



# Protect

The Right to International Protection

Are the UN Member States Committed to the  
Global Refugee Compact's International  
Solidarity Norm?



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# Are the UN Member States Committed to the Global Refugee Compact's International Solidarity Norm?

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The 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, including its 1967 Protocol, is the very fundament of the international refugee protection system. It establishes the legal category of “refugee”, defines the rights of the refugees, and designates the states as the main guardians and implementers of the international refugee law. It stipulates the states to protect people who need protection by *admitting them to their safe territory*, by *not returning them to unsafety*, by *giving them territorial asylum*, and by *integrating them into their society*. Other forms of protection – e.g., temporary protection, extra-territorial arrangements (e.g., internal protection, protection in safe zones, and refugee camps close to conflict areas), or financial or other aid to burdened countries, military interventions in conflict zones – are regarded as provisional measures within the liberal intergovernmental approach of the postwar international protection regime. In addition to these, although not a binding arrangement, the United Nations’ Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), which was approved by the UN General Assembly in 2018, reinstated the international refugee regime’s element of *international collaboration*, which had been briefly mentioned in the preamble of the Refugee Convention but was not an integral part of the international protection system in practice.

Thus, the primary norms of the current international refugee protection regime implied in the 1951 Convention are *access to safe territory*, *non-refoulement*, *territorial asylum*, and *international responsibility-sharing*. However, research in the field of refugee studies has been reporting an increasing deviation from the norms of non-refoulement, access to safe territory, and territorial asylum in states’ protection policies and practices (e.g., Sicakkan 2008, Kritzman-Amir and Berman 2009, Foster 2012, Nagy 2017, Hathaway 2018, Bhattacharya and Biswas 2020). The international responsibility-sharing norm has now been revived, among other reasons, to prevent such deviation by easing the burden of the overloaded states. For international responsibility-sharing to be a viable method of strengthening the international refugee protection system, it is a prerequisite that states are truly committed to this norm.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is partly based on the thesis work by Eva Marit Kristoffersen at the Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen.

Are the states committed to the responsibility-sharing norm within the framework of the GCR? We endeavor to answer this question by studying the contents of the pledges that the states submitted to the UNHCR's Global Refugee Forum (GRF) by the end of 2020. In the following, we first justify our focus on particularly the states' commitments. Next, we define and measure the concept of international responsibility-sharing. Finally, we discuss the extent to which the states are committed to the new norm in their pledges to the GRF.

## **1 States as the principal agents of responsibility-sharing in the GCR**

The fundamental novelty of the GCR is its reinstatement of the international responsibility-sharing norm in the area of international refugee protection. The main objectives stated in the text of the GCR are to (i) *ease pressures* on host countries; (ii) enhance refugee *self-reliance*; (iii) expand access to *third country solutions*; and (iv) support conditions in countries of origin for *return* in safety and dignity. Indeed, when these goals are weighed against each other, there is a hierarchy between them. While easing pressures on the host countries is the main goal for materializing the international responsibility-sharing norm, the other three appear to be operative sub-goals. Behind this shell, the GCR has several novel elements:

In legal terms, an original aspect of the GCR is the link it subtly aspires to create, in its paragraph B.5, between the refugee rights defined in the 1951-Geneva Convention and the later international human rights law. That is, the various UN human rights instruments that came into force after 1951 such as, among others, the 1965 *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, the 1984 *Convention Against Torture*, the 1990 *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child*, and the 2000 *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children*. Although not legally binding, this attempt of the GCR may catalyze the strengthening of the international protection system in the long term as it encourages the states to interpret the refugee rights and their responsibilities in terms of the wider human rights instruments.

In institutional terms, the most substantial innovation is the introduction new institutions such as the *Global Refugee Forum (GRF)*, the *Asylum Capacity Support Group (ACSG)*, *Asylum Support Platforms (ASP)*, and the *Global Academic Interdisciplinary Network (GAIN)*. The GRF is convened regularly to, among other deeds, gather pledges from stakeholders and monitor the progress toward the GCR goals. The ACSG is a mechanism to enhance the capacity of the national asylum and refugee status determination systems. The ASP are activated during mass inflows to coordinate international collaboration. With these, the GCR invokes a network

approach to international collaboration between international organizations, states, non-state organizations, as well as private enterprises. Networks of these actors are foreseen to facilitate voluntary collaboration. Pledges on (and from) such networks have already been declared by their initiators, especially by non-state actors in the framework of the GRF. Whereas the GRF has activated permanent or long-durée transnational networks that aim to address single issues and multiple refugee situations (e.g., GAIN and ACSG), ASP function as temporary voluntary networks aiming to respond to multiple issues in single refugee situations, or in single countries that ask for support in connection with mass inflows and refugee crises.

In political terms, the GCR's added value is its reconciliation of the state-centered status quo in the global governance of refugee protection with the transnational pluralism on the ground. As an indication of its adherence to the established intergovernmental mode of global governance, the GCR refers to the "international community" 22 times. This discourse specifies the state as the primary constituent entity in international relations, as opposed to the pluralistic term "international society", which includes the full variety of state and non-state actors as constituent entities. This language entails an understanding of the world as a community of states, creating a hierarchy between the various players in the international arena: states are at the top, followed by intergovernmental organizations, and the non-state organizations at the bottom. At first sight, this political language of the GCR may appear to contradict its pluralistic approach to the organization of international collaboration in multi-level, multi-stakeholder networks on the ground. However, despite the frequent mentions of non-state organizations with concrete and important roles in refugee protection, the GCR clearly designates the state as the core political entity that has the final word in decision-making and action-taking. Although this may sound to be somewhat at odds with the transnational pluralism on the ground, this contradiction between the discourse and practice is an important step towards reconciling the intergovernmental global governance system with a more pluralist approach to governance by utilizing the pluralism on the ground in refugee protection work.

Indeed, not only the political innovations of the GCR, but also its legal and institutional approaches imply a continuation of a global protection governance system which is based on the principle of intergovernmentalism (as opposed to supranationalism or pluralism) and which stipulates the states to be the primary agency of responsibility-sharing. States being thus designated as the principal agents in the GCR's voluntary international responsibility-sharing (IRS) scheme, it is imperative to assess their commitment to this norm.

## **2 A Brief introduction to the UNHCR’s indicators of GCR progress**

This brings us to the importance of measuring states’ contributions to IRS. In their evaluations of the progress towards the objectives of the Global Refugee Compact, in the context of the Global Refugee Forum, the UNHCR has a broad approach to the IRS norm. The approach is broad in the sense that it includes not only contributions to IRS, but also states’ efforts to fulfill what should be conceived as their own protection responsibility. Although a state’s fulfillment of its own responsibility is clearly a contribution to refugee protection, it does not necessarily mean IRS. This rather broad approach is discernable in the UNHCR’s 2021 *Global Refugee Compact Indicators Report*. To illustrate the point, we will use a few examples from the report.

As seen in Table 1, under Objective 1 “Ease pressures on host countries”, indicator 1.2.2 is measured as the “number of partners supporting national arrangements in the refugee-hosting country”. In cases where the partners are nationally based within the respective support-receiving country, it is debatable whether the support is a direct contribution to IRS or an effort to fulfill the respective country’s own protection responsibility.

Similarly, the targeted outcomes and indicators delineated for Objective 2 are already defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention as a host state’s responsibility towards the refugees that they have already admitted. This objective is about the refugees’ integration within their host countries through participation in the labor market, education, and mobility, which is already legislated in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Thus, it is within the domain of the states’ own responsibility – unless such integration process is facilitated, upheld, or improved through financial, personnel, equipment, or know-how transfers by other states.

There is no doubt that all the four objectives, targeted outcomes, and indicators that are devised and illustrated in Table 1 serve the goal of a better and more comprehensive refugee protection. However, not all of them meet the requirements for being characterized as contributions to the IRS norm, which is the most important objective of the Global Compact on Refugees.

Therefore, it is important to make visible the extent to which each state is contributing to IRS or simply fulfilling its own protection duties deriving from the 1951 Geneva Convention. This is needed not only because it serves the refugee protection goals, but also because it is in the interest of the citizens to know how well their country is doing internationally, in comparison to other countries. This is needed at the expense of diplomatic concerns. In the following, we offer a conceptualization that can be used to develop indicators of IRS.

**Table 1: Global Compact on Refugees. Indicators Report**

<p><b>Objective 1:</b> Ease pressures on host countries.</p>	<p><b>Objective 2:</b> Enhance refugee self-reliance.</p>	<p><b>Objective 3:</b> Expand access to third country solutions.</p>	<p><b>Objective 4:</b> Support conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity.</p>
<p><b>Outcome 1.1:</b> Resources supporting additional instruments and programmes are made available for refugees and host communities by an increasing number of donors.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 2.1:</b> Refugees are able to actively participate in the social and economic life of host countries.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 3.1:</b> Refugees in need have access to resettlement opportunities in an increasing number of countries.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 4.1:</b> Resources are made available to support the sustainable reintegration of returning refugees by an increasing number of donors.</p>
<p><b>Indicators:</b> 1.1.1 Volume of ODA provided to, or for the benefit of, refugees and host communities in the refugee-hosting country. 1.1.2 Number of donors providing ODA to, or for the benefit of, refugees and host communities in the refugee-hosting country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 2.1.1 Proportion of refugees who have access to decent work. 2.1.2 Proportion of refugees who are able to move freely within the host country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 3.1.1 Number of refugees who departed on resettlement from the host country. 3.1.2 Number of countries receiving UNHCR resettlement submissions from the host country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 4.1.1 Volume of ODA provided to, or for the benefit of, refugee returnees in the country of origin. 4.1.2 Number of donors providing ODA to, or for the benefit of, refugee returnees in the country of origin.</p>
<p><b>Outcome 1.2:</b> National arrangements and coordinated refugee responses are supported.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 2.2:</b> Refugee and host community self-reliance is strengthened.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 3.2:</b> Refugees have access to complementary pathways for admission to third countries.</p>	<p><b>Outcome 4.2:</b> Refugees are able to return and reintegrate socially and economically.</p>
<p><b>Indicators:</b> 1.2.1 Proportion of ODA provided to, or for the benefit of, refugees and host communities channeled to national actors in the refugee-hosting country. 1.2.2 Number of partners supporting national arrangements in the refugee-hosting country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 2.2.1 Proportion of refugee children enrolled in the national education system (primary and secondary). 2.2.2 Proportion of refugee and host community populations living below the national poverty line of the host country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 3.2.1 Number of refugees admitted through complementary pathways from the host country.</p>	<p><b>Indicators:</b> 4.2.1 Number of refugees returning to their country of origin. 4.2.2. Proportion of returnees with legally recognized documentation and credentials</p>

\* Source: UNHCR Global Refugee Compact Indicators Report (2021)

### **3 The scope of IRS: broad and direct measures**

There are differing views on whether a narrower or wider scope is the most appropriate. Those arguing in favor of a narrower scope point to physical and financial IRS as two essential ways for third countries to take on a share of the responsibility of hosting countries (Boswell 2003; Milner 2016; Dowd and McAdam 2017). Physical IRS is based on the admission of refugees through relocation or resettlement to third countries. Financial IRS is based on the provision of financial assistance to host countries for care and maintenance of refugees (Boswell 2003, 1; Dowd and McAdam 2017, 872; Milner 2016, 3). Dowd and McAdam (2017, 872) argue that after the 2011 UNHCR Expert Meeting and the 2016 New York Declaration, IRS also includes ‘other assistance’ to host countries, e.g., technical assistance, capacity building, consultation, and information sharing. Milner (2016, 4) understands these as a third form of IRS.

On the other hand, studies have suggested that over the past 60 years, the scope of IRS has widened to include finding sustainable solutions for, and prevention of displacement (Dowd and McAdam 2017, 872). In line with this, Martin et al. (2019, 59) argue for a wide understanding of IRS, which includes efforts to address the underlying causes of displacement within and across borders, efforts to find solutions (including resettlement of refugees from host countries to third countries), initiatives to enhance protection, financial support for refugees, internally displaced persons and the communities in which they reside, and technical assistance and training for host countries and local organizations.

Building on a wide scope, Vink and Meijerink (2003, 300) differentiate between direct and indirect responsibility-sharing, where the most direct forms are based on the sharing of people and resources, while the indirect forms include harmonization of policies, which they characterize as sharing of norms. Harmonization of policies as a form of responsibility-sharing can be exemplified with the implementation of the 1951 Refugee Convention (Nagy 2017, 5).

By applying Milner’s (2016, 1) definition of responsibility-sharing, a principle where the host states’ responsibility is more equitably distributed among states, commitment of a state will be understood in this study as IRS if the respective state is directly easing the pressure on at least one refugee hosting state. When investigating states’ contributions to IRS, it is plausible to exclude measures taken on a national level that might affect the overall refugee situation indirectly and, instead, limit the scope to measures aiming directly to relieve the responsibility load of another state. This study applies a wide and direct scope, considering the three mentioned forms of responsibility-sharing, yet excluding indirect measures on the national level such as harmonization of legislation.



#### **4 Developing the indicators of states' commitment to IRS**

To map states' commitment to the broad and direct understanding of the IRS norm, we conducted a manual coding and a qualitative content analysis of the 754 pledges that states have made to the Global Refugee Forum. The GCR is a completely new intergovernmental institution. Pledges to the GRF on IRS on refugee protection is unprecedented. Although IRS is mentioned in the 1951 Refugee Convention in passing, it has never been practiced globally by states before the GRF was launched. It is important to explore empirically what IRS looks like by thoroughly studying its first concerted appearance in the pledges to the First GRF.

Using categorization and variable construction through a qualitative content analysis of the pledges, both the content and context of the documents are taken into account. This gives the possibility of identifying themes and considering the frequency of its occurrence (Ritchie et al. 2014, 271). The pledges states have submitted to the GRF are downloadable as an excel file on UNHCR's website. Before and short time after the First Global Refugee Forum, there were 1400 pledges made by states, organizations, and private actors (UNHCR 2020). As our goal is to depict states' commitments to IRS, only pledges submitted by states, or pledges where states are understood as partners of the contribution expressed in a pledge, are used. This selection limits the scope to 754 pledges. It is important to note that the pledges indicate states' commitments and not their concrete actions to do IRS.

The pledges and updates on the pledges are registered by states and organizations through a registration form on the UNHCR Global Compact on Refugees Digital Platform<sup>2</sup>. The registration form contains several options of labelling, including a label of "responsibility sharing arrangements". When states and organizations have made a pledge, they themselves choose the labels of the pledge in the registration form. A possibility could be to utilize these labels as categories, but when reviewing the description of the pledges, it became clear that numerous pledges were assigned ill-fitting labels, possibly because of bias from the self-categorization. This might be caused by differing perceptions of the labels. Hence, to understand the most advantageous way of coding and categorizing the commitments, a variable for IRS-commitments is manually coded, and by conducting a content analysis, dimensions and attributes for categorization are discovered.

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<sup>2</sup> The pledges are submitted and updated through Global Compact on Refugees: Digital Platform: Pledges and Contributions <https://globalcompactrefugees.org/channel/pledges-contributions>

#### **4.1 The pledge registration form**

As formulated in the Global Compact on Refugees, “concrete pledges and contributions” may consist of “financial, material and technical assistance, resettlement places and complementary pathways” (UNHCR 2018 IIIA para 17, 18, 19, 7-8). This is visible in the pledges as the labels of contribution types in the registration form fully overlaps with what is formulated in the GCR. In addition, the registration form has optional labels such as area of focus, information about who the pledge will go to and the actor submitting the pledge<sup>3</sup>. ‘Area of focus’ contains labels such as education, statelessness, jobs and livelihoods, protection capacity, solutions, energy and infrastructure, and responsibility sharing arrangements. The optional categories are in accordance with the areas in need of support as expressed in the GCR. When reviewing the description of the pledges, it became clear that some of the labels from the registration form are well suited for categorizing the pledges in addition to categories not available as labels.

#### **4.2 Constructing the indicators of IRS commitments**

There are many aspects to explore in the pledges to the GRF. IRS commitments are understood as a dedication to take on a greater responsibility than one’s own responsibility and/or ease the responsibility of other states. If a pledge is understood as an IRS-commitment it is given a ‘yes’ in the data file, and if it is clear that it is not, it is given a ‘no’. Table 2 gives a sample of three pledges coded as IRS-commitment, and three pledges coded as not.

Pledge 4310 from Norway is understood as IRS because it is a commitment of “...providing support to UNHCR... to implement the tri-partite Memorandum of Understanding... for an Emergency Transit Center (ETM) in Gashora, Rwanda to support vulnerable refugees and migrants evacuated from Libya.” (Pledge ID 4310, GRF Pledges). In other words, through a financial contribution, Norway intends to ease the responsibility of other states.

Similarly, pledge 4055 from Germany is a commitment to finance the hosting of “... foreign scholars at risk on a fully funded research fellowship...”. Thus, contributing with financial means to host refugees in the academic sector, and moreover, easing the responsibilities of other states.

Likewise, pledge 3093, from the government of the Republic of Korea, pledges to “...taking part in the international community’s responsibility sharing efforts to resolve refugee

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<sup>3</sup> For complete details on pledges, see UNHCR’s website for the Global Compact on Refugees: <https://globalcompactrefugees.org/article/pledge-follow-up>

issues by providing resettlement places for people who are in vulnerable situations and in need of international protection.” (Pledge ID 3093, GRF Pledges). In contrast to pledge 4310 and 4055, pledge 3093 is taking on a greater responsibility by resettling refugees as a third country, and hence easing the responsibility of states hosting large numbers of refugees.

Pledge 1002, from Namibia, on the other hand, is not understood as a commitment to IRS. The pledge indicates a commitment to harmonize legislation, by committing to “...accede and or ratify the 1954 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Stateless Persons...” (Pledge 1002, GRF Pledges). With the scope chosen to measure IRS-commitment in this study, a pledge to harmonize legislation does not qualify as easing the responsibility of refugee hosting states at this stage.

Likewise, pledge 1190 from the Government of Angola commits to “... support local integration of refugees who opt to stay in Angola...”. This indicates that Angola is committing to integrate refugees already located within their borders. This pledge is rather a promise to fulfill Angola’s own refugee protection responsibility than sharing other host states’ burden. Hence, the pledge is not understood as directly taking in a share of responsibility from other states beyond the country’s own responsibility.

Pledge 2133 from Brazil, on the other hand, commits to “...offer regular migratory pathways for persons who are not eligible as refugees, in particular through the concession of humanitarian visas and residence... for Senegalese nationals who are already living in Brazil, in order to avoid overburdening the national asylum system” (Pledge 2133, GRF Pledges). At a first glance it appears as a complimentary pathway to a third hosting country. However, as the pledge applies to refugees already in the country the focus is on avoiding overburdening the national asylum system rather than ease the responsibility of another state.

In brief, pledges that do not directly ease the burden of another host state, pledges that do not aim to take over duties beyond the respective state’s own protection responsibility, and pledges that merely aim to reduce the respective state’s own burden are not classified in this study as IRS commitment.

**Table 2: International responsibility-sharing commitments: Coding sample of six pledges**

Pledge ID	Name of the pledge	Description of the pledge	RS	Goal of the contribution	Means of the contribution
4310	“Support to the Emergency Transit Center in Rwanda, for vulnerable refugees and migrant evacuated from Libya”	“Norway is providing support to UNHCR, with 50 million Norwegian kroner (approx. 5,4 million USD), to implement the tri-partite Memorandum of Understanding between UNHCR, African Union and the Government of Rwanda, for an Emergency Transit Center (ETM) in Gashora, Rwanda to support vulnerable refugees and migrants evacuated from Libya.”	Yes	Protection capacity	Financial
4055	“Continued funding of the Philipp Schwartz Initiative”	“Germany will continue to fund The Philipp Schwartz Initiative in order to provide universities and research institutions in Germany with the means to host foreign scholars at risk on a fully funded research fellowship. The envisaged annual budget is 10.4 million EUR. The initiative is implemented by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.	Yes	Protection capacity, Other	Financial
3093	“Resettlement (1)”	The ROK government is taking part in the international community’s responsibility-sharing efforts to resolve refugee issues by providing resettlement places for people who are in vulnerable situations and in need of international protection. In 2015, Korea became the second Asian country to launch a resettlement pilot program. In 2017, the number of resettlement places doubled. To date, a total of 129 refugees have settled in Korea.	Yes	Sustainable solutions	Resettlement and complimentary pathways
1002	“Accede and/or ratify the 1954 Convention”	The Government of the Republic of Namibia hereby commits: To accede and or ratify the 1954 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Stateless Persons as well as the 1969 OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and the 2009 AU Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internal Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) by 2020.	No	Statelessness	Policy
1190	“Local Integration (1)”	The Government of Angola pledges to support local integration of refugees who opt to stay in Angola, including former refugees falling under the cessation clauses, namely Sierra Leonean, Liberians and Rwandans.	No	Integration	-
2133	“Offering regular migratory pathways in order to avoid overburdening the national asylum system”	Brazil commits to continuing exploring measures to offer regular migratory pathways for persons who are not eligible as refugees, in particular through the concession of humanitarian visas and residence for Haitian nationals and the authorization of residence for Senegalese nationals who are already living in Brazil, in order to avoid overburdening the national asylum system.	No	Protection capacity	Policy

*Note: The table presents three pledges indicated as responsibility-sharing and three pledges indicated as not responsibility-sharing that are randomly drawn from the pledge data. Goal and Means of the contributions indicate the given category within the respective dimension*

### **4.3 Dimensions of IRS commitments**

As states have the possibility of contributing to IRS with a wider scope of action, the reviewing of the pledges led to the categorization of two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the goals that are inherent to the pledges, and the second dimension concerns the means identified to achieve the goals. The two dimensions are not limited to IRS-commitment; rather, all pledges submitted by states are categorized. The dimensions are presented in turn.

#### **4.3.1 Goals of the IRS pledges**

The first dimension constitutes the area the commitment is aiming to improve, in other words the goal. The dimension is not dependent on whether the commitment is understood as IRS. The categories are in many respects overlapping with some of the categories for ‘area of focus’ that states chose when registering the pledge. Through the categorization, empirical indicators made it clear that the following types were advantageous: education, jobs and livelihood, statelessness, integration, infrastructure and use of resources, protection capacity, self-reliance, health, sustainable solutions, repatriation<sup>4</sup> and other goals. Each commitment has the possibility of having one or more of these goals, and what societal level the commitment is aiming at does not matter for the type of goal it is categorized as. The premises and example of quotes expressing empirical indicators for two of the categories are described in Table 3.<sup>5</sup> If a pledge has an empirical indicator of a given goal, it is assigned a ‘yes’ for this goal.

For example, in pledge 1315, “...focus on enhancing social protection and asylum systems...” is understood as an empirical indicator for the goal of Protection Capacity and is therefore assigned “yes” for Protection Capacity. In the same sense, pledge 1342 is categorized as having the goal of Protection Capacity because it commits to “...build capacity of government and advocacy organizations to continue to protect and assist...”. Considering the Education, pledge 2114 is understood as having the goal of Education because of the empirical indicator: “...for refugees to access higher tertiary education”. Likewise, is pledge 4131 categorized as Education because the aim of “granting tertiary education scholarship.”

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<sup>4</sup> Taking into account the critique of the GCR not addressing sufficiently early repatriation to dangerous situations, ‘Repatriation’ is not included in ‘Sustainable solutions’ (Martin et al. 2019, 62). Repatriation might be set in process without safe, voluntary and dignified conditions, as in the case of refugees returning to Myanmar from Bangladesh (Bhattacharya and Biswas 2020).

<sup>5</sup> See table C1 in the appendices for the complete set of categories and coding rules of goals

**Table 3: The IRS goals expressed in states' pledges: Protection Capacity and Education**

<i>Goal</i>	<i>Realm of the category</i>	<i>Examples of empirical indicators</i>
<i>Protection capacity</i>	If improving protection capacity is the goal of the pledge, it is assigned protection capacity. Protection capacity is understood as the capability of protecting persons.	<p>"...this pledge aims to strengthen the overall protection capacity of relevant government entities with particular focus on enhancing social protection and asylum systems through improved legal and institutional frameworks at national and local levels." (Pledge ID 1315)</p> <p>"Training to build capacity of government and advocacy organisations to continue to protect and assist stateless persons in protracted situations" (Pledge ID 1342).</p> <p>"Improving the quality of asylum decisions via capacity building activities of the staff members of the Asylum and Legal Affairs Division of the Migration Service of Armenia" (Pledge ID 4148).</p>
<i>Education</i>	If the goal of the pledge is to enhance education for refugees or for the host community, the pledge is assigned the category 'education'. This can be manifested by inclusion in the national education system, securing refugees rights to education, improving the quality of education, etc.	<p>"Offer guidance counseling for refugees to access higher education in East Africa..." (Pledge ID 2114).</p> <p>"Granting tertiary education scholarship to a person per year who has been granted refugee status in Azerbaijan." (Pledge ID 4131).</p> <p>"... a project to improve learning conditions in refugee camps in Jordan, Azraq and Za'atari." (Pledge ID 4146).</p>

### 4.3.2 Means of the IRS-pledges

The second dimension considers what actions the states are committing to. In other words, what tools or means the contribution is initiating. Through the inductive categorization it became clear that the means of contributions that were standing out were the following: financial, material and technical, physical relocation and pathways to third countries, research, policy and legal reform and other means. Four of the categories overlap with some of the labels that states could choose from in the registration form. In the same way as for the categorization of goals of the contributions, the pledges can have empirical indicators for one or more of the categories of means, and the societal level of the contribution is not taken into account. If a pledge has an empirical indicator of a given means, it is assigned a 'yes' for this measure. The premises and examples of quotes expressing empirical indicators for the two categories financial and 'physical relocation and pathways to third countries' are presented in Table 4.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See appendix table A3 for the complete set of categories and coding rules of means

**Table 4: The IRS means expressed in pledges to the First Global Refugee Forum**

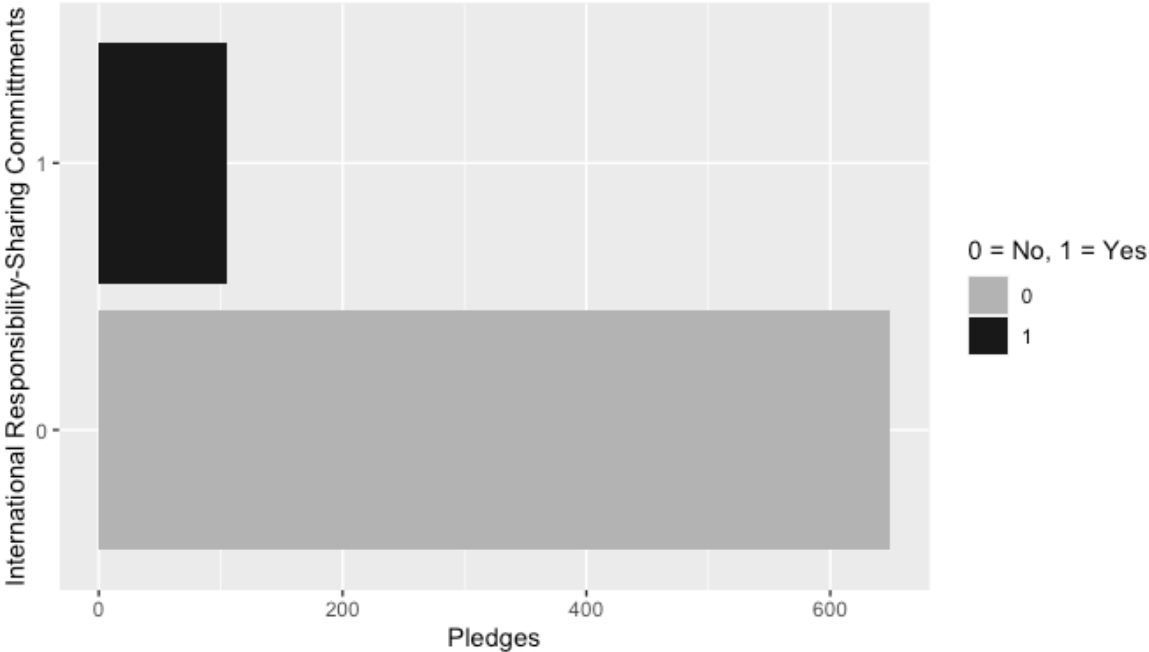
<i>Means</i>	<i>Realm of the category</i>	<i>Examples of empirical indicators</i>
<i>Financial</i>	<p>If the means of the contribution are based on funding, or use of money, the pledge is assigned ‘financial’. This can be financial contributions to NGOs, states, international organizations, institutions, etc, or directly to refugees, offer something for free that indicates that the state will pay for it. On the other hand, if the pledge intends to construct something with funding from an external actor, the means of the pledge is technical, not financial.</p> <p>It is important to note that the financial category do not take into account whether the pledge was an existing yearly financial contribution or an increase.</p>	<p>“... In order to achieve the above the GoN allocates an amount of N\$ 70 000 000 for the period 2019 to 2023.” (Pledge ID 1148).</p> <p>“... maintain Canada’s existing annual level (\$12.6 million) of unearmarked funding support to UNHCR, and will extend the duration of this support to four years (2020 to 2023) for a total amount of \$50.4 million” (Pledge ID 2168).</p> <p>“...From 2020 to 2022, bring 50 million euros as a contribution to the response to the Venezuelan crisis, providing interventions to alleviate its impact...” (Pledge ID 4057).</p>
<i>Physical relocation and pathways to third countries</i>	<p>If the means for reaching the means of the pledge are based on physical relocation and/or enhancing pathways to third hosting countries, the pledge is assigned ‘physical relocation and pathways to third countries’.</p>	<p>“... accept a total of 200 refugees in need of resettlement in the timeframe 2020-2021, in annual in-takes of 100 persons. This means doubling our previous annual quota.” (Pledge ID 4270).</p> <p>“... Canada will resettle 19,000 refugees in 2019 through its Private Refugee Sponsorship Program...” (Pledge ID 2141).</p> <p>“Contributing to providing safe pathways for refugees by carrying out resettlement of third-country nationals in need of asylum to Lithuania.” (Pledge ID 4049).</p>

For example, pledge 1148 commits to “... allocate(s) an amount of N\$ 70 000 000...”, which is understood as an empirical indicator for use of money or funding and is therefore categorized as financial. In the same manner, pledge 4057 commits to “... bring 50 million euros as a contribution to the response to the Venezuelan crisis...”. The empirical indicator of resettlement and pathway to third countries can be seen in pledge 4049 as “... carrying out resettlement of third-country nationals...”. Similarly, pledge 4270 commits to “...accept a total of 200 refugees in need of resettlement in the timeframe 2020-2021...”, which indicate that the country commits to relocate refugees.

**5 States’ IRS commitments in numbers**

The distribution of the states’ IRS-commitments in Figure 1 shows that 105 (14 %) of the 754 commitments from states are understood as IRS commitments. With the Global Compact on Refugees placing a lot of emphasis on RS, this is seen as a small share.

**Figure 1: Distribution of international responsibility-sharing commitments**

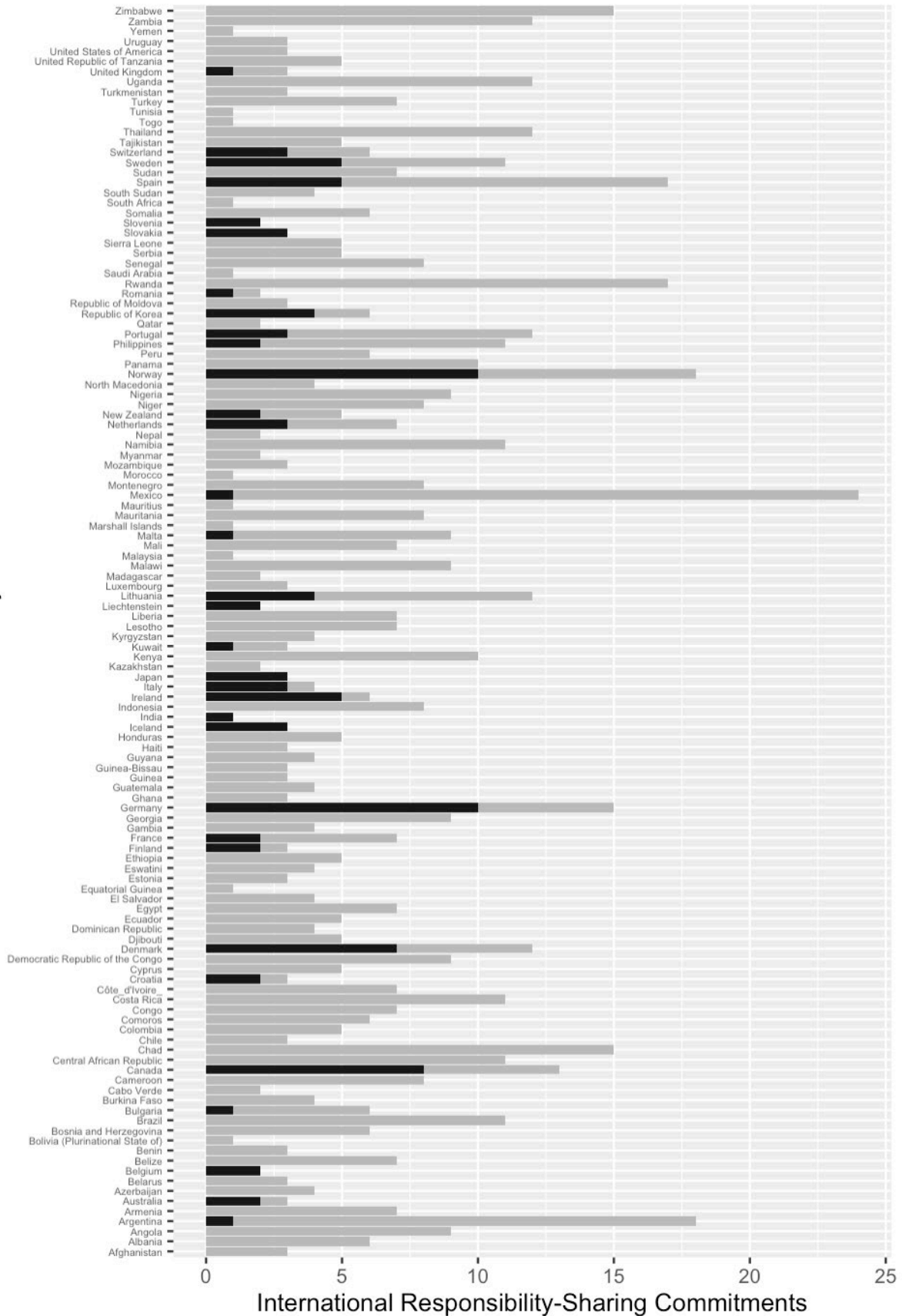


*Note: Black indicates the pledge is understood as an IRS commitment, grey indicates the pledge is not understood as an IRS commitment.*

The distribution of IRS commitments across states, visualized in Figure 2, demonstrate variation between countries both for the number of submitted pledges and the distribution of pledges understood as IRS commitments. Some states have a considerable number of submitted pledges, yet none that are understood as IRS commitments, such as Namibia, Chad and Rwanda. Mexico is the country with the largest share of pledges submitted (24 pledges), yet only 2 are considered IRS commitments. As refugee producing countries and countries hosting large numbers of refugees have submitted pledges, they are included in the sample, and it is possible to assume that states who have a lot of responsibility to protect refugees will not submit commitments to take on more responsibility from other states. Other states have some pledges that are IRS commitments and some that are not, such as Netherlands, Spain and Lithuania. Despite the proportionally low number of pledges understood as IRS commitments, some states have submitted a higher number of IRS commitments, than not IRS commitments. The states with this tendency are Slovenia, Slovakia, India, Iceland, Belgium and Liechtenstein.



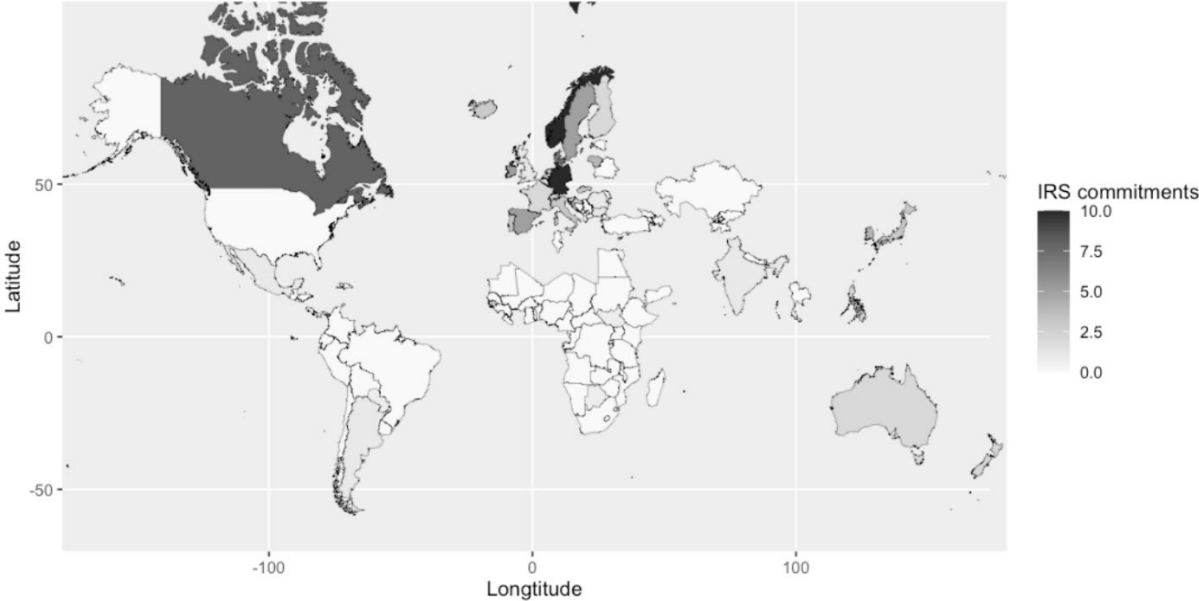
**Figure 2: Distribution of international responsibility-sharing commitments across countries**



*Note: Black indicates the pledge is understood as an IRS commitment, grey indicates the pledge is not understood as an IRS commitment.*

32 countries have submitted pledges that can be understood as IRS commitments. Considering only the pledges coded as IRS commitments, Germany, Norway, Canada, and Denmark are the four countries who have submitted the largest number, with 7 or more IRS commitments each. All these countries are western democratic countries with high ranks on multiple international indices related to policy, rights, and economy. Moreover, none of the four countries are close to refugee producing regions.

**Figure 3: Geographical distribution of IRS commitments across countries**



*Note: The darker the color, the more IRS commitments the country has submitted*

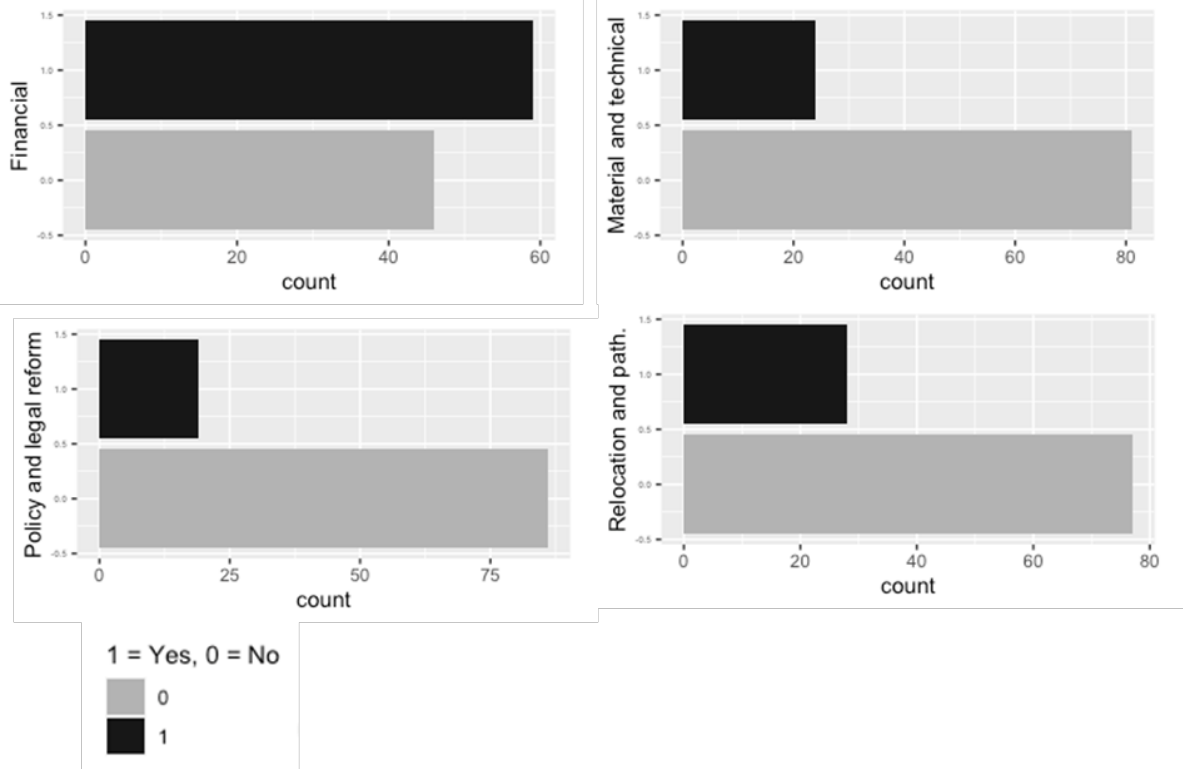
Figure 3 demonstrates geographically the frequency of IRS commitments across countries, the darker the color, the more IRS commitments has the country submitted. The distribution indicates that most of the IRS commitments is from countries in the Global North, particularly concentrated in Europe. The distribution on the dependent variable across submitting states show that levels and distributions are varying across countries. Contrarily, there is no IRS commitments from the states on the African continent. The cross-country differences indicate that it is interesting to investigate the country-level of the commitments.

**6 Declared goals and means in states’ pledges to GRF**

Considering the total number of the pledges submitted by states, the largest means category is *Policy and Legal Reform* with 496 pledges, while the largest goal category is *Statelessness* with

262 pledges. Furthermore, among the means, a substantial share of pledges belongs to the category of *Material and Technical* (182 pledges) and *Financial* (92 pledges). Among the goals, *Protection Capacity* (177 pledges) and *Education* (77 pledges) are some of the largest categories<sup>7</sup>. In view of the pledges considered IRS commitments, the frequency of the various goals and means are considerably different. Keeping in mind that only 105 of the pledges are genuine IRS commitments, none of them belong to the means category *Research* or *Other means*, or the goal category *Statelessness*, *Health*, or *Self-reliance*. This indicates that these means and goals are not the states' favorite tools or aims when committing to RS even though they are imperative to the implementation of the Global Compact on Refugees.

**Figure 4: IRS Commitments distributed across different goals**



Note: Black indicates the IRS commitments has the respective goal, gray indicates the IRS commitments do not have the respective goal.

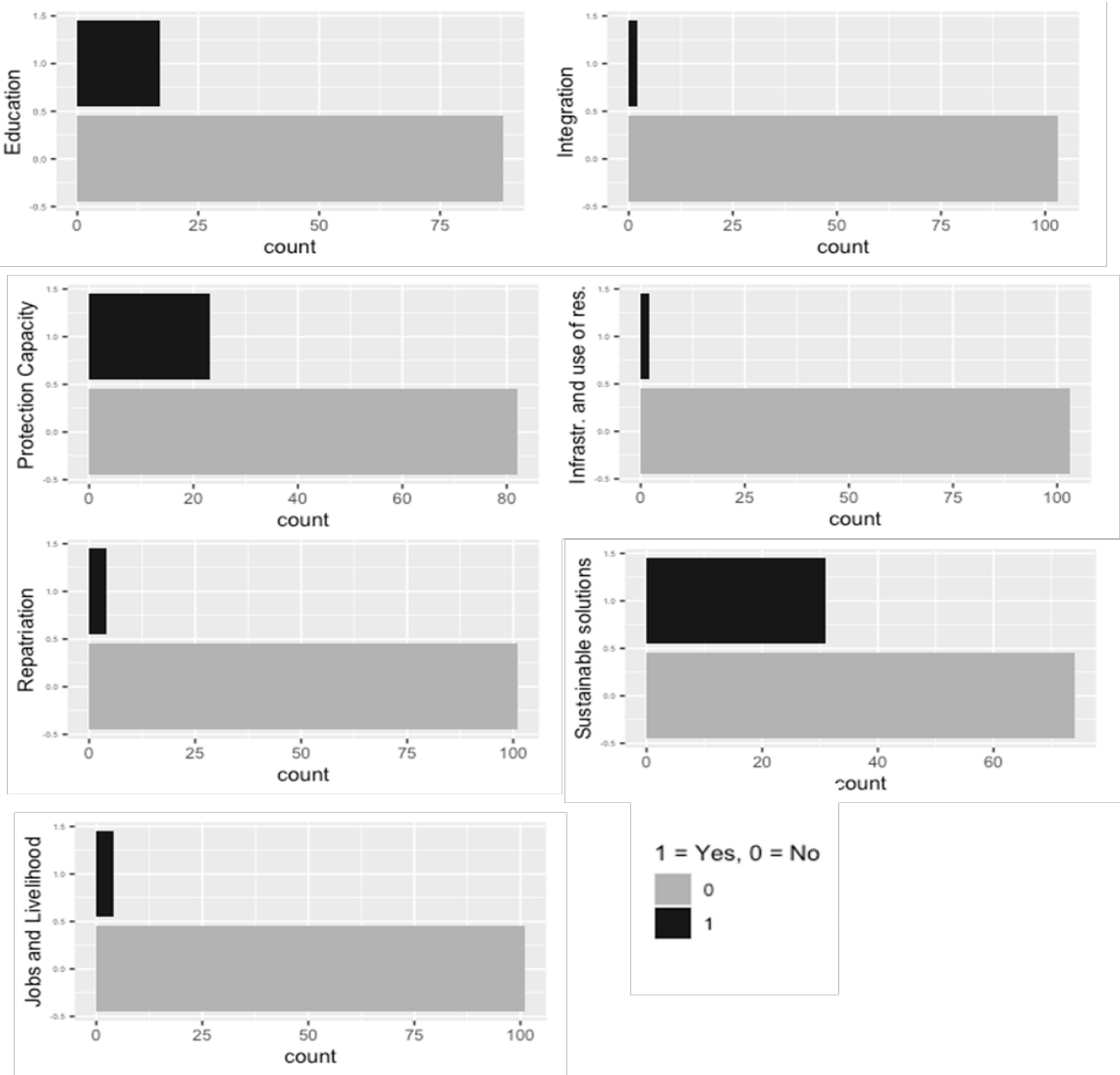
Figure 4 visualizes the distribution of IRS-commitments across the following means: *Financial*, *Policy and Legal reform*, *Material and Technical*, and *Relocation and Pathways to third countries*. *Financial* contributions are the most used means in pledges understood as IRS, with 59 IRS commitments. This makes up over half of the IRS commitments. Keeping in mind that an IRS commitment can entail more than one means, a commitment can have financial means

<sup>7</sup> See the appendix for descriptive statistics of all variables categorized and coded from the pledges to the Global Refugee Forum.

in addition to other means. *Relocation and pathways to third countries* is the second most frequent means with 28 IRS commitments. These are the two most conventional means of IRS action. With the wider scope of IRS action, the means of *Policy and Legal Reform* and *Material and Technical* can be understood as newer forms of IRS. Despite fewer IRS commitments are categorized as such, for the two mentioned means, it is still a substantial amount.

Concerning the total number of pledges there is a notable change in the distribution of the means *Material and technical* and *Policy and legal reform*. While respectively 182 pledges belong to the category of *Material and Technical*, and 496 pledges are classified as *Policy and Legal Reform*, only 24 of the *Material and Technical*, and 19 of the *Policy and Legal Reform* are IRS commitments, as visualized in Figure 4.

**Figure 5: Responsibility-sharing commitments distributed across different goals**



Note: Black indicates that the IRS commitments has the respective goal, gray indicates that the IRS commitments do not have the respective goal.

Figure 5 displays the distribution of IRS-commitments across the goals of *Education*, *Protection Capacity*, *Repatriation*, *Integration*, *Infrastructure and Use of resources*, and *Sustainable Solutions*. Among the six categories, it is evident that three of the goals are more prevalent, and is what states often focus on in IRS commitments. These are *Education* (17 pledges), *Protection capacity* (23 pledges) and *Sustainable Solutions* (31 pledges).

For the three remaining goals, *Repatriation* and *Jobs and Livelihood* only overlaps with four IRS commitments, and *Integration* and *Infrastructure and Use of resources* only overlap with two IRS commitments. From this, it is apparent that when contributing to IRS, which implies a wider scope, it can be understood as states who take on a share of responsibility from another state focus on education, protection capacity and sustainable solutions.

The small number of the wide and direct IRS commitments is a thorough-going trend in the pledges to the First Global Refugee Forum. States seem to prefer financial commitments when they have this option, rather than forms of IRS that entail admission of refugees and asylum seekers into their territory.

## **7 Summary of the trends**

As outlined, our concept of *International Responsibility-Sharing* is based on a conception of IRS as “the principle through which the diverse costs of granting asylum assumed by the host state are more equitably divided among a greater number of states” (Milner 2005, 65). Consequently, we classified as IRS only the pledges by states that aim directly at easing the burden of another host state. As discussed above, this excludes the pledges that may have indirect burden-reducing effects, the pledges that ease a state’s own burden, and the pledges to assume a state’s own legal responsibility for the refugees in their own territory.

Defined as such, only 105 of the 754 pledges from the states can be defined as IRS commitments. Only 32 states submitted pledges that can be considered as IRS commitments. There is great variation in the number of IRS commitments between countries, and most of the IRS commitments are from countries in the Global North, particularly concentrated in Europe. However, it is important to remember that the Global South is currently already hosting more than 85 % of the world’s refugees, and it is in good order that the Global North, including the European countries, have made pledges to contribute more to IRS. On the other hand, these also indicate that the states have not exhausted the opportunities that the First Global Refugee Forum offered for extending their contribution to IRS as extensively as expected. Despite the reaffirmed call for IRS, the small share of IRS commitments and their concentration in Europe indicates that there is still more work to do to achieve a truly effective IRS.

Furthermore, we find that, when committing to IRS, states often aim towards the three goals of (1) providing education, (2) enhancing protection capacity, and (3) working towards sustainable solutions for refugees and host communities. Regarding extent, a wide scope of IRS was used in states' pledges. Particularly *Policy and Legal reform* and *Material and Technical* assistance can be understood as rising forms of contribution to IRS. The extended scope of IRS suggests that more aspects important to protect refugees and create sustainable solutions are being used. Furthermore, it implies that the wider scope of IRS has been adopted to the international cooperation of refugee protection.

## **8 Conclusion**

Refugees and the responsibility of refugee protection continue to be unevenly distributed among states. With the ongoing situation, developing countries host 85% of the world's refugee population, and limited responsibility-sharing is keeping the international community from finding sustainable solutions for the refugees and the host communities. A transition is needed in states' refugee policies from a national-interest thinking to an international-solidarity orientation that entails a stronger humanitarian element than now. Through the Global Compact on Refugees, the call for IRS has been reaffirmed and states have made commitments through the Global Refugee Forum, offering a possibility to explore international responsibility-sharing with a comparative perspective and a wide scope of contributions.

Within the scheme offered by the GCR, states appear to choose their goals and instruments regarding IRS commitments based on a range of different factors, including their existing resources, know-how, the cost of the type of contribution, their domestic political landscape, immigration pressure, and calculations of demographic changes. The trend in the pledges analyzed here is that states prefer giving financial contribution to other states hosting large numbers of refugees rather than giving territorial asylum through resettlements and relocations. This stands in stark contrast to their citizens' preferences: recent survey-experimental research in the PROTECT project (EU-Horizon 2020) shows that, when people are asked about whether they prefer admitting asylum seekers in their country or paying a financial solidarity contribution to other states, an overwhelming majority prefers giving territorial asylum rather than financial contributions to other host states (Cappelen et al. 2022). That is, states do not have a public opinion pressure on themselves if they want to opt for a stronger contribution to the international responsibility sharing norm of the international refugee protection system as defined in the Global Compact on Refugees.

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## Appendix A: Categorization of pledges to the Global Refugee Forum

**Table A1: Categories for the goals expressed in pledges to the Global Refugee Forum**

Goal	Realm of the category	Examples of empirical indicators
Education	If the goal of the pledge is to enhance education for refugees or for the host community, the pledge is assigned the category 'education'. This can be manifested by inclusion in the national education system, securing refugees rights to education, improving the quality of education, etc.	<p>"Offer guidance counseling for refugees to access higher education in East Africa..." (Pledge ID 2114).</p> <p>"Granting tertiary education scholarship to a person per year who has been granted refugee status in Azerbaijan." (Pledge ID 4131).</p> <p>"... a project to improve learning conditions in refugee camps in Jordan, Azraq and Za'atari." (Pledge ID 4146).</p>
Jobs and livelihood	If the goal of the pledge is to enhance access to jobs and livelihoods, or access to means enhancing access to jobs and livelihoods, the pledge is assigned the category 'jobs and livelihood'.	<p>"Facilitating legal employment and access to descent employment for refugees and persons under UNHCR protection." (Pledge ID 4112).</p> <p>"Le Gouvernement s'engage à définir un cadre de collaboration entre le FNE, le BIT et le HCR, avec pour objectif prioritaire la réduction du chômage au sein des réfugiés en terre Camerounaise" (Pledge ID 1223).</p> <p>"...Facilitate access to employment for refugees in the private sector and strengthen the institutional and legal framework for access to agricultural land" (Pledge ID 1135).</p>
Statelessness	If the goal of the pledge is to improve a situation concerning statelessness, such as identifying statelessness, facilitating identification documents for refugees or granting citizenship to stateless persons. In these cases, the pledge is assigned the category 'statelessness'.	<p>"La République Centrafricaine s'engage par la présente à adhérer à la convention de 1954 relative au statut des apatrides au plus tard d'ici juin 2020..." (Pledge ID 1006).</p> <p>"Adopt a law establishing a statelessness determination procedure and the status of stateless persons" (Pledge ID 1018).</p> <p>"Develop training and awareness programs for officials to identify stateless persons" (Pledge ID 2051).</p>
Integration	If the goal of the pledge is to enhance the integration of refugees into society, the pledge is assigned 'integration'. Integration is understood as both legal and cultural integration.	<p>"...Establishment of inter-institutional boards for local integration of refugees, by theme and at the local level" (Pledge ID 2067).</p> <p>"...Strengthen the social, cultural and economic inclusion of refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons and migrants in a similar vulnerable situation, in strategic locations in Mexico ..." (2086).</p> <p>"The Government of Costa Rica hereby commits to generate mechanisms for durable solutions that guarantee the integration of stateless persons..." (Pledge ID 2158).</p>

**Table A1 (continued)**

<p>Infrastructure and use of resources</p>	<p>If the goal of the pledge is to improve infrastructure and/or use of resources, it is assigned 'infrastructure and use of resources'. The pledge can indicate a goal of either infrastructure or use of resources, or both, and will either way be assigned the mentioned goal.</p>	<p>“commits to support inclusive access to services and infrastructure for refugees and host communities alike, ... including services focused on mental health and psychosocial support, as well as the development of sustainable energy supply and natural resources management, including water supply.” (Pledge ID 4313).</p> <p>“Sustainable Energy Solutions for Humanitarian Response in Djibouti” (Pledge ID 5260)</p> <p>“Ensure sustainable use of natural resources by providing clean and renewable energy solutions in refugee and host community households, in order to discourage the use of firewood” (Pledge ID 1104).</p>
<p>Protection capacity</p>	<p>If improving protection capacity is the goal of the pledge, it is assigned protection capacity. Protection capacity is understood as the capability of protecting persons.</p>	<p>“...this pledge aims to strengthen the overall protection capacity of relevant government entities with particular focus on enhancing social protection and asylum systems through improved legal and institutional frameworks at national and local levels.” (Pledge ID 1315)</p> <p>“Training to build capacity of government and advocacy organisations to continue to protect and assist stateless persons in protracted situations” (Pledge ID 1342).</p> <p>“Improving the quality of asylum decisions via capacity building activities of the staff members of the Asylum and Legal Affairs Division of the Migration Service of Armenia” (Pledge ID 4148).</p>
<p>Self-reliance</p>	<p>If the goal of the pledge is to enhance the self-reliance of refugees or improving the conditions of refugees in a way that will make them more self-reliant, the pledge is assigned 'self-reliance'.</p>	<p>“Increased self-reliance and entrepreneurship for hosts and refugees: increased training and development capacity to access employment” (Pledge ID 6030).</p> <p>“...to enhance refugee’s skill and productivity. In return, the refugees will be receiving compensation that would help them to sustain themselves while staying in Indonesia and use their skill as well as experience to start a new life in resettlement countries.” (Pledge ID 3029).</p> <p>“The provision of land will secure and support agriculture activities and the provision of permanent shelter to the refugees and vulnerable host community members.” (Pledge ID 1015).</p>
<p>Health</p>	<p>If the goal of the pledge is to improve health services, access to health services or the health of refugees, the pledge is assigned 'health'.</p>	<p>“... With the aim to strengthen access to quality health services and provision of medicines, including medical equipments as well as trained medical personnel.... (Pledge ID 1148).</p> <p>“...Including refugees in national systems and providing support to ongoing and immediate needs in: i.Health; ...” (Pledge ID 1166).</p> <p>“Promote access, quality and inclusiveness of national health services for refugees and host communities” (Pledge ID 1245).</p>

**Table A1 (continued)**

Sustainable solutions	If the goal of the pledge is to achieve or work towards solutions for refugees or refugee situations that are intended to be sustainable, the pledge is assigned 'sustainable solutions'. This can be manifested through resettlement, integration, family reunion etc.	<p>“Finding a permanent solution for the recurring flood cycle that leads to displacement along the Shabelle and Juba river regions within 5 years (2020-2024), ...” (Pledge ID: 1333).</p> <p>“The United Republic of Tanzania pledges to find durable solutions to the remaining 1972 Burundian refugees.” (Pledge ID 1237).</p> <p>“Strengthening the provision of durable solutions to all displaced populations and refugee-returnees through developing an inclusive and rigorous National Durable Solutions Strategy, and reinforcing the National Durable Solutions Secretariat, including strengthening coordination mechanisms in the Federal Member States to implement impactful durable solutions interventions” (Pledge ID 1080).</p>
Repatriation	If the goal of the pledge is to work towards the repatriation of refugees, meaning the return to the country of origin, the pledge is assigned 'repatriation'.	<p>“...the Government of South Sudan pledges to create conditions for safe, dignified and sustainable returns of South Sudanese refugees by developing and adopting a national policy and framework to address housing, land and property rights, establishing inclusive peace building structures with alternative conflict resolution mechanisms...” (Pledge ID 1083).</p> <p>“Facilitation of voluntary returns for refugees previously based in Thailand, working towards repatriation for refugees from Rakhine state” (Pledge ID 3054).</p> <p>“The Government of Nepal will continue to engage with the Government of Bhutan for the repatriation of the remaining Bhutanese refugees in Nepal to their home country Bhutan in safety, honour and dignity.” (Pledge ID 3074).</p>
Other goals	If the pledge does not contain an empirical indicator, latent or manifest, for one of the mentioned categories, yet indicates a specific goal, the pledge is assigned 'other goals'. This includes, research, funding, including refugees in decision-making, climate related topics that do not fit in under 'infrastructure and use of resources', and more.	<p>“...promote green humanitarian response and support the humanitarian sector as a whole to move towards more environmentally friendly solutions and carbon neutrality...” (Pledge ID 4008).</p> <p>“Emergency.lu supplies logistics, personnel and software to give vital communication services anywhere within 12 hours and these services are made available to connect refugee communities” (Pledge ID 4079).</p> <p>“...organising a regional symposium on the impact of climate change on protection and humanitarian issues.” (Pledge ID: 1279).</p>

**Table A2: Categories for the means expressed in pledges to the Global Refugee Forum**

Means	Realm of the category	Examples of empirical indicators
Financial	<p>If the means of the contribution are based on funding, or use of money, the pledge is assigned ‘financial’. This can be financial contributions to NGOs, states, international organizations, institutions, etc, or directly to refugees, offer something for free that indicates that the state will pay for it. On the other hand, if the pledge intends to construct something with funding from an external actor, the means of the pledge is technical, not financial.</p> <p>It is important to note that the financial category do not take into account whether the pledge was an existing yearly financial contribution or an increase.</p>	<p>“... In order to achieve the above the GoN allocates an amount of N\$ 70 000 000 for the period 2019 to 2023.” (Pledge ID 1148).</p> <p>“This global funding support will maintain Canada’s existing annual level (\$12.6 million) of unearmarked funding support to UNHCR, and will extend the duration of this support to four years (2020 to 2023) for a total amount of \$50.4 million” (Pledge ID 2168).</p> <p>“...From 2020 to 2022, bring 50 million euros as a contribution to the response to the Venezuelan crisis, providing interventions to alleviate its impact...” (Pledge ID 4057).</p>
Material and technical	<p>If the means of the contribution are based on material and/or technical tools for the contribution to meet its goals, the pledge is assigned material and technical.</p>	<p>“...through programs for entrepreneurship, technical-vocational programs, training programs in life and work skills...” (Pledge ID 2143).</p> <p>“Construction of new schools for Syrian Kids to provide quality education” (Pledge ID 4047).</p> <p>“... undertakes to set up, with the collaboration of the other ministerial departments and the technical and financial support of the High Commission for Refugees: i) the office of stateless persons and refugees and to make it operational...” (Pledge ID 1044).</p>
Physical relocation and pathways to third countries	<p>If the means for reaching the goals of the pledge are based on physical relocation and/or enhancing pathways to third hosting countries, the pledge is assigned ‘physical relocation and pathways to third countries’.</p>	<p>“...Japan will accept up to 150 Syrian students to provide opportunities of higher education in Japan”. (Pledge ID 3001).</p> <p>“... provide universities and research institutions in Germany with the means to host foreign scholars at risk...” (Pledge ID 4055).</p> <p>“... Canada will resettle over 29,950 refugees, including over 10,000 refugees identified by the UNHCR...” (Pledge ID 2091).</p>

**Table A2 (Continued)**

<p>Research</p>	<p>If the means of the pledge is to contribute by conducting research, the pledge is assigned 'research'.</p>	<p>"... commits to undertake by 2020 a study publishing a qualitative study to better understand..." (Pledge ID 1051)</p> <p>"... Conduct a study on statelessness in the country by 2022 to identify aspects that can be improved in preventing, combating and eliminating statelessness..." (Pledge ID 1060).</p> <p>"...research programmes and projects in the asylum and the migration field in order to provide more knowlegde about certain aspects and topics..." (Pledge ID 4256)</p>
<p>Policy and legal reform</p>	<p>If the means of the contribution is to change, enhance, adopt, improve or develop policy and/or legal reform, the pledge is assigned 'policy and legal reform'.</p>	<p>"...supprimer la disposition de sa loi sur la nationalité qui prévoit que la déchéance de la nationalité ivoirienne d'un homme peut être étendue à son conjoint et à ses enfants mineurs..." (Pledge ID 1001).</p> <p>"...including the process to formulate and implement national adaptation plans..." (Pledge ID 1241).</p> <p>"Becoming an inclusive country for asylum-seekers and refugee workers by granting them equal access to rights" (Pledge ID 2021).</p>
<p>Other means</p>	<p>If the pledge does not contain an empirical indicator of the above-mentioned categories, but still has identifiable tool(s) of how to contribute, the pledge is assigned 'other means'.</p>	<p>"To enhance necessary cooperation with relevant parties to move forward the repatriation process of Myanmar displaced persons in a systematic and sustainable manner." (Pledge ID 3045).</p> <p>"Brazil commits to exploring modalities of private and community sponsorship to resettlement, with a view to launching a pilot initiative until 2021." (Pledge ID 2077).</p> <p>"The Kyrgyz Republic commits to intensify its work on studying the experience of other State parties to the UN Conventions of 1954 and 1961 on statelessness." (Pledge ID 3100).</p>

**Table A3: Examples of the variation in pledge descriptions**

Pledge ID	Name of the pledge	Description of the pledge
3025	“Cooperate with UNHCR by supporting projects, continuing fund contributions and by building partnerships”	“The Government of the Philippines hereby commits to cooperate with UNHCR by supporting projects, continuing fund contributions, and by building or expanding partnerships.”
3026	“Create jobs and opportunities”	“None”
3040	“Enhance cooperation with UNHCR in handling refugees and asylum seekers”	“The Government of Indonesia hereby commits to enhance cooperation with UNHCR in handling refugees and asylum seekers.”
4032	“Civil Society Engagement in Durable Solutions”	“Though durable solutions essentially are conditioned by political engagement, civil society has an important custodian function of promoting protection, participation in and sustainability of solutions processes. Building on a strong evidence base, Denmark and Danish Refugee Council will contribute to mobilisation of civil society in regions of complex displacement. Denmark and DRC has been engaged in strategic collaboration around the mobilisation of civil society in solutions since 2015 when the Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat was established in East Africa. In 2016, the collaboration expanded to the Middle East and further in 2018 to the Asia Durable Solutions Platform. These civic platforms have supported a principled and rights-based approach to solutions and ensured systematic investments in capacity building of stakeholders, data gathering and analysis, and development of solutions strategies. The existing civil society secretariats are significant contributors to development of solutions-oriented programming, advocacy and policy influencing and have mobilised increased engagement of civic stakeholders, including diaspora, in the solutions agenda. Denmark and DRC pledge to continue to mobilise civic actors to become complementary actors in the implementation of the GCF, CRRF and the envisaged solutions platforms by investing in civil society solutions secretariats in protracted displacement situations and at global level.”
4047	“Construction of new schools for Syrian Kids to provide quality education”	“Around 1.1 million school-aged Syrian under Temporary Protection (SuTP) children living in Turkey and the average schooling rate is 64% among them. According to the needs analysis, it is clear that there is a need for the construction of 1,068 new schools with 30,799 classrooms at primary, secondary and high school levels. Also the number of pre-school-age (0–5 age group) SuTP children is 560.934 in Turkey. The schooling rate of pre-school age SuTP children is 33.7%. With the construction of 220 schools built in ongoing projects carried out by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), 5.200 classrooms with the capacity of 156.000 students are under construction. (Projects on Education for All in Times of Crisis I&II and Education Infrastructure for Resilience) In the scope of the new project, 170 pre-schools, 10 primary schools and 1 public education centre are planned to construct (Project on Education for All in Times of Crisis III) by MoNE. Thus, an additional capacity of 32,200 students will be generated. However, with the completion of all the ongoing projects related with education infrastructure, generated additional capacity for those 188,200 Syrian students in total mentioned above meets only 18% of the total need. In spite of all efforts related to the education infrastructure, the capacity need for pre-school, primary and secondary education is extremely high. Therefore, new projects and financial resources are highly needed in addition to existing projects in order to facilitate SuTP’s access to education and to provide education services in quality school environments.”

