

City University of New York (CUNY)

CUNY Academic Works

Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects

CUNY Graduate Center

6-2021

Contemporary Human Displacement: A Comparative Analysis of Syria, Yemen, Honduras, and Venezuela

Rav Carlotti

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

More information about this work at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/4288

Discover additional works at: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).

Contact: AcademicWorks@cuny.edu

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN DISPLACEMENT
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SYRIA, YEMEN, HONDURAS, AND VENEZUELA

by

Rav Carlotti

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2021

© 2021

Rav Carlotti

All Rights Reserved

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN DISPLACEMENT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SYRIA, YEMEN, HONDURAS, AND VENEZUELA

by

Rav Carlotti

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

Mark Ungar - Thesis Advisor

Date

Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis - Executive Officer

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

ABSTRACT

CONTEMPORARY HUMAN DISPLACEMENT:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SYRIA, YEMEN, HONDURAS, AND VENEZUELA

by Rav Carlotti

Advisor: Mark Ungar

What is causing the surge in human displacement around the world? Large-scale displacement in Syria, Yemen, Honduras, and Venezuela has generated unprecedented humanitarian crises in Latin America and the Middle East as millions of displaced people end up as refugees or immigrants. Humanitarian organizations like the UNHCR and host countries have had their resources overextended by these ongoing crises, and there is no end in sight. This thesis shows that contemporary human displacement is rooted in the increasingly inability of governments to manage their societies amid great political demands and socio-economic strains. These causes are difficult to tackle because they require far-reaching reforms in these countries' governments and economies. While humanitarian aid is a beneficial stop gap measure to help displaced people, it is a temporary solution. As this thesis will show, the only way to protect people in the long-term is by working with the global communities to promote representative leadership and peaceful resolution of political differences. The global community can also offer support to the government to prevent militias and splinter groups from challenging its authority and putting the lives of citizens at risk.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Causes of Displacement.....	3
Disaster-Induced Displacement.....	4
Conflict Induced Displacement.....	6
Chapter 2: Disintegration of the State and its Loss of Control Over Society.....	8
Levels of State Disintegration.....	9
Yemen and Syria.....	10
Yemen.....	10
Syria.....	13
Chapter 3: Growing Autocracy.....	17
Honduras and Venezuela.....	28
Honduras.....	28
Venezuela.....	35
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	40
Bibliography.....	43

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table 1: Displacement Causes Summary</u>	3
<u>Table 2: Causes of Human Displacement in the 4 Countries</u>	8
<u>Table 3: Drivers for Decentralization and Disintegration</u>	16
<u>Table 4: How Society Disintegrates</u>	17
<u>Table 5: Violence Intensity in South American Nations</u>	37

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter one: Introduction

Human displacement, which is also referred to as forced migration or forced displacement, is the coerced and involuntary movement of people from their home area due to factors beyond their control. The movement can result from a wide range of factors including population transfer, deportation, civil war, persecution, ethnic cleansing, droughts, and natural disasters.¹ The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) limits the definition of human displacement to the movement that is the result of human rights violations, generalized violence, conflict, and persecution.² The issue of forced displacement received attention in the policies and discussions of the international community since the start of the European migrant crisis.³ Local, regional, and international organizations are working towards preventing and addressing the effects of human displacement in both origin and destination countries.

But why is human displacement so persistent? Given the long history, global extent, and huge impacts of human displacement, why has the world been unable to stem it? Since the start of the 21st century, in fact, the numbers may be at record levels. Currently, at least 60 million people - most of them being from the southern part of the planet – are considered to be forcibly displaced.⁴ The goal of this thesis will be to comparatively investigate human displacement in modern times in Syria, Yemen, Venezuela, and Honduras. Specifically, it will link quantitative trends, particularly

¹ Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Elise Pizzi, “Natural Disasters, Forced Migration, and Conflict: The Importance of Government Policy Responses,” *International Studies Review* (2020).

² Tajamul Maqbool, “Global Scenario of Conflict Induced Displacement: A Survey of Literature,” *Research Review Journals in Research Review International Journal of Multidisciplinary* (2019): 46–50.

³ Brendan Ciarán Browne and Casey Asprooth-Jackson, “From 1969 to 2018: Relocating Historical Narratives of Displacement during ‘the Troubles’ through the European Migrant Crisis,” *Capital and Class* 43, no. 1 (2019): 23–38.

⁴ Kylie Bourne, “Beitz’s Two-Level Model of Human Rights and Statelessness,” in *Political and Legal Approaches to Human Rights* (Routledge, 2017), 214–225.

the numbers of displaced people by year, with the changing conditions that cause such displacement. This focus will show that human displacement is so universal, persistent, and difficult to curb because its causes are deeply rooted and constantly changing. But one of their shared causes in the current era, as this study will show, is that governments are losing control over the societies they govern. As control is lost, repression and violence increase, generating human displacement. The patterns and forms of such violence are different, but they have similar sources and results, as this thesis's four different case studies will show.

After the qualitative and quantitative data has been collected, it will be aggregated into a report and presented in a thesis with Four chapters and a conclusion. The countries that are the focus of the report will be compared in pairs: Syria and Yemen as one pair, and Honduras and Venezuela as the other. Each chapter's sections will provide a thematic guideline for the report within which human displacement in Syria, Yemen, Honduras, and Venezuela will be discussed. During the investigation, it will be possible to examine the most common forms and causes of human displacement in modern societies. In addition, the research process will provide insights into the similarities and differences between different forms of displacement including displacement resulting from natural disasters, climate change, weak governance, and lack of social support.

The research for this project will be based on data from the United Nations (UN), the International Organization of Migration, World Vision, the Council of Europe, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, among others. In addition to these primary sources, secondary sources like articles from peer-reviewed journal articles will be used to supplement information and explore the impact of human displacement in the 21st century.⁵ Even governments

⁵ Ilona Millar, "There's No Place Like Home: Human Displacement and Climate Change," *Australian International Law Journal* 14 (2007): 71; Anastasios Noulas et al., "A Tale of Many

have data on the displacement of people from places across the world, especially those that are seeking harbor in other countries either as refugees or asylum seekers.⁶ The data collected gives an approximate number of the people who have been displaced over the years, but this data does not always include the reasons for these changes. Investigating human displacement in Latin American nations and the Middle East will make it possible to understand the trends in both regions.

Comparing countries in those two regions will be instrumental in determining if there are region-specific factors that relate to human displacement. The comparison will also be an important step in gaining a clearer understanding of the social and political conditions behind the human displacement phenomenon in the four countries.

Causes of Displacement

Human displacement results due to a wide range of factors, which can be classified into three broad categories including conflict-induced displacement, disaster-induced displacement, and development-induced displacement.⁷ The causes of displacement can also be placed into two categories including displacement of risk and displacement of adaptation.⁸ The displacement of risk includes deportations, conflict-induced displacement, and disaster-induced displacement, whereby a person is forced to leave when risks increase.⁹ Displacement of adaptation primarily includes

Cities: Universal Patterns in Human Urban Mobility,” *PLoS ONE* 7, no. 5 (2012): e37027; Vinicius S. De Stefano et al., “Live Human Assessment of Depth-Dependent Corneal Displacements with Swept-Source Optical Coherence Elastography,” *PLoS ONE* 13, no. 12 (2019): e0209480.

⁶ Asam Almohamed and Dhaval Vyas, “Vulnerability of Displacement: Challenges for Integrating Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Host Communities,” in *Proceedings of the 28th Australian Computer-Human Interaction Conference, OzCHI 2016*, 2016, 125–134.

⁷ Chris McDowell, *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, vol. 2 (Berghahn books, 1996).

⁸ W Courtland Robinson, *Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement* (The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project of Internal Displacement Washington DC, 2003).

⁹ Akhteruz Zaman and Jahnnabi Das, “Injustice versus Insecurity Climate-Induced Displacement in the Fijian and New Zealand Public Discourses,” *Pacific Journalism Review* 26, no. 2 (2020): 102–117.

voluntary migration, environmentally induced displacement, and development-induced displacement.¹⁰ As such, displacement can result from either natural or manmade causes, but manmade causes have been shown to be the most devastating because more conflict tends to result in more conflict, unlike natural sources that do not have such a feedback mechanism. Once displaced, the displaced persons usually face worse conditions wherever they go because they are either not welcome or are not adapted to dealing with the challenges associated with living in those places. As such, regardless of where people are displaced, the outcome of the displacement is almost always negative and has presented a humanitarian challenge that the world is still working to address. Of interest is the displacement that results from conflict and collapses of states, whereby millions of people are left stateless as they attempt to escape their countries of birth.¹¹ The migration causes a strain on global resources, especially as other countries are expected to host the displaced people and offer them their resources. Understanding the causes of displacement in detail can provide insights on how the global community can introduce interventions before the displacement occurs and mitigate the negative outcomes once the displacement has resulted.

Disaster-Induced Displacement

Disasters threaten the lives of people and force them to leave their places of residence in search of places where the threats are nonexistent or are less threatening to the lives of people. In the context of human displacement, disasters are defined as any natural forces or events that have the potential to have catastrophic consequences. These consequences tend to include the loss of life and the destruction of property, with many places across being vulnerable to different types of

¹⁰ Yang Wang et al., “Perceived Discrimination of Displaced People in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: The Role of Integration,” *Cities* 101 (2020): 102692.

¹¹ Amy Maguire and Amy Elton, “Extending a Collective Human Right to Address a Global Challenge: Self-Determination for Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Stateless Persons,” *Austl. Int’l LJ* 25 (2018): 227.

natural disasters depending on geological and climatic factors.¹² Any event or natural force that can be classified as a natural disaster has the potential to cause disaster-induced displacement depending on its severity and its impact on human life. Some of the most catastrophic disasters include wildfires, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, heat waves, landslides, floods, earthquakes, avalanches, blizzards, and tropical cyclones.¹³ As people pollute the natural environment through the release of greenhouse gases from burning fossil fuels, it is expected that climate change will result in far-reaching environmental changes. The environmental concern of climate change will result in human displacement once the melting of polar icecaps and the expansion of sea water results in the rise in sea levels.¹⁴ Since it is impossible to know the extent and how the sea level will rise, there is no way of knowing the number of people that will be displaced from their homes as a result of climate change. The known factor in the climate change equation is that at least 75% of the megacities in the world are located by the sea, which means millions and possibly billions of people will be affected directly and indirectly.¹⁵ Estimates indicate that at least 80% of the global human population lives at about 60 miles from the coast, which puts a considerable portion of the population at risk. Increasing global temperatures have also been shown to result in more powerful and catastrophic disasters related to changes in weather conditions.

¹² Téofilo Altamirano, “Climate Change, Vulnerability, Social Conflicts and Human Displacement in the Andes: The Case of Huaytapallana Glacier,” *Ambiente, Comportamiento y Sociedad* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1–7.

¹³ Sandeep Narayan Kundu, “Geohazard Modeling Using Remote Sensing and GIS,” in *Modelling Trends in Solid and Hazardous Waste Management* (Springer, 2017), 127–139.

¹⁴ Mathew E. Hauer et al., “Sea-Level Rise and Human Migration,” *Nature Reviews Earth & Environment* 1, no. 1 (2020): 28–39.

¹⁵ Johannes M. Luetz and John Merson, “Climate Change and Human Migration as Adaptation: Conceptual and Practical Challenges and Opportunities,” in *Climate Action. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Vol. SDG 3-Climate Action, Earth and Environmental Science Ed., Pp. 1–13)*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71063-1_46-1, 2020, 120–132.

Natural disasters tend to result in human displacement on a smaller scale whereby displacements resulting from forest fires and floods even tend to be temporary until the disaster is over and people go back home. One natural disaster that resulted in considerable movement is the typhoon Haiyan that affected the Philippines in 2013, whereby it is the strongest storm to have been recorded once it hit landfall.¹⁶ Hurricanes, cyclones and typhoons generate their power from water that has warmer temperatures. As climate change causes increases global temperatures, there have been increasing water temperatures as well, which has resulted in increasingly stronger storms across the world. The UN estimates that typhoon Haiyan resulted in the temporary or permanent displacement of more than 4.1 million people which indicates the importance of exploring natural disasters in the study of human displacement.¹⁷ The UN report also shows that weather-related consequences of climate and natural disasters resulted in the displacement of more than 22 million people, which made disaster-induced displacement the most prevalent for the year.

Conflict Induced Displacement

Human societies are not always peaceful, whereby people will always disagree with each other based on their differences in demographic factors, cultural factors, or political opinions.¹⁸ When conflicts escalate, usually into violence, one or more groups of people are forced to leave the area they share in the search for another area in which there is no conflict. The conflicts can result in the movement of people even away from a country, especially in cases where the conflict results in so much death that people start fearing for their lives. Conflict-induced displacement is the

¹⁶ Daniel Fitzpatrick and Caroline Compton, "Seeing Like a State: Land Law and Human Mobility after Super Typhoon Haiyan," *SSRN Electronic Journal* 50 (2017).

¹⁷ Maria Regina Hechanova et al., "Evaluation of a Resilience Intervention for Filipino Displaced Survivors of Super Typhoon Haiyan," *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 27, no. 3 (2018): 346–359.

¹⁸ Joel Anderson and Rose Ferguson, "Demographic and Ideological Correlates of Negative Attitudes towards Asylum Seekers: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Australian Journal of Psychology* 70, no. 1 (2018): 18–29.

consequence of human interactions, whereby groups with conflicting perspectives of the world interacting can escalate into violence that may result in deaths.¹⁹ In an attempt to protect themselves and their loved ones from the ravages of war or civil war, groups of people migrate across the world to more peaceful places. The conflicts may not result in war and may include any forced migration as a result of persecution due to religion race and political views among other demographic differences. When conflicts are addressed, it is possible for people who have been displaced due to conflict to go back to their homes, but this is not usually the case because states that cause such migration tend to be states that lack a stable political system.²⁰

One of the most recent examples of conflict-induced displacement is the displacement that has resulted from the ongoing Syrian civil war, which has caused internally displaced persons and refugees.²¹ The United Nations estimates that at least three million refugees have resulted from the civil war, and at least seven million have been displaced internally.²² The combined displaced people from Syria account for more than 40% of the country's prewar population.²³ On a global scale, conflicts have displaced 16.7 million refugees, 1.2 million asylum seekers, and 33.3 million

¹⁹ Eran Bendavid et al., "The Effects of Armed Conflict on the Health of Women and Children," *The Lancet* 397, no. 10273 (2021): 522–532.

²⁰ Sumaira Akbarzada and Tim K. Mackey, "The Syrian Public Health and Humanitarian Crisis: A 'Displacement' in Global Governance?," *Global Public Health* 13, no. 7 (2018): 914–930.

²¹ Xi Li et al., "Intercalibration between DMSP/OLS and VIIRS Night-Time Light Images to Evaluate City Light Dynamics of Syria's Major Human Settlement during Syrian Civil War," *International Journal of Remote Sensing* 38, no. 21 (2017): 5934–5951.

²² Xu Zhang and Catherine A Luther, "Transnational News Media Coverage of Distant Suffering in the Syrian Civil War: An Analysis of CNN, Al-Jazeera English and Sputnik Online News," *Media, War & Conflict* 13, no. 4 (2020): 399–424.

²³ Samuel Berhanu Woldemariam, Amy Maguire, and Jason von Meding, "Forced Human Displacement, the Third World and International Law: A Twail Perspective," *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 20, no. 1 (2019): 248–276, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=138266597&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

internally displaced people for a total of more than 51.2 million.²⁴ The widespread human displacement from regions and countries across the world has given rise to a humanitarian issue of great concern, which has forced the world to rethink its approach to the issue.²⁵ The large number of displaced people has even resulted in some nations limiting the number of refugees and asylum seekers they admit into their boundaries, as human displacement has put more pressure on the resources in the countries with better political, social, and economic stability.

²⁴ Alma Smajlovic and April L. Murphy, “Invisible No More: Social Work, Human Rights, and the Syrian Refugee Crisis,” *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work* 5, no. 2 (2020): 139–144.

²⁵ Bogumil Terminski, “Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Theoretical Frameworks and Current Challenges,” *Development* 10 (2013): 101; Jeff Crisp, Tim Morris, and Hilde Refstie, “Displacement in Urban Areas: New Challenges, New Partnerships,” *Disasters* 36, no. SUPPL.1 (2012): S23–S42.

Chapter 2: Disintegration of the State and its Loss of Control Over Society

International law defines the state as an entity with a defined territory, under the control of its government, with a permanent population, and engages in formal interactions and relations with similar entities.²⁶ As such, the state is responsible for protecting the interests of the people within its territory by eliminating or mitigating any internal or external factors that will threaten stability. In many of the countries in which there is considerable human displacement, the primary cause is that the effective control of the government fades or is disrupted to an extent that the state no longer experiences stability and security. Coups and rebellions are usually an extension of further underlying issues that threaten the ability of the government to maintain control of its territory. The disintegration of state structures is usually characterized by the implosion of national authority, institutions, law, and order, such that the whole body politic ends up collapsing.²⁷ In addition, since people need their government to hold a certain degree of legitimacy in order to maintain its statehood, the disintegration of the state structure implies a breakdown of the values on which the state bases its legitimacy. Once the state loses its legitimacy, citizens are forced to withdraw into a form of nationalism based on ethnic or religious affiliation that ends up becoming their residual and viable form of identity.²⁸ In many cases, when the state structures collapse, it falls onto various factions to maintain law and order, as well as exerting other forms of authority. While the state itself will not disappear, it will lose the capacity to engage in normal government functions.

²⁶ Alison K Eggers, "When Is a State a State-The Case for Recognition of Somaliland," *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.* 30 (2007): 211.

²⁷ D. Elwood Dunn and I. William Zartman, *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, *International Journal*, vol. 51 (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

²⁸ Roger Petersen, "Identity, Rationality, and Emotion in the Processes of State Disintegration and Reconstruction," in *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (Oxford University Press New York, 2013), 387–421.

Levels of State Disintegration

The disintegration of the state varies in terms of intensity, and the effects may be felt differently in different parts of the country depending on the overall makeup of the population and its government. At the lowest levels of state disintegration, governments remain in office, but their control of the territory and the population is limited considerably.²⁹ In higher levels of state disintegration, some crucial structures may remain functional such that the state is represented in the international community, but is comprised of multiple warring factions. In the higher extreme, the government no longer holds uncontested power and the ability to use force, such that anyone with the resources to hire an armed force will do so at will. The regular armed forces that are controlled by the government usually remain functional, but they too end up breaking down over time due to lack of absolute control. Even more concerning is the tendency for private armies and security departments to emerge and proliferate, and instead of offering security like regular armed forces, they tend to be parts of profit-oriented conglomerates that are outside state control.³⁰ The process of shifting from low state disintegration to higher state disintegration tends to follow a format in which the government gradually loses its ability to maintain law and order. Over time, the dysfunctional government will end up resulting in a failed state that can hardly ensure the wellbeing of the people within their territories, hence the tendency for human displacement.³¹ As the state is supposed to ensure that the rights and interests of the people are protected, if this fails then people may be forced to move in order to protect their own lives or in search of better opportunities.

²⁹ Brigitta Malagurski et al., “Topological Disintegration of Resting State Functional Connectomes in Coma,” *NeuroImage* 195 (2019): 354–361.

³⁰ Farideh Farhi, “State Disintegration and Urban-Based Revolutionary Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Iran and Nicaragua,” *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 2 (1988): 231–256.

³¹ Teo Ballvé, “Everyday State Formation: Territory, Decentralization, and the Narco Landgrab in Colombia,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, no. 4 (2012): 603–622.

Many of the most dysfunctional states are still recognized as part of the international community and are even represented in organizations like the United Nations.³² Some of the main predictors of total disintegration, many of which start even in the early stages, include chaos and crime, whereby the government starts losing its ability to prevent members of the population from committing crimes.³³ Governments that are facing near breakdown of state structures tend to lash out against the people, as evident in how some governments may use excessive force to quell riots and protests. When the people question the injustices of the government, they can be thrown in jail or receive threats to their lives, and displacement due to persecution can start happening even in these early stages. If a government feels that its legitimacy is being threatened by the words or actions of its people, it will do anything to protect itself. Some of the actions by these governments can even result in the death of people before they start leaving the country in search of places where their safety can be assured. While chaos and crime may result in the displacement of a few people at first, when the state structures collapse completely, then people are displaced *en masse*.³⁴ The state even loses the characteristic of being a state, as there are even no longer representatives of the people with whom the global community or humanitarian organizations can interact.

Yemen and Syria

Yemen

Yemen has been in crisis since 2015, causing this country in the south of the Arabian Peninsula to endure one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. More than four million people of Yemen have been displaced from their homes while more than 20 million are facing the dire need

³² Markus Patberg, "Can Disintegration Be Democratic? The European Union Between Legitimate Change and Regression," *Political Studies* 68, no. 3 (2020): 582–599.

³³ Michael J Mazarr, "The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm Requiem for a Decade of Distraction," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2014): 0–1.

³⁴ Glenn M. Schwartz, "From Collapse to Regeneration," *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies* 9780816521 (2010): 3–17.

of humanitarian assistance.³⁵ While Yemen was already one of the poorest Middle Eastern countries, the conditions in the country continued deteriorating after the breakout of violence in March 2015. The violence has disrupted Yemeni society such that more than half of the country's health facilities have either been destroyed or shuttered.³⁶ Institutional collapse and economic drain that has been happening over the years have pushed Yemen to the brink of large-scale starvation for many members of its population.³⁷ Currently, more than half a million people in Yemen are living in famine-like conditions, and at the start of 2021, about 16 million more people are facing a considerable risk of going hungry within the year.³⁸ The people of Yemen have become a burden for the rest of the world, especially as the violence has resulted in their internal and external displacement.³⁹ As long as they have been displaced from their homes, the people of Yemen have been suffering and need humanitarian aid from the rest of the world, a situation that has been worsened by the poor economic and climate conditions in the country.

Although most people in Yemen are at risk of starvation and the associated suffering, at most risk are the people of Yemen who have been displaced from their homes as a result of the violence. About 67% of the displaced Yemenis, which includes 2.6 million people, are food insecure, and research indicates that their risk of falling into hunger is at least four times as much as other members of the Yemeni population. The COVID-19 pandemic has made the situation of

³⁵ Mara A Leichtman, "Humanitarian Aid in Yemen Through the Eyes of a Kuwaiti Role Model for Women," *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy & Civil Society* 4, no. 2 (2020): 89–114.

³⁶ Mohammed M. Alassar et al., "Severe Dehydration among Cholera Patients in Yemen: A Cohort Profile," *Germs* 10, no. 4 (2020): 338–345; Jeannie Sowers and Erika Weinthal, "Humanitarian Challenges and the Targeting of Civilian Infrastructure in the Yemen War," *International Affairs* 97, no. 1 (2021): 157–177.

³⁷ Carlisle Ford Runge and Linnea Graham, "Hunger as a Weapon of War: Hitler's Hunger Plan, Native American Resettlement and Starvation in Yemen," *Food Policy* 92 (2020): 101835.

³⁸ Laura Graham, "Prosecuting Starvation Crimes in Yemen's Civil War," *Case W. Res. J. Int'l L.* 52, no. 1 (2020): 267.

³⁹ David James Cantor and Jacob Ochieng Apollo, "Internal Displacement, Internal Migration, and Refugee Flows: Connecting the Dots," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2020): 647–664.

the displaced Yemenis at even greater risk due to deteriorating economic and healthcare conditions.⁴⁰ Some of the preventable diseases for which the people of Yemen have been suffering include diphtheria, dengue fever, cholera, and measles.⁴¹ The healthcare situation is worsened by the fact that about half of the country's healthcare institutions are nonfunctional, and people cannot even be treated for common ailments. Although Yemen is suffering from a six-year-long conflict, the country still plays host to at least 135,000 asylum seekers and refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia.⁴² As a consequence, Yemen is the largest host for Somali refugees in the world, which means that the country still attempts to do the right thing for displaced people despite its own challenges.⁴³ The global community should therefore step up its efforts of supporting Yemen in its human displacement and humanitarian challenges, including attempting to address the course of the conflict.

The UNHCR has been working with other similar organizations to send aid to Yemenis who have fallen victim to the country's six-year-long civil war that has resulted in the displacement of millions.⁴⁴ The civil war as well as the displacement of locals have made it difficult to impossible for relief efforts to reach the people, but despite the challenges, the UNHCR is still

⁴⁰ Abdulsamad Taresh Abdullah et al., "COVID-19 Pandemic in the Midst of Civil War: Planetary Health and Plant Omics Field Notes from Aden, Yemen," *OMICS mA Journal of Integrative Biology* 24, no. 12 (2020): 685–687.

⁴¹ Paul Eze et al., "Morbidity & Outcomes of a Neonatal Intensive Care Unit in a Complex Humanitarian Conflict Setting, Hajjah Yemen: 2017-2018," *Conflict and Health* 14, no. 1 (2020): 1–10; Alassar et al., "Severe Dehydration among Cholera Patients in Yemen: A Cohort Profile."

⁴² Jera Lego, "Criminalized and Vulnerable: Refugees And Asylum Seekers in Thailand and Malaysia," in *Agency and Immigration Policy* (Transnational Press London, 2020), 7–28.

⁴³ Alex de Waal, "The Horn of Africa and the Yemen Crisis," in *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis* (Springer, 2020), 195–208; Brendon J. Cannon and Federico Donelli, "Asymmetric Alliances and High Polarity: Evaluating Regional Security Complexes in the Middle East and Horn of Africa," *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2020): 505–524.

⁴⁴ Hameed Alqatabry and Charity Butcher, "Humanitarian Aid in Yemen: Collaboration or Co-Optation?," *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 15, no. 2 (2020): 250–255.

doing something to provide humanitarian aid.⁴⁵ The priorities of the global community in its support of the people of Yemen are based on the idea of Yemen being a disintegrated state.⁴⁶ Since the state has been unable to provide the people with security, they need to remain safe in their homes, people have had to leave their homes, and depend on the international community for protection. In addition to the provision of protection to displaced Yemenis, the global community also provides millions of Yemenis with a sense of food security due to the risk of starvation they face.⁴⁷ In an attempt at enabling displaced families to meet their basic needs since the government has failed to do so, the UNHCR provides them with shelter, cash assistance, legal aid, essential household supplies, and registration services.⁴⁸ Through the cash assistance program, the UNHCR has been able to reach at least a million people every year over the years. The COVID-19 pandemic has strained the UNHCR resources even further as it has had to support healthcare facilities by distributing hygiene kits as well as supporting activities for raising awareness about the pandemic.

Syria

Like the human displacement in Yemen, the human displacement in Syria is the result of civil war and has caused considerable degrees of displacement that are comparable to those that have been experienced in Yemen. Another similarity between the two countries is that the civil war in Syria is also the consequence of political disagreements, with the state having failed to hold on

⁴⁵ Sowers and Weinthal, “Humanitarian Challenges and the Targeting of Civilian Infrastructure in the Yemen War.”

⁴⁶ Stacey Philbrick Yadav, “Fragmentation, Disintegration, and Resurgence: Assessing the Islamist Field in Yemen,” *Middle East Law and Governance* 12, no. 1 (2020): 14–34.

⁴⁷ Tristan Dunning, “Yemen — the ‘Worst Humanitarian Crisis in the World’ Continues,” *MUNDI* 1, no. December (2018): 1–18, [www.researchgate.net › publication › 329544463_Yemen..](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/329544463_Yemen..); Wanda Griep Hirai, “Food Security and Sustainability,” *Global Social Transformation and Social Action: The Role of Social Workers: Social Work-Social Development Volume III* (2014): 47–50.

⁴⁸ Charles Mballa et al., “UNHCR and Partner Practices of Community-Based Protection across Sectors in the East and Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region” (2020).

to its legitimacy, power, and unity.⁴⁹ In both cases, different political factions believe they have the right to power in the country and managed to set the people of the country against each other, hence the bloody civil wars.⁵⁰ For both Syria and Yemen, the warring political factions have managed to gain both local and foreign supporters to their cause, which has served to not only prolong the civil wars but also to make them more deadly to all participants.⁵¹ Since many people just want to live their day-to-day lives in peace, the political conflict only serves to push them out of their homes if they can hope to protect themselves and their loved ones from being killed in the process. However, unlike the Yemeni government that failed to protect its military camp from militants, the Syrian civil war started when the government started using violence in the suppression of demonstrations.⁵² In Syria, the extensive use of military, police, and paramilitary forces resulted in the formation of opposition militias, and the conflict escalated to a full-fledged civil war.

Regardless of the differences in how the civil wars originated, both were a manifestation of a disintegrating state in which the government was losing the ability to protect themselves and the people. Governments that lash out against their people or allow militias to mete out violence against their people are failing governments that are losing their legitimacy and hold on power.⁵³ The outcomes of the Syrian civil war, which officially started in March 2011, are similar to the

⁴⁹ Theodore McLauchlin, “The Loyalty Trap: Regime Ethnic Exclusion, Commitment Problems, and Civil War Duration in Syria and Beyond,” *Security Studies* 27, no. 2 (2018): 296–317.

⁵⁰ Nader Hashemi and Danny Postel, “Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East,” *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 15, no. 3 (2017): 1–13.

⁵¹ Virginie Collombier et al., “Armed Conflicts and the Erosion of the State: The Case of Iraq, Libya, Yemen and Syria,” *Menara Working Papers No. 22*, no. 22 (2018).

⁵² Hariri El Mehdi et al., “The Assessment of Odontophobia among Syrian Refugees at the Moroccan Military Medical and Surgical Hospital in the Zaatari Camp in Jordan and Its Influence by Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: About an Epidemiological Investigation?,” *Journal of Medical Research and Health Sciences* 3, no. 7 (2020).

⁵³ Rowan Popplewell, “Civil Society, Legitimacy and Political Space: Why Some Organisations Are More Vulnerable to Restrictions than Others in Violent and Divided Contexts,” *Voluntas* 29, no. 2 (2018): 388–403.

outcomes of the Yemeni civil war, especially in regard to human displacement.⁵⁴ In addition to the many deaths resulting from the civil war, the Syrian civil war has also torn the country apart and resulted in the deterioration of standards of living for Syrians by decades.⁵⁵ Since the Syrian civil war has lasted for a decade, it is more renowned than the civil war in Yemen, and it has resulted in the largest displacement and refugee crisis in recent human history. Like the displaced Yemenis, displaced Syrians have ended up becoming a considerable burden for the rest of the world, whereby many countries have had to take in large numbers of Syrian refugees.⁵⁶ The resources of many countries have even been strained so much that they no longer want to admit refugees from Syria to protect the welfare of their own people.

The human displacement of the people of Syria is a combination of both internal displacement and external displacement, with each group presenting unique challenges for Syria and the rest of the world. Internally displaced Syrians include about 6.2 million people who left their homes running away from the conflict and violence that have characterized Syria since 2011.⁵⁷ In addition to the 6.2 million internally displaced Syrians, about 5.6 million people of Syrian origin can be found in countries across the world.⁵⁸ The refugees from Syria are those people who opted to leave the country as a result of their displacement instead of just changing

⁵⁴ Samuel N. Chambers and Joseph A. Tabor, “Remotely Identifying Potential Vector Habitat in Areas of Refugee and Displaced Person Populations Due to the Syrian Civil War,” *Geospatial Health* 13, no. 2 (2018): 276–280.

⁵⁵ Daniel Corstange, “The Syrian Conflict and Public Opinion among Syrians in Lebanon,” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 1 (2019): 178–200.

⁵⁶ Kristin Fabbe, Chad Hazlett, and Tolga Sinmazdemir, “A Persuasive Peace: Syrian Refugees’ Attitudes towards Compromise and Civil War Termination,” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 103–117; Betül Kocamer Şimşek et al., “Characteristics of the Injuries of Syrian Refugees Sustained during the Civil War,” *Ulusal Travma ve Acil Cerrahi Dergisi* 23, no. 3 (2017): 199–206.

⁵⁷ Ecem Sahin et al., “Vulnerabilities of Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey and Actions Taken for Prevention and Management in Terms of Health and Wellbeing,” *Child Abuse and Neglect* (2020): 104628.

⁵⁸ Michiel A. Bakker et al., “Measuring Fine-Grained Multidimensional Integration Using Mobile Phone Metadata: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Turkey,” in *Guide to Mobile Data Analytics in Refugee Scenarios* (Springer, 2019), 123–140.

their location within Syria. The Syrian refugees have ended up becoming such a burden to the global community that many nations have even considered limiting the number of Syrian employees they should accept.⁵⁹ Together, both the internally displaced Syrians and the Syrian refugees make up about 12 million people who are in dire need of humanitarian assistance. The displacement situation in Syria is made even more severe because more than half of those that are negatively affected by the refugee crisis are young children who cannot even earn a living given the opportunity.

Similar to the situation in Yemen, the conflict in Syria has resulted in the destruction of public amenities, which were not adequately funded, resulting in even more far-reaching challenges. As a result of the violence accompanying the Syrian civil war, public amenities like sanitation systems, water, utilities, schools, hospitals, and health centers were either destroyed or damaged. The people displacement that resulted in Syria can be attributed to the fact that the violence that the people faced broke their business and social ties such that they had no option but to abandon their own homes. The level of state breakdown and dysfunction in Syria takes a different path from that of Yemen in which the conflict is primarily political. In Syria, while there is a political element in the conflict and the resulting human displacement, the civil war has devolved into a sectarian conflict that has divided the country along religious lines. With the religious groups in Syria in opposition with each other, they have ended up affecting the whole of the Middle East, such that fighting has even overflowed for other countries. In addition, unlike Yemen in which external interference is limited, the Syrian conflict suffers from heavy influence

⁵⁹ R A Erol Özdemir, “Effect of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Turkey,” *International Symposium on Continuity and Change in North Africa, Turkey & Iran* III, no. I (2017): 2–4; Andrzej Podraza, “Geopolitical and Strategic Causes and Implications of the Syrian Civil War and the Refugee Crisis,” *Nação e defesa*, no. 149 (2018); Nazan Öztürk and Serkan Ayvaz, “Sentiment Analysis on Twitter: A Text Mining Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis,” *Telematics and Informatics* 35, no. 1 (2018): 136–147; Senem Cevik and Efe Sevin, “A Quest for Soft Power: Turkey and the Syrian Refugee Crisis,” *Journal of Communication Management* 21, no. 4 (2017): 399–410.

from interventions by the international community.

Chapter 3: Growing Autocracy

While the political dysfunction in the Middle East comes primarily from different political factions wanting to take power for themselves, the situation in Latin America is different.⁶⁰ The main cause of strife in Latin America is the inability of governments to protect their people from crime, whereby organized crime has taken root in most South American nations.⁶¹ Organized crime controls a considerable portion of the lives of south Americans, such that many hardly ever know a life in which their day-to-day lives are not controlled by criminals. Even if the governments are working towards making improvements and enabling the people to advance economically and personally, a history of abuse by the governments has resulted in people losing trust in their governments.⁶² Criminals have such a strong hold on the economic and political systems in these nations that the people of South America have all but given up on the ability of governments to protect them. Members of organized crime syndicates have infiltrated the Latin American governments such that it is nearly impossible to find a government that has yet to be infiltrated by criminal organizations.⁶³ Lack of trust in governments coupled with the inability of governments to protect the people from crime has forced many Latin Americans to engage in protests against their governments.⁶⁴ These protests are aimed at getting the attention of the governments and

⁶⁰ Ali Bhagat, "Displacement in 'Actually Existing' Racial Neoliberalism: Refugee Governance in Paris," *Urban Geography* (2019): 1–20.

⁶¹ Bruce Bagley, "Globalisation and Latin American and Caribbean Organised Crime," *Global Crime Today* 6, no. 1 (2014): 32–53.

⁶² Damián Zaitch and Georgios A. Antonopoulos, "Organised Crime in Latin America: An Introduction to the Special Issue," *Trends in Organized Crime* 22, no. 2 (2019): 141–147.

⁶³ Tamara Makarenko, "The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism," *Global Crime Today* 6, no. 1 (2014): 129–145.

⁶⁴ Paula Miraglia, Rolando Ochoa, and Ivan Briscoe, "Transnational Organised Crime and Fragile States," *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*, no. October (2012): 1–34.

encouraging them to change for the wellbeing of their people, even if achieving any change has proven to be difficult.

In Latin American nations, one regime is usually substituted for a worse one, as indicated by the Mexican revolution in which different leaders used a wide range of tactics to gain control of the country.⁶⁵ Currently, people are engaging in antigovernment protests that can be sustained for months and may turn violent resulting in the deaths of people.⁶⁶ Many Latin Americans have been displaced and forced into exile by the protests and other violent activities, as the governments use force and other forms of manipulation to remain in power. As violence and crime have disrupted the day-to-day lives of the people in Latin America, many people have started supporting authoritarianism.⁶⁷ While Latin American nations have been undergoing changes to incorporate democratic tendencies in their political systems, the situation seems to be getting worse. Instead of having democratic systems that lack the institution and structure they need to maintain order, people have been shifting in their political beliefs, and many hold that it is better to have an authoritarian system of government instead of a dysfunctional democracy.⁶⁸ The governments have been unable to maintain control of the state, such that the people are usually left to fend for themselves in villages and towns that are under the control of criminals and criminal organizations. The demonstrations have been observed in countries like Chile, Paraguay, Colombia, Peru,

⁶⁵ Mary Kay Vaughan, "Cultural Approaches to Peasant Politics in the Mexican Revolution," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (1999): 269–307.

⁶⁶ Marie Christine Doran, "The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective," *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 5 (2017): 183–206.

⁶⁷ Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard, and Lees, "Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, Displacement and the Violence of Un-Homing."

⁶⁸ Anna Tybrandt, "Mind the Gap – Save Lives? A Regression Analysis Examining How Economic Inequality Affects Violent Crime, with a Special Focus on Latin America," 2019.

Ecuador, and Bolivia, and have different impacts and origins.⁶⁹ Despite the varying causes of protests and increasing support for autocracy, the violence and resulting displacement in Latin American nations like Honduras and Venezuela have much in common.

As young democracies, South American nations are characterized by high rates of election fraud and election violence, such that in many cases there is usually no clear winner in elections. In addition, as insecurity and crime makes the country challenging for any person to travel, the cost of transport in the countries has been increasing continuously.⁷⁰ With the inability of governments to keep the cost of transport in check, the people have become even more aggravated, and the frequency, length, and intensity of their protests have increased considerably.⁷¹ These protests have ended up making countries that were already unsafe and difficult to live in even more challenging to locals, with many opting to leave their homes or even the countries altogether. The protests and the accompanying increases in the cost of living are an indicator of the people of South America expressing their frustration with the status quo of the politics in their countries.⁷² In addition, demonstrations are a protest against the rampant poverty, corruption, and economic inequality that characterizes many of the countries in Latin America without governments taking any action to address them. The mass protests in South America are an indicator that many people across Latin America are tired of the state of their nations, and some believe that the mass protests are a positive

⁶⁹ Igor Acacio and Anais Passos, “The Militarization of Responses to COVID-19 in Democratic Latin America [Original Version],” *RAP: Revista Brasileira de Administração Pública* 55, no. 1 (2020); Luisa Feline Freier and Nicolas Parent, “The Regional Response to the Venezuelan Exodus,” *Current History* 118, no. 805 (2019): 56–61.

⁷⁰ Sebastian Edwards, “On Latin American Populism, and Its Echoes around the World,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33, no. 4 (2019): 76–99; Laura Kemmer, “Free Riding Rio: Protest, Public Transport and the Politics of a Footboard,” *City and Society* 32, no. 1 (2020): 157–181.

⁷¹ James C. Franklin, “Human Rights on the March: Repression, Oppression, and Protest in Latin America,” *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2020): 97–110.

⁷² Sabine Kurtenbach, “The Limits of Peace in Latin America,” *Peacebuilding* 7, no. 3 (2019): 283–296; Mollie J. Cohen, “Protesting via the Null Ballot: An Assessment of the Decision to Cast an Invalid Vote in Latin America,” *Political Behavior* 40, no. 2 (2018): 395–414.

turn of life in Latin America.⁷³ The challenge to the status quo is mainly being driven by leftists and young people who are informed enough to want their nations to experience positive change.

The protests in South America have been highly polarizing, as many people do not know how their countries will turn out if the political systems change, as the democratization has not turned out well for Latin American countries and their people. The people in South American countries hold different views of the protests, with some countries like Chile having almost universal support while some countries like Columbia have less support due to their conservative nature.⁷⁴ Human displacement in modern Latin America has primarily resulted from the protests and the associated crime, with the disruption of day-to-day lives and the turning of towns into conflict zones forcing many to leave their homes. The displacement has also become exacerbated by increasing levels of resentment among the people, as the governments have been unable to address the protests and unite people towards achieving mutually beneficial progress. There have also been widespread concerns that Latin American countries have been experiencing the unraveling of social order, such that many have been forcefully displaced because they cannot be protected by the government and its representatives.⁷⁵ These perceptions have been driving more and more south Americans to believe that an autocratic approach to the government may be the

⁷³ Isabel Hilliger et al., “Identifying Needs for Learning Analytics Adoption in Latin American Universities: A Mixed-Methods Approach,” *Internet and Higher Education* 45 (2020): 100726; Aníbal Pérez-Liñán and John Polga-Hecimovich, “Explaining Military Coups and Impeachments in Latin America,” *Democratization* 24, no. 5 (2017): 839–858.

⁷⁴ María Inclán, “Latin America, a Continent in Movement but Where to? A Review of Social Movements’ Studies in the Region,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 44 (2018): 535–551; Martha I. Chew Sánchez, “From the ‘Pink Tide’ to ‘Soft Coup d’État’ in Latin America: The Case of Bolivia,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 19, no. 5–6 (2021): 597–625.

⁷⁵ Peter Adey et al., *The Handbook of Displacement* (Springer, 2020); Oriana Van Praag, “Understanding the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis,” *Wilson Centre* 28 (2019): 1–4, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/understanding-the-venezuelan-refugee-crisis>.

solution to the challenges they are facing.⁷⁶ As democratic governments usually allow for a considerable degree of freedom, they are even more prone to corruption than autocracies, hence the reason they have been failing to maintain law and order in the countries.

As protests increase, more people are losing faith in their governments, as the protests have been exacerbating already challenging living conditions for people in many Latin American countries. While the intention of the protests is to bring social and political changes peacefully, they tend to escalate into violence and remind the people of South America about the times they have had to live their lives in the face of persecution by criminal organizations and political bodies.⁷⁷ The protests have forced people to remember a time when, while life was not perfect, there was no power vacuum because autocrats tend to exert absolute control over most elements of the lives of the people. While young people and leftists support the protests because they want to change, many people just want to live their day-to-day lives with minimal to no disruptions that may end up with them being displaced from their homes. Many people across Latin American nations believe that the countries need strong autocratic leaders, even if the leader need not have been elected by the people.⁷⁸ The number of people who support autocratic leadership has been increasing as the countries become more unstable, which is an indicator that democracy may not be the best solution for all countries. Even in the Middle East, the Arab Spring did not necessarily result in more stability, as more and more people are still experiencing violence and displacement,

⁷⁶ Javier Corrales, "Authoritarian Survival: Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen," *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 3 (2020): 39–53; Sebastian Hellmeier and Nils B. Weidmann, "Pulling the Strings? The Strategic Use of Pro-Government Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes," *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 1 (2020): 71–108.

⁷⁷ Doran, "The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective."

⁷⁸ Elisabet Dueholm Rasch, "Citizens, Criminalization and Violence in Natural Resource Conflicts in Latin America," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 103 (2017): 131–142; Daniel Lvovich, "Authoritarianism, Nationalism, Fascism and National Security Doctrine: The Debate on Latin American Southern Cone Dictatorships," in *Reactionary Nationalists, Fascists and Dictatorships in the Twentieth Century* (Springer, 2019), 327–344.

sometimes worse than when the countries were under authoritarian rule.⁷⁹ While the global community discusses whether all nations need democracy, it is the locals in the different countries who pay the price either through violence or displacement during the transition period.

Expectations of long-term political change in the countries as a result of the protests is a positive outlook for nations that have been experiencing instability for years, especially as they transitioned to become democracies.⁸⁰ Since the protests have been happening under the watch of democratically elected governments, many people have lost faith in their governments, as these regimes do not seem to have a solution to the challenges they are facing.⁸¹ Instead, many people have been left to fend for themselves as they watch their countries become even more violent with no respite in sight. South Americans who are opposed to the protests are also more likely than other South Americans to support the idea of presidents dissolving Congress and leading the country without a legislature.⁸² Leading without a legislature is referred to as an executive coup, and many believe that such an approach to leadership is an excellent strategy for leading Latin American countries at times when they are facing far-reaching difficulties. The increasing tolerance for an authoritarian approach to governance is an indicator that the people do not think their current governments are capable of keeping violence and crime in check.⁸³ If a government cannot either

⁷⁹ Cihat Battaloglu and Fadi Farasin, “From Democratization to Securitization: Post-Arab Spring Political Order in the Middle East,” *Digest of Middle East Studies* 26, no. 2 (2017): 299–319; Maria Josepha Debre, “Legitimation, Regime Survival, and Shifting Alliances in the Arab League: Explaining Sanction Politics during the Arab Spring,” *International Political Science Review* (2020): 0192512120937749.

⁸⁰ Peter Imbusch, Michel Misse, and Fernando Carrión, “Violence Research in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review,” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5, no. 1 (2011): 87–154.

⁸¹ Doran, “The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective.”

⁸² Cristóbal Kay, “Reflections on Rural Poverty in Latin America,” *European Journal of Development Research* 17, no. 2 (2005): 317–346.

⁸³ Paul D. Almeida, “Popular Movements against Economic Adjustment Policies in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* 34, no. 3 (2007): 123–139.

forcefully stop protests or address the grievances of protestors, then it can be assumed to have failed, and the only way forward would be to change the form of government.⁸⁴ For Latin American nations that have had a complicated relationship with democracy over the years, the only logical alternative to democracy is an autocracy, with autocratic leaders being seen as the only solution to the failings of democratic governance.

In Latin America, many of the countries in the region have historically been dictatorships, with many having experienced some changes, but even the introduction of elections did not stop them from being autocratic.⁸⁵ When a nation has been a military dictatorship for most of its recent history, then attempts at introducing a democratic approach to governance will be overrun by authoritarian tendencies.⁸⁶ Most of the countries in Latin America started transitioning from being military dictatorships to becoming democracies in the 1980s, a process that is still underway. However, as the inefficiencies and shortcomings of a democratic approach become more apparent to more people, there has been declining support for democracies in Latin America starting 2010.⁸⁷ Currently, less than half the people in Latin America hold the belief that the best approach to governance is democracy. The political context in Latin America has caused the people to believe that only through autocratic leadership is it possible for crime and violence to be addressed adequately. As indicated by the progress made in developed countries, representational governance is the first step in achieving sufficient political and social stability that should result in better

⁸⁴ Kirsten Sehnbruch and Sofia Donoso, "Social Protests in Chile: Inequalities and Other Inconvenient Truths about Latin America's Poster Child," *Global Labour Journal* 11, no. 1 (2020).

⁸⁵ Paul T. Bellinger and Moisés Arce, "Protest and Democracy in Latin America's Market Era," *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011): 688–704.

⁸⁶ Daniel Stevens, Benjamin G. Bishin, and Robert R. Barr, "Authoritarian Attitudes, Democracy, and Policy Preferences among Latin American Elites," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (2006): 606–620.

⁸⁷ Raynee Sarah Gutting, "Contentious Activities, Disrespectful Protesters: Effect of Protest Context on Protest Support and Mobilization Across Ideology and Authoritarianism," *Political Behavior* 42, no. 3 (2020): 865–890.

economic performance.⁸⁸ However, introducing democracy in places where all people have known is violence and dictatorship tends to leave a feeling of a power vacuum. The power vacuum that results from democratization ends up resulting in the proliferation of crime and violence, which is exactly what is happening in recently democratized nations like Nigeria, Egypt, and Libya among many others.

The people in Latin America are most likely supporting authoritarian leadership because of the poor relationship that the region is having with democracy, as well as the possible manipulation that is being done by dictatorships. Dictatorships in 21st century Latin America are increasingly using democracy as a tool to legitimize authority, consolidate power, and repress their citizens. This piece considers the recent examples of Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Honduras.⁸⁹ 21st-century dictatorships in Latin America are increasingly ‘democratic’. In their various forms and stages, these carefully engineered and gradually implemented regimes do not reject but are using democracy as the most effective way to legitimize their authority and justify their brutal repression.⁹⁰ Unlike the military dictatorships that rejected democracy across the region during the 20th century (e.g., Augusto Pinochet in Chile, Reynaldo Bignone in Argentina, Fidel Castro in Cuba, Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in Colombia, Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay, Castelo Branco in Brazil, Luis García Meza in Bolivia, Maximiliano Hernández in El Salvador, or Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic), modern dictatorships in Latin America use democracy not only to attain

⁸⁸ Timothy M Gill, “From Promoting Political Polyarchy to Defeating Participatory Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Far Left in Latin America,” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 24, no. 1 (2018): 72–95.

⁸⁹ Luis Schenoni and Scott Mainwaring, “Democracy Is in Crisis in Latin America. Brazil May Be the next Trouble Spot,” *The Washington Post* (2018).

⁹⁰ Teresa Oteiza and Mariana Achugar, “History Textbooks and the Construction of Dictatorship,” *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (2018): 305–316.

but also eventually to retain power and, in the process, legitimize their political authority.⁹¹ This phenomenon can be referred to as “democratic blending”: a masked transformation of democratic institutions, principles, and the rule of law that allows elected yet steadily authoritarian governments to benefit from the appearance of democracy while constructing the rules of a dictatorship.

Governments that successfully push forward this portrayal of democracy often seize the institutional (security forces, branches of government) and non-institutional (media, opposition) structures of power that either limit, supervise, or counterbalance their authority.⁹² Rather than promoting the will of the people or a social agreement on the distribution of power, democracy in this context becomes the perfect masquerade with which to advance the dictator’s will and prevent the distribution of power.⁹³ This phenomenon can be referred to as “democratic delusion”: an illusory sense of constitutional authority designed to develop disguised dictatorships. Once it blends, democracy is no longer a system of government but a tool of maintaining power for a repressive regime. This piece will discuss three recent examples of these phenomenon in Latin America: Nicaragua, Honduras, and Venezuela. The case of Nicaragua is revealing. Since the democratic election of Daniel Ortega as President of Nicaragua in 2006, Ortega and his wife, Vice-

⁹¹ Laura Schenquer, “The Uses of Culture in the Last Argentine Dictatorship (1976–1983): From Studies of Repression to Analyses of the Construction of Consensus,” *Latin American Perspectives* 47, no. 3 (2020): 186–201; Michael McCarthy and Jared Abbott, “Grassroots Participation in Defense of Dictatorship: Venezuela’s Communal Councils and the Future of Participatory Democracy in Latin America,” *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 43, no. 2 (2019): 95.

⁹² Xin Long Xu et al., “The Role of Equity Balance and Executive Stock Ownership in the Innovation Efficiency of Renewable Energy Enterprises,” *Journal of Renewable and Sustainable Energy* 11, no. 5 (2019): 55901.

⁹³ Steven Levitsky, “Latin America’s Shifting Politics: Democratic Survival and Weakness,” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (2018): 102–113, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0066https://muse.jhu.edu/article/705721>.

President Rosario Murillo, have created one of the most autocratic regimes in the region.⁹⁴ After getting control of the National Assembly (by winning 71 out of 92 seats), the Supreme Court (by appointing 11 out of 16 justices), and the Supreme Electoral Council, Ortega's government successfully promoted a constitutional reform process, enabling him to run for three consecutive terms while reducing the number of votes required to be elected.

At present, opposition in Nicaragua is non-existent. And the only remaining independent force, the students' movement, has faced a violent crack-down by security forces and paramilitary groups all over the country, which in recent weeks has resulted in more than 81 people being killed, 838 injured, and 438 arrested.⁹⁵ The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva has called these deaths "unlawful killings" while the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has insisted on the need of conducting an on-site investigation notwithstanding the government of Nicaragua's rejection.⁹⁶ Another critical case of the phenomenon discussed earlier is Honduras. Using the power of constitutional appointments, President Juan Orlando Hernández gradually seized control of the Supreme Court of Honduras, which was the only way for him to circumvent the constitutional prohibition on presidential re-election established by Articles 42.5 and 239 of the Honduras Constitution of 1982 in conjunction with Article 330 of the Penal Code, the latter of which criminalizes any attempt to modify the Constitution to that end.⁹⁷ However, thanks to a Supreme Court decision that declared inapplicable such provisions and authorized the

⁹⁴ Mary Fran T. Malone and Lucia Dammert, "The Police and the Public: Policing Practices and Public Trust in Latin America," *Policing and Society* (2020): 1–16.

⁹⁵ Jennifer Wheeler, Paul Hutchinson, and Alejandra Leyton, "Intimate Partner Violence in Honduras: Ecological Correlates of Self-Reported Victimization and Fear of a Male Partner," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (2020): 0886260519898441; Rebecca J. Williams and Paige Castellanos, "Youth Perceptions of Violence in Western Honduras," *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2020): 397–414; Pamela J. Neumann, "Transnational Governance, Local Politics, and Gender Violence Law in Nicaragua," *Latin American Politics and Society* 60, no. 2 (2018): 61–82.

⁹⁶ Pamela Neumann, "When Laws Are Not Enough: Violence against Women and Bureaucratic Practice in Nicaragua," *Social Forces* 95, no. 3 (2017): 1105–1125.

⁹⁷ Neumann, "Transnational Governance, Local Politics, and Gender Violence Law in Nicaragua."

indefinite presidential re-election in Honduras, President Hernández did run for a second term, winning the 2017 presidential election.

Hernández's government has been accused of electoral fraud, systematic corruption, and human rights violations.⁹⁸ Yet both political and criminal investigations against his government have been diluted through acts of Congress—another institution Hernández's government now controls. Worst yet, just as President Ortega has done it in Nicaragua, President Hernández is using state security forces to repress any protest in Honduras.⁹⁹ The face of an authoritarian regime in Honduras is finally emerging. Among all cases of democratic blending in Latin America, Venezuela represents the most endemic one. Following the democratic election of Nicolás Maduro as President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 2013, Maduro gained institutional control of the state by using the powers granted by Venezuela's Constitution of 1999.¹⁰⁰ After securing the loyalty of all Supreme Court justices through strategic constitutional appointments, President Maduro won the sympathy of the military, security forces, and public officials by increasing their salaries in the midst of the country's worst economic crisis.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Maduro's government has ordered the detention of more than 1,300 political prisoners while the ANC has passed laws precluding political parties that did not participate in the 2017 municipal elections—that is, nearly all opposition parties—from participating in the 2018 presidential election; a political and authoritarian move that ended with Nicolás Maduro's re-election.

⁹⁸ Pablo Navarrete, "Honduras: Britain Sold Spyware to Regime Responsible for Mass Human Rights Abuses," *Green Left Weekly*, no. 1169 (2018): 18; George Rodríguez, "Human Rights Groups Decry Post-Election Violence, Torture in Honduras" (2018).

⁹⁹ Antulio Rosales, "Venezuela's Deepening Logic of Extraction: The Maduro Government's Decision to Push Ahead with the Orinoco Mining Arc Initiative Shows That Extractive Capitalism Is Alive and Well in Venezuela.," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49, no. 2 (2017): 132–135.

¹⁰⁰ Corrales, "Authoritarian Survival: Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen."

¹⁰¹ Davide Morselli, Stefano Passini, and Craig McGarty, "Sos Venezuela: An Analysis of the Anti-Maduro Protest Movements Using Twitter," *Social Movement Studies* (2020): 1–22.

Maduro’s regime has also muzzled the media through the use, misuse, and abuse of the rule of law. His government has expelled several foreign correspondents, detained at least 66 journalists, and closed 69 media outlets across the country.¹⁰² Additionally, the Constituent National Assembly recently approved a law authorizing the criminal prosecution of individuals and media outlets for posting or broadcasting messages that either “encourage” or “incite” hate, violence, or public disturbance.¹⁰³ The trend of Latin American autocratic and authoritarian governments using democracy as a tool in the process of creating dictatorships exposes critical flaws of democracy as a system of government.¹⁰⁴ The replication of these regimes reveals not only the personal ambition or abuse of power of the leaders discussed here, but also the eventual dissembling of democratic values (freedom of expression), principles (separation of powers), and institutions (free vote) that once inspired, and are synonymous with the notion of democracy.¹⁰⁵ While the causes of displacement in Honduras and Venezuela are similar in a wide range of ways, the section below explores the differences by discussing the human displacement in both Latin American countries.

¹⁰² Ray Watters and Ray Watters, “Maduro Makes a Mockery of Democracy in Venezuela,” in *Rural Latin America in Transition* (Springer, 2021), 277–303.

¹⁰³ Holly Prather, “When Words Are Not Enough: The Development of Human Trafficking in Venezuela Under the Maduro Administration” (University of Mississippi, 2019).

¹⁰⁴ Freier and Parent, “The Regional Response to the Venezuelan Exodus”; Steve Ellner, “Venezuela’s Fragile Revolution: From Chávez to Maduro,” *Monthly Review* 69, no. 5 (2017): 1–14; Oxford Analytica, “Maduro and Guaido Face Mounting Schisms in Venezuela,” *Emerald Expert Briefings*, no. oxan-db (2019).

¹⁰⁵ Doran, “The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective”; Tomila Lankina and Rodion Skovoroda, “Regional Protest and Electoral Fraud: Evidence from Analysis of New Data on Russian Protest,” *East European Politics* 33, no. 2 (2017): 253–274.

Honduras and Venezuela

Honduras

In Latin America, human displacement is closely linked to failure in the governments in the region to address the organized crime and violence problems faced by citizens. In Honduras, human displacement takes a combination of both internal displacement and external displacement depending on the real and perceived severity of the threat being faced by a citizen.¹⁰⁶ For many residents of Honduras, the first step in the fleeing process is leaving one's home in search of a sense of safety within the country, with the first step being to move away from places in which there are high incidences of violence and crime. The internal displacement acts as the precursor to international migration and is the starting point for a life of trauma and fear that is devoid of any protection by the government.¹⁰⁷ One of the main reasons being internally displaced in Honduras is challenging is because the government does not have the tools it needs to reverse the process and introduce protections for the people. While the countries in the Middle East are in denial about the challenge of human displacement, the Honduran government started working with the UNHCR in 2013 to explore the issue and determine the best way forward.¹⁰⁸ The investigation revealed that by 2015, at least 174,000 people had been internally displaced across 20 municipalities between 2004 and 2014, and that the situation was getting worse.

¹⁰⁶ Lirio Gutiérrez Rivera, "Gender, Race, and the Cycle of Violence of Female Asylum Seekers from Honduras," *Race, Criminal Justice, and Migration Control: Enforcing the Boundaries of Belonging* (2018): 43–57.

¹⁰⁷ Cantor and Apollo, "Internal Displacement, Internal Migration, and Refugee Flows: Connecting the Dots."

¹⁰⁸ Rivera, "Gender, Race, and the Cycle of Violence of Female Asylum Seekers from Honduras"; Denise N. Obinna, "Seeking Sanctuary: Violence Against Women in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala," *Violence Against Women* (2020): 1077801220913633; Suzanna Nelson-Pollard, "Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement," *Forced Migration Review* 56, no. 56 (2017): 14–17.

Despite the government accepting that human displacement is a challenge that needs to be addressed, it has not done any further comprehensive research like the 2015 study. For instance, there was an approximately 22 percent increase in registered cases of people who have been forcefully displaced or at risk of displacement in 2017 compared to 2016. Based on the information, the main reason for the displacement is that there has been increasing violence that has resulted in the death of family members and friends.¹⁰⁹ Recruitment by gangs, death threats, and extortions are also key factors resulting in the displacement of people in Honduras, as are sexual violence, kidnapping, forced disappearance, and intrafamilial violence.¹¹⁰ In addition to the acts of violence themselves, Hondurans are displaced by fear of repercussions from the perpetrators of violence. Violence in Honduras is evidence that the government of the Latin American nation is failing to address the organized crime problem in the nation.¹¹¹ As such, even in cases where a person witnessed violence, homicide, or displacement, there is no way to report it to the government for fear of repercussions from the criminals.

The experiences of violence and displacement by Hondurans have been characterized by fear of organized crime as well as the reluctance of the people to work with the government in identifying the criminals. Even humanitarian organizations have a hard time getting people who have been displaced to identify the perpetrators, which means that the Honduran society is

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Boerman, *Family as a Social Construct in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala: Visibility and Vulnerability of Family Members of Individuals Targeted by Organized Criminal Groups* (Thomas Boerman, 2019), https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID3520124_code2773732.pdf?abstractid=3520124&mirid=1.

¹¹⁰ Jason Cone and Marc Bosch Bonacasa, “Invisible War: Central America’s Forgotten Humanitarian Crisis,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 24, no. 2 (2018): 225–239, <https://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2165/docview/2096474327?pq-origsite=summon>; Luis Alfredo Arriola Vega, “Central American Asylum Seekers in Southern Mexico: Fluid (Im)Mobility in Protracted Migration Trajectories,” *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* (2020): 1–15.

¹¹¹ Lúgia De Aquino Barbosa Magalhães et al., “Incentivising Political Will for the Response to Internal Displacement: The Role of NGOs in Latin America,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2020): 444–465.

characterized by high levels of impunity.¹¹² The high impunity rates are evidenced by the fact that only a mere 4% of all homicides result in convictions, which explains why people would rather leave their homes than attempt to get help from their government.¹¹³ It, therefore, makes sense that people who have been forcefully displaced are afraid of reporting their aggressors because there is a widespread tendency to be persecuted or receive retribution for making a formal or informal report. The tendency to leave one's home rather than fight back is also a testament to a country that is in the control of organized crime and gangs in the form of territorial control over some parts of Honduras. To date, gangs like Mara Salvatrucha and Pandilla 18 continue to be major players in the internal displacement of the people of Honduras, but gangs are still not the main cause of displacement.¹¹⁴ According to research done on displaced people, the major causes of displacement are the police and organized crime, such that locals have a hard time telling which of the two is the negative element in their society. The impunity of the police and organized crime is worsened by the fact that both tend to have political influence in the country as they have representatives in regional and national governments.

The country has been making efforts at addressing the violence and crime situation in Honduras, especially in the form of getting gangs in urban areas to lose their territorial control. The *mano dura* strategies aimed at addressing gang violence through the *operaciones de saturación*

¹¹² Marna Shorack, Elizabeth Kennedy, and Amelia Frank-Vitale, "A State of Mistrust: Questionable Homicide Numbers, a Murky Police Purge, and a Pervasive Distrust of Authorities in Honduras Reveal Deep State Failures That Enable Violence and Impunity.," *Nacla Report On The Americas* 52, no. 4 (2020): 404–409.

¹¹³ Alice Farmer, "Remarks by Alice Farmer (as Summarized by the Moderator)," in *Proceedings of the ASIL Annual Meeting*, vol. 113 (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 117–118.

¹¹⁴ Ruth Elizabeth Prado Pérez, "Better Governance to Fight Displacement by Gang Violence in the Central American Triangle," *Migraciones Internacionales* 9, no. 2 (2017): 237–243; Thomas Boerman, "The Socio-Political Context of Violence in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala," *Immigration Briefings*, no. 18–10 (2020): 1–21.

have been shown to contribute to the displacement of even more Hondurans.¹¹⁵ The aggressive and targeted raids by anti-gang units result in more human displacement since driving gang members from one place to another will result in them displacing even more people. As the gangs leave urban areas, they take their activities to rural areas where they introduce both violence and instability, hence making internal displacement a national phenomenon.¹¹⁶ The overall causes of human displacement in Honduras include Mara Salvatrucha, Pandilla 18, gangs, criminal groups, common delinquents, and the police.¹¹⁷ In addition to these causes of human displacement, research indicates that even the government contributes to some displacement during large-scale development projects, but this is a minor issue in Honduras. The impact of displacement in Honduras has yet to be explored in detail, but the main outcome is that it leaves people of all genders and ages vulnerable in all elements of their lives.¹¹⁸ Although the tendency is to assume that displacement is an immediate problem that needs to be addressed, in places like Honduras, Venezuela, Yemen, and Syria, it is a symptom of larger elements of societal dysfunction. Often, the displacement is the last straw reaction to a series of multiple incidents, threats, and events that either expose a person and his or her family to violence or threaten one with violence in the long-term.

People will wait until violence or the threat of violence becomes intolerable, after which they will leave their homes without notice and never come back to their homes in the long-term.

¹¹⁵ Robin Andersen, Adrian Bergmann, and Adrian Bergmann, “Violence, Migration, and the Perverse Effects of Gang Repression in Central America,” in *Media, Central American Refugees, and the U.S. Border Crisis* (Routledge New York, 2019), 36–58.

¹¹⁶ Maria De Jesus and Carissa Hernandez, “Generalized Violence as a Threat to Health and Well-Being: A Qualitative Study of Youth Living in Urban Settings in Central America’s ‘Northern Triangle,’” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16, no. 18 (2019): 3465.

¹¹⁷ Boerman, “The Socio-Political Context of Violence in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.”

¹¹⁸ Nelson-Pollard, “Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement”; Mauricio Espinoza, “From Strangers to Neighbors: Post-Disaster Resettlement and Community Building in Honduras by Alaniz Ryan,” *The Latin Americanist* 64, no. 2 (2020): 245–246.

Leaving without notice or planning makes it even harder to survive because displaced persons will not carry anything with them, such that they do not have even the basic supplies they need for their own survival during the time they are on the run.¹¹⁹ As such, when addressing the needs and interests of displaced persons, the best approach, as indicated by the UNHCR strategy, is to supply the displaced persons with basic needs like food, clothing, and shelter.¹²⁰ By working with internally displaced persons, it is possible to come up with a strategy for encouraging them to work with authorities in stamping out criminal gangs and organized crime from the country.¹²¹ However, before involving them in making the country better, Honduras needs to consider that its displaced persons have other needs like the need for identification documents and the need for food.¹²² In addition, the government will need to protect the property of displaced persons because they are usually forced to sell their property cheaply, such that they end up with little to nothing to call their own.¹²³ The displaced persons even abandon their houses, which are often taken over by the gangs so that they can have strategic control and use them for the illicit activities that displaced the owners in the first place.

In Honduras, people who face the risk of being displaced tend to run to their family and friends in other towns as a first resort, which introduces more challenges to relatives who are already facing limited resources.¹²⁴ The pressure on relatives and their families ends up forcing families into cycles of violence, poverty, and displacement, which means that the problems facing

¹¹⁹ Rathod et al., “Extending Temporary Status for El Salvador: Country Conditions and U.S. Legal Requirements.”

¹²⁰ Nelson-Pollard, “Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement.”

¹²¹ Bernardo Díaz Nosty and Ruth A. de Frutos García, “Murders, Harassment and Disappearances. The Reality of Latin American Journalists in the XXI Century,” *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social* 72, no. 72 (2017): 1418–1434.

¹²² Angela Cotroneo, “Specificities and Challenges of Responding to Internal Displacement in Urban Settings,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 99, no. 904 (2017): 283–318.

¹²³ Boerman, *Family as a Social Construct in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala: Visibility and Vulnerability of Family Members of Individuals Targeted by Organized Criminal Groups*.

¹²⁴ Nelson-Pollard, “Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement.”

the people of Honduras end up becoming worse over time.¹²⁵ The displacement also means that most of the people who are affected end up losing their livelihood and facing substantially diminished earnings such that they can hardly meet their own basic needs. In many cases, internally displaced persons end up engaging in informal activities like temporary work or begging, such that they start relying on remittances from their relatives or their savings if any.¹²⁶ Displacement can also result if a person is targeted by a gang for the purpose of either extortion or other activities that may force the person to leave his or her place of work, like a shop owner or street vendor.¹²⁷ Once a person has been displaced in Honduras, this means that one will have to live with uncertainty, trauma, and hiding, with the intensity of these effects being heightened in children, youth, LGBTQ+ persons, and women.¹²⁸ The women end up being heads of families with their children having smaller networks of friends and family to an extent that they end up lacking social circles they could use for protection.¹²⁹ In case a displaced woman is alone, she ends up being at a higher risk of abuse, trafficking, and violence, which are similar to the challenges that LGBTQ+ people end up suffering.

The displacement that Honduran families undergo is mainly aimed at protecting the interests of their children, including protecting them from being targeted or recruited by gangs. Being a young person in Honduras exposes one to more dangers than most young people in the world can ever imagine, whereby their lives are becoming worse as their governments lose control

¹²⁵ Alvina Erman et al., “Gender Dimensions of Disaster Risk and Resilience” (2021).

¹²⁶ Boerman, *Family as a Social Construct in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala: Visibility and Vulnerability of Family Members of Individuals Targeted by Organized Criminal Groups*.

¹²⁷ Nelson-Pollard, “Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement.”

¹²⁸ Angelica M. Tello et al., “Unaccompanied Refugee Minors From Central America: Understanding Their Journey and Implications for Counselors,” *The Professional Counselor* 7, no. 4 (2017): 360–374.

¹²⁹ Rachel H. Kappel et al., “Prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and Associated Health Risks and Risk Behaviors among Young Women and Men in Honduras,” *Child Abuse and Neglect* 115 (2021): 104993.

of crime and criminal organizations.¹³⁰ If the gangs and criminal organizations cannot recruit the young people, they end up targeting them for kidnapping, trafficking, persecution, and execution. Honduras is characterized by multiple incidences of homicides and massacres that have forced their families to take drastic measures like leaving their homes.¹³¹ Research indicates that young men are forced to leave their birth homes because their government does not have any protection program for men aged between 16 and 24. In Honduras, displaced children account for at least 45% of the displaced population, which means that the people who suffer the most from the displacement are the people who can hardly protect themselves even in a country without a conflict. In Honduras, it has become increasingly difficult for a child to even get a decent education because of the role that gangs play in schools, whereby gangs can take over schools and use them for their illicit activities.¹³² The children also drop out of school at an early age when they are forced to leave their homes due to violence and the threat of violence from gang members.¹³³ When children are displaced, they have to transfer schools, which results in higher costs for parents, as well as the challenges associated with weak infrastructure and school bureaucracy.

Sometimes, families are even forced to separate as a survival strategy, as each of the family members may be facing a different threat that necessitates a unique fleeing strategy. In this regard, if only one family member is being threatened, he may elect to leave other family members behind

¹³⁰ Prado Pérez, “Better Governance to Fight Displacement by Gang Violence in the Central American Triangle.”

¹³¹ Rathod et al., “Extending Temporary Status for El Salvador: Country Conditions and U.S. Legal Requirements.”

¹³² Shorack, Kennedy, and Frank-Vitale, “A State of Mistrust: Questionable Homicide Numbers, a Murky Police Purge, and a Pervasive Distrust of Authorities in Honduras Reveal Deep State Failures That Enable Violence and Impunity.”

¹³³ Thomas M. Crea et al., “The McGovern-Dole Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program (MGD): A Comparative Analysis of Reading Comprehension Gains in Central America,” *World Development Perspectives* 21 (2021): 100288; Emma Naslund-Hadley et al., “Schools at a Crossroad: Integration of Migrant Students in Belize” (2020).

and go into hiding alone so as not to put them in danger.¹³⁴ Over time, the social fabric ends up being broken down over time, such that in some cases entire neighborhoods have disintegrated as more people flee for their lives. The degree of risk, as well as the available resources, is an important contributing factor to the decision to flee, whereby displacement is international only if a person no longer thinks Honduras is safe.¹³⁵ Due to lack of resources, many displaced persons end up remaining in the country in the long-term, even if research indicates that about nine out of ten displaced persons would want to leave Honduras in search of a better life elsewhere.¹³⁶ Although the government of Honduras recognizes the problem of internal displacement, this has yet to result in positive outcomes like programs and policies aimed at addressing the issue. Even international organizations like UNHCR have been having difficulties achieving any permanent solutions for displaced people in Honduras, as many are not even tracked or registered.¹³⁷ In addition, while the international and local organizations are providing humanitarian aid, these measures are merely temporary and unlikely to result in long-lasting solutions for the displaced people in Honduras.¹³⁸ The only way to reverse the situation would be to address the insecurity issues in Honduras resulting from gangs and organized crime, as well as coming up with a program for resettlement of internally displaced persons.

¹³⁴ Cinthya Alberto and Mariana Chilton, “Transnational Violence Against Asylum-Seeking Women and Children: Honduras and the United States-Mexico Border,” *Human Rights Review* 20, no. 2 (2019): 205–227.

¹³⁵ Kevin Roy and Martha Yumiseva, “Family Separation and Transnational Fathering Practices for Immigrant Northern Triangle Families,” *Journal of Family Theory and Review* (2021).

¹³⁶ Cecilia Menjivar and Andrea Gómez Cervantes, “Bureaucracies of Displacement: From Immigrants’ Social and Physical Exclusion to Their Judicial Removal,” in *The Handbook of Displacement* (Springer, 2020), 475–491.

¹³⁷ David Griffith, “Environmental Change and Human Migration: Stylized Facts from Puerto Rico and Honduras,” *Coastal Management* 48, no. 5 (2020): 1–20.

¹³⁸ Kappel et al., “Prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and Associated Health Risks and Risk Behaviors among Young Women and Men in Honduras.”

Venezuela

While the crime and violence in Honduras result from the inability of the government to keep criminal gangs and organized crime in check, the situation in Venezuela is a result of poor economic conditions – aggravated by the government’s inability to improve them.¹³⁹¹⁴⁰ The country has been experiencing an economic collapse despite the nation having some of the largest crude oil reserves in the country. Venezuela, like many other nations in Latin America, is one of the countries that has been pushing towards authoritarian leadership after democracy has failed to keep the country’s political system stable over the years. Before its current crisis, which started in 2010, Venezuela had so much petroleum revenue that the government was spending much on social programs that were so comprehensive that the government was offering free heating oil for the poor.¹⁴¹ The country’s collapse started in 2014 when its GDP reduced to a level that is lower than the level that the United States had experienced in the Great Depression. As many as 32 million inhabitants of Venezuela were unable to afford food and even the country’s hospitals were so starved of resources that they did not even have basics like antibiotics and soap.¹⁴² As the economy became worse, the political system spiraled out of control, and accusations of voter intimidation and irregularities caused President Nicolas Maduro to experience street protests and

¹³⁹ Viviana García Pinzón and Jorge Mantilla, “Contested Borders: Organized Crime, Governance, and Bordering Practices in Colombia-Venezuela Borderlands,” *Trends in Organized Crime* (2020): 1–17.

¹⁴⁰ Clark Digital Commons and Sam Kirsch, *The Transformational Haze: Crisis, Shadow Economies, and Global Civil War on the Venezuela-Colombia Border*, 2019, https://commons.clarku.edu/idce_masters_papers; Leda M. Pérez and Daniela Ugarte, “Venezuelan Women in Peru: At the Borders of Nationality, Gender, and Survival Migration,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* (2021): 1–15.

¹⁴¹ Van Praag, “Understanding the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis.”

¹⁴² Kathleen R. Page et al., “Venezuela’s Public Health Crisis: A Regional Emergency,” *The Lancet* 393, no. 10177 (2019): 1254–1260; Luisa Feline Freier, Isabel Berganza, and Cécile Blouin, “The Cartagena Refugee Definition and Venezuelan Displacement in Latin America1,” *International Migration* (2020).

even an uprising. While crime is the main contributor to the failure of Honduras, the decline of Venezuela was contributed by a wide range of interrelated factors.

Instead of diversifying its economy like other countries with oil resources, Venezuela increased its dependence on oil revenues over the years such that it had very few other sources of revenue. As the prices of oil declined, the country started experiencing hard times, such that the economy eventually collapsed due to other factors like massive social spending, corruption, and economic mismanagement.¹⁴³ The United States sanctions against the Venezuelan central bank, gold mining industry, and oil industry meant that not only did Venezuela no longer have access to the dollar for international transactions, but it could not even take advantage of the resources in its possession.¹⁴⁴ The sanctions that were designed to put pressure on the Maduro administration ended up resulting in the near-collapse of the whole country, which then forced people into poverty and the resulting protests against the government. Instead of introducing reforms as expected, Maduro got his supreme court to take away the power of the legislature in 2017 such that Maduro ended up as the de facto dictator of Venezuela.¹⁴⁵ The power struggles in the country's leadership changed a country that had been host to refugees from its neighbors over the years to become a humanitarian crisis. While in Honduras the displacement is primarily internal because there are parts of the nation that are still habitable, most displaced persons in Venezuela have no option but

¹⁴³ A. Venezuelan and James Ausman, "The Devastating Venezuelan Crisis," *Surgical Neurology International* 10 (2019): 145.

¹⁴⁴ Freier, Berganza, and Blouin, "The Cartagena Refugee Definition and Venezuelan Displacement in Latin America 1"; Antulio Rosales, "Statization and Denationalization Dynamics in Venezuela's Artisanal and Small Scale-Large-Scale Mining Interface," *Resources Policy* 63 (2019): 101422; Mark Weisbrot and Jeffrey Sachs, "Punishing Civilians: U.S. Sanctions on Venezuela," *Challenge* 62, no. 5 (2019): 299–321.

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Raphael Roberts, "The Fall of Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Venezuela" (2020), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5mj6j3t8>; Joel Alexander Lopez, "Venezuelan Refugee Crisis: A Consequence of US Economic Sanctions" (2019).

to leave the country.¹⁴⁶ Internal displacement may have negative effects on the lives of displaced people, but international displacement is even worse because the people are at the mercy of foreign nations. By the end of 2019, at least 4.6 million Venezuelans had become refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers, of whom most of them fled to Venezuela's neighbors like Chile, Peru, Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia, and Argentina, among others.

While Honduras has hundreds of thousands of misplaced people because of crime and localized violence, the violence in Venezuela is much more widespread and intense. The substantial movement of refugees and migrants from Venezuela has ended up creating a regional humanitarian crisis in Latin America, while at the same time presenting challenges for the host nations whose education and healthcare systems have been strained considerably.¹⁴⁷ The journeys made by the migrants and refugees outside Venezuela have been made worse by their lack of access to clean water and food, vulnerability to gender-based violence, and inability to secure employment opportunities in host countries. In Venezuela, high levels of violent crime are just one of the contributors, with hyperinflation playing an even more important role in the ever-growing humanitarian crisis both inside Venezuela and the region.¹⁴⁸ People have been forced to leave Venezuela for neighboring countries in large numbers because Venezuela can no longer offer them the essential services they need to support their basic needs. In addition to the challenging conditions in Venezuela, even the journey to their destination countries is worse, and many of them

¹⁴⁶ Freier and Parent, "The Regional Response to the Venezuelan Exodus"; Isabel Berganza, Cécile Blouin, and Luisa Feline Freier, "The Spirit of Cartagena? Applying the Extended Refugee Definition to Venezuelans in Latin America," *Forced Migration Review* 63, no. 63 (2018): 64–66, <https://www.fmreview.org/cities/blouin-berganza-freier>.

¹⁴⁷ Page et al., "Venezuela's Public Health Crisis: A Regional Emergency"; Valeria Aron Said and Soledad Castillo Jara, "Reacting to Change within Change: Adaptive Leadership and the Peruvian Response to Venezuelan Immigration," *International Migration* (2020).

¹⁴⁸ Marlon Anatol and Quinnelle-Marie Kangalee, "Crime in Trinidad and Tobago: The Possible Impacts of Increased Crime Due to Migration from Venezuela," *Migration and Development* (2020): 1–13; Freier, Berganza, and Blouin, "The Cartagena Refugee Definition and Venezuelan Displacement in Latin America."

end up losing or risking their lives in their travels.¹⁴⁹ Some of the issues they face include safety-related issues due to abuse from criminal networks and armed groups, exploitation, xenophobia, and dangerous terrain.

While even the men are at risk, children and women are especially vulnerable to gender-based and sexual violence and exploitation, including rape, and assault at the hands of the people they find, as well as fellow travelers. Whenever they need a source of income, many of them are forced to engage in transactional sex, which eventually results in prostitution and trafficking.¹⁵⁰ Research on the migrants and refugees who travel to Colombia from Venezuela indicated that it is common for women and girls to engage in transactional sex, with mothers often encouraging their daughters to engage in the practice.¹⁵¹ Since the displaced persons from Venezuela are many more than the displaced persons from Honduras, the problems faced by the Venezuelans are much more far-reaching.¹⁵² Humanitarian organizations like the UNHCR indicate that a high proportion of the girls and women among the displaced use transactional sex as a means of ensuring their own survival due to the challenging conditions.¹⁵³ There has been an increasing level of awareness across the world about the situation in Venezuela, and efforts are being put by NGOs, the United Nations (UN), and host nations to come up with measures of improving support for the migrants and refugees. A solidarity conference that was hosted by the European Union also focused on how

¹⁴⁹ Ediberto Roman and Ernesto Sagás, “State Sponsored Xenophobia in the Americas,” *Florida International University Legal Studies Research Paper*, no. 20–25 (2020).

¹⁵⁰ Julia Zulver and Annette Idler, “Gendering the Border Effect: The Double Impact of Colombian Insecurity and the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis,” *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 7 (2020): 1122–1140.

¹⁵¹ Giovanna Palermo, “Transnational Organized Crime: The Branching of Mafias Into the Global Era,” in *Handbook of Research on Trends and Issues in Crime Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Victim Support* (IGI Global, 2020), 124–143.

¹⁵² Tivia Collins and Richie Daly, “Reconstructing Racialised Femininity: Stories from Venezuelan Migrant Women,” *Migration and Development* (2020): 1–19.

¹⁵³ Julie Anne Laser-Maira et al., “Global Commercial and Sexual Exploitation of Children,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 2020.

the international community can start working on a means of addressing the issues related to the violence and human displacement in Venezuela.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Alexander Betts, “The Global Compact on Refugees: Towards a Theory of Change?,” *International Journal of Refugee Law* 30, no. 4 (2019): 623–626.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Currently, climate change does not seem to be an important contributor to the human displacement problem, at least not in Syria, Yemen, Venezuela, and Honduras. The impact of climate change is overshadowed by other underlying factors, most of which are the result of governments in these countries losing their control of society. Loss of control of society is a sign that the government is not only losing its legitimacy, but it does not hold sufficient power to keep all criminal elements in check. Without a means of preventing criminal organizations or militant groups from terrorizing citizens, governments across the countries have indirectly resulted in the displacement of millions of their citizens. The large-scale displacement has resulted in unprecedented humanitarian crises in Latin America and the Middle East, as well as the rest of the world where the displaced people end up as refugees or immigrants. Humanitarian organizations like the UNHCR and host countries have had their resources overextended so much, and there is no end in sight. The human displacement resulting from the political turmoil and criminal activity in those places has been difficult to handle because they require far-reaching reforms instead of stopgap interventions like humanitarian aid. While humanitarian aid is beneficial, it is a temporary solution for any nation, and the only way to protect people in the long-term is by working with the global communities to promote representative leadership and peaceful resolution of political differences. The global community can also offer support to the government to prevent militias and splinter groups from challenging its authority and putting the lives of citizens at risk.

As discussed above, the displacement in the four countries has been the result of political changes, including disagreements among political factions, and the inability of governments to provide their people with security. When faced with these challenges, fully functional governments are supposed to be able to protect their people and work with the international community to ensure that their authority is not challenged. While international relations played a role, the role was more

about how countries interact with each other and share their resources after people have been displaced. For all the countries in this study, international relations played a unifying role in that it enables countries to offer refuge to displaced people while at the same time donating resources to humanitarian aid. In both the Middle East and Latin America, neighboring nations play host to displaced people, and international organizations like the UNHCR give them humanitarian aid. The challenges, which are supposed to be localized within countries or regions, have ended up becoming widespread global crises that need the participation of the global community. The people who have been misplaced in the different countries have had to immigrate to other countries where their presence is causing pressure on existing resources. The people who end up as immigrants or as refugees are not usually part of the planning systems of host countries, which ends up ruining their plans. As a result, many of the host countries across the world have been having a hard time hosting displaced people, with many even setting quotas.

In all the countries studied here, governments have been losing their hold on societies, which has resulted in either splinter groups emerging and fighting for power, or crime and violence increasing. In the Middle East, weakening regimes have resulted in power vacuums that have caused different political groups to engage in conflicts that have put the lives of the people at risk. The political infighting in Yemen and Syria has resulted in the displacement of people in large numbers such that there is a humanitarian crisis in the Middle East and Europe. In their struggle to hold on to power, the governments of Yemen and Syria have ended up destabilizing their own countries and forced the people to leave their homes. In Yemen and Syria, human displacement takes both the form of internal and external displacement, with the number of displaced people increasing over time, with Syria having more displaced people because its conflict has been longer. In the Middle East, human displacement is the result of civil war in which the ruling elite have managed to push their people to fight against each other. The lay people have been driven to fight

against each other by being convinced that their political and religious differences are supposed to cause unnecessary friction in their societies. An intervention in this respect would be mass education to teach people how best they can address their differences without resorting to violence that ends up breaking down their societies.

In Latin America, the pattern of human displacement is different from the causes of displacement in the Middle East, whereby direct politics plays less of a role in the conflicts and the resulting displacement. In both Honduras and Venezuela, the inability of the governments to protect the people has resulted in both countries being taken over by organized crime and gangs. While in Honduras the main contributor for the displacement is crime and violence, in Venezuela equally important are deteriorating economic conditions and political instability. Since the violence and crime in Honduras are localized, the displaced people are fewer, and the displacement is localized within the country even if people want to leave. The situation in Venezuela is different in that the political and economic instability is countrywide, and people are leaving the country in droves. At the latest count, at least five million people have left Venezuela for neighboring countries. Though larger in scope, the Venezuelan crisis underscores the similar roots in all four countries – governments that are losing or have lost control over their societies. While the government losing control is an important factor, equally important is the need to teach the people to hold their governments accountable and inform them it is possible to get the leadership they deserve. The reforms are bound to be challenging, but are not impossible, especially if the global community is involved in the reform process.

Bibliography

Abdullah, Abdulsamad Taresh, Jawdat Hassen, Areeg Abdulsamad Abdullah, and Mehmet Ağlrbaşll.

“COVID-19 Pandemic in the Midst of Civil War: Planetary Health and Plant Omics Field Notes from Aden, Yemen.” *OMICS mA Journal of Integrative Biology* 24, no. 12 (2020): 685–687.

Acacio, Igor, and Anais Passos. “The Militarization of Responses to COVID-19 in Democratic Latin America [Original Version].” *RAP: Revista Brasileira de Administração Pública* 55, no. 1 (2020).

Adey, Peter, Janet C Bowstead, Katherine Brickell, Vandana Desai, Mike Dolton, Alasdair Pinkerton, and Ayesha Siddiqi. *The Handbook of Displacement*. Springer, 2020.

Ahmad, Dilshad, and Muhammad Afzal. “Flood Hazards, Human Displacement and Food Insecurity in Rural Riverine Areas of Punjab, Pakistan: Policy Implications.” *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 43 (2020): 101364.

Akbarzada, Sumaira, and Tim K. Mackey. “The Syrian Public Health and Humanitarian Crisis: A ‘Displacement’ in Global Governance?” *Global Public Health* 13, no. 7 (2018): 914–930.

Alassar, Mohammed M., Oyelola A. Adegboye, Theophilus I. Emeto, Kazi M. Rahman, Lawal Olumuyiwa Mashood, and Faiz A.M. Elfaki. “Severe Dehydration among Cholera Patients in Yemen: A Cohort Profile.” *Germes* 10, no. 4 (2020): 338–345.

Alberto, Cinthya, and Mariana Chilton. “Transnational Violence Against Asylum-Seeking Women and Children: Honduras and the United States-Mexico Border.” *Human Rights Review* 20, no. 2 (2019): 205–227.

Allen, Chris. “Warfare, Endemic Violence & State Collapse in Africa.” *Review of African Political Economy* 26, no. 81 (1999): 367–384.

Almeida, Paul D. “Popular Movements against Economic Adjustment Policies in Latin America.” *Latin American Perspectives* 34, no. 3 (2007): 123–139.

- Almohamed, Asam, and Dhaval Vyas. “Vulnerability of Displacement: Challenges for Integrating Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Host Communities.” In *Proceedings of the 28th Australian Computer-Human Interaction Conference, OzCHI 2016*, 125–134, 2016.
- Alqatabry, Hameed, and Charity Butcher. “Humanitarian Aid in Yemen: Collaboration or Co-Optation?” *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 15, no. 2 (2020): 250–255.
- Altamirano, Téofilo. “Climate Change, Vulnerability, Social Conflicts and Human Displacement in the Andes: The Case of Huaytapallana Glacier.” *Ambiente, Comportamiento y Sociedad* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1–7.
- Analytica, Oxford. “Maduro and Guaido Face Mounting Schisms in Venezuela.” *Emerald Expert Briefings*, no. oxan-db (2019).
- Anatol, Marlon, and Quinnelle-Marie Kangalee. “Crime in Trinidad and Tobago: The Possible Impacts of Increased Crime Due to Migration from Venezuela.” *Migration and Development* (2020): 1–13.
- Andersen, Robin, Adrian Bergmann, and Adrian Bergmann. “Violence, Migration, and the Perverse Effects of Gang Repression in Central America.” In *Media, Central American Refugees, and the U.S. Border Crisis*, 36–58. Routledge New York, 2019.
- Anderson, Joel, and Rose Ferguson. “Demographic and Ideological Correlates of Negative Attitudes towards Asylum Seekers: A Meta-Analytic Review.” *Australian Journal of Psychology* 70, no. 1 (2018): 18–29.
- De Aquino Barbosa Magalhães, Lígia, Brenda Perez Vazquez, Andrés Lizcano Rodríguez, Noah Bullock, and María José Solano Granados. “Incentivising Political Will for the Response to Internal Displacement: The Role of NGOs in Latin America.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2020): 444–465.
- Aron Said, Valeria, and Soledad Castillo Jara. “Reacting to Change within Change: Adaptive Leadership and the Peruvian Response to Venezuelan Immigration.” *International Migration* (2020).

- Arriola Vega, Luis Alfredo. "Central American Asylum Seekers in Southern Mexico: Fluid (Im)Mobility in Protracted Migration Trajectories." *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* (2020): 1–15.
- Bagley, Bruce. "Globalisation and Latin American and Caribbean Organised Crime." *Global Crime Today* 6, no. 1 (2014): 32–53.
- Bakker, Michiel A., Daoud A. Piracha, Patricia J. Lu, Keis Bejgo, Mohsen Bahrami, Yan Leng, Jose Balsa-Barreiro, et al. "Measuring Fine-Grained Multidimensional Integration Using Mobile Phone Metadata: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Turkey." In *Guide to Mobile Data Analytics in Refugee Scenarios*, 123–140. Springer, 2019.
- Ballvé, Teo. "Everyday State Formation: Territory, Decentralization, and the Narco Landgrab in Colombia." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, no. 4 (2012): 603–622.
- Battaloglu, Cihat, and Fadi Farasin. "From Democratization to Securitization: Post-Arab Spring Political Order in the Middle East." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 26, no. 2 (2017): 299–319.
- Bellinger, Paul T., and Moisés Arce. "Protest and Democracy in Latin America's Market Era." *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011): 688–704.
- Bendavid, Eran, Ties Boerma, Nadia Akseer, Ana Langer, Espoir Bwenge Malembaka, Emelda A. Okiro, Paul H. Wise, et al. "The Effects of Armed Conflict on the Health of Women and Children." *The Lancet* 397, no. 10273 (2021): 522–532.
- Berganza, Isabel, Cécile Blouin, and Luisa Feline Freier. "The Spirit of Cartagena? Applying the Extended Refugee Definition to Venezuelans in Latin America." *Forced Migration Review* 63, no. 63 (2018): 64–66. <https://www.fmreview.org/cities/blouin-berganza-freier>.
- Betts, Alexander. "The Global Compact on Refugees: Towards a Theory of Change?" *International Journal of Refugee Law* 30, no. 4 (2019): 623–626.
- Bhagat, Ali. "Displacement in 'Actually Existing' Racial Neoliberalism: Refugee Governance in Paris." *Urban Geography* (2019): 1–20.

- Boerman, Thomas. *Family as a Social Construct in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala: Visibility and Vulnerability of Family Members of Individuals Targeted by Organized Criminal Groups*. Thomas Boerman, 2019.
- https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID3520124_code2773732.pdf?abstractid=3520124&mirid=1.
- . “The Socio-Political Context of Violence in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.” *Immigration Briefings*, no. 18–10 (2020): 1–21.
- Bourne, Kylie. “Beitz’s Two-Level Model of Human Rights and Statelessness.” In *Political and Legal Approaches to Human Rights*, 214–225. Routledge, 2017.
- Browne, Brendan Ciarán, and Casey Asprooth-Jackson. “From 1969 to 2018: Relocating Historical Narratives of Displacement during ‘the Troubles’ through the European Migrant Crisis.” *Capital and Class* 43, no. 1 (2019): 23–38.
- Burnett, Katherine. “Commodifying Poverty: Gentrification and Consumption in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside.” *Urban Geography* 35, no. 2 (2014): 157–176.
- Cannon, Brendon J., and Federico Donelli. “Asymmetric Alliances and High Polarity: Evaluating Regional Security Complexes in the Middle East and Horn of Africa.” *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2020): 505–524.
- Cantor, David James, and Jacob Ochieng Apollo. “Internal Displacement, Internal Migration, and Refugee Flows: Connecting the Dots.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2020): 647–664.
- Cevik, Senem, and Efe Sevin. “A Quest for Soft Power: Turkey and the Syrian Refugee Crisis.” *Journal of Communication Management* 21, no. 4 (2017): 399–410.
- Chambers, Samuel N., and Joseph A. Tabor. “Remotely Identifying Potential Vector Habitat in Areas of Refugee and Displaced Person Populations Due to the Syrian Civil War.” *Geospatial Health* 13, no. 2 (2018): 276–280.

- Chang, Chun Yin Anson, Zhangyang Gao, Amanda Kaminsky, and Tony G. Reames. “Michigan Sustainability Case: Revisiting the Three Gorges Dam: Should China Continue to Build Dams on the Yangtze River?” *Sustainability (United States)* 11, no. 5 (2018): 204–215.
- Chew Sánchez, Martha I. “From the ‘Pink Tide’ to ‘Soft Coup d’État’ in Latin America: The Case of Bolivia.” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 19, no. 5–6 (2021): 597–625.
- Cohen, Mollie J. “Protesting via the Null Ballot: An Assessment of the Decision to Cast an Invalid Vote in Latin America.” *Political Behavior* 40, no. 2 (2018): 395–414.
- Collins, Tivia, and Richie Daly. “Reconstructing Racialised Femininity: Stories from Venezuelan Migrant Women.” *Migration and Development* (2020): 1–19.
- Collombier, Virginie, Maria-louise Clausen, Hiba Hassan, Helle Malmvig, and Jan Pêt Khorto. “Armed Conflicts and the Erosion of the State: The Case of Iraq, Libya, Yemen and Syria.” *Menara Working Papers No. 22*, no. 22 (2018).
- Commons, Clark Digital, and Sam Kirsch. *The Transformational Haze: Crisis, Shadow Economies, and Global Civil War on the Venezuela-Colombia Border*, 2019.
https://commons.clarku.edu/idce_masters_papers.
- Cone, Jason, and Marc Bosch Bonacasa. “Invisible War: Central America’s Forgotten Humanitarian Crisis.” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 24, no. 2 (2018): 225–239.
<https://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2165/docview/2096474327?pq-origsite=summon>.
- Constantin, Mihai. “Management of the ‘Syrian Refugee Crisis’: Repercussions on European Security. Impact/Measures Analysis.” *LUMEN Proceedings* 14 (2020): 227–239.
- Corbett, Eric, and Yann Loukissas. “Engaging Gentrification as a Social Justice Issue in HCI.” In *Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems - Proceedings*, 1–16, 2019.
- Corrales, Javier. “Authoritarian Survival: Why Maduro Hasn’t Fallen.” *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 3 (2020): 39–53.

- Corstange, Daniel. "The Syrian Conflict and Public Opinion among Syrians in Lebanon." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 1 (2019): 178–200.
- Cotroneo, Angela. "Specificities and Challenges of Responding to Internal Displacement in Urban Settings." *International Review of the Red Cross* 99, no. 904 (2017): 283–318.
- Crea, Thomas M., Sarah E. Neville, Antonia Diaz-Valdes, Kerri Evans, Brenda Urizar, Emily Drummer, Jose Acevedo, Olga Canelas, Marlon Medina, and Jennifer Mallman. "The McGovern-Dole Food for Education and Child Nutrition Program (MGD): A Comparative Analysis of Reading Comprehension Gains in Central America." *World Development Perspectives* 21 (2021): 100288.
- Crisp, Jeff, Tim Morris, and Hilde Refstie. "Displacement in Urban Areas: New Challenges, New Partnerships." *Disasters* 36, no. SUPPL.1 (2012): S23–S42.
- Das, Tuhin K., Sushil K. Haldar, Ivy Das Gupta, and Sayanti Sen. "River Bank Erosion Induced Human Displacement and Its Consequences." *Living Reviews in Landscape Research* 8, no. 1 (2014): 1–35.
- Debre, Maria Josepha. "Legitimation, Regime Survival, and Shifting Alliances in the Arab League: Explaining Sanction Politics during the Arab Spring." *International Political Science Review* (2020): 0192512120937749.
- Díaz Nosty, Bernardo, and Ruth A. de Frutos García. "Murders, Harassment and Disappearances. The Reality of Latin American Journalists in the XXI Century." *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social* 72, no. 72 (2017): 1418–1434.
- Doran, Marie Christine. "The Hidden Face of Violence in Latin America: Assessing the Criminalization of Protest in Comparative Perspective." *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 5 (2017): 183–206.
- Dunn, D. Elwood, and I. William Zartman. *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority. International Journal*. Vol. 51. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.
- Dunning, Tristan. "Yemen — the 'Worst Humanitarian Crisis in the World' Continues." *MUNDI* 1, no.

- December (2018): 1–18. [www.researchgate.net › publication › 329544463_Yemen..](http://www.researchgate.net/publication/329544463_Yemen..)
- Edwards, Sebastian. “On Latin American Populism, and Its Echoes around the World.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33, no. 4 (2019): 76–99.
- Eggers, Alison K. “When Is a State a State-The Case for Recognition of Somaliland.” *BC Int’l & Comp. L. Rev.* 30 (2007): 211.
- Elliott-Cooper, Adam, Phil Hubbard, and Loretta Lees. “Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, Displacement and the Violence of Un-Homing.” *Progress in Human Geography* 44, no. 3 (2020): 492–509.
- Ellner, Steve. “Venezuela’s Fragile Revolution: From Chávez to Maduro.” *Monthly Review* 69, no. 5 (2017): 1–14.
- Erman, Alvina, Sophie Anne De Vries Robbe, Stephan Fabian Thies, Kayenat Kabir, and Mirai Maruo. “Gender Dimensions of Disaster Risk and Resilience” (2021).
- Espinoza, Mauricio. “From Strangers to Neighbors: Post-Disaster Resettlement and Community Building in Honduras by Alaniz Ryan.” *The Latin Americanist* 64, no. 2 (2020): 245–246.
- Eze, Paul, Fatoum Al-Maktari, Ahmed Hamood Alshehari, and Lucky Osaheni Lawani. “Morbidity & Outcomes of a Neonatal Intensive Care Unit in a Complex Humanitarian Conflict Setting, Hajjah Yemen: 2017-2018.” *Conflict and Health* 14, no. 1 (2020): 1–10.
- Fabbe, Kristin, Chad Hazlett, and Tolga Sinmazdemir. “A Persuasive Peace: Syrian Refugees’ Attitudes towards Compromise and Civil War Termination.” *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 103–117.
- Farhi, Farideh. “State Disintegration and Urban-Based Revolutionary Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Iran and Nicaragua.” *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 2 (1988): 231–256.
- Farmer, Alice. “Remarks by Alice Farmer (as Summarized by the Moderator).” In *Proceedings of the ASIL Annual Meeting*, 113:117–118. Cambridge University Press, 2019.

- Fitzpatrick, Daniel, and Caroline Compton. "Seeing Like a State: Land Law and Human Mobility after Super Typhoon Haiyan." *SSRN Electronic Journal* 50 (2017).
- Franklin, James C. "Human Rights on the March: Repression, Oppression, and Protest in Latin America." *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2020): 97–110.
- Freier, Luisa Feline, Isabel Berganza, and Cécile Blouin. "The Cartagena Refugee Definition and Venezuelan Displacement in Latin America1." *International Migration* (2020).
- Freier, Luisa Feline, and Nicolas Parent. "The Regional Response to the Venezuelan Exodus." *Current History* 118, no. 805 (2019): 56–61.
- García Pinzón, Viviana, and Jorge Mantilla. "Contested Borders: Organized Crime, Governance, and Bordering Practices in Colombia-Venezuela Borderlands." *Trends in Organized Crime* (2020): 1–17.
- Gill, Timothy M. "Beyond the IFIs, beyond USAID in Chavista Venezuela." *Sociology of Development* 6, no. 4 (2020): 417–436.
- Gill, Timothy M. "From Promoting Political Polyarchy to Defeating Participatory Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy towards the Far Left in Latin America." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 24, no. 1 (2018): 72–95.
- Goldenberg, Shira M., Ofer Amram, Melissa Braschel, Sarah Moreheart, and Kate Shannon. "Urban Gentrification and Declining Access to HIV/STI, Sexual Health, and Outreach Services amongst Women Sex Workers between 2010-2014: Results of a Community-Based Longitudinal Cohort." *Health and Place* 62 (2020): 102288.
- Goncalves, Ricardo, Hannah Sinclair, John Bolton, Nicolas Maduro, and Mike Pompeo. "Venezuelan Opposition Leader Juan Guaidó's Attempted Uprising against President Nicolás Maduro's Government Appears to Be Petering out, despite More Violence on the Streets of Caracas Overnight." SBS TELEVISION, 2019.

- Graham, Laura. "Prosecuting Starvation Crimes in Yemen's Civil War." *Case W. Res. J. Int'l L.* 52, no. 1 (2020): 267.
- Griffith, David. "Environmental Change and Human Migration: Stylized Facts from Puerto Rico and Honduras." *Coastal Management* 48, no. 5 (2020): 1–20.
- Gurer, Cuneyt, and Arif Akgul. "Conflict, Human Displacement, and Integration: Exploring the Vulnerability of Refugees." In *Globalization and Its Impact on Violence against Vulnerable Groups*, 26–51. IGI Global, 2020.
- Gutting, Raynee Sarah. "Contentious Activities, Disrespectful Protesters: Effect of Protest Context on Protest Support and Mobilization Across Ideology and Authoritarianism." *Political Behavior* 42, no. 3 (2020): 865–890.
- Hashemi, Nader, and Danny Postel. "Sectarianization: Mapping the New Politics of the Middle East." *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 15, no. 3 (2017): 1–13.
- Hauer, Mathew E., Elizabeth Fussell, Valerie Mueller, Maxine Burkett, Maia Call, Kali Abel, Robert McLeman, and David Wrathall. "Sea-Level Rise and Human Migration." *Nature Reviews Earth & Environment* 1, no. 1 (2020): 28–39.
- Hechanova, Maria Regina, Pierce S. Docena, Liane Peña Alampay, Avegale Acosta, Emma E. Porio, Isabel E. Melgar, and Rony Berger. "Evaluation of a Resilience Intervention for Filipino Displaced Survivors of Super Typhoon Haiyan." *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 27, no. 3 (2018): 346–359.
- Hellmeier, Sebastian, and Nils B. Weidmann. "Pulling the Strings? The Strategic Use of Pro-Government Mobilization in Authoritarian Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 1 (2020): 71–108.
- Hilliger, Isabel, Margarita Ortiz-Rojas, Paola Pesántez-Cabrera, Eliana Scheihing, Yi Shan Tsai, Pedro J. Muñoz-Merino, Tom Broos, Alexander Whitelock-Wainwright, and Mar Pérez-Sanagustín. "Identifying Needs for Learning Analytics Adoption in Latin American Universities: A Mixed-

- Methods Approach.” *Internet and Higher Education* 45 (2020): 100726.
- Hirai, Wanda Griep. “Food Security and Sustainability.” *Global Social Transformation and Social Action: The Role of Social Workers: Social Work-Social Development Volume III* (2014): 47–50.
- Hubbard, Phil, and Andrew Brooks. “Animals and Urban Gentrification: Displacement and Injustice in the Trans-Species City.” *Progress in Human Geography* (2021): 030913252098622.
- Imbusch, Peter, Michel Misse, and Fernando Carrión. “Violence Research in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review.” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5, no. 1 (2011): 87–154.
- Inclán, María. “Latin America, a Continent in Movement but Where to? A Review of Social Movements’ Studies in the Region.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 44 (2018): 535–551.
- Islam, M. Rezaul, and Mehedi Hasan. “Climate-Induced Human Displacement: A Case Study of Cyclone Aila in the South-West Coastal Region of Bangladesh.” *Natural Hazards* 81, no. 2 (2016): 1051–1071.
- Islam, M. Rezaul, and M. Shamsuddoha. “Socioeconomic Consequences of Climate Induced Human Displacement and Migration in Bangladesh.” *International Sociology* 32, no. 3 (2017): 277–298.
- De Jesus, Maria, and Carissa Hernandes. “Generalized Violence as a Threat to Health and Well-Being: A Qualitative Study of Youth Living in Urban Settings in Central America’s ‘Northern Triangle.’” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16, no. 18 (2019): 3465.
- Jones, Craig E. “Transit-Oriented Development and Suburban Gentrification: A ‘Natural Reality’ of Refugee Displacement in Metro Vancouver.” *Housing Policy Debate* (2020): 1–20.
- Kappel, Rachel H., Melvin D. Livingston, Shilpa N. Patel, Andrés Villaveces, and Greta M. Massetti. “Prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and Associated Health Risks and Risk Behaviors among Young Women and Men in Honduras.” *Child Abuse and Neglect* 115 (2021): 104993.

- Kay, Cristóbal. “Reflections on Rural Poverty in Latin America.” *European Journal of Development Research* 17, no. 2 (2005): 317–346.
- Kemmer, Laura. “Free Riding Rio: Protest, Public Transport and the Politics of a Footboard.” *City and Society* 32, no. 1 (2020): 157–181.
- Kocamer Şimşek, Betül, Mehmet Dokur, Erdal Uysal, Necdet Çaliker, Oruçnuman N. Gökçe, İbrahim Kürşat Deniz, Murat Uğur, Murat Geyik, Mehmet Kaya, and Güner Dağlı. “Characteristics of the Injuries of Syrian Refugees Sustained during the Civil War.” *Ulusal Travma ve Acil Cerrahi Dergisi* 23, no. 3 (2017): 199–206.
- Kundu, Sandeep Narayan. “Geohazard Modeling Using Remote Sensing and GIS.” In *Modelling Trends in Solid and Hazardous Waste Management*, 127–139. Springer, 2017.
- Kurtenbach, Sabine. “The Limits of Peace in Latin America.” *Peacebuilding* 7, no. 3 (2019): 283–296.
- Lankina, Tomila, and Rodion Skovoroda. “Regional Protest and Electoral Fraud: Evidence from Analysis of New Data on Russian Protest.” *East European Politics* 33, no. 2 (2017): 253–274.
- Laser-Maira, Julie Anne, Charles E. Hounmenou, Donna Peach, Julie Anne Laser-Maira, Charles E. Hounmenou, and Donna Peach. “Global Commercial and Sexual Exploitation of Children.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 2020.
- Lego, Jera. “Criminalized and Vulnerable: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Thailand and Malaysia.” In *Agency and Immigration Policy*, 7–28. Transnational Press London, 2020.
- Leichtman, Mara A. “Humanitarian Aid in Yemen Through the Eyes of a Kuwaiti Role Model for Women.” *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy & Civil Society* 4, no. 2 (2020): 89–114.
- Levitsky, Steven. “Latin America’s Shifting Politics: Democratic Survival and Weakness.” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (2018): 102–113.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2018.0066><https://muse.jhu.edu/article/705721>.
- Li, Xi, Deren Li, Huimin Xu, and Chuanqing Wu. “Intercalibration between DMSP/OLS and VIIRS

- Night-Time Light Images to Evaluate City Light Dynamics of Syria’s Major Human Settlement during Syrian Civil War.” *International Journal of Remote Sensing* 38, no. 21 (2017): 5934–5951.
- Li, Yi, Yihui Ding, and Yanxiang Liu. “Mechanisms for Regional Compound Hot Extremes in the Mid-Lower Reaches of the Yangtze River.” *International Journal of Climatology* 41, no. 2 (2021): 1292–1304.
- Lopez, Joel Alexander. “Venezuelan Refugee Crisis: A Consequence of US Economic Sanctions” (2019).
- Luetz, Johannes M., and John Merson. “Climate Change and Human Migration as Adaptation: Conceptual and Practical Challenges and Opportunities.” In *Climate Action. Encyclopedia of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Vol. SDG 3-Climate Action, Earth and Environmental Science Ed., Pp. 1–13)*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71063-1_46-1, 120–132, 2020.
- Lvovich, Daniel. “Authoritarianism, Nationalism, Fascism and National Security Doctrine: The Debate on Latin American Southern Cone Dictatorships.” In *Reactionary Nationalists, Fascists and Dictatorships in the Twentieth Century*, 327–344. Springer, 2019.
- Maguire, Amy, and Amy Elton. “Extending a Collective Human Right to Address a Global Challenge: Self-Determination for Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Stateless Persons.” *Austl. Int’l LJ* 25 (2018): 227.
- Makarenko, Tamara. “The Crime-Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism.” *Global Crime Today* 6, no. 1 (2014): 129–145.
- Malagurski, Brigitta, Patrice Péran, Benjamine Sarton, Hélène Vinour, Edouard Naboulsi, Béatrice Riu, Fanny Bounes, et al. “Topological Disintegration of Resting State Functional Connectomes in Coma.” *NeuroImage* 195 (2019): 354–361.
- Malone, Mary Fran T., and Lucia Dammert. “The Police and the Public: Policing Practices and Public Trust in Latin America.” *Policing and Society* (2020): 1–16.

- Maqbool, Tajamul. “Global Scenario of Conflict Induced Displacement: A Survey of Literature.” *Research Review Journals in Research Review International Journal of Multidisciplinary* (2019): 46–50.
- Mazarr, Michael J. “The Rise and Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm Requiem for a Decade of Distraction.” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 1 (2014): 0–1.
- Mballa, Charles, Josephine Ngebeh, Machtelt De Vriese, Katie Drew, Abigayil Parr, and Chi-Chi Undie. “UNHCR and Partner Practices of Community-Based Protection across Sectors in the East and Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region” (2020).
- Mccarthy, Michael, and Jared Abbott. “Grassroots Participation in Defense of Dictatorship: Venezuela’s Communal Councils and the Future of Participatory Democracy in Latin America.” *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 43, no. 2 (2019): 95.
- McDowell, Chris. *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*. Vol. 2. Berghahn books, 1996.
- McLauchlin, Theodore. “The Loyalty Trap: Regime Ethnic Exclusion, Commitment Problems, and Civil War Duration in Syria and Beyond.” *Security Studies* 27, no. 2 (2018): 296–317.
- Mehdi, Hariri El, Sellouti Mohamed, Nguadi Jaouad, and Chhoul Hakima. “‘The Assessment of Odontophobia among Syrian Refugees at the Moroccan Military Medical and Surgical Hospital in the Zaatari Camp in Jordan and Its Influence by Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: About an Epidemiological Investigation’.” *Journal of Medical Research and Health Sciences* 3, no. 7 (2020).
- Méndez, María José. “The Silent Violence of Climate Change in Honduras: In One of the Most Environmentally Vulnerable Regions in the World, Indigenous and Rural Communities Are Fighting to Stay in the Face of Climate-Driven Displacement. Still, the Immediate Exodus Demands New International Forms of Protection for Climate Refugees.” *Nacla Report On The Americas* 52, no. 4 (2020): 436–441.

- Menjívar, Cecilia, and Andrea Gómez Cervantes. “Bureaucracies of Displacement: From Immigrants’ Social and Physical Exclusion to Their Judicial Removal.” In *The Handbook of Displacement*, 475–491. Springer, 2020.
- Millar, Ilona. “There’s No Place Like Home: Human Displacement and Climate Change.” *Australian International Law Journal* 14 (2007): 71.
- Miraglia, Paula, Rolando Ochoa, and Ivan Briscoe. “Transnational Organised Crime and Fragile States.” *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*, no. October (2012): 1–34.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and Elise Pizzi. “Natural Disasters, Forced Migration, and Conflict: The Importance of Government Policy Responses.” *International Studies Review* (2020).
- Morselli, Davide, Stefano Passini, and Craig McGarty. “Sos Venezuela: An Analysis of the Anti-Maduro Protest Movements Using Twitter.” *Social Movement Studies* (2020): 1–22.
- Naslund-Hadley, Emma, Alison Elias, Eduardo Café, and Haydée Alonzo. “Schools at a Crossroad: Integration of Migrant Students in Belize” (2020).
- Navarrete, Pablo. “Honduras: Britain Sold Spyware to Regime Responsible for Mass Human Rights Abuses.” *Green Left Weekly*, no. 1169 (2018): 18.
- Nelson-Pollard, Suzanna. “Criminal Violence in Honduras as a Driver of Displacement.” *Forced Migration Review* 56, no. 56 (2017): 14–17.
- Neumann, Pamela. “When Laws Are Not Enough: Violence against Women and Bureaucratic Practice in Nicaragua.” *Social Forces* 95, no. 3 (2017): 1105–1125.
- Neumann, Pamela J. “Transnational Governance, Local Politics, and Gender Violence Law in Nicaragua.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 60, no. 2 (2018): 61–82.
- Noulas, Anastasios, Salvatore Scellato, Renaud Lambiotte, Massimiliano Pontil, and Cecilia Mascolo. “A Tale of Many Cities: Universal Patterns in Human Urban Mobility.” *PLoS ONE* 7, no. 5 (2012): e37027.

- Obinna, Denise N. "Seeking Sanctuary: Violence Against Women in El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala." *Violence Against Women* (2020): 1077801220913633.
- Oteíza, Teresa, and Mariana Achugar. "History Textbooks and the Construction of Dictatorship." *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (2018): 305–316.
- Özdemir, R A Erol. "Effect of Syrian Refugee Crisis on Turkey." *International Symposium on Continuity and Change in North Africa, Turkey & Iran III*, no. I (2017): 2–4.
- Öztürk, Nazan, and Serkan Ayvaz. "Sentiment Analysis on Twitter: A Text Mining Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *Telematics and Informatics* 35, no. 1 (2018): 136–147.
- Page, Kathleen R., Shannon Doocy, Feliciano Reyna Ganteaume, Julio S. Castro, Paul Spiegel, and Chris Beyrer. "Venezuela's Public Health Crisis: A Regional Emergency." *The Lancet* 393, no. 10177 (2019): 1254–1260.
- Palermo, Giovanna. "Transnational Organized Crime: The Branching of Mafias Into the Global Era." In *Handbook of Research on Trends and Issues in Crime Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Victim Support*, 124–143. IGI Global, 2020.
- Patberg, Markus. "Can Disintegration Be Democratic? The European Union Between Legitimate Change and Regression." *Political Studies* 68, no. 3 (2020): 582–599.
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and John Polga-Hecimovich. "Explaining Military Coups and Impeachments in Latin America." *Democratization* 24, no. 5 (2017): 839–858.
- Pérez, Leda M., and Daniela Ugarte. "Venezuelan Women in Peru: At the Borders of Nationality, Gender, and Survival Migration." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* (2021): 1–15.
- Petersen, Roger. "Identity, Rationality, and Emotion in the Processes of State Disintegration and Reconstruction." In *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, 387–421. Oxford University Press New York, 2013.
- Podraza, Andrzej. "Geopolitical and Strategic Causes and Implications of the Syrian Civil War and the

- Refugee Crisis.” *Nação e defesa*, no. 149 (2018).
- Ponce, Arnaldo, and Norma Archila. “Assistance for and Protection of Migrants: Experience of the Honduran Red Cross.” *International Review of the Red Cross* 99, no. 904 (2017): 53–62.
- Popplewell, Rowan. “Civil Society, Legitimacy and Political Space: Why Some Organisations Are More Vulnerable to Restrictions than Others in Violent and Divided Contexts.” *Voluntas* 29, no. 2 (2018): 388–403.
- Van Praag, Oriana. “Understanding the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis.” *Wilson Centre* 28 (2019): 1–4.
<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/understanding-the-venezuelan-refugee-crisis>.
- Prado Pérez, Ruth Elizabeth. “Better Governance to Fight Displacement by Gang Violence in the Central American Triangle.” *Migraciones Internacionales* 9, no. 2 (2017): 237–243.
- Prather, Holly. “When Words Are Not Enough: The Development of Human Trafficking in Venezuela Under the Maduro Administration.” University of Mississippi, 2019.
- Rasch, Elisabet Dueholm. “Citizens, Criminalization and Violence in Natural Resource Conflicts in Latin America.” *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 103 (2017): 131–142.
- Rathod, Jayesh, Dennis Stinchcomb, Victoria Garcia, LaSarah Pillado, Marra De Luna, Ricardo Castaada, Jonathan Menkos, and Juan Urbina. “Extending Temporary Status for El Salvador: Country Conditions and U.S. Legal Requirements.” *SSRN Electronic Journal* (2018).
- Rivera, Lirio Gutiérrez. “Gender, Race, and the Cycle of Violence of Female Asylum Seekers from Honduras.” *Race, Criminal Justice, and Migration Control: Enforcing the Boundaries of Belonging* (2018): 43–57.
- Roberts, Samuel Raphael. “The Fall of Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarianism in Venezuela” (2020).
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5mj6j3t8>.
- Robinson, W Courtland. *Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement*. The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project of Internal Displacement

- Washington DC, 2003.
- Rodríguez, George. “Human Rights Groups Decry Post-Election Violence, Torture in Honduras” (2018).
- Roman, Ediberto, and Ernesto Sagás. “State Sponsored Xenophobia in the Americas.” *Florida International University Legal Studies Research Paper*, no. 20–25 (2020).
- Rosales, Antulio. “Statization and Denationalization Dynamics in Venezuela’s Artisanal and Small Scale-Large-Scale Mining Interface.” *Resources Policy* 63 (2019): 101422.
- . “Venezuela’s Deepening Logic of Extraction: The Maduro Government’s Decision to Push Ahead with the Orinoco Mining Arc Initiative Shows That Extractive Capitalism Is Alive and Well in Venezuela.” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49, no. 2 (2017): 132–135.
- Roy, Kevin, and Martha Yumiseva. “Family Separation and Transnational Fathering Practices for Immigrant Northern Triangle Families.” *Journal of Family Theory and Review* (2021).
- Runge, Carlisle Ford, and Linnea Graham. “Hunger as a Weapon of War: Hitler’s Hunger Plan, Native American Resettlement and Starvation in Yemen.” *Food Policy* 92 (2020): 101835.
- Sahin, Ecem, Tolga E. Dagli, Ceren Acarturk, and Figen Sahin Dagli. “Vulnerabilities of Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey and Actions Taken for Prevention and Management in Terms of Health and Wellbeing.” *Child Abuse and Neglect* (2020): 104628.
- Schenoni, Luis, and Scott Mainwaring. “Democracy Is in Crisis in Latin America. Brazil May Be the next Trouble Spot.” *The Washington Post* (2018).
- Schenquer, Laura. “The Uses of Culture in the Last Argentine Dictatorship (1976–1983): From Studies of Repression to Analyses of the Construction of Consensus.” *Latin American Perspectives* 47, no. 3 (2020): 186–201.
- Schmitz-Pranghe, Clara. “Protection, Reconciliation and Access to Rights for of Displaced Persons (DPs) Form Colombia and Venezuela in Ecuador Protection, Reconciliation and Access to Rights for DPs in Ecuador from Colombia and Venezuela in Ecuador” (2018).

- Schwartz, Glenn M. "From Collapse to Regeneration." *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies* 9780816521 (2010): 3–17.
- Sehnbruch, Kirsten, and Sofia Donoso. "Social Protests in Chile: Inequalities and Other Inconvenient Truths about Latin America's Poster Child." *Global Labour Journal* 11, no. 1 (2020).
- Shorack, Marna, Elizabeth Kennedy, and Amelia Frank-Vitale. "A State of Mistrust: Questionable Homicide Numbers, a Murky Police Purge, and a Pervasive Distrust of Authorities in Honduras Reveal Deep State Failures That Enable Violence and Impunity." *Nacla Report On The Americas* 52, no. 4 (2020): 404–409.
- Smajlovic, Alma, and April L. Murphy. "Invisible No More: Social Work, Human Rights, and the Syrian Refugee Crisis." *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work* 5, no. 2 (2020): 139–144.
- Sowers, Jeannie, and Erika Weinthal. "Humanitarian Challenges and the Targeting of Civilian Infrastructure in the Yemen War." *International Affairs* 97, no. 1 (2021): 157–177.
- De Stefano, Vinicius S., Matthew R. Ford, Ibrahim Seven, and William J. Dupps. "Live Human Assessment of Depth-Dependent Corneal Displacements with Swept-Source Optical Coherence Elastography." *PLoS ONE* 13, no. 12 (2019): e0209480.
- Stevens, Daniel, Benjamin G. Bishin, and Robert R. Barr. "Authoritarian Attitudes, Democracy, and Policy Preferences among Latin American Elites." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (2006): 606–620.
- Tello, Angelica M., Nancy E. Castellon, Alejandra Aguilar, and Cheryl B. Sawyer. "Unaccompanied Refugee Minors From Central America: Understanding Their Journey and Implications for Counselors." *The Professional Counselor* 7, no. 4 (2017): 360–374.
- Terminski, Bogumil. "Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Theoretical Frameworks and Current Challenges." *Development* 10 (2013): 101.
- Trejo, Guillermo, Juan Albarracín, and Lucía Tiscornia. "Breaking State Impunity in Post-Authoritarian

- Regimes: Why Transitional Justice Processes Deter Criminal Violence in New Democracies.” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 6 (2018): 787–809.
- Tybrandt, Anna. “Mind the Gap – Save Lives? A Regression Analysis Examining How Economic Inequality Affects Violent Crime, with a Special Focus on Latin America,” 2019.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay. “Cultural Approaches to Peasant Politics in the Mexican Revolution.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (1999): 269–307.
- Venezuelan, A., and James Ausman. “The Devastating Venezuelan Crisis.” *Surgical Neurology International* 10 (2019): 145.
- de Waal, Alex. “The Horn of Africa and the Yemen Crisis.” In *Global, Regional, and Local Dynamics in the Yemen Crisis*, 195–208. Springer, 2020.
- Wang, Yang, Yining Feng, Qi Han, Jian Zuo, and Raufdeen Rameezdeen. “Perceived Discrimination of Displaced People in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: The Role of Integration.” *Cities* 101 (2020): 102692.
- Warner, Koko, Charles Ehrhart, A. de Sherbinin, Susana Adamo, and Tricia Chai-Onn. “In Search of Shelter: Mapping the Effects of Climate Change on Human Migration and Displacement.” *In search of shelter: mapping the effects of climate change on human migration and displacement.*, no. January (2009).
- Watters, Ray, and Ray Watters. “Maduro Makes a Mockery of Democracy in Venezuela.” In *Rural Latin America in Transition*, 277–303. Springer, 2021.
- Weisbrot, Mark, and Jeffrey Sachs. “Punishing Civilians: U.S. Sanctions on Venezuela.” *Challenge* 62, no. 5 (2019): 299–321.
- Wheeler, Jennifer, Paul Hutchinson, and Alejandra Leyton. “Intimate Partner Violence in Honduras: Ecological Correlates of Self-Reported Victimization and Fear of a Male Partner.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* (2020): 0886260519898441.

- Wideman, Trevor J., and Jeffrey R. Masuda. "Toponymic Assemblages, Resistance, and the Politics of Planning in Vancouver, Canada." *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 36, no. 3 (2018): 383–402.
- Williams, Rebecca J., and Paige Castellanos. "Youth Perceptions of Violence in Western Honduras." *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2020): 397–414.
- Woldemariam, Samuel Berhanu, Amy Maguire, and Jason von Meding. "Forced Human Displacement, the Third World and International Law: A Twail Perspective." *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 20, no. 1 (2019): 248–276.
<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=138266597&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- World Bank. "Forcibly Displaced: Toward a Development Approach Supporting Refugees, the Internally Displaced, and Their Hosts." *Forcibly Displaced: Toward a Development Approach Supporting Refugees, the Internally Displaced, and Their Hosts*. The World Bank, 2017.
- Xu, Xin Long, Hsing Hung Chen, Yi Li, and Qi Xia Chen. "The Role of Equity Balance and Executive Stock Ownership in the Innovation Efficiency of Renewable Energy Enterprises." *Journal of Renewable and Sustainable Energy* 11, no. 5 (2019): 55901.
- Yadav, Stacey Philbrick. "Fragmentation, Disintegration, and Resurgence: Assessing the Islamist Field in Yemen." *Middle East Law and Governance* 12, no. 1 (2020): 14–34.
- Zaitch, Damián, and Georgios A. Antonopoulos. "Organised Crime in Latin America: An Introduction to the Special Issue." *Trends in Organized Crime* 22, no. 2 (2019): 141–147.
- Zaman, Akhteruz, and Jahnnabi Das. "Injustice versus Insecurity Climate-Induced Displacement in the Fijian and New Zealand Public Discourses." *Pacific Journalism Review* 26, no. 2 (2020): 102–117.
- Zhang, Xu, and Catherine A Luther. "Transnational News Media Coverage of Distant Suffering in the Syrian Civil War: An Analysis of CNN, Al-Jazeera English and Sputnik Online News." *Media*,

War & Conflict 13, no. 4 (2020): 399–424.

Zhu, Bangyan, Zhengwei Chu, Fei Shen, Wei Tang, Bin Wang, and Xiao Wang. “Land Subsidence (2004–2013) in Changzhou in Central Yangtze River Delta Revealed by MT-InSAR.” *Natural Hazards* 97, no. 1 (2019): 379–394.

Zuk, Miriam, Ariel H. Bierbaum, Karen Chapple, Karolina Gorska, and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris. “Gentrification, Displacement, and the Role of Public Investment.” *Journal of Planning Literature* 33, no. 1 (2018): 31–44.

Zulver, Julia, and Annette Idler. “Gendering the Border Effect: The Double Impact of Colombian Insecurity and the Venezuelan Refugee Crisis.” *Third World Quarterly* 41, no. 7 (2020): 1122–1140.