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The Impacts of Temporary Relocation Programs on the Wellbeing of Human Rights Defenders Beyond Relocation

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Abstract

In 2022, many seeking to promote and protect universal human rights continue to be persecuted and harassed, and therefore compromised in their safety and wellbeing. A type of protection measure that emerged in recent decades is temporary relocation programs, which offer temporary shelter for human rights defenders at risk. Whereas a growing body of research examines how temporary relocation programs can improve the wellbeing of human rights defenders whilst on relocation, few projects have explored whether and how any such improvements are sustained after the relocation period. By framing "wellbeing" according to the Capabilities approach, which shifts the focus from experienced wellbeing to the means to achieve wellbeing, the present thesis examines which tools and opportunities provided by temporary relocation programs serve human rights defenders' wellbeing beyond temporary relocation. The investigation is primarily based on semi-structured interviews with nine human rights defenders and practitioners of five temporary relocation programs, and supported by document analyses. The results indicate that out of eight dimensions of wellbeing, the programs principally impacted personal security and subjective wellbeing. Three activities impacted most defenders' wellbeing beyond relocation, namely professional outreach activities, contact with other human rights defenders, and psychosocial support. Whether and how any such impacts were achieved was meaningfully influenced by each defender's social and personal context, and the extent to which programs could accommodate resulting individual requirements. This particularly concerned the level of risk defenders face, as the needs of human rights defenders working in high-risk contexts were found to be far more complex to address than the needs of those operating under lower risk levels. Concluding from the results, the thesis proposes that temporary relocation programs should keep open and constant communication about expectation and possibilities with their participants. Further, they should assess whether they have appropriate structures in place to accommodate the needs of all types of defenders they relocate. Finally, the programs should evaluate the effectiveness of their program on defenders' wellbeing beyond the relocation period.

Key Words: human rights defenders, temporary relocation program, wellbeing

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Acronyms

CAHR	Centre for Applied Human Rights
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ECPMF	European Centre for Press and Media Freedom
EU	European Union
EUTRP	European Union Temporary Relocation Platform
HRD	Human Rights Defender
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
TRP	Temporary Relocation Program
UN	United Nations
UNHCHR	United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

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1. INTRODUCTION

Numerous societies in both the global South and the global North are affected by the imposition of restrictions on civic spaces and subsequent shrinking thereof (Amnesty International, 2021). As a result, those seeking to enjoy their fundamental rights and those striving for the protection and promotion of human rights continue to be subjected to persecutions, threats and intimidation strategies (Bartley, Jones, Nah & Seiden, 2019). Attempts to intimidate or silence people implicated in the protection and promotion of human rights, hereafter referred to as (human rights) defenders, include death threats, smear campaigns and harassment, restrictions to the defenders' movement, expression, and assembly rights, and arbitrary arrest and detention. In addition, defenders continue to be targets of physical violence including of beatings, sexual and physical violence, torture, and assassination (UNHCHR, 2021).

As a response to repressions of human rights work, there has been a significant increase in various types of protection programs and measures for human rights defenders at risk at the national, regional, and international level (Bennett, Ingleton, Nah & Savage, 2015). One such type of protection measure is temporary relocation. Temporary relocation programs host people experiencing risks because of their human rights work or because they seek to enjoy their fundamental rights. In most instances, temporary relocations are arranged as a last-resort measure when other types of protection against risks have failed (ibid.). Whereas some programs host all types of human rights defenders, others exclusively focus on specific categories of defenders, such as scholars or journalists at risk. Moreover, some relocation programs host groups of people that may not per se be referred to as human rights defenders, notably artists at risk, although the conceptualisation of such significantly overlaps with the conceptualisation of "human rights defenders" (Bartley, Jones & Nah, 2019). Consequently, whereas the present thesis exclusively addresses temporary relocation programs hosting human rights defenders, it is worth noting that some programs support other groups of people, many of which may also be considered as human rights defenders to some extent.

One key concern of the community of practice is the way in which the wellbeing of defenders is understood and addressed during relocation (Brown et al., 2019). Addressing this issue is challenging because of the multiple impacts on defenders' wellbeing; most defenders who temporarily relocate have experienced prolonged periods of stress and trauma prior to the

relocation, and all of them face the ongoing trauma of relocation (Bartley et al., 2019). In addition, human rights practice circles tend to hold values of bravery, self-sacrifice and selflessness; given the necessity and importance of their human rights work, defenders tend to prioritise human rights work and the wellbeing of victims of Human Rights violations above their own wellbeing (Nah, 2017). As a result, human rights defenders are less likely to engage in self-care, to express their anxieties, and to seek help (ibid.). Results of a research project concerning wellbeing, risks and human rights practices reported that 86% of the over 400 interviewed human rights defenders felt "somewhat concerned" or "very concerned" about their mental and emotional wellbeing. These levels of concern were as severe as concerns with physical and digital security (ibid.).

In response to the difficulties to conceptualise and subsequently address the wellbeing of relocated human rights defenders, a growing body of research has strived towards a better understanding of the various factors affecting their wellbeing. One significant contribution in this regard has been an extensive research project concerning the Security and Protection of Human Rights Defenders at Risk (Azer et al., 2016), which has subsequently informed the formulation of the Barcelona Guidelines on Wellbeing and Temporary International Relocation of Human Rights Defenders at Risk. The guidelines present a set of recommendations and guidance for people implementing temporary relocation programs on collective approaches to wellbeing for relocated human rights defenders (Brown et al., 2019).

1.1. Problem Statement

Whereas as growing body of research contributes to an improved understanding of wellbeing practices in the framework of temporary relocation, less attention has been paid to the ways in which temporary relocation affects defenders beyond the relocation period itself. This constitutes an important research gap, as good practices to address wellbeing during relocation may not necessarily translate into improved wellbeing after the relocation itself. Thus, even if the wellbeing of human rights defenders is improved during their relocation, it remains to be examined whether, and to which extent, these effects influence wellbeing after the relocation. Briefly put, research needs to address whether temporary relocation can contribute to human rights defenders' overall wellbeing beyond the temporary period during which they relocate.

1.2. Relevance

Temporary relocation programs vastly differ from each other in terms of the concrete projects and measures that they offer. Accordingly, they also differ in the ways in which they address the wellbeing of their participants, both during and after relocation (Brown et al., 2019). Whereas the Barcelona Guidelines have established a comprehensive set of guidelines which allows for temporary relocation program practitioners to reflect on their own structures and methods to address defenders' wellbeing during relocation, no such framework has been established regarding the participants' wellbeing after the relocation period. Whilst the formulation of an extensive framework as established within the Barcelona Guidelines is outside of the scope of the thesis, I aim to provide a first insight into general patterns and subsequent conclusions regarding how temporary relocation programs can affect the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation period.

1.3. Research Questions

Drawing on the problem statement and relevance, the research and sub-questions were formulated as follows:

"How do Temporary Relocation Programs affect the wellbeing of Human Rights Defenders beyond the relocation context?"

SQ1: What dimensions of the wellbeing of human rights defenders are affected by temporary relocation beyond the relocation context?

SQ2: Which activities implemented by temporary relocation programs impact the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

SQ3: Which external factors impact the ways in which temporary relocation affect the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

SQ4: How effective are temporary relocation programs in improving the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conceptualizing the "wellbeing" of human rights defenders for the purpose of the present thesis involves the consideration of several factors. Firstly, the research questions address how wellbeing is impacted beyond the relocation period, which highlights the necessity to distinguish between wellbeing *within* and *beyond* a given context. Secondly, several external contexts need to be considered. The action of temporarily relocating before either returning to the pre-relocation country or moving to a third country calls for the consideration of three distinct social contexts, namely the pre-relocation context, the relocation context, and the post-relocation context. The aim of the present chapter is to address these different considerations. Firstly, I present recent debates concerning how "wellbeing" should be conceptualized and present the Capabilities approach which guides how the concept will be understood throughout the thesis (section 2.1). Secondly, I discuss how broader personal and social contexts affect wellbeing, and present how the thesis distinguishes between wellbeing within and beyond a given context (section 2.2). Thirdly, I present discussions around the establishment of concrete dimensions for wellbeing, and how these dimensions will be established for the purposes of the thesis (section 2.3). The last section of the chapter presents concluding remarks (section 2.4).

2.1. Conceptualizing Wellbeing

The present section addresses how wellbeing is conceptualized throughout the thesis. As such, the first part presents the current state of debates regarding how "wellbeing" is understood and measured (section 2.1.1). Next, I outline the Capabilities approach, which is the framework guiding the understanding of "wellbeing" throughout the thesis and embed the approach within these broader debates (section 2.1.2).

2.1.1. What is "Wellbeing"?

Within the International Development literature, establishing a universally applicable framework of wellbeing has been an important and much-discussed concern (Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern & Seligman, 2011). I will address two main debates in this regard, namely the distinction between single- and multi-construct definitions, and the difference between objective and subjective indicators of wellbeing, respectively.

The term "wellbeing" is relevant to several fields of study, and its precise definition is strongly debated. As a result, there is currently a very large pool of distinct definitions for the concept (Gasper, 2010). Generally, wellbeing definitions either equate wellbeing with a single construct, such as "life satisfaction" or "happiness" or encompass multiple facets forming one overall "wellbeing" (Forgeard et al., 2011). However, single-construct definitions have been recurrently criticized for being overly broad, blurry, and insufficient to grasp the complexity of the term (ibid.). As a result, and concerning the international development literature specifically, most researchers nowadays conceptualize wellbeing as a multidimensional construct (Dodge, Daly, Huyton & Sanders, 2012). As a result, countless multidimensional frameworks have been proposed by different organizations and researchers over the past decades (McGregor, Coulthard and Camfield, 2015). An important aspect in which these frameworks differ from each other is the either objective or subjective nature of their wellbeing domains and indicators. Hedonic definitions conceptualize wellbeing through subjective concepts or dimensions (Dodge et al., 2012), such as "engagement", "satisfaction" or "relationships and social support" (Forgeard et al., 2011). Eudaimonic traditions conceptualize wellbeing through objective indicators such as human development (Dodge et al., 2012). More specific examples include economic growth, access to various rights and liberties, and fulfilment of basic needs (Forgeard et al., 2011). However, both these types of approaches present weaknesses. On the one hand, definitions exclusively relying on subjective indicators tend to be difficult to measure and compare, because results are likely biased by several factors including people's moods, individual interpretations of questions, and adaptive preferences (Peterson, 2006). On the other hand, definitions that exclusively rely on objective indicators have been critiqued for overgeneralizing what matters for people to be well. Indeed, it may not be intuitively obvious which different objective domains contribute to general wellbeing across contexts (Forgeard et al., 2011). Consequently, several organizations important to the field of International Development, including the OECD and the UN, have acknowledged the need to consider both objective *and* subjective aspects of wellbeing (OECD, 2015; UN, 2012). Approaches employing both types of indicators allow to examine what people have on the one hand (measured through objective indicators), and how they evaluate these different objective aspects on the other hand (measured through subjective indicators; McGregor, Coulthard & Camfield, 2015).

Finally, an important aspect to consider that has been put forward within the Barcelona Guidelines on wellbeing and temporary international relocation of human rights defenders at risk is the need for a wellbeing framework to acknowledge and accommodate the fact that

conceptualizations of "wellbeing" are "(…) diverse and informed by religious, cultural, social, political and economic backgrounds" (Brown et al., 2019, p. 4). The Barcelona Guidelines define wellbeing as encompassing "emotional, spiritual and physical health, as well as healthy relationships with others and with the environment" (ibid.), thus adopting a rather broad definition of wellbeing which allows for different interpretations of the term whilst being multidimensional and encompassing both objective and subjective aspects.

2.1.2. The Capabilities Approach

Considering the debates presented in the previous section, I argue that the thesis should conceptualize wellbeing as a multidimensional construct encompassing both subjective and objective indicators and allowing for different interpretations of the term. Further, the definition needs to accommodate differences between short- and longer-term wellbeing and consider the role of external contexts on wellbeing.

Following a thorough review of various wellbeing conceptualizations and their consideration of the above-listed characteristics, I chose to employ the Capabilities approach elaborated by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1992, 1999) for the purposes of the present thesis. The key characteristic of the approach is its shift of emphasis from wellbeing itself to the means to achieve wellbeing. The means to wellbeing, also called "capabilities", encompass all freedoms, opportunities, and abilities to do and to be. The specific expressions of wellbeing, also called "functionings", are thus the results of the ways in which people choose to implement the different sets of capabilities at their disposal (Sen, 1999). Specific functionings are resting, working, good health, being mobile, socializing, and so forth.

The approach further assumes that people with identical capabilities sets will still choose and achieve different functionings, depending on their individual choices and ideas concerning what matters for them to be well (Forgeard et al., 2011; Robeyns, 2005; Schokkaert, 2008). As such, a key characteristic of the approach is its consideration for individual agency. Thus, the core idea of the Capabilities Approach is that evaluating people's wellbeing should not rely on the highly individualized functions of wellbeing, but rather on the opportunities, or lack thereof, that constitute people's freedom to live the kind of live that they value (Robeyns, 2005). Nevertheless, capabilities and functions should not be understood as inherently distinct categories, because many functions may also enable new opportunities, or capabilities, to achieve further functions. A concrete example would be access to a car, which enables the function of mobility. This, in turn, enables new capabilities because mobility can be used to

various ends such as driving on holiday, saving time on commutes, accessing more remote places, and so forth.

Placing the Capabilities approach within broader wellbeing debates, the approach can be understood as being inherently multidimensional because it acknowledges the existence of countless means to, and expressions of, wellbeing (Forgeard et al., 2011). Further, even though the approach falls under more objective approaches to wellbeing because of its focus on the objective capabilities at people's disposal, it also includes important characteristics of more subjective approaches (ibid.). Sen (1999) highlights that because of the central focus on people's agency to live life as they please based on the capabilities at their disposal, wellbeing should be assessed through people's own evaluations of their wellbeing, or in other words the usefulness that different objective capabilities have had for them. As such, the approach also considers the role of subjective evaluations in the assessment of people's wellbeing.

2.2. Contextualizing Wellbeing

Having presented the core ideas of the Capabilities approach, the present section discusses how the approach considers the role of context in people's wellbeing, and how it allows for distinction between short-term and long-term wellbeing.

2.2.1. Role of Context

The central role of personal agency in the Capabilities Approach, which allows for people to implement sets of capabilities in whichever way they choose to, highlights the importance to consider the broader context that influences which choices are and can be made. As summarized and described by Robeyns (2005), the Capabilities approach highlights the role of three different groups of "conversion factors", which refer to the contextual conditions that enable or hinder people to use certain capabilities. The three groups are personal, social, and environmental conversion factors. Personal conversion factors encompass people's individual's characteristics such as physical condition, intelligence, reading skills, and so forth. These in turn determine whether and how people can use certain commodities (ibid.). Going back to the example of access to a car, certain physical conditions such as blindness may inhibit people from using the car for mobility purposes. Next, social conversion factors refer to the broader social context within which a person is situated. On the one hand, this encompasses all governmental and economic factors such as public policies, laws, rights, and corruption. On

the other, it addresses social factors such as social norms and hierarchies, power relations, gender roles, and so forth (Robeyns, 2005). Again, the broader social context can either enable or hinder people from using certain capabilities. If women are legally not allowed to drive cars, their ability to enjoy mobility provided by a car is limited. Finally, the third category enabling or hindering people to use capabilities is environmental conversion factors, including geographical location, climate, occurrence of natural catastrophes and so forth (Robeyns, 2005). For instance, people may be less able to enjoy mobility provided by a car in an environment with frequent and heavy snowstorms.

Concluding, the Capabilities approach not only addresses which capabilities people have access to and their freedom to use them as they choose, but also advocates for consideration of the broader context and circumstances that determine the extent to which people are free and able to use capabilities to achieve functionings.

2.2.2. Difference between short- and long-term wellbeing

In his proposed set of guidelines to develop national indicators of wellbeing, Diener (2006) highlights the importance to separate between short-term and long-term changes in wellbeing. This distinction is of particular importance to the current thesis because of its focus of effects on wellbeing *beyond* the relocation period, as opposed to the more researched effects *within* the relocation period. This raises the question of how this distinction can be conceptualized in the first place. Typically, distinctions between short-term and long-term wellbeing refer to differentiations between wellbeing as a momentary state, and wellbeing as a trait (Eid & Diener, 2004). More specifically, Eid and Diener (2004) proposed the distinction between momentary states such as mood, and more stable traits such as life satisfaction. The aim is to differentiate between occasion-specific, momentary states, and wellbeing traits that are more stable over time.

Nevertheless, the Capabilities approach and its focus on the means, as opposed to the ends of wellbeing allows for a more concrete distinction. The shift of focus in the approach implies that the present thesis does not examine how different aspects of temporary relocation makes human rights defenders feel at different points in time, but instead shifts the focus toward the capabilities that temporary relocation programs could provide them with. In other words, the thesis does not assess feelings emerging from the relocation and the stability thereof, but rather addresses the stability of capabilities provided across contexts. As such, the thesis examines: "what capabilities could temporary relocation programs provide defenders with that

were useful beyond the relocation context?" and, "what conversion factors enabled or hindered human rights defenders to use these capabilities beyond the relocation context?".

2.3. Concretizing Wellbeing

A final point that merits discussion is how the Capabilities approach addresses different important facets of wellbeing, and whether and how the approach allows for the establishment of concrete wellbeing dimensions.

In their evaluation and review of various wellbeing frameworks emerging from international development research, McGregor, Coulthard and Camfield (2015) conclude that wellbeing frameworks should address three dimensions. Firstly, frameworks should be capable to accommodate the role of "material conditions of life", such as owned goods and shelter. Secondly, they should address the "personal aspects of quality of life". These include human development components such as education and health on the one hand, and "conditions of being" on the other, which are concerned with aspects such as security and subjective wellbeing. Finally, wellbeing frameworks should address relational wellbeing, which refers to the relationships necessary for continuously meeting needs important for wellbeing. This may include relationships in society, which allow people to act with freedom and autonomy, and/or personal relationships such as those established with friends and family. Each of these dimensions is covered in the Capabilities approach, because both capabilities and functions can consist of material conditions, personal aspects, and/or conditions of being. As outlined by Robeyns (2005), "The capability approach thus covers all dimensions of human well-being. Development, well-being, and justice are regarded in a comprehensive and integrated manner, and much attention is paid to the links between material, mental and social well-being, or to the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of life" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 96).

A final important consideration is the establishment of specific dimensions of what matters for people to be well. In his elaboration of the Capabilities Approach, Sen (2004) declined to establish a list of universally applicable dimensions. According to him, any such list of dimensions should arise from discussions around the issue at hand (McGregor, Coulthard and Camfield, 2015). For instance, should someone wish to establish a particular policy affecting people's wellbeing, they should establish dimensions after in-depth reflection of the ways in which that specific policy may impact wellbeing (ibid.). Several organizations that are central to the field of development have attempted to incorporate this notion by establishing wellbeing frameworks containing specific dimensions according to the principles of the

Capabilities approach. These notably include the "How's Life?" framework developed and employed by the OECD to measure human development and wellbeing (OECD, 2011) and the Human Development Index established by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2010). Following Sen's reasoning, I will not employ any pre-established list of dimensions because they are not specific to the purposes of the current project. Instead, I will investigate which different areas of life were affected by temporary relocation programs beyond the relocation context. These dimensions will be specific to the sample and only serve to visualize the different effects the programs have had.

2.4. Conclusion

To conclude, the present thesis draws upon the Capabilities Approach developed by Amartya Sen (1992, 1999) to conceptualize wellbeing. The approach addresses wellbeing by centralizing the agency of people to use the different opportunities and freedoms (capabilities) at their disposal to live their life according to their own idea of living well (functionings). The ways in which capabilities are used to achieve functionings are embedded in the broader framework of personal, social, and environmental contexts (conversion factors).

The Capabilities Approach is particularly interesting for the present thesis because its focus on the objective needs for wellbeing, rather than the outcomes of wellbeing, respects the notion that people have different ideas of a good life. Therefore, the approach focuses on capabilities rather than functionings as the appropriate measure (Robeyns, 2005). This in turn allows for the thesis to examine the extent to which different capabilities are relevant to a certain group, and the extent to which these capabilities are accessible and implementable across contexts. More concretely, it means that investigations shift from exploring how human rights defenders feel to exploring what meaningful capabilities temporary relocation programs could provide them with, and whether these capabilities served them beyond the relocation context.

3. RESEARCH CONTEXT

Whereas the previous chapter provided the theoretical basis of the ways I conceptualize "wellbeing", the current chapter explores the broader research context and the practical implications of the Capabilities approach for the thesis in four main parts. The first part of the chapter concerns the wellbeing of human rights defenders. As such, it elaborates on the term, including whom exactly "human rights defender" refers to, and presents existing literature examining how the conduction of human rights work impacts wellbeing. The second part of the chapter contextualizes temporary relocation programs by outlining how different programs operate and presents existing research concerning how they can impact the wellbeing of the defenders they relocate. The third section practically applies the Capabilities approach to the concrete aims of the thesis. Section four presents the conceptual scheme visualizing how key concepts of the thesis interact with each other.

3.1. Human Rights Defenders

The vagueness of the term "human rights defender" has led to vast differences in how it is used in practice (Nah, Bennett, Ingleton & Savage, 2013). Thus, the first part of the section addresses how the term is understood for the purpose of the present thesis. Next, I present existing research concerned with the wellbeing of human rights defenders. An important aspect in this regard is personal safety and security, given that even though human rights defenders, as all people, operate in different social and personal contexts, many share the common aspect of experiencing risks to their personal safety because of their human rights work (Bartley et al., 2019). Risks to personal safety are a particularly important concern to defenders who temporarily relocate, as temporary relocation programs are typically established as a last-resort protection measure for defenders at risk (Bennett et al., 2015). As such, the human rights defenders addressed in the current thesis tend to be exposed to important risks to their personal safety. It is consequently relevant to provide an overview of common mechanisms affecting human rights defenders' lives and, consequently, their wellbeing. This topic is covered in the second part of the present sub-section. The third and final part of the sub-section presents an overview of research examining how conducting human rights work affects the wellbeing of human rights defenders.

3.1.1. Defining the "Human Rights Defender"

In 1998, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations General Assembly presented the declaration on Human Rights Defenders (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021b). The declaration itself is not concerned with establishing a definition of whom is considered a human rights defender; instead, it states that "Everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, to promote and to strive for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms at the national and international levels" (United Nations General Assembly, 1999, Article 1 p.3). The definition itself was further elaborated by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Fact Sheet No. 29, which outlines both the rights and the responsibilities of human rights defenders (OHCHR, 2004). According to the fact sheet, only people fulfilling three minimum standards are considered as human rights defenders. Firstly, they should accept the universality of human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Secondly, the person's arguments should fall within the scope of human rights. Finally, any action taken by them must be peaceful (ibid.). Hence, the term refers to a wide range of people and groups of people, which may or may not define themselves as human rights defenders. As such, a human rights defender may be a peasant opposing a new mining project in their local community, an artist whose songs promote the rights of LGBTQI+ people, or a journalist striving to defend freedom of speech, to name a few.

3.1.2. Human Rights Work Repression

The shrinking of space for civil society has led to important issues of harassment, intimidation, and reprisals of those seeking to protect or enjoy their fundamental rights (EU, 2022; ProtectDefenders, 2022). As a result, human rights defenders are exposed to important risks because of their human rights work still today (EU, 2021). In their critical reflection on the protection of human rights defenders, Nah and colleagues (2013) outline that "[c]ommon abuses include arbitrary arrest or detention, threats, harassment, judicial investigation, extrajudicial execution and murder. HRDs [human rights defenders] have also been forced to pay the price for their activism in more subtle but nonetheless damaging ways—they have been dismissed from their jobs, evicted from their homes, defamed, ostracized, and stigmatized. Around the world, many HRDs struggle to continue their work in debilitating and deteriorating conditions" (Nah et al., 2013, p. 402).

Both state and non-state actors can be perpetrators of abuses against human rights defenders. Concerning state agents, common perpetrators include the police, judiciary, security services and local and state authorities (Landman, 2006). Human rights defenders continue to be delegitimized and attacked by state actors even in countries with a legal framework that, in theory, allows for people to promote and advocate for human rights (Bennet, Ingleton, Nah & Savage, 2015). In both more repressive and more democratic regimes, a common repression practice is the criminalization of human rights defenders. Practices of criminalisation are justified through various means, such as "[…] their [the state's] measures to protect national sovereignty; counter terrorism and extremism; further economic security and development; and assert particular cultural, traditional and religious norms and practices" (Bennet et al., 2015, p. 886). A further common practice to criminalize human rights defenders is by accusing them of different crimes such as tax evasion, corruption, possession of drugs, and so forth (Nah et al., 2013). Other repression practices include surveillance, sharing intelligence on human rights defenders, repressing access to national and international human rights mechanisms, restrictions of access to foreign funding, and so forth (Bennet et al., 2015).

Regarding non-state actors, perpetrators include paramilitary and rebel groups, right-wing and extremist groups, corporations and media, and private actors such as employers or landlords (Landman, 2006). Like states, they employ various strategies, both more subtle and more overt, to repress human rights defenders. More subtle repressions may include defamation, stigmatization, ejection from their housing, and being fired from their job. Overt strategies include harassment, threats, smear campaigns, and murder (Nah et al., 2013).

3.1.3. Human Rights Work and Wellbeing

In addition to struggles resulting from the repression mechanisms targeting human rights defenders, the conduction of human rights work affects wellbeing through other mechanisms as well. For instance, vicarious experiences of working with people who have been subjected to human rights violations have been linked to stress, anxiety, and other difficulties (Knuckey, Satterthwaite & Brown, 2018, cited in Nah, 2021). Finally, the very act of conducting human rights work means confronting and addressing disregard and violations of fundamental rights. For many activists, human rights work is deeply interwoven with their personal lives, especially when they are defending their own rights or living in the communities of those whose rights they are addressing (Bobel, 2007; Vaccaro & Mena, 2011, cited in Nah, 2021). As a consequence, wellbeing is an important concern for many human rights defenders.

In the results of a research study exploring the ways in which defenders navigate mental and emotional wellbeing in risky forms of human rights activism, Nah (2021) reports that "[r]espondents spoke about the challenges of living with pervasive fear and anxiety; of their inability to sleep; of their feelings of powerlessness in the face of oppression; of feeling 'numb' or emotionless; of living in panic; of being in constant 'fight mode'; and of their fatigue, despair, desperation and isolation. They spoke about suicides amongst fellow activists. They shared about their pain when their colleagues, compatriots, and family members were attacked, killed or disappeared. This pain became woven into their work, further fuelling their activism" (Nah, 2021, p. 25).

Aside from the ways in which human rights work can negatively impact wellbeing, many human rights defenders also perceive the very action of continuously resisting and taking collective action as a wellbeing practice in itself (Nah, 2021). In line with this notion, a research project carried out in 29 European countries found significant positive correlations between the conduction of political activism and measures of subjective wellbeing (Šarkutė, 2017). In addition, Nah (2021) points out that for many defenders, activism is considered an active part of resistance, embracing their identity and thus healing. As such, conducting human rights work can be considered both a source of and a threat to wellbeing.

Finally, the ways in which individual characteristics affect impacts of human rights work on wellbeing merits being outlined. Research proposes that the ways in which defenders experience gains, risks and costs related to their activism are strongly influenced by individual characteristics such as the nature of the defender's work, gender, income, age, and ethnic identity (Almanzar & Herring, 2004; cited in Nah, 2021). This, in turn, highlights the importance to consider the ways in which specific characteristics of defenders influence the type and severity of threats and risks they experience, and their subsequently different protection and wellbeing needs. Indeed, several women human rights defenders have called for more attention to the link between defenders' identities and their needs for protection (Nah et al., 2013). Some defenders who have been found to be particularly vulnerable are those working on contested issues, including abuses related to extractive industries, sex and reproductive rights, and so forth, and those with a particular identity and belonging to a specific community, such as LGBTI defenders, women human rights defenders, and indigenous people (Bennett et al., 2015).

Concluding, the conduction of human rights work affects defender's wellbeing in both positive and negative ways. Several individual characteristics of defenders further influence

which gains and costs they experience, and subsequently affect their individual needs for protection and wellbeing.

3.2. Temporary Relocation Programs

Whereas the previous section addressed the whom the term "human rights defender" applies to and the ways in which conducting human rights work can affect wellbeing, the present section addresses temporary relocation programs, including whom they are implemented by and how they operate. Finally, I review existing literature on the ways in which temporary relocation programs address and affect the wellbeing of human rights defenders.

3.2.1. Temporary Relocation Programs

Whereas a common aspect of all temporary relocation programs for human rights defender is the provision is the provision of temporary relocation and shelter to people that experience or have experienced risks because of their activism (Bartley, Jones & Nah, 2019), they differ in terms of various aspects. These include the nature of the host organization, duration of relocations, location and length of relocation, and concrete projects and activities offered (ibid.). Concerning the nature of the host organisation, Bartley, Jones and Nah (2019) outline that temporary relocation programs are implemented by both state-and non-state actors including NGOs (e.g., Front Line Defenders), universities and other education institutions (e.g., the Centre for Applied Human Rights at the University of York), and collaborations between NGOs or CSOs on the one hand and regional or local governments on the other hand (e.g., the International Cities of Refuge Network).

Temporary relocation programs further differ with regard of the length of relocation they offer, with durations lasting anywhere from less than a week to up to two years (Bartley, Jones & Nah, 2019). Whereas most programs offer some type of protection measures, they further differ both in terms of the projects they offer and the activities they implement, including projects concerned with rest and respite, expanding networks, professional capacity development, and psychological wellbeing.

3.2.2. Temporary Relocation Programs and the Wellbeing of Human Rights Defenders

The ways in which the wellbeing of relocated human rights defenders is understood and addressed during their relocation presents an important concern for the community of practice

(Brown et al., 2019). In many cases, human rights defenders arrive at the temporary relocation program in a poor mental health state. In this regard, recent research indicates that the mental health challenges faced by relocated defenders are comparable to those of combat veterans, refugees, and victims of torture (Bartley et al., 2019b). When arriving at the relocation program, defenders tend to first experience a "honeymoon period", followed by a period of experiencing anxiety, loneliness, and guilt. These emotions tend to intensify as the end of the relocation period nears (Jones et al., 2019).

Several factors make addressing the wellbeing of defenders whilst on relocation quite complex. Firstly, the typically rather short amount of time of most relocations makes addressing symptoms of wellbeing issues, let alone causes, very complicated (Bartley et al., 2019b). In addition, the poor mental health state of most defenders who arrive at relocation programs often inhibits them from prioritizing their own wellbeing during relocation (ibid.). Concerning psychosocial support specifically, issues of stigma around mental health, the short relocation time which complicates building a lasting relationship of trust, and reluctance to talk about private aspect of their lives refrains many defenders from engaging with mental health professionals during relocation (Jones et al., 2019). To encourage defenders to engage in these activities, some temporary relocation programs make it mandatory for defenders to participate in at least one session with a counsellor. However, this practice is strongly disputed by many other program practitioners (Bartley et al., 2019b).

To address these difficulties, several projects have offered suggestions for people involved in the implementation of temporary relocation programs on how to consider the wellbeing of the people they relocate. For instance, Jones and colleagues (2019) recommend programs to take a flexible approach toward wellbeing practices by accepting that not all defenders will engage in all offered wellbeing activities. Further, the Barcelona Guidelines on wellbeing and temporary international relocation of human rights defenders at risk present a list of recommendations to be reflected upon by practitioners. Among other recommendations, the guidelines highlight the importance for practitioners to recognize and consider the individuality and agency of defenders, to pay attention to the ways in which they frame and talk about wellbeing with defenders and to the ways in which real or perceived power relationships affect the extent to which defenders feel that they have control over their decision-making and participation in wellbeing activities (Brown et al., 2019). Building on the Barcelona Guidelines, Bartley (2020) reflected on practical implementations of the recommendations listed in the Barcelona Guidelines. More specifically, she presents case studies and best practices implemented by temporary relocation programs concerning the

provision of support and social networks for relocated persons, integration of wellbeing activities during relocation, management of difficult cases, and addressing the wellbeing of staff of relocation initiatives.

Overall, findings indicate that temporary relocation programs are evaluated very positively by relocated defenders. In the results of a research project based on interviews with over 100 human rights defenders, relocation coordinators and wellbeing support providers, most defenders claimed that they found that the relocation positively affected their wellbeing overall (Jones et al., 2019). Defenders reported feeling a greater sense of security, but also benefitting from the opportunity to acquire new skills and networks (ibid.). Further, in their outline of the impacts of temporary relocation initiatives, Bartley and colleagues (2019b) highlight that one of the biggest effects of relocation they found is the way in which defenders feel validated and strengthened in their identity as human rights defenders. In addition, the biggest impact found in this project was the impact of relocation on defenders' ability and willingness to continue their human rights work. It seems that temporary relocation provides many defenders with new skills, determination and courage to continue their human rights work (ibid). These findings are particularly interesting for the present thesis because they concern effects of temporary relocation on defenders' lives at the end of the relocation period or shortly after their return. The current thesis thus builds on existing research projects to examine whether the effects of relocation on defenders' wellbeing persist beyond the relocation context, and whether any other effects can be found.

3.3. Research Context and the Capabilities Approach

To this point, the present chapter provided reviews of the current state of literature. The present section aims to frame the above within the Capabilities approach as the wellbeing framework employed for the thesis.

To recapitulate, the Capabilities Approach centres people's agency in implementing the capabilities at their disposal according to their own idea of what it takes to live well. According to the approach, these choices are affected by what Sen (1999) labels "conversion factors", which refer to factors hindering or enabling people to gain or use certain capabilities. Conversion factors can be placed into three categories, namely the personal, social and environmental context navigated by each person. Previous sections have elaborated on some contextual commonalities faced by human rights defenders who attend temporary relocation programs, which most importantly concerns conversion factors related to repression faced

because of their work. Most importantly, the chapter has highlighted the importance to consider not one, but two or possibly three social and environmental contexts as defenders relevant to the thesis temporarily relocate to another place with its own distinct social and environmental context. After the relocation period, they either return to their country of operation and thus the pre-relocation context or move to a third country with yet its own social and environmental context. Hence, research addressing their wellbeing beyond relocation needs to consider the conversion factors of two or three different types of social and environmental contexts: those of the pre-relocation, those of the relocation, and those of the post-relocation.

Concerning the distinction between short-term and long-term wellbeing, the theoretical framework has highlighted the role of the Capabilities approach's shift of focus from ends to means to wellbeing. This allows for the thesis to conceptualize "lasting" impacts by assessing whether a capability is available and usable exclusively within certain circumstances, or whether it can be useful across other contexts as well. For the current project, this means that changes in wellbeing beyond the relocation context can be investigated by assessing whether capabilities provided by temporary relocation programs are specific to the relocation context, or whether they serve human rights defenders in the post-relocation context as well. A practical application of the Capabilities Approach to the present research purposes is presented in the conceptual scheme outlined in the following section.

3.4. Conceptual Scheme

The ways in which the various concepts introduced throughout the theoretical framework and research context are assumed to interact are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Conceptual Scheme
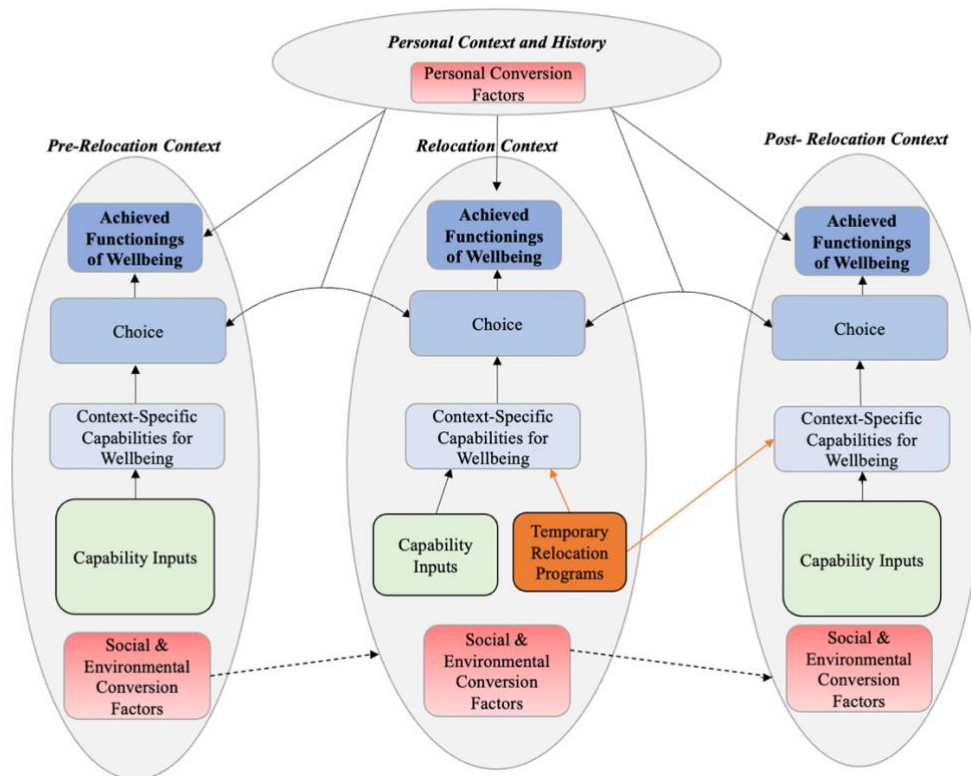
The round shapes of the scheme represent contexts, namely the social and environmental pre-relocation, relocation, and post-relocation contexts on the one hand, and human rights defenders' personal context and individual history on the other hand. The "Capability Inputs" encompass all tools, options, freedoms, and opportunities that give rise to capability sets for wellbeing at a given person's disposal, which are to be understood within the broader social and environmental context navigated by that person. Based on these capability sets, people make individual choices to achieve concrete functionings of wellbeing. Within the broader social and environmental context, conversion factors affect the ways in which people can access and use capability sets, subsequent choices they make, and can promote or hinder people from achieving functionings. Furthermore, some conversion factors specific to a particular social and environmental context may still affect how people can use capabilities to achieve functionings in other contexts. For instance, if a woman is legally not

allowed to drive in a particular country and thus never learned how to drive, her ability to use a car for mobility purposes is still impacted in countries in which she is legally allowed to drive. Further, personal conversion factors are to be understood within a person's personal context and history. These subsequently affect individual choices made and functionings achieved. Temporary relocation programs are framed within the broader relocation context. However, aside from contributing to capability sets specific to the relocation context, they may also contribute to capability sets specific to the post-relocation context.

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

To show transparency and coherence in the research choices I made to explore the research topic, the current chapter outlines the research design, including my basic assumptions and explanations for my research strategy choices. I therefore first outline epistemological and ontological considerations (section 4.1), the research design (section 4.2), methodological reflections and limitations (section 4.3), and ethical considerations and positionality (section 4.4).

4.1. Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

Ontology is the study of what we consider as reality or, simply put, "what is" (Crotty, 1998, p.10). For the purposes of the present thesis I employ a constructionist paradigm, which assumes that social phenomena are continuously re-shaped and revised by social actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Moreover, constructionists assume that our understanding of reality is a result of our reflections on events rather than that of actual lived experiences (Ormston et al, 2014), meaning that there are various perceptions and interpretations of reality (Cohen et al, 2007), thus emphasizing the need for qualitative data analyses, which is in line with the aims of the present research.

Further in line with the constructionist paradigm, I employ an interpretivist epistemological stance. Epistemology is the study of knowledge and as such addresses how valid knowledge can be produced (Bryman, 2012; Giacomini, 2010). According to an interpretivist paradigm, humans construct knowledge by interpreting their experiences of and in the world, rather than knowledge simply being "out there" to be discovered (Constantino, 2008). In other words, knowledge is subjective and grounded in experiences as opposed to factual and generalizable. Consequently, a key feature of interpretivism is to understand human behavior rather than explaining it, thus requiring social scientists to grasp subjective meanings of social actions (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). Thus, investigations are less concerned with specific situations or behaviours themselves and rather with the *meaning* of certain situations for participants (Pascale, 2011). Research based on interpretivist paradigms typically employs qualitative research approaches (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002; Thanh & Thanh, 2015), which seek to establish an understanding of the meaning and experiences of human lives in social worlds (Fossey et al., 2002) and thus to understand reality through the perceptions of

individuals (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). Qualitative research results according to interpretivism are then context-specific and not to be generalised (Greene, 2010).

In accordance with the epistemological and ontological considerations, the research study is of phenomenological nature. Phenomenological research seeks to describe the meaning that experiences hold for participants themselves (Adams & van Manen, 2008; Bryman, 2012, p. 30) which applies insofar I seek to establish patterns in the lived experiences and interpretations of human rights defenders regarding how relocating with a temporary relocation program has affected their wellbeing. Given that the research philosophy assumes knowledge to be a result of perceptions and interpretations, it is in line with the present research methods wherein I base results primarily on interviews with human rights defenders. The research philosophy and research methods are further in line with Sen's (1999) reasoning that people's agency over choices made with regard to wellbeing calls for "wellbeing" to be assessed through people's own evaluations of their wellbeing.

4.2. Research Design

The description of the overall research design is split into the units of analysis and response, data collection methods, sample and data analysis methods, respectively.

4.2.1. Units of Analysis and Response

The units of analysis addressed are the capabilities provided by temporary relocation programs to human rights defenders that serve them beyond the relocation context, the concrete functionings for which these capabilities have been employed, and conversion factors affecting whether and how defenders could employ the capabilities. Accordingly, the units of response are defenders that relocated with a temporary relocation program, people involved in the implementation of programs such as program coordinators and managers, and publicly available information regarding how temporary relocation programs operate such as public websites, projects outlines, and policy briefs.

4.2.2. Data Collection Methods

Since exploring how human rights defenders interpret the ways in which temporary relocation has affected their wellbeing is qualitative in nature, I chose semi-structured interviews and document analyses as the main data collection methods. When relevant to

understand specific parts of semi-structured interviews, I conducted additional background research. The subsections hereunder outline how data was collected according to each method.

4.2.2.1. Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are conversations between two or more people held with the aim to gather information (Easwaramoorthy & Zarinpoush, 2006). On one side of the conversation is the interviewer, who coordinates the interview and asks the questions, and on the other is the interviewee who answers the questions (ibid.). Questions asked during interviews aim to elicit information from the interviewee on a specific topic (DeCarlo, 2018). Semi-structured interviews are a specific sub-type of interview wherein questions to be asked are pre-determined but a certain degree of flexibility to modify questions is maintained (ibid.). This enables the researcher to collect information in a systematic manner whilst also being able to go into further depth into a specific topic brought up by interviewees (Boyce & Neale, 2006). I conducted semi-structured interviews with human rights defenders who have previously relocated with a temporary relocation program on the one hand, and with people involved in the implementation of these programs on the other. The interviews had distinct aims. Interviews with practitioners addressed how relocation programs differ from each other in terms of flexibility to adapt to the wishes and needs of participants, and evaluation and follow-up after the relocation periods. The interviews lasted 20 to 45 minutes. An outline of the employed interview questions is presented in Appendix IV. The interviews with human rights defenders are the main source of information to explore how relocating with a temporary relocation program affects the long-term wellbeing of human rights defenders. Each interview lasted 45 minutes to one hour. An outline of the interview questions for the purposes of these interviews is presented in Appendix V.

4.2.2.2. Document Analysis

Document analysis is defined as the systematic procedure of reviewing documents, either in a printed or electronic format, with the purpose of gaining understanding or producing knowledge of a topic (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). For the thesis, the aim of conducting such analyses was to collect information on each temporary relocation program comprised in the research, including the official name of the program, entity in charge of implementing the program, country/countries of relocation, country/countries of origin of eligible participants,

selection criteria for participation, length of stays, and activities proposed to participants. The information was collected through public websites and project outlines prior to conducting interviews.

4.2.2.3. Background research

Background research was conducted to further understand the context of work of human rights defenders participating in the study. When available, I researched defenders prior to respective interviews to understand the type, area, and history of their human rights work on the one hand, and the context in which they work on the other. This includes the political situation and history of their country of operation, laws and politics surrounding their area and type of human rights work, and common threats and risks which defenders in their contexts are exposed to. In some cases, I conducted additional background research after an interview into events or specific contexts mentioned by defenders as relevant to their story.

4.2.3. Sample

This research contains two samples, namely human rights defenders who relocated with a temporary relocation program on the one hand, and practitioners of the programs on the other. Participants were recruited through convenience sampling, which consists of gathering subjects according to the accessibility of the researcher (Bryman, 2012). I reached out to six temporary relocation programs asking to conduct interviews with practitioners and to be put in contact with some of their previous participants. I expected to conduct interviews with five to fifteen defenders depending on the availability of subjects, and one practitioner interview per temporary relocation program.

Five of the six contacted programs agreed to an interview. To interview human rights defenders, I asked each interviewed practitioner to reach out to defenders that they thought could be willing to participate. Those defenders could then decide for themselves whether they wished to contact me. I was contacted by a total of 11 human rights defenders out of which two discontinued e-mail communication after expressing initial interest and were thus not included in the study. Hence, I conducted 14 interviews in total, namely five with practitioners and nine with human rights defenders. One defender relocated on two separate occasions with distinct temporary relocation programs, one of which could not be contacted. Consequently, all but one relocation programs with which the interviewed defenders relocated were interviewed.

The following two sub-sections present characteristics of the temporary relocation programs and the human rights defenders included in the study, respectively.

4.2.3.1. Sample of Temporary Relocation Programs

The five temporary relocation programs included in the study differed from each other in terms of the nature of entities implementing the programs, types of defenders hosted, country of relocation, countries of origin of eligible participants, and length of proposed stays. The characteristics of each program are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2.

Characteristics of Included Temporary Relocation Programs

Name	Entity Type	Implemented by:	Implementing entity type	Types of HRDs relocated	Country of Relocation	Countries of origin of participants	Length of stay
Centre for Applied Human Rights-University of York	University	Themselves	n/a	Any	U.K.	Any	3-6 months
European Centre of Press and Media Freedom	NGO	Themselves	n/a	Journalists	Germany	Legal residence in EU Member State or candidate country/a member state of the Council of Europe/Belarus	3-6 months
Shelter City Costa Rica	Local Government	Fundación Acceso	NGO	Any	Costa Rica	Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua	3 months
Shelter City Utrecht	Local Government	Peace Brigades International	NGO	Any	Netherlands	Any	3 months
Shelter City The Hague	Local Government	Justice and Peace	NGO	Any	Netherlands	Any	3 months

The desk-based nature of the project enabled me to put no restrictions on the countries within which the programs are based, thus allowing me to include programs based in Costa Rica, Germany, the Netherlands and the U.K. It is however worth noting that all programs in the sample except for Shelter City Costa Rica are based in Europe, which limits generalisability of the results to other continents. Next to variety in geographical location, the programs differ from each other with regard to the nature of the entities. The present sample includes universities, NGOs and local governments. All programs are implemented by NGOs with exception of the Centre of Applied Human Rights (CAHR) which is implemented by the university itself.

4.2.3.2. Sample of Human Rights Defenders

Nine human rights defenders ultimately participated in the present research study. They differed on a number of different characteristics such as gender, country of origin, whether they returned to their country of origin following the relocation period, the length of their respective relocation, and the dates on which they relocated. The different characteristics are presented in Figure 3. It is to be noted that one human rights defender relocated on two separate occasions. Consequently, nine human rights defenders and ten relocations are examined in the study.

Figure 3.

Characteristics of Included Human Rights Defenders

Factor	Sample Characteristics	Number
Gender	Man	6
	Woman	2
	Non-Binary	1
Country of Origin	Guatemala	1
	Honduras	2
	Kenya	1
	Malta	1
	Mexico	1
	Peru	1
	Singapore	1
	Venezuela	1
Returned to country of origin?	Yes	8
	No	1
Length of Relocation	3 months	5
	4 months	1
	5 months	1
	6 months	1
	1 year	2
Relocation ended in:	2014	1
	2019	1
	2020	3
	2021	4
	2022	1

In addition to the characteristics presented above, the human rights defenders also differed with regard to the area and type of activism they conduct, and the source and severity of risks they face because of their human rights work. Regarding the area of activism, the present sample includes defenders addressing academic rights, corruption and accountability, disappeared people's rights, environmental rights, LGBTIA+ rights, public housing, healthcare and retirement rights, territorial and ancestral rights, and women's rights. Types of activism include blogging, (photo)journalism, research and advocacy, NGO work, denunciation of crimes and attacks, and crime investigation and follow-up. Concerning risks faced because of their human rights work, the defenders included in the study experienced or continue to experience several risks ranging from repression techniques to overt attacks. Some examples are threat messages, surveillance, online hacking and spoofing, police questioning and

monitoring, lawsuits, smear campaigns, online and in-person harassment, physical attacks and violence, attempted kidnapping, and attempted murder.

4.2.4. Data Analysis Methods

All data was analyzed through content analysis, which is "any type of technique to make inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1969 p. 14). Briefly put, it involves exploring patterns in data (Stemler, 2015), with "patterns" representing content categories that are identified through established rules of coding (Weber, 1990). The processes of transcribing, if applicable translating (from Spanish to English), and coding the interviews were performed by the researcher herself through Atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software (Smit, 2002).

I initially used inductive coding to identify key words and variables related to wellbeing mentioned by the interviewed human rights defenders, in order to group the key words into naturally emerging dimensions of wellbeing specific to the sample. For this purpose, I followed a grounded theory approach, wherein theories or concepts are derived from systematically gathered and analysed data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I applied inductive coding to all subsequent analyses, coding data according to the newly established wellbeing categories which allowed for a more organised and systematic approach.

4.3. Methodological Reflections and Limitations

Whereas I chose all data collection and analysis methods based on the type of research to be conducted, some limitations need to be considered. With regard to semi-structured interview, common criticisms include the ethically dubious tendency of such interviews to lead to collection of data that is not fully necessary for the research in question (Gibbs et al., 2007). I reduced the impact of the limitation by ensuring ethical formulation of all interview questions and by committing to not explicitly requests highly sensitive information. More information concerning the formulation of interview question can be found in section 4.4.1 of the present chapter. A further limitation of semi-structured interviews is that they are not very user friendly given their complexity and excessive seeking for details (Gibbs et al. 2007). Nevertheless, this limitation is also a strength as semi-structured interviews offer a clear structure whilst providing flexibility, which enables the researcher to go into more depth in certain topics

(Boyce & Neale, 2006). Ultimately, it is this flexibility which allowed me to explore themes and patterns which I did not previously think of.

A more complex topic to address in the context of qualitative research is the assessment of reliability and validity. Indeed, qualitative research practitioners have been, and are, thoroughly discussing the applicability of these terms to qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p. 389). I chose to employ an alternative to classic reliability and validity measures proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 390) which consists of two quality criteria, namely trustworthiness and authenticity. The aim of the remaining part of this section is to assess the extent to which I met these criteria.

Trustworthiness is broken down into four sub-criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility parallels internal validity and is concerned with the truth value, or in other words with getting consensus on social reality (ibid.). To make results credible I engaged in triangulation of methods, which refers to the use of multiple data sources (ibid.) by collecting resources through several sources, namely interviews with nine human rights defenders, five practitioners of temporary relocation programs, background research on each human rights defender, and document analyses on public documents of each temporary relocation program included in the research.

Transferability parallels external validity and is concerned with assessing whether the findings are applicable to another milieu (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 392). The results of the present thesis are likely relevant to various types of temporary relocation programs that relocate human rights defenders to some extent. However, rather than presenting concrete recommendations, I aim to follow the example of the Barcelona Guidelines established by Brown and colleagues (2019) by exploring overall patterns to be reflected upon by practitioners of temporary relocation programs. As such, the thesis does not aim to present concrete results which are fully transferable to other milieus.

Dependability parallels reliability and, as such, concerns the demonstration of consistency of study results (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 392). To achieve dependability the thesis transparently presents and tracks all research and analysis methods and provides information on the ways in which each key concept is understood. As such, I provide all information that would be theoretically necessary for others to replicate the study, which could in turn improve dependability of results.

Finally, confirmability can be understood as the alternative to objectivity and addresses whether the researcher acted in good faith, by letting data speak for itself and not letting personal values affect the results. Confirmability could partially be established by remain

conscious of positionality throughout the data collection and analyses. Further comments on my positionality can be found in section 4.7 of the present chapter.

With regard to authenticity, criteria relevant to the present project are ontological authenticity and catalytic authenticity. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 393), ontological authenticity addresses whether the research helps people relevant to the research to get a better understanding of their social milieu. Catalytic authenticity, on the other hand, addresses whether the research promotes people relevant to the research to engage in action to change their circumstances. In the framework of the present thesis, these criteria are particularly addressed with regard to the practitioners of temporary relocation programs, which I hope will benefit from the study results to have new insights into their impacts on the human rights defenders they relocate beyond the relocation period itself. These patterns are to be reflected upon by these practitioners to potentially improve the ways in which their program addresses the wellbeing of their participants beyond the relocation period.

4.4. Ethical Considerations and Positionality

The sensitive nature of topics addressed in the research project calls for the consideration of several ethical points. The section is therefore split into ethical considerations concerning informed consent, secure storage of (sensitive) information, and safe communication with research participants (section 4.4.1) and positionality (section 4.4.2).

4.4.1. Ethical Considerations

Firstly, I ensured that participants gave informed consent for participation and usage of information by sending a commitment form to all participants prior to their respective interviews. The form describes how information collected will be managed and used and underlines the right of the participant to withdraw their participation at any point in time. The consent form is presented in Appendix III. At the beginning of each interview, I verbally asked participants for consent to record the interview and inquired about confidentiality requirements.

Whereas all participants agreed for their names, organizational affiliations, and other personal information to be made public, I will keep all information presented in the data analyses confidential to ensure that personal opinions and matters cannot be traced back to participants. Transcripts were not shared with anybody. For transparency purposes I sent an anonymized list of participants and anonymized summaries of interviews to the research

supervisor, Dr. Maggi Leung. Further, an anonymized transparency document of research participants is presented in Annex II. With regard to the secure storage of information, all interview recordings and transcripts are solely saved on the hard drive of a password-protected laptop. The interview recordings were deleted upon transcription, and all material including transcriptions and will be deleted at latest on the 31st of August 2022.

To ensure ethical formulation of research questions, I drew on advice from professionals conducting research into the wellbeing and protection of human rights defenders and from the research supervisor. Concerning the interview conduction itself, I established a response plan for possible difficult situations that may occur which was heavily based on the Distress Protocol for Qualitative Data Collection formulated by Haigh and Witham (2013).

4.4.2. Positionality

Whereas I do consider myself a young activist, I have never conducted any human rights work on a scale similar to that of the interviewed defenders. Furthermore, I have never faced any extensive risk because of my activism and have thus also never had to relocate as a result. This is partially due to my currently low profile as activist, and to the fact that I have only lived in countries where human rights defenders face a relatively low level of threats and risks because of their work. I therefore acknowledge that my experiences in risks associated to the conduction of activism are incomparable to that of any of the human rights defenders who kindly agreed to participate in my research project. I have therefore committed to try to consistently remain aware of my positionality, personal experiences, values and opinions and their potential impacts throughout the data collection and analysis processes.

5. THE IMPACTS OF TEMPORARY RELOCATION PROGRAMS ON WELLBEING BEYOND RELOCATION

The preceding chapters sought to establish a clear understanding of the topic at hand, and to present the theoretical and methodological content guiding how the research question is addressed. As a next step I present the empirical results of the study, which are divided into two chapters. The first chapter adopts a bottom-up perspective wherein I examine the specific effects of different activities implemented by temporary relocation programs on the wellbeing of their participants beyond the relocation context. In the second chapter I take a top-down perspective to explore how broader personal, social, and environmental contexts influence the ways in which temporary relocation programs impact wellbeing.

The present chapter is split into two topics. First, I frame the ways in which "wellbeing" was conceptualized throughout the interviews according to the Capabilities approach to establish concrete wellbeing dimensions. Second, I explore how different activities implemented by temporary relocation programs affected these wellbeing dimensions beyond the relocation context.

5.1. Wellbeing: A Practical Application

Throughout the thesis, I conceptualize "wellbeing" according to the Capabilities approach developed by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1992, 1999). In his elaboration of the Capabilities Approach, Sen (2004) refrained from establishing concrete and universally applicable wellbeing dimensions. Instead, he argues that any such dimensions should be established according to the context of people whose wellbeing one is concerned with understanding (Robeyns, 2005). For the present study, this implies that dimensions should be established according to what human rights defenders consider relevant to their wellbeing. I do not aim to establish a wellbeing framework to be employed beyond the purposes of the study. Rather, the framework serves to categorise all aspects of wellbeing mentioned throughout the interview into over-arching dimensions to simplify following analyses; it allows for more organized outlines of how different activities or factors affected distinct areas of wellbeing.

Therefore, my first step of data analysis was to highlight all key words related to wellbeing that were mentioned in the interviews with human rights defenders in the interviews, and to cluster them into common themes, or "dimensions". The dimensions are presented in

Figure 4. Given that, in line with Sen's (1999) approach, the thesis assesses wellbeing through people's own evaluation of their wellbeing, the dimensions are subjective in nature and reflect the opinions of the interviewed human rights defenders concerning what matters for their wellbeing.

Figure 4.

Adapted Wellbeing Framework

Wellbeing Dimensions
Health Status
Work-Life Balance
Personal Security
Social Network
Confidence and Empowerment
Skills and Knowledge
Financial and Material Resources
Subjective Wellbeing

The dimensions do not reflect capabilities or functions in themselves, but rather present the broader categories of needs that the human rights defenders mentioned. For instance, "Health Status" encompasses a person's overall physical health. A specific capability pertaining to this category would be access to a medication which cures a certain illness. A person could choose to take this medication and, if no conversion factors affect its effectiveness, heal from the illness. A concrete function would then be to live free from the illness- which, in itself, also serves as a new capability.

The remaining part of the section is dedicated to briefly describing each of the other dimensions and providing examples of situations that would be placed in the respective dimensions. "Work-Life Balance" regards the balance and trade-offs between time dedicated to work on the one hand and personal life on the other. An example pertaining to this category would be a person being stressed because they feel they do not have the time to sufficiently unwind after work. "Personal Security" concerns the safety and security status of a person. This would for instance include feeling unsafe because of threats of attacks received. "Social Network" accommodates the social aspects of wellbeing, including the number and perceived quality of social relationships, both social and professional. A concrete example could be somebody not feeling supported by their family members. "Confidence and Empowerment" relates to the extent to which a person is comfortable and secure with and in their persona. An

example of a situation in this category could be somebody feeling more confident in their body after openly changing their pronouns to match their gender identity. The "Skills and Knowledge" dimension encompasses everything related to the skills and knowledge of a person, including learning a new language or improving on a skill that one considers important. "Financial and Material Resources" regards the resources at a person's disposal, such as finances, housing, and material equipment. Finally, "Subjective Wellbeing" accommodates subjective emotions and feelings, such as feeling happy, satisfied, anxious, and so forth.

5.2. Wellbeing Beyond Relocation: The Role of Activities

One study result which is to be considered throughout the chapter because of its significant impact on all other results is the significant influence of different contexts on the ways in which temporary relocation programs benefitted human rights defenders beyond the relocation period. This concerned each defender's personal context, including their personality, preferences, socially constructed identities and so forth, and their broader environmental and social context. Regarding the latter, both the context of the country to which they relocated and the context of the country in which they operate after their relocation were found to be of importance. Whereas the more general role of each of these contexts is further discussed in the following chapter, the finding is of importance to the present chapter as well. Although the data analyses revealed that certain activities implemented by temporary relocation programs benefitted many interviewed human rights defenders beyond their relocation period, several contextual factors influenced the ways in which, and extent to which, these activities were beneficial. Furthermore, some activities were beneficial only in very few, context-specific cases. When presenting the effects of different activities, it is therefore important to specify how they were affected by broader contextual factors.

The section is structured according to three different types of effects that activities had on the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation. Firstly, I present activities that benefitted most of the interviewed human rights defenders. Secondly, I present activities that were highly beneficial, albeit only in very specific cases. Thirdly, I address activities which tended not to affect wellbeing beyond the relocation by themselves but had important impacts on the benefits of other activities.

5.2.1. Patterns in Activities

In the current section, I present three activities offered by temporary relocation programs that benefitted most interviewed human rights defenders beyond the relocation period, namely professional outreach activities, contact with other human rights defenders, and professional psychosocial support. Even though general patterns show that the activities affected most interviewed defenders, the specific effects that the activities left differed depending on the specific situation of each defender and the ways in which they chose to engage with these activities. Relating this aspect back to the Capabilities approach, the activities provided most defenders with relevant capabilities serving them beyond the relocation context. Nevertheless, the extent to which the capabilities were useful, which wellbeing dimensions they affected and how defenders chose to implement them differed based on various factors. Therefore, for each section, I first present the different wellbeing dimensions that were affected, and then discuss the role of contextual and external factors determining whether and how the activities served different defenders.

5.2.1.1. Professional Outreach Activities

Professional outreach activities, which encompasses networking, advocacy and publicly talking about human rights work, were offered by each temporary relocation program included in the study. However, the extent to which defenders could engage in these activities was also affected by the broader relocation context, including the availability of relevant people or organizations to connect defenders with, the program's own network, and outreach activities engaged with independently from the temporary relocation program. These activities were mentioned in seven out of the nine interviews conducted with human rights defenders. Out of these defenders, four highlighted impacts that these activities had on their wellbeing beyond the relocation period.

5.2.1.1.1. Effects on Wellbeing

Professional outreach activities mainly impacted three of the previously established wellbeing dimensions, namely personal security, empowerment and confidence, and material conditions.

Three interviewed human rights defenders mentioned the impact of professional outreach activities on their personal security. One participant explained that "[…] the

interaction with the embassy for instance comes with some sense of security that I feel I have been able to get, compared to the time before. Because before that I was just any other person that can be bullied anyhow, can be assaulted- but then that kind of exposure and that kind of experience has come with some level of security and protection"[1]. In all three cases, improved personal security was a result of increased exposure and a generally higher profile as a human rights defender.

In addition to personal security, two defenders highlighted impacts of professional outreach activities on empowerment and confidence. For instance, one of them set up a photo exhibition about their activism during their relocation, which was very successful and visited by many people and NGO representatives. When I asked how it felt, the defender responded: "It gave me a lot of energy, willpower to keep going- both as an activist and an artist. I think that's something I never even really considered before, the artistic side. I don't know, I never saw myself as an artist, never saw my work like that. And I think that this allowed me to start creating something that's more mine, to put my emotions into images. And there I realised, as I was showing my work to those people, that it is something interesting and that it has potential"[2]. Hence, some defenders felt recognition and respect for their human rights work from entities or people they connected with, which gave them a new sense of empowerment in their work.

Finally, and on a more practical side, two participants saw professional outreach activities as a crucial aspect of their relocation because it provided opportunities for material conditions such as funding for their organization. One human rights defender stated: "I was able to meet various partners and donors that would possibly support our work in [country of operation]. And we have such an established, very good working relationship with those possible funders and donors and some of them are actually even funding my organisation currently. So, visibility was created but also the partnerships that we were seeking went actually also great"[3]. Whereas only two interviewed defenders were able to receive funding or other material resources from the professional outreach activities, both explained that it had an important impact for them because it provided them and their organisations with important resources to conduct their human rights work in a safe and efficient manner.

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[1] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)
[2] Retrieved from Interview 7 (23/03/2022); Freely translated from Spanish
[3] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)

5.2.1.1.2. Capabilities and Context

Although many interviewed human rights defenders pointed out benefits from professional outreach activities, not all of them mentioned the same type of benefits. This is likely because countless individual and social factors affected which capabilities outreach activities could provide, and personal choices of each defender concerning whether and how they chose to implement them. One contextual factor of considerable relevance, particularly concerning personal security, is the source and severity of threats that human rights defenders face. The study findings of this section are likely influenced by the fact that I was only contacted by defenders who can publicly talk about their work. However, many human rights defenders operate anonymously or keep their work low key because they would face higher risks if they were to publicly talk about their work. It is therefore important to keep in mind that not all human rights defenders benefit from increased exposure. Further, some defenders did not receive as many opportunities, or capabilities, as others from conducting outreach activities. One participant revealed that "One of the things I didn't like or that made me feel bad when I was there is that I sometimes felt like a circus animal, like someone going from one interview to the next and to the next explaining how terrible it is in [country of operation], but in the end, there was no follow-up or no interest that goes further than that. It was like, tell me your story, how impactful, how terrible, and then they look away and continue with their life, right? So that was a bit exhausting to ask myself well, what is the impact of what I'm saying? Because I felt like I'm just going and talking, and nothing is happening"[4]. For these defenders, engaging in outreach activities felt rather draining or even useless. Hence, professional outreach activities by themselves were not necessarily useful to all defenders. Instead, the defenders only reported positively about them if felt that they gained some type of benefits from conducting these activities such as acknowledgement and recognition, establishing a broader network, or receiving funds or protection.

A more general factor and quite straightforward influence was whether and why defenders engaged professional outreach activities in the first place. Firstly, not all defenders were able to engage in outreach activities to the same extent. In some cases, this was due to factors related to the relocation context, such as a lack of relevant entities to connect with in the country of relocation. A practitioner from a temporary relocation program stated: "In terms of advocacy it's complicated because [city of relocation] is not a city for advocacy activities"[5].

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[4] Retrieved from Interview 14 (22/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish.
[5] Retrieved from Interview 6 (16/03/2022); freely translated from Spanish

Further, the ability to engage in outreach activities was reduced for some defenders because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Secondly, a personal conversion factor which affected the extent to which the activities were considered beneficial is that some defenders were simply less interested in conducting them in the first place. For them, feeling internal or external pressure to engage in outreach was perceived as rather tiring. One participant claimed: "[…] when I arrived [at the relocation program] I already had a schedule whilst being in a somewhat difficult emotional state, and sort of felt obligated to comply with the things and rules they imposed. However because of my lack of experience I didn't understand that I could do whatever I want. Well, I also had the idea that I needed to have a political agenda, to ensure I wasn't just wasting my time, right? I think that among human rights defenders there's almost always the idea that when you get away from your work, you're losing time and disregarding what's happening by just going on walks and stuff. This kind of follows us everywhere"[6]. The interviews revealed that some defenders feel pressure to engage in professional human rights work activities. On the one hand, they are affected by internal pressure, which also relates back to the values of self-sacrifice which are frequently held in human rights circles, because of which defenders often prioritize their human rights work over their personal wellbeing (Nah, 2017). On the other hand, some defenders feel external pressure exerted by practitioners of the programs to participate in certain activities.

5.2.1.1.3. Overall Effects and Conclusions

Professional outreach activities were one of the most mentioned aspect of relocation that left impacts on wellbeing beyond the relocation period. However, not all participants experienced impacts, and not all experienced the same impacts. Even though there are likely several external factors influencing this effectiveness to be explored in future studies, the current thesis outlines the importance of the type and level of threats defenders face, and the capacity and willingness of defenders to engage in these activities.

5.2.1.2. Contact with Other Human Rights Defenders

Next to professional outreach activities, a further important activity was connecting to other human rights defenders during the relocation. All included temporary relocation

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[6] Retrieved from Interview 10 (01/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish.

programs offer opportunities for relocated human rights defenders to be in touch with each other. Further, some human rights defenders also contacted other defenders outside of the program. Seven of the interviewed defenders mentioned positive impacts on their wellbeing beyond the relocation resulting from this aspect. As with the previous section, I will first outline the effects that these connections had on wellbeing dimensions and then discuss external influences impacting these effects.

5.2.1.2.1. Effects on Wellbeing

Contact with other human rights defenders left important impacts on two types of dimensions. On the one hand, it affected the more emotional dimensions of "social connections" and "empowerment and confidence", and on the other hand the rather practical dimensions "education and skills" and "personal security".

Concerning impacts on "social connections" and "empowerment and confidence", almost all human rights defenders interviewed pointed out that talking with other defenders during the relocation gave them a new sense of confidence and importance in their activism. One participant explained that "We were able to share our various experiences [with other defenders] and, you know, just to be able to learn from each other. But also just the thought that you are not the only person that is doing this, that there are other people who are actually working together from various parts of the world to ensure that human rights are met and respected from all over the world. So just the thought of you contributing to a whole bigger agenda of creating safe spaces and attainment of human rights for all is also as fulfilling in itself"[7]. Many other participants shared the idea that contact with other human rights defenders made them feel as part of a bigger agenda, thus giving them a new sense of purpose. In addition, some participants highlighted the ways in which the contact helped them to cope with difficult emotions and trauma related to their work. One participant mentioned: "Even talking about terrible things, we found something funny about them always. So that was something positive I think, a lot of learning. That stress, that fear, those questions, the emotions that had been there started to be released bit by bit through meeting these activists, right?"[8]. Almost all participants who were able to have frequent contact with other activists highlighted this point. Talking about the difficult aspects of conducting human rights work with others who experience comparable

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[7] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)
[8] Retrieved from Interview 7 (23/03/2022); freely translated from Spanish

struggles seemingly creates a sense of community and support, thus affecting wellbeing both in terms of social connections, and in terms of empowerment and confidence.

Turning to more practical dimensions, many participants explained that they found it enriching to be able to learn from other human rights defenders. Learning typically concerned either (or both) the management of risk situations, and human rights work strategies. Concerning learning about risk situations, both the "education and skills" and "personal security" dimensions were affected. One defender claimed that "So just learning from how other defenders navigate violations and also ensure that they are creating, you know, safe spaces, they are continuing their human rights work- I think that heightened my experience but also it built my capacity. I was able to learn from the various experiences from people that are navigating human rights violations in different countries"[9]. This point was mentioned in an important number of interviews, thus showing that human rights defenders were frequently able to learn from each other's risk situations which in turn prepared them better for future risks they may face. Regarding mutual learning about new ways to conduct activism, one participant explained: "I realised that there are many ideas to do something against the government. It is not just going out on the street; there are a lot of minor things that we can do to piss the government off. And I realised that in other countries, people do that. There are a lot of different ideas like, if you cannot protest physically, you can protest through Telegram, you can protest through internet campaigns- it is not always having a hashtag and making sure the hashtag trends. Maybe you can hijack the government's hashtag, you can come up with a photo and people post the photo with the government's hashtag to raise awareness on the human rights violations that the government is doing in the country. So, I realised that we can do this"[10]. Two other defenders claimed that aside from learning about ways to handle various security threats, they were able to learn about new ways to conduct their human rights work from other defenders. Mutual sharing about practical aspects of human rights work conduction thus led to two different areas of learning, namely strategies to counter risks and repression mechanisms, and strategies for effective activism. As such, both the wellbeing dimensions of "education and skills" and of "personal security" were affected.

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[9] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)
[10] Retrieved from Interview 4 (06/03/2022)

5.2.1.2.2. Capabilities and Context

Even though each participant benefitted from contact with other human rights defenders in different ways based on how they chose to engage with each other, almost everyone mentioned some effect of these interactions on their wellbeing beyond the relocation. Perhaps surprisingly, I only found very few conversion factors that affect the extent to which human rights defenders benefitted from contact with each other. The two factors that had an impact were the extent to which temporary relocation platforms facilitated contact on the one hand, and similarities among jointly relocated defenders on the other hand.

Concerning the former, results showed that the more contact was established between defenders, the more benefits they experienced from it. This was particularly highlighted in one interview wherein a defender encouraged temporary relocation programs to increase contact between participants. The person explained: "I thought it would've been an awesome experience to have a more collective dynamic of creating, of reflecting, even of living together. Because through living together, people create really cool things"[11]. Most temporary relocation programs examined in the study host several human rights defenders simultaneously, which facilitates contact among participants. However, the programs differ in the amount of contact they facilitate. Some programs host all participants in one facility, thus creating co-living situations under which they have almost daily contact with each other. Other programs host participants in different facilities and consequently provide less opportunities for contact.

Regarding similarities between defenders, those who were relocated with defenders they had more in common with typically benefitted more from the contact. Important similarities mentioned were the types and severity of risks faced, the area of activism, and personal characteristics such as age, gender, and country of operation.

5.2.1.2.3. Overall Effects and Conclusions

Concluding, connecting with other human rights defenders left impacts on wellbeing beyond the relocation context by affecting both emotional and practical wellbeing dimensions. More specifically, these interactions often contributed to finding a new sense of inspiration and purpose in one's human rights work and enabled participants to engage in mutual learning. Further, the patterns indicate that generally, human rights defenders benefitted more from contact with defenders that they shared aspects in common with. The extent to which defenders

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[11] Retrieved from Interview 7 (23/03/2022); freely translated from Spanish

were able to interact with each other mainly depended on the ways in which temporary relocation programs facilitated such contact.

5.2.1.3. Professional Psychosocial Support

All human rights defenders who kindly agreed to participate in the current study received some type of psychosocial support offered by temporary relocation programs, provided either by a psychologist or a coach. Generally, participants talked very positively about the psychosocial support they received; Seven out of the nine defenders mentioned that they enjoyed the support, out of which five highlighted effects on their wellbeing lasting beyond the relocation period. One human rights defender did not enjoy the support. As with previous sections, the current sub-section first outlines how psychosocial support affected wellbeing, and then explores the impact of external factors.

5.2.1.3.1. Effects on Wellbeing

Psychosocial support mainly addressed the wellbeing dimension of "subjective wellbeing", which is concerned with feelings and emotions, and "empowerment and confidence". The most frequently mentioned benefit of psychosocial support was the way in which it helped participants to deal with past trauma and difficult emotions. One defender explained that "[…] for the first time in 5 years I started releasing things that had been there, kind of trapped. It was very relieving, I started feeling really good after such a long time, but I also started to accept that emotions can't always be positive, right, like feeling sad is not something bad. And that's something I had avoided for a long time"[12]. The finding was further underlined by another human rights defender, who claimed: "I think really this [psychological support] was the most important- the most valid and valuable aspect of my stay in [country of relocation]. They offered 12 sessions of therapy with a psychologist who had experience in helping people who suffered some form of pressure or psychological abuse. And you know, she knew from the first session just what sort of questions to ask, and how to make me aware of ways I didn't know that I could help myself in the situation I was in"[13]. Several research participants shared similar experiences, which indicates that psychosocial support frequently

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[12] Retrieved from Interview 7 (23/03/2022); freely translated from Spanish
[13] Retrieved from Interview 12 (11/04/2022)

helped to confront and release patterns and emotions related to past traumatic or difficult experiences, thus leaving important impacts on "subjective wellbeing".

Furthermore, psychosocial support provided defenders with wellbeing practices that could be implemented after the relocation period. In one interview, it was claimed that "[…] the therapist was really good and also left me with various care practices for myself that I continue to use and utilise today, yeah? I feel that it was really good at a personal level. It improved my mental health greatly, my confidence greatly, too. And it was just… it felt like a space for healing. I needed that to heal from some things, to re-energise and, you know, come back and continue the fight"[14]. Thus, psychosocial support was not only considered useful during the time in which it was provided, but also provided some defenders with thoughts, reflections or practices that could support them beyond the relocation period. Further and as shown in the quote, psychosocial support impacted subjective wellbeing, but also "empowerment and confidence" by improving the confidence of defenders.

Concluding from the above, psychosocial support affected wellbeing beyond the relocation context in one of two ways. On the one hand, it helped some human rights defenders to confront and work through past experiences. On the other hand, the support provided some defenders with tools to deal with future challenges. As such, it left important impacts on many human rights defenders' "subjective wellbeing" and "empowerment and confidence" beyond the relocation context, even if the psychosocial support sessions themselves were discontinued after the relocation period.

5.2.1.3.2. Capabilities and Context

Some conversion factors that may have intuitively seemed relevant to the effectiveness of psychosocial support were gender, age, and the nature of the psychosocial support (for instance coaching versus therapy). Whereas neither of these factors were found to be relevant in the present sample specifically, some defenders only briefly mentioned receiving psychosocial support without talking about the topic more in depth. Whether this was because they did not want to openly talk about the support or because they did not find it relevant to their wellbeing is unclear. Nevertheless, a very important factor was the extent to which defenders felt understood and supported by the person providing psychosocial support. According to one defender, this particularly relates to the training (or lack thereof) that

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[14] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)

psychologists receive to provide support to people in particular contexts and situations. The defender explained that "[…] I feel hurt, and I feel distressed, because of everything that happened to me, and then I go on relocation and get psychosocial support that is not sufficiently prepared to understand the situation in which the human rights defenders are arriving"[15]. The same person further added that "[…] it is necessary to have some understanding of what is going on, what a person experiences, and not from the perspective of the human rights movements of the country that is receiving that defender"[16]. Even though this finding draws on only one interview, it remains relevant to highlight that one person did not feel that their needs were accommodated within the psychosocial support they received. This in turn indicates that people providing psychosocial support in the framework of temporary relocation programs may not always have sufficient training or capacity to support the different types of human rights defenders hosted.

5.2.1.3.3. Overall Effects and Conclusions

Psychosocial support was one of the most important albeit controversial activities mentioned throughout interviews with human rights defenders. Some people talked positively about this experience but did not address it in depth. Others reported very positively on the activity and felt understood and supported by their psychologist or coach; these same defenders were able to revisit past experiences in a safe environment on the one hand, and/or to learn about mechanisms to cope with future experiences on the other. However, psychosocial support was perceived as unhelpful or even harmful by those who did not feel understood or supported.

5.2.1.4. Activity Patterns: Conclusions

In conclusion of the activities which benefitted most defenders beyond their relocation, the patterns in the data collected indicates that professional outreach, contact with other human rights defenders, and psychosocial support benefitted most defenders, albeit in different manners. The extent to which defenders were able to engage in these activities, and the different ways in which they were beneficial was influenced by different conversion factors. Generally, wellbeing dimensions which were affected by the activities were personal security, social network, confidence and empowerment, skills and knowledge, financial and material

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[15] Retrieved from Interview 10 (01/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish
[16] Retrieved from Interview 10 (01/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish

resources, and subjective wellbeing. This is not to say that these three activities did not affect other wellbeing dimensions as well, or that each activity affected various dimensions, or even just one, in all cases; rather, the section presented more general patterns found in the data. Ultimately, whether and how human rights defenders can benefit from a certain activity is heavily influenced by their own personal situation and context, and the broader social and environmental context of both the country of relocation and the country in which they operate after the relocation.

5.2.2. Case-Specific Activities

The previous section has focused on activities which benefitted most human rights defenders, even though the type and extent of benefits varied based on several conversion factors.

Having outlined patterns of activities that benefitted most human rights defenders beyond their relocation in the previous section, the current section addresses activities that were only beneficial in specific cases, or that were only offered to certain defenders based on their particular situation. The sub-section thus presents the effects of training and courses (section 5.2.2.1), and safety measures and medical support (section 5.2.2.2).

5.2.2.1. Training and Courses

Even though all temporary relocation programs offer opportunities for participants to engage in different trainings and courses, they differed in terms of the focus of these activities. Most programs are not centred around training and courses but determine with each participant whether any training or course could be useful for them. One notable exception is the CAHR, whose program centres academic activities. Part of relocating with the CAHR is to enrol in university courses, to elaborate a research project throughout the stay and to present it at the end of the relocation. A further difference between programs was whether they offered certain training themselves or provided funding for defenders to engage in external training. Typically, the programs discuss with each defender prior to and/or during the relocation which type of training could be useful on a case-by-case basis.

Regarding training related to safety, including digital and physical security training, the extent to which training was considered useful beyond relocation depended on the extent to which they were tailored to the specific needs of defenders. Most participants who took little to no security training explained that they would not have wished for more training, because

their security situation would not have benefitted from it. For those who did choose to engage in security training, most reported that they learned to better understand, contextualize and/or address risks they face. One participant claimed that "[…] when you participate in these kind of training programs, you are supposed to explain the situations and to evaluate on the risks. And of course, the tools that you receive are very useful in your way of defining the security and the risks that you have"[17]. A further participant could practically apply skills learned during the training sessions upon return to their country of operation in two acute risk situations[18]. Hence, the results show that safety training could be beneficial for human rights defender if it was tailored to their safety needs and if their safety situation generally could benefit from such training.

Concerning capacity development, including university courses, language courses and other activities aimed at improving capacities, most defenders pointed out very positive effects on their wellbeing beyond the relocation context. However, the five human rights defenders who mentioned this aspect all participated in different types of courses. It is consequently concluded that capacity development activities, both for personal and professional development, are generally useful if they are aligned with each person's own interest, needs, and context.

5.2.2.2. Safety Measures and Medical Support

The provision of safety measures was relevant only in specific cases where such support was needed and provided. For instance, during the relocation one defender was supported in the process of applying for funding for safer housing in their country of operation. Similarly, and quite straightforwardly, medical support was very beneficial for those who needed and received it. Two human rights defenders sought medical support during their relocation and greatly benefitted from it. Nevertheless, these activities were extremely case-specific and do not result in generalisable conclusions aside from the notion that some human rights defenders significantly benefitted from some capabilities that would not have served others.

5.2.3. Supporting Activities

Up to this point, the chapter has addressed activities which, either frequently or only in specific cases, left lasting impacts on wellbeing beyond the relocation period. One further type

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[17] Retrieved from Interview 1 (23/02/2022)
[18] Retrieved from Interview 14 (22/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish

of activity is worth discussing, namely those who contributed to the effects of other activities. This most importantly concerns leisure activities, and rest and respite. Both these types of activities were partially offered by temporary relocation programs themselves. For instance, some programs offered provision of sporting and musical equipment, yoga and meditation sessions, city or nature trips, and so forth. Nevertheless, defenders also engaged in these activities outside of the formal program structures, meaning that the ways in which these activities are implemented, and their subsequent effect, was influenced by the relocation program but also the broader relocation context and the defenders' own choices. The remaining part of the chapter is dedicated to exploring the effects of these two types of activities.

5.2.3.1. Leisure Activities

Whereas only few human rights defenders mentioned capabilities that served them beyond the relocation context gained from leisure activities such as hobbies, sports, and cultural activities, almost all interviewed defenders enjoyed these activities. One defender explained that "[…] having these things [new hobbies] and giving myself the time to do these things, not thinking about work all the time was extremely beneficial"[19]. Many explained that engaging in hobbies contributed to them taking increased care of their own wellbeing and improving their work-life balance after the relocation. One defender explained that "Something they told me is that human rights can't be the 24/7 of your life, right? You can't be a human rights defender 24/7 all year. I can also focus on other things that distract me and help me, to balance myself and to be effective in my work, but also to see myself as a person that's not only an activist but that also has other sides, right? And now I feel more relaxed on my working days because I also take my days off to enjoy what I like, music and stuff"[20]. Thus, although the leisure activities engaged with during relocation may not necessarily have been available to defenders in the post-relocation period, they still contributed to defenders taking improved care of their own wellbeing after the relocation. In addition, three human rights defenders pointed out that the leisure activities provided them with new energy and motivation to engage in other activities during the relocation, many of which subsequently affected their wellbeing beyond the relocation. As such, leisure activities seem to have contributed to defenders increasingly considering their own wellbeing after relocation on the one hand and acted as a "supporting

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[19] Retrieved from Interview 1 (23/02/2022)
[20] Retrieved from Interview 14 (22/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish

role" for other activities to affect wellbeing beyond relocation on the other hand, because they provided the motivation needed to engage in these activities in the first place.

5.2.3.2. Rest and Respite

The final part of the chapter presents the role of rest and respite on wellbeing benefits beyond the relocation context. These activities left the most complicated impacts to grasp because even though they did not seem to provide capabilities useful in the post-relocation context by themselves, they did provide a space of relaxation and reflection that was described as one of the single most important aspects of relocation in every interview conducted with human rights defenders. Data analyses revealed that being able to rest and reflect played an important role in enabling other activities to bring wellbeing benefits beyond the relocation. One defender described: "Being in that situation [of constant risk] limits your ability to think clearly. So really what I needed was some time alone to think clearly"[21]. Many defenders explained that they only engaged in more professional activities such as outreach or training after having taken some time to rest. This space of resting thus seems to have provided many defenders with enough energy *during* the relocation to engage in activities that could benefit them *after* the relocation. Further, many participants found that the time for reflection helped them to think about everything else they had learned during the relocation. A defender explained that "[…] they provided me with the time to be a bit away from the front line. And that allowed me also to think about other things I could do in addition to my work in order to have other things in my life, which was probably the first recommendation that came out of these therapy sessions"[22]. Thus, rest and respite provided defenders with the physical and mental space to order their thoughts and process everything they are learning in the first place, which in turn contributes to the benefits of other activities.

5.2.3.3. Overall Effects and Conclusions on Supporting Activities

To conclude from the previous sections, leisure activities and resting meaningfully contribute to sustained wellbeing after the relocation period. The results have shown that the experience of taking a break from human rights work and any dangers accompanying activism provides defenders with the space to reflect on their lives and human rights work, but also with

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[21] Retrieved from Interview 12 (11/04/2022)
[22] Retrieved from Interview 12 (11/04/2022)

a space to breathe, enjoy their time, and centre their own wellbeing. Many defenders struggle to draw a line between their activism and personal life (Nah, 2021), and being in a different environment may make it easier to distinguish between the two. Thus, even though temporary relocation programs meaningfully improve wellbeing beyond the relocation period through activities supporting human rights work conduction, such as professional outreach activities, the overwhelmingly positive effects of the "supporting activities" reiterate the relevance of being able to rest during temporary relocation as well.

6. THE ROLE OF CONTEXT

As shown in the previous chapter, each human rights defender's social, environmental, and personal context considerably influence whether and how certain activities impact their wellbeing beyond the relocation period. To this moment, the results presented the effects of activities that are either fully or partially planned and implemented by temporary relocation programs and respective contextual influences in a bottom-up fashion. The current chapter shifts the focus on the more general effects of temporary relocation, and conversion factors impacting the overall extent to which human rights defenders experienced wellbeing benefits beyond the relocation period. As such, the chapter first outlines the ways in which the temporary relocation programs included in the study consider the wellbeing of the defenders they host beyond the relocation. Next, the chapter explores the overall effects of temporary relocation on the wellbeing of human rights defenders who relocate. The final part of the chapter evaluates how effective temporary relocation programs are on wellbeing to the human rights defenders' population as a whole.

6.1. How Temporary Relocation Programs address Wellbeing Beyond Relocation

To this point, most of the results have relied on the interviewed human rights defenders' opinions on their relocation. However, a further important aspect to consider is how temporary relocation programs consider and address wellbeing beyond the relocation period in the first place. In this regard, the programs included employed different practices in three aspects. Firstly, the programs differed in the extent to which they adapted to the specific requests of defenders. Given that the previous chapter has highlighted the significant impact of personal and social conversion factors on the extent to which activities could benefit individual defenders beyond the relocation period, assessing how the programs adapt to the case-specific needs of the defenders they host merits particular attention. Secondly, the programs set in place distinct formal and informal practices for remaining in touch with defenders after the relocation. Finally, the programs vastly differ in terms of how they formally evaluate their impacts on wellbeing beyond relocation.

Concerning the ways in which temporary relocation programs address individual needs, all five interviewed practitioners outlined that their programs are kept as flexible as possible to accommodate individual expectations and requirements. Most programs conducted an either

formal or informal interview with defenders prior to their relocation to assess what different activities the defender would be interested in, and whether additional factors such as medical requirements, family members joining, and so forth need to be considered. During the relocation, all programs regularly check in with the defenders to see how the relocation is going, how they are enjoying the activities, whether there are any issues, and if any aspect of the relocation should be adapted; in some cases, programs conducted formal interviews for this purpose halfway through the relocation. Thus, all five programs aim to accommodate individual requests as much as possible. Furthermore, some programs elaborate a "plan for safe return" with the defenders at the end of their relocation in which they assess the security situation and overall context of return to evaluate whether and how defenders should return to their country of operation.

Regarding staying in touch, all temporary relocation programs in the study offer the option for informal contact after a relocation. In many cases, temporary relocation staff stays in touch with human rights defenders amicably. All interviewed practitioners explained that defenders who have relocated with them can contact the staff for concerns, advice, or even further support, particularly about new risk situations or other struggles related to human rights work. Three programs have further structures in place to remain in contact with previously relocated defenders. The CAHR keeps an e-mail chain that includes all previous participants. Shelter City the Hague formed an alumni committee that all previous participants can, but do not have to, join. Finally, Shelter City Costa Rica established a Signal group for all previously relocated participants who wish to join. In all three cases, these structures are employed to share resources, potentially interesting projects, and other information with previous participants.

Finally, the temporary relocation programs examined in the study also differ with regard to the ways in which they evaluate their effectiveness on wellbeing beyond the relocation period. Most included programs evaluate the effectiveness at the end of the relocation period, typically by conducting an "exit interview". Whereas most programs conduct these evaluations themselves, Shelter City Costa Rica has more recently hired an external person to conduct the evaluations to reduce possible biases. Nevertheless, only few programs evaluate their effectiveness beyond the relocation period; only two programs conduct evaluations after participants have left the program. The ECPMF evaluates the effectiveness of its program by sending questionnaires to participants a few months after they have left the program. Further, the CAHR conducts informal interviews with previous participants 12 to 18 months after they leave the program.

6.2. Overall Effects of Relocation

Shifting away from the impact of specific activities, the present section addresses the opinions of the interviewed defenders on how the relocation overall has affected their wellbeing, and whether these impacts were sustained beyond their relocation. Thus, the section first addresses the overall impressions of the defenders before turning to important factors that affected the extent to which they could enjoy these benefits.

6.2.1. Impressions of Relocation

The section starts by presenting why the interviewed defenders relocated in the first place. This aspect needs to be considered because it provides an insight into what exactly they were hoping to achieve by temporarily relocating, and whether these aims were met. The most frequently mentioned reason was because defenders wanted or needed a break from their risky work environment; eight out of the nine interviewed defenders mentioned this aspect. In addition, two human rights defenders relocated to flee from an acute risk situation that needed to be waited out from afar. As such, their main aim for relocation was to physically remove themselves from a dangerous situation. Thus, the most important wellbeing dimension that defenders hoped would be impacted by temporarily relocating was "personal security". Indeed, all nine defenders claimed that their main aim for relocation was met. All defenders felt that the temporary relocation enabled them to take a proper break from their risky work environment and to recover. The two defenders who waited out an acute risk from afar returned to their country of operation once the acute risk was no longer present. Whereas this does not mean that they are no longer exposed to threats or risks because of their human rights work, the temporary relocation protected them from a specific and acute danger. It is rather complicated to evaluate whether these improvements can be considered as impacts on wellbeing beyond the relocation period, as neither of the main reasons for relocating concretely relates to sustained wellbeing beyond relocation, but to rather temporary capabilities related to resting or avoiding a certain danger. This is an important finding to consider because it proposes that defenders may not temporarily relocate with the aim to gain capabilities specifically serving them beyond relocation. Further research is needed to assess the extent to which human rights defenders expect or wish for programs to address their wellbeing beyond relocation, and how this aspect is prioritized or traded off between other aspects such as taking time to rest.

Concerning the interviewed defenders' general impressions and feelings about the relocation, most found the experience of relocating to be very positive overall. All nine human

rights defenders claimed they would recommend to other human rights defenders to relocate, albeit for different reasons including medical care, improved mental health, finding inspiration, taking some time away from the front line to rest and breathe, professional networking, and meeting new people. The most frequently mentioned aspect appreciated about relocating was the ability to be away from the frontline and to rest. One participant stated that "[…] overall, the experience I had with [the relocation program] was beautiful, really. For one because I learned that it's good to get away from the context you live in for a bit in order to rest, to get new ideas, to form new ideals- I think it was a big, big help to be in [the relocation program][23]". Five other interviewed human rights defenders shared similar thoughts, which re-emphasizes the significant role of rest and respite during relocation on the one hand and resting as one of the most important priorities for many defenders on the other hand. However, several human rights defenders also described the relocation time as challenging because it confronted them with mixed or difficult emotions. Four interviewed defenders felt guilty for temporarily leaving, whilst others in their country of operation continue to face the same stress or risks. One interviewed practitioner explained that "[…] a lot of people feel guilt, particularly if they come from a very difficult situation. And so they come out and they say that their colleagues, and family maybe, are still out there and really at risk. So they feel guilty, like why should I be feeling well if everybody else is not feeling well? And I think that's a problem as well"[24]. This point reflects the results of previous studies, which reveal that human rights defenders tend to prioritize their human rights cause and the wellbeing of the victims of human rights violations they support over their own wellbeing (Nah, 2017), and as such may even re-emphasize the importance of resting whilst on temporary relocation. All defenders who highlighted feeling guilty also felt that they had urgently needed to take a break and appreciated having had the time to reflect and breathe, reconsider their situation, and focus on their own wellbeing.

It is concluded that although rest and respite may not necessarily provide capabilities serving defenders beyond the relocation context, it does provide a space for reflection within which human rights defenders can reconsider their priorities and take a break from their stressful and risky work environment. Further, these activities provide them with the energy and motivation to engage in activities which provide capabilities serving beyond the relocation context.

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[23] Retrieved from Interview 8 (23/03/2022); Freely translated from Spanish
[24] Retrieved from Interview 2 (04/03/2022)

6.2.2. Influential Factors

Similar to the ways in which conversion factors influenced whether and how activities affected the wellbeing of defenders beyond the relocation, conversion factors also affected the extent to which relocation as a whole was beneficial for them. Perhaps surprisingly, rather few such influences were found to be of relevance in the present study. Some conversion factors that I investigated but found no important effects of were age, gender, country of operation, country of relocation, and the amount of time that passed since the relocation. Nevertheless, many of these factors are likely to have an impact which was simply not found in the present study due to its rather small sample size. Nevertheless, data analyses revealed two conversion factors of considerable relevance, namely the length of the temporary relocation and the level of risk that defenders faced during the pre-relocation period.

Concerning the ideal length of a temporary relocation, opinions among defenders were very mixed. Four defenders explained that they would have wished for a longer relocation period to have more time to rest and breathe before re-focusing on their work and engage in other activities. However, two defenders appreciated shorter relocation periods. One person claimed that "[…] one thing also that I really liked about that kind of short-term relocation is the fact that you know, you're not fleeing. One of the things that I believe in as myself is that I will not change. I will ensure that change happens. I will not turn away from my situation because of violations or something. But all defenders need time to reboot, so that we can always continue living from a full cup. And not an empty or half cup. So I feel that my cup was filled by the relocation program so that I can come back and continue doing what I do"[25]. Hence, defenders seemed to wish for different temporary relocation lengths depending on their personal situation, which re-emphasizes the importance for temporary relocation practitioners to adapt the programs to individual requirements. Further research is needed to explore based on which factors defenders benefit from shorter or longer relocation periods.

In addition, a factor that was repeatedly mentioned as crucial to the extent to which relocation overall could or could not affect wellbeing beyond the relocation context was the level and intensity of risks that defenders face in their country of operation. Two of the interviewed practitioners and three human rights defenders highlighted the role of this conversion factor. Data analyses have shown that temporary relocation is perceived quite differently by defenders who face very intense, constant, and/or life-threatening risks, and especially by those who plan to return to their country of operation after the temporary

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[25] Retrieved from Interview 13 (20/04/2022)

relocation. One defender repeatedly highlighted that temporary relocation programs may not always have the structures in place to accommodate the needs of defenders at high risk. According to this person, "[…] this program wasn't planned for defenders who are at high risk, but rather for people at medium, perhaps low risk, and where they're protected temporarily, to breathe another air. I think that the situation in which I was, was of quite a higher risk level than what they thought, and maybe of what I wanted to accept myself"[26]. This point was further elaborated by two practitioners of temporary relocation programs, one of which explained that defenders experiencing very high risks often arrive at the program in a type of panic mode. Although they typically start feeling better over the course of the temporary relocation because they are not exposed to these risks and have time and space to rest, they often re-experience fear or anxiety shortly before returning to their country of operation, in some cases very intensely so, which is complex for programs to address. Indeed, this was experienced by two of the interviewed human rights defenders who, despite talking positively about the experience of relocating overall, emphasized the difficulties and anxieties they experienced shortly before the end of their relocation and imminent return to their country of operation. Although in both cases the defenders were convinced that they wanted and needed to return, the experience of being safe and able to rest over an extended period during relocation made returning very difficult emotionally, not only shortly before returning but also after being back. One defender explained: "[…] many times per week I dream that I'm in [country of relocation], walking around. And sometimes it's really sad because I'm there in my dreams, and in the dream I say, this is a dream! And they reply 'no, this is reality'. And then I wake up and I realise yeah, that was just a dream. And realising that is very difficult sometimes"[27]. It seems that although defenders facing very high risk who plan to return to their country of operation enjoyed relocating, their personal circumstances and resulting protection needs are quite different and more complex to address through a temporary relocation than those of defenders facing lower risk levels.

6.3. Effectiveness of Temporary Relocation Programs on Wellbeing

To this moment, the results exclusively concerned the effects temporary relocation on the wellbeing of human rights defenders who participated in temporary relocation programs

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[26] Retrieved from Interview 10 (01/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish
[27] Retrieved from Interview 14 (22/04/2022); freely translated from Spanish

and, as such, presented patterns within the scope of what temporary relocation programs can provide. Nevertheless, these programs should also be examined within the broader framework of protection measures for human rights defenders, and their contribution to the human rights defenders' population as a whole.

Results of the present thesis are based on the perspectives of human rights defenders who have been accepted to a temporary relocation program. However, it should be noted that only a very small proportion of human rights defenders at risk get to temporarily relocate with a program (Bartley, Jones & Nah, 2019b). Further, whereas the results to this moment have shown that temporary relocation programs can provide capabilities that can help defenders to cope with difficulties related to human rights work, an important point to consider is that the programs cannot inherently address these difficulties. This point was elaborated by one interviewed defender, who highlighted an important notion specifically concerning governments funding or implementing temporary relocation programs. The defender explained that government's commitment to protect human rights defenders should not distract from their responsibilities to address (and in some cases their contribution to) broader structures of human rights violations. In this person's words, "[…] so then it's very cheap to defend one, or 30 defenders and to not take accountability in the state's own contribution to the human rights violations. It's crucial that this comes out. It's important that we look at the human rights situation together, and this starts at home- it might be a bit more expensive but if things get better, maybe there's less defenders that need to flee for three months, for six months or forever to Europe if the conditions here were liveable"[28]. Therefore, and despite all positive effects that temporary relocation programs may bring, support to human rights defenders through this type of protection measure needs to be understood as only a very small fraction of the support needed for defenders to safely conduct their human rights work. Briefly put, whereas temporary relocation programs may effectively address some parts of the wellbeing of the human rights defenders they have hosted, they do not inherently address the complex environment that defenders navigate, and further only address the wellbeing of a very small proportion of the entire human rights defender population.

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[28] Retrieved from Interview 10; freely translated from Spanish

7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analyses presented in the previous chapters, this final chapter concludes by answering the research questions (section 7.1). Next, I present resulting recommendations for temporary relocation program practitioners on how to address the wellbeing of defenders they relocate beyond the relocation period (section 7.2). Further, the chapter reflects on the theoretical and methodological frameworks employed for the purposes of the present study (sections 7.3 and 7.4, respectively). The fifth section of the chapter presents final remarks (section 7.5).

7.1. How do Temporary Relocation Programs affect the wellbeing of Human Rights Defenders beyond their relocation period?

The results presented in previous chapters addressed how temporary relocation programs affect the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context, based on analyses emerging from semi-structured interviews with nine human rights defenders, and partially drew on interviews conducted with practitioners from temporary relocation programs as well. Based on the results, the present section answers the research question and sub-questions. Each of the sub-sections address the respective research sub-questions.

7.1.1. What dimensions of the wellbeing of human rights defenders are affected by temporary relocation beyond the relocation context?

Data analyses have revealed that human rights defenders mentioned eight distinct dimensions of wellbeing that were impacted by temporary relocation beyond the relocation period itself. The eight dimensions are health status; work-life balance; personal security; social network; confidence and empowerment; skills and knowledge; financial and material resources; and subjective wellbeing. Even though each interviewed human rights defender mentioned distinct benefits to their wellbeing, two dimensions were particularly strongly affected, namely personal security and subjective wellbeing. This, in turn, has important implications because it indicates that temporary relocation may be particularly beneficial for defenders whose personal security is compromised or who feel unwell. In some cases, perceptions of personal safety were improved through the simple act of relocating, which enabled some defenders to wait out acute risk situations from a safe place. In addition, many

defenders reported feeling safer after, as opposed to prior to their relocation because of conducting professional outreach activities and being provided with security training and physical safety measures by temporary relocation programs. Given that previous research has consistently highlighted the significant impact of violence and repression resulting from conducting human rights work on the wellbeing of human rights defenders (e.g., Nah et al., 2013; Nah, 2021), this finding is of particular importance. This is not to say that defenders feel no concern for their safety after the relocation; however, it shows that some safety issues can be addressed or improved by relocating with a temporary relocation program. Nevertheless, this finding mainly concerns defenders experiencing low to medium risks in their country of operation. Data analyses revealed that temporary relocation programs were less successful in addressing perceptions of personal safety of defenders facing very high risks in their country of operation. This finding is further reflected upon in section 7.1.3.

Concerning subjective wellbeing, most interviews defenders said that being able to take a break from their risky work environment and to therefore be able to rest and reflect upon their situation was one of the most helpful aspects of temporarily relocating. We know from previous research that defenders often lack the time and energy to rest and take appropriate care of their own wellbeing (Nah, 2021), and it seems that physically being away from both their work environment and risks related thereto provided a space in which they could focus on taking care of themselves. Subjective wellbeing was further importantly impacted by the provision of psychosocial support, which was provided and strongly encouraged by all temporary relocation programs included in the study. Given the social stigma surrounding psychosocial support, which stops many defenders from seeking help from mental health professionals (Nah, 2017), this finding is somewhat positively surprising. Not all human rights defenders openly talked about the psychosocial support they received, but almost all at least briefly mentioned its positive effects. However, the fact that one defender felt inappropriately supported and misunderstood by the appointed psychologist highlights that those providing psychosocial support within temporary relocation programs may not always undergo the necessary training to address the needs of defenders. This is in line with previous findings indicating that some defenders feel misunderstood or alienated by those providing psychosocial support (Nah, 2021). This, in turn, constitutes an important issue and research gap to be addressed. We need to create a better understanding of the factors that constitute appropriate as opposed to ineffective or even harmful psychosocial support for human rights defenders. This may include practical matters such as training and education, but may also concern how to find good matches between particular defenders and psychosocial support providers. Further, we need to

explore the capacity of psychosocial support providers to offer support that benefits defenders beyond relocation despite a relatively brief time period in which support sessions can be provided.

Impacts on the other six wellbeing dimensions were less consistent as they were more strongly influenced by each defender's intersectional identity, personal and social conversion factors, and their resulting individual requirements and needs. More specifically, each defender faces distinct capabilities sets and conversion factors for each wellbeing dimension, and consequently experience more struggles within certain wellbeing dimension than within others. Thus, whereas human rights defenders share some common factors affecting their wellbeing because of the conduction of human rights work, their individual needs and requirements resulting from their own identity and the broader context in which they operate importantly affects which wellbeing dimensions they struggle with.

7.1.2. Which activities implemented by temporary relocation programs impact the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

Chapter five has outlined that temporary relocation programs can impact the wellbeing of relocated defenders beyond the relocation context through various activities, which are split into three categories.

The first category concerns activities that benefitted most defenders beyond the relocation context albeit in different manners, namely professional outreach, contact to other human rights defenders, and psychosocial support. Professional outreach activities enabled most defenders who were able to connect to relevant entities and to publicly talk about their work to improve their personal security, to feel more confident or empowered in their work, and/or to find new sources for improved financial and material conditions. However, and as previously mentioned, this finding is likely specific to the present sample because defenders who operate under the radar to avoid exposure to further risks may not benefit from these activities or may even be at higher risk after engaging in them.

Contact with other human rights defenders was found to provide many defenders with new inspiration, a space to reflect on and learn about their field of activism, and/or learn about new ways to cope with personal security threats they may face. As such, the contact addressed four wellbeing dimensions, namely "social connections", "empowerment and confidence", "education and skills" and "personal security". Finally, psychosocial support significantly impacted most human rights defenders' subjective wellbeing. Concluding, these three activities

provided capabilities useful beyond the relocation context to most defenders. Even though professional outreach and contact with other defenders left distinct impacts on defenders based on the defenders' personal circumstances, they were still useful for almost all defenders included in the study. This, in turn, suggests that most defenders participating in temporary relocation programs would be able to gain relevant capabilities serving them beyond the relocation context if offered these activities.

The second category of activities concerns those who brought relevant capabilities only in specific cases and are, as such, only useful if tailored to the needs of each defender. This notably includes the provision of medical care and physical safety equipment. For defenders who required and received these measures, these were considered as one of the most important factors influencing wellbeing beyond relocation, which reiterates the importance of considering individual needs during relocation.

The final type of activities, namely rest and respite on one hand and leisure activities on the other hand, provided defenders with a space to reflect, rest and enjoy their relocation. As such, these activities played an important role in enabling other activities to improve the defenders' wellbeing beyond the relocation. All included temporary relocation programs ensured that defenders have time for rest and leisure. Nevertheless, the findings show that some programs may, actively or unconsciously, exert pressure on defenders to participate in certain activities. This was problematic for defenders who wished for more time to rest, enjoy the relocation, and reflect before engaging in more social or professional activities. In other words, some defenders wished to further prioritize their momentary wellbeing before being concerned with wellbeing beyond relocation. It seems that defenders could only be concerned with activities addressing their future wellbeing if their present-time wellbeing requirements were met. This finding carries important implications because even though temporary relocation programs can and should impact wellbeing beyond relocation, any such impacts are strongly influenced by the ways in which wellbeing is addressed during relocation itself. This, in turn, highlights the importance to continue building on existing research projects such as the Barcelona Guidelines (Brown et al., 2019) which explore how to conceptualize and address the wellbeing of human rights defenders *during* relocation.

7.1.3. Which external factors impact the ways in which temporary relocation affect the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

Chapter six has outlined the influence of personal, social and environmental conversion factors on the ways in which temporary relocation programs affect human rights defenders' wellbeing beyond relocation. Particularly social relocation and post-relocation conversion factors and personal conversion factors were found to play an important role herein. This finding reiterates the importance to consider broader contextual factors in the effects of any protection measure on the wellbeing of human rights defenders. Given the small sample size which did not allow for meaningful comparisons between individual factors such as gender, area of human rights work, length of relocation and so forth, future studies may choose to address how these variables affect the ways in which temporary relocation differentially affects human rights defenders' wellbeing. One type of conversion factors that was found to be of considerable importance in the present study concerns the struggles that defenders at very high-risk face during and after the relocation period. Many defenders operating under high risks benefitted less from temporary relocation because even though it provided them with space for resting and addressing their momentary wellbeing, the risks they face in their country of operation were more complex or even impossible to address through temporary relocation. As a result, their wellbeing worsened as soon as they returned to their country of operation. This finding does not necessarily imply that defenders facing very high risks cannot enjoy or benefit from a temporary relocation; rather, operating under high risk seems to affect wellbeing in a way that is more complicated to address through temporary relocation. Thus, whereas temporary relocation may provide them with some relevant capabilities, these are likely experienced and employed very differently than by defenders facing lower risks. Further research is needed to examine whether, and how, the wellbeing needs of human rights defenders facing very high risks can be comprehensively addressed by temporary relocation programs beyond the relocation context.

7.1.4. How effective are temporary relocation programs in improving the wellbeing of human rights defenders beyond the relocation context?

Overall, all interviewed human rights defenders reported that their wellbeing benefitted from their temporary relocation. For some, the relocation overall was appreciated as a space to rest and re-energize and learn skills they felt were relevant to them. For others, temporarily relocating brought inherent perspective changes, transitions in their approach to human rights

work, and/or new resources to be used in the future. As such, the results suggest that in most cases, temporary relocation programs somehow affected wellbeing beyond the relocation context, although the ways and extent to which such effects occurred depended on several conversion factors, only few of which could be appropriately covered in the present thesis. Further research is needed to continue investigating how conversion factors and defenders' intersectional identities interact with the ways in which activities offered by temporary relocation programs affect wellbeing beyond the relocation context. When taking into consideration the broader context in which human rights defenders operate, assessing the overall effectiveness of temporary relocation programs becomes more complex. As outlined in the results section, only a very small percentage of the overall population of human rights defenders at risk can temporarily relocate. One reason for this is the issue of accessibility. Many human rights defenders may not identify as such and therefore do not know that they are eligible for this type of support measure, or may not be aware that these protection measures exist in the first place. Further, requirements commonly imposed by programs that are related to language and education exclude many defenders from applying or getting accepted into the programs (Bartley, Jones & Nah, 2019b). Finally, access to temporary relocation programs is not evenly distributed among human rights defenders as, for verification purposes, people connected to larger, more established or generally known organisations tend to be more frequently selected (ibid.). Additionally, chapter six has outlined that whereas temporary relocation programs can support human rights defenders in coping with various struggles, they typically cannot inherently address these struggles. Briefly put, one needs to keep in mind that temporary relocation programs are a protection rather than a prevention measure and that whereas their effects on the wellbeing of defenders may be very positive for those who get to relocate, they do very little for the wellbeing of the human rights defenders' population overall. I argue that on the one hand, their contribution to defenders' work by providing temporary shelter should be strongly recognized and furthered; several interviewed human rights defenders argued that there should be more opportunities for human rights defenders to temporarily relocate. On the other hand, we need to keep in mind that temporary relocation programs only provide a fraction of the support needed to ensure that defenders can safely conduct their human rights work.

7.2. Practical Recommendations

Drawing on the results and subsequent conclusions, the current section presents a list of recommendations for practitioners implementing temporary relocation programs. Rather than offering concrete recommendations, I aim to provide suggestions to be reflected upon. Thus, I kindly invite practitioners to explore and reflect on which recommendations may be useful to them on a case-by-case basis.

7.2.1. Activity Implementation Recommendations

Concerning activities, I have previously concluded that professional outreach activities, contact to other human rights defenders and psychosocial support benefitted most defender's wellbeing beyond relocation despite individual requirements, situations, and differences. A quite straightforwardly emerging recommendation is to offer these activities as much as possible within the scope of activities provided by a temporary relocation program.

Regarding professional outreach activities, I suggest for practitioners to assess the extent to which the program's professional network and organisations available in the country or city of relocation can be useful to the causes of the defenders they relocate. I further suggest for practitioners to discuss the usefulness of professional outreach activities with defenders prior to their arrival at the program. Given that many defenders need to keep their involvement in human rights work as secretively as possible, such discussions could help to determine whether outreach activities would be useful for a particular defender in the first place, and if so, would give practitioners the time to assess the extent to which they can meet the professional outreach expectations of the defender.

Turning to contact between human rights defender, its generally very positive impacts imply that programs should promote contact among human rights defenders wherever possible. A best practice implemented by some temporary relocation programs is to create co-living situations, where defenders are free to converse with each other daily. Since the findings showed that such contact was more beneficial for defenders who share certain commonalities, I suggest to particularly promote opportunities for contact among human rights defenders of similar gender, age, area of activism, region of origin and/or types of threats faced.

Since psychosocial support was perceived as very helpful by almost all defenders, including those who may have been more sceptical towards such support in the beginning, I recommend for practitioners to encourage relocated human rights defenders to participate in support sessions. However, programs should also assess whether the psychosocial support staff

undergoes training that adequately prepares them to address the needs of the specific defenders relocated within a program. Further, there should be continuous communication between program management and psychosocial support staff wherein the latter can openly share their thoughts on their ability to work with particular defenders, and on the possibility to expand training. Relocated defenders themselves should also be given the space to talk about the psychosocial support they receive to discontinue sessions if they wish to and, if needed and wherever possible, to be referred to a different psychosocial support provider.

Finally, since some defenders have felt pressured by practitioners to participate in outreach and other professional activities, an additional recommendation is for practitioners to ensure that they are consistently respecting each defender's agency to decide which activities would be most beneficial to them. Related to this point, practitioners should ensure that defenders feel that they can openly communicate about whether they are enjoying certain activities, and about the possibility to engage in different activities.

7.2.2. Program Recommendations

The findings have consistently shown that conversion factors related to the relocation and post-relocation social context and defenders' intersectional identities strongly influence which activities are more useful for them, which has two important implications. Firstly, the finding underlines the importance for temporary relocation programs to structure their program as flexibly as possible to accommodate the needs of different defenders. This could be improved by ensuring open and frequent communication with relocated people to align expectations and discuss how the program can support their different requirements. Further, flexibility can be improved by giving defenders as much agency as possible over choosing the extent to which they engage in more personal-oriented activities such as resting, socializing and so forth on the one hand, and more professional-oriented activities related to human rights work conduction on the other hand.

Secondly, the finding highlights the importance for temporary relocation programs to evaluate whether they have the structures in place to support all defenders they relocate. This, for instance, concerns whether programs can meet the needs of defenders facing very high risks. One suggestion to evaluate this aspect is to assess with previously relocated defenders who work in a high-risk context whether and how the relocation has improved or worsened their wellbeing across various dimensions beyond the relocation period, and to explore whether certain structures of the program can be adapted and improved accordingly.

In brief, I argue that the importance of social and personal context calls for practitioners to reflect upon their capacity to support the various types of defenders that participate in the program. Formulating this into questions, practitioners can reflect upon: "what structures do we need to have in place to address the wellbeing of the specific human rights defenders we relocate?", and "how can this relocation be useful to them beyond the relocation period?".

An additional point I wish to address within the recommendations is post-relocation program evaluations. To this moment, only two of the included temporary relocation programs evaluate their effectiveness on wellbeing beyond the relocation program. I strongly suggest for other programs to draw on these best practices. Ultimately, such evaluations can inform practitioners about the effectiveness of their own program beyond the relocation context on the specific types of human rights defenders they relocate.

Finally, although most temporary relocation programs already seem to have a high level of communication among each other, I wish to re-emphasize the relevance of such communication. The sharing of best practices, questions, and recommendations may be particularly useful among programs operating in the same region or relocating similar categories of human rights defenders. Opportunities for contact and exchange can be increased by engagement with platforms such as the European Union Temporary Relocation Platform (EUTRP), which is a network of entities involved in the temporary relocation of human rights defenders at risk (EUTRP, 2022).

7.3. Theoretical Reflection

Throughout the thesis, "wellbeing" has been conceptualized according to the principles of the Capabilities Approach elaborated by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1992, 1999). Previous research concerned with the wellbeing of human rights defenders has highlighted the importance to frame wellbeing in a way that allows for different cultural and individual interpretations of what it means to be well (Nah, 2017). The Capabilities approach provides a particularly interesting lens in this regard because its focus on means to achieve wellbeing respects individual decision-making processes. Further, since the approach does not concretize specific capabilities and functions, it provides space for individual interpretations of what it means and what it takes to be well. The personal, social, and environmental conversion factors further allow for research to consider how the intersectional identity of individual human rights defenders and the particular contexts they navigate, both in their country of operation and the country of relocation, impact the ways in which they can use capabilities to achieve

functionings. The approach was therefore particularly suited to the purposes of the present study, considering that the examined temporary relocation programs and interviewed human rights defenders differed in various characteristics such as geographical location, area of focus, and so forth.

A further strength of the Capabilities approach is that it allows for the establishment of wellbeing dimensions specifically tailored to the issue at hand. This allowed me to classify all key words related to what it means to be well mentioned throughout interviews with human rights defenders into eight dimensions that facilitated subsequent data analyses. It seems that there are quite some commonalities among what human rights defenders feel matters for their wellbeing, which is likely the result of common wellbeing concerns emerging from the conduction of human rights work. Nevertheless, despite the notion that some dimensions may be relevant to most defenders, the Capabilities approach allows for consideration of not only wellbeing concerns emerging from human rights work but also individual interpretations of the term.

One shortcoming of employing the capabilities approach is that it did not allow for meaningful insights into the role of time passed since relocation. Given that the thesis conceptualized "wellbeing beyond relocation" through the provision and usefulness of capabilities across contexts, time passed since the relocation could not be appropriately accommodated within the approach. Whereas I conducted additional analyses to explore impacts of this variable outside of the framework of the Capabilities approach, no meaningful results were found. However, "time passed since relocation" may also be reconceptualized as a conversion factor or perhaps even a capability in future research and as such accommodated within the approach.

Concluding, investigations concerning the wellbeing of human rights defenders should continue to be mindful of the notion that each person has a different idea of what it means to be well, and ensure that they use a framework which respects individual decision-making concerning wellbeing, and which considers the role of personal characteristics and the broader context on the ways in which wellbeing is understood, achieved, and experienced.

7.4. Methodological Reflection

Concerning the thesis' methodology, semi-structured interviews as the main source of information enabled me to draw on in-depth insights and reflections by human rights defenders themselves. This was in line with the broader thesis framework in three ways. Firstly, drawing

on the defender's reflections respects the constructionist paradigm employed for the thesis, which conceptualizes reality as the *reflections* of experiences as opposed to the experiences themselves (Ormston et al, 2014). Secondly, the interviews are in line with the interpretivist epistemological paradigm employed, according to which valid knowledge is produced through investigating the meaning of situations for participants, rather than exploring situations or behaviours themselves (Pascale, 2011). Finally, primarily drawing on interviews with human rights defenders is in line with the philosophy of the Capabilities approach, according to which wellbeing should be assessed through people's own evaluations of their wellbeing (Sen, 1999).

One shortcoming of the methodology is the rather small sample size, which likely influenced the fact that no meaningful findings emerged from comparisons across gender, age, and length of relocation. For instance, concerning gender, the small number of women (2) and non-binary people (1) as compared to men (6) made it difficult to draw meaningful conclusions concerning gender differences. Despite these shortcomings, I strongly recommend for future studies in this field to continue relying on semi-structured interviews as the main research method to centre human rights defender's own opinions on their wellbeing.

A further limitation of the study is the desk-based nature of the project, which did not allow for as much depth of insights as in-person interviews could have provided. I chose to conduct the interviews remotely despite this limitation because this allowed me to include various temporary relocation programs and human rights defenders based in different geographical locations. As such, the study is not narrowed to a particular country of operation, relocation, or post-relocation, and may thus be relevant to a wider scope of human rights defenders and temporary relocation program practitioners.

7.5. Final Remarks

The present thesis has examined how temporary relocation programs can affect the wellbeing of the human rights defenders they relocate beyond the relocation context. All results and conclusions presented on the thesis drew on interviews conducted with nine human rights defenders and five persons involved in the implementation of temporary relocation programs. Rather than presenting broadly applicable and concrete relationships to be implemented by temporary relocation programs, the conclusions and resulting recommendations are to be understood as outlines and possible suggestions to be reflected upon by practitioners. I acknowledge that the results are likely not applicable to all temporary relocation programs to the same extent; instead, practitioners may choose to pay more attention to particular parts of

the results and conclusions based on the type of human rights defenders they relocate, the main activity focus of their program, and other individual factors. Ultimately, I hope that the thesis has served to provide a first overview to be built upon in future research concerning the longer term impacts that temporary relocation programs may achieve. Such research ultimately contributes to a better understanding of how we can effectively protect and promote the wellbeing of human rights defenders, who dedicate time, effort, and resources to the protection of human rights everywhere.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Operationalization Table

Key Concept	Dimensions	Variables	Indicators
Wellbeing	Capabilities	To be explored	HRD Interview
	Functionings	To be explored	HRD Interview
	Conversion Factors	To be explored	HRD Interview
Temporary Relocation	Nature of Temporary Relocation Program	Nature of Host Entity	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Nature of Beneficiaries	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Aims of Relocation	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Country of Relocation	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Flexibility of Program	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
	Proposed Activities	Academic Work	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Advocacy	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Cultural/Religious Activities	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Human Rights Work	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Networking	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Psychosocial Support	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Rest and Respite	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Sports and Movement	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
		Training	TRP Interview/Document Analysis
	Needs and Effectiveness Evaluations	Pre-relocation evaluations	TRP Interview
		Evaluations during Relocation	TRP Interview
		Post-Relocation Evaluations	TRP Interview
Human Rights Defenders	Personal Characteristics	Gender	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Age	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Country of Operation	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Other relevant characteristics to be explored	HRD Interview/Background Research
	Human Rights Work	Type of Rights Addressed	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Type of Activism	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Type and Source of Threats Faced	HRD Interview/Background Research
		Severity of Threats	HRD Interview/Background Research
	Temporary Relocation	Reason for Relocation	HRD Interview
		Time spent on relocation	HRD Interview
		Time passed since relocation	HRD Interview

Note. TRP = Temporary Relocation Program; HRD = Human Rights Defender

Appendix II. Transparency Document (Anonymized)

Interview Code	Type	Research Method	Gender	Date	Location	Language
1	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	23/02/22	Online (Zoom)	English
2	TRPP	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	04/03/22	Online (Zoom)	English
3	TRPP	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	04/03/22	Online (Zoom)	English
4	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	06/03/22	Online (Zoom)	English
5	TRPP	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	07/03/22	Online (Zoom)	English
6	TRPP	Semi-structured Interview	Man	16/03/22	Online (Zoom)	English
7	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	23/03/21	Online (Zoom)	Spanish
8	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	23/03/22	Online (Zoom)	Spanish
9	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	30/03/22	Online (Signal)	Spanish
10	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	01/04/22	Online (Zoom)	Spanish
11	TRPP	Semi-structured Interview	Woman	05/04/22	Online (Zoom)	English
12	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	11/04/22	Online (Zoom)	English
13	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Non-Binary	20/04/22	Online (Zoom)	English
14	HRD	Semi-structured Interview	Man	22/04/22	Online (Zoom)	Spanish

Note. HRD = Human Rights Defender; TRPP = Temporary Relocation Program Practitioner

Appendix III. Commitment Form

Commitment Form

Research project title: The Wellbeing of Human Rights Defenders After Temporary Relocation

Research investigator: Anna María Thiele Serra

The present Commitment Form has been formulated for the purpose of outlining how information collected through interviews will be managed and used. You can send me any questions, doubts or concerns you may have regarding the content of the form via my contact information provided at the bottom of the form. Alternatively, they can be addressed during the interview.

The interview will last approximately 45 minutes to an hour. You have the right to stop the interview and/or to withdraw your participation in the research project at any time before, during or after the interview. If you choose to withdraw, any information related to your participation which has already been collected will be immediately erased and will not be used in the research project in any way.

Recording and Transcription

- the interview will be recorded, and a transcript will be produced.
- the transcript of the interview will be analysed by Anna María Thiele Serra as the research investigator.
- access to the interview transcript will be limited to Anna María Thiele Serra and the participant in question, should they wish to review it. In some circumstances, the thesis supervisor Dr. Maggi Leung may request access to a transcript. Should this be the case, the participant will be asked for consent for the transcript to be shared. If the participant consents, the participant can request for the transcript to be anonymized prior to being shared with the research supervisor.
- Please indicate to the researcher whether you would like any information related to your interview employed in academic work to be anonymized. In case you wish to be anonymized, information such as name and organization, and any additional information that could be traced back to you will not be disclosed in any way.
- The interview recording and transcript will be erased following the submission of the research project. The latest possible date at which they will be erased is the 31st of August 2021.

Quotations

Some parts of the interview may be quoted directly. If you choose to be anonymized, any personal information which could be traced back to you will not be disclosed in quotations. Please inform the researcher if you wish not to be quoted.

Contact Information

If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact:

Name: Anna María Thiele Serra

Address:

      Ter Meerenlaan 21

      1970 Wezembeek Oppem

      Belgium

Phone Number: +31627161022

E-mail Address: anna.maria.ts@outlook.com

Signature:

Appendix IV. Interview Questions for Temporary Relocation Program Practitioners

TRP Practitioners – Interview Questions

A. The relocation initiative

1. Tell me about the programme.
    a. Name of relocation initiative
    b. Country/countries of relocation
    c. Country/countries of origin of eligible participants
    d. Main requirements for choosing participants
    e. Aspects of the program organised for defenders
    f. Length of stay

2. Activities proposed to defenders
    a. Do you offer any activities directly related to wellbeing (Psychosocial support, hobbies, cultural activities, rest and respite)?
    b. Do you offer any other activities (networking, advocacy, continuing human rights work, language course, etc.)?

3. Follow-up

    a. Do you stay in touch with defenders after their relocation ends? If so, how?
    b. How do you assess if/to what extent participants have evaluated the relocation as successful?
        i. In these assessments, do you pay attention to the long-term effects of relocating?
    c. How do you assess if/to what extent participants have evaluated the relocation as successful?

4. Final Questions

    a. Overall, how do defenders report the relocation has affected their life, work, and/or overall wellbeing?
    b. Are you still in touch with any defenders who have relocated with you?
    c. Is there anything you would like to share about the way that the relocation initiative address and may affect the overall wellbeing of defenders after relocation that we have not already covered?
    d. Do you have any questions about this project?

Appendix V. Interview Questions for Human Rights Defenders

HRDs – Interview Questions

A. Personal Experience

Can you tell me a bit about yourself and your work as a human rights defender?

B. Experiences of being on a relocation initiative

1. How long have you been relocated with the relocation initiative?

2. How long ago have you relocated with the relocation initiative?

3. About the program

   a. Who was it organised by?
   b. What was your country of relocation?
   c. Where did you live before the relocation?
   d. Where do you live now?
   e. What type of activities were proposed to you?
   f. What type of activities did you choose to engage with?

4. Are you still in touch with the relocation platform? If so, in which ways?

B. Effect of the Temporary Relocation on Wellbeing

5. Looking back at the relocation, how do you feel about having relocated now?
   a. Have you participated in any activities directly related to wellbeing (Psychosocial support, hobbies, cultural activities, rest and respite)?
      i. If so, have these activities had any impact on your life beyond the relocation period?
   b. Have you participated in any activities that are not directly related to wellbeing (networking, advocacy, continuing human rights work, language course, etc.)?
      i. If so, have these activities had any impact on your life beyond the relocation period?
   c. Has the relocation in any way affected how safe/secure you feel in the conduction of your human rights work?
      i. If so, how?
   d. Has the relocation in any way affected how perceive and position yourself as a defender, and how you perceive other defenders?
      i. If so, how?
   e. Since your return, did you change anything in the ways you conduct your human rights work?
      i. Did you change anything within the organization you work with?
   f. Have any aspects of the relocation affected (for the better or worse) the way you live now?

C. Final Questions

6. Would you recommend to other defenders at risk to relocate? Why? What advice would you give them about it?
7. Is there anything you would like to share about your wellbeing or relocation initiatives that we have not already covered?

8. Do you have any questions about this project?