

‘LISTEN TO OUR VOICES’ WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO IMPROVE REFUGEE PARTICIPATION IN DURABLE SOLUTIONS PROCESSES?

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ACRONYMS

AAP	Accountability to Affected Populations
AU ECOSOCC	African Union Economic, Social and Cultural Council
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
CHS	Core Humanitarian Standard
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
Danida	Denmark's Development Cooperation
ECHO	European Union's Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
HAP	Humanitarian Accountability Partnership
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IRC	International Rescue Committee
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MWGs	Municipal Working Groups
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
P-FIM	People First Impact Methodology
ReDSS	Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat
RHP	Regional Housing Programme
RAE	Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
WHS	World Humanitarian Summit

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is well recognised that participation is crucial in any humanitarian or development intervention, both from a value-based and an effectiveness-based perspective. Regarding displacement, a key driver for solutions has been found to be the direct engagement of decision-makers with displaced persons to better understand which solutions they may prefer, and thus plan accordingly. Yet, achieving meaningful participation in practice remains a challenge, especially in durable solutions processes, be they for example global refugee response negotiations, or national or local resettlement policies, implementation frameworks for return/repatriation processes, or the development of national plans of action. Such processes frequently have a political dimension, and a government's lack of willingness, and/or of technical knowledge and capacity may result in displacement-affected people not being able to influence what solutions are ultimately available.

When it comes to the participation of displacement-affected people in durable solutions processes, it is necessary to be realistic about what to expect. It appears that the largest potential for deepening participation in such processes can be found at the local level. The research for this report has shown that displacement-affected individuals and communities could better leverage different opportunities to ensure that their voice influences both programmatic and policy-related decision-making at this level. Yet, as some of the elements that are key to unblocking durable solutions locally will only be negotiated at the national and regional levels, the broader system needs to be set up in a way that enables voices to travel from the edges of the system to the centre. For effective participation to happen beyond the local level, not only is the issue of representation important, but ensuring that participation is a strategic priority of all stakeholders is equally critical.

Participation of displacement-affected people is highly contextual. Governments may be willing and able to guarantee the conditions that allow refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to participate in political processes. They may also dictate restrictive approaches to their participation. International organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), alongside national human rights institutions and regional mechanisms, have a role to play with regard to encouraging participative behaviour, as well as in ensuring that refugee/IDP and host community voices are heard. Crucially, the way programmes are conceived and implemented can make a difference in the ability of displacement-affected individuals and communities to both influence and achieve their desired solutions. Indeed, policies will influence programmes, but the opposite is also true: if programmes are geared towards planting the seeds of participation – both as regards its conditions and its modalities – then there is a greater likelihood that change will happen in the long term.

The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) presents an opportunity to ensure that the voices of refugees translate into tangible outcomes, provided the inclusion of a diverse set of actors is based on a sound contextual analysis. It is not only about developing and supporting consultative processes with refugees and host communities, but it is first and foremost about empowering them to have a voice where it matters most. In this light, agencies and the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) structures should engage donors on funding support for community engagement processes as a continuous part of programming. The first practical step towards making durable solutions processes work for displacement-affected people is to ensure transparent feedback between them, agencies, and States.

1 INTRODUCTION

As an answer to a profound need for change, the September 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and its annex, the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), call for a whole-of-society approach to refugee response. A recent study commissioned by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) highlighted that by engaging a wide array of stakeholders, such an approach presents an opportunity to ensure a more equal involvement of refugees and host communities themselves:¹ from sole beneficiaries whose voices needs to be heard, refugees and host communities can become true and equal partners in processes that directly impact their lives (DRC, 2017). The present report builds on this conclusion and takes a closer look at enablers and obstacles for refugee and host community participation. The report focuses in particular on durable solutions processes, such as global and regional policy discussions, and the making of national and local legislation and plans of action that concern local integration, resettlement, and voluntary repatriation or return. To ensure that the CRRF vehicles a ‘participation revolution’ in refugee response, DRC’s intention through this report is to provide concrete, realistic, and operational suggestions on what it takes to

¹ In this document, reference is made to refugees, internally-displaced persons (IDPs), people in refugee-like situations and host-communities. On occasion, the catch-all phrase of displacement-affected individuals and communities or people is used.

WHILE THE NEED FOR A PARADIGM SHIFT IN PARTICIPATION PRACTICE IS WELL ACKNOWLEDGED ON PAPER, THERE HAS SO FAR NOT BEEN ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN THE WAY OPERATIONAL AND POLICY DECISIONS ARE MADE.

ensure the inclusion, participation, and agency of displacement-affected people, which can inform the application of the Programme of Action. As such, this report targets both policy-makers engaged in developing the Global Compact on Refugees, and the stakeholders responsible for implementing the CRRF at country levels, including practitioners supporting refugee response operationally.

1.1 CONTEXT

Over the past three decades, the importance of engaging directly with affected communities has come to be captured in numerous agency manuals, codes of conduct, guidelines, and standards, such as the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS) and the IASC Commitments on Accountability to Affected Populations (AAP). More recently, renewed attention has been brought to the necessity of ‘putting people at the centre’ (ALNAP, 2014; Plan International, 2015), to ensure that those affected by crisis are meaningfully consulted and engaged in processes that concern their future. A core commitment flowing from the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit (WHS), and echoing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, is that of “leaving no one behind”, and to empower “all women, men, girls and boys to be agents of positive transformation”.² In adopting the so-called Grand Bargain, signatories also agreed through workstream six to work towards a ‘participation revolution’, in which all “listen more to and include beneficiaries in decisions that affect them” (High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing, 2016, p. 22). The full realisation of this ambition is yet to be seen in practice, however (ALNAP, 2015; GPPi, 2017).

While the need for a paradigm shift in participation practice is well acknowledged

² See <https://www.agendaforhumanity.org/cr/3>.

on paper, there has so far not been any radical change in the way operational and policy decisions are made. At its Annual Consultations with NGOs in 2017, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) acknowledged and encouraged refugee actors to ensure that refugees “are included not just as beneficiaries but as real actors” (UNHCR, 2017, July 10). Thematic discussion four, “Measures to be taken in the pursuit of solutions”, held in preparation of the GCR, highlighted in particular the need to ensure and facilitate the “participation of refugees in decision-making processes” (UNHCR, 2017, Nov 15-17, p. 3). This both with a focus on voluntary and sustainable return and in terms of local solutions for refugees and the communities in which they live. Specific ideas on how to best empower refugees as decision-makers and ensure that their voice as well as that of local communities are heard were further articulated (UNHCR, 2017, Nov 14). An analysis of the GCR/CRRF consultations themselves has however shown that refugees and host communities have not been effectively contributing ideas or language to be fed into the text of the GCR, and little meaningful participation of refugees and host communities has been seen in the CRRF roll-out countries (DRC, 2017. See also ReDSS, Forthcoming a & ReDSS, Forthcoming b). The first drafts of the Global Compact also failed to integrate the strategic need to rethink displacement-affected people as actors in their own right (UNHCR, 2018, Jan 31 & UNHCR, 2018, March 9. See also DRC, NRC, IRC, Oxfam, Save et al., 2018). While Draft 2 introduced an explicit reference to participation of refugees in the Global Refugee Forum,³ refugee and host community participation remains mainly framed as a technical undertaking from an age and gender perspective.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

It is well recognised that participation is crucial in any humanitarian or development intervention. From a value-based perspective, free and meaningful participation is arguably a human right, flowing from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and

³ This mention was retained in Draft 3, and states that “States and relevant stakeholders will facilitate adequate participation of refugees, including women and youth, in Global Refugee Forums, ensuring the inclusion of their perspectives on progress.” (UNHCR, 2018, April 30, para 109, and UNHCR, 2018, June 4, para 103)

ACHIEVING MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN PRACTICE REMAINS A CHALLENGE, ESPECIALLY IN DURABLE SOLUTIONS PROCESSES THAT MAY BE POLITICAL IN NATURE.

translated into a right to participate in a number of other instruments.⁴ From an effectiveness perspective, the CHS - and the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) standard before - have integrated community and beneficiary participation in humanitarian programming, for example, as a specific element of accountable and high-quality humanitarian action. As regards displacement, in particular, a key driver for displacement solutions has been found to be the direct engagement of decision-makers with displaced persons to better understand which solutions they may prefer, and thus plan accordingly (DRC, 2014). Yet, achieving meaningful participation in practice remains a challenge (ALNAP, 2015), especially in durable solutions processes that may be political in nature. A government’s lack of political willingness as well as lack of technical knowledge or capacity may make it difficult for refugees and other displaced people to influence decisions on what solutions are ultimately available.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

The aim of this research has been to foster concrete suggestions on how to facilitate participation of refugees and host communities in durable solutions processes. To do so, the research has sought to answer the question of “What does it take to make the CRRF a vehicle for a participation revolution in refugee response?”, and more explicitly, “What are the enablers and obstacles for refugee and host community participation, looking specifically at durable solutions processes?”

⁴ See for example article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, article 15 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, articles 41-42 of the International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, and the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action.

2 — METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2.1 ANALYTICAL FRAME

As part of the transformative agenda, the humanitarian system as a whole has made itself accountable to affected populations. UNHCR understands accountability to affected populations as “an active commitment by humanitarian actors and organisations to use power responsibly by taking account of, giving account to, and being held to account by the people they seek to assist”⁵ For this purpose, accountability “can only be achieved through the meaningful participation of persons of concern in all phases of the programme cycle”⁶ In 2011, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) principals endorsed five Commitments on Accountability to Affected Populations. In addition to leadership, transparency, feedback and complaints, and design, monitoring, and evaluation, these commitments also specifically covered participation. Thus, the principals agreed to incorporate participation into the policies and operational guidelines of their organisations to enable “affected populations to play an active role in the decision-making processes that affect them” (IASC, 2011).

The notion of participation can be used as an all-encompassing term to refer to a number of

5 See <https://emergency.unhcr.org/entry/69409>.

6 Ibid.

increasing levels of engagement. Participation can range from passive involvement or information-sharing with refugee groups and host communities to more direct initiatives and control on behalf of local refugee/host communities. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on meaningful/effective participation, understood as the possibility and/or ability of refugees and host communities to actively influence durable solutions processes. This understanding is in line with that of the Final Participation Revolution Workstream Recommendations, which see “effective participation” as that which “puts the needs and interests of [people affected by humanitarian crises] at the core of humanitarian decision[-] making, by actively engaging them through-out decision-making processes” (Grand Bargain, IASC, 2017). Throughout this report, reference will be made to meaningful and effective participation interchangeably, seeing it both as the ability of people to exercise their right to participate, and to influence the outcomes.

This research has aimed to uncover examples and good practices related to meaningful participation of refugees in the sense of consultation⁷ and collaboration.⁸ Moreover, instances have been sought for where refugees and host communities have been able to make decisions and have control over or take the initiative on different elements of the analysis, planning, and execution of durable solutions processes. In particular, the analysis has wanted to identify and highlight examples of displaced persons and host communities’ participation on their own terms (Harrell-Bond, 1986), while contributing to shaping externally-dependent durable solutions processes. Indeed, there are always inherent questions around who participates, how, and on whose terms. As such,

7 I.e. where refugees are asked to offer their opinions, suggestions, and perspectives.

8 where refugee groups and host communities are directly involved in the shaping of durable solutions processes.

THERE ARE ALWAYS INHERENT QUESTIONS AROUND WHO PARTICIPATES, HOW, AND ON WHOSE TERMS. PARTICIPATION MAY EITHER CHALLENGE OR REINFORCE AND REPRODUCE EXISTING POWER RELATIONS.

participation may either challenge or reinforce and reproduce existing power relations (White, 2010).

This project was conceived to analyse what it takes to enter the space where the parameters for durable solutions are defined, i.e. the political space. Consequently, the research was initially geared towards exploring participation in policy-related processes, i.e. the development of normative frameworks and mechanisms. However, to adequately capture the many aspects of durable solutions processes, preliminary findings pointed to the need to broaden the study's definition of durable solutions processes to also include strategic or technical programming elements. As such, durable solutions processes are understood in this study to range from the global and regional to the national and local levels. Examples include, but are not limited to, the CRRF/GCR negotiations, bi/tri/multi-lateral MOUs regarding voluntary repatriation, UNHCR and State resettlement policies, national implementation frameworks for return, and national plans of action.

2.2 METHODOLOGY

The research behind this report has made use of qualitative research methods, essentially semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions, triangulated by document review. In addition to desk-based research looking at examples from various contexts and exploring the role of refugee participation in strengthening accountability for the international system's overall refugee response, research was also carried out through two field missions. The document analysis covered independent studies and research based on publicly available documents focusing on the relationship between accountability and participation as well as participation, inclusion, and agency of displaced people and host communities in solutions processes. A particular focus was given to the elements that have appeared to enable and/or facilitate access and representation of refugee/IDP and host community voices into strategic policy discussions.⁹ Some of the examples used in this study are drawn from IDP settings, where relevant to refugee situations, because of the common challenges faced by both groups as a result of their displacement, irrespective of their legal status.

⁹ I.e. For more information on the lines of enquiry and the data collection methods used, see the Research Matrix in Annex 1.

OVERVIEW OF CASE-STUDY CONTEXTS

Jordan hosts the second highest number of registered refugees relative to population in the world, the majority being from Syria, then Iraq and Palestine refugees from Syria. With the majority of refugees living in host communities and the March 2016 London conference opening legal work opportunities for refugees, the Jordan response plan for 2016-2018 for the Syria crisis has been focusing on linking short-term coping solutions with longer-term initiatives aimed at strengthening local and national resilience capacities (Government of Jordan, 2015).

Serbia, a candidate for EU membership, is still hosting the largest displaced population in Europe, including refugees from former Yugoslavia and IDPs from Kosovo, since the late 1990s. While the number of refugees has reduced over the years as a result of local integration and return voluntary repatriation movements, achievement of durable solutions for IDPs hinge on authorities and local stakeholders in both Serbia and Kosovo addressing various unresolved issues, including property restitution and compensation (DRC, 2016). Particularly vulnerable among the IDPs are the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian (RAE) IDPs, who also repeatedly face discrimination in accessing many of the most basic rights and are victims of social exclusion (DRC, 2009).

The two field research missions were carried out over five days each, with one looking at the circumstances for Syrian refugees in Jordan, and another at the refugee and IDP situation in Serbia and Kosovo. The two field locations were chosen to examine participation experiences as they are evolving in real-time, and to consider lessons learnt that have emerged over a longer period.

During the field missions, the research team met with representatives from international and national NGOs, international agencies, national authorities, and refugee, IDP, and host community leaders. The team also held focus group discussions with Syrian refugees in Amman (Jordan) and with Serb and Albanian IDPs in Mitrovica and Brezovica (Kosovo), and visited Serb and Roma IDP families in Rača and Belgrade (Serbia).

Many of the examples gathered during the field missions are specific to the contexts in which they have developed and reflect a relative

openness from national authorities to create an environment that is more conducive to upholding refugee rights. The authors acknowledge this is certainly not indicative of the totality of refugee hosting countries. Remote interviews with relevant key stakeholders with experiences from other contexts were also held, to complement or to validate the findings gathered in the two field locations.¹⁰ Admittedly, the subject matter of participation in durable solutions processes is an incredibly large one, touching upon issues of civil/minority rights, democracy, and governance, and it has not been possible to examine it exhaustively within the scope of this report. Rather, the aim has been to identify a few concrete operational modalities for promoting better inclusion, participation, and agency of displacement-affected people in durable solutions processes, knowing that any such endeavour remains highly context-dependent.

2.3 OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

Section 3 will introduce the analysis of the primary data collected to discuss what it takes for refugees and host communities to meaningfully participate in durable solutions processes. It is structured in three sub-sections around the main themes that emerged in the research. Section 4 concludes the report by highlighting key findings with regard to enablers for such participation on the one hand, and obstacles on the other, and by providing suggestions on how to take the findings forward.

THE ONLY WAY THE VOICE OF
DISPLACED GROUPS CAN BE
HEARD IS IF THOSE WITH POWER
ARE ENGAGED.

¹⁰ See Annex 2 to this report for a complete list of stakeholders. It should be noted that the research for this report has also drawn on insights gathered through interviews held for the first phase of this research, and reference can therefore also be made to the list of stakeholders interviewed at the end of 2017 for that report (See DRC, 2017).

3 TOWARDS A ‘PARTICIPATION REVOLUTION’ IN THE SEARCH FOR DURABLE SOLUTIONS

Participation generally refers to a position of power, i.e. of being able to make or influence decisions. For effective participation, existing power differentials between displaced groups and decision-makers need to be balanced by a certain redistribution (Brookings Institution, 2008). The relationship between humanitarian agencies and displacement-affected – or more broadly disaster or conflict-affected – people is one between “givers and receivers of help” (Anderson, 2009). Participation is therefore seen also as an opportunity to enable relatively powerless groups to hold more powerful stakeholders accountable. Past research has demonstrated that aid can be accountable and effective only through the full participation of crisis-affected communities (CDA, 2012¹¹). The relationship between participation and accountability can be seen as mutually reinforcing. On the one hand, true accountability to affected populations can contribute towards establishing the confidence necessary for effective participation (Groupe URD, 2008); on the other hand, meaningful participation can empower affected populations to hold decision-makers and service providers accountable (ODI, 2003c; ALNAP, 2014).

With regard to the participation of displacement-affected individuals and communities in durable solutions processes

¹¹ See also <http://cdacollaborative.org/cdaproject/the-listening-project/>.

UNDERSTANDING WHICH FACTORS MAY ENABLE OR OBSTRUCT MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN SOLUTIONS-RELATED PROCESSES IS THE FIRST STEP TO ENSURING A TRUE ‘PARTICIPATION REVOLUTION’.

more specifically, there are recognised benefits both for those affected, and for the actors and institutions striving to protect and assist them (Brookings Institution, 2008). As the Network for Refugee Voices has highlighted, “[i]ncluding refugees in planning comprehensive responses to displacement leads to enhanced dignity and autonomy for affected populations, ensures that the responses invested in to address asylum policies are tailored to refugees needs and rights and strengthens the bottom-up buy-in and accountability of refugees and their host communities” (Network for Refugee Voices, 2017). Understanding which factors may enable or obstruct meaningful participation in solutions-related processes is the first step to ensuring a true ‘participation revolution’. This section will discuss in more detail what it takes to ensure participation of displaced persons in solutions processes, starting in section 3.1 with the underlying conditions for such participation. Section 3.2 will then look at the modalities for participation, i.e. the limits of direct participation and the implications of representation. In a last sub-section, the discussion will turn to the issue of taking participation forward to ensure a true ‘participation revolution’.

3.1 CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR PARTICIPATION

As part of the focus group discussions held for this research, participants were asked to do a group exercise through which they identified what they perceived to be the biggest obstacles to their participation in durable solutions processes, and what they saw as possible enablers for such participation. Figure 1 provides an overview of the outcome of these exercises, and the relative weight that participants gave to the different factors that they felt

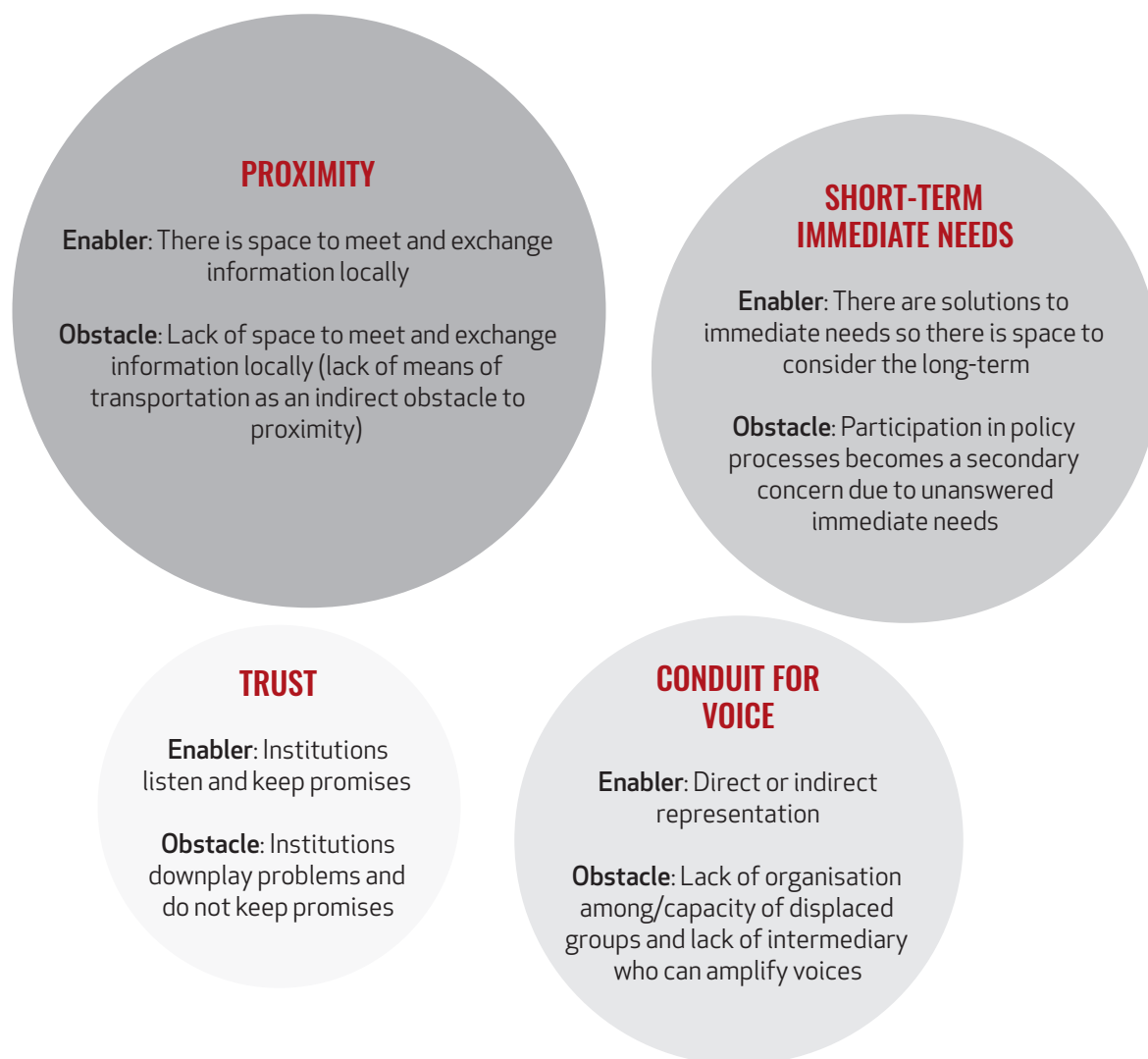


Figure 1: Enablers and obstacles to participation as identified in focus group discussions

impacted negatively or positively on their level of participation. The bigger the circle, the more significant did the participants deem the obstacle/enabler to be.¹²

Though the research for this study was initially geared towards participation in policy-related processes, insights from both Jordan and Serbia and Kosovo emphasised the need to not underestimate the achievements made through programmatic approaches and the linkages between the two. Indeed, as seen in Figure 1, one of the main concerns that the participants in the focus group discussions raised was that as long as their immediate assistance needs go

unanswered, participation towards longer-term solutions becomes a secondary concern that gets left aside. However, the linkages between programme outputs and participation in policies arguably go further than that; it is not simply a question of addressing short-term needs so that there is space to work for participation in the longer-term, but the research for this report also indicated that the way programmes are conceived and implemented can in fact make a difference in the ability of displacement-affected individuals and communities to both influence and achieve their desired solutions. Indeed, policies will influence programmes, but the opposite is also true. Policy solutions depend on practical details, and programmes can ensure these details are there. Based on the findings from Jordan and Serbia, it appears that programme responses often enable participation in achieving durable solutions at the practical and micro-level.

¹² A detailed breakdown of the enablers and obstacles identified during the focus group discussions, and the way they were weighted by the participants can be found in Annex 3 to this report.

POLICY SOLUTIONS DEPEND ON PRACTICAL DETAILS, AND PROGRAMMES CAN ENSURE THESE DETAILS ARE THERE.

The creation of space

The factor that participants in focus group discussions in Jordan and Kosovo highlighted as impacting most on their possibility to participate in policy discussions was that of local proximity to a space where they could meet and exchange information. Frequently, as seen in Figure 1 and as captured in more detail in Annex 3, displaced people framed this issue in terms of a lack of means of transportation making them unable to travel to where they would need to be in order to influence durable solutions processes. Overall, the environment largely determines the space available for displacement-affected individuals and communities to communicate their preferences. The more numerous the safeguards in place to guarantee a general space for citizen participation, including minority rights, the easier it will be to adjust the existing space at the national level to include displaced groups as well. The bigger the number of obstacles, including the politicisation of displacement per se, the higher the risks of excluding displaced groups from policy-making around durable solutions. In this regard, the research for this report highlighted that the level of participation of displacement-affected people is also dependent on what position they hold in regard to other displacement-affected people in the same country – not all have equal opportunities.

Dedicated programmatic approaches can help build space for participation, whether the response is camp-based or not. As an example of both a physical and a social space, community centres facilitate connections among displaced groups, host communities, and service providers. They provide not only a conduit to enable refugee access to services, but they also constitute a safe environment for information exchange and discussion.

It is important, however, to stress the requirement that a space is voluntarily used for participation. Space is crucial, but it is impossible to force it upon someone, especially in contexts where displacement is associated with significant protection concerns and fear of the system, and where people may prefer to guard their anonymity.

The establishment of trust

As seen in Figure 1, focus group participants found that a relationship of trust with authorities or aid organisations is a necessary

THE DISCUSSIONS WITH DISPLACED PERSONS IN JORDAN, SERBIA, AND KOSOVO ALL HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED FOR ORGANISATIONS TO MANAGE EXPECTATIONS BY NOT UNDULY CREATING THEM IN THE FIRST PLACE.

HOW PROGRAMMES CAN BUILD SAFE SPACES

Experiences from DRC's community centres in Jordan have shown that while they may not automatically enhance the Syrian communities' ability to participate in decision-making for the community, the majority of Jordanian and Syrian respondents in a social cohesion survey argued that the local centre helped their community grow stronger in the longer term (DRC Jordan, 2017, p. 6). The more community centres operate on the basis of flexible rules agreed jointly, the better they can allow displaced groups and host communities to use them on their own terms. While the ones in Jordan have not been used in this sense, the opportunity to use this space to discuss options for durable solutions has been put forward in the context of the Durable Solutions Platform. The reason it has not been taken up in practice is the fact that it was felt that it would likely involve a discussion around politically sensitive issues such as raising the prospect of returns, something which could possibly unduly impact on the perception of DRC's programming.

One respondent in Jordan highlighted that if trust and space would enable participation, fear of the system is an obstacle, and that while peer to peer information groups could for example be used to spread and give information, it is in certain contexts questionable to what degree refugees really feel that they can be open in discussions. There have been cases where they have seen people deported, or sent back to camps, and as argued by the respondent in question "even if there is space, it's not sure that people would feel safe to use it".

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

In Serbia, Serb IDPs from Kosovo appeared more willing to raise their voice and to contact local authorities than Roma IDPs. In Jordan, several respondents raised the example of a group of Sudanese refugees, who perceived that they were not being receiving an equal amount of assistance as Syrian refugees. In this case, demonstrating outside UNHCR's offices was the only way they felt that they could influence any processes regarding their future (Malkawi, 2015), but they were eventually deported by Jordanian authorities (HRW, 2015). Similarly, interviews with key stakeholders regarding the refugee response in Uganda, one of the CRRF-roll out countries, highlighted a more positive example of how the environment impacts on participation of displacement-affected people. Here, the government's progressive settlement approach and freedom of movement for refugees irrespective of their country of origin was explained to enhance the degree of proximity between displaced groups, local authorities, and host communities, opening increased options for local solutions (see also The World Bank, 2016).

requirement for them to participate in durable solutions processes on equal terms. It also appeared from the discussions that delivering on programmes is an important element of building that trust. In situations of protracted displacement, programme implementers can help displaced groups and local communities achieve confidence in their ability to reach their preferred solution by consistently maintaining an open and transparent dialogue. Ultimately, with regard to establishing trust, the discussions with displaced persons in Jordan, Serbia, and Kosovo all highlighted the need for organisations to manage expectations by not unduly creating them in the first place, and by following-up on all decisions with consistent messaging and feedback – both to those benefitting from a programme, and to those who in the end do not benefit (see also ReDSS, Forthcoming a).¹³

There has been a long-standing debate on

¹³ Feedback from consultations held in four countries in East Africa, in response to the call for inclusion in the CRRF consultation process, for example, found that regular and participatory conversations were needed to inform decision-making (Uganda) and that agencies should listen, be honest and share important information freely with communities (Kenya) (see ReDSS, Forthcoming a).

A RELATIONSHIP BASED ON TRUST IS A LONG-TERM ENGAGEMENT.

the participation of affected communities in humanitarian action, aimed specifically at ensuring accountable, effective, and high-quality programmatic outcomes. Resources have been invested over the years to investigate how humanitarian agencies and affected people interact, and what and where the opportunities for participation are (ODI, 2003a; ODI, 2003b; ODI, 2003c; ALNAP, 2014). More recently, participation has been grounded in the different elements of the humanitarian programme cycle as an ongoing dialogue between people affected by crisis and humanitarian aid providers (SCHR, 2017). Much attention is also being spent on technical approaches to participation, regarding the most appropriate methodologies to be adopted. As highlighted above, however, "participation is not a simple matter of methodology, it requires a willingness to share power, to recognise and respond to the rights of affected people and to support self-determination proactively" (ODI, 2003a, p. 3).

It is particularly this aspect of power-sharing that matters when looking at policy decision-making. Of more direct interest to the aim of this study is therefore how

PROGRAMME ENABLERS

During a focus group discussion in Amman, several respondents highlighted that the main obstacle they saw in regard to entering the labour market was their inability to travel to work. Programmes aiming for sustainable transportation options were hence working towards access to livelihood opportunities. DRC programmes in Serbia have also shown that providing a more effective interface with local authorities can ensure that housing options truly reflect individual choices. In one case, for example, a Serb IDP family was able to make an informed choice between returning to their area of origin or remaining in the area of displacement. Once they decided to remain, the relationship they had with DRC staff enabled them to pursue their preferred housing option by finally choosing both the construction type – prefabricated home – and the details of the constructions of their home (e.g. the location and orientation of both the main door and the windows).

TRUST AS AN ENABLER

In a focus group discussion with Syrian refugees in Jordan, it was noted that if a hotline set up by humanitarian actors is working properly, that is a very simple way to ensure that beneficiaries can come to build trust in the systems and structures that are in place to support them. The respondents explained that while they all had the number for the hotline, and tried to call it frequently, no one ever answered the phone. This reinforced the impression of a dependency relationship rather than an active partnership in the search for solutions.

programmes can contribute to establishing trust between displacement-affected individuals and communities and decision-makers, and to creating a space in which meaningful participation on durable solutions can take place. And this from the very local, to the national, regional, and ultimately the international level. The importance of trust for inclusive policy-making is well established in development and public governance studies (see e.g. OECD, 2013 and Antonini, Hogg, et al., 2015). Research has in fact found that citizen participation is directly related to the level of trust in the source of governance: when citizens believe in politicians and the effectiveness of the public institutions, they have more faith that the common goal of improving the quality of life can be achieved (Carreira, Machado, & Vasconcelos, 2016). Effective communication between citizens and politicians also allows for a better understanding of the aims of political policy-making, contributing to both establishing trust and supporting an enabling space for democratic governance (see also Regional Joint Secretariat, 2018).

In the case of displaced groups, while governments have the primary responsibility for their protection and assistance, multiple other actors – be they local, national or international – play an important subsidiary role. They are often called upon to support displacement-affected individuals and communities in environments impacted directly or indirectly by conflict and/or disasters. Where a direct relationship of trust cannot be established with national authorities, these other actors can play an extremely important role in connecting the two. What interviews with key stakeholders and the insights collected during the field missions have highlighted is that a relationship based on trust, however, is a long-term engagement. This

THE MORE NUMEROUS THE SAFEGUARDS IN PLACE TO GUARANTEE A GENERAL SPACE FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING MINORITY RIGHTS, THE EASIER IT WILL BE TO ADJUST THE EXISTING SPACE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL TO INCLUDE DISPLACED GROUPS AS WELL.

aspect was particularly stressed through the example of a community engagement project with both Syrian refugees and local communities in northern Jordan carried out by the National Democratic Institute. It is built on a willingness to keep an open mind and to be transparent about what is possible to achieve within externally determined political constraints, and honest promises.

The significance of language

Finally, what the field missions for this report have also highlighted is the fact that cultural affinity and a common language between refugees/IDPs and host communities can be an enabling factor for participation in durable solutions processes. Such affinity can permit refugees and IDPs to better understand the terms according to which citizen participation generally operates in areas of displacement, and allows them to interact directly with relevant authorities, especially at the local level. This becomes all the more important when it comes to understanding the frequently technical terms linked to participation in political processes and policy development (Arreola & Altamirano, 2016). As a respondent noted however, it is important not to generalise the significance of language and culture as enabling factors for participation. Cultural affinity and a common language may, in fact, either do not play a role at all or may be used against displaced groups if they are seen as a symbol of political affiliation in the area of displacement.

3.2 SETTING UP CLEAR MODALITIES FOR PARTICIPATION

Participation is not only linked to trust, but it is also inherently connected to the issue of legitimacy and representation (Rempel, 2009). Depending on how the space for participation is articulated, there may be varying limits to direct participation of displacement-affected people. Over the years, high levels of disenfranchisement of IDPs have been recorded around the world, pushing practitioners to focus on how to guarantee their election-related rights and political participation (Brookings Institution, 2000; Brookings Institution, 2009). Other limits are a natural extension of policy-making processes, as in a democracy, it is arguably “the public that determines where it wants to go, and the role of its representatives and bureaucratic staff is to get them there.” (Kweit & Kweit, 1986, p. 25). Policy-making around durable solutions may involve highly technical discussions, as in the case of verification of cadastral records

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL AFFINITY

In Jordan, a Syrian refugee community leader explained that she had been able to influence a change in policy for the admission of refugee children in local schools by interacting directly with the different levels of the Jordanian bureaucracy. Research into the International Conference on Central American Refugees (CIREFCA) process puts forward similar examples of where integration of refugees in host communities has been made easier thanks to cultural and linguistic affinities that transgress political borders (UNHCR, 1994). In the case of Northern Iraq however, the political frontier between Syrian and Iraqi Kurds has overshadowed cultural affinities, progressively restricting space for refugees (see for example Hiltermann, 2016). Experiences in Kosovo have also shown that “in some municipalities, e.g. in Prishtinë/Priština and Pejë/Peć, the participation of IDPs was obstructed by the failure of the municipal institutions to ensure timely translation into the Serbian language and to deliver the draft document to the IDPs to allow for sufficient time to review it and provide comments” (OSCE & UNMIK, 2007, p. 7).

PARTICIPATION IS NOT ONLY LINKED TO TRUST, BUT IT IS ALSO INHERENTLY CONNECTED TO THE ISSUE OF LEGITIMACY AND REPRESENTATION.

in Kosovo aimed at property restitution. It will also involve a variety of different stakeholders at different levels, from local authorities to national ministries to international actors, both humanitarian, development, and political. Based on discussions with respondents for this study, from Jordan, Serbia, and Kosovo, it is worth looking closer at two elements with regard to representation: the legitimacy of those representing others, both in the eyes of those they represent and in the eyes of their interlocutors (the decision-makers); and the implications of representation, which comes with both rights and responsibilities.

The legitimacy of those representing others

Figure 1 above shows that focus group participants found the lack of a conduit for their voice to be a major obstacle to their participation. Several of them argued that when they are not sufficiently organised among themselves or do not have the capacity to ensure direct representation, they would like to see an international or a local NGO acting on their behalf, amplifying their voice. In this regard, it is noteworthy that several respondents from local NGOs raised the concern that it is often the same IDP association or local refugee organisation that internationals tend to work with, be it at the local level, or in policy discussions in regional and global fora. Often these are the ones with the best-looking structures, but not necessarily the ones that are closest to the people. As seen in the research carried out prior to this study, the question of which voices should be taken as representative is a thorny issue. Who can claim to have the ‘mandate’ to represent displaced groups? Only displaced individuals? National civil society? International actors? Just like any other community, refugee communities are social groups of people with political opinions and beliefs and often a level of organisation. Refugee leaders, however, may not be democratically elected and may use their communities as a power base (DRC, 2017, p.

11). Examples from Jordan, Serbia, and Kosovo confirmed that community leaders may simply be self-appointed, either as a proof of status or because of their proactive nature and out of a genuine wish to improve the situation for themselves and/or a larger group. When it comes to legitimate representation, the interviews and focus group discussions carried out for this research clearly indicated that decision-makers have an important role to play when choosing whom to interact with as representatives of displacement-affected people.

When a community is cohesive with a certain degree of organisation, the identification of representatives vis-à-vis external interlocutors will be a simple expression of internal governance mechanisms.¹⁴ In the case of displacement-affected communities, the literature has widely highlighted how displacement can undermine a person's sense of identity or prove a catalyst for creating new identities (See for example Brinker-Gabler & Smith, 1997; Matsuoka & Sorenson, 2001; Siddiqui, 2016). Traditional leadership structures may therefore be affected. Displacement may in fact break the links between the members of a community and their leaders. Camp settings may also lead to a shift in leadership structures as new leaders who are able to engage with aid actors – because of their background, education, and ability to connect – emerge (Refugee Studies Centre, 2011). Similarly, the research behind this report highlighted that not only may there be a disconnect in agendas between diaspora groups and IDPs remaining in their home country, but different diaspora groups may also significantly disagree among themselves (see for example Younes, 2017). There is therefore a careful balance to be found between ensuring that a variety of different voices and positions are meaningfully represented in a way that is effective with decision-makers.

Rights and responsibilities linked to representation

¹⁴ Traditional leadership systems may themselves at times suffer from a legitimacy crisis in the eyes of their international interlocutors especially when the concerns and wishes of groups such as women and youth are systemically under-represented.

PROMOTING LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATION

The example of representation of Serb IDPs provides some guidance on how to navigate the dilemma of legitimacy. Specific criteria for who could fulfil the role of representatives were developed to ensure effective representation of IDPs in municipal working groups (MWGs), a key forum for solving problems pertaining to return and for minority integration in Kosovo. The limits of representation were also clarified: each individual could represent a maximum number of households. In discussions with two IDP representatives, it appeared that they did not feel comfortable talking on behalf of all Serb IDPs, but they were simply speaking on behalf of those from whom they had received a 'mandate' in the form of a signature. While they may have volunteered to play the role of representative in the first place, they had to have a confirmation in writing by those he/she would represent. They limited their engagement to the very local level, where they also had their specific interests. To connect with the higher instances of policy-making they relied either on the national authorities or members of the civil society, including IDP associations, or international actors.

Representation comes with both rights and responsibilities. If representation is to function successfully as participation by proxy, it has to go two ways. Or, in other words, any representative – be it an individual, or an association, or an international organisation – needs to ensure that information is not only relayed from the displaced persons and host communities, but that feedback also comes back to them. For example, in an interview with staff from a national Syrian NGO based in Jordan, one of the respondents explained that the manager of the NGO had been invited to take part in policy discussions in New York, as a refugee representative, but that all the feedback that the staff had received from that meeting was related to what the hotel and the dinner were like. Similar input has been collected in consultations with refugees in Kenya on the CRRF implementation. Refugee communities complained about the lack of accountability of their leaders to them (ReDSS, Forthcoming a). When two-way communication is not managed well, this will affect trust in, and ultimately the accountability of individuals and/or agencies representing displacement-affected

REPRESENTATION COMES WITH BOTH RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

individuals and communities. The significance of the role played by international actors came to the fore in Jordan, where all three focus group discussions held with Syrian refugees highlighted the issue of the power of UNHCR. Here, there was generally an impression among respondents that possibilities for solutions, in particular as regards resettlement opportunities, were in the hands of UNHCR staff, who they however felt would neither reply to any requests for information, nor follow up on assessments and promises made. While it appears that UNHCR becomes an easy target in a situation where refugees do not want to turn their frustration at their host government, UNHCR could seemingly endeavour more thoroughly to relay information back to refugees, if only to clarify with whom the final decision regarding resettlement actually resides.

HOW SKILLS FOR REPRESENTATION MATTER

The research for this report highlighted the importance of NGOs – be they national or international – to provide capacity support to IDP and refugee representatives. Two Serb IDP representatives highlighted the important role DRC had played in supporting them. They explained that they had not been sure of what being a representative would entail and they had initially just relayed their personal experience. It was thanks to the support from DRC staff that they felt comfortable consulting and continuously communicating with the people they represented.

One respondent explained that DRC's experience of the IDP situation in Georgia showed that the more diverse the displaced people are, the more value there is in having a third-party who can see beyond one single group, to amplify its voice. In this case, DRC came to act as an intermediary between the highly disparate groups of IDPs and the Georgian government, using local structures to reach out and find people who were interested in a dialogue, providing training, and starting a process of meetings between IDPs and authority representatives. It was an endeavour that had to develop over time, but it led to a significant change in the engagement with IDPs, with the government starting to take an interest in the types of issues that they brought forward.

PARTICIPATION IS ENABLED ABOVE ALL BY IDENTIFICATION.

Unearthing hidden voices

As one respondent in Jordan noted, "participation is enabled above all by identification", meaning that people need to be identified as participants to begin with in order to be given a voice, and to know their rights. If a group is not recognised or if it is misrecognised, individuals cannot give accounts of themselves and thus have limited space for public voice (Couldry, 2010). This space can be enlarged, through media and/or via national civil society and international actors. While social media was highlighted in the focus group discussions in Jordan as the main outlet to obtain information, IDPs in Kosovo explained that they would contact national print and broadcast media to spread information and to influence decision-makers. In case of authoritarian environments where mainstream media is controlled by dominant political groups, displaced individuals and groups resort to alternative outlets and the internet, as seen in Azerbaijan (Shenshina, 2012). National actors such as national human rights institutions and civil society at large, as well as international actors can help unearth the voice of those individuals and/or groups who would otherwise remain hidden. They can also help ensure that displacement-affected individuals and communities are aware of their rights, and that their rights are upheld (Ferris, 2008), both through protection programming and advocacy and through data collection. Data collection can be used as a way to channel the voice of different groups – including the more invisible ones – to decision-makers.

INCLUDING MARGINALIZED GROUPS

The work of DRC in Serbia highlighted how individual staff-members can act as focal points for marginalised IDP families. For two of the IDP families that the research team met with, all hope in regard to influencing their future was put in the hands of the DRC social worker who interacted with them on a daily basis, listening to their concerns and working closely with them towards finding solutions that suited them personally.

ADVOCATING ON BEHALF OF HIDDEN VOICES

In Jordan, respondents highlighted how a high number of unregistered Syrian refugees are estimated to reside in the country, lacking legal documentation, and hence any possibility of participation in processes that concern their future. The lack of legal status translates into the lack of any voice. Concerted advocacy efforts can contribute to making hidden voices visible. At the instigation of international agencies, talks of amnesty for undocumented Syrian refugees in Jordan have been engaged with the government (ECHO, 2017 and JIF, 2018).

Profiling exercises,¹⁵ surveys of intentions and participatory approaches to programme implementation can for example all ensure that the voices of displacement-affected individuals and communities are translated into durable solutions plans. Respondents have highlighted the need to move away from needs assessments or 'programme feasibility', which use a set of predefined questions, to reach instead a more open conversation. For the past two decades, for example, development actors have been using participatory poverty assessments, capturing people's own analysis of poverty more comprehensively, as a way to open spaces for poor people to influence policies targeting them.¹⁶ Where agencies control the questions, they control the agenda.¹⁷ This is the opposite of enabling meaningful participation. On the other hand, where data is collected through

¹⁵ Profiling is the collaborative process of identifying displaced groups or individuals through data collection, including counting, and analysis, in order to take action to advocate on their behalf, to protect and assist them and, eventually, to help bring about a solution to their displacement (IDMC & OCHA, 2008).

¹⁶ There is a large body of literature reviewing the advantages and disadvantages of participatory poverty assessments. Experience has also shown that participatory poverty assessments could create new relationships between actors involved in poverty reduction, by creating opportunities for collaboration or division of labour in the implementation of poverty reduction strategies, and in the monitoring of progress. See for example <http://www.participatorymethods.org/method/participatory-poverty-assessments>.

¹⁷ As it was highlighted by one of the respondents for this study

participatory approaches¹⁸ and triangulated, it can unsurprisingly more meaningfully channel different voices to decision-makers. With due caution to potential protection risks linked to data collection, this is particularly important especially in situations of protracted displacement, where the attainment of durable solutions is stalled.

Finally, when it comes to unearthing hidden voices, respondents for this report highlighted two elements as particularly important. First, an appropriate understanding of the context is an important step to guaranteeing that agencies are aware not only of who the displacement-affected individuals and communities are, but also of what their capacities are, and whether there are tensions or hidden vulnerabilities among them (ReDSS, Forthcoming a). A profiling exercise assessing the routes to durable solutions for IDPs in Kosovo, for example, allowed for a better understanding of the situation and wishes of the different IDP groups, including Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, who are traditionally less visible (Profiling Management Group, 2018). Assessing risks and sensitivities and continuously monitoring local power dynamics have been forwarded by several respondents during this research as crucial for ensuring the most vulnerable and marginalised are adequately represented, and that any relevant practical factors which may impede participation of particular groups are taken into account. The latter could include making sure for example that appropriate locations and timings of meetings are chosen (See also Regional Joint Secretariat, 2018, p. 27).

Second, it is equally important to uphold a two-way communication, and to close the communication loop by validating and reporting back on findings. Feedback collected through the focus group discussions, in fact, highlighted both refugees and IDPs' frustration at being asked a number of questions by agencies without knowing or understanding the impact

¹⁸ For example, the People First Impact Methodology (P-FIM), starts with a first goal-free community engagement exercise that has no objective, and where community members talk freely about what is most important to them and why. This is then followed by a second two-way engagement, where issues raised in the first consultations are fed back (See ReDSS, Forthcoming a).

WHERE AGENCIES CONTROL THE QUESTIONS, THEY CONTROL THE AGENDA.

of the answers provided.¹⁹ An example from a profiling exercise assessing the situation, vulnerabilities, and future intentions of the IDPs in Sittwe, Myanmar, shows the importance of validating the findings throughout the exercise and adjusting the presentation of the results in a way that can be easily understood by the communities (JIPS, 2017). In this case, a video screening in the local language given at community centres and also distributed through the use of mobile phones enabled a greater engagement from the communities with the profiling exercise itself.

3.3 TAKING PARTICIPATION FORWARD

Once the conditions for meaningful participation are fulfilled and clear organisational modalities for representation are in place, the question arises as to how a true 'participation revolution' can happen. This calls for a discussion around the level at which participation is more likely to be successful, as well as on how the voices of displacement-affected people can travel from one level to another.

Focusing on the local level

The research for this report has shown that there are different elements and examples of good practice that can ensure the voices of displacement-affected individuals and communities are integrated in decisions – be they programmatic or policy-related – at the local level. Representation can then link locally-based inputs to wider policy processes. For this to be effective, however, the broader system needs to be set up in a way that enables voices to travel from the edges of the system to the centre (INRA, 2017). Decentralised decision-making can be an enabler in policy-making towards durable solutions especially when the centre and the edges of the structures in place communicate effectively between them.

¹⁹ What the FDGs in Jordan highlighted in particular was the gap in closing the feedback loop especially with regard to non-beneficiaries. While it appears to be standard practice to communicate with beneficiaries on the conditions and criteria to fulfill to be able to be supported, such communication does not happen with those who do not fulfill such criteria. This seemed to lead to both tensions within the communities and endanger the overall level of trust in international actors.

THE BROADER SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE SET UP IN A WAY THAT ENABLES VOICES TO TRAVEL FROM THE EDGES OF THE SYSTEM TO THE CENTRE

PARTICIPATION VIA DECENTRALISED MECHANISMS

Feedback from participatory consultations in Uganda have highlighted that formal channels for refugee and host community inclusion as part of the national and sub-national CRRF architecture are an important means of guaranteeing their meaningful participation (ReDSS, Forthcoming a).

In 2003, UNMIK, UNHCR, and the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Kosovo developed a Manual for Sustainable Return to formalise coordination among all the different stakeholders involved in return projects. The newly created municipalities were tasked with drafting municipal return strategies through an open consultative process. Different actors including IDPs and their representatives contributed actively to the drafting, albeit with mixed results (OSCE & UNMIK, 2007). This happened either directly through participation in various conferences and workshops in Kosovo, or indirectly as the municipal return strategies fed back into the revisions of the overall strategy at the central level, which led for example to the revised Manual for Sustainable Return in 2006.

The National IDP Policy in Afghanistan calls for local authorities to work in close collaboration with the local representatives of the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation which is the lead and provider of last resort in all matters related to internal displacement (IDP Policy Working Group, 2015). A review of the implementation of the national policy in 2017, however, found that government coordination mechanisms were occasional and loose, including between national and provincial counterparts (UNGA, 2017). This impacted the overall ability to achieve durable solutions and for IDPs and host communities to meaningfully influence the drafting and implementation of the provincial action plans.

The lack of available resources is a clear obstacle to effective consultations and meaningful participation of displacement-affected communities and individuals. With dwindling funding support fewer meetings of the municipal working groups in Kosovo were held, reducing the engagement of IDPs in the search for solutions. Similarly, in Afghanistan, the lack of resources has been cited as one of the reasons behind the poor implementation record of the national policy (IDP Policy Working Group, 2015). This raises the question as to the sustainability of participation and community engagement if it is seen as an end in itself – as separately-funded programmes – and not as a means to an end – as a principle underlying the development and implementation of any policy, including on durable solutions. In this regard, for example, there is a need for agencies and CRRF structures to involve donors on funding support for community engagement processes as a continuous part of programming.

Arguably, it is not only available funding that would allow civil society and international NGOs to work towards fostering meaningful participation in their programming, but there would also need to be internal willingness and ability to do so. As highlighted by one respondent for this research, meaningful participation needs to be a strategic priority for an organisation. The use of regular feedback in decision-making processes, and effective data collection and management systems which link displacement-affected people, operational staff, and the senior management are essential. Several aid agencies have made commitments towards greater accountability to affected people, through for example the CHS, but experience has shown this remains an organisational shortcoming. Aid agencies' "current monitoring systems are weak in achieving this [AAP] and have a bias towards creating accountability to donors" (SAVE, 2016, p. 8. See also CHS Alliance, 2015). To ensure the development of a sense of agency of displaced people and host communities, civil society and international NGOs would need to cultivate a culture of participation. As suggested in the interviews, local staff who is in direct contact with displacement-affected people could be specifically trained to bring their voices up in the organisation and thereby close the

communication loop.²⁰ One respondent also suggested that modern technology be used, for example through phone messaging systems that are already set up for programmatic reasons, and that it be formatted to gather input for policy changes rather than just feedback on assistance and/or complaints as is currently the case.

USING INCENTIVES TO INFLUENCE NATIONAL POLITICAL AGENDAS

In the case of Serbia, it has been possible to use the question of the EU accession to try to address the protracted displacement of refugees in the country. The Regional Housing Programme (RHP) is the result of such political discussions. A joint initiative by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia, the aim of the RHP is to contribute to the resolution of the protracted displacement situation of the most vulnerable refugees and displaced persons following the 1991-1995 conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, through durable housing solutions. Similarly, in Jordan, respondents highlighted how bilateral funding provided a good opportunity to address concerns over the Syrian refugee response through budget negotiations.

²⁰ A review of specific methodologies for closing the feedback loop and fostering participation in programming is beyond the scope of this report, but there are a number of options available in existing literature and practice. In addition to P-FIM mentioned above, reference can for example be made to Ground Truth Solution's Constituent Voice methodology (see <http://groundtruthsolutions.org/about/methodology/>); DRC's Community Driven Recovery and Development (see <http://www.community-driven.org/>); and the use of Community Conversations (see e.g. https://www.wvi.org/sites/default/files/Community_Change_for_Social_Action_PM.pdf). Reference can also be made to Table 1 in SAVE, 2016 and to the findings of a pilot led by World Vision in 2014 on what makes a good beneficiary feedback system work (available at <http://feedbackmechanisms.org/>).

**MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION
NEEDS TO BE A STRATEGIC
PRIORITY FOR AN ORGANISATION.**

Participation through coordination

Coordination between humanitarian, development, and those other actors who can influence the national political agendas can better ensure that the voices of displacement-affected individuals and communities are effectively included in national policies and plans, if not global ones. The discussion above has indicated that while refugee/IDP and host-community participation in durable solutions processes happens more readily at a local level, the space for it tends to shrink at the national level, and even more so at regional and international levels (INRA, 2017). The role that international organisations and NGOs can play has also been emphasised – be it to create space for participation, build capacity for representatives, or act as amplifiers of the voices of those affected by displacement. If refugee/IDP and host community voices are to travel successfully into regional and global policy discussions, it appears significant that they do not remain within separate organisations, but that the issues that they raise adequately permeate the system. There are different examples in this regard.

At the national level, national human rights institutions and civil society platforms can play an important role. At the regional level, a few institutional mechanisms have been set up to generally harness civil society voices. One example is the African Union Economic, Social and Cultural Council (AU ECOSOCC), which was set up to foster greater partnership between the AU and interested members of civil society.²¹ Similarly, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) has a Regional Civil Society Forum and national chapters to boost the participation of civil society. While the effectiveness of the role of civil society organisations within this type of initiatives can be debated (see for example Accord, 2016 or Laporte & Mackie, 2010) the approach of involving citizens and actors at grassroots level does carry an opportunity to find inclusive solutions.

²¹ See <https://au.int/en/organs/ecosocc>. Acting as a secretariat to the AU ECOSOCC, the Citizens and Diaspora Directorate (CIDO) works to facilitate the involvement of African peoples in Africa and around the world in the affairs of the AU (<https://au.int/en/cido>). The Center for Citizens Participation on the African Union (CCP-AU), is an independent network that has also been established to broaden and strengthen opportunities for substantive engagement between the African Union (AU) and citizens (see <http://ccpau.org/>).

PARTICIPATION IN DURABLE SOLUTIONS PROCESSES HAPPENS MORE READILY AT A LOCAL LEVEL.

REGIONAL OR NATIONAL PLATFORMS

At the regional and national level, coordination around durable solutions processes can also be achieved through the example of dedicated NGO platforms. One example is provided by the Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS), which works to improve programming and policy in support of durable solutions for displacement-affected communities in East and Horn of Africa. While ReDSS's primary goal is not to enhance participation, its work does promote participatory approaches. For example, ReDSS members have worked together to support communities' consultations in four countries rolling out the CRRF using a participatory process known as the People First Impact Methodology (P-FIM) (See ReDSS, 2017 and ReDSS, Forthcoming a). ReDSS also intends to prioritise participation as a theme during 2018 and beyond for its member agencies to hold themselves accountable for measurable and continuous inclusion of the voices of displacement-affected communities in programme design and implementation. Mention should also be made of the Durable Solutions Platform which was established by DRC, IRC, and NRC to generate knowledge and promote dialogue and strategic programme approaches to the long term future of Syrian refugees and IDPs. As part of their work, they have for example held roundtable discussions with Syrian refugees to understand their perspectives around the options for durable solutions (DSP, 2017).

At the global level, mention should be made of recent initiatives that aim specifically for the participation of displacement affected people. The Network for Refugee Voices is for example developing a global platform through which refugees and refugee-led organisations can contribute to dialogue on the international refugee protection regime.²² The creation of any refugee-based advocacy network, however, would not only have to grapple with the above-mentioned dilemma of how to constructively communicate the large diversity of refugee voices, but it would also have to overcome more systemic barriers to participation, such as reduced mobility due to legal status, or a lack of access to resources (INRA, 2017).

Adequate coordination on the international level would allow to translate as many different voices as possible from the local to the global level, and as such, initiatives like the Network for Refugee Voices are definitely valuable undertakings which need to be supported. Nevertheless, such initiatives cannot be conceived in isolation, as they alone are not the silver bullet solving the issue of refugee participation. As durable solutions processes are inherently political, the only way the voice of displaced groups can be heard is if those with power are engaged, and even better if they have incentives to listen to and respond to displaced groups' preferences and demands. That is where a sound contextual analysis is all the more essential.

THE ONLY WAY THE VOICE OF
DISPLACED GROUPS CAN BE
HEARD IS IF THOSE WITH POWER
ARE ENGAGED.

22 Together with the Refugee Council of Australia and The Australian National Committee on Refugee Women they have put forward the idea of an international advocacy network that can bring together refugee-led organisations from around the world to collaborate and strengthen refugee representation in international dialogue (INRA, 2017).

4 CONCLUSION

One respondent in Jordan highlighted that when it comes to IDP/refugee and host community participation in durable solutions processes, it is necessary to be realistic about what to expect, arguing that “we would love to see complete involvement, but that will not happen, so if that is the goal, we have a non-starter”. This sense that a realistic objective is required for the ‘participation revolution’ to get anywhere appeared throughout the research behind this report, especially in regard to participation in governmental or intergovernmental durable solutions policies. This issue can also be linked to the discussion on whether participation should be conceived as an end in itself, or as a means to an end (ALNAP, 2014). The above-mentioned example of the MWGs in Serbia indicated that if IDP participation in durable solutions processes is conceived as a programmatic output, it risks dwindling once the funding is cut short. On the other hand, if programmes are geared towards planting the seeds of participation – both as regards its conditions and its modalities – then there is greater likelihood that change will happen in the long term.

Realistically, the largest potential for deepening participation in durable solutions processes is at the local level. The research for this report has shown that displacement-affected individuals and communities could better leverage different opportunities to ensure that their voice influences both programme design and implementation, as well as governmental/intergovernmental policy-making, programmatic and policy-related decision-making at this level. As some of the elements that are key to unblocking durable solutions

locally will only be negotiated at the national and regional levels, the broader system needs to be set up in a way that enables voices to travel from the edges of the system to the centre. Decentralised decision-making can be an enabler in policy-making towards durable solutions especially when the centre and the edges of the structures in place communicate effectively between them. It is important to translate as many different voices as possible from the local to the global level.

In the case of more invisible people, data and thorough community engagement could channel the voice of different groups to decision-makers. Where data itself is collected through participatory approaches, it can unsurprisingly more meaningfully relay different voices to decision-makers. This is particularly important in situations of protracted displacement, where the attainment of durable solutions may be stalled or where serious protection concerns may warrant a less direct involvement of displaced individuals or groups in political processes. For effective participation to happen beyond the local level, not only is the issue of representation important, but ensuring that participation is an organisational priority is equally critical. Finally, good coordination between stakeholders across levels will enable the voices of displacement-affected people to better travel to the national, regional, and global level, and translate them into concrete outcomes.

Participation of displacement-affected people in durable solutions processes is highly contextual: what works in one context may very well not work in another. Governments may be willing and able to guarantee the conditions that allow refugees and IDPs to participate in political processes. They may also dictate restrictive approaches to their participation. However, national human rights institutions, civil society, international organisations and NGOs have a role to play in regard to civic education, and

IT IS IMPORTANT TO TRANSLATE AS MANY DIFFERENT VOICES AS POSSIBLE FROM THE LOCAL TO THE GLOBAL LEVEL.

encouraging participative behaviour, as well as in ensuring that refugee/IDP and host community voices are heard. Crucially, the way programmes are conceived and implemented can in fact make a difference in the ability of displacement-affected individuals and communities to both influence and achieve their desired solutions. Policies will influence programmes, but the opposite is also true. Policy solutions depend on practical details, and programmes can ensure these details are there. Through programmes, agencies can create a space where displaced individuals and groups can feel safe to engage on policy-related issues as well.

Through the CRRF implementation, there is an opportunity to ensure that accountability for refugee responses and the meaningful participation of displacement-affected individuals and communities is enabled from the global to the local level and vice versa. A multi-stakeholder approach can ensure that the voices of refugees translate into tangible outcomes provided it is based on a sound contextual analysis. As highlighted in this report, the space available for displaced people and host communities' participation is largely dictated by their environment. Establishing linkages between refugee actors and other stakeholders – be they local, national or international – who have an influence over the national political agenda can directly contribute to opening a greater space for the meaningful participation of displaced people. It is therefore important not to forget that refugees and host communities should be able to contribute to the analysis, design, and implementation of durable solutions processes not simply as beneficiaries but as actors in their own right.²³ It is not only about developing and supporting consultative processes with refugees and host communities, but it is first and foremost about empowering them to have a voice where it matters most, whether they want to use it or not. In this light, agencies and CRRF structures should engage donors on funding support for community engagement processes as a continuous part of programming. Guaranteeing the principle of transparency in communications between agencies, States, and displaced people by closing the feedback loop is the first practical step in making durable solutions mechanisms work for them.

POLICIES WILL INFLUENCE PROGRAMMES, BUT THE OPPOSITE IS ALSO TRUE.

The table below contains a summary of the enablers and obstacles for refugee and host community participation in durable solutions processes, as they have emerged during the course of this research, as well as pointers for a way forward. The enablers and obstacles are grouped according to the type of issues they raise. Following the categories used by the SCHR (SCHR, 2017): “Contextual factors” are understood as those whose applicability may vary considerably from one context to another; “Systemic factors” are those which relate to how international humanitarian assistance is structured in terms of decision-making power, coordination structures, and resourcing; and “Organisational factors” are related to how organisations operate and make decisions. In addition to these three factors identified by the SCHR, the table below also identifies so-called “Community factors”, i.e. those which are more closely connected to the refugee/IDP and host communities themselves, and how they are organised.

²³ And as a human right, as seen above, flowing from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and translated into a right to participate in a number of other instruments.

4.1 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS		
OBSTACLE	ENABLER	IDEAS FOR THE WAY FORWARD
<p>Lack of political space. Limits to the direct participation of displaced persons flowing from a lack of political space, for example as a result of displaced individuals' status as non-citizens, a lack of safeguards for minority rights, or a lack of trust.</p>	<p>Legal safeguards. Effective legal safeguards in place guaranteeing a general space for citizen participation, including minority rights.</p> <p>Media outlets. Access to media outlets, and possibilities of association, to spread and receive information.</p>	<p>Joint advocacy work by civil society and international NGOs can contribute to clarifying the legal identity/status of displaced people and opening up the space for their participation. One example of such an effort are the now ongoing talks of amnesty for unregistered refugees in Jordan, triggered through the involvement of an INGO consortium.</p>
<p>Politicization of displacement. Return may be the only solution considered and political discourse may contribute to the marginalisation of displaced groups, as well as to the creation of expectations that are not met.</p>	<p>Cultural affinity. Cultural affinity and common language with host communities allow for proximity.</p>	<p>Media can help depoliticise displacement at the local level. In terms of enabling displaced people to achieve their preferred solution, civil society and international NGOs can build bridges with actors who have an influence over the national political agenda (including donors), to open up solutions other than return. This would require a sound contextual analysis exploring the roles of all relevant actors and the incentives that can be used for leverage.</p> <p>Civil society and international NGOs could promote political incentives to better take the voice of displacement-affected people into account. Solidarity Conferences in the context of the Global Compact on Refugees, for example, can be used both to fundraise to enable consultations with communities and local authorities and to promote all durable solutions, including resettlement pledges.</p> <p>The largest opportunities for deepening participation in durable solutions processes can be found at the sub-national/local level. The CRRF could focus primarily on local implementation, including by exploring area-based plans, on the basis of the meaningful participation of displacement-affected individuals and communities and local authorities.</p>

ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS		
OBSTACLE	ENABLER	IDEAS FOR THE WAY FORWARD
<p>Lack of funding, particularly if participation is conceived as a programmatic output in itself, and not as a means to an end.</p>	<p>Creation of space. Programmes that are conceived and implemented in view of creating trust over time and allowing for a space in which participation can take root.</p>	<p>Civil society and INGOs should consistently establish a participatory approach at the programme level, with the inclusion of both displaced people and representatives of local communities. The more people participate in programmes the greater their sense of agency (e.g. community centres that systematize the culture of working with refugees and host communities beyond ad hoc one-way discussions). Greater gains can be achieved by adopting a multi-stakeholder/whole-of-society approach to solutions processes by ensuring institutional diversity (e.g. municipal and district authorities, private service providers, community-based organisations like youth groups and women's groups...).</p>
<p>Lack of two-way communication. Lack of follow-up that can be interpreted as feeding back the outcomes of discussions to displaced groups (including non-beneficiaries); and lack of monitoring over time.</p>	<p>Amplification of voices. Organisations acting as representatives of or amplifying the voices of displacement-affected communities.</p> <p>Engagement over time. Participation is not a short-term endeavour.</p> <p>Consistent messaging and follow-up. Interactions affirm the value of participation, and as many as possible are informed of the outcomes of discussions and decisions.</p>	<p>Agencies should consider participation of strategic importance and should focus on nurturing a culture of accountability. In particular, they can build the necessary systems and processes to enable their own staff, especially the ones working in direct contact with displaced people and host communities on a regular basis, to bring their voices up within their organisation and close the communication loop (e.g. mainstream discussions around opportunities for policy developments/advocacy around solutions across the organisation, including volunteers where appropriate).</p>

COMMUNITY FACTORS		
OBSTACLE	ENABLER	IDEAS FOR THE WAY FORWARD
<p>Diversity. Communities are not unified, and their opinions change over time.</p> <p>Democratic deficit of representation. Refugee leaders are not democratically elected but use their communities as a power base.</p>	<p>Cohesion. Affected people have a sense of community.</p> <p>Accessible representation structures. A key forum for solving problems pertaining to return and for minority integration, with specific criteria for who could fulfil the role of representatives, and for whom.</p>	<p>Agencies should base their work in an in-depth context analysis, ensuring that they are aware of who the displacement-affected individuals and communities are, what their capacities are, and whether there are hidden vulnerabilities. Clear guidance on the responsibilities of representatives and the procedures and standards to be upheld, as well as the creation of an environment of mutual respect and trust in which all views can be shared and heard safely, are key to participatory approaches.</p>
<p>Fear of system. Individuals and communities seek protection through anonymity rather than engaging in policy processes.</p>	<p>Empowerment. Displaced people are empowered to understand where decisions are being made and how to influence them.</p>	<p>Data collected through participatory approaches can meaningfully channel different voices to decision-makers, especially in situations of protracted displacement, where the attainment of durable solutions may be stalled or where serious protection concerns may warrant a less direct involvement of displaced individuals or groups in political processes.</p> <p>Agencies should have realistic expectations in terms of direct participation of refugees/IDPs and host communities in policy processes related to durable solutions. Where immediate needs go unanswered, participation in policy development becomes a secondary concern (e.g. the importance of the link with programmes). Displaced groups and host communities' expectations should also be managed by communicating systematically and transparently around options for durable solutions.</p>

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6 ANNEXES

ANNEX 1 RESEARCH MATRIX

ANALYTICAL DIMENSION	LINES OF INQUIRY	DATA COLLECTION
Relationship between accountability and participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has the literature argued that meaningful participation in practice works to strengthen accountability for durable solutions specifically? • Can HAP and/or the CHS frameworks be used to promote 'political' participation more specifically? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desk review
Enablers and obstacles to participation in durable solutions processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is meaningful participation of refugees and host communities in durable solutions processes at the community/local, national and international levels best achieved? • What enables meaningful participation of displaced groups in the analysis, planning and implementation of their durable solutions processes? • What prevents meaningful participation of displaced groups in the analysis, planning and implementation of their durable solutions processes? • Which past attempts to foster participation, inclusion, and agency of displaced groups in policies and practices related to durable solutions can provide the best key lessons learnt? What are the lessons learnt? What can be learnt from such past attempts? • What defines a good practice? How are displaced groups meaningfully involved in the analysis, planning and implementation of their durable solutions? Under which circumstances does it happen? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desk review • Semi-structured interviews • FGD with refugees

ANNEX 2

KEY INFORMANTS

GENEVA BASED MEETINGS AND REMOTE INTERVIEWS	
Afghan Displacement Solutions Platform/DRC: Anna Stein	Tehran
DRC East Africa: Katy Grant	Nairobi
DRC Geneva: Stephan Maurer	Geneva
DRC Uganda: Jean-Christophe Saint-Esteben & Anna Maria Leichtfried	Kampala
ECHO Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa: Massimo La Rosa	Nairobi
Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS): Isis Nunez Ferrera	Geneva
People first Impact Method (P-FIM): Gerry McCarthy	Nairobi
Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response: Kate Halff	Geneva
UNHCR: Scott Pohl, Nicolas Martin-Achard & Michelle Ndhlovu	Geneva

FIELD-BASED RESEARCH	
DRC Jordan: Andrew Merat, Amjad Yamin & Gerry Garvey	Amman
DRC Kosovo: Kristen Stec, Chiara Mossina & Fatos Karagyzi	Pristina
DRC Serbia: Martina Cremonese, Milosava Smiljanić, & Ivana Milanović-Đukić	Belgrade
Durable Solutions Platform/DRC: Saskia Baas & Izraa Sader	Amman
Focus Group Discussion with Albanian IDPs (4 men)	Mitrovica
Focus Group Discussion with Serb IDPs (5 men, 3 women)	Mitrovica
Focus Group Discussion with Serb IDPs (10 women)	Brezovica
Focus Group Discussions with Syrian refugees (23 women; 11 men)	Nuzha, Amman
International Rescue Committee (IRC): Thomas Garofalo	Amman
International Organization for Migration (IOM): Agron Ajazi	Pristina
Syrian and Jordanian Community Leaders	Nuzha, Amman
Jordan INGO Forum: Yannick Martin & Mathilde Vu	Amman
National Democratic Institute (NDI): Jonas Cekuolis	Amman
OSCE: Dominik Drasnar & Sofia Botzios	Pristina
Representative from the Ministry for Communities and Returns (MCR)	Pristina
Representatives from the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration	Belgrade
Representatives from the Office for Kosovo and Metohija	Belgrade
Representatives from three national Syrian NGOs, two national Jordan NGOs, one Serbian IDP Association, and two national NGOs in Serbia and Kosovo ²⁴	Amman, Belgrade, Pristina
Syrian INGO Forum (SIRF): Mathieu Rouquette	Amman
UNHCR Kosovo: Shkëlqim Shehu,	Pristina
UNHCR Serbia: John Andrew Young & Dimitrije Pešić	Belgrade
Visit with one Roma IDP family and three Serb IDP families	Belgrade, Rača

²⁴ On the request of some of the representatives from national NGOs, their names as well as those of the NGOs consulted are not provided here.

ANNEX 3

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS FROM FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

As part of the field-level focus group discussions held for this research, participants were asked to do a group-exercise in which they worked to identify what they perceived to be the biggest obstacles to their participation in durable solutions processes, and what they saw as possible enablers for such participation. The participants were also asked to list the different obstacles and enablers in order of importance by assigning a relative weight to them. To do so, each group was given a maximum of 20 points that they had to distribute across the identified factors.

In focus group 1, 2, and 6, the participants worked in two groups, with one looking at obstacles and one on enablers. In focus groups 3 and 4, the participants worked in two groups, and both groups looked both at enablers and obstacles. Focus group 5 did not do the exercise as the group was much smaller in size.

The tables below indicate the obstacles and enablers identified per group, together with the number of points assigned to each. This information has laid the ground for figure 1 in this report, and the categorisation of the enablers/obstacles used has also been included in red in the tables below.

TABLE 1: OBSTACLES TO PARTICIPATION IDENTIFIED BY FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

FGD 1 Amman 11 women	8: Don't know how to make voices heard by organisations that matter ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	4: Lack of means of transportation and travel ⇒ PROXIMITY	3: Can't feel psychologically calm and in control of the situation ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	3: There does not seem to be a future for the children in terms of education and employment ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	2: Lack of locals to go to for help to deal with problems ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE
FGD 2 Amman 11 men	11: Lack of fair health services to care for immediate needs ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	4: Lack of funds and employment ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	4: Lack of financial means to care for family's immediate needs ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	1: The solution of going back to Syria isn't there because of the continued bombing ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	
FGD 3:1 Amman 12 women (half the group)	8: If you are not registered with UNHCR and have to ID, you can have no voice ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	4: If children can't go to school and there is no money, there are other immediate needs ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	3: Lack of means of transportation and possibility to travel ⇒ PROXIMITY		
FGD 3:2 Amman 12 women (half the group)	20: Lack of means of transportation and possibility to travel ⇒ PROXIMITY				
FGD 4:1 Mitrovica 5 men and 3 women (half the group)	4: Lack of financial means ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	3: Lack of willingness on behalf of authorities to see participation ⇒ TRUST	2: Lack of capacity for self-representation ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	1: Lack of organisation among IDPs themselves ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	
FGD 4:2 Mitrovica 5 men and 3 women (half the group)	5: Lack of information from responsible institutions ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	3: Lack of experience in participation within the group ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	2: Lack of organisation among IDPs themselves ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE		
FGD 6 Brezovica 10 women	6: Lack of employment ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	6: Lack of willingness on behalf of authorities to listen to voices of IDPs/returnees ⇒ TRUST	4: Lack of possibilities and education here, so youth goes abroad ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	4: General stigmatisation of IDPs in host community ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	

TABLE 2: ENABLERS TO PARTICIPATION IDENTIFIED BY FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

FGD 1 Amman	10: In every area of Amman there should be a specific organisation that people can go to to discuss problems, rather than having to travel far for this ⇒ PROXIMITY	5: The employees that organisations hire should be capable of making the right decisions and listen well to what the needs really are ⇒ TRUST	3: Would help if services like health care were for free so immediate needs solved ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	2: Organisations should deliver as they promise they will and not return on their word or downplay ⇒ TRUST
FGD 2 Amman	10: If UNHCR and organisations listen to real problems and aid is allocated fairly ⇒ TRUST	5: If DRC or another NGO collect voices and take them to authorities ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	3: If more attention is given to the education of children ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	2: If hospitals and health care centres actually listen to what the immediate problems are ⇒ TRUST
FGD 3:1 Amman	5: If all were included and assessed for all aid in cooperation ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	4: If UNHCR and other organisations would listen better to what actual needs are and keep word ⇒ TRUST	3: Better means for travel and transportation ⇒ PROXIMITY	
FGD 3:2 Amman	20: Better means for travel and transportation ⇒ PROXIMITY			
FGD 4:1 Mitrovica	10: If there was someone from the international community or a local NGO who could represent IDPs ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE			
FGD 4:2 Mitrovica	6: If there were a representative for the group who was working for the interest of all, not only his/her own ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE	4: If IDPs organised meetings among themselves and went to talk to organisations and authorities together ⇒ CONDUIT FOR VOICE		
FGD 6 Brezovica	10: Employment opportunities or vocational training programme for youth ⇒ IMMEDIATE NEEDS	6: Better means of transportation ⇒ PROXIMITY	4: Bringing services closer to where IDPs are so elders for example also can engage ⇒ PROXIMITY	

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