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A Commodity for Export?

The implementation of the Triple Nexus by the National Societies of
the Red Cross in national migration affairs

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is the potential implementation of the Triple Nexus by the Red Cross National Societies in Europe. In an innovative approach, it looks at three different local branches of the Red Cross as the main subject of focus. This choice was dictated by the fact that these are considered both the emergency actor for crises happening in Europe and the humanitarian organisation. Considering the scarcity of previous scholarly work on the topic, the author has engaged in data generation through interviews with six Red Cross representatives, two per case study, one working nationally and one internationally. The thesis then conducts a comparative study to create generalisable findings from this data. By using normative coherence for human rights as its theoretical framework and looking at both the national and international level of each National Society, the research leading the following academic piece aims at uncovering whether the Triple Nexus is used as a tool to cope with the migration crisis on European soil, or whether the latter is used solely as a commodity for export, something to apply only abroad. In doing so, it not only helps fill the lack of academic sources looking at the putting in practice of the Triple Nexus, but it also uncovers the normative implications of a potential divide between the national and international domains.

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Last but not least, I want to thank myself for leaving all the certainties I had in order to follow this Master's program. This choice changed my life in more ways than I imagined or wished for, and I can only thank myself for being able to go through it nevertheless. It was not an easy year, and I doubted myself countless times. But now, I can sincerely say that I am grateful for deciding to join this program, grateful for the people I have met and the growth I have experienced. I decided to take the hardest path, and although I am not sure whether it will pay off work-wise, it has already paid off in countless beautiful moments and personal development.

So here I am, ready to submit my thesis. Eighty pages reflecting my interests and under which countless emotions and moments of this whole year are concealed. As a perfectionist, it is hard for me to say that I am proud of my work. Instead, I will say that I am pretty satisfied with its content and what it represents.

I wish you a happy reading,

Arianna

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPA	'Centre de Primo Accueil' [First Reception Centre]
FRA	EU Agency for Fundamental Rights
HQ	Head Quarters
HSP	Humanitarian Service Point
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross
NWOW	New Way Of Working
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONA	Office National de l'Accueil (National Reception Office)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

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A commodity for export?

1. INTRODUCTION

The 2015 refugee crisis and the more recent flow of Ukrainian refugees into Europe have put national governments and their municipalities under pressure. Few governmental institutions, if arguably any, were prepared to cope with what has been defined as a 'Global Refugee Crisis' (Healey, 2016, p. 8).

In this context, many States looked for the expertise they lacked in other institutions, giving the latter the mandate to implement a mechanism to support and offer the first assistance to the large number of incoming people in need (Androff, 2022; Betts, 2010). Among these organisations, National Red Crosses stood out as institutions able to provide emergency responses and humanitarian assistance in an effective and quick manner (Red Cross EU Office, 2014; 2023). Thanks to its expertise in these fields and its globally known values of impartiality and neutrality, the Red Cross has repeatedly proven itself as a pivotal actor in reaching and providing support to those in need (Fabbri, 2018).

This humanitarian organisation is often considered the point of reference in times of emergency at the domestic level (IFRC, 2016). Arguably, thus, looking into the work of this institution would offer considerable insights into the way crises are coped with on national soil. Therefore, this thesis selected the local branches of the Red Cross, known as National Societies, as its main research subject. Specifically, the inquiry leading to the former aims to uncover how this agency deals with migration under one specific framework: the Triple Nexus.

This relatively new concept advocates for synergy among three sectors: humanitarian assistance, development, and peace. The consequent, ideally multi-disciplinary and coordinated action to react to the crisis has been argued to be a response to the increasing complexity of world affairs (Koff & Masujima, 2023). Following this argument and the fact that this approach was developed in cooperation with the United Nations at the World Humanitarian Summit, one would assume that the Triple Nexus would be applied globally. However, in reality, the former tends to be advocated for and studied mostly and foremost in areas of armed conflict and precarious states (OECD, 2022). The following work will contrast such a trend by looking into the implementation of the Triple Nexus in stable European democracies that experienced the so-defined migration crisis in order to examine whether, in such a crisis framework, they implemented this concept. This will consequently determine the universality of this norm.

The research question leading this thesis is: to what extent have the National Societies of the Red Cross implemented the Triple Nexus in European national migration affairs? The dissertation argues that analysing the putting in practice of this concept in the region is

extremely useful to understand the way countries cope with crises on their national soil, the development of the Triple Nexus, and the spreading of good practices.

Furthermore, looking at how this concept is advocated and deployed on national soil and internationally by the same organisation will shed light on the normative implications bound to this paradigm shift and the choices made by these actors in different contexts. The selection of relatively small National Societies as case studies was driven by the assumption that, in smaller organisational environments, the divide between departments would be less perceived, and employees would have more opportunities to communicate with each other with relatively little effort. This would consequently lead to more chances of people within the organisation being aware of what their colleagues in other departments are working on. However, preliminary findings seem to show that, even in these smaller realities, there is a strong division between the department focusing on international affairs and the one active on national soil, as well as different rationales behind projects, leading to question whether there is normative coherence in the organisation as a whole and what reasoning lays behind such different approaches to crises (that go beyond simply different contexts).

As the title of this thesis suggests, this work will examine whether the Triple Nexus is seen as a commodity for export, which means a 'Western-made' product that is applied outside of its constructed borders. This may be because of internal biases that do not allow Europeans to admit that a crisis framework and reaction can also apply to them, an invisible normative line dividing the national from the international that prevents practitioners from realising that emergencies are not always something far away, happening in another continent and that those mechanisms created by them for other countries, can prove just as useful on national soil. In a context in which the normative coherence between internal and external policies has been increasingly questioned, for example, in the case of the EU, it is arguably of considerable relevance to look at whether other actors that act in both the international and national domains, such as the Red Cross, also perpetuate such bias. Therefore, this thesis will inquire whether there is normative coherence for human rights in the work of the Red Cross National Societies, comparing the values and strategies that drive their work he national soil with their international counterpart. This is deemed of the foremost importance also due to the value of impartiality of the Red Cross and the safeguarding of the universality of human rights in general.

The focus of the Triple Nexus in Europe and the analysis of an organisation that reflects one of the three pillars of the former constitutes an innovative approach; to this date, no similar scholarly work has been published. However, these are not the only research practices that this thesis will introduce. Two other aspects are original to the latter. First, the implementation of

normative coherence for human rights as a theoretical framework; the latter is a proposition that, despite being inexplicitly present in few previous published scholarly papers, it has not yet been directly employed in academia as the main theoretical framework (Koff et al., 2020; Maganda, 2016). Second, for the first time in academia, a comparative study will be constructed to uncover potential similarities among the ways in which different National Red Cross Societies deal with migration. In alphabetic order, three countries will constitute the subjects of inquiry: Finland, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. These were selected based on the different sizes of these states, their different approaches to migration, and the diversity offered by the relative Red Cross programs and their structure.

Furthermore, by investigating the potential implementation of the Triple Nexus by the institution that best represents humanitarianism, it will also show how different organisations under the same Red Cross umbrella managed policy integration, coordination, and coherence in relation to this concept. Doing so will provide academia with practical examples and best practices on the implementation of the Triple Nexus, which have been argued to be lacking in existing scholarly work (Koff & Masujima, 2023).

Through interviews and analytical research, each of the three case studies will be analysed to assess whether their work aligns with the principles of the Triple Nexus, both in theory and in practice. Interviews, in particular, generated data considered necessary for this research due to the scarcity of practical and academic materials in regard to the Triple Nexus. Other sub-questions were also investigated to uncover the context, definition, and implication of this concept in the work of the Red Cross.

First of all, there is the question of impartiality and independence, two of the seven pillars of the Red Cross. By helping migrants, the Red Cross tends to work closely with the State. However, migration has been highly politicised in recent years; the political discourse can influence how immigrants are treated and the rights they are entitled to (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). Therefore, cooperation with the government, especially when the National Societies act on the request (and consequently funding) of the former, can lead to a conflict of interest between the 'do no harm' principle and the fundamental ones of the Red Cross of impartiality and neutrality; even more so when the projects this institution can implement are subject to the political interests of the party in charge at that moment. It seems, therefore, essential to analyse what role governmental institutions and political discourse in general play in the humanitarian organisation's work and how much leverage the former has on the humanitarian institution in each selected country. Furthermore, these two Fundamental

Principles of the Red Cross have often been argued to be in conflict with the third pillar of the Triple Nexus, peace. Consequently, a brief introduction to this issue and how to potentially solve it will also be provided in this thesis.

Second, this research will examine the differences between the international department of each national society of the Red Cross and those working in the national field. In particular, the normative framework employed in the former will be juxtaposed with the values taken into account by the latter. The potential collaboration between the two, where present, will also be analysed in this section. Doing so will underline the differences between how the projects are funded, how this factor affects the principles around which they are developed, and the normative framework through which they are presented.

The third issue regards the conceptualisation of crisis and the role of the Red Cross as an emergency organisation. By looking at the work of each National Society, this thesis will try to uncover the connection between humanitarian assistance, development, and resilience in their discourse.

Last but not least, a subject of inquiry will be the communication within National Societies as well as across different levels of the latter. By uncovering whether they share best practices and expertise and whether the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) provide them with guidelines and support where necessary, it will be possible to delineate better the extent of the normative power and implementation of the Triple Nexus.

In order to analyse these issues in an orderly manner, this thesis will start by providing the reader with a literature review on the Triple Nexus; this section aims to clarify the significance of this concept in international affairs as well as its origin and ultimate goal. It will then briefly introduce some contextualisation on the work of the Red Cross, mostly consisting of a brief historical overview, including its original mandate and the most recent developments. A specific subsection will be devoted to the work of this humanitarian organisation concerning migration in Europe. Afterwards, it will continue by clarifying the official position of the ICRC with the Triple Nexus. Once the two main subjects of inquiry, and their relation, are identified, the thesis will shortly introduce the conceptual approach employed in this research, namely normative coherence for human rights. It will then proceed to present the methodology, focusing on the three case studies, the reasons why they were selected, and the way in which data were generated through interviews. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the Theoretical Framework, which will explain the meaning and implications of norms and normative coherence. Once previous scholarly work on these topics has been presented, this thesis will shift its focus to the

norms and values driving the work of the ICRC and IFRC. This section will be followed by the other three, each of which will detail the specific goals of each selected National Society.

After providing the theoretical framework, each of the three case studies will be investigated separately in a dedicated chapter. Considering the complexity and differences pertinent to each national situation, every dedicated chapter will be divided into three sections. The first will present a brief historical background of the organisation at the national level, situating it in the current context. Afterwards, section two will focus on the country's situation regarding migration, both based on data collected through reports and newspaper articles as well as through the information collected qualitatively through interviews. This section will also analyse the relationship and modus operandi of the selected National Society with the government. The different programs, founding methods, and values driving the local branch of the Red Cross will be scrutinised, as well as what it prioritises. Section three will differ per case study as it focuses on the migration project(s) in which the interviewed Red Cross representative was working when the research took place. This section aims to uncover motivations, values and considerations driving the interviewee's work and consequently, the way the projects are designed. This part will be followed by one presenting the way in which the dialogue proceeded when pondering how the Triple Nexus is perceived locally. The last section of each dedicated chapter will analyse the same topics and focal points as the previous ones but from the point of view of a Red Cross representative working in the international department of the National Society instead.

After presenting each case study individually, a dedicated chapter will compare the findings across and between countries to ultimately uncover whether the National Red Cross was working following the principles of the Triple Nexus and the potential problems it encountered in implementing the latter. It will then discuss the relevance of this finding for the implementation of the Triple Nexus on a larger scale and for normative coherence for human rights.

1.1 CONTEXTUALIZATION

This section aims to situate the subjects of this thesis within the broader academic literature and provide the reader with the necessary background information to understand the relevance of these topics. In order to do so, each sub-section will be dedicated to providing a relatively short but as complete as possible overview of one of this thesis's main concepts, whose general knowledge is deemed fundamental to comprehending the consequent chapters of this work. It

will start by introducing the main subject, the Triple Nexus. In doing so, it will briefly present its origins, the motivations behind its creation, as well as the most recent developments.

After introducing the principal subject, it will proceed to the focal actor, namely the Red Cross. This section will provide some context on the mandate and structure of the humanitarian organisation and its work in the last years. Considering the focus of this thesis on migration, a subsection will dedicate itself to the work of the Red Cross on this subject in Europe, including its relationship with the government.

Last but not least, the third section will link the work of this institution with the Triple Nexus, looking both at the position of the ICRC and the national societies in this regard.

1.1.1 INTRODUCING THE TRIPLE NEXUS

The humanitarian-development-peace nexus is a concept envisioned in the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit and put forward by the United Nations. Prior to this year, agencies with different mandates had already been cooperating under what was known as the 'humanitarian-development nexus'. The latter has been active since the 1980s and had the goal of linking short-term goals, characteristic of humanitarian assistance, with long-term development plan(s). This was arguably the response to the increasing number of conflicts after the end of the Cold War, which evidenced the grander scale of humanitarian crises and the limited financial resources available. Due to these considerable restraints, organisations started advocating for the need to link humanitarian and development efforts in order to use such scarce resources as efficiently as possible (Buchanan-Smith & Maxwell, 1994).

The consequent step was adding the Peace element to the Nexus. Three potential paradigm shifts must be mentioned when looking at the political environment in which the creation of the Triple Nexus occurred (Howe, 2019). First, as mentioned above, this happened on the occasion of the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, which had a focus on a New Way of Working. This involved bringing together diverse actors and making them collaborate on pluriannual projects to achieve collective outcomes (UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2018). Second, governments, humanitarian actors and development agencies were increasingly committed to the Grand Bargain, which explicitly called for a more continuous and deeper engagement between humanitarian and development actors 'to get more means into the hands of people in need and to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the humanitarian action' (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, n.d., para. 3). Third, at the UN level, the Secretary-General argued for a new approach focused on 'sustaining peace' that revolved around the centrality of prevention and advocated for greater coherence and cooperation within

the United Nations system (Guterres, 2018, p. 1).

In this political panorama, where different strands of discussion about synergies and cooperation were already on the table, the potential of the Triple Nexus approach acquired increased significance. The primary rationale behind this concept was the conviction that peacebuilding, development, and humanitarian actors 'all have the same broad objective, namely to contribute to the protection and well-being of affected populations and to improve their resilience to external and internal shocks' (Tronc et al., 2019, p. 25). This Triple Nexus goal also relates to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In fact, following Howe (2019), the collaboration resulting from implementing this concept has great potential for helping achieve the SDGs in conflict-affected countries, where it is notoriously more challenging to do so. Furthermore, scholars agree that there is an apparent inter-dependency between the three sectors since the success of one is likely to result in the others also achieving more (Slim, 2019). However, despite such commonalities, in practice, these organisations were found to hardly ever cooperate or coordinate their efforts; instead, they develop and act on parallel policy tracks with similar goals, which eventually result segmented as they tend to focus on their field of expertise. The Triple Nexus wants to tackle this issue and the consequent waste of resources that derives from it. The idea behind it is not only to increase communication across the different sectors but to create a structural change, a paradigm shift in the aid system that will modify how such aid is planned and funded (OXFAM, 2019, p. 3).

A few years after the adoption of this concept, some organisations already see progress, with Susanna Moorehead, the Chair of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, affirming that they 'are convinced that the principle of improved coordination and collaboration between bilateral and multilateral actors is an essential part of the recovery from the world's current crises' (OECD, 2022, p. 4).

Despite the widespread agreement on the strengths of the Triple Nexus, the way the latter could be actuated in practice has been subject to debate (Südhof et al., 2020). In particular, the Peace component has been discussed at length, mostly concerning two topics. The first one regards the different ways peace could be understood and conceptualised, steering more towards peacebuilding, security or stabilisation (Hövelmann, 2020). The second issue regards the implications of working under a peace mandate for humanitarian organisations that work under the principle of impartiality and neutrality (OXFAM, 2019). These points are extremely relevant when looking at the implementation of the Triple Nexus in the main subject of inquiry of this thesis, the Red Cross. However, for clarity's sake, this debate will be further developed

in section 1.1.3 of this chapter after a necessary introduction to the mandate and origin of the humanitarian organisation is provided in the following section.

When it comes to putting the Triple Nexus in practice, its associated New Ways of Working (NWOW) concept presents a solution on how the former can be implemented. According to the latter, three aspects must be agreed upon and worked towards, namely collective outcomes, multi-year time frames, and actions based on comparative advantage (Nguya & Siddiqui, 2020). Therefore, each organisation should share the expertise they gained in their specialisation area with the other two sectors. Even though each institution will continue with projects pertinent to its mandate, it should do so in a nexus-sensitive manner (Howe, 2019). Nevertheless, in reality, fragmentation and coordination challenges are still present and can hinder effective collaboration (Slim, 2019). Following the previous work of scholars, some of these issues are inherent to the different modus operandi of each organisation, specifically in relation to operational timelines, risk tolerance, and accountability mechanisms. These incongruences, sometimes irreconcilable, resulted in tensions among the three sectors of the Triple Nexus (Südhoff et al., 2020). Furthermore, each organisation has different funding mechanisms and ways to respond to their donors, which may make it hard to commit to long-term development or agree on a time span (OXFAM, 2019). Without counting that some organisations may not receive the necessary funding if they act through integrated approaches (United Nations, 2021). All these aspects, together with the lack of clear coordination mechanisms, often lead to duplication of efforts and inefficient use of resources (Holvelmann, 2020). The situation is further aggravated by the difficulty involved with the development of appropriate indicators and methodologies to assess the impact and effectiveness of integrated approaches (ICRC, 2019; OECD, 2019; Oxfam, 2021).

These issues reiterate the necessity for the Triple Nexus to be implemented as a structural paradigm shift rather than a concept to attempt to implement in the already ongoing activities (OXFAM, 2019).

1.1.2 THE RED CROSS, AN INTRODUCTION

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, commonly known as the Red Cross, is an international humanitarian organisation dedicated to assisting and protecting those affected by armed conflicts and natural disasters. The movement consists of three main components: the International Committee of the Red Cross, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and National Red Cross and Red Crescent National Societies in individual countries. The IFRC coordinates and supports the activities of 192 country-

specific organisations; it works allegedly closely with its member societies to provide humanitarian assistance, promote disaster preparedness, and advocate for the needs and rights of vulnerable populations (IFRC, 2021). The humanitarian organisation is founded on 7 Fundamental Principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality (ICRC, 2015).

The origin of the Red Cross dates back to 1863, when Henry Dunant, a Swiss businessman and social activist, founded it. Dunant witnessed the suffering of wounded soldiers in the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino in Italy and was inspired to establish an organisation to provide care and support to the wounded. In 1864, the first Geneva Convention was adopted, laying the groundwork for protecting wounded soldiers and establishing the Red Cross as a recognised symbol of neutrality and protection. However, the mandate of the Red Cross has since then evolved to respond to the changing needs and challenges of humanitarian action; from its initial goal of assisting soldiers, its scope has expanded to encompass a broader range of humanitarian activities.

During the first Geneva Convention in 1864, the Red Cross was recognised as a symbol of neutrality and protection, thereby establishing the foundation for international humanitarian law. Early Red Cross activities included setting up field hospitals, facilitating communication between prisoners of war and their families, and advocating for the rights and well-being of wounded combatants (Forsythe, 2005).

In the early 20th century, the Red Cross expanded its activities beyond armed conflicts to include disaster response, health services, and social welfare. In particular, the 1906 Geneva Convention extended the scope of the Red Cross to cover the treatment of the sick and wounded during naval warfare (Maurer, 2005).

The 1949 Geneva Conventions further refined the Red Cross mandate and established the core humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence. This normative change was mirrored by an increased engagement in disaster preparedness, community health programs, and the promotion of the rights and well-being of vulnerable populations (Barnett & Finnemore, 2005).

In recent decades, the Red Cross has expanded its activities to address emerging challenges such as urbanisation, climate change, migration, and public health crises. It has done so by focusing on disaster risk reduction, early warning systems, and community resilience. Besides its action in the field, the Red Cross also engages in advocacy, policy development, and collaboration with various stakeholders to address the underlying causes of humanitarian

crises and promote sustainable solutions (Fuchs, 2011).

Currently, the 2030 Strategy is the point of reference for developing projects of the IFRC and, consequently, National Societies (IFRC, 2018). As further elaborated in section 2.3, the current action plan identified five main challenges, among which are migration and identity. The following section will analyse this issue specifically in order to uncover patterns and common challenges that the Red Cross faces when it comes to migration in Europe. Even though the humanitarian organisation's work in this field globally is a very relevant research subject, a literature review on the latter is outside this thesis's scope.

THE RED CROSS AND MIGRATION.

The Red Cross plays a significant role in Europe in addressing the humanitarian needs of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Its work includes providing assistance, protection, and support to vulnerable populations, advocating for their rights, and promoting integration and social cohesion (ICRC, 2004).

First and foremost, National Societies are often the point of reference for emergencies. Therefore they often provide essential services to migrants, such as emergency relief, healthcare, psychosocial support, and access to basic needs like food, water, and shelter (Red Cross EU Office 2014; 2023). These tasks are often complemented by the management of reception centres and transit facilities that offer temporary accommodation, information, and assistance to newly arrived migrants. Furthermore, the Red Cross is also considerate of vulnerable groups, including unaccompanied minors, victims of trafficking, and survivors of violence or trauma (Fassin, 2012).

On a more political level, the National Societies, together with the IFRC and ICRC, are constantly advocating and lobbying for the rights and dignity of migrants (Rigby, 2012). They raise awareness about the challenges and vulnerabilities faced by migrants and advocate for policies that prioritise their protection and social inclusion. In doing so, they promote the importance of the principle of non-discrimination and work to ensure access to legal assistance, information, and fair procedures, while also providing migrants with support in family reunification processes, documentation procedures, and access to education and employment opportunities (Carling & Sørensen, 2017).

As far as long-term plans are concerned, the humanitarian organisation promotes the integration of migrants and refugees into European societies by providing language classes, cultural orientation programs, vocational training, and community support. Furthermore, it works closely with local communities, governments, and other stakeholders to develop

inclusive and sustainable integration strategies, none the least by facilitating social connections and networks between migrants and host communities to foster mutual understanding and social cohesion (Rytter, 2019).

It is important to note that the work of each National Society is auxiliary to the work of the government. Each local institution is an independent, impartial and neutral humanitarian organisation with unique legal auxiliary status in the State where it is founded (IFRC, 2015). In the wording used at the 30th International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (2007): 'Public authorities and National Societies as auxiliaries enjoy a specific and distinctive partnership, entailing mutual responsibilities and benefits, based on international and national laws, in which the national public authorities and the National Society agree on the areas in which the National Society supplements or substitutes public humanitarian services' (p. 16). The relationship with the government is characterised by the fact that the Red Cross should seriously consider any request from the latter. At the same time, the national political institutions should refrain from requesting that National Societies perform activities which are in conflict with the Fundamental Principles or the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (IFRC, 2015).

1.1.3 THE RED CROSS AND THE TRIPLE NEXUS

The OECD (2022) describes the Triple Nexus as an approach that strives 'to ensure that diplomatic, stabilisation and civilian security interventions are joined-up and coherent with humanitarian, development and peace outcomes while respecting humanitarian principles and ensuring humanitarian access to people in need is protected' (p. 8). However, this is often considerably complex to achieve in practice. The priority of the Red Cross is to maintain a humanitarian space, which consequently means that an impartial and neutral position is necessary. Therefore, the humanitarian organisation has reservations about how it could be possible to create a cooperation that respects the values and goals respective to each of the three sectors, especially concerning the peace pillar (Danish Red Cross, 2020).

Its predecessor, the humanitarian-development nexus, was driven by the 'Leave No One Behind' motive and invested in building the resilience of people and communities, with a focus on local actors and civil society (Red Cross EU Office, 2018). Following the contiguum model, the emergency relief typical of humanitarian organisations was to be coherent with the long-term goals of development agencies (ICRC, 2020). This approach was, however, criticised as Humanitarian actors tend to be wary of the development agencies' goals, which prioritise

economic gains (Slim, 2019). Nevertheless, the protracted nature of conflicts in recent years created a situation in which the line between traditional conceptions of 'humanitarian' and 'development' are increasingly blurred, making it necessary for the two sectors to act on both levels, therefore creating more ground for cooperation (ICRC, 2020).

Adding the Peace component poses some new challenges as it puts the fundamental principles of the Red Cross even more at stake. Acting in favour of peacebuilding activities would, in fact, undermine the position of neutrality and impartiality of the humanitarian organisation (Danish Red Cross, 2020). Filipa Schmitz Guinote (ICRC, 2020) identified three main risks involved with taking active participation in the Triple Nexus.

First, there is the risk of a 'protection gap'. This concept refers to the potential lack of help provided to vulnerable people or areas that fall outside the priorities of the other two pillars of the Triple Nexus or the Government funding the project.

Second, there is the problem of an 'emergency gap', following which the needed coordination and priorities of different actors, especially the State, may delay providing quick and efficient aid to people in need.

Third and lastly, there is the 'perception risk' issue. Humanitarian actors should not be seen with either party of the conflict or institution that supports one of them. So doing would undermine their possibility of engaging with communities and parties to the conflict from all sides, consequently hampering their staff's security and the response's impartiality. In order to prevent these issues from happening, the Red Cross must make clear that local people and communities remain the primary stakeholders and beneficiaries of its help and that programmes created under the Triple Nexus approach are not used or seen as instruments of particular political interests (Danish Red Cross, 2020). Furthermore, the Red Cross must ensure that the Nexus does not become a crisis-management instrument, which would, in turn, make it susceptible to being utilised for political objectives (Red Cross EU Office, 2022).

Another aspect to be considered is that should the Red Cross share locations with governmental actors, people who feel stigmatised or fear the latter would deliberately discard the available aid to protect themselves. This aspect also refers to the 'do no harm' principle. This principle has long been an essential professional standard for humanitarian organisations, and it states that humanitarian actors have the ethical responsibility to avoid that their actions inadvertently fuel tensions or create additional risks for affected people (Anderson, 1999).

The official position of the ICRC is that it 'sees the triple nexus as an ecosystem of actors of influence, resources and expertise – beyond the humanitarian sphere – that can help us build sustainable humanitarian impact with affected populations. In other words, the

important part of the nexus for the ICRC is the *actors* behind 'development' and 'peace'' (ICRC, 2020, p. 1060). On the one hand, with development, it understands agencies working on crisis preparedness and prevention, whose choices and actions are argued to be able to drastically and durably reduce humanitarian needs and mitigate the effects of crises on people's lives, potentially at a large scale. On the other hand, peace is seen as the ensemble of those involved in armed conflict. Besides the clear link with International Humanitarian Law, this pillar also includes actors involved in mediating and settling conflicts, therefore promoting measures to defuse the drivers of violence.

In practice, these issues result in the Red Cross applying the triple nexus only when two conditions are met. The first condition is that engaging in peace-enabling activities does not compromise the actor's mandated role or limit its ability to provide humanitarian aid neutrally, impartially and based on current needs, irrespective of the identity of the person/people in need. The second condition is that the engagement is thought to lead to a positive outcome at the community level, fostering resilience within conflict and ensuring a high degree of participation and engagement by Civil Society Organisations (Danish Red Cross, 2020; ICRC, 2020).

It is important to note that no position paper was found on the implementation of the Triple Nexus on European soil. Even the Danish Red Cross article cited in this section only refers to this approach in the international domain. If the Triple Nexus is considered a relevant and useful approach to dealing with crises and creating sustainable humanitarianism, why is it not used in Europe? Why was no cooperation initiated in light of the multiple migration crises? In order to respond to these questions, a conceptual framework is needed. The following chapter will provide an overview of the chosen one, briefly underlining its relevance to this thesis. A more extensive explanation of this concept and norms, in general, will be presented in Chapter 2.

1.2 THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

The triple nexus, which encompasses the interconnection between humanitarian aid, development, and peacebuilding, has gained significant attention as an integrated approach to addressing complex crises. Normative coherence is defined as the alignment and consistency of projects and programs of an organisation with its norms, values, and principles. It can therefore be argued that the latter can play a crucial role in tackling the complexity inherent to the triple nexus, thus helping its effective implementation. The following section briefly presents why normative coherence for human rights was the chosen theoretical framework

employed in this work. This short introduction will be further elaborated in Chapter 2, which is dedicated to an in-depth analysis of norms and normative coherence.

As mentioned above, normative coherence refers to the consistency and alignment between policies and the core principles of an organisation. Norms are socially constructed rules, expectations, and standards that guide individuals in their daily lives. These are argued to be crucial in shaping human behaviour and interactions within societies. They can be explicit, formally stated rules or implicit, informally understood expectations. These norms vary across cultures, communities, and contexts (Darcy & Hofmann, 2017).

Normative coherence for development (Koff et al., 2023) emphasises the need for policies and programs to reflect core norms. These authors contend that all regulatory systems have both positive and normative dimensions. The positive dimension addresses the implementation of policy choices, while the normative dimension affects the overall design of the regulatory system (Sheehy & Feaver, 2015). Consequently, a normative regulatory framework incoherent with human rights could ultimately cause the positive dimension of humanitarian affairs to fail as policies and practices would not be aligned with rights protection.

Implementing the triple nexus requires aligning the actions and goals of humanitarian, development, and peace actors with human rights as a core norm of the current world order (OXFAM, 2021). It promotes a comprehensive approach that combines immediate relief efforts with long-term development planning and conflict resolution strategies compatible with the Red Cross's prioritisation of human dignity (ICRC, 2003). This is also clearly related to human rights, with the first article of the European Convention on Human Rights stating that 'Human dignity is inviolable. It must be respected and protected' (FRA, n.d.).

By measuring the distance between policy decisions taken by different stakeholders, the normative coherence for human rights approach can uncover potential differences in the sets of values and norms of each policy community, differences that could prevent smooth cooperation. By using the concept of normative coherence for human rights in this thesis, the goal is to uncover whether the work of the Red Cross National Societies in the three chosen countries is indeed coherent with the core values of the Triple Nexus.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

This thesis's research is based on a comparative study of three countries: the Netherlands, Finland, and Luxembourg. Comparative studies are valuable methods to analyse and evaluate a phenomenon across different areas, subjects, and/or objects to detect potential patterns (Coccia & Benati, 2018). Furthermore, the choice of three different countries entails engaging

with cross-national research, which has been explicitly argued to be essential for the revision of previous assumptions (Boholm, 1998).

Even though a more detailed account of each selected case study and corresponding local branch of the Red Cross will follow in the dedicated chapter, it is important to underline what commonalities led to the selection of these three countries in the first place. First, the country's reputation in international relations; even though geographically, these countries differ in their dimension, they are all respected actors in the global political arena that engage in external policies and development projects. Second, the structure of the Red Cross was a deciding factor. The selected case studies all count a few thousand employees, in contrast with National societies such as the American Red Cross, which vaunts over 35 thousand. Last but not least, these National Societies are all involved in reception centres and have relatively similar projects at the national level, making it easier to construct a ceteris paribus situation and focus on the differences and potential causal relationships that emerged among them.

Each one of the case studies combines analytical research with semi-structured interviews, therefore engaging with mixed methods. These have been argued to provide a more detailed account of the complexity of reality on the ground (Mertens, 2023). According to the Journal of Mixed Methods Research website, 'Mixed methods research is defined as research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry' (para. 3).

In this thesis, an analytical cross-sectional study will be employed. This seeks to gather data on a specific topic at a given point in time (Schmidt & Brown, 2019). The choice of analytical over descriptive cross-studies was dictated by the fact that the latter focuses on assessing potential associations between different parameters (Kesmodel, 2018). Considering the multiple subjects of inquiry leading this research and the theoretical framework entailing a potential paradigm shift, looking at multiple aspects and their correlation is deemed fundamental. In order to get a complete picture of the situation in each country, the analytical cross-sectional study will consist of a review of both primary and secondary sources, with the first being mainly composed of reports and documents from the National Society and the respective local governments and the second by academic papers, books or newspaper articles written on the topic.

Such a paper trail is complemented by data collected through narrative semi-structured interviews. This will constitute the qualitative side of the research process. Due to the lack of

scholarly work on the implementation of the Triple Nexus by the Red Cross National Societies, it was deemed necessary for the researcher to generate the missing data through interviews with experts and professionals of this institution. The method of narrative semi-structured interviews was chosen because it enables reciprocity between the interviewer and participant (Galletta, 2012). Thanks to its flexible structure, in fact, it allows the interviewer to ask more specific follow-up questions based on the participant's responses and leaves space for their individual narrative experience (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 1996). Semi-structured interviews require previous knowledge of the topic to be investigated and a list of pre-determined questions (Kallio et al., 2016). The resulting interview guide was based on suggestions from other scholars and consequently aimed at being flexible and at fostering open dialogue in order to achieve the richest possible data, potentially allowing new concepts to emerge (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994; Dearnley, 2005; Turner, 2010). Multiple scholars agree that the quality of the interview guide affects the value of the interview and the collected data (Barriball & While, 1994; Cridland et al., 2015; Krauss et al., 2009; Rabionet, 2011). Therefore, particular attention was dedicated to the development of well-formulated questions (Barriball & While, 1994), clearly worded (Astedt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994; Turner, 2010), and open-ended (Dearnley, 2005; Krauss et al., 2009; Turner, 2010; Whiting, 2008).

The resulting semi-structured interview guide consists of two levels of questions: main themes and follow-up questions. As far as the first is concerned, these themes were selected based on the different aspects that could influence the study based on the preliminary research. Those questions were designed to encourage the participant to engage with a narrative response, to provide examples and speak freely about their perceptions and experiences. Considering the fact that these questions constitute the core of the research, they were posed to every participant (Ast-edt-Kurki & Heikkinen, 1994). The order, however, could change based on the direction the interviewee was taking, giving the idea of a conversation rather than an interview. The first questions asked about the job of the interviewee in general; these questions about issues familiar to the participant yet central to the study subject were used as a warm-up to break the ice and create a relaxed environment (Cridland et al., 2015; Krauss et al., 2009; Rabionet, 2011; Whiting, 2008;). After that, the questions were created following a logical order that moved from more complex and in-depth topics to lighter themes in order to foster an engaging dialogue and prevent the interviewee from taking a defensive stand (Baumbusch, 2010; Cridland et al., 2015; Whiting, 2008).

Two persons were interviewed per Red Cross, one working locally in the migration area and another internationally. This choice was dictated by the goal of underlining the (potential)

differences between the implementation and relevance of the triple nexus in the two sectors and uncovering whether the Triple Nexus is, indeed, a commodity for export. Interestingly, in the case of the Netherlands, it was not possible to find an expert working on international projects that dealt with the Triple Nexus specifically. Even though this is a significant finding in itself, for research purposes, a second person had to be interviewed for this case study. The selection, made upon consultation with officers of the Dutch Red Cross, led to R6, an expert in advocacy at the national level, who engages with the government at a similar level as R2 and R4.

Each interview was recorded after the participant explicitly agreed to it. The following recordings were listened to multiple times in order to become familiar with the view of that person and coded per question. In order to preserve the anonymity of each interviewee, no gender or name will be disclosed. Instead, each participant will be assigned a code name, as evincible in Table 1.

Table 1.

Interviewees' functions.

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6
Country	Finland	Finland	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	The Netherlands	The Netherlands
Function	Migration Management	International Development and Advocacy	Migration centres	International Projects	Manager Humanitarian Service Point	Advocacy

Source: table established by the author.

Each interview lasted between sixty and ninety minutes, with five of the six interviews being conducted in person and at the office of the Red Cross representative. All interviews were conducted in a relaxed environment, with the professional knowing the estimated duration of the former in advance.

After collecting the testimonies of all six Red Cross representatives, a detailed qualitative review of the experts' responses was conducted to highlight key themes regarding Triple Nexus' contextualisation, definition and implementation. The interviews led to the formation of findings collected in a dedicated table. The responses were then compared across and between cases. Across refers to the national and international dimensions of the same National Society, whereas between considers the different case studies as a basis for comparison. Such responses were thoroughly examined in order to identify trends. Four potential trends were expected: case convergence (similarities and patterns in the same

country), sector convergence (for example, international work evidencing similar trends), norm convergence, and no trends.

The content of the interviews will be first disclosed in the chapter dedicated to the country where the Red Cross representative works. Each chapter aims to provide the reader with a contextualisation of the National Society's way of operating, introducing new information in a discursive and narrative form. Each case study will start by presenting the historical background of the organisation in that country and its recent work based on academic sources and the National Society's website. Afterwards, the following sections will mainly revolve around the findings collected during the interviews. The first subject of inquiry will be migration, with different subsections focusing on the main areas of work of the National Society concerning this subject. Due to the differences in each local branch and the role of the interviewed Red Cross representative, the content of these sections will change accordingly, except for the last part. This will be dedicated specifically to the Triple Nexus. Considering the scarcity of academic work on this topic, and the fact that most of the people working on the national level did not know what this concept entailed, this section of the thesis will be more discursive, reflecting and presenting the engaging dialogue that occurred between the researcher and the Red Cross representative.

The last section will move away from the national dimension and present the interview findings with the international department of the National Society instead. These will then be juxtaposed to the ones of both their locally active counterpart and the other case studies in the Sixth Chapter, called 'Uncovering Patterns'.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As briefly mentioned in the section dedicated to the conceptual framework, this thesis will employ normative coherence as its theoretical framework. In order to understand the relevance of this concept for the research leading this thesis, it is essential to present its subject of analysis, norms. This chapter will therefore start by introducing what the latter entails and position it in the wider scholarly debate, both in general and specifically for normative coherence. After such a necessary preamble, it will look into the practice of normative coherence and its importance in academia and governance. Once the latter has been defined and its relevance to this thesis presented, this chapter will look specifically at the norms characteristic of the ICRC and how they shape its work, and last but not least, its strategy. It will then proceed to investigate whether such norms change per National Society, focusing on the values that drive the work of the selected case studies by analysing their most recent Strategy in a dedicated section.

2.1 NORMS

Scholars tend to see norms 'as standards of behaviour for actors of a given identity' (Towns, 2012, p. 180). There are different types of norms, descriptive and social. The first is based on expectations of conformity and conditional preferences, such as fashion, and conventions, such as traffic rules and signals agreements. The second refers to behaviours expected in certain situations, such as cooperation and fairness, that may go against self-interest but where there may also be potential for collective gain (Biccheri, 2012). Social norms are often seen as a good indicator of future individuals' and groups' behaviour (Cialdini, 2001; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Considering the topic of this thesis, the implications of these norms in human interactions are not relevant and will, therefore, not be presented in this section. Instead, the following part will focus on the proven correlation between law and social norms and, afterwards, the meaning of norms in organisations.

Regulation has been argued to aim at altering social practices to obtain a different social effect (Sheehy & Feaver, 2015). According to these authors, it is the meaning attached to practice and effect that provides justification for regulation. Making a new law means transitioning from the normative 'should' to the positive and legal 'must'. Therefore, behind a set of rules, there are highly ideological decisions that aim at regulating and achieving a certain behaviour. Social norms themselves already partially do so, but these are informal, and the consequence of going against them, if any, will mostly affect the emotional relationship and the perception other individuals have of the transgressor (Biccheri, 2012). The difference between

positive and normative norms is that the former is best described as people's perceptions of what is commonly done or approved, while normative norms are the standards or expectations of appropriate behaviour within a group (Cialdini et al., 1990; Schultz et al., 2007; Sherif & Hovland, 1961).

What would happen then in a semi-formal smaller environment such as an organisation? Rousseau (1990) conducted a study exploring normative beliefs in this setting. The research emphasised that norms act as social control mechanisms, guiding employee behaviour and aligning actions with organisational objectives. He argues that norms help create a cohesive work environment where employees understand the expected conduct and the consequences of deviating from those expectations. Following his study, such mechanisms help the company achieve the desired outcomes since they create a common framework for all employees. Furthermore, Chatman and John (1994) argue that industry-specific norms also influence organisational culture, employee attitudes, and behaviour. Their work emphasises the importance of aligning organisational norms within the larger context of industry expectations to enhance performance and competitiveness. At the same time, an individual must have values, beliefs, and behaviours that coincide with the organisation. Research demonstrated that when employees' values align with prevailing norms, they exhibit higher job satisfaction, commitment, and performance. Norm congruence fosters a sense of belonging and enables individuals to thrive within the organisational context (O'Reilly et al., 1991). In this context, leadership was also found to play a crucial role in establishing and reinforcing positive norms. In fact, by embodying and promoting desired norms, leaders create a climate that encourages employees' engagement and productivity (Schein, 1992).

2.2 NORMATIVE COHERENCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Coherence has been identified as 'the compatibility of the intervention with other interventions in a country, sector or institution' (OECD, 2021). No overarching definition of normative coherence has been found; if any, academia tends to refer to the latter as the absence of contradictions (Ginsborg & Finlay, 2020). Such a concept tends to be analysed and defined differently based on the topic of study and its methodologies. In the work of Koff and Häbel (2021), normative coherence in the case of development was defined as 'promoting and implementing norms within and across all policies, including non-development policies, in order to support and accelerate transformative development' (p. 5). Similarly, according to Taufar (2017), normative coherence is understood as the extent to which there is synergy between policy domains and different instruments as a positive action that pursues the policy

goal as a unified, coherent whole.

The OECD (2021) further differentiates between internal and external coherence. The first considers two factors: the alignment with the broader policy frameworks of the institutions and whether these are practically implemented. Furthermore, it takes into account how conformed these activities are, if there are parallel efforts and if the interventions complement each other. External coherence, on the other hand, focuses on the adjustment of external policy commitments (such as the Sustainable Development Goals) and the coherence with interventions implemented by other actors in a specific context.

Normative coherence for human rights is thus the consistency and alignment of policies, programs and practices with human rights norms (codified values and principles), and it holds significant importance across various disciplines and domains. As presented in the previous section, there is a clear connection between social norms and the laws of a certain society. Therefore, it comes as no surprise then that academia agrees on the fact that normative coherence is crucial for the functioning of legal systems. In particular, Raz (1979) explores the authority of law and its relationship with morality, arguing that coherence between legal and moral norms is essential for the system to function. Not only in the realm of law but also of governance, normative coherence has significant implications, specifically in regard to accountability. This was argued to be strongly linked with normative coherence since clear norms ensure effective governance (Schedler, 1999).

The importance of coherence is increasingly valued and seen as being related to effectiveness in policy-making and legitimacy (Marangoni & Raube, 2014). However, multiple scholars noted that external and internal policies are different within an organisation, both qua content and separation of systems, posing a challenge to internal normative coherence (Abrisketa et al., 2015; Ginsborg & Finlay, 2020). In particular, the presence of double standards that cannot be justified has been argued to constitute a significant incoherence and, consequently, could severely undermine the legitimacy of the policy and the actor implementing it (Lerch & Schwellnus, 2006).

2.2.1 NORMATIVE COHERENCE AND THE TRIPLE NEXUS

As briefly mentioned in section 1.2, the triple nexus, encompassing the interconnection between humanitarian aid, development, and peacebuilding, has gained prominence as an integrated approach to addressing complex crises. Normative coherence, defined as the alignment and consistency of norms, values, and principles with policies, arguably plays a crucial role in

effectively implementing the triple nexus framework. This part of the theoretical framework aims to provide a comprehensive overview of normative coherence within the triple nexus and its implications for humanitarian aid, development, and peacebuilding efforts. It will start by presenting why normative coherence is important for the implementation of transformative norms. Second, it will look into the relevance of this concept within the Triple Nexus.

Maganda (2016) argues that concepts defined through normative debates at the global level are only valuable as a paradigm through implementation. According to the scholar, an evolving international norm has the potential for transformative policies only when actively put into practice. Therefore, it is meaningful to employ normative coherence as the theoretical framework to analyse this thesis's topic and assess whether the Triple Nexus is being implemented, as this would determine the presence of a paradigm shift. Furthermore, as briefly seen at the end of the previous section, this new concept seems to be implemented only in external policies. Such incongruence and even double standards can, following the academic literature on the topic, undermine its legitimacy (Lerch & Schwellnus, 2006). Last, but not least, it has been argued that the support of wealthy regions or countries is fundamental for transformative norms to be accepted (Maganda, 2016). The only partial implementation of the Triple Nexus by European National Societies could consequently weaken the normative power of this new way of working.

Insofar as the internal coherence of the Triple Nexus is concerned, it can be argued that normative coherence within the triple nexus lead to the harmonisation and alignment of norms, values, and principles across the humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding sectors.

Normative coherence is thus of utmost significance in analysing the implementation of the triple nexus. Building from previous scholarly work in other sectors, it can be assumed that a shared understanding of objectives, strategies, and interventions across sectors will lead to minimising duplication and maximising synergies, one of the goals of the Triple Nexus (Nilsson et al., 2018). Furthermore, normative coherence has been proven to facilitate effective coordination and collaboration, making it easier to develop a comprehensive response to complex crises (Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010).

A case could also be made for the need to perform a normative coherence analysis to examine the extent to which norms, values, and principles are aligned and integrated across sectors, identifying areas of coherence and potential challenges. Doing so would provide insights into the effectiveness, coordination, and collaboration within the triple nexus, informing targeted improvements in implementation strategies. Additionally, it could help identify potential policy gaps, promote better coordination, and align efforts across sectors.

2.3 THE NORMS AND VALUES OF THE ICRC

The Code of Conduct of the Red Cross starts by stating, ' The ICRC is an organisation with an exclusively humanitarian mission. Its credibility, ability to gain acceptance for its operations and capacity to act are underpinned by the observance of the Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (the 'Movement') and the trust vouchsafed it by governments, all parties to armed conflicts and other situations of violence, and the victims in these situations, whom it seeks to protect and assist' (ICRC, 2018, p. 4).

From this opening statement, it is already possible to understand the importance of norms and values in this organisation, particularly its seven Fundamental Principles. Those are:

1) Humanity: preventing and alleviating human suffering wherever it may be found, protecting life and health while ensuring respect for human beings;

2) Impartiality: the Red Cross provides aid and assistance solely based on the severity of the situation and the level of need, without discrimination based on nationality, race, religious beliefs, class, or political opinions. Its humanitarian services are provided to all those affected, regardless of their background;

3) Neutrality: Services and assistance are provided based on the needs of individuals and communities, without favouritism or discrimination, and without taking a side.

4) Independence: this humanitarian organisation operates independently from political, economic, or religious influences. It maintains autonomy in its decision-making processes and activities, allowing it to act according to its humanitarian principles and provide assistance without external interference;

5) Voluntary service: volunteers are crucial in assisting, supporting, and promoting the organisation's humanitarian mission;

6) Unity: the Red Cross promotes unity among its members and seeks to work collaboratively with other humanitarian organisations and stakeholders. It emphasises cooperation and coordination to maximise the impact and effectiveness of its humanitarian efforts;

7) Universality: all National Societies have equal status and share equal responsibilities and duties in helping each other worldwide (ICRC, 2015).

These norms and values of the Red Cross provide a clear ethical framework for its humanitarian work. They guide decision-making processes and help ensure that assistance is available to all those in need without discrimination or bias. This commitment ensures that assistance is

provided in a manner that upholds the rights, well-being, and dignity of people affected by conflicts, disasters, and emergencies. By so doing, the Red Cross aims to preserve and protect the inherent worth of all individuals, regardless of their nationality, race, religion, social status, or political beliefs. Furthermore, the norms and values of the Red Cross help foster trust and acceptance among the communities it serves. By adhering to principles of neutrality, impartiality, and independence, the organisation maintains its credibility and integrity while making the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance possible.

Besides the values employed in the field, the Red Cross also works to uphold International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights. They advocate for the respect of these legal and moral frameworks, contributing to the protection of civilians, the prevention of human rights abuses, and the promotion of accountability and justice in conflict and emergencies.

The Red Cross is also inextricably linked with Humanitarianism. This concept encompasses a broad array of activities to alleviate suffering and protect human rights in times of conflict, natural disasters, and other emergencies. The roots of humanitarianism can be traced back to ancient times, but its modern form took shape in the 19th century. Prominent figures such as Henri Dunant, the same founder of the Red Cross, and Florence Nightingale, a pioneer of modern nursing, played instrumental roles in developing humanitarian principles. Their efforts are argued to have paved the way for the emergence of key principles that guide humanitarian action today (Fassin, 2012).

The principle of humanity is fundamental and emphasises the value and dignity of every human being, calling for a response that prioritises their well-being and protection (Slim, 2015). Neutrality, conversely, ensures that humanitarian actors remain unbiased and refrain from taking sides in conflicts, while impartiality ensures that assistance is provided based on need alone. On the other hand, independence ensures that humanitarian actors maintain autonomy and are not subject to political or external influences (Fassin, 2012).

While such noble principles guide humanitarian action, the latter still faces numerous challenges and critiques. One major challenge is the politicisation and instrumentalisation of humanitarian aid, whereby various actors attempt to use the latter as a tool to advance their political agendas (Barnett, 2005). This compromises the effectiveness and impartiality of humanitarian efforts. Additionally, the tension between intervention and state sovereignty presents ethical dilemmas for humanitarian actors (Slim, 2015). The need to navigate complex political landscapes while ensuring the safety and security of aid workers further increases the challenges the humanitarian community faces. This makes ethical decision-making a critical aspect of humanitarian action. As seen above, humanitarian actors often face dilemmas

regarding when and how to intervene and the appropriate level of engagement in accordance with their values. In fact, these decisions must consider the principles of humanity and impartiality, as well as the cultural and contextual nuances of the affected population (Slim, 2015). Debates on the ethics of intervention and the tension between universal humanitarian principles and cultural relativism further complicate the ethical considerations in humanitarian action.

Among these, humanitarianism considers the 'do no harm' principle a fundamental ethical guideline (Anderson, 1999; Sandvik et al., 2017). This principle highlights the need for humanitarian actors to carefully consider their interventions' potential unintended negative consequences and prioritise the well-being and safety of affected populations. It recognises that humanitarian actions, even when well-intentioned, can have unforeseen adverse effects on the people they aim to assist. Such results can arise from various factors, such as inadvertently exacerbating pre-existing social divisions, undermining local systems, or unintentionally creating dependency (Anderson, 1999; Sandvik et al., 2017). By emphasising the ethical responsibility to avoid harm, this principle guides humanitarian actors in critically assessing their interventions' potential risks and unintended consequences.

The 'do no harm' principle is rooted in the broader concept of ethical decision-making in humanitarian action. It aligns with principles such as humanity, neutrality, and impartiality, emphasising the importance of ethical conduct throughout all stages of a humanitarian response (Anderson, 1999). Adhering to this principle requires humanitarian actors to adopt a proactive and reflective approach, engaging in ongoing dialogue with affected communities and stakeholders to understand their needs, aspirations, and potential risks. Both scholars and practitioners have highlighted the importance of integrating the principle into program design, implementation, and evaluation processes (Anderson, 1999; Danish Red Cross, 2020; Sandvik et al., 2017). This includes conducting thorough context analyses, employing conflict-sensitive approaches, promoting local ownership and participation, and prioritising affected populations' long-term well-being and resilience.

In summary, it could be said that the norms and values of the Red Cross provide a moral compass and operational framework that guide its humanitarian actions. They ensure that assistance is provided with integrity, fairness, and a commitment to the well-being and dignity of all individuals affected by crises. By upholding these norms and values, the Red Cross can make a positive and meaningful impact in alleviating human suffering and supporting vulnerable populations worldwide (ICRC, 2015; ICRC, 2022).

Besides the above-mentioned Fundamental Principles, the work of the Red Cross is also driven by decennial strategies tailored to specific challenges and situations arising in that historical moment. Currently, Strategy 2030 is in place. The latter identifies three goals, five challenges, and seven needed transformations that should be achieved by the decade's end. The strategic goals leading the work of the Red Cross currently revolve around empowering people to:

1. anticipate, respond to and quickly recover from crises;
2. lead safe, healthy and dignified lives, and have opportunities to thrive;
3. mobilise for inclusive and peaceful communities.

These goals are put at risk by five global challenges, representing what the Red Cross believes are the most pressing existing and emerging threats. Even though they are presented as distinct areas, the IFRC underlines that those are, in reality, highly interconnected. Such identified challenges are climate and environmental crises, evolving crises and disasters, growing gaps in health and well-being, migration and identity, and last but not least, values of power and inclusion. Simply by listing these issues, it is possible to see the relevance of the Triple Nexus in tackling them. In fact, these are all challenges that relate both to development and peace. Due to the focus of this section on norms, it is imperative to ponder on the last challenge, which focuses on values. This is argued to be necessary because the current political and economic state of things is leaving increasingly less space for principled humanitarian action. It seems, therefore, essential for the Red Cross to remain true to its norms and values.

The same holds for the Strategy's identified transformations, which are deemed fundamental to achieving the goals mentioned above. These are supporting and developing National Societies as strong and effective local actors, inspiring and mobilising volunteerism, ensuring trust and accountability, working effectively as a distributed network, influencing humanitarian action, undergoing a digital transformation, and financing the future (IFRC, 2018).

Besides these overarching guidelines, each National Society has its own strategy, called either so or Action Plan. This is tailored to the specific needs and challenges encountered in that country. Considering the comparative study leading this thesis, it is important to be aware of the potential differences driving each National Society. Therefore, the following sections will briefly look into the strategies of each case study individually.

2.3.1 STRATEGY OF THE FINNISH RED CROSS

The vision of the Finnish Red Cross is to 'The activities of the Finnish Red Cross bring joy, give hope and strengthen people's trust in each other and the help of the Red Cross' (Finnish Red Cross, 2023, p. 3).

In the Strategy 2024-2026, this National Society recognises climate change, the conflict in Ukraine and the COVID-19 pandemic as challenges that changed the way emergencies are perceived and the Red Cross' way of operating, but it reiterates the importance of staying loyal to the Fundamental Principles, whose value remains unchanged (Finnish Red Cross, 2023).

Amidst this evolving landscape, three main objectives were defined and denominated:

1. Help is Nearby: this involves strengthening (local) preparedness for large-scale disruptions and exceptional conditions and actively participating in risk reduction, prevention and mitigation of harmful effects;
2. Everyone is involved in a prosperous community: focus on support inclusiveness and an active commitment to recognising and preventing inequality and loneliness. The goal is to strengthen people's well-being and health so that individuals and communities are stronger in the event of disruptions, therefore improving people's operational and crisis resilience;
3. A society that builds trust and responsibility: this objective focuses on transparency and collecting information, raising awareness and providing training about the values of the Red Cross and Humanitarian Law in general.

In order to achieve these goals, the Finnish Red Cross identified seven transformations. These focus on increasing: the number of volunteers, the competence and skillsets available, cooperation, digitalisation, the openness and versatility of communication, the ethical ground of its operations, and the stability of its finances.

2.3.2 STRATEGY OF THE LUXEMBOURGISH RED CROSS

The mission statement leading the Strategy 2030 of the Luxembourgish Red Cross is: 'helping vulnerable people to live with dignity and autonomously' (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2022, p. 2). The core value around which this National Society plans its actions is solidarity. In doing so, it identified six main areas of work:

1. Health: making the healthcare system more accessible to people in need, focusing on prevention, quality of life of sick people, and support to the caregivers;

2. Accommodation: offering a roof to those who cannot afford one;

3. Youth: focus on the living environment, material conditions, education, health, physical well-being and mental health, seen as six essential dimensions to the quality of life and youth development;

4. Crisis: being able to quickly and effectively react to any crisis, whether the latter is humanitarian, social, environmental, or a migration or health crisis;

5. International: the current armed conflict and environmental disasters happening abroad require renovated efforts in both short-term and long-term plans;

6. Volunteering: in line with the Fundamental Principles, the Red Cross relies on volunteers for its work. The latter needs to be strengthened, and more attention should be given to the volunteers' experiences.

It should be noted that in point 5, the Strategy also explicitly mentions the implementation of the Humanitarian-Development Nexus as an ambition, but not the Triple Nexus.

Regarding the necessary changes, this National Society recognises six main points that will help them achieve such goals. Those are positive treatment towards vulnerable people, human resources, donors, digitalisation, environmentally friendly activities, and the House of the Red Cross.

2.3.3 STRATEGY OF THE DUTCH RED CROSS

The motto of the Strategy 2021-2025 of the Dutch Red Cross is 'strengthening the bond between humans' (Dutch Red Cross, n.d., p. 4). Their mission statement is 'in times of need, nobody stands alone. [We] provide help for every human who needs help or threatens to become in need by providing suited help to really move them forward' (Dutch Red Cross, n.d., p. 4).

A person in need is defined as someone who lacks access to basic life necessities: food and water, shelter, a dignified and safe place, medical care, psychosocial support, personal hygiene, and information about loved ones.

The goals of the Dutch Red Crosses are presented as four promises, namely:

1. Be there for anyone in need: the priority is to help the most vulnerable, but everyone should feel welcome to ask for help;

2. Know where the need is or threatens to be and who is vulnerable to it: be aware of the risks and trends that may affect vulnerable groups in society and where people can best use help;

3. Offer appropriate help: helping people in a tailored way to ultimately help them out of their (structural) needs;

4. Do not do everything themselves: use 'the aid landscape' and work well with other organisations and people to really help those seeking help without working in parallel. Mobilise help in case of emergency and try not to commit to long-term dependency relationships.

In order to realise these promises, it focuses on achieving four main changes: implementing the strategy in the most inclusive way, gathering the necessary set of skills and competencies, decreasing budgetary and founding restraints, and becoming more agile, alert and innovative.

2.3.4 LOOKING AT THE DIFFERENCES ACROSS NATIONAL SOCIETIES

From this brief overview, it is already possible to notice some commonalities as well as differences in the priorities of each country. Even though uncovering the reasons for each strategy's decisions is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to notice that each National Society has slightly divergent missions and goals. This is likely to impact also its work concerning migration and the Triple Nexus. In order to make the differences across the different National Societies more visible, Table 2 sums up the main content of each strategy as relevant to this study.

Table 2.

Comparison of the case studies' strategies.

	Mission Statement	Goals	Transformations
Finnish Red Cross	Bring joy, give hope and strengthen people's trust in each other and in the help of the Red Cross.	- Strengthening (local) preparedness; - Inclusivity, prevention and recognition of inequality and loneliness; - Transparency and the collection of information.	Increasing: the number of volunteers, the competence and skillsets available, cooperation, digitalisation, the openness and versatility of communication, the ethical ground of its operations, and the stability of its finances.
Luxembourgish Red Cross	Helping vulnerable people to leave with dignity and autonomously.	- Accessible healthcare system; - Offering accommodation; - Quality of life of youth; - Effectively react to crisis; - International commitment; - Focus on volunteers,	(More) positive treatment towards vulnerable people, human resources, donors, digitalisation, environmentally friendly activities, and the House of the Red Cross.
Dutch Red Cross	'In times of need, nobody stands alone. [We] provide help for every human who needs help or threatens to become in need by providing suited help to really move them forward.'	- Help anyone in need; - Be aware of the needs; - Offer tailored assistance to help people forward; - focus on cooperation with other organisations.	Implementing the strategy in the most inclusive way, gathering the necessary skills and competencies, budgetary and founding restraints, and the need to be agile, alert and innovative.

Source: table established by the author.

For the subject of this thesis, it is also important to notice that only the Luxembourgish strategic plan mentioned the Nexus but strictly referred to the Double Nexus (Humanitarian-Development) and did not refer to its Triple counterpart. No reference was made to development or peace in either of the two remaining case studies. Peace was not used in any of

the three documents analysed.

As far as migration is concerned, the latter was mentioned in all three Strategies. In the case of the Finnish Red Cross, the first time the word 'migration' appears is about crises and events that may cause large-scale disruptions, calling for the involvement of the Red Cross as an emergency organisation. The second reference appears as part of their second goal, building a prosperous community. By working with migrants and creating activities that support their integration and well-being, the Finnish Red Cross wants to encourage them to participate and play a role in society.

The Strategy of the Luxembourgish Red Cross also starts by mentioning migration as a crisis that put in difficulty the local system. The second reference looks instead at the international work of this National Society, stating that migrants pertain to their target group in these missions.

Last but not least, the Dutch Red Cross also presents migration as one of the major current challenges, not only on its European territory but also in the Dutch Antilles. However, in order to present relatively similar situations to compare the different approaches, when speaking about the way the Dutch Red Cross handles migration, it should be noted that we are referring to the territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands that finds itself in Europe.

These differences are also noteworthy as they shape the work of each National Society regarding migration. With this in mind, it is necessary to go into more detail in each one of the case studies in order to uncover what these values and norms entail in practice. Therefore, each of the following three chapters will be dedicated to one country and will analyse the latter from multiple points of view. First, it will provide a brief historical introduction to the foundation of the National Society and its work in the past. Second, it will look at its current commitment to migration and its action at the national level. This will be composed of multiple subsections, the first one focusing on reception centres, the second will change its subject to the area of expertise of the interviewee, and the last one will present the reflections of the interviewee on the Triple Nexus. Third, it will briefly ponder how this local Red Cross acts at the international level, mostly aiming to uncover the potential differences between the way in which projects and driving values differ in the two departments.

3. FINLAND

3.1 THE ORIGINS OF THE FINNISH RED CROSS

Following the International Review of the Red Cross (1977), the National Red Cross in Finland was founded under the initiative of Countess Aline Armfelt, the wife of the then-Finnish Minister and State Secretary at the Imperial Court, in April 1877. However, the project took form only when the Russo-Turkish war broke out, with the constitutive assembly of the Finnish Society for the Care of Sick and Wounded Soldiers being held at the Town Hall of Helsinki on 7 May 1877.

The statutes of the new society, confirmed by the Imperial Senate for Finland, stipulate that the society is an independent National Red Cross Society which, however, in case of war, would be allied with the Russian Red Cross, founded ten years earlier. In the 19th century, the National Society was already running peacetime activities, mainly training qualified nurses and doctors, who would prove fundamental during the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). Ten years later, with the outbreak of the First World War, the Finnish Red Cross built and sent personnel to two hospitals, one in Poland and one in Lithuania, that were to become famous for the quality of their work. Furthermore, it cured and assisted soldiers crossing the Finnish border, mostly pertaining to Russian troops. It then played a role, together with other Scandinavian Red Crosses, in facilitating the exchange of disabled soldiers between the Russian and Austro-German parties of the conflict. Its neutrality was put under pressure during the Civil War that followed its independence from Russia in 1918. Despite the hostile environment, the National Society remained true to its principles and assisted those in need regardless of their affiliation with either party.

In May 1920, the ICRC officially recognised the Finnish Red Cross, which consequently became a League of Red Cross Societies member the following year.

Such a status proved fundamental during the years of the Finnish Winter War (1939-40) and the 'Continuation War' (1941-44). In fact, on these occasions, the support provided to Finland by fellow National Societies proved fundamental for saving the lives of thousands of people in the country (ICRC, 1977).

From then on, the Finnish Red Cross kept growing and is now one of the country's most significant voluntary associations (Finnish Red Cross, 2022a).

3.2 THE FINNISH RED CROSS TODAY

The purpose of the Finnish Red Cross, as enshrined in its Annual Report (2022a, p. 4), is to 'protect in all circumstances life and health and to safeguard human dignity and human rights, to help the most vulnerable in order to prevent and alleviate human suffering, as well as to support and assist the country's public authorities in times of peace as well as of war and armed conflict.'

It counts 436 local branches, whose activities are supported by 12 regional districts. The paid staff is accompanied by, as of 2021, over 25000 volunteers and fundraisers, 113000 blood donors, 71500 members, and 121500 regular contributors.

Within the national landscape, the Finnish Red Cross has the 'special duty', defined both in the Geneva Conventions and Finnish legislation, of acting as an auxiliary to the public authorities in times of peace, crises and war. Such status is shown in preparedness planning, training, partnerships and communications (Finnish Red Cross, 2020, p. 8).

Insofar as migration is concerned, the Finnish Red Cross acts on multiple levels. The more direct one is being physically present at the airport and welcoming refugees[1]. In 2021, 900 people were greeted by the association's volunteers, 146 of whom were found in critical condition (Finnish Red Cross, 2022a, p. 18). The National Society also runs 52 reception centres across Finland, where asylum seekers and people searching for temporary protection can access services to ensure their well-being and income (Finnish Red Cross, 2022c). Furthermore, in conjunction with IOM, the Finnish Red Cross facilitates travel arrangements for family members of refugees who have been granted permits or residence in the Scandinavian country (Ballarin, 2023, p. 24).

These efforts are encompassed in the Strategy 2021-2023 (Finnish Red Cross, 2020, p. 10), which states that the National Society strives to build an equal and inclusive society where diversity is respected and offers particularly to migrants opportunities to build resilience and integrate into the community.

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[1] For further information, the Red Cross Red Crescent magazine has published a video explaining what the Finnish Red Cross does through one of its volunteers. https://www.rcrcmagazine.org/2022/12/a-smooth-landing-migration-finland/.

3.3 THE FINNISH RED CROSS & MIGRATION

3.3.1 THE MIGRATION CRISIS AND RECEPTION CENTRES

In 2021, the Finnish Red Cross was running 14 reception centres (Finnish Red Cross, 2022a). This number rose to 52 at the end of 2022 (Finnish Red Cross, 2022c). Such an increase goes against the trend that, before 2022, saw the National Society closing down increasingly more reception centres (Finnish Red Cross, 2022a). In fact, in 2015, the association managed 109 locations, but a year later, a plan was in place to reduce the number of active reception units to 21 by 2018 (Finnish Red Cross, 2018).

Such a difference in the number of relocation centres was directly proportionate to the number of migrants entering the country in that period. The peak in 2015 resulted from the Finnish-Russian migration crisis, which saw a hundred migrants a day trying to cross the Finnish-Swedish border in Lapland (Szymański et al., 2016). Its more recent counterpart resulted from the conflict in Ukraine. Upon request from the Finnish Immigration Service, the Finnish Red Cross volunteers started helping people from Ukraine from the very moment they touched national soil. Whether at the airport or the haven, a Red Cross representative would be ready to welcome those escaping the conflict with a warm meal and information about the registration process (Finnish Red Cross, 2022b). After being given a place to stay, the National Society would provide the necessary hygiene and clothing items and then, thanks to cooperation with the government and the municipalities, provide children with school facilities and other small arrangements tailor-made to the population of that relocation centre, like a supervised play area (Finnish Red Cross, 2022b).

As in many other European countries, Ukrainian refugees were entitled to more rights than people from different nationalities. R1 explained that this difference was perceived as going against the principle of impartiality. Even though the Red Cross cannot decide on asylum procedures or a set of rights, it tries to make the benefits equal for all people residing in their reception centres where possible. For example, R1 pointed out that only Ukrainian people could travel for free, which can be quite costly in Finland if you only have a refugee allowance. Therefore, the Finnish Red Cross used its own budget to provide the other share of refugees with this privilege as well.

Other issues arose with the government concerning policies and the principles of the Red Cross. The Finnish officer recalled how the institution had to refuse to monitor the people staying in the reception centres they managed. The police, in fact, wanted them to make sure

four times a day that refugees or asylum-seekers were staying in the structure. However, the Red Cross denied doing so as such a requirement was considered against the principle of humanity. According to the interviewee, obliging people to stay in the structure amounted to a feeling of detention.

Quite on the contrary, the Red Cross representative continued, the goal of the humanitarian organisation is to welcome everyone in need and facilitate their integration into society. The argument goes that the government cannot make people integrate. Rather, the work of volunteers on the field and the collaboration with the municipality and the people living in the reception centres' surroundings determine whether refugees can fully integrate into the community. In order to make this easier, the Finnish Red Cross engages in discussions with the local population before a reception centre opens. This prevents people living there from being afraid of the newcomers and helps build the resilience of both the community in which the new structure will be placed and, through integration, the resilience of the refugees. It should be noted that this process does not always lead to the desired outcome. In the past, it did happen that some relatively small vandalism acts took place against reception centres. Nevertheless, the efforts to let asylum-seekers and refugees settle and integrate into society have not stopped. Such efforts are visible in the presence of qualified staff that helps asylum-seekers learn languages, find a job, and solve potential structural problems that they may face while at the same time providing them with basic necessities such as accommodation and food.

3.3.2 UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

The Finnish Red Cross also works with people who do not have the necessary documentation to be legal residents of the country they live in. When asked whether this was part of the mandate of the Red Cross, R1 stated that the raison d'être of the Federation is to 'alleviate human suffering'. Helping those in need is consequently in its mandate, regardless of who these people are or their legal status. It thus comes with no surprise that, when questioned about the values leading the work of the migration department, R1 stated that independence, neutrality, and impartiality are the most important ones, together with all the seven Fundamental Principles in general. This was considered fundamental as undocumented migrants seek help from the Red Cross only because they know it is a humanitarian organisation they can trust. Consequently, when designing new projects, the priority goes to the need they see in the country and how to help those suffering without risking exposing them to the authorities or their social network, in line with the 'do no harm' principle. Interestingly enough, the Red Cross representative

continued, often, the community around an undocumented person is not aware of the legal status of the latter. Therefore, gifting this person a food package with Red Cross branding on it, or similar approaches, could intact the dignity of this person and damage the network built throughout the years. Discretion and humanity are thus paramount as well.

The Finnish Red Cross does not help (undocumented) migrants alone. It has built a strong network with other NGOs, and together, they make sure that their programs do not run in parallel. During COVID-19, R1 explained that a strong collaboration was also established with the Church. Thanks to this synergy, they managed to help more people tangibly, creating impact and being able to give more money to those in need than it would have been possible if each organisation had worked independently.

It is also interesting to note that the budget of the Finnish Red Cross Migration Unit is not earmarked. The interviewee elaborated on the fact that most funding is public and comes from the national lottery system. The profit from its gambling games is spread among the Red Cross, NGOs, and other charity organisations. It should be used to help people in need, but the Red Cross does not need to present a project or request government approval. This allows a wide margin of independence when it comes to the scale and approach of its projects.

In general, R1 clarified that Finland does not have many migrants compared to other European countries. Nevertheless, the Red Cross representative joins a roundtable organised by the regional office of the Red Cross, in which all managers of the migration units of the European National Societies take part four times a year. This event was created to share and develop best practices that could be implemented in other countries. However, neither the EU office nor the ICRC provide the National Societies with guidelines to follow for implementing their work.

3.3.3 REFLECTING ON THE TRIPLE NEXUS AND MIGRATION IN FINLAND

When, at the beginning of the interview, I asked R1 if there were any queries before I started posing my questions, the response was: 'No, not really. I just hope you can get something out of it. I know what the Triple Nexus is, kind of, but I do not really know how it can be linked with my work'. Without further indulging much longer on the topic, in order to prevent my hypothesis from influencing his answers, we started the interview.

Initially, the questions revolved more around the reception centres and the work of the Finnish Red Cross as an emergency organisation. However, as we proceeded through the questionnaires, more long-term-oriented actions appeared, such as the focus mentioned above on integration for refugees and asylum seekers.

A commodity for export?

When asked how they develop a project, R1 said that they work based on needs; they try to find a way to ultimately erase the necessity for aid. This means that they do not only provide emergency relief but also try to tackle the problem's origin. Even though the Red Cross representative recognised the link with development in this approach, SDGs were not seen as relevant to such a job, and neither was the Triple Nexus, mainly due to the disputable presence of the Peace component.

Before ending the interview, I asked the Red Cross representative whether there were questions or remarks. R1 said it would be interesting to hear my opinion on implementing the Triple Nexus, specifically the peace component. Based on what had been told in the previous hour, I explained that it could be argued that there was a commitment to peace at the micro-level. In fact, they were trying to avoid conflict within the reception centre by giving everyone the same benefits and preparing the local community to receive them. At this remark, he said that he had never considered it this way and that it was an interesting angle. I then continued by stating that they work and coordinate with other NGOs in order not to work in parallel is an aspect of the Triple Nexus. R1 confirmed that, even though personally unaware of that aspect of the Triple Nexus, nor the potential relevance of the latter in the migration department, the latter was indeed applied.

3.4 THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

The person interviewed who worked at the international department of the Red Cross (R2) started by saying that, even though the function title does contain Triple Nexus, the latter is not the expert's main area of focus in practice. R2's job revolved mostly around advocacy and implementing new concepts in the field. At the time of the interview, the main issues researched were climate-smart, increasing destruction preparedness and optimising risk reduction. After those issues, priority was given to Community Health and cross-cutting gender inclusion. Despite the Triple Nexus being in the officer's position title, the Red Cross representative reaffirmed that rarely research is actually done on the latter.

When asked why the order was as provided, the interviewee clarified that the issues are based on the principles of the humanitarian organisation 'with an eye to the Finnish Foreign policies.' This is so because the latter is the one financing the projects. It was further explained that the National Society takes into account the government's goals and tries to link them and implement them according to its strategy. When asked more about this relation, and its potential consequences for the neutral, impartial, and independent stance of the Red Cross, R2 stated that

there was no conflict of interest. The goals of the government are seen as a way to help the humanitarian organisation develop in other sectors, such as gender inclusion, in order to help people in a more long-lasting manner. The Red Cross representative underlined that this help is always provided according to the Fundamental Principles. Since the Department of International Affairs of the Finnish Government is also involved in other inter- and supra-national organisations, the interviewee's department also focuses on other concepts and values, such as the SDGs. The Sustainable Development Goals are explicitly mentioned in the foreign affair strategy of the Finnish government, making it a good 'selling point' for the project of the corresponding National Society. This is not an issue since, as the interviewee pointed out, it is easy to connect multiple SDGs to their work in countries where there is a humanitarian crisis. The Triple Nexus is also often mentioned in these project proposals. The interviewee noted that the Finnish government very much wants to see this concept becoming a 'living thing'. However, when inquired about the partnership in the field regarding SDGs and the Triple Nexus, R2 specified that the Finnish Red Cross is there only to support the National Society of that country. It neither cooperates nor plans its activities with other NGOs or organisations in a foreign context.

Most of the projects in which the Finnish Red Cross takes part have a duration of four years. These aim at tackling structural problems and focus on development as well. R2 clarified that the Triple Nexus is something they think of when developing a project and that this concept is something the government wants to see. However, following the interviewee's opinion, the difficult thing remains Peace. They talk a lot about Nexus daily, but not necessarily the Triple. The Finnish Red Cross does not take an active role nor has an official position regarding Peace. R2 elaborated on the fact that the team is sensitive to other actors and the 'do no harm' principle and that they acknowledge the importance of peace in the context, but at the same time, they refuse to take any political position. The Red Cross representative stated that, even though some collaboration and avoiding working in parallel makes sense, actors on the field should not go too far in trying to bring the three aspects of the nexus together because they all have different mandates. In the case of the Red Cross, doing so may arm humanitarian access.

Besides its international aspect, the unit in which R2 works is part of an advisory group composed of all Finnish organisations that work with crisis and human rights. Together they create policy opinions and academic papers in order to engage in advocacy at the national level.

4. LUXEMBOURG

4.1 THE ORIGINS OF THE LUXEMBOURGISH RED CROSS

The Luxembourgish Red Cross is the national branch of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in Luxembourg. It was founded in 1914 and has played a significant role in providing humanitarian assistance and promoting health and social welfare in the country.

The organisation was officially established on March 24, 1914, under the patronage of Grand Duchess Marie-Adélaïde. Its mission was to provide assistance to the sick and wounded, support for prisoners of war, and overall humanitarian action during the war. The origins of the Luxembourgish Red Cross can be traced back to the early 20th century when Luxembourg faced the challenges of World War I. During the latter, the Luxembourgish Red Cross played a crucial role in providing medical aid to both parties to the conflict. It established field hospitals, ambulances, and convalescent homes. The organisation also facilitated the exchange of letters between prisoners of war and their families.

The Luxembourgish Red Cross expanded its activities beyond wartime relief efforts in the interwar period. It then started promoting health education, providing first aid training, and establishing blood transfusion services. The organisation also began addressing social issues such as poverty, homelessness, and support for vulnerable groups.

When Nazi Germany occupied Luxembourg during World War II, the Luxembourgish Red Cross faced many challenges. Despite the difficulties, the humanitarian organisation continued its activities, offering assistance to prisoners of war, refugees, and victims of bombings. After the end of the war, the organisation was also strongly involved in the country's reconstruction efforts.

In more recent years, the Luxembourgish Red Cross has increasingly widened its scope of activities, which now include disaster response, emergency preparedness, healthcare services, social assistance, and international humanitarian aid. It also operates blood transfusion centres, nursing homes, home care services, and various training programs.

4.2 THE LUXEMBOURGISH RED CROSS TODAY

Currently, the Luxembourgish Red Cross is divided into six administrative districts, known as 'cercles' in Luxembourgish. Each district has its local branch of the Luxembourgish Red Cross, which is responsible for coordinating and implementing humanitarian activities within its respective area. Following the website of the National Society, more than 3500 active

volunteers support the work of this institution, together with circa 3000 employees (Croix-Rouge Luxembourgeoise, n.d.).

Recently, in 2022, the Luxembourg Red Cross updated its statutes with the government. The humanitarian institution is now legally recognised as being developing 'in particular, and without this enumeration is not exhaustive, the following activities:

- act in the event of armed conflict and prepare for it in peacetime in all areas provided for by the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols in favour of all victims of war, both civilian and military;

- provide assistance in all public calamities and the field of civil security as an auxiliary to the public authorities in their humanitarian activities;

- rescue and save lives;

- contribute to the reduction of suffering, the improvement of health, the protection of life and more generally, respect for the human person, particularly in times of armed conflict and in other emergency situations;

- taking care of the elderly, sick or dependent, through medical and nursing care, whether in a stationary environment or at home;

- to work for the prevention of diseases and the development of health;

- promote access to decent housing;

- fight against social exclusion and improve cohesion and social inclusion;

- protect and support children and families and promote the development of young people;

- promote and disseminate the fundamental principles of the Movement and international humanitarian law in all circumstances.

[…] The Luxembourg Red Cross may carry out any other activity and take any action, of whatever nature, contributing directly or indirectly to achieving its general mission, including by obtaining the means and resources to develop the activities falling within its social object. It may act directly or through entities it creates or controls, which may take any corporate associative form, Luxembourg or foreign. It may also enter into any partnerships useful to accomplishing its mission' (Ministère de la Santé, 2022, Art. 2).

A commodity for export?

As evincible from the statute, the Luxembourgish Red Cross is active in many different sectors of society. Looking at the website of the National Society (Picture 1), it seems apparent that the major focus revolves around helping people who find themselves in a more vulnerable situation because of health issues and precarious circumstances. Such a leitmotiv cannot be found in the other case studies.
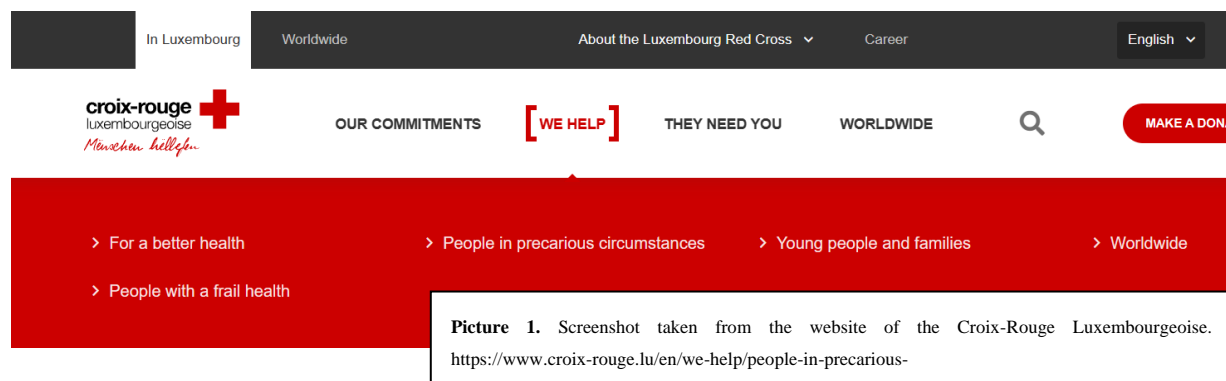
Picture 1. Screenshot taken from the website of the Croix-Rouge Luxembourgeoise. https://www.croix-rouge.lu/en/we-help/people-in-precarious-

4.3 THE LUXEMBOURGISH RED CROSS & MIGRATION

4.3.1 THE MIGRATION CRISIS & RECEPTION CENTRES

Since 2004, the Luxembourg State has entrusted the Migrants and Refugees Service of this National Society with the care of applicants for international protection. At this very moment, the Luxembourgish Red Cross counts seventeen reception centres, including a 'Centre de Primo Accueil' (CPA, First Reception Centre) and two departments dedicated solely to this issue. In order to fulfil its mission, the service works in close collaboration with the Office National de l'Accueil (ONA), the governmental side of the migration service.

The commitment of the Luxembourgish Red Cross to migration entails receiving and accommodating applicants for international protection, supporting them throughout their stay in Luxembourg through language courses and accommodation, and guaranteeing individual care and social assistance.

In 2015, this National Society welcomed 3482 people in its CPA, among whom 2447 applied for asylum (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2016). This was an increase of 28% compared to 2014, a considerable rise in percentage met by a growing need for ethno-psychological care, which was augmented by 96%. During this year, the humanitarian organisation managed ten reception centres nationwide.

The following year, the number slightly decreased, with 3100 people arriving at the First Reception Centre, among whom 2047 asylum-seekers (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2017).

Despite this negative trend, the Luxembourgish Red Cross opened a second CPA, resulting in a total of eleven active relocation centres. In 2017, the number of asylum seekers remained more or less the same, with 2322 people asking for permits and 922 people residing in their reception centres. Even though the number of asylum applications was slightly less in 2018, the number of residents grew over the eleven hundreds, numbers that remained pretty much unchanged in the following years (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2019; Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2020). 2020 saw a sudden drop in the number of asylum-seekers compared with the other years, with only 1167 people applying. However, this decreasing trend was not matched by a similar pattern in the number of residents, which kept rising, leading to an increase of 5,3% compared to the previous year. This growing need was met by opening three new reception centres in 2020 and another three the following year, with a total of 1433 people residing in them (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2021; Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2022).

The main reason for this mismatching trend is that, in the words of the Red Cross representative Gilles Dhamen, 'the greatest challenge for refugees is finding a place to stay'(Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2018, p. 16). This has to do with the national economic situation of the country, where the price of housing keeps rising, and the supply of apartments does not manage to fulfil the demand.

4.3.2 MIGRANTS

R3 is the manager of a reception centre in Luxembourg. Both asylum-seekers and refugees stayed there, for a total of around 86 people, among whom there were individuals as well as families. When asked what was the most important thing in this job, the interviewee said that it is fundamental to remember that these people lost it all. They arrive in a new country with no house, security, and sometimes family. Consequently, the major focus of the Red Cross there is the well-being and dignity of the people staying there. Red Cross representatives try to make the residents more independent and foster their resilience. The employees always check the needs of each individual and try to meet them as much as possible.

However, cultural differences among the people staying at the reception centre were argued to make it harder to create a welcoming and relaxed environment. R3 explained that married women and single individuals could not be alone in the same room as the pater familias would not allow that. Conflict also arose when people of two different beliefs shared the same kitchen; people following Islam did not want to cook using tools employed to cook pork, and Hindu family had the same issue regarding beef. Luckily, the interviewee said, the location in which the reception centre was situated offered the possibility to satisfy the need and

preferences of everyone and beyond. The facilities offered went from a game area and a gym to psychological help and (language) courses to integrate into the Luxembourgish culture, as well as specific activities such as dancing nights for women or hobby courses.

When speaking particularly about the values that drive such a job, R3 proudly showed a poster with the seven Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross hanging in the office and declared that humanity is essential to its specific context.

Despite the clear knowledge of the values driving the humanitarian organisation, the interviewee had never heard of the Triple Nexus concept or the Sustainable Development Goals.

However, when asked whether the actions designed at the reception centred focused more on the short or long-term, R3 stated that they work mostly towards the last option. They want people to integrate and have a dignified life in Luxembourg. Besides programs aimed at integrating refugees, the reception centre is also involved in advocacy programs to raise awareness about the specificities of refugees and teach the local population how to be comfortable with them. This is thought to help the local community welcome refugees and therefore ease their integration into the former.

Even though such work strongly focused on the long-term, the relationship between such long-lasting assistance and first aid emergency relief was seen as not in conflict with the nature of the Red Cross. In fact, the interviewee argued that the humanitarian organisation needs to be active in crisis while always thinking about the future, especially regarding resilience. In the case of Luxembourg, the duration of the assistance is made longer by the housing market, which makes it almost impossible for refugees and asylum seekers to find accommodation in the country. Furthermore, the Red Cross representative continued, the humanitarian association has an auxiliary role to the government, which means that it is within its mandate to help these institutions as long as it is in line with its Fundamental Principles.

Despite such a formal agreement, the cooperation and the line between the humanitarian principles of the Red Cross and the logistical issues characteristic of the government were often not as clear in practice. R3 gave the example of a situation where a woman and her family were moved to another location despite her being sick and integrated into the local community. The Red Cross representative tried intervening and explaining the situation to the national reception system based on the principle of humanity. However, the political decision (based on numbers and efficiency) prevailed.

In general, the interviewee said that the communication with ONA (National Reception Centre) was often cold and efficient, with little interest in the individual cases and struggles of

the refugees. Quite on the contrary, the Red Cross representative had an excellent relationship with the municipality, which provided materials free of charge and offered its availability for many projects. Collaborations were also born at the local level with smaller NGOs that supported the reception centres through donations and the sponsorship of other activities.

4.3.3 REFLECTING ON THE TRIPLE NEXUS

At the end of the interview, R3 asked me in which way the Triple Nexus was applicable to the context of the reception centre and what the research leading this thesis was trying to uncover. After explaining the concept in more detail, I drew some preliminary conclusions based on the data collected during that interview. Once again, I applied the Triple Nexus at the micro, almost individual level. As in the case of Finland, the Luxembourgish Red Cross also focused on resilience and developing skills that would allow the person in need to move forward. Special attention to peace was also present when understood as the lack of conflict. This was so internally (avoiding conflict among the people staying in the reception centre) and externally by working with the municipality and the people living close to the centre.

R3 agreed but underlined that this concept was never mentioned in the interviewee's many years of working experience. The Red Cross representative further specified that, when asking for permission for the interview, the supervisor also did not appear informed about the meaning of the Triple Nexus nor its implications. When asked about guidelines from the ICRC or IFRC, R3 seemed slightly confused, stating that they work locally and that even contact with the HQ of the Luxembourgish Red Cross is extremely rare in this job, let alone the Federation.

During the interview with the officer working in the international department, I mentioned this unawareness of the Triple Nexus in other sectors of the National Society, and R4 responded:
'Very much possible that my colleague has never heard of it; it is something that we are more aware on the international department. It is something that we use abroad even if, I have to say, of course, it would also apply in Luxembourg. Nevertheless, I think the concept of the Nexus and adding the third component is something more used and discussed for international projects. However, I do agree that it would be very useful to employ it more on the national level. I also think that nationally, even without knowing what the Triple Nexus is, they take its aspects into consideration.'

A commodity for export?

R4 is part of the international projects department of the Luxembourgish Red Cross. The latter is much smaller than the rest of the National Society. The interviewee works in a team of 30 people, 15 of whom are delegates in the country of operation, while the Luxembourgish Red Cross employs around 3000 people in total. Besides their size, the Red Cross representative stated that their department is much more present in the media than other, bigger sections of the Luxembourgish Red Cross, none the least because they have more budget. This funding is mostly public and earmarked, with the two biggest donors being the Luxembourgish government and the European Union. Even though private financing is also available, this constitutes a considerable minor share of the total available resources, and it is often used to finance those parts of the project that fall outside of European governmental tenders.

R4 works with partnerships and budget; therefore, one of the tasks is strategically creating projects based on the available earmarked funding, combining more tenders while ensuring that the Luxembourgish Red Cross Strategy 2030 and the Fundamental Principles are respected. When asked about the order of the steps that lead to the creation of a proposal, the interviewee stated that, first, they create a project based on the values of the Red Cross while also trying to incorporate the goals of the government and EU so that they can have more budget and thus more impact. However, the strongest focus is helping the most vulnerable and adding something to what is already in place to help as many people as possible without working in parallel with other organisations. If this is not possible with public funding, the Luxembourgish Red Cross would start a campaign to collect non-earmarked donations specific to that one project.

Nevertheless, R4 admitted that the situation in Luxembourg is quite different from the reality of other National Societies. The connection with the government, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is much more informal than in other countries. In the interviewee's words: 'I think we are very lucky. The government funds most projects, the access to it is easy, and we have a good relation. They are flexible and reachable because Luxembourg is such a small country, and everyone knows each other. Sometimes there are informal calls with public officials, even lower level officials and officers can contact each other without issues to ask clarification questions.'

Regarding the nature of the projects in which the international department of the Luxembourgish Red Cross is involved, there are two major distinctions: emergency action and more long-term projects. The first is composed of an Emergency Unit that gets mobilised during

natural disasters and whose main objective is humanitarian relief. In contrast, the second consists of more developmental projects in fragile states, usually with a duration of two to six years. When asked about the potential divergences in how the Red Cross is seen through these two different approaches, the standard emergency relief action versus the long-term assistance, the interviewee clarified that they always work in the context of international humanitarian emergencies. The difference is that it became clear that solely emergency relief is insufficient and that the Red Cross cannot provide enough help by staying there for a month. With a focus on the 'do not harm' principle, the Luxembourgish Red Cross tries to provide basic needs in a sustainable way. This is, however, sometimes difficult to do. R4 gave the example of building a well. This provides easier and safer access to water, but at the same time, it could lead to conflict because more people would want to be living close to it.

This topic opened a conversation about peace and the Triple Nexus. The Red Cross representative stated that they work more with development than peace. Even though unsure about the Triple Nexus, the interviewee was positive that they were implementing the double Nexus. Peace and development were said to be taken into account during the setting up of the projects, despite this sometimes leading to difficulties in the relationship with soldiers/ government.

As far as the relation with other concepts is concerned, R4 assured that the humanitarian work they do internationally can always be easily connected with multiple SDGs, and it is explicitly done when presenting it to the government. Furthermore, the Luxembourgish Red Cross has a specific area of specialisation that further increases the relevance of its presence abroad, namely shelter. The expertise of the international department of the National Society was exceptionally used on Luxembourgish soil during the 2015 crisis in order to provide emergency shelter to a considerable number of incoming people.

5. THE NETHERLANDS

5.1 THE ORIGINS OF THE DUTCH RED CROSS

The establishment of the Red Cross in the Netherlands (Rode Kruis) was made possible by the commitment of multiple like-minded people, including the Dutch army doctor Johan Basting (1817-1870). In 1863, their combined efforts resulted in the International Committee, which managed to get sixteen European countries – including the Netherlands – to sign a treaty in Geneva on August 22, 1864, whereby they agreed that the helpers of each other's wounded soldiers would be kept out of battle and that their neutrality would be respected.

However, it took several years before the Dutch Red Cross, also known as Rode Kruis in Dutch, started to create a mechanism to implement and secure these changes. Such slowness, according to Van Liempt and Van Kooten (2017), had several causes, which could be found in: 'The firm confidence in a lasting peace that reigns in our country; the certainty that the population will show generosity in the event of a real emergency; and also the conviction that the care of wounded soldiers is a matter for the state' (p. 18).

Eventually, on July 19, 1867, King Willem III signed a Royal Decree allowing this. Shortly afterwards, on August 15, 1867, a Dutch section of the Red Cross was established.

A benchmark in the history of the Netherlands Red Cross took place on December 16, 1908, when Queen Wilhelmina announced in the Staatsblad that her husband, Prince Hendrik van Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1876-1934), was to become chairman of the main committee of the Red Cross in The Netherlands. According to the authors, Prince Hendrik fulfilled his position with dedication, but whether he was a gifted chairman is doubtful. Nevertheless, during disasters, Prince Hendrik consistently made an appearance, fostering a feeling of solidarity among the Dutch people. When he died in the Red Cross office in The Hague in 1934, his position was then taken over by Hendrik's daughter, Princess Juliana. She remained chairman of the Dutch Red Cross until she was appointed Queen of the Netherlands in 1948.

During the First World War in 1917, the organisation was administratively reorganised and became subordinate to the Dutch army. A driving force behind the reforms was Dr A.A.J. Quanjer, a health officer, a major general in the Dutch army and, from 1910, also a member of the Main Committee of the Red Cross. His decision was based on the belief that the Red Cross should be as closely linked as possible to the Military Medical Service in order to increase coordination and provide optimal assistance in wartime. He also believed that the Red Cross should take on as much 'peace work' as possible in peacetime, specifically nursing, helping the

poor and sick and furnishing warehouses with nursing materials.

The Red Cross was not only active in the First World War but also in other conflicts and disasters, such Second World War, in the Dutch East Indies, during the flood disaster of 1953, and the Moluccan train hijackings in Wijster and De Punt.

5.2 THE DUTCH RED CROSS TODAY

The Dutch Red Cross vaunts with 23 regional districts, 197 offices, 600 employees and a network of more than 14 thousand volunteers and hundreds of thousands of Ready2Helpers.

When it comes to helping locally, the website of the Dutch Red Cross divides its work into six categories: food aid, reception of asylum-seekers, actions during the Covid-19 crisis, help in times of emergencies, First Aid and support to the 'invisible needs'. Those latter refer to human trafficking, undocumented migrants, as well as missing family members. Under how they help, they define nine ways: help during conflicts, assist during natural disasters, medical help, food aid, psychosocial support, digital assistance, water and hygiene, preparation for disasters, and humanitarian law.

The Statute of the Red Cross states that the humanitarian organisation aims to work in line with its Fundamental Principles without distinction to alleviate human suffering, protect life and health, and ensure respect for people. It seeks to do so by:

- 'Providing assistance to the most vulnerable in society, both inside and outside the Kingdom;
- disseminating knowledge of international humanitarian law, including the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, Fundamental Principles and Humanitarian values;
- in the event of internal disturbances and armed conflict, acting pursuant to and in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols in order to benefit victims, civilian as well as military alike, and to be prepared for this at all times in peacetime;
- tracing missing persons and restoring contact between the family members who have become separated from each other as a result of an armed conflict, a disaster or a special event, as well as preventing missing persons and providing clarification of the fate of missing persons;
- ensuring and promoting compliance with international humanitarian law in cooperation with the government;

- monitoring the correct use and preventing unauthorized use of the by emblems recognized by the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols;

- cooperating with other national Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the IFRC, the ICRC and other charities;

- promoting the dialogue with the government about the interpretation of the role and tasks of the Red Cross;

- recruiting and retaining members, volunteers and donors;

- acquiring funds by organizing or arranging fundraising activities and undertaking all other activities that are the goals of the Red Cross can support;

- promoting or taking up training courses aimed at assistance;

- obtaining and maintaining quality marks and/or recognitions, expressly including the recognition granted by the Central Bureau for Fundraising;

- setting up the organisation in a way that ensure that its activities can be carried out throughout the Kingdom and be manageable;

- other lawful means' (Dutch Red Cross, 2021, pp. 7-8).

5.3 THE DUTCH RED CROSS AND MIGRATION

5.3.1 THE MIGRATION CRISIS AND THE HUMANITARIAN SERVICE POINTS

The Dutch Red Cross actively addresses the humanitarian needs and challenges related to migration in the Netherlands. This National Society has always been involved with the challenges related to migration; particular attention was devolved to undocumented migrants in big cities, such as Amsterdam, and victims of human trafficking.

When talking about the Rode Kruis and migration, however, it is not possible not to mention the effort that this organisation put in assisting the government during the 2015 'migration crisis' and the more recent considerable inflow of Ukrainian refugees.

In 2015, the arrival of forty-three thousand refugees in the country led to a so-called crisis (IFV, 2017). The Red Cross started its biggest operation since the 90s and set up almost 150 emergency reception locations. Despite being set up in so little time, each centre was provided with second-hand clothing, language courses and other activities, medical personnel, training on resilience, networking events, and volunteers to support the refugees at all times (Dutch Red Cross, 2016). The considerable flow of Ukrainian people in 2022 led the Red Cross to take other measures besides being involved in reception centres; the setting up of

Humanitarian Service Points was one of these (Dutch Red Cross, 2023).

The Humanitarian Service Points (HSPs) are locations along migration routes where people on the move can access a safe and welcoming environment and rely on the assistance of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for further help (IFRC, n.d.). The first location created following this concept in the Netherlands opened in Amsterdam Central Station and saw a collaboration with the municipality to provide the necessary assistance to incoming Ukrainian refugees. Such an on-loco partnership aimed at creating a single space where migrants could receive humanitarian assistance while solving bureaucratic issues, such as registering in the new country. However, as R6 explained, the fact that both the governmental actors and Red Cross representatives worked together in one space put the concept of humanitarian space at risk. The clash between the values of independence, neutrality and impartiality of the humanitarian organisation and the political reasoning of the municipality of Amsterdam occurred when the latter decided to grant access to the HSP only to Ukrainian nationals. This decision was incompatible with the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross, which consequently stepped out of the location and took its emblem and name with it (Dutch Red Cross, 2022).

R5 joined the HSP at that point with the task of finding an appropriate venue where the humanitarian organisation could keep helping people in need while upholding its values. Eventually, the HSP, not without discussions, was situated in the office of the Red Cross in Amsterdam.

When asked about potential guidelines and where they could go for support, R5 stated that it was mostly the work of the Red Cross district of Amsterdam, for the district of Amsterdam. Even though they followed the guidelines of the IFRC to ensure that the HSP concept was respected, they did not have a person of contact at the International Federation to whom to ask questions. Also, the relationship with the Head Quarters of the Dutch Red Cross was not considered useful. People working in The Hague (where the headquarters of the Red Cross are) were described as coming in only to see what was happening on the ground and mostly for media content; they would not engage with the decisional process underlying it.

When asked more about the relationship with the headquarters, the interviewee said that the humanitarian organisation acts based on the needs they see in Amsterdam. It creates operations linked to the necessities of Amsterdammers only. Following the Red Cross representative, if the project is considered a success, The Hague will try to make a format out of it to replicate what they do in other districts. This applied both to the HSP and to the Integral

Assistance Program, in which R5 also works. The following section will focus on this last project.

5.3.2 UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

The Integral Assistance Program aims to provide all potential help to that person in need. It is innovative because it looks at what the person needs/wants instead of assuming it, and starting from there, it seeks how to help this person further through partnerships.

The main challenge identified in this work was the political atmosphere. COVID-19 exposed what the Red Cross called the 'invisible needs' of undocumented migrants, people who were living below the bureaucratic radar. An awareness campaign started in the city under the motto 'We are all Amsterdammers', and the municipality accordingly made the budget for this target group available. However, R5 continued, there is still a narrative that portrays undocumented migrants negatively, which in turn can lead to political leaders prioritising different groups, and moving the related budget accordingly. The second identified challenge was being able to enter into contact with undocumented migrants due to the low profile these tend to keep. In this case, the Covid-19 crisis also helped, evidencing grassroots informal organisations that worked with this specific target group, the district of the Red Cross of Amsterdam decided to create a partnership with them to help people in need through organisations that undocumented migrants already trusted.

The goal of this project, according to the interviewee, is to offer people in need anything they may need in order to foster resilience. It aims at giving people perspective in a way that does not affect their dignity. R5 specified that it is not a long-lasting humanitarian help but rather an encompassing assistance provided only as long as necessary and specifically aimed at helping people further. For example, the Red Cross representative said they would give a homeless person a room for a week with food and hygiene products so that the latter could focus on how to exit such a situation without worrying about immediate needs. The project must always prevent people from becoming dependent on it. When asked whether it could be said that this project acted in a crisis framework, R5 said: 'We now go from crisis to crisis. This is no longer just a natural disaster or something with a clear beginning and end; some people live in eternal crisis and lack basic needs.

5.3.3 REFLECTING ON THE TRIPLE NEXUS

The Red Cross representative had never heard of the Triple Nexus before reading about this research topic. The interviewee also disregarded the SDG question, saying that the Food Aid Program tackles multiple of them, but this is not done on purpose; it was described as more of a side effect than a strategy.

When talking about the connection of their work with peace and development, R5 stated that, besides focusing on resilience, they have nothing to do with either of the two sectors directly. They do not think about these aspects when developing a project; rather, they act on the need they see.

Towards the end of the interview, however, the conversation shifted again towards the Triple Nexus. After explaining the concept more, R5 said that, even though the latter was unfamiliar, it was definitely a good idea. The Red Cross representative continued by saying they were already implementing it, even without knowing about such a concept. The interviewee further specified that they do not work in parallel with other organisations as 'there is enough badness for us all'. Regarding peace, R5 argued that tackling needs prevents criminality, thus increasing security and peace. As far as development is concerned, by building resilience, they help a person further.

5.4 LOBBYING FOR MIGRATION

In the case of the Netherlands, despite having contacts within the organisation, it was not possible to find a person of reference for the Triple Nexus. Instead, I was recommended to speak to R6, who works at one of the highest levels for migration at the Head Quarters in The Hague. When asked about the role played at the Red Cross and the general situation in the field of expertise of the interviewee, R6 said to be satisfied with the situation. This is because the Dutch Red Cross was focused on emergencies that never happened before. Consequently, the organisation struggled to find purpose outside of this emergency framework. Districts were the ones finding structural needs to be tackled at the local level. According to the interviewee, this helped the whole National Society move away from the crisis approach and try to help people in need on a wider basis. The Red Cross representative, however, stated that it is hard to get people enthusiastic about this within the organisation. In fact, some people still think that the Red Cross should focus on emergencies. Especially in the case of undocumented migrants, whose legal status can often not be changed, it is hard to prove that the Red Cross is making an actual impact in changing people's lives. R6 argues against this narrative, advocating in favour

of helping everyone in need, regardless of their legal and social status, and underlying that the Red Cross is tackling needs while avoiding making people dependent on it.

When developing a project, the Dutch Red Cross focuses on the fact that the former must be in line with the Movements' goals as well as respect the legitimacy and sovereignty of the government. This is, however, something that can be made difficult by political decisions. The Red Cross representative explained that, for example, the current Dutch government is considering criminalising helping people who assist undocumented migrants. This would lead to problems for the Red Cross and its volunteers because the National Society must act within the national legal framework while, at the same time, must also guarantee a safe 'humanitarian space' to those seeking help.

A potentially controversial situation with the local authorities happened in 2022 in Ter Apel, where the registration centre of the Netherlands is located. People there were found in inhuman conditions due to the lack of even the most basic provisions by the Dutch government. The situation was so critical that the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe publicly stated that the conditions there 'fall short of even the minimum standards under Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights' (CoE, 2022, p. 1). The Red Cross saw the situation and, despite the awareness that such action could potentially damage the relationship with the government, went there to help based on the principles of neutrality and impartiality. R6 explained that the humanitarian organisation usually tries to advocate behind closed doors, engaging in confidential dialogue, but it is their duty to act in emergencies. The Dutch government understood such a decision and eventually even financially sponsored the Red Cross mission there.

In general, when it comes to the relationship with the sovereign powers of the Netherlands, the National Society showcases 'people' to the political leaders. Red Cross representatives raise their concerns and the underlying problems of the current situation and present them to the government through individual cases. They do not participate in political debates nor offer hard solutions, as migration is a highly politicised issue. The Dutch Red Cross does not have a position on who should stay and not, nor that everyone should be welcome; instead, it says that everyone, regardless of their status, should have access to humanitarian assistance and that the government should take care of the fact that everyone can satisfy their most basic needs. In order to tackle this and other issues, R6 lobbies with the various ministries at the highest political levels to defend the work of the organisation and the rights of migrants in general. This work is, however, mostly done behind closed doors. The Dutch Red Cross does

not get involved with activism, not even in collaboration with other organisations. This, following the interviewee, can create tensions with other institutions that work in migration. However, this does not mean that cooperation does not happen at all. The National Society is part of a roundtable together with other humanitarian organisations and NGOs that deal with migration in order to coordinate their efforts both on the field and in lobbying.

6. UNCOVERING PATTERNS

The goal of this chapter is to analyse the findings presented in the previous chapters, especially those dedicated to the case studies, in order to ultimately answer the main research question, as well as present other results found throughout the research.

First, it will uncover whether there is internal normative coherence for human rights within the Red Cross National Societies themselves. In order to do so, it will look both at the values of the humanitarian organisation in general as well as the individual Strategies.

Second, it will look at external normative coherence for human rights within the National Societies' implementation of the Triple Nexus, both on national soil and through international projects.

6.1 INTERNAL NORMATIVE COHERENCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN THE RED CROSS

Across all case studies, interviewees have repeatedly reiterated how important the Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross are to them. Normative coherence between the National Strategies and the migration-related projects analysed can also be found.

The Finnish Red Cross focuses on these mottos: Help is Nearby, Everyone is involved in a prosperous community, and A society that builds trust and responsibility. All these goals can be found both in the approach implemented in the reception centre and in the assistance offered to undocumented migrants. The mission statement leading the Strategy 2030 of the Luxembourgish Red Cross is: 'helping vulnerable people to live with dignity and autonomously' (Luxembourgish Red Cross, 2022, p. 2). The work of R3 clearly focused on supporting asylum-seekers and refugees in a way that could help them be resilient and strive to provide them with all the facilities and opportunities they may need to live a dignified life. Last but not least, the goals of the Dutch Red Crosses were presented as four promises, namely: be there for anyone in need, know where the need is or threatens to be and who is vulnerable to it, offer appropriate help, and do not do everything themselves. The work of the Red Cross in Amsterdam met all these points in their projects targeting undocumented migrants, and insofar as possible, an attempt was also made in regard to the HSP.

All interviewees stated that they felt confident about the objectives and goals of their projects and work, a fact that scholars found could result from normative coherence, which is, in this case, present (O'Reilly et al., 1991; Rousseau, 1990). Interestingly, when asked whether they received guidelines from the headquarters, the ICRC, and the IFRC regarding their

projects, all Red Cross representatives active on national soil responded negatively. Nevertheless, the values and goals of the humanitarian association were deeply embedded in their work and were seen as a priority in developing new projects. This can be argued to be due to the normative expectations of the Red Cross following its values and ideals.

6.2 NATIONAL SOCIETIES AND THE TRIPLE NEXUS

The same could be said on the Triple Nexus. Only one of the interviewees working in migration had heard of the concept before the interview, and even this officer did not see a link with the own work. However, throughout the interview and in an interactive dialogue, it came out that all three Red Cross representatives were implementing at least some aspects of the Triple Nexus without being aware of it and agreed that those were definitely fundamental characteristics of their work. All officers were found to focus on development and long-term goals for the people they were supporting, as well as peace, understood as the lack of conflict at the micro-level. Furthermore, all three case studies showed the coordination and the creation of partnerships with other organisations in order to prevent working in parallel, another principle of the Triple Nexus. In the case of Finland, a partnership was initiated also with the Church, an actor with a clear mission and mandate, a factor that, however, did not affect the success of the cooperation.

It is of considerable relevance that the work of National Societies at the national level in three different countries independently and unintentionally decided to act in a way that corresponds to the values promoted by the Triple Nexus. This finding, in fact, can strengthen the case for implementing this approach to a wider extent. Considering the necessity of the Triple Nexus to be implemented as a paradigm shift, such spontaneous and unaware implementation by each one of the case studies is extremely positive. Furthermore, the proven focus of all these National Societies on the Red Cross' values also means that the implications of the NWOW do not necessarily contradict the former. At the micro-level, the national societies were found to be actively working towards peace in a way that was coherent with the Fundamental Principle of the Red Cross.

The results of the interviews have shown that even where the international department was actively engaging with the Triple Nexus, the national counterpart was not in-depth informed about the meaning and implications of this concept. Interestingly, R4 explicitly said that this New Way of Working could have been applicable and useful to the local context but never considered trying to implement it. It is also interesting to note that Luxembourg is the only case where the International Department joined efforts during the migration crisis to work on national soil. A collaboration, however, that did not go as far as sharing concepts thought to

be pertinent only to the international sphere. Not even R2, who is specifically involved with developing and implementing the Triple Nexus (among others) in practice, ever thought of its relevance on national soil. This is even more striking considering that the Action Plan of each National Society (as seen in Section 2.3.4) framed migration as a crisis. Such Strategies are documents that drive the work of the whole National Societies, rendering it even more surprising that no officer has drawn a connection between the Triple Nexus and the emergency on national soil. It can thus be argued that there is a strong demarcation between the national and international departments in the selected National Societies, with different priorities and concepts applying to each. If, on the one hand, the department focusing on national projects develops the latter based on the needs they see, its international counterpart seems to be more focused on tenders and what the donors want.

In fact, even though the international department does develop projects based on Red Cross values and principles, it was found that the former is also aware of and employs other international concepts and goals, such as the Triple Nexus. Those were seen as instrumental in attracting more funds, even though, in the actual implementation, the extent to which the Triple Nexus was applied is disputable. Quite the opposite, the departments of the people interviewed who worked on the national part did not consider the concept of the Triple Nexus when creating a new program. However, considering the data generated through the interviews, multiple aspects of the latter were implemented nevertheless. Both this department and its international counterpart regarded the NWOW and the SDGs as relevant only to external contexts, none the least because the government looks for these terms when deciding whether to finance a project.

7. CONCLUSION

The research question leading this thesis asked to what extent the Triple Nexus is implemented with regard to national migration affairs by the Red Cross National Societies in Europe. The rationale behind this choice was that the concept of the Triple Nexus was created to cope with crises. Nevertheless, the NWOW seems to be applied only in countries outside of this region, even though migration in Europe has been consistently framed as a crisis.

In order to answer the research question, normative coherence for human rights was employed as a theoretical framework and applied to a non-State actor. By doing so, this thesis took distance from the numerous previous scholarly work focusing on normative coherence and the EU and instead decided to look at one of the main actors involved in crises in Europe and, at the same time, arguably the greatest representative of the humanitarian pillar of the Triple Nexus, namely the Red Cross. This international organisation is universally recognised as a legitimate humanitarian actor with a global scope and reach. The Red Cross could be argued to be a norm entrepreneur due to its exceptional position in the development of Humanitarian Law in theory, as well as in dealing with humanitarian assistance in case of conflict and emergencies in practice. Considering these facts, applying normative coherence for human rights to this specific subject of study is thus extremely relevant as the Red Cross can be considered a representative case, and thus the resulting findings can be assumed to represent the approach of the humanitarian pillar as a whole and potentially undermine its legitimacy.

To uncover whether there was coherence for human rights in Europe within the Red Cross National Societies' implementation of the Triple Nexus, the thesis created a comparative study in order to identify partially generalisable findings. Three case studies were selected: Finland, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. First, the relevance of the thesis subject was confirmed by looking at the Strategies of the National Societies of each of the countries mentioned above. In their national strategies, they all framed migration as a crisis or an emergency, proving the potential applicability of the Triple Nexus, which was ideated to respond to such situations.

Consequently, the thesis analysed the data generated through interviews with professionals at the national level and in the National Society's international department. This evidenced a divergence regarding how this NWOW is implemented and presented nationally and internationally. At the national level, there was a trend convergence between case studies when it came to the collaboration of the local Red Cross with other organisations and the focus on peace and development at the micro-level. Notably, it was found that such adherence to the

principle of the Triple Nexus was done independently and unconsciously in all three case studies. In fact, in each country, the researcher had to elaborate and explain the meaning and objective of this concept and engage in discussion with the practitioner to find commonalities between the NWOW and the way the Red Cross was already working in the field. This is even more relevant considering that the International Department of the National Societies were aware of and actively used the concept of the Triple Nexus in their work. Nevertheless, as hypothesised at the beginning of the thesis, the interviewees seem to confirm that the Triple Nexus was seen as a concept to be applied to external situations or, using the title's words, a commodity for export. Therefore, it can be assumed that the normative line between national and international, which creates the impression that these two domains are completely different and separate, led the Red Cross representatives working on projects abroad not to realise the need or utility of sharing the concept of the Triple Nexus with colleagues working at the national level.

In short words, the research leading this thesis found that even though the Red Cross approves the concept of the Triple Nexus and its National Societies actively employ it when designing humanitarian assistance to be provided at the international level, the same does not hold for the projects targeting the European domestic domain. This is a critical aspect for two reasons.

First, Maganda (2016) argues that concepts defined through normative debates at the global level are only valuable as a paradigm through implementation. The fact that only the international department is aware of this concept means that the Triple Nexus cannot be said to be fully implemented. Consequently, there is no paradigm shift which prevents the NWOW from becoming operational in all of its aspects.

Second, the differences between the approaches used on national and international projects have considerable normative implications for human rights. The fact that two different sets of priorities are used for the national and international arena means that there is segmentation within the organisation, which can lead to double standards, putting the universality of human rights at risk. Such normative incoherence between the positive and normative dimensions of policies could ultimately cause the positive dimension of humanitarian affairs to fail as policies and practices would not be aligned with human rights protection.

The legitimacy of the Red Cross could consequently be put at risk by the lack of a unified approach by all its departments. However, based on the reviewed data, this is not likely to happen within the organisation due to the presence of a strong commitment to the seven

Fundamental Principles of the Red Cross, dignity, and the 'do no harm' principles, which each interviewee reiterated. Rather, the research leading this thesis found that the commitment to external values and concepts seems less coherent within the humanitarian organisation. In fact, even though the ICRC, the IFRC, and the National Societies officially approve and adopt the Triple Nexus, in the case of the analysed National Societies, this is applied in practice only in the international domain. The presence of segmentation between the national and international levels in regard to the implementation of the Triple Nexus could undermine the legitimacy of the Red Cross in the eyes of peace and development actors, as well as other international organisations. Interestingly, this thesis has proven through each one of its case studies that the Triple Nexus can and is, in practice, already being implemented unconsciously and independently at the national level with success. Although the Triple Nexus has not been formally adopted by actors on the ground, the latter's actions unknowingly reflect the content and the values of the NWOW. The fact that the National Society can and does cooperate with organisations having a different mandate and that they engage in peace operations, even though at the micro-level, shows that the components of the NWOW are not inherently incompatible with the values of the humanitarian organisation. This consequently means that a paradigm shift based on the concept of the Triple Nexus could, and might be, already happening locally.

Nevertheless, for the paradigm shift to become structural, changes must also be undergone by public funding agents that are perpetuating the conceptualisation of national and international projects as two separate entities. In fact, it should be noted that whereas the government requires international projects to adhere to the Triple Nexus, the same does not hold for programs that act locally. On the one hand, the interviewees working in the international department reiterated multiple times that the NWOW was considered fundamental in their projects to gain government funding. On the other hand, the Red Cross representatives working on national soil were mostly unaware of this concept and confirmed that the government never mentioned it or required its implementation. Considering that the National Societies work as an auxiliary force to the government, especially in crises, it is of substantial relevance that the respective national governments, despite formally approving and supporting the concept of the Triple Nexus, only require its implementation on international soil. Thus, there is arguably the presence of double standards within the national government of the analysed case studies, as they also seem to consider the Triple Nexus as a commodity for export. The lack of guidelines from both the government and the ICRC for actors working at the national level could be argued to impact the National Society, perpetuating the segmentation between the national and international domains. This, as mentioned above, has, in turn, potential

negative consequences for safeguarding the universality of human rights. Therefore, further research is necessary to establish to what extent governmental and EU tenders influence how actors perceive and develop their projects and whether there is normative coherence for human rights at the policy level. This is necessary not only for the successful implementation of the Triple Nexus as a paradigm shift but for the sake of universal human rights as a whole.

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE INTERVIEWS QUESTIONNAIRE

Method: Semi-Structured Interview

1. Could you explain in a few words what your role at the Red Cross consists of?

2. What are the main challenges you face in your work?

    a. How have such challenges changed over time?

3. What do you consider fundamental in your job? What principles do you consider most fundamental in your job (please order)

4. Would you say that your work exist within a framework of a crisis/emergency environment? Why?

5. Could you take me with you through all the steps of the process of establishing a new project [if applicable to the position]

    a. What values or goals do you prioritise in designing it? [steer towards peace and development]

    b. Would you say that most projects are designed to be long-term or short-term?

6. How do you position your work within the national RC framework and the RC in other countries?

7. On what resources can you count to complete your work (financial and human)

8. What role does the government play in your work? What does the dynamic between the latter and the Red Cross look like?

    a. Have you ever felt that the partnership with the government limited, facilitated or influenced projects? [in case this question was not answered]

9. What about the specific case of migration? What would you consider the strength and weaknesses of the standing projects?

    a. What kind of relationship do you have with migrants communities

      b.   What about the involvement of the government in the latter?

10. Would you consider migration to be within the original mission of the RC?

11. How is the work of the RC in migration perceived by civil society and the general public?

12. Do you work with other NGOs, is such a relationship formal, informal, or financial?

      a.   Where does the network extend to?

13. What does the triple nexus mean to you? And the SDGs?

14. Would you say that your work has consequences on development and peace?

      a.   Do you actively think of these concepts when developing a project?

15. Do you receive any guidelines or best practices from other sectors of the RC or regional offices? EU/ICRC.

16. Do you receive any guidelines from the government?

17. How do you communicate with districts/the HQ of the Red Cross? Workshop, virtual platforms.

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