

2. Semester Project
Social Entrepreneurship and Management

Creating enabling environments for forcefully displaced people

An investigation of livelihood assistance

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1 Abstract

This paper explores to what extent livelihood assistance contributes to promoting self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods of forcibly displaced people. The topic has been explored through interviewing experts in the field and applying a thematic analysis method. The project teams' interest, in particular, lies in examining approaches that are used to improve forcibly displaced migrants' livelihoods in the long term. Challenges in livelihood assistance, the innovativeness of the humanitarian and development sectors as well as the extent of people centeredness of livelihood programs have been explored. The results show that international agencies provide assistance by facilitating access to the job market which aims to help refugees to become self-reliant. However, restrictive state regulations, such as encampment policies, as well as the mismatch between stakeholder communication and the malfunction and lack of innovation in the aid sector prevent assistance efforts from expanding their scope and reach. While practitioners in the field are aware of the need for and the benefits of people centred approach, both the complex nature of displaced livelihoods as well as the inefficiencies of humanitarian assistance complicates the possibilities for it to be implemented. To conclude, livelihood assistance has the potential to be the intermediary between people's aspirations, market opportunities and local development, however, there is a need for a change of how the livelihoods assistance is designed and implemented if it is to live up to this potential.

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3 Introduction and purpose of the project

At the basis of formation of this project group is a shared interest in exploring ways of creating enabling environments and long-term strategies for providing assistance to newcomers that have experienced forced displacement. The researchers recognize that forced migration is a wicked problem with a multitude of layers, involving a vast variety of societal, political and economic issues as well as numerous overlapping stakeholders. For that reason, researchers recognize that there is no singular end solution for the issues linked to forced migration. Nevertheless, there is an urgent need for a shift from short-term relief-based thinking to long term integration strategies as protracted refugee situations are becoming more common. The following paragraph will briefly introduce the research area as well as the particular research focus and interest.

3.1 Background of the study

The number of forcibly displaced people worldwide has hit an all-time high by reaching 68.5 million in 2018, consisting of 40 million Internally Displaced People (IDPs), 25.4 million refugees and 3.1 million asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2018a). Although the unexpected influx of refugees in Europe in 2015 uncovered some dramatic inefficiencies of the asylum system of the European Union (EU) and gave birth to what now is known as European refugee crisis (European Parliament, 2017), Europe is far from carrying the heaviest burden - 85% of world's' displaced people are located in developing countries with Turkey, Uganda, Pakistan, and Lebanon hosting the highest numbers of refugees (UNHCR, 2018a). Between European states being caught off-guard and the main refugee-host countries being gravely overwhelmed, forcefully displaced migrants are caught in a limbo where attempts to rebuild their lives come through additional hardship and struggle.

3.2 Problem area and Delimitations

In the scope of this research paper, the researchers focus on the efforts of the allies of forcibly displaced communities rather than the inner workings of the resistance. Although it is of great importance to analyse the reasons behind the anti-immigration sentiment and the consequential lack of political will that comes with it, the researchers also find it of high importance to analyse the work of those who are providing concrete efforts to alleviate the refugee crisis. Diligent analysis of proposed *solutions* is needed to assess their potential as well as possible pitfalls in order to create sustainable, evidence-based strategies for assisting forcibly displaced individuals in recreating their lives. The project teams' interest, in particular, lies in examining what approaches do practitioners, researchers and change agents currently explore, promote and deem as innovative in regard to refugee assistance initiatives that go beyond the humanitarian aid and address long-term needs of forcibly displaced migrants.

After the first phase of the literature review aiming to fill in the project teams' common knowledge gaps, researchers succeeded in pinpointing the main subject of interest of the research paper: refugee self-reliance and livelihood assistance. Going through various case studies, research as well as articles by practitioners in the field, it was identified that promotion of refugee self-reliance and livelihoods is currently at the focus of major actors in humanitarian assistance and development work (e.g. United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Women's Refugee Council, Danish Refugee Council, RefugeePoint). Literature also indicated a call for a paradigm shift in how refugee assistance is implemented and understood, and it can be best summarized as a need for a move "from delivering aid to ending need" (Agenda for Humanity, 2016). What is meant by that is reducing peoples' dependency of humanitarian assistance by helping building refugees' self-reliance, and autonomy through supporting the development of their livelihoods and, by extension, inclusion in the host society (Betts, 2014). Betts and Collier provide a longer explanation of the same sentiment:

“Central to this vision is the idea that refugees do not have to be understood just as a humanitarian issue; they can also be seen as a development issue. Humanitarianism may be appropriate during an emergency phase but beyond that it is counter-productive. ‘Development’ means many things to many people, but it can be broadly understood as an approach that attempts to enhance long-term human welfare, whereas ‘humanitarianism’ is simply about the short-term alleviation of suffering. The humanitarian toolbox offers food, clothing, and shelter; it focuses exclusively on refugees and their vulnerabilities. The development toolbox offers employment, enterprise, education, healthcare, infrastructure, and governance; it focuses on both refugees and host communities, and it builds upon the capacities of both rather than just addressing vulnerabilities.” (Betts & Collier, 2017, p.142)

There is a general sense from the discourses employed that promotion of refugees’ self-reliance and livelihoods is a new, innovative approach - e.g. United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) calls this “progressive solutions” (Betts, 2014).

However, encouraged by the Schumpeter’s view on the importance of history in understanding entrepreneurship and innovation (Fagerberg, 2005), researchers sought information on the historical process of structural changes linked to self-reliance and livelihood programs. Indeed, the historical perspective has given a valuable insight questioning the novelty and innovative nature of the “self-reliance approach”.

Due to the absence of historical knowledge of past practices, “refugee livelihoods are currently discussed mainly as a self-evident concept or a new phenomenon altogether” (Easton-Calabria, 2014, p.20). However, if the concept would indeed be so self-evident wouldn’t there be more sustainable solutions to the issues surrounding it? And as for the novelty of the phenomenon of refugee livelihoods Easton-Calabria’s research shows that in reality there is historical evidence that indicates that most of the “innovative” approaches concerning self-reliance and livelihoods of displaced populations such as agricultural production in settlements, vocational training, and micro-finance have been in use since as far as the 1920s.

There has, however, been a consequential shift in the way livelihood programmes and efforts to promote self-reliance are designed and brought about. Trough providing historical examples of how refugees assistance has developed starting from the aftermath of First World War throughout the interwar period and after Second World

War, Easton-Calabria illustrates the transition from bottom-up to a top-down model in the planning and execution of assistance programmes. There has been a move away from a “participatory refugee regime” (ibid), with a high degree of involvement of the beneficiaries that was characteristic of the interwar period towards a “large-scale foreign-led development projects” after Second World War, where “settlement was no longer funded or co-led by refugees but by organizations and institutions” (ibid). Refugee involvement in all levels of assistance programming was replaced by hiring western experts and the results of that change “constrained refugees’ livelihoods strategies and reduced [their] potential for self-reliance” (ibid.). More importantly, the main characteristic of this refugee asylum regime such as the absence of extensive and profound knowledge of the subject matter and the local context, as well as inadequate or non-existent efforts to engage the displaced community, have remained strongly present in the refugee assistance efforts today.

3.3 Aim of Research and Research Questions

These aforementioned findings have led to the following theory-based problem-formulation, with three research questions:

To what extent do the current livelihood assistance efforts promote sustainable livelihoods?

1. What are the challenges of livelihood assistance?
2. To what extent can livelihood assistance provide a basis for long-term, innovative solutions to promote refugee self-reliance?
3. To what extent current livelihood assistance is people-centred?

3.4 Chapter Outline

To begin with it is important to point out that the list of abbreviations and the chapter of terminology for this paper can be found in Appendix A and B. The paper is opening with a methodological framework of the study which will be introduced and elaborated upon, expressing the reasoning for chosen philosophy of science, methods

for collecting empirical data, possible biases and analysis strategy. This will be followed by an introduction to the livelihoods approach through firstly, a literature review of existing research in on the topic in social sciences and migration studies and afterwards the presentation of chosen theories. Through the analysis the researchers attempt to come closer to answering the problem formulation, through two main parts. The first part focuses on describing livelihoods, self-reliance and methods used in current livelihood assistance efforts, whereas the second part will target the challenges related to livelihood assistance, and by extension, to what extent these activities are people centred. In the discussion the analysis will be developed further with the aim of finding alternative explanations of the findings, especially around the EU response towards the refugee crisis. Ending on elaborating on the main findings through the conclusion.

4 Research Methodology

The following chapter elaborates upon the applied methodologies. The chosen philosophy of science will be presented, and the research strategy elaborated upon.

4.1 Philosophy of science: Critical Realism

Critical realism established in the 1970's as a mix of positivism and social constructivism. Thereby, Roy Bhaskar is repeatedly mentioned as the main thinker in this philosophy of science and is hence used as a guide for the application of critical realism in this project.

Within this philosophy of science, science is described as a reality that exists and acts independently of our knowledge of it (Bhaskar, 2016). It enables researchers to investigate unknown causes of known phenomenon and thereby identify mechanisms that generate the events. It aims to reveal the root causes of problems. Bhaskar (2016) further argues that knowledge is changeable and socially produced. However, structures are relatively or absolutely independent causally as well as independent of us and our knowledge. In contrast to other philosophies of sciences, critical realism believes that ontology influences epistemology. This means that the way we generate knowledge about our world is determined by the way our world exists (Bhaskar, 2016). It is through theories and scientific methods that we understand the nature of reality.

Society is constituted of different individuals, while at the same time these individuals are influenced by society. Thereby, this mechanism - the interplay between these two - is important. Bhaskar further argues that social structures are causally efficacious, which means that one event influences the other. This is further described in his transformational model of social action. In this concept social interactions keep social structures alive. However, individuals influence these social interactions and can transform and change them.

Furthermore, mechanisms exist independently from events or power and interact with each other in several levels within open systems. The domains of the reality are created and differentiated between the "*real*", which is composed of natural and

social objects, structures and mechanisms, the “*actual*”, which constitutes of the events that happen when the different mechanisms are activated and the “*empirical*”, which describes how the events are perceived. A visualisation of this described concept can be found below.

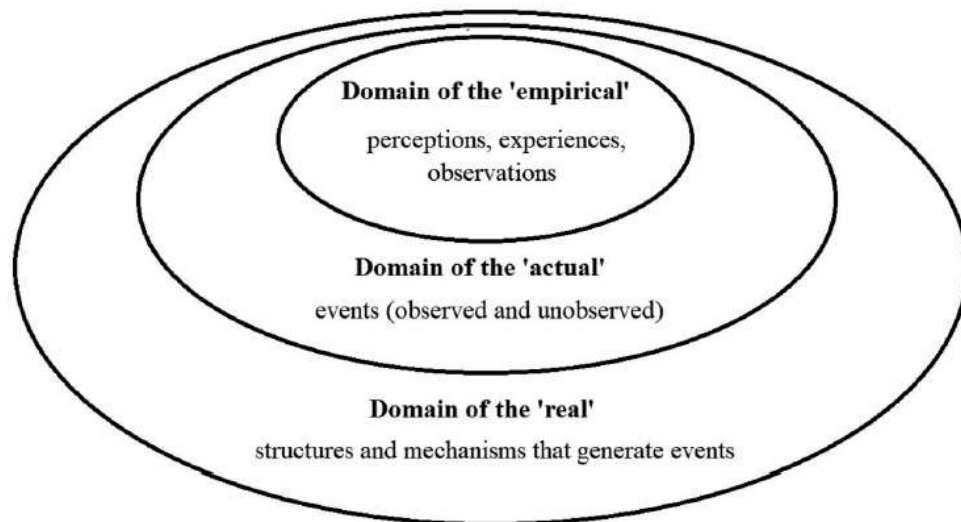


Image: Critical realist view of stratified reality (Mingers, 2004)

It can be concluded that reality is composed by causes and mechanisms which can only be indirectly observed through experiencing events (Danermark, 2002). In this research paper, we aim to identify mechanisms and causes which help us to understand the involvement of refugees in the design of livelihood programs. In order to be able to do this, all the different objects operating within this system need to be theoretically defined which helps to understand the variety of mechanisms. It is necessary to reproduce conditions and test the empirical ground for causal laws.

The researchers believe that a reality exists independently from our knowledge and therefore want to investigate mechanisms and causal relations of livelihood programming. Furthermore, the researchers believe in the interviewees knowledge and draw conclusions based on the research findings. Also, the critical realism approach

influenced the way the interview guideline was designed, as first theoretical assumptions were made which were further tested and elaborated upon through the answers of the practitioners. Also, the researchers constantly tried to identify mechanisms that influence the phenomena of livelihood programming, striving for identification of interlinkages and structures.

4.2 Methods

The aim of the methodology part is to describe and reflect on the researchers' choices of the approaches selected for conducting the data collection process.

4.2.1 Research Design

For the research design, we decided to apply Decoteau's (2016) work in "The AART of Ethnography". In this work he divided the research into four different research phases which will be elaborated upon now.

1. Abduction

In general, abduction is defined as "a form of reasoning with strong ties with induction that grounds social scientific accounts of social worlds in the perspectives and meanings of participants in those social worlds" (Bryman, 2012, 70).

In this phase a phenomenon is observed and thereby hypotheses are generated. The researchers arrived at three hypothesis which aimed at helping the researchers improve their understanding of the field.

In this case, the assumption is made that refugee integration does not work successfully, forcefully displaced people are not involved in the design of the programs and the program implementation is lacking people-centred development (PCD). As the researchers set the research topic and investigated possible reasons, they found the model of livelihood programs and self-reliance models as the often-perceived panacea for the refugee crisis. Simultaneously, a drift towards the political right can be noticed in society and thereby the successful integration of refugees is often an

undesired factor, leaving little space for refugee inclusion in humanitarian aid programs and leading to temporary “quick and dirty” solutions that neither treat the root causes, nor support the individual’s well-being. The researchers wish is to investigate the necessity of livelihood programs and to what extent they can provide sustainable solutions towards integration.

2. Abstraction

In the next stage, the researchers investigated possible theories that explain the phenomena. Furthermore, key components and mechanisms can be identified in this phase. It was decided to choose the Theory of Displaced Livelihoods by Karen Jacobsen and the Theory of PCD. These theories enabled the researchers to develop an informed interview guideline, testing the pre-made assumptions and helping to understand the phenomena further.

3. Retroduction

Yeung (1997, p. 59) explains that “retroduction moves from a description of some phenomenon to description of something that produces it or is a condition for it”. Consequently, causal pathways are identified in order to understand how structures influence the event in question. In this phase the researchers link social structures with social actors. The researchers therefore conduct expert interviews based on the underlying theories to gain insights in the practices.

4. Testing

This last phase helps the researchers to understand that theories in critical realism need to be tested and retested. The research process can constantly be empirically tested and gain further insights in the social reality (Decoteau, 2016). It is foreseen that due to limited time resources, the researchers will go through the phases only once and uncover casualties and mechanisms in refugee integration.

The research has been conducted with an abductive approach which means that the researchers “ground a theoretical understanding of the contexts and people he or she is studying in the language, meanings and perspectives that form their worldview” (Bryman, 2012, p. 401). This means that the research literature- and

interview findings guided the process. More interviews helped the researchers to elaborate upon their understanding of forced migration. The research question adjusted accordingly and at the same time, the established hypotheses were revised hence the abductive approach.

4.2.2 Primary data

The collection of empirical data of this research project is mainly based on primary data collected through semi-structured interviews with various practitioners within the field of livelihoods linked to forced migration. The researchers' particular interest is the inclusion of forced migrants in the host society. The primary data has been collected in English. To collect primary data, notes and recordings while conducting interviews have been the main materials used. Transcripts of the interviews have been acknowledged as the most relevant tools to guide the research analysis. The data collected in the research project is qualitative data.

4.2.2.1 Interviews

Interviews are a relevant mean to access the individual experience and reveal real causes of action. In this research project, interviews helped the researchers understand better the multi-layered character of social reality, with sensory experience (empirical), action in events (actual) and causal powers (real) (Smith & Elger, 2012, pp. 4).

Before conducting the semi-structured interviews, the researchers agreed on "capturing the causal powers of social forces and social relations" (Smith & Elger, 2012, p.5). Researchers focused on that feature while conducting the interviews and agreed on a given ontology about livelihoods in an international context to avoid being biased by the interviewee's interpretation of reality and enforce research objectivity, while taking the researchers and interviewees' European viewpoint.

According to Pawson and Tilley (1997), with using critical realism, the construction and communication between human-beings is an important feature of knowledge creation. In that way, the researchers shared common ground with the interpretive

approach to interviewing. However, the main difference with the interpretive approach is that critical realists acknowledge that social action takes place in the context of pre-existing social relations and structures. As an example, the researchers first exposed the theory of displaced livelihoods to the director of Hack Your Future, a social enterprise teaching coding and programming, based in Copenhagen. Then, Christopher Klüter started explaining about the specific context of Copenhagen in Denmark regarding integration programs for refugees and the legislation they must deal with regarding work. Christopher Klüter also explained that the non-profit organization got a specific grant from the Miller Foundation but is still financially limited. Due to the current refugee situation in Denmark, the organization does not expect to grow since Denmark has started to apply strict policies regarding welcoming refugees and the number of new arrivals has dropped compared to 2015.

According to Pawson and Tilley (1996), interviews applying critical realism should be explicitly “theory-driven”. Therefore, the researchers agreed on developing an interview guide based on the theory of displaced livelihoods and PCD. The theories have been mentioned while conducting the semi-structured interviews, but the researchers did not always explicitly rely on them, focusing more on the experience of the interviewees within the field.

4.2.2.1.1 *Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews served as the main source of empirical data to investigate displaced livelihoods in an international context, analysing pro and contra factors. Semi-structured interviews are characterized by being planned to a certain extent. In that case, the researchers developed an interview guide based on the displaced livelihoods and the PCD theories. The interviewers have been able to access the expertise of the interviewees by letting them expose freely their thoughts and relevant examples in the field. As an example, Fie Lauritzen (further information about interviewees in this chapter in the Sampling part, p. 19), working at the organization Danish Church Aid (DCA) talks about the example of Buduburab camp in Uganda, welcoming thousands of refugees since the beginning of the Sudanese

crisis. The researchers were able to reflect on this example and connect it to the theory of displaced livelihoods and PCD.

The interviewers helped the interviewee focus on linking his ideas to specific contexts. Pawson (1996, pp. 305) emphasizes that the interviewer will have to pay more attention to “*explanatory passages*’, to *‘sectional’* and *‘linking’* narratives, to *‘flow paths’* and *‘answer sequences’*, to *‘repeated’* and *‘checking’* questions”. While two researchers were interviewing Christian Boehm, the researchers decided not to interrupt him with questions formulated in the interview guide and rather focused on linking what he was saying to the aim of the research.

4.2.2.1.2 Expert interviews

Pawson (1996) suggests that “the researcher/interviewer play a much more active and explicit role in teaching the overall conceptual structure of the investigation to the subject, for this in turn will make more sense of each individual question to the respondent.” (Pawson, 1996, p.305) However to be able to share the overall conceptual structure of displaced livelihoods, the researchers decided to conduct expert interviews to make sure that they are legitimate enough to use the chosen theories with other interviewees. The expert interviews enabled the researchers to test their current knowledge about displaced livelihoods and PCD and get clarification and the right terminology. The interviewers also got further contextual information, particularly regarding the international context, helping them to understand linkages and mechanisms. The first expert interview has been conducted on the 25th of April at Christian Boehm’s place and lasted approximately one hour. This interviewee is considered as an expert by the researchers in the field of displaced livelihoods. As an outcome, the researchers got a better understanding of the international context of livelihood programs and further information about the Danish context and how it changed over the last 20 years.

The second expert interview has been conducted on the 8th of May with Louisa Seferis and gave interesting insights about the international refugee context. Since Louisa Seferis has been a student of Karen Jacobsen, the author and researcher

of the chosen theory of displaced livelihoods for this project, it has been very interesting for the researchers to get further knowledge about it and learn more about the dimension of cash transfers.

4.2.2.1.3 Sampling and presentation of the interviewees

The researchers started sampling by using purposive sampling which means that “the sampling has been conducted according to the research question” (Bryman, 2006, p.410), to make sure that the interviewees will be relevant and legitimate to answer the problem formulation (Bryman, 2006). For this research project, the researchers started sampling organizations and practitioners related to the topic of displaced livelihoods in the area of Copenhagen, afterwards the researchers got access to interviewees linked to livelihood programming at an international scope through the Danish Refugee Council (DRC). Along with purposive sampling, the researchers used sequential sampling, meaning that “sampling is an evolving process” during the research project together with snowball sampling (Bryman, 2006). First, the researchers conducted a pilot interview with Frederico Constantini in March, a former student assistant for DRC, who provided access to Louisa Seferis and Christian Boehm. Snowball sampling is here seen as a great tool to develop a network of interviewees being able to bring further knowledge about displaced livelihoods. In addition, the researchers sampled research participants with the help of their supervisor, Shahamak Rezaei, who gave them a list of relevant actors that could help answer the research question, emphasizing snowball sampling. The main strength of snowball sampling is to get in touch with actors having “the experience and characteristics relevant to the research project” (Bryman, 2006, p. 415).

Christian Boehm - Expert interview

Christian Boehm, interviewed on the 24th of April in Denmark is an independent consultant specialized in the assessment, design, monitoring and evaluation of humanitarian livelihoods programs. Practitioner in the field for about 20 years, he has completed reports for about 20 different countries and collaborated with different organizations such as DRC, the University of Copenhagen, Sechaba Consultants,

CARE International, ADRA, Save the Children International, World Bank and Danida.

Louisa Seferis - Expert Interview

Louisa Seferis has been interviewed on the 8th of May via Skype. She is currently working as a senior programme manager for Ground Truth Solutions. Prior to that, she worked for 12 years with NGOs on cash, livelihoods, and protection programming, most recently with DRC as Global Technical Advisor for Economic Recovery. She spent 8 years working in conflict and displacement contexts in Uganda, Darfur, D.R. Congo, Syria, Lebanon, and Turkey before taking on regional and global technical advisory roles. She is quite known in the field and the previous interviewee, Christian Boehm even mentioned her as the cash program specialist and was a student of Karen Jacobsen who developed the *“theory of displaced livelihoods”*. The researchers acknowledged her as an expert regarding displaced livelihoods.

Christopher Klüter - Hack Your Future

Christopher Klüter, interviewed on the 25th April in Copenhagen, is the director of Hack Your Future Copenhagen. After having graduated with a Master of Creative Business Processes from Copenhagen Business School and getting some work experience in Denmark, Christopher Klüter decided to establish the initiative Hack Your Future Amsterdam in Copenhagen to offer new opportunities to marginalised people, specifically targeting refugees and migrants. Hack Your Future Copenhagen has been created in 2017 and enables marginalised populations to get access to a 7-month education program to become programmers in Denmark.

Andreas Kamm - Expert Interview

Andreas Kamm, interviewed on the 13th May in Copenhagen, has worked with DRC since 1979. From 1998 to 2017, he was the general secretary of the organization. For a few weeks, he has been elected as honorary president of DRC. Andreas Kamm has been the head of the integration in Denmark at the DRC for several years too, which gave an interesting insight to the researchers about Denmark. Andreas Kamm appeared very relevant as an interviewee because he got to know the forced migration in Denmark and in a broader international context over almost thirty years.

Danish Church Aid (DCA) - Expert interview

Fie Lauritzen and Karin Wied Thomsen were interviewed simultaneously on the 13th May in the DCA offices in Copenhagen. The organization describes themselves as the following on their website: “DanChurchAid assists the world’s poorest to lead a life in dignity. Aid is given regardless of race, creed, political or religious affiliation. [...] DanChurchAid assisted 3,6 million people through humanitarian and development activities in 29 countries during 2016” (DCA, 2019).

Fie Lauritzen

Fie Lauritzen is a Senior humanitarian policy advisor/ lead at DCA and focuses on building a link or connection between practice and policy at an international level. She is responsible of making sure that parliamentarians and donors understand what is currently happening on the ground, linking global and local levels. Fie Lauritzen started working for the organization less than a year ago but has about 15 years experience working with livelihoods, especially in the context of refugee camps in Africa. She currently focuses on humanitarian aid but is operating between the humanitarian and the development spheres.

Karin Wied Thomsen

Karin Wied Thomsen has been working as Programme Advisor, Value Chains and Inclusive Business at DCA for almost a year. She is mostly engaged in the development sector, more long-term oriented compared to the humanitarian one. She has focused on the African continent for the last ten years and worked with several local and international NGOs and institutions. Karin Wied Thomsen has a relevant knowledge of the development sector and its specificities

4.2.2.1.4 Interview Themes

The researchers developed an interview guide based on the theory of displaced livelihoods and PCD. Questions upon the concept of livelihood programming, the design of these programs as well as their people-centredness were investigated.

The researchers has been designed through the different hypotheses mentioned in the problem area.

4.2.2.2 Justification of Research Methods

The researchers remained theory-driven to develop the methodology of the research and strongly believe that there is a reality independently from the researchers' knowledge. By choosing to conduct semi-structured interviews with a limited sample, the researchers constructed knowledge and tested the different developed hypotheses. The expert interviewees gave the researchers a great insight of the field of the displaced livelihoods with their practical experience and knowledge of the mechanisms of the theory. As mentioned before, the researchers decided to only focus on qualitative data and focused on international mechanisms in comparison to the Danish context.

Throughout the interviews, the researchers identified different challenges linked to displaced livelihood programs. Thanks to the interview guide and the knowledge and experience of the interviewees, relevant data has been collected regarding advantages and challenges of displaced livelihoods.

Empirical data aims at completing the understanding of the researchers and give more specific contextual information that can complement the secondary data. Most of the secondary data found through literature review can be considered as global data, often mentioning and explaining displaced livelihoods and people-centred development as a whole, not in a specific area. Moreover, directly interacting with actors within the field helped the researchers get a critical perspective regarding institutions, agencies and other actors within different sectors, therefore semi-structured interviews were the right choice for this research project.

4.2.2.3 Methodological biases

The researchers acknowledged that the primary data is based on a Western perception of the displaced livelihoods since all the interviewees are European. Thereby, they share some similarities regarding their culture, their mindset and their perceptions of forcibly-displaced people. The researchers are also European.

Moreover, it has also been acknowledged that a consequent part of the sampling is linked to DRC (employee or ex-employee there), which might have influenced the data collection in a way that they share common views about mechanisms of displaced livelihoods for example.

4.2.2.4 Validity of the research

The researchers focused on Guba and Lincoln's alternative validity criteria to assess the validity of this research project. Guba and Lincoln (1985) present four main criteria linked to trustworthiness to consider a study valid: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, and to authenticity. The entire section is based on Lincoln and Guba (1985) Naturalistic Inquiry.

Below are the different criteria linked to trustworthiness presented to show to the readers to what extent the conducted research is valid.

Credibility of the research

Through peer debriefing: To make sure that one researcher was not too biased during the research project, the four researchers kept debriefing about the findings and the different outcomes of the interview. Moreover, every chapter of the final paper has been revised by the researchers and debriefed too.

Through member check: The researchers used the opportunity of having expert interviews to test their understanding of the phenomenon of displaced livelihoods and their knowledge of the different used theories with them during the interviews, in a formal and un formal way. Another way of doing member check within the interviewees themselves has been for the researchers to inform them about the different findings and communicate with them some answers from other interviewees since a similar interview guide has been used. The fact that the data collection has been spread over weeks enabled the researchers to share the different steps with the interviewees, according to the study advancement.

Transferability

Thick description: The researchers provided a detailed account of the theories and the literature that has led the researchers to define the specific problem area of livelihoods assistance at an international scale. However, the context of the interviews has not been fully described since critical realism has been used and the researchers assume that the context is not highly relevant to knowledge creation. The researchers believe that the data can be transferable due to the consensus between the different practitioners regarding the necessity of linking displaced livelihoods to people-centeredness. Nevertheless, the limits of the methodology such as a unique European perspective should be considered.

Dependability

Thick description of methods: the researchers here believe that they provide a relevant description of the method used to collect data: semi-structured interviews, informing the reader about their position as critical realist researchers. Moreover, the way the interviewees have been sampled is also clearly explained in the paper.

Mechanically recorded data: All of data is available in a written and in an oral form, making sure that the researchers could go back to it and use these materials to prove their arguments. Moreover, it has been very important during the analysis and the discussion, coming back to the data to make sure that it was not over interpreted or misused. Interview transcripts are available and can be communicated upon request.

A code-recode procedure: the different researchers oversaw different categories while coding. At the beginning of the process, several researchers will code the same category using the same transcript to make sure everything went along.

Confirmability

Reflexivity: The researchers acknowledged that their perspective or position shapes qualitative research and that their European background can be a bias in their understanding and perception of livelihoods, especially in culturally-different developing countries. The fact that this semester project has involved four different

investigators enabled deeper dialogue, divergent understandings and perceptions of the collected data for example. The discussions that arose from it highlighted and deconstructed the bias that some researchers had. As an example, two of the researchers studied in business schools prior to RUC and had a particular vision perception of the data and what would make sense for them. However, the two other researchers highlighted this fact and showed that they were currently being biased by their educational background.

Below are the different criteria linked to authenticity developed by Guba and Lincoln (1985). The researchers provided an explanation linked to the research project to show the reader to what extent the study could be considered as valid through authenticity.

Tactical/ catalytic authenticity

Since the study research is theory-based, it has remained challenging to empower the research participants toward displaced livelihoods with a people-centeredness approach. Moreover, all of them are practitioners in the field so catalytic authenticity does not appear as very relevant in that case.

Ontological authenticity

The researchers acknowledged that Christopher Klüter, as an interviewee participant, developed his knowledge about the phenomena of displaced livelihoods through this research project, especially theoretical knowledge since most of his knowledge has been linked to practice. The other interviewees were already expert in the field, so their knowledge development has been more limited.

Educative authenticity

Since most of the interviews have been conducted individually, it was challenging to share the different research participants' values and constructions with the other interviewees during the interview. However, the interview with DCA had a very interesting setting with both of the two interviewees coming from two different sectors: one from the humanitarian sector and the second one from the development one. Through the interview guide, they shared their respective perspectives and values according to their backgrounds.

Fairness

different viewpoints from different interviewees have been considered by the researchers. As an example, it seems like Mr. Kamm did not have the same understanding of the efficiency of the Danish system regarding displaced livelihoods as practitioners from the DCA. The researchers themselves did not always get the same perception due to their different backgrounds but some negotiated constructions arised.

4.2.2.5 Analysis strategy

By using the critical realism approach, the researchers aim at identifying and understanding causal structures, that can be called mechanisms that explain a phenomenon. The analysis on the data collection will enable the researchers to “identify structural components of a mechanism, how these components interact to produce to an outcome, and contextual influences on this outcome (Bygstad & Munkvold, 2011, p.1).

After having collected data through interviews, the researchers have been able to identify socio-technical mechanisms related to livelihood programs in a specific context. The analysis provided the researchers with a solid and multi-layered ontology, acknowledging that “critical realism is primary an ontology and not an epistemology” (Bygstad & Munkvold, 2011, p. 12). The researchers recognize critical realism as a way to better the understanding of the layered reality regarding displaced livelihoods in a specific context through the analysis of events, structures and mechanisms. By doing this, the researchers examine the advantages and challenges of the livelihood programming and how they are linked to a specific context (legislation or the opinion of the host community regarding forced migration for example). However, the researchers are aware that they should find a balance between their analysis being too generalized or too context-specific. This study intends to investigate the phenomena of livelihoods. Analysing mechanisms that are too general will lead to a lack of explanatory power. Analysing mechanisms that are too context specific will make the study relevant for only one single context (Bygstad & Munkvold, 2011).

Based on the theory of displaced livelihoods and people-centred development, the researchers established coding categories which helped link the theories to the practice. Based on these categories, the researchers were given access to practitioners in the field of livelihoods and compared their inputs regarding mechanisms and practicalities to the theoretical concepts. Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews of being rich of explanations as well as examples, the sorting within excel facilitated the overview about the existing statements. Within the categories, themes were established and further sorted with the use of codes. Based on the interviews, the categories labour market, cost and paradigm shift emerged alongside categories explicitly linked to the theories used, highlighting the abductive research approach. During the coding process, the researchers took notes and created mind maps to facilitate the overview of the rich data and to find out mechanisms and inter-linkages.

4.2.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data was used to improve the researchers understanding about what has already been investigated. Through an abductive approach the literature helped to find a research focus. The following two chapters will present a literature review and will conclude with the presentation of theories.

5 Literature Review

First, an introduction to the development of *livelihoods approach* in social science will be provided, followed by further description of the conceptualization of livelihoods in forced migration. Various refugee livelihood strategies from case studies then will be provided. Finally, a historical overview of livelihood assistance will be given.

5.1 Livelihoods in social sciences

There has been increasing attention to finding other avenues for how to provide assistance to forced migrants in order to replace the outdated and ill-functioning model of delivering aid. In this debate, a central focus has been on creating long-term strategies for promoting sustainable livelihoods for forced migrants. (Horst, 2006). To better understand this approach it is useful to look back at the origins of the term “livelihood” and its development.

Although migration studies have turned to exploring livelihoods recently, livelihoods perspective in social sciences and development studies has been taking shape for quite some time (Horst, 2006). The term itself can be traced back to work of Evans-Pritchard who already talked about livelihoods in the year 1940 as well as research done by Kimbel, Pandit and Freeman in 60s and 70s (Kaag et al., 2003). The use of the term, however, was rather different - back then it was strictly referring to “economic resource base people have at their disposal” (Kaag et al., 2003, p.2) in order to make a living. In contrast, nowadays most “livelihood studies concentrate on the actions and strategies of people trying to make a living in adverse circumstances” (Kaag et al., 2003, p.1). We can observe a shift of the analytical gaze from concentrating solely on economic and material assets to exploring strategies and variety of other types of capital (social, intellectual, cultural) employed in order to secure a livelihood in adverse circumstances.

The latter conceptualization of livelihoods shared in majority of disciplines is said to be dating back to late 1980s and early 1990s (Horst, 2006) when Chambers and Conway (1991) defined a *livelihood* as consisting of “the capabilities, assets (stores,

resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living” and by *sustainability* in this context meaning the capacity to “cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation” (p.6). Chambers and Conway developed this particular approach in anticipation of the challenges that 21st century would bring - rising poverty due to increasing population - and as a critique to the previous ways of analysing change and poverty that they deemed to be reductionist. The conventional analysis approaches they were disagreeing with included production thinking, employment thinking and poverty line thinking in which hunger was analysed in terms of insufficient production of food while poverty - as a matter of having or not having a job and being able to earn an income that is above a monetary defined poverty line. These ways of analysing ignored a variety of dimensions of impoverishment and wellbeing that are not as easy to quantify or monetize (ibid.).

The new emerging livelihoods perspective, however, was recognizing the multi-layered and complex nature of different poverty contexts and would change the focus from the vulnerabilities of individuals to their capabilities and potential (Kaag et al., 2003). Rise of the sustainable livelihood approach was characterized by a shift from a “narrowly macroeconomic” analysis of poverty and development to “a bottom-up and actor-oriented view” that recognized “the need to assess poverty issues with an eye on what a person is capable of doing and being and on his or her own perceptions of what is desirable (ibid., p.3). Furthermore, increasing attention was contributed to the “security” or “sustainability” of livelihoods by that meaning “stability and resilience of the livelihoods in the long-term” (ibid., 7) in face of adversity and hardship.

5.2 Livelihoods in migration studies

Since then the ideas originating in the 80s and 90s have become widely used and elaborated on by scholars across disciplines (Horst, 2006; Kaag et al., 2003). While migration studies are no exception, the overall number of research exploring refugee

or forced migrants' livelihoods is small in comparison to other disciplines. Nevertheless, there has been a surge of interest in the topic in the recent years (Horst, 2006) which has resulted in a growing body of case studies that focus on the livelihood strategies of a particular group of forced migrants in a specific context (Al-Sharmani, 2004; Riak Akuei, 2005; Horst, 2004). However, the amount of theoretical research has been significantly smaller (Horst, 2006) while research exploring the development of livelihood approach and assistance in forced displacement from a historical standpoint is almost non-existent (Easton-Calabria, 2014).

The large proportion of case studies can be explained by two significant aspects of refugee livelihoods that influence the research - the importance of diversity of refugee backgrounds and the wide variation in the contexts that forced migrants find themselves in after fleeing. Firstly, refugees are not a homogenous mass but rather a diverse group of individuals with a wide variety of life experiences as well as needs, therefore in order to understand their livelihood strategies and how to assist them, a deeper understanding of backgrounds of the people in question needs to be gained. Secondly, refugee livelihoods are heavily influenced by the context of the host country they end up in: factors such as open mindedness of the local people and the state's policies towards newcomers are just two examples out of many. (Horst, 2006)

5.3 Livelihood Strategies

Nevertheless, there are general traits that can be distinguished and can potentially serve as a basis for much-needed theory on the topic. While context and the background of each individual migrant will have a strong influence on how they go about securing a livelihood, there are general trends concerning strategies that are rather commonly utilized by displaced individuals and populations. Two of the most popular are building strong social networks and moving away from the camp as soon as possible.

5.3.1 Strong social networks

Firstly, Horst elaborates on the importance of fostering strong social networks. Although the experience of forced displacement might lead to weakening and even dissolution of social networks in some cases, social ties (old and new) still are a major source of support mechanisms in the lives of refugees and social capital is a key tool in order to secure other forms of capital. While often social ties before flight were kinship based, after fleeing the structure of social networks change to adapt to the new realities therefore non-kinship-based support systems gain increased importance. Furthermore, Horst underlines an important aspect of refugee livelihoods and their link to social networks:

“But being part of a social network does not only involve receiving support; it also involves providing it. For many refugees, developing a self-reliant livelihood incorporates the responsibility to take care of relevant others in different locations. These networks of responsibility link refugees in camps to those in urban areas and in the home country; as well as linking regional refugees with members of the wider diaspora.” (Horst, 2006, p.12)

To a certain extent social networks are not only a source of support for establishing a sustainable livelihood but also can put a strain on it after it has been established as there is an expectation of reciprocity.

5.3.2 Urban and rural refugee settlements

The reasons why people decide to move away from camps are twofold. A significant number of refugees are “urbanites” (Horst, 2006, p.17) and therefore are more familiar with livelihood strategies in an urban environment therefore they are having a hard time adapting to life in a rural refugee settlement. More importantly, urban environments provide more possibilities for securing a livelihood, higher living conditions and access to goods and services as opposed to camps where covering the basic needs can be a struggle. Nevertheless, this does not mean that refugees are thriving in the cities - “a number of authors have stressed that urban refugees lead very marginal lives in the different global cities of the world” (Horst, 2006, p.17).

5.3.3 Legal restrictions

Moreover, it is crucial to understand that the different needs and aspirations of the forcibly displaced people go beyond their current host society as they are also shaped by their prior life in their homeland as well as by present and past diasporic experiences (Al-Sharmani, 2004). With the several cases presented in the literature used for the research project (names of the studies), the researchers acknowledged the extreme economical hardship and the very few legal rights leading to legal instability that the refugees face. As an example, in Cairo, in 2000's, refugees did not have any legal access to employment, children did not have access to education, and citizenship was not permitted for these forcibly displaced people, with very little assistance from the public sector. In different contexts, forcibly displaced people have a closer relation with the practitioners of UNHCR than with the host governments (Al-Sharmani, 2004). The literature emphasizes that refugees have creative survival skills and resilience and they can use specific strategies to survive and gain resource in "scarce" environments, which impacts their livelihoods (Riak Akuei, 2005).

5.3.4 Transnational life and mobility

It is very important to understand the notion of transnational life introduced by Al-Sharmani (2004), which has a big impact of the livelihoods of a refugee and add some complexity to his experience. Indeed, due to economic restrictions, to the exclusion from the host society, and restrictive policies, refugees remain mobile and keep looking for a more secure, safer or stable place to live in. Transnational life challenges the humanitarian aid and the other actors by developing a quick respond to the problem, such as training programs to help refugees secure or gain livelihoods rather than contributing to a long-term solution (Al-Sharmani, 2004).

Stephanie Riak Akuei introduced the notions of *uprooting* and *prolonged displacement* in her report (Riak Akuei, 2005), also arguing that resettlement is a durable permanent solution for the refugees who cannot or do not want to return home. In that case, livelihood programs are a great tool to secure the livelihoods of the forced migrants who want to stay in a territory. She also enforced the notion of self-settled

forced migrants who decided where they wanted to settle and who settled independently, without any administrative decision or humanitarian help.

Through her report, the researchers got familiar with the terms of cash stipends and remittances, which are alternative ways to secure or develop livelihoods, beyond livelihood programs. These forms of money exchange help individuals reach or at least ease the transition to economic self-sufficiency.

5.3.5 Production of Remittances

Moreover, they represent social gestures that strengthen a community by promoting solidarity between individuals. What is very interesting is that the refugee population has not been acknowledged as able to produce remittances, which is money sent in payment or as a gift, but now, minds are changing, and the international community started realizing through observation that refugees are actively engaged in money transfers in specific regions, between host societies and the home country (Riak Akuei, 2005). Remittances are mainly used for daily survival. In the best cases, the money can be used to start up a small business or send people to school (Horst, 2004).

Being seen as a great tool, remittances also have down sides, seen as important social obligations (Riak Akuei, 2005). Indeed, individuals who send remittances to the family members living in different host societies are committed to this social gesture that can have an impact on limiting their own capacities of settling successfully in the local environment (Horst, 2004). Moreover, the pressure of the community is hard too and the senders feel a great sense of responsibility making sure that their families receive enough money to survive. Sometimes individuals do not even have the capacities to send remittances, but they send the cash stipends they get from resettlement agencies to their families. Remittance necessary for not foreseen urgent situations or to pay for special services like visa or asylum seeking in some societies (Riak Akuei, 2005).

5.4 History of displaced livelihoods

Easton-Calabria in her article “Innovation and refugee livelihoods: a historical perspective” (2014) argues that there is a very significant knowledge gap that makes it difficult to even begin creating a holistic dialogue around innovation in the context of forced migration and that is due to a lack of “historical knowledge and institutional memory” (p.20). To reinforce her point, Easton-Calabria turns to a quote by Jeff Crisp:

“Since its inception refugee studies have been notoriously ahistorical. Preoccupied with the latest emergency and with the plight of living people, researchers in this area of study have all too rarely looked into the past.” (Crisp as cited in Easton-Calabria 2014, p.20)

She goes on to argue that this proves to be particularly relevant for the body of research and literature written on the potential of innovation concerning refugee self-reliance models and livelihoods. She insists that by overlooking and lacking a solid grasp on what has been done before we are not capable to recognize neither the genuinely unique and ground-breaking ideas nor the long-term issues that would urgently need new solutions.

“Overwhelmingly negative reports about many East African refugee settlements cite a highly authoritarian administration that constrained refugees’ livelihoods strategies and reduced the potential self-reliance of the settlements. Refugees were often forced to disregard their own knowledge and skills in order to adhere to settlement stipulations and were even punished for pursuing livelihoods other than farming.” (ibid.)

Easton-Calabria goes on to explain that the characteristic to the aftermath of Second World War such as the absence of extensive and profound knowledge of the subject matter and the local context, as well as inadequate or non-existent efforts to engage the displaced community, have remained strongly present in the refugee assistance efforts today.

The main takeaway that Easton-Calabria provides through the historic review of livelihood programming and development of self-reliance models is that what has been presented as novel approaches and solutions in the field of displaced livelihoods are rebranded and recycled old ideas rather “than true innovation” and that the greatest innovation of all would be finally recognizing that it “is the structure of

livelihoods assistance that needs innovation more than what is being provided”
(ibid.).

6 Theories

The theory chapter aims at presenting the relevant theories used by the researchers while conducting the research project. Their understanding of, “*the theory of displaced livelihoods*” and “*people-centred development*” is presented below.

6.1 Theory of displaced livelihoods

Karen Jacobsen (2014) developed the theory of displaced livelihoods. Her theory aims to tackle the complexity of issues that refugees and asylum seekers face in rebuilding their lives, especially in terms of being able to secure the basic necessities. It provides a framework of multiple sets of factors that come into play when newcomers attempt to pursue livelihood prospects outside camps that is used in this project as a guiding framework. Based on her ideas, the interview guideline was developed, and hypothesis put up. Furthermore, both Louisa Seferis, who was a student of Karen Jacobsen, as well as Christian Boehm recognize her ideas as valuable.

6.1.1 Sustainable livelihoods and livelihood assets

Theory of displaced livelihoods is, to a certain extent, akin to the sustainable livelihoods framework, developed in the 1990s, as both approaches regard and analyze livelihoods not just in purely economic terms of either having or not having a job. Sustainable livelihoods framework provides “a system comprising the different capabilities, assets, and activities required to pursue a living” (ibid., p.100). Furthermore, Jacobsen builds on the conceptualization of livelihoods assets inherent to sustainable livelihood framework that goes beyond the classic understanding based only on tangible goods “[...] such as land, livestock, or money [...]” but rather also “[...] include human capital such as health, education, skills and experience, and social capital” (ibid.). In other words, livelihood assets are tangible and intangible goods and capitals that enables a person to make a living in a sustainable and dignified way. Moreover, Jacobsen highlights the idea expressed by Bebbington (1999)

that livelihood assets have added layers of significance beyond just meeting the imminent needs of survival; they are also at the core of an individual's agency and capacity to question and alter power relations and distribution of resources. Jacobsen argues that from this perspective "if assets give people the power to act, the loss of assets becomes doubly consequential" and therefore forcefully displaced individuals find themselves "deeply disempowered" (2014, p.101). They have not only lost their economic footing in life but also the symbolic power needed to recreate a living. As Jacobsen rightfully points out, for this very reason the strategies that forcefully displaced individuals employ in order to find a way out of this state of profound deprivation of agency are of great value and interest not only for the wider community of forced migrants but also for other marginalized and stigmatized communities.

6.1.2 The main argument

On the foundation of the ideas presented in the previous section, Jacobsen builds the underlying argument of her theory: "the pursuit of livelihoods by forced migrants is different from those of other migrants or those who are equally poor or discriminated against" (ibid., p.99). To elaborate, according to her, in the context of forced displacement, individuals' ability to access and utilize livelihood assets are heavily influenced by and dependant on three major sets of variables that are unique to forced displacement: firstly, loss, trauma, and impoverishment; secondly, obstacles and enablers in the host context; thirdly, humanitarian assistance and livelihoods programmes. Jacobsen emphasizes that although all forcefully displaced people are heavily influenced by the above-mentioned factors, she chooses to concentrate on refugees and asylum seekers and not IDPs as she acknowledges that a major difference, among others, is that "IDPs are citizens rather than "foreigners" and thus are not constrained by laws and policy pertaining to non-citizens" (ibid., p.100).

We now turn to the three categories of factors suggested by Jacobsen. We elaborate in more detail on the ways how these factors can negatively influence the livelihood prospects of forced migrants.

6.1.3 Three sets of factors

6.1.3.1 Loss, trauma and impoverishment

Firstly, unlike many other individuals or communities on the move, forcibly displaced people's journeys are mostly unforeseen and often dangerous, therefore there is a need to move swiftly and not a lot of time or thought can be given to preparation. This means a majority of belongings need to be left behind and even more, beyond the material, can be lost on the way. Jacobsen lists various factors linked to the abrupt and dangerous nature of forced displacement and different types of loss, trauma, and impoverishment that it can cause: loss of real estate, property, salary, job, community and cultural space, increased debt to finance journey to safety, the passing of loved ones, damaged or deteriorating mental and physical health, experience of violence and trauma. The mix of extensive material and emotional loss can potentially lead not only to financial vulnerability but also psychological fragility, fundamentally altering individuals capacity to rebuild their lives and secure a livelihood. This is an essential difference between economic migrants and forcibly displaced people and it makes them a high-risk group for economic hardship and poverty even before arriving in the new host country (ibid.).

6.1.3.2 Obstacles and enablers in the host context

Secondly, Jacobsen addresses the set of variables linked to obstacles and enablers in the host context. As mentioned before, what is of key importance for the livelihoods of refugees and asylum seekers in the newfound context of arrival or settlement country is having access to livelihood assets - either by acquiring new ones or validating and being able to use the human capital they have brought with them. The situation in which refugees are unable to access new livelihood assets (e.g. work permit, language skills, social acceptance of the host community) or use and legitimize the already existing ones (e.g. education, skills, previous experience) is explained and analysed by Jacobsen through the theory of social exclusion. As she points out "access to assets is often blocked by social and political exclusion processes that arise within both the host population and the various refugee communities, and at the level of the state and institutions" (ibid., p.103). Jacobsen provides

a detailed look at how social exclusion mechanisms by the state, civil society, and institutions are used to limit forcefully displaced migrants' access to employment and services.

6.1.3.2.1 Social exclusion mechanisms used by the state

Despite the existence of multiple international refugee conventions, the ultimate say and control concerning refugees and their livelihoods is up to each individual state. Every country, through legislation and policies, has the power to put in place exclusion mechanisms and control the extent to which everyone has access to rights such as the right for housing, work, freedom of movement, right to own a business and right not to be deported. Jacobsen argues that countries who “view refugees as ‘guests’ and establish a policy environment that prevents or inhibits permanent settlement” (ibid., p.104) can do so by purposefully targeting and limiting rights that are linked to rebuilding a livelihood and therefore impending inclusion and integration. She distinguishes between “policy mechanisms” such as “encampment policy” and “bureaucratic obstructions” such as “preventing access to business licenses or work permits” (ibid.).

Encampment policy, for example, in many states mandate forced migrants to live in specially designated settlements where their needs for survival are addressed by specialized, often international agencies. Attempts for self-reliance by pursuing livelihood opportunities beyond the camp are not seen as favourable, therefore states often confine refugee and asylum seekers' freedom of movement and delimit their right to work to the camp. Yet “[...] particularly in protracted situations, humanitarian agencies are not able to meet all basic needs in camps [...]” (ibid.), therefore families and individuals seek to find how to fulfil those needs outside the settlements. As a consequence of the state limiting their access to legal employment, forced migrants often find no choice but to take part in the informal or grey economy. This, in return, puts refugees and asylum seekers at risk to be abused and not being paid fairly at the very least. Social exclusion mechanisms can provoke individuals to develop negative coping mechanisms and the “economic desperation drives refugees [...] to pursue highly risky livelihoods strategies [...] including entering the sex trade and being recruited by gangs and militias” (ibid., p.105).

Furthermore, even when refugees are legally allowed to work or to start an enterprise of their own outside the camps it does not mean that is the case de facto: the state can still employ social exclusion strategies such as bureaucratic procedures to make the process of acquiring the right permits and documentation extremely difficult, hence discouraging people from doing so and impeding their economic inclusion. However, it does not have to be this way as host countries can also decide to create enabling environments for refugees that promote self-reliance through legislation that facilitates access to livelihoods and economic embeddedness.

6.1.3.2.2 Social exclusion mechanisms used by civil society

The perceptions and attitudes of the general public add another layer of complexity to the situation forcibly displaced migrants find themselves in. Even in countries where the state has made some considerable legislative efforts to provide an enabling environment for the newcomers, there is a limit as to how far the state can influence the social exclusion mechanisms employed by its citizens. Xenophobia and racism often “take the form of discrimination (exclusion from jobs, services, and social spaces) and harassment, ranging from verbal and emotional abuse to physical harassment” and “open extortion takes the form of forced payment of bribes and unwarranted detention” (ibid., p. 106). This can have not only emotional consequences of distress, anxiety and depression but, as Jacobsen points out, it can create a serious strain on individuals personal economy as it may lead to “increased livelihood transaction costs in the form of bribes (often related to the lack of documentation), higher rents (because of discrimination by landlords), and extra ‘fees’ charged by employers (who use refugees as cheap labour)” (ibid.). Although the civil society does not carry the same legislative weight as the state, it still has an extensive amount of power to influence the wellbeing of refugees and their chances in rebuilding their lives and their livelihoods.

6.1.3.2.3 Social exclusion mechanisms used by institutions

Between the state and the civil society there is the institutional level where newcomers may face barriers in accessing basic services such as healthcare, education, legal aid and financial services. Social exclusion mechanisms may come into play

when a “legal status is required to use services, but more often access is limited by charging refugees higher fees or requiring them to obtain special documentation” (ibid., p.107). An example that Jacobsen provides is one of financial and credit institutions that most forced migrants do not have access to because of either bureaucratic barrier - lack of required documentation - or because they are perceived as a bad credit risk. This influences their livelihood prospects as they do not have access to new financial assets from a trustworthy source nor can they safely store their existing assets. This renders forcibly displaced people even more vulnerable as they are likely to borrow money from unregulated sources that may lead to “extortion and entrapment of refugees” (ibid.). Limited access to basic services is deeply consequential for both the livelihood and the well-being of forced migrants.

6.1.3.3 Humanitarian assistance and livelihoods programmes

Finally, Jacobsen turns to the efforts by the humanitarian aid actors towards promoting and strengthening refugee livelihoods and uncovers several layers of variables that influence the effectiveness of those efforts. Humanitarian assistance agencies have recognized “that over half of the world’s displaced people live outside camps and cannot be fully supported by humanitarian aid” (ibid., p.108) therefore specialized undertakings in the form of livelihood programmes have been developed, targeting urban and rural livelihoods of refugees. Jacobsen describes livelihood programmes as following:

“Livelihoods programmes for refugees generally seek to support self-employment and wage employment by building human capital through vocational training, and by supporting small businesses through, inter alia, the provision of microfinance and business development services, legal support, job placement, apprenticeships, and mentoring.” (ibid.)

She goes on to address what she considers as the two most important problems facing this kind of programming: firstly, the lack of political will to create them and secondly, the potential negative reaction stemming from the host community.

Jacobsen explains the reluctance of governments to support livelihood programmes by revisiting an argument made earlier when discussing social exclusion mechanisms employed by the state: there is an unfavourable view of any kind of efforts to strengthen refugee livelihoods as it is seen as a gateway to permanent settlement

in the host country. In addition, there is a worry that by evening out the playing field for refugees, they might become a viable economic rival for the citizens of the host country and that may lead to a general discontentment. Causing more animosity and indignation in the host community by designing livelihood programmes only for forced migrants can potentially be highly harmful to their livelihoods as it may provoke more social exclusion practices from the locals. Jacobsen points out that for this very reason any advocacy work for promoting refugee self-reliance should be done with great prudence because if pushed too hard it may prompt more resistance and incite an opposite reaction from what was desired - more restrictions and new social exclusion mechanisms from the state and the civil society.

Although when argued like that it may seem like a vicious cycle in which there is no possibility to build up refugee self-reliance without causing it more harm at the same time, Jacobsen provides a potential blueprint for a win-win situation: an inclusive approach in which livelihood programmes would address the needs of both newcomers and members of the host community. Such a strategy is more likely to gain support from the state as it creates value for the host country nationals, will help refugees to create social capital in the form of network and deepened understanding of the local sociocultural environment as well as create a favourable view of the newcomers in the host community “because working/learning together is good for social relations” (ibid., p.109). This idea does shine a light on a potential for innovating how livelihood programs are designed and put in place.

6.2 Theory of People-Centred Development

People-centred development (PCD) is an approach to global development that aims towards improving social justice and self-reliance of communities and advocates participatory decision-making. It takes into consideration that economic growth does not naturally contribute to human development and therefore changes in social, political and environmental values and practices are needed (Korten, 1990). There are several approaches and terminologies used towards PCD in academia and by practitioners, of bringing people into the focus, as being central when it comes to development. People-centredness, human development, community development and

social innovation will be discussed further in this chapter, with concluding that all strategies focus on the same thing, bringing people into the process of development and allowing people to be involved in designing and implementing solutions that aim to assist them, since they are the experts of their own experiences and needs. This theory contributes to the project as an idea or an outline that should be taken into consideration while designing and delivering livelihood assistances. Furthermore, it creates a link to this semester, as people-centredness was continuously referred to in the several courses, linked to social innovation. The researchers believe that the people-centred development theory helps to create a link to social innovation and can be a positive approach towards livelihood programs. The theory has been used in the development of the interview guide, and therefore has an impact on the data analysis. The researchers do not acknowledge PCD as automatically included in livelihood programs and have the assumption that these programs are more systemic and westernely managed. However, the researchers believe that a PCD approach will make livelihood programs more successful for forcibly displaced migrants.

6.2.1 The concept of PCD

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) conceptualizes human development as broadening available opportunities for people to live valuable lives. Economic growth is an important aspect in expanding these opportunities, but more emphasis is put on human capabilities. They believe that the best measure for a successful development is the quality of people's life and overall well-being (UNDP, 2011). "Thus, people must be at the centre of human development, both as beneficiaries and as drivers, as individuals and in groups. People must be empowered with the tools and knowledge to build their own communities, states and nations" (ibid., p.2). David Korten (1990) shares this view and argues that "we need an alternative vision in which the well-being of people and the living systems of the planet that is their home, come first" (in Schenck & Louw, 1995, p.81).

In the next part of this chapter, different authors are presented, and their ideas elaborated upon.

6.2.2 Participation & Sustainable Development

The Manila Declaration on People's Participation and Sustainable Development was created in the Philippines in 1989, by Korten among other participants. The reason for creating it was to voice a shared concern that results from current development practices do not incorporate values of justice, sustainability, or inclusiveness and therefore the declaration sets forth principles and guidelines for a fundamentally different development model based on alternative development. This calls for a transformation of institutions, technology, values, and behaviour that are compatible with current environmental and social realities (Korten, 1990). Their vision was a people-centred development, which seeks to facilitate transformation in communities by "returning control over resources to the people and their communities to be used in meeting their own needs" (Korten, 1990, p. 218). Key components are self-help and self-reliance of the community, in contrast to looking at international charity as the answer to poverty. Local resources to meet local needs is essential to sustainability.

There are three principles that are basic to a people-centred development. Domination of the people, the real social actors of positive change, is the foundation of democracy and the role of the government should be to enable people to go after their own agenda. The second one, is the exercise of this domination. People should be responsible for the development of themselves and their communities and therefore be in control of their own resources. Governments should be the ones protecting those rights. Third and last one, is for the external assistance in local development, which must recognize that they are the participants of support and not vice versa. The value of that input will then be measured in terms of the enhanced capacity of the people to determine their own future (Korten, 1990).

6.2.3 PCD in the context of community development

Schenck and Louw (1995), view the people-centred perspective as a paradigm fundamental to the process in the context of community development, learning and growth. They argue that in order to be successful in empowering local people, their

full participation is crucial to the process, which indicates the necessity of a co-production rather than it being imposed. Meaning a cooperation between external assistance provided by experts and the local community, in sharing knowledge and trust in already possessed abilities and skills, and by that working together towards a common goal.

To emphasize this aspect further the authors provide an example of a development worker that comes to a remote village with the motivation of assisting the villagers and relief them from all their problems, and by that transform their primitive community. He figures out a solution on his own and by himself, but afterwards the villagers request him to leave the village in peace. After the previous experiences faced, another development worker approaches the village, but this time instead of focusing on finding the solution for the people, he involves them and encourages them to use their own resources and abilities, which ends up being a great achievement. He placed the people rather than the solution as the main focus and ended up transforming the community (Schenck & Louw, 1995).

Any transformative project with the aim to assist and benefit local communities, requires that beneficiaries themselves should be placed in the forefront and are fully involved in the development process in order for them to learn and grow, and benefit from it in the long-term. Even if it takes time and can be a slow process, this is where it becomes impactful and sustainable (ibid.). By using this approach people are empowered, which cannot be handed to people, they should rather be enabled to develop themselves.

Schenck & Louw (1995), further argue that with participation it is meant that people should be the ones assessing their own needs and with that hold onto their human dignity, because at the end of the day they are the experts regarding their situation and their own experiences. Therefore, “change agents must listen more than talk, learn more than teach and facilitate more than lead” (Burkey 1993 in Schenck & Louw, 1995, p. 88). Underlining that often the main plan of the projects is created in the offices of the experts, the developer, donors or politicians, far away from the community - which brings in the danger that their own agendas might shine through and be placed at the centre. That is why the authors stress the importance of moving

away from this old paradigm of fixed predetermined and goal-directed strategies towards more *process driven* ways where outside experts, whoever they might be, act as facilitators rather than dictators when it comes to development of people and communities (Schenck & Louw, 1995). This can be done in three ways, through: Grouping, networking and learning together.

Grouping means that a representative group from the community participates and through a collective action the group members develop independence. *Networking* means that in some communities several different entities might be working on the development through their services and by bringing these people in contact with each other they can work together, share and learn from each other. And lastly, *learning together* from each other alternatively to being taught by experts through programs, hence - sharing of existing knowledge and skills.

6.2.4 PCD closely related to Social Innovation

Hulgard and Shajahan (2013), present a link between PCD and Social Innovation (SI), through Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) university in Mumbai. The school developed a people-centred framework of knowledge production and intervention, which they claimed to be closely related to SI.

TISS utilized their definitions about PCD through the UNDP, where it is defined by Cox (1998), as “development of the people, by the people and for the people” (cited in Hulgard and Shajahan, 2013, p.94). Furthermore, he points out five important aspects to this approach namely; awareness-raising, social mobilization, participation, self-reliance and sustainability (ibid.). In addition, he confirms prior arguments (by Korten, 1990 and Schenck & Louw, 1995), that the strategy towards being people-centred in global development should be around the *process*, rather than the outcome (Hulgard and Shajahan, 2013).

The framework was an attempt to understand the basic traits of SI, by changing social injustice through participatory processes with emphasis on empowerment as underlying component to the development of the process (ibid.). “The TISS model of PCD is based on the need to ensure that ideas are carried into practice, thereby becoming social innovations in the real world” (ibid, p.101), which can be done

through three pillars. Fixing a social problem in a *new way* or with *new combinations*; focus on the *process dimension* in how far the community is involved; and keeping in mind the *epistemological openness* which encourages academics to be open to adjust theory and generate new knowledge based on older thoughts (ibid).

7 Analysis

The analysis is based on the interviews that the research team conducted with the previously presented methods. Afterwards, the results were coded into the categories established through the guidance of the chosen theories. The first part of this analysis addresses a description of the displaced livelihoods and develops a framework of livelihoods assistance provided by the international aid agencies. The second part goes more in depth with the challenges of the displaced livelihoods, especially linked to international and national legislations, being more critical regarding systemic issues.

7.1 Displaced livelihoods & livelihoods assistance

A central idea to sustainable livelihoods is economic resilience that comes through creating self-sufficiency. In the context of displaced livelihoods, the term used to denote a similar idea is “self-reliance” which is, to put it simply, “the ability of refugees to live independently from humanitarian assistance” (Easton-Calabria et al., 2017). In other words, self-reliance is the capacity of forcibly displaced individuals to maintain a sustainable livelihood autonomously without outside aid.

This, however, does not mean that displaced people do not need assistance in *building* that capacity. Quite the contrary: the basis of self-reliance is establishing a livelihood and, as discussed in the theory chapter, there are multi-layered sets of factors and vulnerabilities that influence the livelihood outcomes for forcibly displaced people. For this very reason, self-reliance is not something an individual either *does* or *does not have*, it is something one builds through developing strategies of how to either overcome or adapt to different obstacles and restrictions. Those strategies can be considered as livelihood strategies as their purpose is to enable individuals to access livelihood assets and opportunities in order to establish economic self-reliance. Following a similar line of thought, as pointed out by Christian Boehm, “livelihood is not something you can *give* to a person”. However, it is something that assistance can be provided for. Livelihood assistance is purposefully designed efforts with the aim to advance and support refugees in their pursuit of rebuilding a

livelihood - securing a job, engaging in income generating activities, acquiring new livelihood assets or validating the existing ones - and strengthening their capacity for self-reliance in the context of forced displacement.

In recent years the discussions around how to promote refugee self-reliance through supporting their livelihoods have received increasing attention as the number of forcibly displaced people are rapidly rising and protracted refugee situations are becoming commonplace (Horst, 2006; Easton-Calabria et al., 2017). Our empirical data shows a similar emphasis on self-reliance: all five livelihood assistance experts we interviewed argued that achieving economic self-reliance should be the pillar of refugee assistance efforts if there is any hope to achieve long term integration of forcibly displaced individuals. Christian Boehm goes a step further by sketching out the link between economic self-reliance, psychosocial outcomes, and integration:

“I think, if all these people become economically self-reliant, a lot of other problems will be solved automatically. So that livelihood thing, economic self-reliance, I think it's the most central problem. [...] if you help people earn some money, if you help someone to find a job, then of course, then they will be able to send their kids to school, they will be able to pay their rent and the health bills, they will improve significantly in terms of psychosocial wellbeing. So that's an important aspect of it, definitely. And that's, that's not to be underestimated. And you cannot measure all the outcomes only in terms of numbers, in terms of income, in terms of profit, in terms of... well, as you said - the material outcomes. The psychosocial outcomes are just as important for successful integration.” (C. Boehm, April 24, 2019)

Although there is undoubtedly a direct link between these three facets and the overall wellbeing of individuals, these aspects nevertheless are still often assessed and analysed in a siloed manner which does a disservice to the affected people as well as renders NGO, IGO and other humanitarian actors' activities inefficient.

However, self-reliance has found a central place in the Global Compact on Refugees¹ (GCR) - one of the most notable international policy documents in recent years. One of the main objectives of GCR is addressing the urgent need for enhancing refugees' self-reliance as well as easing the pressure on the current host countries. Arguably, there is a causal relationship between the two: by increasing the capacity for self-reliance of the displaced, the pressure on the current host countries

¹ GCR is “a framework for more predictable and equitable responsibility-sharing, recognizing that a sustainable solution to refugee situations cannot be achieved without international cooperation” (UNHCR, 2018b)

could be decreased as it provides an avenue for refugees to become contributing members of the host society not only able to take care of themselves but will also contribute to the local economy by setting up businesses, paying taxes, consuming, providing a workforce. That would, however, demand that states provide enabling environments in which the forcibly displaced individuals can flourish and rebuild their lives both economically and socially. Unfortunately, that is not the case, as a lot of states across the globe have restrictive policies concerning refugees that severely impede their capacity to access the formal job market, education, and in some cases even basic healthcare and financial services.

“More advanced is definitely working more with restrictions and governments and that's also the most complicated thing. But you know... there's nothing... I mean, these people they will make it, they will do it themselves. Without agencies, if they were given the chance by the state government. If they can be enrolled in mainstream education systems, if the state takes over to get them in education, provides vocational training, if they can access credit, you know, if they're given the chance to do it, most people will do it.” (C. Boehm, 24 April, 2019)

This overall illustrates that displaced livelihoods are heavily influenced by the states' legislation and policies and that in situations when they are restrictive, displaced livelihoods become dependent on outside assistance provided by humanitarian and development actors to compensate for the lack of support from the state. The challenges that state legislation poses to livelihood assistance will be addressed in Chapter 7.4.1 Restrictive national policies.

7.1.1 Specifics of displaced livelihoods and livelihood assistance

Besides the particular obstacles and vulnerabilities that Jacobsen (2014) described in her theory on displaced livelihoods, there are certain specifics deriving from our data that characterize displaced livelihoods and the assistance efforts linked to them and will be elaborated on in the following section.

First of all, the overwhelming majority of livelihood assistance efforts are driven by Western organizations and actors. The reasons for that are threefold: firstly, because, as mentioned in the section above, the host countries might have restrictive policies; secondly, because the local governments might be part of the conflict that is the reason why people are displaced to begin with (in the case of IDPs); thirdly, because in numerous of the current host countries the local population is facing

financial and social instability themselves and require assistance as well. However, as pointed out by Louisa Seferis there is a concern that by applying a top-down approach a neo-colonial tendency might be developed as there is a risk of “humanitarian agencies, and particularly international organizations starting to make decisions on behalf of people”, while the desired outcome would be organizations avoiding “speaking for people but actually speaking with people”. The problematic linked to the current delivery model of livelihood assistance will be addressed more in detail in a later section of the analysis - Livelihoods assistance challenges - Inefficiencies of humanitarian and development aid sectors, will be presented in 7.4 Livelihoods assistance challenges.

Secondly, an important factor in livelihood assistance is the context in which it takes place. And by that is meant not only the legislative context or the sociocultural context but also whether the assistance is targeting affected people in urban or rural areas. Both contexts affect the design and the delivery of livelihood assistance as both settings have some specific challenges and advantages. Firstly in the rural context, one of the advantages is that communities are smaller and in often cases - closely knit, therefore it is easier to map out and access the target group. On the other hand, as those communities are smaller there are limited opportunities for livelihood development as the local economic activities tend to be less diversified - mostly linked to manual work be it agriculture, fishery, or artisanal crafts. Following the same line of thought, the advantage of urban context is broader livelihood opportunities due to the more complex economies, while one of the challenges is reaching out and connecting with people who need assistance as in urban setting people are more dispersed. According to Louisa Seferis, most humanitarian and development actors feel more comfortable working in rural areas “because in those contexts, you can provide low-cost inputs, and you generally see results more quickly than you would in kind of complex systems of forced displacement”. While that might be the case, Christian Boehm argues that livelihoods assistance in urban settings is generally more successful because, although rural livelihoods are less complex, the urban settings provide more possibilities for entrepreneurial activities.

Furthermore, a key aspect to keep in mind when analysing and assessing displaced livelihoods is that in this context there is a difference between *having a job* and

generating income. As argued by Karin Wied Thomsen while being formally employed and having a contract is the most sustainable livelihood option that a lot of displaced people would strive for, it is not necessarily what the displaced livelihoods consist of *de facto*. As oftentimes displaced people do not have easy access to the official job market they would tend to develop livelihood strategies that help them to engage in income-generating activities. That is achieved by either being self-employed (e.g. hairdressing, artisanal work) and having irregular jobs here and there or by deploying what Jacobsen (2014) describes as negative coping mechanisms - seeking income generation opportunities in the unofficial economy and working illegally.

Lastly, Louisa Seferis takes it a step further and argues that there is also a difference between income generation and *livelihoods development*. She points out that livelihoods assistance efforts should not necessarily be seen through the lens of getting a job or generating income:

“If we take this traditional model, that livelihoods equals getting a job and being able to earn an income and be independent then for many refugees, you're right - that's not going to be possible. But livelihoods programs are never happening in isolation, there's usually some type of humanitarian subsistence assistance that's coming in. So if there's a way for people to be able to meet their needs [...] then maybe livelihoods assistance is not about getting a job or having an income, but diversifying skill sets. And connecting people to other opportunities. For example, UNHCR has done a few interesting projects where they, for example, connect refugee women's groups to online marketing opportunities, whether it's for kind of niche handcrafts, or... you know, the coding programming example is another one, where people don't necessarily need to have a work permit in that particular country to connect to it. And I'm not going to say that that's easy, but that kind of separation between income generation and I would say, livelihoods development is one possibility.” (L. Seferis, May 8, 2019)

Seferis argument touches upon a persistent trend of measuring the success of livelihoods assistance by the numbers of people having formal jobs afterward. That kind of approach ignores the complexity of displaced livelihoods and disregards the livelihood strategies that displaced individuals engage in themselves and, if provided some assistance, might be able to develop into sustainable livelihood opportunities.

7.2 Livelihood Assistance Methods

The following section elaborates upon different methods that are used by practitioners when providing livelihoods assistance. The data shows that the market is the central focus of the majority of the strategies employed as they are generally geared towards facilitating job market accessibility. A description of what these livelihood assistance methods entail, and which factors they are addressing will be provided.

7.2.1 Assessing the local economic development

There is a growing awareness among livelihood assistance practitioners of the important role that the market plays in establishing sustainable livelihoods. Market demands and changes affect what skill sets and competencies are sought after as well as influence in which sectors new employment opportunities arise. That is important for job seekers in general and livelihood assistance in particular. Louisa Seferis with a very basic example explains the essence of the link between sustainable livelihoods and market demands: if there is a group of refugee women who all wish to learn hairdressing in a city where there are a lot of hairdressers already, then there is a high chance that the newcomers will encounter difficulties in finding a job with their newly learned skills. Thus in order for livelihood assistance efforts to be effective, they need to be based and adapted to the market demands and opportunities.

As explained by Christian Boehm, the three most commonly practiced tools for incorporating market knowledge into the livelihood assistance efforts are local development assessment, market studies, and value chain analysis. Assessment of local economic development analyses strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of the local market as well as identifies within which sectors there is a possibility for business growth (Weisbrod, G. et al., 2004). In the case of livelihood assistance, by mapping out the local labour market needs and through identifying existing businesses and assessing their development, possibilities for refugee employment are uncovered. Classic market studies and value chain analysis can further help narrow it down to potential entry points for creating concrete job opportunities.

The use of these methods can help to create sustainable employment opportunities and contributes to economic development, ensuring on the one hand, that local

businesses have support in sustaining their activities and on the other hand, facilitates access to the job market for refugees. Christian Boehm points out that this approach is practiced in certain African countries where the medium-sized companies are the biggest employment creators, therefore, development actors would seek out collaboration with private sector companies in order to identify which kind of skills are needed to fulfil the market demand and investigate how many workplaces could be created.

7.2.2 Creating education opportunities

All interviewees referred to providing training as common practice in livelihood programming. It can be distinguished between skills training, hence computer skills, entrepreneurial skills, CV training or practical skills such as sewing or welding, and vocational training, which refers to education that finish with a diploma or a certificate, such as the coding education in Hack Your Future. The main purpose of provision of education opportunities is the access facilitation to the market. However, Louisa Seferis argues that individuals' aspirations are often disregarded as they are not in line with the market needs and are more linked to development work, while livelihoods assistance to refugees is often regarded as humanitarian assistance. More on this can be found in the section 7.4.4 Livelihoods assistance challenges - inefficiencies of humanitarian and development aid sectors.

7.2.3 Creating links between forcibly displaced people and global markets

Another method used to enable livelihood assistance to capitalize on market opportunities is connecting displaced people with global markets. As Christian Boehm explains "displaced people themselves, they can rarely make the connection to global markets, but agencies can" therefore humanitarian and development actors need to work as a middleman: by starting a dialogue with international companies that have they can negotiate about job opportunities for refugees. Often, a way how to incentivize multinational companies to provide employment opportunities for refugees are corporate social responsibility strategies that are often used to improve

companies' public image as hiring displaced people is perceived as creating social value. A particularly relevant example is the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector which enables individuals to access global markets by providing a universally applicable skill set. Christoph Klüter sees the potential of teaching coding skills as it provides access to a worldwide community of coders and a global market. Agencies have therefore a crucial role in connecting vulnerable people to global markets by being an intermediary between refugees and multinational enterprises.

7.2.4 Supporting through cash transfers and e-vouchers

There has been a shift away from providing tangible goods to individuals towards cash transfer methods, because, as explained by Louisa Seferis, individuals often have a better understanding of what they need than the humanitarian and development actors. Louisa Seferis and Fie Lauritzen both argue that e-vouchers and cash are very powerful tools to provide displaced people with the basic needs by providing food in crisis situations, however livelihood assistance cannot stop there. Cash can create dependencies unless the money is invested in livelihood outcomes that help displaced people to become self-reliant. For that very reason the distinction between *subsistence cash* and *cash for livelihood outcomes* is of great importance. *Subsistence cash* is money that helps covering basic needs especially in the beginning, when individuals are recovering from trauma caused by displacement and hence are unable to provide for themselves. *Cash for livelihood outcomes*, however, is meant to help build up the individual's capacity for economic self-reliance and to recreate a livelihood. That can be done by acquiring so called *productive assets* such as purchasing livestock that can help to start farming, enrolling in a skills training course or even as simple as covering transportation costs so that the individual can access other job opportunities in areas farther away from their place of residency. All in all, both methods are also at times used simultaneously which helps forcibly displaced people to build up livelihood assets while still being able to secure the basic needs. A crucial point in this conversation, however, is concerning how much is enough monetary support for livelihoods development? Louisa Seferis argues that there is no scientific way how to generate a precise amount that enables

individuals to establish a sustainable livelihood and go out of poverty and that is one of the greatest challenges for providing cash assistance for livelihoods development efficiently.

7.2.5 Advancing existing businesses

Finally, livelihood assistance can also be provided through advancing the growth and development of existing businesses. Andreas Kamm speaks about a carpenter, a refugee himself, that requested assistance in order to expand his business and hire additional staff from the displaced community. Thereby, the agency could provide support and create additional workplaces through the help of a local entrepreneur. This approach illustrates the significance of self-reliance, as entrepreneurs can be important supporters for agencies providing livelihood assistance and contribute by providing job opportunities for fellow refugees. Christian Boehm describes this approach as “topping-off existing business”.

7.3 Need for selection criteria

In order to evaluate who needs livelihood assistance the most, certain selection criteria has to be created. Vulnerability in livelihoods assistance, and humanitarian and development work in general, serves as a benchmark - people who are economically and psychosocially the most vulnerable are specifically targeted. To assess that common practice is the so called “Burden Index”, a ratio that calculates how many individuals rely on one breadwinner to survive. However, the calculation is described by Louisa Seferis as being complex and not always comprehensible, as complicated statistical calculations are used. The calculation therefore could be argued to lack transparency, leading to a formal selection criteria which is not even comprehensible for the practitioners using it.

Also, agencies base selection criteria on current market needs, whereby people with a qualified skill set are selected. An example could be individuals with previously gained entrepreneurial skills, as agencies hope for enhanced business development and employment opportunities in medium sized enterprises. However, Louisa Seferis point out difficulty to create a comprehensive and fair way to select participants:

"And I think that there's this feeling that we want to have this fool proof way to select the most appropriate and vulnerable people to receive assistance, whether it's cash for basic needs, or enrolment in livelihoods programs. But that's not how it works, and especially not with kind of human qualitative ethnographic approaches to research and programming." (L. Seferis, May 4, 2019)

This statement illustrates the difficulty to define specific selection criteria, however, Andreas Kamm also stresses the need for prioritization as agencies cannot support everybody, even though many people are suffering.

7.4 Livelihoods assistance challenges

While there are significant benefits to the livelihood approach to the problematic of forced displacement, the livelihoods assistance field faces challenges to help forcibly displaced people establish and develop sustainable livelihoods. This second part of the analysis points out the main challenges.

7.4.1 Restrictive national policies

Based on experiences from working in and with Danish and international agencies, the majority of interviewees agrees that there is a mismatch between national and international policies concerning the rights of forcibly displaced individuals. This poses a great challenge to livelihood assistance efforts and their long-term efficiency.

As GCR shows, on an international level there is a consensus that labour market integration and refugee self-reliance are at the basis for a long-term, sustainable solutions to the increasing problem that is forced displacement. Christian Boehm describes international policies as follows:

“Now, the international community like the DRC and UNHCR, they say [...] the best thing you can do to refugees is to have them integrate at the labour market as quickly as possible, they will become stronger, they will become self-reliant, they will become a good workforce, they will become good business people, they will become good customers, they will invigorate the business environment, the economy, they will help host populations as they are lot of benefits to gain from successful economic integration.” (C. Boehm, 24. April, 2019)

The international policy view is that by providing enabling environments for refugees they have the possibility to become contributing members of the host society which is beneficial to the all parties involved - displaced individuals can rebuild their lives in a dignified manner and not only survive but also potentially thrive while all at the same time being a part of the local economy and participating in advancement of local development.

However, the policies of individual states are quite different. A majority of state governments create social exclusion mechanisms targeting refugees' capacity to recreate a life in the new host country. The underlying logic is that either refugees are not welcomed at all or if they are then the general sentiment is that forcibly displaced people are not supposed to resettle for the long-term - they are meant to go back to their country of origin the moment when it is safe to do so.

“And Ethiopia, they say yes refugees are welcome, we host them. But they're not supposed to work here. We expect the international community to pay for the subsistence. So they don't want it to integrate on the labour market. They say yes, you can stay here, as long as it's unsafe in your own country. And then you go back home, that's sort of the International... in many places, the International sort of refugee discourse at the national level.” (C. Boehm, 24 April, 2019)

This mentality contributes to increasingly protracted refugee situations “in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo - their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile; a refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance” (UNHCR, 2004). The social exclusion mechanisms that contribute to protracted displacement are put in place through restrictive legislation concerning right to work, freedom of movement, access to education and other aspects of a refugees life that fine-tuned to undermine their capacity to establish a sustainable livelihood. The root cause of protracted displacement is “political impasses” that are not unavoidable and mostly

result from “political action and inaction” (Loescher & Milner, 2009). Two examples of political actions that contribute to protracted displacement are encampment policies and working restrictions.

7.4.1.1 Encampment policies

90% of the world’s forcibly displaced population is residing in refugee camps as “formal encampments remains the preferred policy solution for most host states in the developing world” (Fisk, 2019). The reason for that is the perception of refugees as a danger to the security and and welfare of the host country therefore encampment policies are said to help to diminish and control the potential negative effects on the local economy and development (ibid.). For the displaced population the effects of encampment can be devastating as it excludes them from the host society in a very cardinal way - “freedom of movement and the right to work are two fundamental human rights that are often denied to refugees confined to camp situations, sometimes for years on end” (Grant, 2016). Indeed, opportunities are very limited inside camps which, besides other things, means that there is no access to the local job market. Encampment can therefore be seen as the most challenging situation to develop sustainable livelihoods.

Agencies assisting the forcibly displaced in establishing livelihoods have very limited tools, because they cannot rely on any support from the host government or the host population. In that case, the only way seems to be developing infrastructures within the camp such as schools, small shops and hospitals which helps them to sustain a living. This however, establishes what Andreas Kamm refers to as “parallel structure” as oppose to the main structure - the host society. This arguably can further elongate refugees from successful integration. Furthermore, it is also problematic because it creates high dependency on international humanitarian and development aid.

As the countries with encampment policies do not provide favourable living conditions, many people decide to escape from the camps.

“And, and young people there 85% of them are escaping the camps because they know there's no way out of the camp. If you are stuck there. You'll never get out. They live there for 20-30 years. No jobs, no rights, no nothing. [...] “and those inside the camp... I mean, there is schooling, there are basic necessities. But that mental sort of “I am blocked here”, it makes you even more poor than the one staying outside... at least that's kind of... from talking to some of the young people, they feel so disillusioned.” (F. Lauritzen, May 13, 2019)

What Fie Lauritzen is pointing out is the consequences of so-called *warehousing* of people for extended periods of time and how it can lead to significant waste of human potential. The lack of prospects is just one out of many issues in camps - “disease, poor nutrition status, mental health problems, and sexual and gender-based violence” (Grant, 2016) are a part of the everyday life in official refugee settlements.

7.4.1.2 Working restrictions

The scope and the reach of livelihood assistance efforts is highly dependent on different work restrictions within the host societies. Interviewees have mentioned a variety of cases that show a lack of regional and international consensus regarding the treatment of forcibly displaced people. For example, Uganda has policies that enable the displaced populations to work outside the camp and own land, therefore Uganda is often mentioned as a good practice example for refugee labour market integration. In Ethiopia, the government has started developing an out-of-camp policy, meaning that the refugees are allowed to work in different areas out of the refugee camps. In Lebanon, forcibly displaced people can work in specific sectors, but the administrative paperwork is heavy. In Kenya, forcibly displaced people are not allowed to leave camps and their livelihoods must be concentrated inside camps. The right to work and to access the labour market is the key to acquire and develop sustainable livelihoods. By preventing people from accessing the job market, host governments restrain the forcibly displaced people from developing self-reliance and renders them dependent on outside assistance which does not always suffice to cover all the basic needs of an individual or a family.

For that reason, when the state legislation does not provide access to legal work, refugees are forced to turn to informal labour market, where they are exposed to unjust working conditions and exploitation. The forcibly displaced people often can only protect themselves by word of mouth in order to warn others about particular

employers, because oftentimes legal authorities turn a blind eye to what is going on in the black market - as argued by Louisa Seferis it is common practice for police to go after the refugees and not the companies who employ them illegally in the first place. According to Christian Boehm, the industry representatives have a strong influence on the government in different countries, such as Turkey, Iran and Kenya, which is the reason why exploitative working conditions are tolerated. It enables businesses to access cheap labour without having to give them any benefits (e.g. social security) in return. It can also be argued that some companies gain a competitive advantage by illegally employing refugees as it increases their flexibility regarding market fluctuations - they can easily adapt the labour volume to the demand as they can fire or hire illegal employees with no cost for the business. These countries have turned the vulnerability of forced displaced people into an economic opportunity. Besides this model being morally questionable, it also represents a serious challenge for providing livelihoods assistance, as by tolerating the informal, unregulated labour market and denying refugees access to legal work, state leaves refugees with no other option than to seek income generating activities in the black market. That renders refugees even more vulnerable as NGOs and IGOs cannot assist them with illegal livelihoods activities so forcibly displaced people find themselves in a situation with no support system.

Agencies providing livelihood assistance to forcibly displaced people try to collaborate with host governments (mostly in developing countries) to modify the legislation framework in favour of the displaced populations. In a lot of countries, forcibly displaced people need to acquire a legal status according to their personal situation which is hard to secure and often is temporary. Even if they get the authorization to work, they must face administrative duties and meet special requirements to keep their legal status and that can undermine the work of livelihood assistance as people would just not have the time to participate in the training that could potentially render their livelihoods more sustainable.

7.4.2 Increased mobility of the forcibly displaced

Encampment policies deprive forcibly displaced individuals of the freedom of movement in a specific territory. However, as mentioned above, the encampment conditions force people and especially young individuals to flee, aiming at finding more dignified living conditions with better livelihood opportunities. People might move within the same national territory, but often - across national borders in order to find a more welcoming place where one can try to rebuild a life. The increased mobility of forcibly displaced represents a challenge for the livelihood assistance since it cannot only rely on the market needs and opportunities through national market analysis. In such case, international agencies and other actors have to be able to provide forcibly displaced with some transferable skills, such as entrepreneurship, that will be useful in different host societies. Karin Wied Thomsen elaborates:

“Some of the young people in Kakuma, we train them in entrepreneurship, they gain basic skills within some kind of trade. Even if they move on, we have at least contributed with something that they can then use.” (K. W. Thomsen, May 13, 2019)

The increased mobility makes it harder, but not impossible, to develop sustainable livelihoods. While increased mobility might aid in securing new livelihood assets and opportunities, there is still a need to settle with a long-term perspective in mind in order to eventually develop a network, be a part of a community and get integrated in the host society by learning the local language and the cultural practices. As Christian Boehm argues “impermanence is not good for livelihoods”.

7.4.3 Market integration

As described previously, agencies who are focusing on assisting forcibly displaced people building sustainable livelihoods are trying to do so by enabling them to be integrated in the regional or host society labour market. In order to facilitate access to the labour market, livelihood assistance efforts are often based on information gained through assessing the local market needs and opportunities. There are, however, obstacles for the efficiency of these methods for successful market integration.

Firstly, as mentioned by Louisa Seferis, forcibly displaced people all have different experience, knowledge, skills and expectations. One of the challenges in facilitating access to market opportunities is matching the skills of individuals to the job market

demands, for example, people with rural skills in an urban setting and vice versa need assistance in linking their different skills to market opportunities. The main issue is that some skills do not fit to any market opportunities and agencies must try to find a way to match the skills of the individuals with the market opportunities. Below is an example given by Louisa Seferis that highlights this point.

“The women were all crazy about sewing, but again sewing, and it doesn't necessarily turn itself into a viable business. Yeah, we were able to do is locate a Syrian man who ran the smaller sewing workshops. And we asked him what was lacking in terms of his labour force. And he cited kind of two. One was using this kind of specialized machine that was looking more in embroidery. And the second one was looking at a different type of sewing skills, so that they could participate in kind of more, not industrial but a bit more factory type sewing where you know, one person is doing a certain type of stitch or certain type of cutting, and then that piece is passed on to someone else who finishes it. And that's a very different type of skill set. Yes, it's great to have the basics of sewing. But there, you're going to need a different type of skill set.” (L. Seferis, May 8, 2019)

Although this is a positive example where the livelihoods assistance efforts were to a certain extent matched to the skills of individuals, focusing on the market opportunities can become problematic since it might decrease the degree of people-centeredness.

This leads to the second challenge of livelihood assistance: another layer of complexity is added when people's aspirations come into play. Understanding not only the local market but also livelihood strategies and aspirations of the target group is crucial to the success of livelihood assistance. If there is a lack of knowledge on the latter, then the most elaborate knowledge of the market can become irrelevant. This is best illustrated by an example given by Louisa Seferis:

“So to give you an example, when I started with DRC in Syria, we were working with Iraqi refugees, and it was already difficult because they didn't have the right to work. But then suddenly, the government was opening possibilities to work in certain sectors where they had labour gaps. So a really easy one was around welding. [...] And so the government said “Listen, we're totally open to Iraqi refugees working in that sector. And you know, we've done the analysis, here's the kind of skills we need. Agencies, why don't you train people, and we can integrate them into the labour market!” and everyone was super excited. And of course, you know, following the practice that we're looking at who's most vulnerable? Well, let's target the youth, we can create new opportunities, they can develop careers, it's great. And then so all these agencies started these trainings, and none of the youth showed up. Turned out in Iraq being a welder is not very prestigious. [...] And the profile of Iraqi refugees in Damascus at the time was, I would say, middle to lower income, but with a lot of aspirations and a fair amount of kind of basic education. So for them, this idea of stopping their education to learn to be a welder just doesn't make a lot of sense for them. And families were actually prioritizing to send their children to higher educa-

tion, secondary school, university if they could, to learn, you know, information technology, and kind of more administrative work, because that was considered more prestigious than welding.” (L. Seferis, May 8, 2019)

This example shows the common friction between market needs and people's aspirations. This particular problematic can commonly be observed among the younger generation of the displaced populations as youth oftentimes strive to pursue higher education and have a certain vision of the future which does not necessarily match the current market opportunities. The lack of people-centeredness in the development of livelihood activities, relying on assumptions instead of asking the affected people what they would actually like to do and what they aspire to can completely undermine the success of well-intentioned livelihood assistance efforts. An incomplete knowledge of the target group - a common side effect of top-down approaches to development - can result in a loss of time and valuable resources.

All in all, solid knowledge of the local market can be a valuable assets in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the economic opportunities in order to promote market inclusion of the forcibly displaced but they cannot stand alone and should be used in combination with other methods that include the perspectives of the target group.

7.4.4 Inefficiencies of humanitarian & development aid sectors

There are severe inconsistencies in the approaches applied to displacement challenges in general and displaced livelihoods in particular. On one hand they are treated as a humanitarian issues with the sense of urgency and a need for immediate intervention and providing relief as soon as possible, while on the other hand the offered solutions are meant to provide development results of empowering communities on a long term perspective.

One of the potential explanations for this can be the argument made by Christian Boehm that when refugees do not receive social welfare from the state of the host country, NGOs and IGOs step in to fill that gap by providing substitutes to welfare, such as food rations, cash transfers, e-vouchers and psychological help. The welfare type of assistance that is associated with humanitarian aid is important in the acute crisis period but it is not a long-term, sustainable solution and should therefore

not be confused with livelihoods assistance that promotes self-reliance and would be more linked to development aid.

This leads to misplaced expectations and several challenges that fundamentally alter the capacity of livelihoods assistance to do what they have set out to do - facilitate creation of sustainable livelihoods.

7.4.4.1 Unrealistic timelines and budgets

Louisa Seferis argues that concerning displaced livelihoods there is a tendency to try "to achieve development outcomes on humanitarian budgets and timelines". Sustainability and long-term perspective are important to work successfully with livelihood assistance, which the development sector aims at. However, as pointed out by Seferis when it comes to forced displacement, all livelihood projects have very short time frame between six months to one year, with possibility to in some cases extended to no more than two years which is problematic as it is hard to assess the impact of livelihood assistance on labour market integration in less than five years. The reason for this could be the failure to recognize that as protracted refugee situations becomes longer and more commonplace, forced displacement is no longer just a humanitarian issue but rather a development one. Fie Lauritzen follows the same line of argument:

“...because protracted crisis is on the average 10 years and therefore it does not make sense to continue working with one-year cycles like the norm is within humanitarian sector, year after year. Agencies need to start working with long term solutions from the first acute crisis response. And that is what humanitarian agencies are not geared for, since their systems and their funding streams are not lined up that way [...] There's a huge blockage in our own systems that needs to be dealt with before we can actually get to the people centred approach”. (Fie Lauritzen, 2019).

Seferis also points out that this mentality leads to misplaced expectations where organizations working on displacement issues do not have time to do what they do best - uncovering the multifaceted and complex aspects of displacement so that the livelihood programs can be adapted to those challenges - but are instead expected to be market and business expert that ensure quick jobs market integration of the individuals in question.

7.4.4.2 Pressure from the donors

The approach described above can be characterized as reductionist as, due to the short time frame, it assesses livelihood outcomes mostly in terms of having or not having a job and ignores the multi-layered nature of life worlds as experienced by the affected individuals and the variety of factors that come into play in order to secure a sustainable livelihood. Arguably, one of the causes for this are the donor expectations: by accepting donors funds livelihood assistance providers agree to specific time frames that need to be respected and to concrete outputs that need to be delivered. Most times the expectations are unrealistic. According to Christian Boehm donors expect a high return on their investments, by that meaning high beneficiary numbers in a short period of time, while the majority of experts interviewed agree that development projects, that entail long term development outcomes like assistance with sustainable livelihoods will be costly, and extremely time consuming. Louisa Seferis argues that the reason why organizations agree to unrealistic time frames like, "...yes, we're going to integrate half the refugee population into the workforce" is because there is a lot of competition for resources in the humanitarian and development aid sectors and organizations see it as an opportunity to be able to at least get some of their programs partially funded.

Fie Lauritzen and Karin Wied Thomsen point out other consequences of the pressure from donors: they argue that among the humanitarian sector donors, there is a strong focus on transparency and accountability to European taxpayers and absolutely no accountability to local communities in the countries where the assistance is provided. Lauritzen points out that this is completely opposite trend of what is seen in the business sector:

"The end users are the ones who have the final decision and the final say. In this [humanitarian sector] case, the end users are called victims, or they are called beneficiaries. They are not right holders, they are not seen as someone who has a voice and a say. So the humanitarian sector has completely changed that whole notion of what 'people' means and what their decision power is." (F. Lauritzen, May 13, 2019)

Her argument shines a light on the lack of agency that displaced people have in making themselves heard and have their voices included in the design and implementation of assistance that is said to be for their benefit.

Furthermore, because of that demand for high level of transparency and because the discrepancies between the ambitious goals, short timelines and limited budgets - a large part of the practitioners' time in the field goes into the administrative side of the project, instead of working with the people. Lauritzen argues that this is one of the main reasons why organizations like DCA are unable to design their livelihoods assistance with participatory methods - with the aims to include the voice of displaced and or local agents.

“That's why people centred approaches are not possible because staff can't work with people. They don't have time to work with people and allow them to really be part of the process, because that takes more time. [...]. There's no time for inclusion and participation. Forget about it. It's all about targets. It's about scale, it's about reporting, it's about compliance.” (F. Lauritzen, May 13, 2019)

This heightens the risk of western driven, top-down livelihoods assistance models that encourages humanitarian agencies, and particular international organizations to start making decisions on behalf of people. As Louisa Seferis points out there is a fine balance in delivering assistance to displaced people “without trying to speak for the people, but actually speaking with the people”.

7.4.4.3 Misplaced expectations & broken system

According to Louisa Seferis one of the most important challenges is that humanitarian agencies have become the main designers, managers and implementers of livelihood assistance and while humanitarian agencies have an extensive knowledge about the particular vulnerabilities of displaced populations, they are not necessarily the best equipped to provide knowledge and guidance on market opportunities and entrepreneurship nor should they be as that is not their core mission. Seferis argues for the need of public-private-third sector partnerships, where humanitarian agencies collaborate with specialized actors that can provide their expertise on labour markets and business while humanitarian agencies themselves can efficiently engage in what they do best - ensure that within the livelihood assistance "people's rights are being respected that their particular displacement experiences and vulnerabilities are not being exploited."

What Seferis is suggesting would call for a system change in the humanitarian and development aid sector. Fie Lauritzen however argues that people who work within

either humanitarian or development paradigms are reluctant to be the leaders of changing this inefficient, broken system. According to her, employees have been trained to work within the humanitarian mindset for a long time which creates institutional gaps and barriers within their own organizations.

“People working for UNHCR and WFP have a humanitarian mindset. One year, one year, one year, that's what they're brought up to do. Other UN agencies like UNDP, might work on a longer term but either or, no agencies have the mindset to change systems. This is our mandate and that's our mandate, with getting money from a specific place. But if we would suddenly do it differently, we might lose money, we lose power, we lose people. What has happened is that institutions have built themselves up within a certain mindset, which is not easy to change.” (F. Lauritzen, May 13, 2019)

Christian Boehm points out that humanitarian agencies currently are not built for being people-centred in their operations, because their aim is to assist on a large scale and to a high volume of people, and that they are unable to take individual needs into account.

However, Louisa Seferis insists that there seems to be a common misconception around people-centred development: inviting humanitarian and development actor to work with more participatory methods does not mean that people should just be handed out what they ask for. On the contrary, there is no empowerment in such an approach and it can further deepen the dependency on outside sources. As Seferis points out people-centred development should rather centre around knowledge exchange.

“So it's about listening and empathizing with people on what is their situation and what are their aspirations, but it's also about [us] being honest and realistic with people about what can be done and what may turn into a viable livelihood opportunities.” (L. Seferis, May 8, 2019)

People-centred development approach could provide livelihood programs to be the moderator between people's aspirations and market opportunities - having a dialogue with people on what they are interested, researching market demands and potential entry points and then adapting vocational training to the above-mentioned factors.

7.4.4.4 Lack of innovation

According to Christian Boehm, being part of the field for over 20 years there has been surprisingly little innovation regarding approaches being used with assisting livelihoods. The old and very basic methods of grants and training, with supposedly more market sensitivity has not provided much results. Louise Seferis argues that there has been an evolution towards a more nuanced thinking about livelihood challenges that goes beyond the simplified understanding of inability to secure a livelihood because of lack of skills. Structural factors and power relations are increasingly recognized and investigated as potential causes for barriers in accessing livelihood assets and opportunities. She, however, points out that this increased understanding of the different layers of displaced livelihoods instead of working as a catalyst for creating new, innovative solutions is rather having the opposite effect. Practitioners being overwhelmed by the complexity of the issue, either decide not to work on livelihoods at all or are falling back on old and tired methods that may not be the most efficient but do function to a certain extent.

8 Discussion

The different interviews led the researchers to develop their interests in further dimensions that were not directly linked to the problem area and the problem formulation on which the research has been based. The researchers decided to rely on the different insights given by the interviewees, all with a European background and the majority of them operating at an international level. Linked to the development of sustainable livelihoods, the discussion part will focus on the response of the EU towards the refugee crisis and will enable the researchers to discuss whether a European integration linked to a resettlement solution would be the most adapted and relevant solution for forcibly displaced people to provide an enabling environment for livelihoods, or if local integration suits better. To develop the discussion further, the researchers aim at finding alternative explanations of the findings. The discussion part enabled the researchers to develop their interpretation of the different findings, keeping in mind that the project team, as well as the interviewees' background is European and therefore, they might be biased when presenting the different arguments. This section is mostly problem-oriented and does not aim at presenting any practical solution to develop sustainable environments for displaced livelihoods. However, the researchers believe that some international aid agencies could take into account the people-centeredness necessity in the development of livelihood programs and the market dimension to offer the affected populations more sustainable opportunities. It is important to keep in mind that the results and findings are highly dependent on the background of the practitioners.

8.1 The controversial response of the European Union

For the last decades, the EU has failed to define a common and a clear vision regarding the migration situation in Europe, struggling between the different perspectives of the national view of different members. According to Andreas Kamm, each country used their own "national toolbox" to make it unattractive for the arriving refugees, since a single European country could not take the burden of the whole EU. Making attractive policies would risk the whole refugee flow coming to this country,

forcing it to solve the crisis by themselves. Therefore, governments started developing laws to make the country less attractive and decrease the flow of forcibly displaced people arriving in the country.

“[The Danish government) undermined refugees rights, they undermined whatever they could undermine with regards to the conditions that people could meet in Denmark. So it was like, undermining the right to family reunification, one thing, you know, undermining the social benefits, half of the benefits, I would get in the same situation, etc, etc, undermining also, the direction towards integration now. With the shifting paradigm about temporary protection, it is not very easy to get a permanent stay in Denmark. So a lot of rights were undermined.” (A. Kamm, May 13, 2019)

As explained by Catherine Woollard, Secretary General for the European Council on Refugees and Exiles ECRE (2017), a new strategy has emerged since 2017, based on externalizing, meaning blocking access to Europe and actually supporting other countries to take responsibility for the migrants in need of protection. The lack of common agreement directly impacts providing enabling environment to create livelihoods in Europe. The researchers, through the interviewees’ knowledge, can argue that EU members do not want to provide enabling environments for refugees to limit their attractiveness and the interest of refugees in moving there.

The researchers’ data collection stresses about the EU and Western countries tendency to criticize the lack of human rights consideration in the treatment of refugees in some countries such as Libya, Lebanon and Turkey, mentioning human exploitation and the fact that the basic human principles such as freedom are not respected. However, as mentioned by Louisa Seferis, refugee camps also exist in Europe such as in Italy and Greece and they often reflect a grave human right situation. As an example, the UNHCR alerts in 2017 on the dangerous living conditions for women in the camp of Moria in Greece, due to sexual violence. In that case, the EU has blamed Greece for inhumane living conditions, however Greece blamed the EU for not providing enough resources (Woollard, 2017).

Due to a lack of common policies, as stated by Andreas Kamm, it has been hard for the EU to be able to tackle the migrant crisis in a decent way, criticism towards

countries that deal with most of the refugee flow is expressed while basic conditions are not even being respected within the EU borders.

8.1.1 Criticism towards the development of non-binding international policies

In line with the previous argument, the EU and other developed countries are very active in promoting the well-being of the refugees outside their borders. As an example, also mentioned in the analysis, the members of the UN (including European countries) forged the Refugee Compact in 2018. According to the UNHCR, one of the main measures was to “ease the pressure on the host countries” (UNHCR, 2018b), but this agreement mostly implies local integration and seems to move the responsibility toward forcibly displaced people to regional host countries, mostly developing countries rather than developed countries. As explained by Fie Lauritzen, the GRC does not aim at integrating a new pro-refugee legislation in different host societies but is more about providing a tool to develop soft laws, that should be in favour of the refugees. However, the same western countries strengthened their national policies against forcibly displaced people and thereby created an hypocritical approach to solve the crisis.

“So Denmark is advocating for CRRF (Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework) in Uganda and Ethiopia and is not doing the same thing at home, which is really a double standards.” (F. Lauritzen, May 13, 2019)

Going even further, the members of the EU expect developing host countries to ensure protection and basic needs to the forcibly displaced populations. Moreover, the respective EU governments largely delegated the task to volunteers, NGOs and international aid organizations. Most of the interviewees working for international agencies supported the argument that a better collaboration between governments from developed countries and host countries receiving international aids is necessary, involving the public and private sector more instead of fully relying on the international community who must deal with international and specific national policies. As the employees of DCA explained, and as the researchers understood - assisting livelihoods is very context-based and it is challenging to associate international soft laws and national hard laws. The researchers assume that the restrictive

laws at a national level prevent the development of pro-refugee laws that would enable the creation of enabling environments. Restrictive national policies constrain the global development of innovation in terms of refugee integration. Even if international programs promoting the rights of forcibly displaced people are created and promoted, livelihood assistance remains challenging if national legislation frameworks prevent policies that promote refugee's self-reliance to emerge.

8.1.2 Criticism towards creating disabling environments

As mentioned at the beginning of this part, the EU developed an immigration policy based on externalisation. Not directly stated in the data but well-known according to studies and articles, an EU's invisible wall exists in Maghreb, in the North of the African continent. The EU commission, according to Catherine Woollard (2017) enhanced partnerships and deals with different countries such as Libya, Morocco and other North African states, financing surveillance in several detention centers and supporting the local lifeguards to prevent immigrants from reaching the European continent. The task sharing regarding the protection of the EU borders with the North African countries fits with the externalisation of the EU immigration policy and with the development of anti-migrant policies within EU members. However, it also impacts the regional developing host countries, pressuring them developing restricting environments for forced migrants to developing livelihoods. The denial of the EU regarding the consequences of its "outsourcing protection" appears very clear to the researchers according to the different literature and interviews. The main problem here, is that by trying to protect its borders, the EU actually enlarges the anti-migrant zone and spreads a misleading perception regarding displaced populations, having a negative impact on the development of sustainable livelihoods.

To conclude, the EU would provide a solid foundation for the creation of enabling livelihoods. However, restrictions in policies, criticism of countries for their approach towards integration without coming up with a proper solution hardens the process and put the individuals concerned by side. Instead of people-centred solutions the westernized countries come up with big barriers towards integration.

8.2 Towards local solutions

Simultaneously, the international community, respectively the UNHCR, suggests a framework with three durable solutions, which are voluntary repatriation, meaning that individuals decide to go back to their home country, local integration, which categorizes settlement in neighbouring countries or resettlement which means moving to a third country other than the asylum country (UNHCR, 2019d).

As elaborated upon in the previous arguments by Andreas Kamm and Christian Boehm, the European response towards the refugee crisis is far from providing a fitting and coherent solution. As citizens are afraid of losing welfare state benefits by providing easier access to livelihood assets for forcibly displaced people, the legislative framework and civic societies' unwillingness to integrate refugees often prevents forcibly displaced people from gaining a foothold in European countries. Considering a people-centred approach, which is often restricted in European countries due to various reasons, the authors present arguments for local integration close to the home country, as the nature of challenges is different and repeatedly arguments for solving local tensions as response to the crisis are positively mentioned. Can local integration offer the best fit for a people-centred approach?

Firstly, the basic necessity and repeatedly argued for, is that resettlement to a foreign country requires studying the host country's language. Only through strong personal motivation and assistance through institutions, studying a new language can be achieved and will still be time intensive. The empirical data also pointed out individuals' aspirations for higher education and prestigious employment opportunities, which are often not accessible to refugees as language skills, are not proficient enough or restrictive legislations prevent access to higher educational degrees or prestigious jobs. Language proficiency lies the foundation for the individual to gain a certain standing in society. People with poor language skills are generally less accepted in the host country. Hence, livelihood opportunities can be difficult to access without language skills. Therefore, it can be argued that internal displacement would be the most favourable solution. However, due to persecution, this is not always possible whereby integration in the language similar areas surrounding the home country are favourable.

Secondly, the refugee arrives in a new country without social capital and the acquisition of these will take time and require strong communities. Moreover, cultural practices and norms in European countries are different which put potential barriers for integration and building up social networks. Also, a potential restriction is the vulnerability of refugees, which also entails traumatic experiences and loss, which can harden building up social capital and accessing livelihood opportunities.

Thirdly, money has a different value in countries other than Europe. As Christian Boehm points out, one million Danish kroner is not worth the same in rather expensive European countries. He stresses about the same amount resulting in more tangible assets with higher numbers of beneficiaries being helped. Therefore, it needs to be evaluated whether integration should happen in developed countries where infrastructure is already available and the welfare state in place. However the integration comes at a high monetary cost. An alternative could be local integration which should be promoted through using donations efficiently in non-European countries. It also needs to be taken into consideration to what extent cash transfers create dependencies, while being used in the right way, Louisa Seferis and argue that cash support can lead to favourable entrepreneurial activities which help the local economy to prosper and develop, which can help host countries to create enabling environments not only for refugees, but also for locals. So far, this paper argued that employment as well as entrepreneurship present sustainable income generating activities, provided that enabling legislations of host countries is in place and support through livelihood assistance available. Nevertheless, the researchers also want to stress about Louisa Seferis statement, where she described the danger to create neo-colonial initiatives, leading to dependencies instead of empowering forcibly displaced people. Through a stimulated market, these dependencies should be limited, and individuals given the power to sustain their living. However, the researchers are of the opinion that the market centred approach itself is eurocentric and at the moment, humanity lacks knowledge about alternative or more successful methods. Moreover, restrictive legislations do not always allow entrepreneurial activities to emerge which puts a potential barrier to creating enabling environments through the market. Furthermore, many individuals personality traits are not fitted

for entrepreneurial activities. Even though agencies do their best to promote business education, some individuals would thrive better through different activities and employment opportunities. Therefore, it can be pointed out that an alternative solution is could solve these problems; however, this solution is not developed yet.

Fourthly, the researchers want to point out that often self-reliance approaches are not only about creating an employment possibility, but also need to take into consideration individual's aspirations. The global development strives for good working conditions for everybody which often cannot be provided through working in factories or agriculture. More and more people strive for prestigious jobs outside of the assembly line whereby a trend towards favouring administrative work can be observed, which is mainly the case in European countries. Furthermore, the welfare state is repeatedly mentioned positively, which leads to the assumption that the welfare state is a desirable achievement which would like to be put in place in more countries. The question should therefore not be whether local integration is best suited for refugees, but how can we help crisis countries to develop and achieve sustainable livelihoods for refugees?

8.3 The question of capacity

Lastly, and most importantly, creating enabling environments for refugees is also a problem of capacity. What seems to be a durable solution on a small scale might require additional efforts on a bigger, international scale. Thereby, European countries put themselves into a privileged situation by putting strong entry barriers to the accessibility of westernized countries. By keeping the refugee arrival numbers low while simultaneously having a proper welfare system in place, Europe provides a solid condition for the refugees' integration. However, this does not provide sustainable livelihoods due to a lack of hospitality. Furthermore, if many forcefully displaced people decide to settle in the same country, it is inevitable that this individual country will struggle to provide proper integration facilities. This is the same with creating local solutions. Because of the high numbers of arrivals, inhumane conditions such as encampment policies are created. What seems to be an impossible burden for the developed Europe is even more difficult for developing countries where basic

necessities are not met. However, the responsibility is still transferred to local neighbouring countries for the aforementioned reasons.

However, the question of capacity points out the biggest obstacle. No individual country can take the burden by itself and a global effort is required in order to create a satisfactory solution. Even though local solutions would be favourable, the tension between the need for development for the host community and simultaneously having to cope with enormous numbers of arriving, traumatized refugees is a burden that cannot be expected to be solved by creating individualized countries legislation with preferences towards not accepting refugees. As Christian Boehm pointed out “nobody likes refugees”. However, the international community cannot deny the fact that people are forcefully displaced and therefore, a global solution is required in order to tackle the challenge successfully.

9 Conclusion

This paper has aimed to explore to what extent current livelihood assistance efforts promote sustainable livelihoods of forcibly displaced people. To answer the problem formulation, the researchers have strived to address research questions regarding the challenges of provision of livelihood assistance as well as to explore to what extent are these activities addressing and involving the needs of forcibly displaced people in the long-term and is the livelihood assistance as it is delivered today providing any innovative solutions to the problematic of displaced livelihoods. The main source of data to answer these questions has been gained through conducting interviews with 6 practitioners - 5 of them have extensive experience working on livelihood assistance in international context and 1 of them is a co-founder of a civic society organization in Europe.

There have been increasing advocacy efforts in the field of forced migration calling for revising how refugee assistance is understood, designed and implemented. The main focus is reducing people's dependency of humanitarian aid and focus on enhancing long-term human welfare by promoting self-reliance and economic integration, through strengthening individual's' capacity to establish sustainable livelihoods. The second crucial point is to decrease the strain on the current major host countries.

Several methods that agencies and practitioners use to create long-term, innovative solutions to promote self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods have been identified. The different methods for delivering livelihood assistance can be summarized as following: *assessing the local economic development*, which means supporting host countries in their economic development while at the same time identifying employment opportunities and potential market gaps; *creating links between forcibly displaced people and global markets* whereby displaced people are connected to livelihood opportunities provided by international (instead of national) companies; *creating education opportunities* in order to match individuals' skills with the market needs; *advancing existing businesses* through empowering local entrepreneurs and providing incentives to create job opportunities. All of the preceding aim to provide a basis for long term-solutions given that the market opportunities are there.

However, the above-mentioned methods have their limits as livelihood assistance efforts are facing some considerable constraints. One of the core challenges of livelihood assistance is the complex nature of displaced livelihoods and the multitude of factors that come into play in ensuring access to livelihood assets and opportunities. It is no longer (if it has ever been) just a matter of providing people with access to the lacking "inputs" in order to produce the desired outputs. Displaced livelihoods exist in a complex system of mechanisms that are either purposefully put in place in order to undermine any sustainable development or have come about unnoticed as a part of larger systemic failure of the aid sector.

Firstly, a major factor affecting the delivery of livelihoods assistance has been the inconsistencies between international policies regarding refugees and the national policies of the local governments. The majority of states have put in place social exclusion mechanisms through restrictive legislation limiting refugees liberty of movement and rights to work, thus pushing forcibly displaced people to the margins of the society. This is done purposefully to discourage any long-term resettlement as refugees are perceived as a threat to the national security and the welfare of the host society. The lack of access to legal job markets pushes refugees to resort to unregulated job opportunities in the informal economy. The lack of regulation in the informal economy, renders refugees and their livelihoods even more vulnerable and exposed to abuse by their employers. As NGOs and IGOs can only help people with livelihoods activities that are legal so within the formal, legally regulated job market, refugees can easily find themselves with no support system for livelihood development whatsoever. Creating livelihood assistance and promoting sustainable livelihoods is therefore highly dependent on the legislative framework.

Secondly, a major strain on the scope and the reach of livelihood assistance efforts are the ill functioning of the system trying to deliver the aid in the first place. Forced displacement in its initial phase is usually treated as a humanitarian issue demanding prompt response through covering the basic needs of food and shelter. Because of its immediacy, humanitarian aid initiatives have relatively short time frames and comparatively small budgets as oppose to development projects. While suitable in the initial phase of crises, this, however, is not an efficient mode of operation when dealing with increasingly common protracted refugee situations. In this regard,

forced displacement from being a humanitarian issue becomes a development concern. Nevertheless, assistance targeting displaced livelihoods *de facto* is still designed and delivered by humanitarian agencies that are not equipped to do so. Furthermore, they are restrained by the demands from donors that are focusing on reaching high beneficiary numbers as quickly as possible and less concerned about how it is done which leads to a lack of people-centred approach.

While it seems that the practitioners are well aware that the problematic of displaced livelihoods should be analysed not only from the perspective of the western experts but also by getting a solid grasp on what kind of strategies do individuals employ themselves when adapting to the new circumstances, it seems that there still is a significant lack of involvement of the target group of the assistance programs due to the inefficiencies of the current aid system. All in all there is a considerable mismatch of international policies and practice in the field.

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11 Appendices

Appendix A: List of Abbreviations

DCA	Danish Church Aid
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EU	European Union
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IGO	International Governmental Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PCD	People-Centred Development
SI	Social Innovation
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Appendix B: Terminology

This section presents the chosen terminologies of the paper since definitions and terminology can vary from different sources and therefore be controversial.

Asylum seeker

When people flee their own country and seek sanctuary in another country, they apply for asylum - the right to be recognized as a refugee and receive legal protection and material assistance. An asylum seeker must demonstrate that his/ her fear of persecution in his/ her country is well-founded (UNHCR, 2019a).

Forced displacement

“Forced displacement refers to situations of persons who leave or flee their homes due to conflict, violence, persecution and human rights violations” (the World Bank, 2016). A distinction is made between conflict-induced and disaster-induced displacement. Most of the primary data collected is linked to conflict-induced forced displacement in this research paper, meaning that the forced displacement is induced by conflict, caused by humans rather than natural disasters (Migration Data Portal, 2019). The terms forced displaced people and refugees are used in the same way in this paper.

Internally displaced people (IDPs)

Persons or groups of people who have been obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-induced disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border (United Nations, 2004).

Livelihood

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable

when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Chambers & Conway, 1991).

Livelihood Activity

Livelihood activities are often complex and diverse, and highly depend on the environment in which the affected individual is living. It is common to differentiate livelihood activities in urban and in rural areas, for example. Some of the livelihood activities are linked to the natural resources sector such as farming, while some activities are more linked to specific markets, especially if an affected individual sells specific goods or services. Self-employment is seen as a popular and spread livelihood activity. Livelihood activities impact on the sustainable character of the livelihoods and are linked to the strategies used by affected communities to develop or sustain their livelihoods (SOAS University of London, 2019).

Livelihood Assets

“Livelihood assets are tangible and intangible goods and capitals that enables a person to make a living in a sustainable and dignified way” (Jacobsen, 2014).

Livelihood Assistance

Commonly referred to as livelihood programming, the research team found the term livelihood assistance also being used by practitioners and hence, found it more suitable for describing what kind of help is being offered towards refugee self-reliance. This term is used to describe the efforts of international aid agencies to assist in humanitarian and development work (Action on Armed Violence, 2019).

Migrant

describes any person who moves willingly, usually across an international border, to join family members already abroad, to search for a livelihood, to escape a natural disaster, or for a range of other purposes (UNHCR, 2019c).

Protracted refugee situations

Protracted refugee situation is defined by UNHCR as a situation „in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo - their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile; a refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance” (UNHCR, 2004).

Refugee

A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his/ her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. (UNHCR, 2019c). In this paper, the term refugee and forcibly displaced person are used in the same way.

Remittances

Money earned or acquired by non-nationals such as asylum seekers in a host society that are transferred to family or community members living in their countries of origin, resettled in a different host society or even in camps (Migration Policy Institute, 2003). Remittances have been recognized as crucial for the survival of displaced communities and are an alternative way of developing livelihoods for these affected communities from the international assistance (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

Self-reliance

The UNHCR defines self-reliance for refugees as “the ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs and to enjoy social and economic rights in a sustainable manner and with dignity.” The organization mainly focuses on the economic rather than the social sphere, therefore the definition of self-reliance is between organizations and the refugees themselves (UNHCR, 2014).

Sustainable livelihood

Chambers and Conway (1991) define a livelihood as consisting of “the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living” and by sustainability in this context meaning the capacity to “cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation” (p.6).

Appendix C: Pilot interview guide

- 1) Can you describe the ecosystem around the Danish Refugee Council?
 - a) Who supports the organization?
 - b) Who collaborates?
 - c) What is the impact in Denmark and in CPH? Abroad?
- 2) Are there key refugee organizations in Denmark?
 - a) Some dealing with self-reliance and livelihood programs (DK and out)?
- 3) Refugee Self-Reliance initiative, DRC part of it, do you have any information about it?
- 4) How do you measure self-reliance?
- 5) Measurements of the social impacts of these programs? Methods to measure? How to measure the impact of self-reliance?
- 6) Did you hear about the Buduburab camp in Ghana?
- 7) Any critical view about these programs? Or challenges you see?
- 8) Key Words
 - a) Danish context
 - b) Danes - culture (assimilationist) etc.
 - c) Refugee entrepreneurship

Appendix D: Semi-structured Expert interview guide

The semi-structured expert interview guide was designed through three hypotheses which had the main theories (the theory of displaced livelihoods and the PCD theory) in mind and guided by critical realism as a tool.

Introduction - warm up question

1. *Could you tell us a bit more about your professional experience with livelihood programs and refugee self-reliance?*

PROBE:

Have you been involved in designing livelihood programs? For what target-groups?

Are the programs you're working with for long-term solutions?

Have you been involved in other efforts to promote refugee self-reliance?

How do you see livelihood programs?

Livelihood programs

What would be a basic approach to livelihoods?

2. *How do livelihood programs address other aspects of refugee livelihoods other than skill training?*

PROBE:

How do livelihood programs support overcoming trauma? What are the practices?

How do livelihood programs support overcoming social exclusion on different levels such as in civil society, on state level as well as by institutions?

3. *To what extent are livelihood programs for forced migrants and other migrants different to each other?*

4. *Do livelihood programs facilitate access to new livelihood assets?*

5. *Do they facilitate legitimising the already existing livelihood assets?*

Development of livelihood programs

6. *According to your professional experience do you think there have been any significant changes in how refugee livelihood programs have been designed and delivered in the past and how it is done currently?*

PROBE:

Are there any major trends that characterize the way livelihood programs have been designed and delivered?

Who is designing them? Who is delivering them?

Could you elaborate on advantages and disadvantages by letting these people design it?

People-centred development

7. *In how far would you say that beneficiaries have influence on livelihoods programs?*

PROBE:

How are the different needs of individuals approached?

Where are the limits of people-centred approaches - even if you want to be people-centered, at what point do you need to generalize?

Why are programs not people centred?

8. *What is your wish for the development of Livelihood Programs?*