The past decades have seen enormous changes in our perceptions of 'security', the causes of insecurity and the measures adopted to address them. Threats of terrorism and the impacts of globalisation and mass migration have shaped our identities, politics and world views.

This volume of essays analyses these shifts in thinking and, in particular, critically engages with the concept of 'human security' from legal, international relations and human rights perspectives. Contributors consider the special circumstances of non-citizens, such as refugees, migrants, and displaced and stateless persons, and assess whether, conceptually and practically, 'human security' helps to address the multiple challenges they face.

Alice Edwards is Departmental Lecturer in International Refugee and Human Rights Law at the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University. She has previously worked as a legal adviser to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Amnesty International.

Carla Ferstman is the Director of Redress, an international non-governmental organisation which provides legal support to survivors of torture and related crimes. She has worked as a criminal defence lawyer in Canada and written and lectured extensively on international criminal law and human rights.
HUMAN SECURITY AND NON-CITIZENS

Law, Policy and International Affairs

Edited by
ALICE EDWARDS
CARLA FERSTMAN
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ABOUT THE EDITORS

**Alice Edwards** is Departmental Lecturer in International Refugee and Human Rights Law at the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University. Prior to this appointment she was Lecturer in Law and Head (and founder) of the Forced Migration and Human Rights Unit within the Human Rights Law Centre, University of Nottingham. She has previously lectured at the University of Tasmania, The Australian National University, and was Adjunct Professor to the University of Tulsa Study Abroad Program in London in 2005 and 2006. Before joining the academy on a full-time basis, she was a protection, legal and gender adviser to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Morocco and Geneva (at HQ), refugee policy adviser at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International in London, and communications manager for Food for the Hungry International in Mozambique. In 2001–2002, she was responsible for the ‘second track’ of UNHCR’s Global Consultations on International Protection, and has been instrumental in developing and drafting UNHCR’s Guidelines on International Protection. She regularly advises, consults and trains on international refugee law, human rights law and related fields for various organisations and governments. She holds BA, LLB (Honours) degrees from the University of Tasmania, a LLM in Public International Law (Distinction/first class) from the University of Nottingham, a Diploma in International and Comparative Law from the Institut International des Droits de l’Homme in Strasbourg, and a PhD in Public International Law from The Australian National University. She is admitted to practice as a barrister and solicitor in Australia. She is widely published and cited on refugee law, human rights, and gender/feminist theory.
CARLA FERSTMAN is the Director of REDRESS, an international human rights organisation which assists survivors of torture and related crimes to access justice. She joined the organisation in 2001 as its Legal Director and became its Director in 2005. She is also the informal coordinator of the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court’s Victims Rights Working Group and is a member of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s Expert Panel on Torture. She was called to the Bar in British Columbia, Canada where she practised as a criminal law barrister. She has also worked with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on legal reform and capacity building in post-genocide Rwanda, with Amnesty International’s International Secretariat as a legal researcher on trials in Central Africa, and as Executive Legal Adviser to Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Commission for Real Property Claims of Displaced Persons and Refugees (CRPC). She has an LLB from the University of British Columbia and an LLM from New York University. Carla has published and is a regular commentator on victims’ rights, the International Criminal Court, and the prohibition against torture.
EDWIN ODHIAMBO ABUGA is Senior Lecturer at Nairobi University School of Law, and Advocate of the High Court of Kenya. Educated in Kenya, South Africa and Australia, Edwin completed a doctoral thesis in international human rights and refugee law at the University of Sydney, and obtained Masters and Undergraduate degrees in Law from the Universities of Cape Town and Nairobi respectively. From 2007 to 2008, he was a Visiting Professor at Seattle University. He has previously taught law in Kenya, Australia, and the United Kingdom. His research interests lie in the areas of legal research and writing, international asylum, democracy, humanitarian and immigration laws, as well as transitional justice. He has published a number of articles, delivered conference papers and advised international agencies and governments on these themes. Edwin is a Regional Editor of the Journal of African Law.

RYSZARD CHOLEWINSKI is Labour Migration Specialist in the Migration Policy, Research and Communications Department of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Geneva. Prior to joining IOM in September 2006, he was Reader in Law at the University of Leicester (1992–2006) and also served as a consultant to other international organisations, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, UNESCO and the Council of Europe, as well as a number of non-governmental organisations. Ryszard is co-author of the Handbook on Establishing Effective Labour Migration Policies in Countries of Origin and Destination (2006), a joint publication of the IOM, OSCE and ILO. He has also published widely on international and European migration law, including Migrant Workers in International Human Rights Law: Their Protection in Countries of Employment (1997); Borders and Discrimination in the European Union (2002); The Legal Status of Migrants Admitted for Employment:
A Comparative Study of Law and Practice in Selected European States (2004); and Study on Obstacles to Effective Access of Irregular Migrants to Minimum Social Rights (2005). Most recently, he co-edited (with Richard Perruchoud and Euan Macdonald) International Migration Law: Developing Paradigms and Key Challenges (Asser Press, 2007). He holds degrees from the Universities of Ottawa (LLD), Saskatchewan (LLM) and Leicester (LLB).

Craig Forcese is an associate professor in the Faculty of Law, Common Law Section, University of Ottawa, where he teaches public international law, national security law, administrative law, and public law and legislation, and runs the annual foreign policy practicum. Much of his present research and writing relates to international law, national security and democratic accountability. Prior to joining the law school faculty, he practised law with the Washington DC office of Hughes Hubbard & Reed LLP, specialising in international trade law. Craig has law degrees from Yale University and the University of Ottawa, a BA from McGill, and an MA in international affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. He is a member of the bars of Ontario, New York, and the District of Columbia.

Eve Lester is an international refugee and human rights lawyer, with a particular interest in the rights of refugees, migrants and stateless persons. She has practised refugee law in Australia and has worked with a number of international NGOs, including Amnesty International, the Jesuit Refugee Service and the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (now Human Rights First). In 2001, she was deployed to UNHCR’s Department of International Protection in Geneva as NGO Liaison Officer during the Global Consultations on International Protection. Eve has taught at New York University and the Australian National University, and has given guest lectures and seminars at a number of universities in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia. She has also delivered training programmes on refugee protection, human rights and advocacy for government, non-government and UN personnel in Africa, the Americas, South East Asia, Europe and Australia. She has published a number of articles, including in peer-reviewed journals. She currently works as a human rights consultant in Australia and internationally, and is a PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne.
xii  ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

MARK MANLY is Head of the Statelessness Unit of the Division of International Protection Services, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva. He previously worked as Legal Officer in the same unit. Upon joining UNHCR, he served as a Training Officer with the Costa Rica-based Regional Legal Unit from 2001 to 2003 and then as a UNHCR Protection Officer in Colombia until 2006. Prior to joining UNHCR, he worked as a human rights observer with the UN Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala from 1995 to 1998 and in 2000 he served as human rights officer in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Mission in Kosovo. Mark holds an LLM in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex (1999).

JANE MCADAM (BA (Hons) LLB (Hons) (Sydney), DPhil (Oxon)) is an associate professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Sydney, and a research associate of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. At UNSW she is the Director of International Law Programs, the Director of International Moots, and the Director of the International Law project on ‘Climate Change “Refugees”’ at the Gilbert + Tobin Centre for Public Law, funded by the Australian Research Council. She previously taught at the University of Sydney and at Lincoln College, University of Oxford. Her books include Complementary Protection in International Refugee Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); The Refugee in International Law with Guy S. Goodwin-Gill (3rd edn, 2007); and an edited collection entitled, Moving On: Forced Migration and Human Rights (2008). Jane is the Associate Rapporteur of the Convention Refugee Status and Subsidiary Protection Working Party for the International Association of Refugee Law Judges; a Member of the Executive Committee of the International Law Association (Australian Branch); and a Member of the Management Committee of the Refugee Advice and Casework Service in Sydney. She has worked on a variety of projects with UNHCR, the European Union, the Czech-Helsinki Committee, Amnesty International, the Refugee Council of Australia, and the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford (for whom she still tutors). Jane is on the Editorial Board of the Australian International Law Journal, is the former General Editor of the Oxford University Commonwealth Law Journal, and a former member of the Editorial Board of the Sydney Law Review. She teaches a range of
postgraduate and undergraduate subjects in the areas of public international law and forced migration.

**Lorna McGregor** is the International Legal Adviser at REDRESS where she represents individual torture survivors, prepares *amicus curiae* briefs, works on strategic litigation with partners in countries such as Nepal, Peru and Uganda and conducts research on key issues relating to torture. Lorna previously worked as a Programme Lawyer at the International Bar Association on its International Criminal Court (ICC) Monitoring and Outreach Programme with a key focus on outreach in Uganda and Sudan; at REDRESS as the State Immunity Project Coordinator; and in Sri Lanka as the Coordinator of the Transitional Justice Working Group. Lorna holds an LLB (Hons) from Edinburgh Law School and an LLM from Harvard Law School, where she was a Kennedy Memorial Trust Scholar and a Henigson Fellow. Lorna is a member of the International Bar Association’s Taskforce on Extraterritorial Jurisdiction, a tutor in international law at SOAS, and has published in journals such as the *American Journal of International Law*, the *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, *Contemporary Justice Review* and the *International Journal of Peace Studies*.

**Barbara Miltner** is doctoral student and Gates scholar at Cambridge University. Prior to her PhD studies, she was a lecturer at Robert Gordon University in Aberdeen, Scotland, teaching international human rights law and administrative law. She holds degrees from Georgetown University (BSc), and the University of Michigan (JD), where she studied international refugee law under Professor James Hathaway. During that time she participated in several international refugee law research projects, represented asylum-seekers through the university’s Asylum Clinic and worked at Amnesty International’s Refugee Division in London as a Michigan Fellow in Refugee & Asylum Law. Prior to her work at Robert Gordon University, Barbara also worked as a judicial law clerk in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.

**Daniel Moeckli** is *Oberassistent* at the University of Zurich Faculty of Law and a Fellow of the University of Nottingham Human Rights Law Centre. His main research interests lie in the area of human rights law,
both international and national, and constitutional law. He is the author of *Human Rights and Non-discrimination in the 'War on Terror'* (2008) and a member of the Panel of Experts advising the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights While Countering Terrorism. Previously, he acted as legal adviser to the International Bar Association’s Task Force on International Terrorism, worked for Amnesty International and practised criminal law for several years.

**Robert Muggah** is Research Director of the Small Arms Survey, and associate at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Switzerland. There he oversees diagnostics and experimental research on the spatial and temporal distribution of armed violence in over 40 countries. Robert completed his PhD in political economy at Oxford University and also trained in economics and development at the Institute for Development Studies (Sussex). Over the past decade, he has worked with multilateral and bilateral agencies on conventional security promotion such as disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) and security system reform (SSR) as well as alternative approaches such as interim stabilisation and second generation approaches. He has worked and published on violence, security, forced migration and development in Brazil, Colombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, Kenya, Kosovo, Lebanon, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Republic of Congo, Sudan and Uganda. Recent volumes include *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War* (2009); *Relocation Failures in Sri Lanka: A Short History of Internal Displacement and Resettlement* (2008); and *No Refuge: The Crisis of Refugee Militarization in Africa* (2006). In addition to publishing in peer-reviewed journals such as the Security Dialogue, International Peacekeeping, Conflict, Security and Development, International Migration and the Journal of Refugee Studies, he is also a regular contributor to the World Bank, UNDP and WHO annual reports and the international media.

**Frances Nicholson** is Senior Regional legal officer with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Brussels. She has worked for UNHCR since 2000, initially as editor and analyst on *The State of the World’s Refugees 2000* (2000). Until her
current position, she worked as Senior Refugee Law Research Officer in the Division of International Protection Services on a wide range of international protection issues, including co-editing *Refugee Protection in International Law: UNHCR’s Global Consultations on International Protection* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). After completing a masters degree in International Relations at the University of Cambridge, she worked as Airey Neave Research Fellow at the Human Rights Law Centre of the University of Nottingham, where she co-edited *Refugee Rights and Realities: Evolving International Concepts and Regimes* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). Other projects have included writing and editing the report *Kosovo/Kosova, As Seen, As Told* for the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1999); ‘Challenges to Forging a Common European Asylum System in Line with International Obligations’ in *EU Immigration and Asylum Law* edited by S. Peers and N. Rogers (2006); and numerous other publications.

Pia Oberoi has extensive academic and policy experience of the issue of migration and its interface with human rights issues. She holds a DPhil in International Relations from St Antony’s College, Oxford University, in which she specialised on displacement issues in South Asia, and her doctoral thesis has been published by Oxford University Press (*Exile and Belonging: Refugees and State Policy in South Asia*, 2006). In addition, she has also published a number of journal articles including in the *International Journal of Refugee Law* and the *Forced Migration Review*, and contributed to edited volumes on human rights, migration and displacement. She has previously worked at the International Secretariat of Amnesty International (based in Geneva), where she led the organisation’s policy and advocacy work on the human rights of migrants. During this time she drafted a number of policy-oriented reports and public statements for Amnesty International on the subject of migrants’ rights, and led the organisation’s involvement in key international meetings on migration including the Global Forum on Migration and Development. She has also worked for the Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (FORUM-ASIA) as Coordinator of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Programme and Focal Point on Migrant Workers, where she published articles on migration, poverty, development and human rights in Asia and represented FORUM-ASIA at the High Level Dialogue
on Migration and Development. Most recently she has worked with the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, within the Research and Right to Development Division. She currently works as an independent consultant, carrying out research and training programmes for UN agencies and non-governmental organisations on issues related to the human rights of migrants, as well as on economic, social and cultural rights.

Ryszard Piotrowicz has been Professor of Law at Aberystwyth University since 1999. He was previously Professor and Dean of Law at the University of Tasmania, and has also taught at the Universities of Glasgow and Durham. He has been Visiting Professor in International Law at the Universities of Adelaide, Tasmania and Masaryk University in Brno, as well as Visiting Professor in Migration Law at Viadrina University in Frankfurt-Oder, and a Parsons Fellow at the University of Sydney. He is also a Humboldt Fellow (University of Greifswald and the Max-Planck-Institute for International Law, Heidelberg). He has worked extensively on refugee issues and trafficking of human beings, and has acted as a consultant on trafficking to various international organisations. He was involved in the drafting of the UNHCR's Guidelines on the application of the 1951 Refugee Convention to trafficked people. He is Book Reviews Editor for the *International Journal of Refugee Law*. He has published extensively on refugee law and people trafficking. Since July 2008 he has been a member of the European Commission’s Group of Experts on People Trafficking.

Ben Saul is Director of the Sydney Centre for International Law at Sydney Law School, Coordinator of the Master of International Law Program, and a barrister (including in the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia). His latest book, *Defining Terrorism in International Law* (2006), is the leading work on the subject. Ben has taught law at Oxford, Sydney, UNSW, Calcutta, Hong Kong, and in Cambodia and Nepal. Ben is a member of the International Law Association’s International Committee for the Compensation of Victims of War, President of Refugee Advice and Casework Service, Vice-President of Sydney PEN, a Member of the NSW Legal Aid Commission’s Human Rights Committee, and on the management committee of Australian Lawyers for Human Rights. He has been involved in human rights cases
in Israel, South Africa, Peru, Sri Lanka and Guantanamo Bay, and has conducted human rights or humanitarian law training for a range of governments, including Iraq, Nepal, Laos, Algeria and Kuwait. Ben has first class honours degrees in Arts and Law from Sydney University and a DPhil in law from Oxford.

**Veselina Vandova** is a senior lawyer at INTERIGHTS, the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights where she is currently leading the Security and the Rule of Law Programme. Before joining INTERIGHTS in 2002, she worked as staff attorney for the Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights, where she litigated cases of human rights violations before domestic courts and the European Court of Human Rights. She has been a member of the Sofia Bar since 1998, and has a degree in Law from Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria, and an LLM from New York University School of Law.

**Laura van Waas** holds a PhD in International Law from Tilburg University, the Netherlands. Her doctoral thesis, entitled, *Nationality Matters – Statelessness under International Law* (2008), is an in-depth analysis of the international normative framework for the prevention of statelessness and the protection of stateless persons. In 2007, she was engaged as a consultant for UNHCR to compile a range of training materials on statelessness which included a basic self-study kit as well as an in-depth programme for building a strategic response to the issue. Prior to this, she conducted research on behalf of Plan International on the link between irregular migration, birth registration and statelessness, with a specific focus on Thailand and the Dominican Republic.
In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) stated that the concept of security had been too narrowly construed for too long as security of territory from external aggression, as protection of national interest in foreign policy, or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Arguing that it is time to move beyond the narrow concept of national security to ‘an all-encompassing concept’ of ‘human security’, the UNDP identified two main components of this new approach:

- It means, first, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

In 2003, the UN Commission on Human Security issued its final report in which it concluded that:

- Human security means protecting vital freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms – freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one’s own behalf. To achieve human security, it offers two general strategies: protection and empowerment.

The framework aims to treat human security, human rights and human development as mutually reinforcing goals. The new framework centres directly and specifically on people, allowing them to live in safety and
dignity and to earn a livelihood, rather than on the state and its security or sovereignty. The 2004 report of the UN Secretary-General’s High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change focused largely on traditional ideas of security, although it too acknowledged that global security is about state as well as human security.\(^5\)

This new framework of human security causes one to consider the safety and security of individuals irrespective of their attachment to, or status within, a state. However, the prevailing emphasis in international law and affairs on state sovereignty and the promotion of state interests remains, bolstered by the state-centric security initiatives in the post-September 11, 2001 (9/11) security environment.

The lack of attachment to and citizenship of an adopted or asylum state often places non-citizens in a situation different to that of nationals. The experience of non-citizens is frequently characterised by discrimination, xenophobia, criminalisation, poverty, humanitarian fatigue, lack of empowerment, dependency and uncertainty. Non-citizens face particular threats to their human security and they do not always benefit from national security initiatives because of their immigration status (or lack of status).

The international refugee protection regime, with few exceptions, grants rights according to status within the territory. In fact, in the context of mass influx, refugees and asylum-seekers have been seen as threats to national security, or even to international peace and security.\(^6\) International human rights law contains some key exceptions for non-nationals, especially in relation to political participation and economic rights; and there remains no global international migration legal framework, although there is a human rights treaty regime for protecting migrant workers and their families.

States are increasingly adopting restrictive migration policies that aim to prevent entry to their territories, which impact on long-established asylum obligations. Suffering from humanitarian fatigue, the refugee protection regime has been undermined by state action aimed at circumventing legal obligations through the introduction of policies such as ‘safe third country’, off-shore or extraterritorial processing, and interception measures. These measures are often made in the name of sovereignty and security. The ancient rescue at sea regime has been


threatened by the refusal of states to allow the disembarkation of rescued individuals on their territories for fear that they may apply for asylum or the state might be otherwise unable to return them. The failure to resolve armed conflicts in many parts of the world maintains long-term and protracted refugee camps, in which several generations live as refugees with indefinite futures. Such camps can provide fertile recruitment grounds for rebel groups and, with limited hope, many refugees, especially young men, take off on migratory journeys that may last many years, passing through several countries in search of better protection. Meanwhile, other countries, yet to ratify the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, as amended by its 1967 Protocol, or an equivalent regional instrument, keep such persons outside protection space and at risk of refoulement or expulsion.

Many states continue to maintain constitutional or other legal frameworks that leave individuals in situations of statelessness. Non-citizens have yet to benefit fully from the Millennium Development Goals and other development initiatives. Environmental degradation is set to increase the numbers of non-citizens crossing international borders, whether permanently or temporarily, who typically fall outside of existing legal agreements. Irregular migration has tested the commitment of states to respect human rights standards, and it has been listed by some governments alongside terrorism as one of the current key threats to national security. Moreover, the post-9/11 security environment has provided a platform for governments to reassert the discourse on national borders and state sovereignty as a way to undermine human rights guarantees, usually with a disproportionate impact on non-citizens.

The human security framework has not been fully integrated within the international system, nor have its implications for non-citizens or existing protection regimes been comprehensively studied. International lawyers have also been on the sidelines of what has largely been an international relations’ discourse. This book aims to explore the impact and dimensions of a range of aspects of human security, as understood in its broadest sense, on non-citizens. With its particular emphasis on citizenship and the state, this book does not look at other areas of forced displacement or voluntary or involuntary migration occurring

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within the boundaries of states, except in so far as that dialogue is complementary to or interlinked with non-citizens. We are particularly interested in what the lack of citizenship or status means for the human security of individuals outside their country of nationality or origin, or those who remain in their state of origin or habitual residence but who do not enjoy the citizenship of that state. Such an analysis has not been undertaken in this way elsewhere.

Other books that have attempted to tackle security issues affecting non-citizens have concentrated on refugees and internal displacement, without making the link to issues of attachment and citizenship and therefore to a wider group of non-citizens. They have also tended to consider security through its traditional lens without a specific focus on human security. This book also challenges international lawyers to think about the effects of a new conceptual framework derived from and set within a policy agenda, rather than within a legal one. This has been a challenge in and of itself, with some legal commentators in this volume concerned that an emphasis on international relations theories and state and security interests will detract from binding international legal obligations. Certainly, none of the existing edited collections or books on refugees or migrants tackle directly the concept of human security or make it their primary focus; nor do they canvass the question of lack of citizenship in its broadest sense, rather than in relation to specific groups, and then it has been mostly limited to refugees.

In addition, this book purposefully combines the expertise of contributors from both academia and practice, with the latter drawn from experienced practitioners working on policy and advocacy in non-government organisations, international organisations (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and specialised agencies (the International Organization for Migration). In this way, the book is not limited to a theoretical analysis, but attempts to combine theory with a practical examination of the impact of laws and policies on the lives and security of those affected. It aims to develop a fruitful interchange between theory and practice.

The book is especially interested in certain groups of non-citizens that face particular security or protection challenges, namely asylum-seekers, refugees, stateless persons, trafficked individuals, dual nationals⁹ and

⁹ Though dual nationals are not non-citizens, they have faced similar challenges to non-citizens, particularly in the post-9/11 security environment and are considered in this book in this context.
irregular migrants, although it is noted that long-term and regular migrants can be particularly affected by counter-terrorism measures. Adopting a broad view of human security, we combine both traditional security issues and their impact/intersection with non-citizens (e.g. terrorism and armed conflict) with issues that have not been traditionally seen within a security framework (e.g. development, poverty, and the environment). This book canvasses both what this new human security framework offers non-citizens in terms of human rights, human development, and human dignity; as well as how existing protection regimes fit within or respond to human security issues and their capacity to tackle the human security of (or current threats or challenges facing) non-citizens.

The book is divided into four parts. Our chapter in Part I provides an overview of the human security framework generally, as it has been developed by the UN, and sets out some of its over-arching themes and critiques, before moving to consider more specifically what it may mean for the rights of non-citizens.

Part II of this book identifies some current challenges to the human security and international protection of refugees, asylum-seekers, and stateless persons, in the particular context of physical and legal security, armed conflict and refuge. This part has chapters on human security and statelessness (Mark Manly and Laura van Waas); human security and the international refugee protection and the former’s dual strategies of protection and empowerment (Frances Nicholson); human security and protracted refugee situations in Africa (Edwin Abuya); human security and the militarisation of camps of refugees and internally displaced persons (Robert Muggah); and protection from refoulement in the maritime context (Barbara Miltner).

Part III of this book explores issues relevant to the inter-linkages between human security and migration, environment and development, with chapters dedicated to migrants’ rights and concepts of empowerment (Pia Oberoi); labour migration management and the rights of migrant workers (Ryszard Cholewinski); survival migration and socio-economic rights, in particular judicial responses to HIV/AIDS (Eve Lester); climate-induced displacement (Jane McAdam and Ben Saul); and trafficking in human beings (Ryszard Piotrowicz).

The final part of this book (Part IV) then turns to the issue of security of non-citizens within the context of the so-called ‘war on terror’ or under counter-terrorism measures. In light of the fact that national security agendas have not disappeared or (yet) been replaced by the
human security framework, this part tackles some of the pressing security challenges facing states and individuals since 9/11 and is located within the traditional ambit of security discourse. Chapters cover immigration law enforcement measures adopted after 9/11 and the issue of discrimination (Daniel Moeckli); the consequences of non-citizenship in the ‘war on terror’, including the militarisation of anti-terrorism measures, the legal apparatus established by the United States in relation to ‘enemy combatants’, and questions concerning the interrogation of non-nationals (Craig Forcese); human rights protections against *refoulement* and expulsion within the same context (Vesselina Vandova); the legal framework relating to renditions (Carla Ferstman); and legal routes to restoring individual rights at Guantanamo Bay, including through *habeas corpus* applications and appeal to diplomatic protection (Lorna McGregor).

Almost all chapters are challenged by the vague and unwieldy notion of ‘human security’. This is evidenced more in the chapters by international lawyers, than in those by international relations specialists, as the latter appear more comfortable with policy and conceptual frameworks that sit outside the strict confines of law. Concerns range from the human security framework having the potential to undermine or replace existing human rights doctrine and instruments, or to divert attention away from binding obligations to political manoeuvring or abuse, although such concerns have yet to be made out in practice. Rather, states promoting a human security agenda claim a number of human rights successes under its name, including the establishment of the International Criminal Court and the signing of an anti-personnel land mines convention.

Ultimately, it seems to us that there are conceptual benefits for non-citizens in a framework that situates the individual human being at the centre of its discourse, irrespective of their attachment to the state. At a minimum, the framework deserves further exploration and discussion, for which this book is a contribution. Under the national security paradigm in contrast, in which notions of sovereignty, border controls and citizenship are of primary importance, the non-citizen is usually the first to be excluded, neglected or treated with suspicion as threats to the security of the state emerge. Moreover, there remain gaps in the international legal framework for the protection of non-citizens, especially for the regulation of international migration. In exploring whether the human security framework has the potential to fill existing gaps in this legal landscape, we conclude that as long as the international legal and
political system is state-based and national security interests prevail, the notion of human security, although an improvement upon the state-centric national security paradigm, will be at a minimum a rhetorical impetus to joint action. At best, it may plug some of the protection gaps in international law on either an *ad hoc* or temporary basis, offer new ways to think about and to conceptualise protection concerns and solutions, and potentially it may be a step towards recognition of a legal right to human security, the latter satisfying what seems to be an unremitting need by some international lawyers to pin down the notion of human security into legal language.

*Alice Edwards and Carla Ferstman*
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