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Rethinking humanitarian aid & making the case for humanitarian social protection: A response to the 2019 Global Refugee Forum

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Rethinking Humanitarian Aid & Making the Case for Humanitarian Social Protection: a Response to the 2019 Global Refugee Forum

By: Zina S. Nimeh¹, Tamara A. Kool², Francesco Iacoella³, Alexander Hunns⁴

Abstract

The challenges and responsibility posed on the entire international community as a result of the increasing prevalence of the global refugee population and humanitarian emergencies is ever intensifying. While in its essence humanitarian aid seeks to alleviate some of the perils that refugees face, it transpires as insufficient and unsustainable particularly when displacement becomes protracted. This article draws attention to this issue by arguing that if social protection is viewed from a transformative lens, it could be regarded as a strategic approach to reduce deprivations and enhance resilience through strengthening the link between humanitarian aid and human development. Structurally extending coordinated social protection provisions to refugees could be a pathway forward to durable solutions. This article is written as a response to the 2019 Global Refugee Forum and tackles the complex question of extending social protection benefits to refugees while simultaneously linking the need promoting resilience of the host community through developing a framework that links humanitarian social protection to human development processes.

Keywords: Humanitarian Social Protection, Humanitarian Development Nexus, Global Refugee Forum

JEL codes: I31, I38, Y80

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I. Introduction

In December 2019, the first ever Global Refugee Forum took place in Geneva as envisioned under the Global Compact for Refugees. Over 770 pledges were made to support protection, employment and education in the host countries (UNHCR 2019). Some of the main foci appears to be resilience and positioning the refugee as economic actor which can be linked back to the debate underlying the Global Compact of Refugees (see a.o. Betts 2018; Zetter 2019). While the Comprehensive Refugee Responsive Framework and the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, that form the backbone of the Global Compact, reaffirm the commitment to providing humanitarian assistance as well as highlight the importance of arriving at self-reliance, the Global Compact fails to recognise the role for social protection to support self-reliance from a durable perspective. Its potential to contribute to a decent level of well-being among refugees, should therefore be further acknowledged, and is addressed in this article.

According to official numbers, 2019 saw the highest levels of displacement on record. Around the world, an unprecedented 70.8 million people have been forced from their homes. Among them are nearly 25.9 million refugees (UNHCR, 2019). About four-fifth of them have fled to neighbouring countries, which are usually among the low to lower middle-income countries (Puerto Gomez, et al., 2011).

Many find themselves in a protracted⁵ refugee situation and are left living in limbo with often just the bare minimum of protection (UNHCR, 2017). While historically three solutions were foreseen under the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees⁶ (UN, 1951), namely – local integration, resettlement and voluntary return – the application of those solutions remains limited. The recent Global Compact for Refugees⁷ recognises this and advocated for the need for alternative local solutions beyond local integration, which includes economic, social and cultural inclusion of refugees (UNGA, 2018).

To come to sustainable local solutions, responses alongside the trajectory of displacement should be accounted for. A critical component of survival during the initial stages for displaced

⁵ A protracted refugee situation occurs when a group of at least 25,000 people that has sought refuge in a particular host community has been displaced for a period of at least 5 years, with no prospect of a solution.

⁶ Hereafter referred to as the 1951 Refugee Convention.

⁷ Also referred to as Refugee Compact hereafter.

populations is humanitarian aid. However, this type of aid is intended as a short-term relief focusing on basic needs provisions, and lacks the sustainability of long-term funding as many pledges are made on a year to year basis (Newland, 2015) This is evident when examining how humanitarian aid has been incapable of neither reducing aid-dependency of its beneficiaries (Lakhani, 2014), nor in bridging the humanitarian-development nexus over the long term (Zetter, 2019). The urgent and pragmatic question which therefore must be asked is whether it is possible to ensure a minimum if not a decent level of well-being for those facing displacement? To answer this question, it is imperative to not only address it from a social justice perspective but also from a sustainable governance perspective.

Humanitarian social protection is a catchphrase that emerged in the development arena following the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016. The Social Protection Inter-Agency Cooperation Board (SPIAC-B) released a joint statement calling for the inclusion of social protection within any strategy to forced displacement (SPIAC-B, 2016). Recently, more attention has been placed on the evidence in favour of social protection in contexts of fragility and displacement, including discussions on the connections between humanitarian assistance and social protection to displaced populations (e.g. Gentilini, et al., 2018; Long & Sabates-Wheeler 2017, Ulrichs & Sabates-Wheeler, 2018). To this end rethinking social protection in times of need, especially post-disaster and conflict environments becomes a sensible objective. Yet, to date, this discussion has lacked an understanding of a dynamic multilevel stakeholder framework to approach the humanitarian-development nexus.

Under the international legal regime, the right to social protection is very much enshrined. The right was first stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN, 1948). This was reconfirmed in the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (UN, 1966) and many ILO Conventions. Though the ICSECR generally applies to state-led interventions, refugees who have fled borders are still to be granted the right to social security as under article 20-24 of the 1951 Refugee Convention, article 9 of the ICESCR, and article 22 and 23 of the UNDHR (UN, 1948). This is moreover confirmed in General Comment 19 on the Right to Social Protection that states that even while refugees may not have been able to contribute to social insurance schemes, they should at least have access to non-contributory social assistance (CESCR 2008). Unfortunately, by framing the refugee as a burden, rather than a potential contributor, governments tend to exclude refugees from essential social protection

schemes; this not only increases their vulnerability but moreover hinders their long-term development (Philo, et al., 2013; Robinson & Andersson, 2003).

With that said, there has been no theorisation in the development literature which combines the multiple elements involved alongside the displacement trajectory, specifically these elements include: the international and national legal regimes, policy and programme development and design, and the overarching contextual political economy. The latter also includes the negotiation element between the various actors involved. By considering those various elements, this article argues for humanitarian social protection, and proposes a multilevel stakeholder framework for humanitarian social protection. The framework can be used as a starting point for pragmatically rethinking about development aid, and can be embedded more structurally in a longer-term human development processes. The study first sets out to examine the role of the duty bearer, followed by a discussion on the nexus between humanitarian aid and social protection, and the role of social protection programme shadowing. Following the presentation of the framework, the article concludes by discussing the way forward.

II. On Rights and Moral Obligations: Social Protection for Protracted Refugees

Provisions of humanitarian assistance lack long-term sustainability, as they are primarily designed from a short-term perspective as interventions in times of crisis. However, those interventions have recurrently resulted in persistent patterns of long-term delivery of short-term aid. Despite the wide ratification of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, most refugees remain reliant on politically fungible compacts, and assistance from international non-state actors, such as the WFP and UNHCR. The extent to which they are included in the host community depends on how accommodating host states are. Many face numerous restrictions on their movement, and even some are required to live in isolated and often precarious camps, which puts them at the risk of insecurity and violence. The lack of mobility furthermore affects their access to employment and labour market participation (IOM, 2018). In turn, refugees end up being dependent upon the willingness by host governments to accommodate them, and upon the benevolence of humanitarian actors.

In rethinking the bridge from humanitarian aid to human development, we turn to the fields of humanitarian response and social protection need to be considered. Both fields have witnessed

an axiomatic shift in recent years. On the side of humanitarian response, the trend has been moving away from the language of resilience and ‘bouncing back’ to a position of ‘build back better’ encompassing the development rhetoric in the language of emergency response (Béné, et al., 2012; Tanner, et al., 2017). On the side of social protection, there was a shift from the concept of social assistance to the concept of social risk management (Holzmann & Jørgensen, 2000) and then to the conception of transformative social protection (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004). The central thesis of a transformative social protection paradigm is that it goes beyond risk prevention, mitigation, and coping (usually focused on a narrower range of safety-net style instruments). It provides a shift towards thinking about processes where social protection encapsulates social justice beyond managing risk to dealing with social exclusion and discrimination.

Beyond the conceptual however, social protection provisions are exclusive to citizens and residents of a particular state, and often exclude non-citizens (Weissbrodt, 2008). Despite being able to benefit from the dominant tools of social assistance via cash transfers, vouchers or in-kind aid, refugees partake in programmes which mainly focus on risk coping and alleviation of poverty. Theoretically and practically these programmes aren’t obliged to tackle anything beyond the short term. The language of transformative social protection measures prompts us to think beyond the conventional to a more long term perspective which takes a country context and needed social transformations into consideration. Ideally, this would include granting socio-economic rights to refugees. However, as stipulated in article 2(3) in the International Covenant for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), developing countries may restrict to an extent economic rights to non-citizens (UN 1966). This raises the question whose obligation is the provision of a decent level of well-being and to ensure that no one is left behind as envisioned under the SDGs?

Within the social justice perspective, Rawls (1971) claims that in forming legitimate governing bodies, people will demand that these bodies deliver a form of justice which provides them with the basic protection against ill-treatment and hardship. Rawls however rejects the extension of this duty of redistribution beyond the nation. On the other hand, as Charles Beitz (2005) points out, Rawls also holds positions that yield a reason why citizens in rich countries should support policies aimed at helping at least some poor societies. In particular, his works on cosmopolitanism, Beitz argues that a global distributive justice pertains not only to inter-country transfer payment (i.e. foreign aid), but also with ‘the basic structure of international

society – that is, the economic, political and legal institutions and practices that influence the global distribution of advantages’ (ibid., 24).

Subsequent theorists, Thomas Pogge (1989) and David Miller (2004), have sought to extend Rawls’ theory beyond the border of a nation and determine a State’s responsibility to those beyond its border (Brock, 2013; Miller, 2004; Pogge, 1989). Of critical relevance here is the notion of global responsibility for actions which have consequences detrimental to a global population. In line with the Kantian concept of social justice (Kant, 1949), when applied to global realities, historical and economic considerations, there is a global responsibility for the well-being of others beyond the borders of the state (Tan, 1997). Subsequently, according to Pogge (1989) it becomes extremely difficult for a major power to distance itself from responsibility for actions (often through colonial relations) which have detrimentally affected another nation, and therefore the international community owe a debt of obligation to the relief of the individual suffering and poverty as a consequence of these colonial exploitation or other such abuses of power. Miller (2004) continues with this line, and advocates that any state has a moral responsibility to alleviate the situation of refugees if it did act in direct contradiction to their needs or by failing to take positive remedial steps.

While concurring with this reasoning, it is important to stress however that although a sovereign government still holds a primary responsibility for all people residing within its territory from both a human rights and a political philosophy perspective, it ought to be recognised that governments cannot be held solely responsible in situations with transnational implications, such as conflict. This responsibility should also be shared and upheld by the international community as also referred to in the *Travaux Préparatoires* of the Refugee Convention regarding paragraph 5 in the preamble (UN 1951b). However, the issue of responsibility is also where it becomes complicated. Negotiations between international bodies, host country and other nations will be required to achieve burden sharing (Gottwald, 2014).

To better understand where the plenitude of actors come in, it should be recognised that refugees and internally displaced persons are subject to different legal regimes with different duty bearers. Further, different actors are involved in terms of service design and delivery for those groups which would otherwise fall outside state-based social protection provision. These actors range from international organisations and national governments to civil society (both international and local). The heterogeneity of actors, however, could lead to incoherent policies

and programmes, without universal eligibility, oversight or accountability and may lead to inefficient resource allocation and coverage gaps with significant impacts on lives.

In the onset of rapidly evolving military conflict, the responsibility axis and type of provision may be even more difficult to assign. Upon the outbreak of violence, displaced persons are likely to either be displaced internally or if they have the provisions in place, flee to their nearest neighbouring country. In case of internal displacement, the challenge arises in ensuring people's human rights as citizens of the state and thus fall under the responsibility of the state, they may have been displaced following military action by the government. Still in Article 1 of the Guiding Principles on Displaced Persons (United Nations, 1998), it is urged that non-discrimination ought to take place and they should maintain the same rights as under international and domestic law. While the primary duty lies with national authorities, international actors may offer humanitarian services and as specifically stated in Article 25, consent ought not to be withheld for arbitrary reasons. Therefore, negotiations for delivery of protection may need to be carried out with both the state and the entity controlling a particular territory. Unfortunately, too often actors are unable to reach the places where aid is needed most, and national social protection systems may collapse.

In the case of forced migration across borders, this happens to an extent on the grounds of ease, combined often with cultural and/or familial ties (Castles, et al., 2013; Mallett & Hagen-Zanker, 2018). Consequently, the burden falls on the neighbouring state (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; Puerto Gomez, et al., 2011; Kritzman-Amir, 2009). The prevention of secondary movements or resettlement to countries proves very difficult for a variety of exigent reasons, evidenced by the low numbers of resettled people. The securitisation of the travel through stringent visa application and rejection processes often make refugees the problem of a random nearest-neighbour state (Bourbeau, 2011; Czaika & Hobolth, 2016). While this is often accompanied by a burst of activity from the international community, this aid is often delivered as charitable relief and as such interest wains over time as new issues come to set the agenda (Loescher, 2014). As such, in the absence of a redistributive policy or voluntary return, the people will remain within the state left to the bare minimum of protection as on all sides. political interest weakens. The international community begins to withdraw, and politicians in the host country face their own challenges. This highlights the need for a rights-based internationally supported humanitarian social protection system.

III. Social Protection and the Bridging of humanitarian-development divide

While the transition from humanitarian aid to development is difficult, it is an essential stepping stone. Though in domestic law refugees are seen as non-citizens and may or may not be governed by domestic refugee legislation, states have a responsibility under the international human rights law to provide them with access to social protection (cf. 1951 Refugee Convention, ICESCR, UDHR). The challenge lies in developing a system where international actors and governmental actors provide a social protection system that encapsulate both refugees and citizens.

The traditional paradigm of humanitarian aid in contexts of forced displacement includes programmes by both governmental and international actors. These programmes are aimed at providing immediate food aid, shelter, education, healthcare or protection, and tend to focus on basic needs as a coping strategy. And while recognising the need for humanitarian response to be ‘context-relevant’ has been increasing (Campbell, 2018), many of these programmes are tailored to the donor’s design, can be just replicates of other programmes, or overlooks the context in which a programme is set in.

There are however schemes that can be considered as seeking to bridge the humanitarian-development gap through their policies; two examples include the Uganda’s Self-Reliance Scheme as well as the Jordan Response Plan for the Syrian Crisis⁸. Both cases tend to recognise the agency of refugees and aim to support this through active labour market policies. Additionally, the two programmes seek to go beyond a programme that merely considers the needs of refugees as in both cases the governments and UNHCR strive to reduce poverty and mitigate risk among both vulnerable refugees and their host communities (World Bank, 2016; Jordan Response Platform 2016). These cases highlight that by incorporating local leadership, host communities, and refugees in the decisional process over matters of inclusion, labour distribution, and poverty, the programme has the potential to move from the humanitarian realm to a more inclusive developmental domain.

⁸ ‘The Jordan Response Plan for the Syrian Crisis 2017-2019’ includes components on livelihood opportunities as set out in the Jordan Compact that was adopted in London in 2016.

Aside from establishing programmes aimed at economic inclusion with potential into certain national social protection schemes, there is also an increasing focus on multi-purpose cash assistance that permits a certain level of autonomy on the side of the beneficiary (CaLP, 2018). Yet, this is still relatively small in terms of total humanitarian aid expenditure (Harvey, 2016). Its success furthermore proves to be dependent on local markets, objectives and interaction with other types of aid amongst others (Bailey and Harvey, 2015). Alignment with other programmes can and should be sought in developing an overarching strategy – this includes national social protection programmes.

Indeed, the agenda of the May 2016 World Humanitarian Summit revolved around consolidating efforts of building national social protection systems alongside those of the humanitarian community. The joint statement by the SPIAC-B (2016) explicitly asks how Social Protection systems can support an enhanced humanitarian system to work towards the ‘no one is left behind’ objective as set out in the 2030 agenda (UNGA, 2015). To accelerate the linkages between social protection in its developmental nature and humanitarian activities, unequivocal actions need to be taken, including government commitments, financial resource management, and coordinated efforts among the actors. However, the challenge lies in fostering cooperation to generate sustainable responses which not only temporarily aid people affected by crisis, but that also include long-term livelihood opportunities for them.

This particularly holds in cases of so-called aid dependency where households in a protracted refugee situation have been on the end of receiving social protection in the form of regular cash-based transfers and safety net provisions. Recent research on the impacts of cash-based transfers as humanitarian relief, argues that not only effects of cash-based transfers on household food security and nutrition are comparable to the effects of food aid, transfers may also have a larger impact on refugees’ savings and asset ownership (Doocy and Tappis, 2017). Besides cash-based transfers, international organisations and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have been providing the forcibly displaced with other forms of social protection, consisting of in-kind, shelter, and health care and education (both within and outside camps).

International agencies commit vast resources to providing health care, education, and in-kind assistance to individuals in displacement. At the same time, the use of social protection in the form of cash-based transfers in humanitarian protection is growing, and there are indicators of progress, albeit slow, for the inclusion of displaced people in national social protection systems

(CaLP, 2018). To exemplify, the 2018 national refugee response plan by UNHCR and the Ethiopian government specifies concretely in their objective the need to “facilitate local integration in instances of protracted displacement; [...] and provide access to vital events documentation to facilitate increased access to basic and essential social services” (UNHCR, 2017b, 6).

However, the general focus on coping mechanisms alone remains present, even though protracted refugee situations are not quickly solved. On average, refugees face displacement for 10.3 years with some stretching into decades with no clear end in sight (DeVictor 2019). This potentially results into the generation of negative cycles of deprivations along multiple generations. To overcome sole reliance on basic needs provision, it is necessary to build on the agency of refugees that comes with ensuring a life in dignity by providing access to health, education and the labour market whether in- or outside camps. Therefore, the role of social protection in bridging both the so-called ‘humanitarian- development divide’ and the dilemma of meeting long-term needs with short-term humanitarian funding cannot be understated.

IV. Extending Social Protection Coverage to Refugees

The intended provision of regular and predictable transfers is one of the main features of social protection systems and instruments that households can rely on and benefit from. Dependent on the design of the programme, it offers the potential to provide the needed foundation for long-term livelihood development. To understand how the transition from humanitarian aid to development led programming may take place, elements of a shock-responsive social protection (SRSP) design come into play (e.g. Ulrichs and Sabates-Wheeler 2018; Seyfert et al. 2019). A study by Oxford Policy Management (OPM) identified five mechanisms, namely: design tweaks, piggybacking, horizontal expansion, vertical expansion, and shadow alignment (O’Brien et al., 2018). While a combination of mechanism can be employed, shadow alignment in particular lends itself for adaptation to the refugee context. By developing a humanitarian response which is aligned from its initiation with current social protection systems, future incorporation of those systems into fully-fledged country systems becomes easier; even if it’s only from the technical perspective. Examples of shadow alignment programmes include the case of Mali where with emergency cash-transfers for food insecure households has the same value and frequency in North Mali as in South Mali in case of internally displaced persons (ibid.); or the case of Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) for Syrian refugees in Turkey

which is run by Turkey's existing social assistance offices and harmonised according to national social protection schemes already in place. Within the ESSN, Syrian refugees are registered within the national system to allow for eventual incorporation into national schemes in case they are granted citizenship (Capacity4DEV, 2017; Smith, 2017).

In a 2018 mapping of social safety nets (SSN) by the UNHCR (2018b), the potential for alignment between humanitarian cash assistance and Social Safety Nets (SSNs) in forced displacement situations was further explored. It considered various aspects of SSN, including programme design, targeting and the legal and regulatory framework. Out of the 18 countries studied, the mapping found that inclusion could happen in four countries and may be possible in ten. Alignment of cash transfer to national social protection programmes as a long-term sustainable solution is, therefore, certainly possible. Combined with any or none of the other mechanisms referred to by the OPM, approaches may be taken to move towards nation-led social protection schemes.

The question however remains not just how response measures such as cash transfer programmes should be designed but also to what extent alignment to other social protection components, such as access to education, access to livelihood and access to health, should be sought. Evidence shows that the success of unrestricted cash transfer programmes depends on markets, objectives and interaction with other types of aid (e.g. Harvey and Pavanello, 2018). It can help savings and allow for smoothing of consumption, as it may take away an element of stress on the side of recipients. A study on cash grants in Jordan showcases that as families are able to pay rent, money for education-related costs becomes available. Thus, the cash grants are able to counter negative coping strategies such as child labour and/or taking children out of school (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2017).

Nonetheless, the potential of cash transfers still depends on politics, regulations, capacity, and fiscal space as also argued earlier in this article. Extending social protection to refugees is not a straightforward matter. It is challenging and will very much depend on the context. A crucial point to highlight is that in some circumstances the host community (or segments of it) suffers a similar and at times even worse level of deprivation than its refugee community (UNHCR, 2019). Any new system must therefore be sensitive to this.

A framework that seeks to bridge the humanitarian-development divide should thus not only build on best practices in its design but, above all, should go beyond the mere provision of aid

by aligning social protection provision to refugees alongside the one received by host communities. Crucial elements that ought to be considered include a vulnerability assessment, mapping of existing social protection programmes, and a fiscal analysis. These components are paramount to coming to more sustainable programming for those affected. Thus, humanitarian assistance takes on a broader role: of not only temporarily assisting but rather building a base for more medium and longer-term development and future government scale-up. This starts with the political will by all stakeholders to recognise and understand the context.

V. A Process Framework for Humanitarian Social Protection

Bringing the prior discussion together, a Theory of Change (ToC) is developed to visualise taking an approach of input of displacement to an impact of development. The initial conditions of forced displacement form the starting point of any design that ultimately develops into the delivery of transformative social protection – see Graph 1. This ToC is grounded in cosmopolitanism and recognises the responsibility of the plenitude of actors as discussed in section II. Inputs for the input-impact model include both the causes that have generated forced displacement and the strategies adopted by international, national, and local, private and public stakeholders to address the crisis. The intended impact is the provision of inclusive and equitable social protection to ensure a sustainable level of well-being for all, forcibly displaced included (see graph 1 below).

Graph 1: Input-Impact process frame



Based on the authors' compilation

This consequential and parsimonious frame allows for an amalgamation of processes of policy designs and implementation. Its prospective nature allows us to examine interrelated and interacting elements and to understand the mechanisms as set out under a transformative social

protection perspective by which access to healthcare, education, food and shelter is shaped, how basic needs are met, and how people are able to engage on the labour market.

The innovative element of the framework lies in the process component that enables actors to turn inputs into outputs and eventually lead to impact. In addition to being constrained by budget and funding priorities on the side of donors, a major limitation in current aid programme structures is that they tend to adopt a standardised un-contextualised course of action that acts in silo from other programmes to achieve desired outputs based on the type of crisis they are facing (Konyndyk, 2018; ICVA, 2017; ECOSOC, 2016). The nature of these programmes prevents any prognosis for long-term impact, conversely, history tells us that crises are not static; they are complex and evolve with time, shaped by external and internal factors and requiring practical and transformative solutions to be continuously investigated. Thus, within the process component, all stakeholders including refugees should be taken into consideration when it comes to designing the course of action.

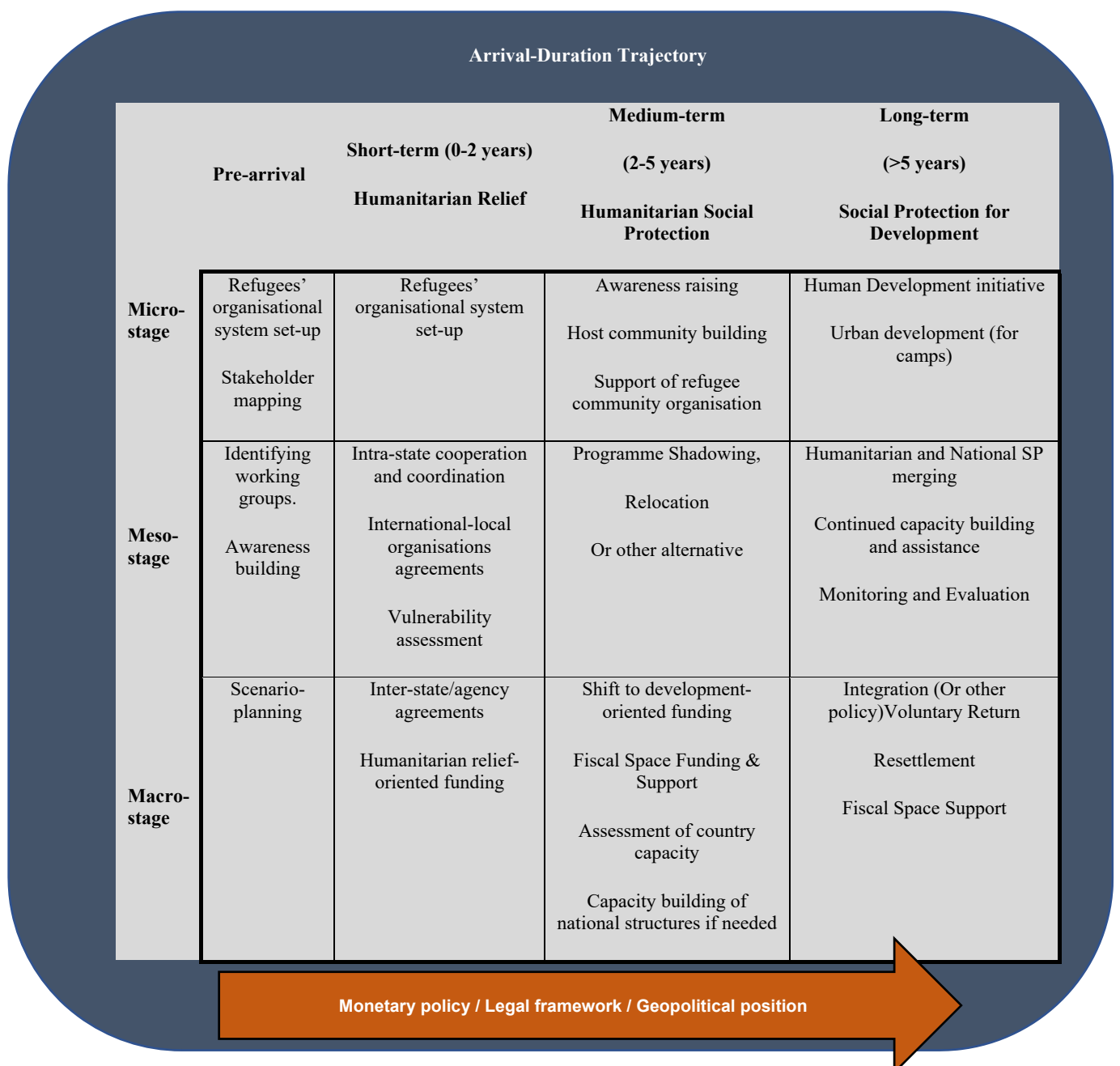
Therefore, a comprehensive multi-stakeholder framework for a humanitarian transformative social protection is needed to guide aid programmes to ensure a decent level of well-being for those displaced. This framework would provide a basic structure underlying the overall process of moving humanitarian aid into social protection systems, especially when protracted refugees are concerned. A dynamic humanitarian social protection framework (see Graph 2) allows for suitable policy framing, and shift from Humanitarian Relief to Humanitarian Social Protection, and ultimately development.

Two axes should be considered within the framework, namely both a temporal dimension as well as governance levels. This operational framework concurs that initially aid must be delivered in the fastest and most efficient way possible, from that point on, we need to rethink moving towards an integrated transformative system by considering the various stages of pre-arrival, in the short-term, medium-term, and long-term period. The actions identified are examples of potential approaches that could be taken at different stages, yet are by no means exhaustive. It needs to be recognised that the various stages of displacement could overlap at points in time.

Further, different levels of governance should be considered. Moreover, we differentiate between actions according to the various levels at which they take place. On a micro-level, individual and organisational activities should be considered. At a meso-level, the policy

approach at state is the main driver for the various activities. Lastly, at macro-level, debates and actions that fall under an international umbrella should be included. Recognising that different actors may be involved at different levels, it is imperative to involve decision making stakeholders (for example relevant national bodies) as well as invest in institutional cooperation as soon as it is feasible (see also Seyfert et al. 2019; Cornelius, 2018). The type of interaction should be based on institutional linkages and historical ties, which is highly contextual (see for example the case of Botswana vs South Africa as discussed in Makhema (2009)).

Graph 2: Multilevel stakeholder framework for Humanitarian Social Protection to Development Process Framework



Based on the authors' compilation

Ideally, humanitarian social protection occurs 1 to 2 years after the displacement started to prevent long term dependency on short term funding and its corresponding short-term programming. In the medium term, both support by the host country and international community are essential to start transitioning from humanitarian relief to humanitarian protection, building assistance for refugees by shadowing national social protection schemes already in place while at the same time raising awareness and strengthening the capacity of local and community level among both displaced and hosts; such as strengthening refugee community organisations that offer (informal) social protection (e.g. Betts et al., 2018). One possible approach might be developing agreements aimed at building capacity to ensure the success of the transition as many countries might not have the capacity to expand their social protection schemes to the refugees. A potential avenue for strengthening national programmes may be motivated by the fact that quite some existing social protection schemes are already funded by external actors (Gentilini et al., 2018). This would require to an extent rethinking of existing earmarked budget to allow for flexibility to adjust in times of crises.

Considering the reality of prolonged refugee situations, the objectives for assistance and funding need to shift from coping-oriented to development-oriented; to finance projects aimed at structural change to build a sustainable future for displaced and host communities; and to assist the hosting country in ensuring the prolonged settlement of refugees within its national boundaries does not generate a crisis. After five years, refugees and IDPs enter the stage of protracted displacement. This is when Humanitarian Social Protection should merge into National Social Protection Systems albeit with administrative and funding support by the international community. Strategically incorporating the refugees into a national programme and looking beyond the reception policies per se allows governments to become proactive as opposed to reactive. It is imperative elements to counter stigmatisations and socio-economic exclusion of refugees are included in the design of this stage.

The time-differentiated process described above must be accompanied by an accurate understanding and a regular review of monetary policy, legal frameworks and geopolitical positioning. Without careful consideration of fiscal space, the positioning of refugees within the national framework and the international relations between the host country and other donor countries, any efforts to capacity building and strengthening national systems will not succeed

though both are imperative to come to a state-led social protection system. As argued prior, a strong legal framework based on the principles of cosmopolitanism and social protection extension is needed to define rights of forcibly displaced throughout the various phases. Further, national and international monetary policy should be adjusted to find fiscal space for refugee integration, but also to benefit from the added value brought by forcibly displaced. Yet, as the international equilibrium⁹, and international politics and norm dynamics may very well affect the conduct of governments and international and national agencies in dealing with displacement, the geopolitical position of the hosting and displacement-generating countries has to be taken into consideration when it comes to designing pathways.

VI. Conclusions and way forward

Within the adoption of the Global Compact for Refugees (UNGA, 2018), the recognition of the long-term challenge of hosting refugees has been firmly established by the international community. Still the challenge to come to truly local solutions as set out in the Refugee Compact, underlines the urgency to come to a form of social protection that is grounded in on cosmopolitanism: bringing together existing systems and a groundswell of support for a more inclusive and transformative model; a model backed by the political, moral and financial will of all stakeholders.

This article aims to shift the perspective on forced migration towards a more proactive way of thinking; to ensure that the short-term needs are met in a long-term framework; to ensure that when the spotlight shifts when a new crisis starts, refugees are not left in the dark. It advocates for programmes that incorporate a transformative long-term component, which would enable both host communities and the refugees to become resilient in facing repercussions of protracted settings in the future.

Throughout this article the necessity of providing social protection for forced migrants has been reiterated. Recognising the inherently difficult political economic repercussions surrounding its provisions, social protection shadowing is proposed as a pivotal element to come to a development led approach. Within debate, the various stakeholders involved, ranging

⁹ We refer here to power and present norms in international relations, for more see (Finnemore & Sikkink, (1998)) (Liska, 1957) (Brecher, 2019)

from State actors to IOs, (I)NGOs and national civil society actors, that interact to fill gaps through the provision of humanitarian aid are accounted for.

Employing a prospective input-impact model, the envisioned trajectory seeks to come to a truly transformative social justice. Within this model the process element should be regarded as a dynamic multilevel stakeholder framework that moves alongside the displacement trajectory. This model is governed by the discussion as set out before recognising the multiple stakeholders, political economy, and legal rights shaping the trajectory.

The next stage of this debate should encompass a two-tier approach. On the one hand, one should further investigate in depth how to methodically approach the reviewing of monetary policy, legal frameworks and geopolitical positioning within the context of the proposed multilevel stakeholder framework. On the other hand, case studies on the various components of the framework should be conducted to provide an evidence-based research that can demonstrate how to operationalise the framework.

The prospective framework thus provides guidance on how humanitarian relief could evolve into social protection within a long-term goal of a sustainable level of well-being for all. What is needed is a system that is not only protective but also holistically transformative; this is particularly critical in contexts of enduring, conflict-driven displacement, where the needs transcend the basic. Thus, this framework contributes to the achievement of SDG 1 in which social protection is accessible to all, regardless of one's status.

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