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CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Towards an agenda for policy, practice and research

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Around the world, the unprecedented levels of mass displacement that have characterised recent decades show no sign of abating. In recognition of the increasingly protracted nature of crises and their complexity, alongside growing humanitarian funding deficits, a 'humanitarian-development nexus' has emerged within global governance. Arising from various policy initiatives, including the World Humanitarian Summit's Grand Bargain (2016) and the Global Compact on Refugees (2017), this nexus highlights the need to devise collective, long-term solutions to the challenges of displacement. The emerging agreements and their associated policy instruments, such as the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, have been explicitly linked to the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda's call to leave no one behind. This emphasises the importance of ensuring that the most marginalised groups of people – including refugees and internally displaced people – are prioritised within development efforts.

At the same time, and linked to the leave no one behind agenda, we have witnessed an upsurge in interest in adolescents and international development (Patton et al., 2012). This is partly driven by an increasing recognition that low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) are facing a 'youth bulge' in which the current younger generation is significantly larger than the older generation – and that investing in and harnessing young people's collective potential is therefore vital. During adolescence, young people undergo far-reaching cognitive, biological and, importantly, social changes; their experiences at this crucial juncture have significant implications not only for the adult lives they lead but also for the societies to which they will contribute. In many contexts, however, restrictive gender norms prevent girls especially, but also boys, from developing the agency, capabilities and outcomes that will enable them to participate on equal terms and as empowered citizens.

Yet in contexts of displacement, attention to adolescents' needs remains largely dominated by the crisis response of humanitarianism. A humanitarian response

focuses on the risks facing adolescents and their protection needs – particularly for girls. This risks an overemphasis on adolescents' vulnerabilities, rather than their capabilities. This is not to suggest that the challenges facing adolescents are not immense; as seen across the contexts explored in this book, displacement generates enormous structural vulnerabilities for adolescents, their families and their communities, often for multiple generations. But in bridging humanitarianism and development, there is a need to look towards the longer term and adopt a more holistic approach which recognises the agency of adolescents in navigating these challenges. What kinds of multidimensional support do adolescent girls and boys need to overcome the trauma of displacement, and to build better lives and become engaged and active global citizens?

Theoretical contributions

We opened this book with the story of Jana: a young Syrian refugee whose agency and determination in the context of indeterminate precarity were clear. Drawing on a conceptual framework that emphasises adolescents' capabilities, our findings in this volume shed light not only on the challenges that adolescents face but also – equally importantly – on their agency and resilience, even in the most difficult circumstances. Taken together, these chapters show the utility of the intersectional lens outlined in the introductory chapter of this book for understanding how refugee, internally displaced and stateless adolescent girls and boys experience the nuances of the humanitarian-development nexus in different contexts. Intersectionality emphasises the fluidity and relationality of different identities, and how they overlap, in generating differentiated experiences of marginality and oppression (Hankivsky et al., 2012). Identities like 'refugee' or 'internally displaced person' may be the most visible categories for humanitarian and development assistance, yet there is a risk that seeing displaced people primarily through this lens overlooks the heterogenous experiences of individuals within these categories (Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2010). As shown by authors across divergent country contexts, the experiences of displaced adolescents are shaped by their age, their gender, whether they have a disability, their geographical location, their marital status and their nationality. Relatedly, these identities will also affect young displacees' access to services, particularly services that are adapted to their specific needs, illustrating the need for enabling environments.

The book's conceptual framework also proposed that ecological and 'generational' approaches be used as lenses through which to understand young people's agency. An ecological approach emphasises the importance of the social context of young people's lives for shaping their opportunities. This includes not only families and peers but the structural and institutional contexts in which they transition through adolescence (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). The nuanced discussions by contributors on the six country settings explored in this book underline the role of political, economic, social, cultural and legal dynamics in shaping adolescents' lived experiences. Adolescents' status and context – whether they are internally displaced

in Ethiopia, stateless Palestinians in Jordan or registered refugees (as seen in the other chapter contexts) – have consequences for the actors involved in addressing their needs and the extent to which the humanitarian-development nexus can be adequately bridged to ensure that no adolescent is left behind. The conceptual framework at the heart of this book emphasises the need for 'change strategies' that engage and empower displaced adolescents.

The other lens – the notion of 'generationing', which focuses on the relational dynamics that shape young people's participation in processes of change (Huijsmans, 2016) – can be used to understand how cultural and social norms and related restrictions on girls and boys, and younger and older adolescents, are negotiated and evolve over time as they come up against other social forces. As seen through the contributions to this book, the role, status and perceptions of youth and gender within communities are reshaped by factors such as (for example) the insecurity that characterises humanitarian contexts and the opportunities available for livelihoods and schooling. With four out of five refugees now living in protracted displacement, we are witnessing growing numbers of young people who will have spent their whole life as refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Across the chapters in this volume, we see that the particular stage in adolescence and relationships with family and peers have a significant impact on young people's experiences in displacement.

Addressing the nexus: peace, climate change, humanitarianism and development

The Sustainable Development Goals' Agenda 2030 emphasises the overlap and continuity of all goals in relation to addressing the structural causes of marginalisation. In practice, attention to the intersection of the now widely accepted 'humanitarian-development nexus' overlaps with other pressing challenges for coordinated policy action; as introduced earlier, two of these with pertinence for adolescents are the issues of climate change and of peacebuilding. Yet given the increasing intersections of humanitarianism, peacebuilding, climate change and development work, it is striking that we still know so little about the experiences of displaced and conflict-affected adolescents in relation to these dynamics. The chapters of this book highlight some of the challenges for bridging these issues in ways that address the specific vulnerabilities of adolescents. Understanding how adolescents encounter different modalities of interventions across various settings, and identifying where gaps remain, allows us to draw out recommendations for policy and programmatic change at the nexus to ensure that progress will leave no one behind.

As explored in the chapter by Guglielmi et al., the mass displacement of Rohingya people into Bangladesh initially attracted humanitarian funding under the Joint Response Plan (JRP) for the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, in order to stabilise the situation and respond to immediate needs. Yet duration of displacement affects what support systems can be accessed by displaced adolescents; three years on, there are still no clear long-term solutions to the Rohingya situation, with various policy actors still in dispute over possible options around repatriation or

integration. Environmental threats such as land degradation, deforestation and water pollution, on top of ongoing climate change induced coastal erosion and flooding in hosting areas which are already affecting the local agricultural economy will continue to exacerbate tensions between refugees and Bangladeshi nationals if more sustainable solutions are not sought. In the absence of a clear strategy, a blanket humanitarian assistance policy continues to focus on meeting immediate needs. Guglielmi et al. show that this leaves Rohingya adolescents in limbo, unable to access education or skills training; meanwhile gender inequalities remain unaddressed and poverty continues to deepen. Transitioning towards a rights-based, long-term, development-informed approach is key to addressing and preventing further marginalisation.

Other contributions show that a development-informed approach is not a panacea. Isimbi et al. show that for Congolese refugees in Rwanda, over 30 years of displacement have transformed a crisis into a status quo. Rwandan refugee policy follows a 'self-reliance' strategy in accordance with the Global Compact on Refugees and is a rollout country for the Compact's Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, which seeks to integrate refugees into the economy. But as Isimbi et al. show, refugee communities face various barriers to economic inclusion, not least being hosted in poor and isolated areas and lacking social capital. This is known to lead to higher rates of poverty – driving adolescent girls to engage in gendered and sexualised survival strategies (Williams et al., 2018; Ruzibiza, 2020). Recognising adolescents' agency in seeking out opportunities beyond the camp, despite the risks they face, Isimbi et al.'s work explores the possibilities of local laws for supporting and protecting adolescent girls and challenging harmful norms, and of creating pathways to training and employment that reflect the realities of girls' lives. These are aspects of integration that are often overlooked in the current emphasis on the economic dimensions of protracted displacement within global policy.

Reflecting on the ways that the humanitarian–development–peace nexus has so far played out in the Middle East, Małachowska et al. and Youssef's contributions allow contrasts to be drawn between the situation for Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon, respectively. Jordan has initiated efforts to integrate refugees economically through the Jordan Compact for Refugees, which came about in response to the protracted crisis of Syrian displacement from 2011 onwards. With little hope of a peace agreement, the Jordan Compact has primarily focused on extending labour market access to Syrian refugees. Yet critiques have emphasised that it should better reflect refugees' needs, priorities and survival strategies (Barbelet et al., 2018; Lenner and Turner, 2019), and, indeed, in the context of growing economic malaise in Jordan, a number of the labour market commitments made have since been rolled back. As Małachowska et al. show, this focus on formal access rather than the quality of services provided is also reflected in the education sector. Syrian refugees have been given access to education through the establishment of several hundred double-shift schools, but the curriculum and pedagogical approach are not geared to instilling the twenty-first-century skills needed for meaningful labour market participation.

In Lebanon, an ongoing economic and political crisis continues to present challenges for bridging the 'nexus' in a country that hosts more refugees per capita than any other in the world. While the government has accepted the 1.5 million Syrian refugees who have arrived since 2011 (UNHCR, 2020), Lebanon has never ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and considers refugees to be foreigners, with no specific rights relating to their status. The protection mandate of UNHCR in Lebanon is restricted by this lack of cooperation – a tension that is exacerbated by the uncertain political climate (Janmyr, 2018). Youssef shows the gendered and age-related impact of this situation on Syrian refugee girls, who like many Syrian refugees live in low-quality informal tented settlements and face myriad barriers to work and educational opportunities. Economic disadvantage, Youssef suggests, intersects with existing social inequalities to produce outcomes such as educational exclusion and child marriage, which isolate girls and exacerbate mental health challenges. The Global Compact on Refugees calls for more integration of services that benefit both refugees and host communities; yet the situation in Lebanon as captured in that chapter engenders broader questions about the political economy of the humanitarian-development nexus. Across the MENA region, rising temperatures and increasing projections of drought will have consequences for water and food security that will also impact refugee integration, underlining the need for a climate lens on these challenges.

For Palestinians, long-term statelessness complicates experiences of displacement. The contributions of both Abu Hamad and Sajdi et al. allow a consideration of the implications of statelessness from two different perspectives in two country contexts. Abu Hamad's chapter illustrates the continued exposure to violence of Palestinian adolescents living in Gaza, where protracted conflict and tensions around occupation present a major challenge for the implementation of long-term development interventions that promote adolescents' capabilities. International humanitarian law, which applies to conflict settings, emphasises protecting communities from violence; yet without this obligation being fulfilled by the international community, as Abu Hamad shows, the Sustainable Development Goals' target of ending all forms of violence against children is unlikely to be fulfilled in Gaza. Existing social protection and humanitarian interventions seek to engage with prevailing social and cultural norms around violence, but the interconnectedness of these norms with the structural violence of statelessness is seemingly intractable, calling attention to the need for peacebuilding concerns not to be overlooked within developmental initiatives.

Sajdi et al.'s contribution explores the impact of statelessness on educational access and outcomes for Palestinian adolescents in Jordan. Palestinian refugees have a history dating back to 1948 in Jordan, when the country granted arrivals full Jordanian citizenship; but refugees arriving from Gaza from 1967 onwards were given temporary passports, and subsequent waves of Palestinian refugees have met with increasingly restrictive policies (Lenner, 2016). And while Jordan's Compact on Refugees is celebrated as an example of how the humanitarian-development nexus can be bridged, the current approach of the Jordanian government to managing

stateless Palestinian refugees – which is strongly mediated by fears about domestic and international security (Mansour-Ille et al., 2018) – is often overlooked in discussions of the nexus. Sajdi et al. suggest that a lack of citizenship rights limits refugees' prospects and opportunities and that this is compounded by deep-seated conservative gender norms which discourage adolescents from continuing in school. Yet despite this context of structural violence, many young people continue to aspire to a better future and seek ways of fulfilling their ambitions.

In the chapter on Ethiopia, where Jones et al. show that internally displaced adolescents must navigate fractured social contexts and very limited livelihood or schooling options, we can see that ultimate responsibility to address these challenges lies with the government in terms of ensuring that appropriate social protection and assistance is delivered. However, the dearth of coordination of services for internally displaced persons across the humanitarian-development spectrum (as noted by Jones et al.) is particularly striking when one considers that Ethiopia is a 'rollout' country for the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework – with the aim that funding for humanitarian aid and development assistance is integrated to create a more comprehensive approach that addresses the needs of refugee and host communities collectively. The Framework makes no mention of IDPs, despite the relevance of objectives such as safe return to points of origin, economic opportunities and social protection support for the most vulnerable within hosting areas. These are recognised as being key to ensuring that IDPs, like refugees, are not left behind within development trajectories. Given that IDPs outnumber refugees around the world at a rate of two to one, their oversight presents a serious challenge to efforts to 'leave no one behind'. On the one hand, there are some positive signs of efforts to resolve governance conflicts that have played a large part in mass displacement in previous years and there is a newly established Ministry of Peace charged with supporting IDPs and resettlement. On the other hand, however, it is essential that these interventions also engage more centrally with access to resources such as land and water, which have driven tensions for decades and which climate change has brought into sharper focus.

Implications for policies and programming

Each of the chapters of this book have identified recommendations for policies and programming that leave no young person behind in the specific contexts they address. Together they also underscore the importance of addressing four key themes that cut across all contexts: investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection, improving access to quality and relevant education, supporting access to skills building and livelihoods opportunities, and investing in age- and gender-sensitive violence prevention and response services. Each of these themes speak to the structural and systemic barriers to young people's realisation of their full capabilities in displacement. In highlighting these themes, we should nevertheless emphasize that there is no one-size-fits-all approach that will be effective. In this we refer not only to the need for solutions which account for the specific socioeconomic, political

and cultural constraints of adolescents' capabilities, evidenced across these chapters, but also to the importance of context-tailored approaches as to how to effectively coordinate and sequence interventions, involving which actors and with which human and financial resourcing. These considerations will by necessity be distinct in situations of protracted displacement compared to more recent humanitarian crises, and these will differ again from internal displacement.

Investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection

Investing in age- and gender-responsive social protection for adolescents in humanitarian contexts is essential. The evidence presented across all chapters of this book highlights that gender and age play a significant role in shaping the vulnerabilities and risks facing displaced populations. At the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, in line with the SDGs' commitment to expand coverage of social protection to all, humanitarian and development actors recognised the need to 'increase social protection programmes and strengthen national and local systems and coping mechanisms in order to build resilience in fragile contexts' (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), 2016). A growing body of evidence points to the positive impact of social protection mechanisms such as cash transfers, food assistance and school feeding on young people's participation in education (de Hoop et al., 2019), their nutrition and health outcomes (Bailey and Hedlund, 2012), and tensions and violence within households (Hidrobo et al., 2012; Hamad et al., 2017) – all of which are key for young people's wellbeing.

Properly targeted social protection packages can also promote other positive outcomes, such as social cohesion between refugees and host communities (Doocy and Tappis, 2016; Valli et al., 2019), especially when twinned with complementary services such as psychosocial support and non-formal education. Yet existing research has neither explored directly the impact of these strategies on adolescents nor engaged with the long-term effects of social protection on reducing gender- and age-related inequalities. For work at the humanitarian-development-peace nexus to therefore effectively address inequalities and avoid further marginalising those who are most at risk, intersections of age, gender and other vulnerabilities based on social identity (e.g. disability or marital status) must be considered and integrated into sustainably funded social protection packages for displaced populations at scale and adequately monitored. In protracted situations, the emphasis within the Global Compact on Refugees on integrating refugees into national social protection services provides a way of overcoming the short-termism of humanitarian programming that is so detrimental to the capacity of families to rebuild their lives in displacement. Yet continued restrictions on access and discrimination against refugees in many hosting countries, as shown in some of these chapters, underline the importance of collaboration between humanitarian agencies and national programmes to ensure that no one is left behind.

One of the caveats of social protection programmes is that programmes typically do not address the root causes of young people's vulnerabilities, instead focusing

on the consequences and symptoms associated with these vulnerabilities, such as providing economic support or first aid interventions. Traditionally, in conflict-affected context, short-term, donors-driven vertical interventions are usually implemented that focus on one particular aspect of the vulnerabilities which usually fail to address the multidimensional and intersecting needs of adolescents. To address this bias, there is a need for longer-term, sustainable horizontal programmes that consider the interlinked challenges adolescents face and address these in a comprehensive multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach at both the policy and programming levels. It is also critical to adopt a proactive targeting approach to support adolescents exposed to social inequalities who need protection and not to rely on conventional approaches that tend to serve those who self-refer to these programmes.

Improving access to quality and relevant education

The structural challenges facing adolescents in accessing quality and relevant education are also evident across the contexts explored in this book. Since the World Humanitarian Summit, there has been increasing attention to the imperative to include education in both crisis responses and under conditions of protracted displacement. As shown by Sajdi et al. and Guglielmi et al., during displacement, educational opportunities become fragmented both in the long and short term. Not only does this risk adolescents being left behind at critical junctures such as examinations and secondary transitions (Zubairi and Rose, 2016; Wanjiru, 2018) but being unable to go to school can also mean that young people experience further social exclusion and disengagement from their peers (Czamanski-Cohen, 2010). Where displaced adolescents are supported in accessing schooling, however, they may face language barriers, poor-quality schooling and find themselves stigmatised and discriminated against due to their identity as refugees or IDPs (Dryden-Peterson, 2015).

Inclusive education policies must address these challenges. A commonly noticed practice in humanitarian contexts is that educational programmes at schools usually focus solely on teaching curricula and ignore other aspects. Yet as Małachowska et al. show, education should not be limited to academic curricula and confined to classrooms but rather focus on quality and relevance. Indeed, research suggests that life skills training, communication and negotiation skills, and learning about human rights have a long-term spill-over effect on adolescents' psychosocial and economic wellbeing (Simac et al., 2019). In addition, catch-up and non-formal education opportunities are not only limited in coverage but also not proactive in targeting adolescents who already left education. However, many adolescents who are not enrolled in education in humanitarian contexts remain unaware of available programmes, and thus there is a pressing need to expand access through proactive targeting, scaling up of successful initiatives and investments in family awareness about the opportunity costs of education.

Promoting access to livelihoods and life skills training

A major focus of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework emerging from global dialogue about sustainable solutions to mass displacement was refugee livelihoods. Initiatives to promote the integration of displaced populations into host country economies have been met with wide criticism for failing to address the structural barriers to economic inclusion, including constraints on the right to work or move freely (Ilcan and Rygiel, 2015; Omata, 2017). Current en-masse approaches to self-reliance also 'gloss over' the individual vulnerabilities and capacities of refugees, which will, of course, be shaped by their age, gender and background (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). The chapters by Abu Hamad, Guglielmi et al., Jones et al. and Youssef underline the gendered impact of structural violence on young people's opportunities for work. It is essential that livelihood opportunities and life skills training for adolescents in humanitarian settings reflect the contextual realities of their lives and status in host communities and countries. Most livelihood support programmes on humanitarian context focus on the economic vulnerability of the household and aim to mitigate the consequences of poverty but rarely consider developing adolescents' capabilities. Indeed, in these contexts, adolescents are usually annexed to their parents. Moreover, the availability of livelihood and life skills training programmes does not guarantee its use. Marketing, advertising or increasing awareness about the available programme is essential to promote utilization of these programmes. To overcome the limited enrolment in vocational training facilities, it is important for programmers to understand and tackle cultural perceptions around the lower status of vocational education.

Interventions must also assist adolescents to develop transferable skills that can stay with them for life. Indeed, while educational inclusion matters, so too does equipping young people with the knowledge they need to successfully navigate their social, economic and political environments. Ensuring that displaced adolescents are informed about their rights, and are supported to exercise voice and agency, can promote democratic political participation. Evidence from Małachowska et al. as to the success of UNICEF's Makani programme in Jordan, which promotes these twenty-first-century skills to empower young people, provides a potential blueprint.

Ensuring access to age- and gender-based violence prevention and response services

Of major concern are the ongoing rights violations that adolescents experience due to a lack of adequate services, reporting and accountability mechanisms. It is widely accepted that women and girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence in contexts of displacement, and human rights laws outline their right to specific protections (Donnelly and Muthiah, 2019). However, both child protection and sexual and reproductive health services that are accessible

and appropriate for adolescents are often absent in humanitarian contexts. Moreover, violence prevention programmes tend to be framed within a narrow focus on political and severe forms of physical violence during conflict, with much more limited attention given to gender- and age-related aggressions attributed to cultural, economic and social hierarchies and norms that are too often compounded in contexts of displacement. Stemming also from short-term programme design, little is usually done in humanitarian contexts to address the risk factors of violence, including investments in positive parenting practices, advocating for peacebuilding and promoting gender equity and social justice.

In this volume Abu Hamad, Youssef et al. and Jones et al. each draw attention to both the structural and interpersonal violence that stateless, refugee and internally displaced adolescents experience on a regular basis. Abu Hamad advocates the need to both strengthen reporting mechanisms and in-school protection services, and raise awareness among communities about adolescents' rights. Jones et al. flag the need for complementary and connected services to not only be age- and gender-responsive but to account for the different support needs of camp-based and urban adolescents. Isimbi et al. emphasise the need to challenge norms and stigma around sexual violence through local laws while also addressing poverty among refugee populations, which is intricately connected to gender-based violence.

Directions for future research

The empirical contributions in this book underline that bridging the humanitarian-development-peace nexus is a complex undertaking. There are, however, some shared challenges. Different categories of displaced people such as refugees, internally displaced persons and stateless displaced people have access to differential status and conditionalities under international humanitarian and national laws, and their experiences are further complicated by social identities such as gender, age and disability. Diverse actors are involved in delivering aid and assistance. Understanding how these variations shape the experiences of displaced adolescents offers a window into what is necessary for the humanitarian-development nexus to evolve and better align with the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda to leave no one behind. Refugees were originally absent in the 2030 Agenda, though at the five-year revision point, the empowerment of refugees and internally displaced persons was recognised as key to development and the promise to leave no one behind (through the introduction of a new indicator under target 16.3).[1] There was also recognition that transforming the marginalisation and poverty of displaced people entails attention to structural inequality.

Directives for programming to address the needs of adolescents within specific country contexts in line with the 2030 Agenda are explored by authors in each chapter, but several cross-cutting themes challenge their enactment in practice. The first is the dearth of comprehensive, disaggregated data on crisis-affected populations. Disaggregated data by sex and age can help operational agencies to

identify and respond to vulnerable groups, deliver effective and efficient assistance, and save both lives and livelihoods (Mazurana et al., 2013). Data such as this can also assist in the pursuit of an intersectional approach (described earlier) by drawing attention to multiple points of oppression that may manifest in different contexts. UNHCR's Age, Gender and Diversity policy (UNHCR, 2018) has seen the organisation commit to generating and using age- and gender-disaggregated data on refugee populations. Yet not only is disaggregated data still in a fledging state in many refugee contexts but this guidance does not specify the extent to which data should be disaggregated on young people under the age of 18, despite the divergent needs of younger and older adolescents. Furthermore, UNHCR is not the lead actor in all contexts; in cases of internal displacement, which heavily outnumber refugee situations (by double), knowledge about the diversity of displaced populations may rely on government data, which may use different definitions.

A further challenge is the lack of investment in longitudinal research, despite recognition of the protracted and dynamic nature of humanitarian crises and their aftermath. Four in five young refugees are now in protracted exile. Future research agendas must seek to understand how the experiences and support requirements of young people change as they age and as displacement situations evolve. One of the strengths of the research presented in this book is its longitudinal approach, which has enabled researchers from the Gender and Adolescence: Global Evidence (GAGE) programme to observe these changes over time. A longitudinal approach also allows space for relationships to develop between researchers and participants over time in a more organic way, building trust and allowing deeper insights into adolescents' lives. Relationships can also be built with family members, enabling exploration of how norms are transmitted and change across generations (Huijsmans, 2016). Observing how young people's vulnerabilities and opportunities change in relation to the broader contexts of their lives allows us to point to what types of programming pay dividends in expanding their capabilities at different points in time. It also helps us identify what may be needed across different cohorts of adolescents and youth to ensure that the commitments of the Global Compact and the SDGs to leave no one behind are inclusive of and enhance the agency of all persons affected by displacement.

Note

1 Indicator 10.7.2 (UN DESA, 2020) refers to migrant populations, calling for the facilitation of 'orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies' and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) includes 'Government measures to deliver comprehensive responses to refugees and other forcibly displaced persons' as one of six proxy measures for this indicator (UN DESA and IOM, 2019). UNHCR and other humanitarian actors successfully lobbied for the inclusion of an indicator that explicitly references refugees in 2019. It was formally accepted as part of the 2020 Comprehensive Review under Target 10.7.4 – 'Proportion of the population who are refugees, by country of origin'(Nahmias and Krynsky Baal, 2019).

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