee and displaced women may face physical abuse, exploitation, and rape. They also may become victims of human trafficking. Once they arrive in

a camp setting, women remain at risk for GBV, from fellow refugees, local residents, and even aid workers and those assigned to their protection. This is an unfortunate reality when refugee camps are meant to provide their residents with a safe and secure environment, personal physical security, respect for fundamental human rights, and access to basic needs such as food, water, and shelter. These vulnerabilities are compounded by prolonged exile. Some of the documents highlight a difference between gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual gender-based violence (SGBV), but that designation was unimportant for this analysis. The presence of either, noted in at least 60 out of 100 documents, is indicative of UNHCR's effort to highlight the issue and signals an awareness of different vulnerabilities for women and girls, who research shows are the most vulnerable and affected by GBV. There is also acknowledgement in at least four of the analyzed documents that specific needs or policy changes are required to accommodate and respect the gender identity and sexual orientation of refugees. This is a meager quantity, but the inclusion and sensitivity is encouraging.

Conclusion

The broad objective of this research was to gain insight into UNHCR's discursive depiction of protracted refugees. More specifically, the goal was to use a critical feminist approach to investigate how discursive depictions of refugees in protracted situations by the key agency mandated to help them contribute to the way the phenomenon is perceived and understood, thus affecting how they are responded to. The use of gender as a category of analysis helps highlight pervasive, embedded biases. The generalizations made in these findings may be reductionist and oversimplified, but it is impossible to fully synthesize all the information from the data sample. Brief answers to the series of questions that guided the content analysis of UNHCR documents obtained through the online resource Refworld appear below. Further elaboration and implications follow.

Does UNHCR convey a consistent representation of "refugees" in protracted situations? How is it gendered?

The data did not reinforce images of refugees as helpless victims or threats, as one might expect. Instead, it represented them in other ways as passive (feminine) subjects or active (masculine) participants. On one hand, UNHCR describes refugees as burdens or dependents in negative feminine ways. On the other hand, UNHCR's promotion of development strategies for empowerment and self-reliance represented them in a positive masculine way by acknowledging the potential benefits of prior talents and capabilities refugees bring with them. This narrative simultaneously genders refugees in feminine and masculine ways.

Are representations static or do they change over time? Do they differ by policy, situation or region?

Protracted refugees were consistently represented as dependent burdens. Any contextual variations by situation or region did not affect this overall trend. Refugees were also depicted as capable of self-reliance if empowered, which is a testament to the historical shift in promoting integration policy following decades of responding to the prolonged presence of refugees through policies of containment in isolated and insecure camps. The Convention Plus initiative, as part of the Agenda for Protection, was adopted in 2002 and aimed to redouble efforts at finding comprehensive solutions in protracted refugee situations while promoting self-reliance for refugees. Strategies and solutions focusing again on the promotion of livelihoods and self-reliance came in 2008 with the High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges. No document in the data sample explicitly advocated for a care and maintenance model of refugee assistance because the publishing dates of the collected documents were from 2001 to 2014. This made it difficult to assess whether, prior to 2002, references to the containment approach represented refugees in different ways.

Does the language give insight into the way UNHCR views its role in protecting refugees in protracted situations?

UNHCR was portrayed as a powerful entity involved in nearly every aspect of refugee matters, however, the organization's dependency on donor and host states limits this power. UNHCR's identity and role are established in part through a process of interaction with the refugees it is mandated to protect. Documents talked about legal and physical protection functions as well as humanitarian functions of assistance in camps. As feminists argue, gender is a fundamental part of the construction of institutions. In gendered terms, UNHCR is masculine when providing protection and feminine when supplying basic provisions like food and water.

Critically examining explicit and implicit gendered language was meant to highlight UNHCR's contribution to the larger perception and understanding of refugees in protracted situations. The dichotomized, binary concepts of masculinity and femininity seem straightforward but as this analysis shows, gender is complex and multiple layers of characteristics and behaviors associated with them can exist simultaneously and they aren't necessarily contradictory. UNHCR's representation of refugees in protracted situations as burdens capable of self-reliance if empowered, simultaneously gendering them in feminine and masculine ways, proves this. Understanding that these layers affect representations, relationships, and identities is very important because gendered rhetoric can be used as part of framing processes. Whether strategic or unintentional, characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity used in the construction of protracted refugee narratives can influence policy and outcomes. These representations contribute to the way protection is packaged, which accordingly can determine how states perceive and therefore respond to refugee situations.

Feminization of refugee groups could be used in framing to gain humanitarian support, by presenting refugees as weak or in need of assistance. On the other hand, interestingly, when refugees are described as burdens as they are in the data sample, a concept that has feminine characteristics associated with it, the resulting negative implications could be seen to deter support and lead to an unwillingness to provide or continue to provide support. To combat this possibility of deterred support, the data showed the potential empowerment of refugees in protracted situations framed in a way that promotes self-reliance as having potential for good. UNHCR's promotion of empowerment strategies represents refugees in a positive masculine way. It reframes possibilities for protracted refugees by highlighting why the long-term presence of refugee populations can create new economic opportunities, improve community service, and

attract humanitarian development and private sector resources. This is a positive, proactive way to show the strength and potential of refugees and a contrast to the way many states invoke negative masculine depictions of refugees as threats to security. The perceived consequences of empowerment through these programs are different for different stakeholders — host states, donors, UNHCR, and refugees themselves. From a critical perspective, empowerment and self-reliance framing shifts responsibility, placing additional expectations on refugees by saying they should use their agency or autonomy, which is already limited in such situations, to lift themselves out of circumstances.

Protracted refugee situations are often presented in abstract ways but it is important to remember that the theoretical discussions presented throughout this study have very real consequences in the material world. The lives of millions of individuals depend on effective policies and practices and the promotion of self-reliance strategies alone will not end the historical and prevailing practice of containing refugees to isolated and insecure camps. A principal understanding of power relations within the refugee regime is that UNHCR is dependent on states and that refugees are dependent on UNHCR. However, as this critical analysis has hopefully shown, mutual dependence is a key facet of the relationship between refugees and UNHCR. Yet, despite this, there is still a tendency to view refugees as passive subjects. UNHCR, policymakers, academics, and even this research produces and reproduces this conception because this analysis didn't focus on whether the presumed vulnerabilities, capabilities, and expectations of refugees align or run contrary to the way refugees describe their own histories and situations. Recognition and respect for refugees' personhood, value, and agency must never be diminished.

UNHCR has faced defining challenges in recent years — the visibility of refugee flows into Europe; the fact that with no long-term political solutions for the conflict in sight, millions of Syrian refugees are now characterized as protracted. Though history shows presenting refugees as threats to security isn't new, current xenophobic and anti-immigration rhetoric from Western states significantly hinders efforts to find durable solutions for refugees at a time when global mass displacement numbers have reached unprecedented levels. Through it all, the organization must work to fulfill its mandate to serve persons of concern in existing situations around the world and to help states meet their responsibilities and obligations for protection.

Protracted refugee situations will persist as long as the international community continues to struggle in their commitments and fails to produce large-scale, lasting solutions. The future is uncertain, but the established, invaluable role of UNHCR will endure. This makes examinations like the one presented here vital. Critical approaches question fundamental understandings of how the world works. They move beyond empirical knowledge to investigate the production and effects of non-material factors. Interrogating representational biases through a gendered lens can deepen understandings and encourage thoughtful discussion on the consequences of the perpetuation of refugee narratives and assumptions. Clear and cohesive representation of refugees could help strengthen united responses. Perhaps, critical examination of language can inspire additional research on conceptualization and lead to formulations of more effective representations. Future investigations could also examine discourse on specific situations at the organizational or state level, or analyze media rhetoric from host or donor government perspectives. Though this qualitative study lacks predictive power, its insights into gendered representations of refugees in protracted situations can contribute to the wealth of feminist literature and to a larger discussion of gendered perspectives in IR. For researchers, policy

makers, and others in the field, these sorts of insights into the ways gender shapes and distorts

policy and practice may contribute to a better understanding of the challenges of displacement at

every stage.

References

Agier, M. (2011). Managing the undesirables: Refugee camps and humanitarian government.

      Cambridge: Polity Press.

Allen, R., Li Rose, A., & Skei, M. (2010). Should I stay or should I go? A review of UNHCR's

      response to the protracted refugee situation in Serbia and Croatia. Geneva: United

      Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Policy Development and Evaluation Service

      (PDES). Retrieved from UNHCR website http://www.unhcr.org/4d08e19a9.pdf

Al-Sharmani, M. (2004). Refugee livelihoods: Livelihood and diasporic identity constructions of

      Somali refugees in Cairo. *New Issues in Refugee Research,* No. 104. Geneva: United

      Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

      http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff2a77d2.html

Betts, A. (2008). Historical lessons for overcoming protracted refugee situations. In Loescher,

      G., Milner, J., Newman, E., & Troeller, G. (Eds.), *Protracted refugee situations:*

      political, human rights and security Implications (pp.162-185). New York, NY: United

      Nations University Press.

Betts, A. (2009). *Protection by persuasion: International cooperation in the refugee*

      regime. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Betts, A., Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2012). *The United Nations High Commissioner for*

      Refugees (UNHCR): The politics and practice of refugee protection (2nd ed.). New York,

      NY: Routledge.

Bradley, M. (2011). Unlocking protracted displacement: Central America's 'success story'

      reconsidered. *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 30*(4), 84-121.

Brians, C. L., Willnat, L., & Manheim, J. B., & Rich, R. (2011). Content analysis: Researching textual material. *Empirical Political Analysis* (8th Ed.), (pp. 194-225). New York, NY: Routledge.

Burden. (2010). In *New Oxford American Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Carpenter, R. (2005). "Women, children and other vulnerable groups": Gender, strategic frames and the protection of civilians as a transnational issue. *International Studies Quarterly, 49*(2), 295-334.

Chatty, D. & Mansour, N. (2011). Unlocking protracted displacement: An Iraqi case study. *Refugee Survey Quarterly, 30*(4), 50-82.

Cohn, C. (1987). Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals. *Signs, 12*(4), 687-718.

Cohn, C. (2013). Women and wars: Toward a conceptual framework. In Cohn, C. (Ed.), *Women & wars* (pp. 1-35). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Crisp, J. (2003). No solutions in sight: the problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa. *New Issues in Refugee Research* No. 75. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff3f4d12.html

Crisp, J. (2006). Forced displacement in Africa: Dimensions, difficulties and policy directions. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, No. 126. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff15c1c2.html

Dependence. (2010). In *New Oxford American Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

De Voe, D. (1981). Framing refugees as clients. *The International Migration Review, 15*(1/2), 88-94.

Dryden-Peterson, S., & Hovil, L. (2003). Local integration as a durable solution: refugees, host populations and education in Uganda. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, No. 93. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff2b0282.html

El Jack, A. (2011). Protracted refugees in Sudan: Why gender matters. *Middle East Institute.* Retrieved from http://www.refugeecooperation.org/publications/sudan/pdf/06_eljack.pdf

Empower. (2010). In *New Oxford American Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Hyndman, J., & Giles, W. (2011). Waiting for what? The feminization of asylum in protracted situations. *Gender, place & culture: A journal of feminist geography, 18*(3), 361-379.

Jacobsen, K. (2001). The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing Countries. *New Issues in Refugee Research,* No. 45. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff569552.html

Jamal. A. (2000). Minimum standards and essential needs in a protracted refugee situation: a review of the UNHCR programme in Kakuma, Kenya. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Policy Development and Evaluation Service (PDES). Retrieved from UNHCR website http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/research/evalreports/3ae6bd4c0/minimum-standards-essential-needs-protracted-refugee-situation-review-unhcr.html

Jamal, A. (2008). A realistic, segmented and reinvigorated UNHCR approach to resolving protracted refugee situations. In Loescher, G., Milner, J., Newman, E., & Troeller, G.

(Eds.), *Protracted refugee situations: political, human rights and security implications* (pp. 141-161). New York, NY: United Nations University Press.

Kagan, M. (2011). 'We live in a country of UNHCR': The UN surrogate state and refugee policy in the Middle East. *New Issues in Refugee Research,* No. 201. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4d8876db2.html

Keohane, R. (1998). Beyond dichotomy: Conversations between international relations and feminist theory. *International Studies Quarterly, 42*(1), 193-197.

Krippendorff, K. (1989). Content analysis. In E. Barnouw, G. Gerbner, W. Schramm, T. L. Worth, & L. Gross (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of communication* (Vol. 1, pp. 403-407). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kuhlman, T. (2002). Responding to protracted refugee situations: A case study of Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Policy Development and Evaluation Service (PDES). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4e562c572.html

Languish. (2010). In *New Oxford American Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Loescher, G. (2001). *The UNHCR and world politics: A perilous path*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Loescher, G., Milner, J., Newman, E., & Troeller, G. (2008). *Protracted refugee situations: political, human rights and security implications*. New York, NY: United Nations University Press.

Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2008). Understanding the problem of protracted refugee Situations. In Loescher, G., Milner, J., Newman, E., & Troeller, G. (Eds.), *Protracted refugee*

situations: political, human rights and security implications (pp. 20-42). New York, NY: United Nations University Press.

Malkki, L. (1996). Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and dehistoricization. *Cultural Anthropology, 11*(3), 377-404.

Meyer, S. (2006). The "refugee aid and development" approach in Uganda: empowerment and self-reliance of refugees in practice. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, No. 131. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff152de2.html

Milner, J. (2011). Refugees and the peacebuilding process. *New Issues in Refugee Research* No. 224. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4f38d2642.html

Omata, N. (2012). Struggling to find solutions: Liberian refugees in Ghana. *New Issues in Refugee Solutions,* No. 234. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4fc49a5d2.html

Phillips, M. (2003). The role and impact of humanitarian assets in refugee-hosting countries. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, No. 84. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff2b6f52.html

Purkey, A. (2014). Questioning governance in protracted refugee situations: The fiduciary nature of the state-refugee relationship. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 25*(3), 693-716.

Runyan, A. S., & Peterson, V. S. (2014). *Global gender issues in the new millennium* (4th ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Shacknove, A. (1993). From asylum to containment. *International Journal of Refugee Law, 5*(4): 516-33.

Slaughter, A., & Crisp, J. (2008). A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee situations. In Loescher, G., Milner, J., Newman, E., & Troeller, G. (Eds.), *Protracted refugee situations: political, human rights and security implications* (pp. 123-140). New York, NY: United Nations University Press.

Slaughter, A., & Crisp, J. (2009). A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee situations. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, No. 168. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4fe03cb72.html

The PRS Project — Refugee Studies Centre (n.d.) Retrieved June 6, 2017, from https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/policy/prs-project

Tickner, J. A. (1992). *Gender in international relations: Feminist perspectives on achieving global security*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Tickner, J. A. (1997). You just don't understand: Troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists. *International Studies Quarterly, 41*(4), 611-632.

Tickner, J. A. (1998). Continuing the conversation. *International Studies Quarterly, 42*(1), 205-210.

Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering world politics: Issues and approaches in the post-Cold War era*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Tickner, J. A. (2005a). Gendering a discipline: Some feminist methodological contributions to international relations. *Signs, 30*(4), 2173-2188.

Tickner, J. A. (2005b). What is your research program? Some feminist answers to international relations methodological questions. *International Studies Quarterly, 49*(1), 1-21.

Tickner, J. A. (2006). On the frontlines or sidelines of knowledge and power? Feminist practices of responsible scholarship. *International Studies Review*, *8*(3), 383–395.

Trapped. (2010). In *New Oxford American Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2002a). Global consultations on international protection/third track: Report of the fourth meeting in the third track. Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/3d358a3a4.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2002b). Global consultations on international protection/third track: Report of the meetings within the framework of the standing committee (third track). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/3d60ee224.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2002c). Global consultations on international protection/third track: Strengthening and expanding resettlement today: dilemmas, challenges and opportunities. Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/3d62679e4.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2002d). Global consultations on international protection/third track: Unofficial summary of follow-up to the fourth meeting of the third track (June 2002). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/3d3589e04.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2003a). Framework for durable solutions for refugees and persons of concern. Executive Committee of the High

Commissioner's Programme, Standing Committee, 28th meeting. Retrieved from

Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ae9ac93d.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2003b). Report of the United

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2002. Geneva: United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/3f813e6e7.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2004). Protracted Refugee

Situations. Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Protracted

Refugee Situations, Standing Committee, 30th meeting. Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/4a54bc00d.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2005a). Handbook for planning

and implementing development assistance for refugees (DAR) programmes. Geneva:

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld

website http://www.refworld.org/docid/428076704.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2005b). Handbook for self-

reliance. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved

from UNHCR website http://www.unhcr.org/44bf7b012.pdf

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2006). Talking points by Ms Erika

Feller, Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, at the 2006 annual tripartite

consultations on resettlement. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/468273096.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2008a). Protracted refugee

situations. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/492fb92d2.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2008b). Protracted refugee

situations: High Commissioner's initiative. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner

for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/496f041d2.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2008c) Protracted refugee

situations: Revisiting the problem, Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's

Programme; Standing Committee. Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/486903142.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2008d). Statement by Erika Feller,

Assistant High Commissioner - Protection, "protracted situations." Geneva: United

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/4868d02c2.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2008e). Statement by Ms. Erika

Feller, Assistant High Commissioner - Protection, at the fifty-ninth session of the

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme: Protection makes a

difference. It can mean the difference. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website

http://www.refworld.org/docid/48ecd5f62.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2009). Conclusion on protracted

refugee situations No. 109 (LXI) – 2009, Executive Committee of the Programme of the

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/4b30afd92.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2010). Sixty-first session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, agenda item 5(a): Statement by Ms. Erika Feller Assistant High Commissioner - Protection: Rule of law 60 Years on. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from UNHCR website http://www.unhcr.org/admin/dipstatements/4cac7f2f9/sixty-first-session-executive-committee-high-commissioners-programme-agenda.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2012a). High Commissioner's dialogue on protection challenges - Theme: Faith and protection; Opening remarks by Mr. António Guterres. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/510a6a872.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2012b). Ministerial intergovernmental event on refugees and stateless persons - Pledges 2011. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/50aca6112.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2014). UNHCR policy on alternatives to camps. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from Refworld website http://www.refworld.org/docid/5423ded84.html

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2016). Global trends: Forced displacement in 2015. Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved from UNHCR website http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf

Wadley, J. D. (2010). Gendering the state: Performativity and protection in international security. In Sjoberg, L. (Ed.), *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*. (pp. 38-58). New York, NY: Routledge.

Wendt, A. (2004). The state as person in international theory. *Review of International Studies*, *30*, 289–316.

Zetter, R. (2011). Unlocking the protracted displacement of refugees and internally displaced persons: An overview. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *30*(4), 1–13.

Appendix

RELEVANCE	DOCUMENT NAME	DOCUMENT TYPE	PUBLISHED
1	Protracted Refugee Situations	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	11/20/2008
2	Protracted Refugee Situations	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/10/2004
3	Protracted Refugee Situations: Revisiting the Problem	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/2/2008
4	Responding to protracted refugee situations: A case study of Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire	Country News	7/1/2002
5	Conclusion on protracted refugee situations	Conclusion on protracted refugee situations	12/22/2009
6	Protracted Refugee Situations. High Commissioner's Initiative	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	12/1/2008
7	No solutions in sight: the problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	1/1/2003
8	A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee situations,	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	1/2/2009
9	Protracted refugee situations in Liberia and Angola to finally end	Country News	6/29/2012
10	Local integration: an under-reported solution to protracted refugee situations	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	6/30/2008
11	The European Union proposal on subsidiary protection: an analysis and assessment	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	12/31/2002
12	Chairman's Summary, 11 December 2008 (High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges (10-11 December 2008), Theme: Protracted Refugee Situations	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	1/1/2009
13	Response by George Okoth-Obbo, Director, Division of International Protection Services to Member States' Interventions on the Oral Update on the High Commissioner's 2008 Dialogue on Protracted Refugee Situations, Agenda Item 4(c)	Speeches/Statements	3/5/2009
14	Situations de réfugiés prolongées. Initiative du Haut Commissaire	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	12/1/2008
15	Making Comprehensive Approaches to Resolving Refugee Problems More Systematic	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	9/16/2004
16	UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2008	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	6/29/2007
17	Refugee integration in Ghana: the host community's perspective	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	3/1/2011
18	Report on UNHCR's Annual Consultations With Non-Governmental Organizations (29 June - 1 July 2009, Geneva, Switzerland)	Conference Reports	8/1/2009
19	Forced displacement in Africa: Dimensions, difficulties and policy	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	7/10/2006

	directions		
20	UNHCR Global Report 2009, Nepal	Annual Reports	6/1/2010
21	The 'refugee aid and development' approach in Uganda: empowerment and self-reliance of refugees in practice	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	10/10/2006
22	Report of the Executive Committee of the Programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 60th session, 28 September-2 October 2009	Sessional Reports	10/9/2009
23	Statement by Erika Feller, Assistant High Commissioner - Protection, "Protracted Situations"	Speeches/Statements	6/25/2008
24	Refugee integration in the intermediate term: a study of Nepal, Pakistan, and Kenya	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	10/1/2004
25	Multilateral Framework of Understandings on Resettlement	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	9/16/2004
26	Report on Consultations with Non-Governmental Organisations prior to the Fifty-fifth Session of the Executive Committee of UNHCR	Conference Reports	10/1/2004
27	UNHCR Algeria: Fact Sheet, August 2010	Country Reports	8/1/2010
28	Angolans head homewards by train from Democratic Republic of Congo	Country News	8/19/2014
29	Extending protection? Labour migration and durable solutions for refugees	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	10/1/2009
30	International cooperation and the targeting of development assistance for refugee solutions: Lessons from the 1980s	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	9/28/2004
31	Comprehensive Plans of Action: Insights from CIREFCA and the Indochinese CPA	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	1/1/2006
32	Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees : Covers the period between Jan. 2009 and mid-2010	Annual Reports	10/7/2010
33	Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - 2012	Annual Reports	6/30/2012
34	Update on UNHCR's global programmes and partnerships - 2010	Sessional Reports	9/30/2010
35	Convention Plus Core Group on the Strategic Use of Resettlement: Multilateral Framework of Understandings on Resettlement	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/21/2004
36	UNHCR Global Report 2009, Durable Solutions	Annual Reports	6/1/2010
37	Handbook for Planning and Implementing Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) Programmes	Handbooks/Manuals	1/1/2005
38	Statement by Ms. Erika Feller, Assistant High Commissioner - Protection, at the fifty-ninth session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme: "Protection makes a difference. It can mean the difference"	Speeches/Statements	10/8/2009
39	Report of the United Nations High	Thematic Reports	2009

		Commissioner for Refugees		
40	Conclusions Adopted by the Executive Committee on the International Protection of Refugees	Conclusions on International Protection	12/1/2009
41	Moving beyond long-term refugee situations: the case of Guatemala	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	3/29/2003
42	UNHCR Resettlement Handbook, 2011	Handbooks/Manuals	7/1/2011
43	Global Consultations on International Protection/Third Track: Local Integration	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	4/25/2002
44	Talking Points by Ms Erika Feller, Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, at the 2006 Annual Tripartite Consultations on Resettlement	Speeches/Statements	6/19/2006
45	Report on the Annual Consultations with Non-Governmental Organizations prior to the Fifty-sixth Session of the Executive Committee of UNHCR	Conference Reports	10/1/2005
46	"We live in a country of UNHCR" The UN surrogate state and refugee policy in the Middle East	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	2/1/2011
47	Struggling to find solutions: Liberian refugees in Ghana	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	5/1/2012
48	UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2013	Thematic Reports	6/1/2012
49	Local integration as a durable solution: refugees, host populations and education in Uganda	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	9/29/2003
50	Towards self sufficiency and integration: an historical evaluation of assistance programmes for Rwandese refugees in Burundi, 1962 - 1965	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	3/30/2003
51	The State of the World's Refugees: In Search of Solidarity	Annual Reports	2012
52	States of denial: A review of UNHCR's response to the protracted situation of stateless Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	12/1/2011
53	Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions	Thematic Reports	1/1/2010
54	Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions	Thematic Reports	6/1/2014
55	A Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions, 6th edition, June 2011	Conclusions on international Protection	6/1/2011
56	A Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions, 7th edition, June 2014	Conclusions on International Protection	6/1/2014
57	Chairman's Summary: High Commissioner's Forum (12 March 2004)	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	3/12/2004
58	Sixty-first Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Agenda item 5(a): Statement by Ms. Erika Feller Assistant High Commissioner - Protection: Rule of Law 60 Years On	Sessional Reports	10/6/2010

59	UNHCR's Annual Consultations with NGOs: Rapporteur's Report	Conference Reports	8/1/2010
60	Ministerial Intergovernmental Event on Refugees and Stateless Persons - Pledges 2011	Conference Reports	10/1/2012
61	UNHCR Position Paper on the Strategic Use of Resettlement	Policy/Position Papers	6/4/2010
62	Global Consultations on International Protection/General: Update 31 January 2001	Thematic Reports	1/31/2001
63	Global Consultations on International Protection/General: Update October 2001	Thematic Reports	10/1/2001
64	Microfinance and refugees: lessons learned from UNHCR's experience	Thematic Reports	1/19/2001
65	High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges - Theme: Faith and Protection; Opening remarks by Mr. António Guterres, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees	Speeches/Statements	12/12/2012
66	Global Consultations on International Protection/General: Update 15 May 2001	Thematic Reports	5/15/2001
67	Note on International Protection	Policy/Position Papers	6/5/2009
68	Update on UNHCR's operations in Asia and the Pacific	Regional Reports	9/24/2013
69	UNHCR Policy on Alternatives to Camps	Policy/Position Papers	7/22/2014
70	Global Consultations on International Protection/Third Track: Report of the Fourth meeting in the Third Track	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/14/2002
71	Progress Report: Convention Plus	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	5/2/2005
72	UNHCR Global Report 2009, Asia and the Pacific	Annual Reports	6/1/2010
73	The role and impact of humanitarian assets in refugee-hosting countries	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	3/19/2003
74	Expert Meeting on International Cooperation to Share Burdens and Responsibilities	Sessional Reports	6/28/2011
75	Refugees and the peacebuilding process	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	11/1/2011
76	Statement by Ms. Erika Feller, Director, Department of International Protection, UNHCR, at the Fifty-fourth Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme: "Effective Protection in Today's World"	Speeches/Statements	10/1/2003
77	UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2012	Thematic Reports	7/4/2011
78	Refugee livelihoods: Livelihood and diasporic identity constructions of Somali refugees in Cairo	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	6/1/2004
79	Refugee livelihoods: Confronting uncertainty and responding to adversity: Mozambican war refugees in Limpopo Province	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	6/2/2004

80	Information Note: Preparatory Project for the Elaboration of a Comprehensive Plan of Action for Somali Refugees	Research, Background and Discussion Papers	9/24/2004
81	Global Consultations on International Protection/Third Track: Unofficial Summary of Follow-up to the Fourth Meeting of the Third Track (June 2002)	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/1/2002
82	Global Consultations on International Protection/Third Track: Report of the Meetings Within the Framework of the Standing Commitee (Third Track)	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	6/27/2002
83	General Conclusion on International Protection	Conclusions on International Protection	10/10/2008
84	UNHCR Country Briefing Folder on Sudan 2010	Country Briefing Folders	1/27/2011
85	Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern	Policy/Position Papers	5/1/2003
86	Statement by Mr. Ngonlardje Mbaidjol, Acting Director, Division of International Protection Services, to the 35th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme (Geneva, 8 March 2006)	Speeches/Statements	3/8/2006
87	UNHCR's Mental Health and Psychosocial Support for Persons of Concern	Thematic Reports	6/1/2013
88	Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	9/16/2003
89	Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions	Conclusions on International Protection	8/1/2009
90	Update on solutions	Thematic Reports	6/6/2014
91	Refugee Protection and International Migration - Trends August 2013-July 2014	Thematic Reports	11/1/2014
92	Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2002	Annual Reports	8/19/2003
93	Assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in Africa: Report of the Secretary-General	Annual Reports	8/31/2004
94	Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2002	Sessional Reports	2003
95	Global Consultations on International Protection/Third Track: Strengthening and Expanding Resettlement Today: Dilemmas, Challenges and Opportunities	Legal Articles/Analyses/Commentaries	4/25/2002
96	Breakout Session 1: Gaps in the International Protection Framework and in Its Implementation	Conference Reports	12/8/2010
97	UNHCR reaffirms support for integration of 1972 Burundians in Tanzania	Country News	8/29/2011
98	Assistance to refugees, returnees and displaced persons in Africa : Report of the Secretary-General	Sessional Reports	8/21/2012

| 99 | Convention Plus: Targeting of Development Assistance for Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement. Joint Statement by the Co-Chairs | Speeches/Statements | 2/10/2006 |
| 100 | UNHCR Global Resettlement Needs 2002 | Research, Background and Discussion Papers | 6/19/2002 |