



Towards Development Solutions to Internal Displacement: A Political Economy Approach

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Cover photograph: livelihood support for displaced people and host communities in Sudan. *UNDP/Ala Eldin Abdalla Mohamed*

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Acronyms

ATM	Automatic Teller Machine
CIREFCA	Conferencia Internacional sobre Refugiados Centroamericanos
CMDPDH	Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights (Comision Mexicana de Defensa y Promocion de los Derechos Humanos)
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DAC	Displacement-Affected Community
DSWG	Durable Solutions Working Group
ECHO	European Commission's Humanitarian Office
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia)
HDP	Humanitarian-Development-Peacebuilding
HLP	Housing, Land and Property
IASC	InterAgency Standing Committee
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
JIPS	Joint IDP Profiling Service
JPA	Juba Peace Agreement
MIRPS	Marco Integral Regional de Protección y Soluciones para las América

ACRONYMS

MoPIED	National Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development
NSMDCIID	National Strategy for the Management of Disaster—and Climate—Induced Internal Displacement
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
QUIPS	Quick Impact Projects
RLP	Refugee Law Project
TGOS	Transitional Government of Sudan
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
WFP	World Food Programme

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Executive Summary

Internal displacement represents a major global challenge which raises serious implications in terms of sustainable development. In 2020, 40.5 million people were newly displaced in 149 countries and territories, bringing the total population living in displacement globally to 55 million (IDMC 2021a). This paper considers the ways in which political economy analysis can be used to understand the drivers, dynamics, and implications of displacement for development processes. It argues that political and economic interests guide political will, including commitments to uphold the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the Responsibility to Protect, and the InterAgency Standing Committee Framework on Durable Solutions. Asking who stands to gain or lose from maintaining the conditions that lead to displacement, and from working towards comprehensive solutions, helps to arrive at practical and promising promotion of development-oriented durable solutions.

The report provides a synthesis of empirical research carried out through four case studies in Bangladesh, El Salvador, Iraq and Sudan, as well as interviews with UNDP teams in Central African Republic, Colombia, Somalia and Syria and consultation of available literature on displacement, durable solutions, and the humanitarian-development-peacebuilding triple nexus.

The report argues that an early and proactive approach to anticipating displacement and integrating the needs of displacement-affected communities into national development plans, strategies and laws is needed to achieve fully durable solutions. Political economy analysis is essential in this process, as it forms the basis for leveraging political will and promoting the restoration of displaced persons' rights as citizens.

This report and its associated case studies form part of the UNDP submission to the High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement. It presents ten recommendations, which may be briefly summarised as:

1. Development actors must engage early and systematically on displacement issues, preferably using political economy analysis to scan the horizon for displacement before it happens.
2. Focus development solutions work on achieving the eight indicators set out by the IASC Framework on Durable Solutions, complementing humanitarian and peacebuilding work, not replacing it.
3. Look for development-oriented allies—within government, civil society, the donor community, the UN system, at the community and municipal levels, and within the private sector.
4. Promote data systems that are robust and widely regarded as legitimate by those who are involved in working for comprehensive durable solutions.

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5. Work to make development policies and strategies more 'mobility friendly'.
6. Work at a pace that matches the interests, needs and concerns of the local area.
7. Take a participatory approach; follow, don't lead to understand IDPs' priorities, needs, challenges, and sources of resilience.
8. Clearly communicate the benefits of an inclusive development solutions approach to help bring all stakeholders on board.
9. To guide interagency collaboration, it is essential for organizations to approach their mandates flexibly, through cooperation rather than defensiveness.
10. Develop operational processes for embedding a political economy analysis within UN agencies.

1. Overview

Internal displacement represents a major global challenge which raises serious implications in terms of sustainable development. In 2020, 40.5 million people were newly displaced in 149 countries and territories, bringing the total living in displacement globally to 55 million (IDMC 2021a). As a complex social, economic and political phenomenon, internal displacement encompasses a broad range of experiences and drivers. People may be displaced within the borders of their own countries as a result of conflict or insecurity, the adverse impacts of climate change and environmental deterioration, economic precarity, technological disasters¹ or as the by-product of development activities.

Often, internal displacement is caused by more than one of these factors. Some people are displaced through direct or indirect government action, while others may move despite such actions. International principles and law assign primary responsibility for responding to internal displacement to the State in which it occurs and many internally displaced persons (IDPs) look to the State to provide them with support and a solution to their displacement, either by providing direct support or by brokering their access to external humanitarian and development assistance. Others choose to remain 'invisible,' integrating with local communities rather than seeking formal identification and support.

This paper takes a political economy approach towards analysing the causes of displacement, the impacts on those who are affected by displacement (including those who move, those who host and sometimes those who are left behind) as well as the dynamics of solutions.

The paper argues that most responses to internal displacement tend to focus on short-term humanitarian actions, aimed at saving lives and stabilizing crisis situations. The focus also tends to be on those who have been displaced directly, overlooking the fact that others living with the displaced may also face some of the same challenges. While humanitarian support is undoubtedly needed, it is on its own inadequate to help people arrive at sustainable solutions. This is particularly acute in situations of protracted displacement, where conditions of humanitarian crisis may have improved but the challenges of building resilience and finding longer-term solutions remains, receiving less attention. The result is a lack of long-term support to displacement-affected communities (DACs).²

- 1 Examples of technological disasters include the Chernobyl nuclear accident of 1986, the Fukushima nuclear plant disaster of 2011 caused by an earthquake and tsunami, and the explosion of the weapons store in Beirut port in 2020.
- 2 Displacement-affected communities (DACs) includes anyone living in an area where internal displacement has taken place, and may include IDPs, host community members, refugees, returnees, ex-combatants or others whose living conditions are impacted by the presence of IDPs. This term encourages a more community-based and area-based approach to displacement.

1. OVERVIEW

Durable solutions programming—aimed at facilitating return, local integration or onward settlement—tends to be implemented alongside or as a follow-on from humanitarian assistance. As such it is usually short term with inadequate resources to ensure an inclusive, development-oriented approach to supporting displacement-affected communities against the broader context of ongoing human mobility. Displaced populations are treated as target groups with specific needs but are often not integrated into national development policies and plans, or sectoral public services. In 2021, for instance, many national COVID-19 response plans do not include IDPs among their intended beneficiaries.

An approach to responding to internal displacement that is more developmental in its outlook, promoting greater inclusion and longer-term protection and assistance for DACs, is needed. Such an approach would constitute a radical change in the way that solutions to internal displacement are pursued. It would need to respond to different contexts, but at its most comprehensive it would involve an area-based focus which supports all people affected by forced displacement based on their vulnerabilities and levels of resilience. It would also involve embedding support for displacement-affected communities within wider development financing, data collection and analysis and planning.

Establishing a more developmentally focused, inclusive approach to displacement necessarily requires an understanding of the political economy conditions that touch upon displacement dynamics and human mobility. As will be discussed below, a political economy approach considers the ways that vested interests, profits and agendas are served by particular arrangements of power. Such arrangements may prop up wartime, displacement and disaster economies; they may play a role in determining how displacement happens, who is displaced and what is realistically possible in terms of solutions.

Having set out its methodology below, the paper presents and unpacks the notion of the political economy of internal displacement. It demonstrates how a political economy approach can help elucidate the key opportunities and bottlenecks to achieving longer-term solutions for displacement-affected communities. Drawing on evidence from countries with some of the largest populations of internally displaced persons, the paper shows how political economy analysis can frame an approach for embedding displacement concerns within a country's longer-term development goals, strategies and legal frameworks. Such an approach can be seen as a 'development solutions' one, which aims to stress the development elements of durable solutions work, building on and extending from humanitarian and short-term support.³ Threading the analysis through from the drivers of displacement to the experience of displacement and the move towards finding solutions, the paper identifies key questions that may guide strategies for longer-term development solutions.

3 The author would like to thank Petrus DeClercq for insightful discussions on the subject of durable solutions.

1. OVERVIEW

The paper considers the importance of participation—including crucially from civil society that represents DACs and IDPs themselves—in gathering data and shaping political will towards comprehensive solutions. In such a process, DACs should also be centrally involved in formulating their own solutions; their participation and recognition of their voice are as important to the process as to the outcome, as their involvement helps in restoring the social contract that has been disrupted through displacement and encourages their civic engagement. It also considers the wider regional and global dynamics of power that influence the funding, diplomatic and political environment for pursuing development solutions. The paper ends with reflections on best practices and recommendations for using political economy analysis to realize durable solutions that see the full integration of the concerns of displacement affected communities within development planning and programming.

2. Methodology

In preparing this paper, four country case studies were commissioned, each of which representing a range of different displacement contexts and scenarios for solutions. These are briefly summarised in Box 1.

Box 1: Featured Case Studies

Bangladesh: In Bangladesh, approximately 4.4 million people were internally displaced during 2020 (IDMC 2021a). While many people were able to return to their homes relatively quickly, 772,000 people remains displaced (IDMC 2021a) The main drivers of displacement are vulnerability to climatic shocks such as flooding and cyclones as well as extreme economic destitution, displacement caused by expansion of the industrial shrimp farming sector, landlessness and slum eviction. Conflict-generated displacement caused by ethnic and religious tensions is predominant in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the southeast of the country. Mixed migration (where the multiple causes of movement include both voluntary and involuntary movement) is a major feature of mobility in the country. Bangladesh has long experience with disaster mitigation, but its focus on legal and policy responses to internal displacement is newer. IDPs typically move from rural areas to urban centres. Those who can return home after a shock remain vulnerable to future displacement; many others become stuck in impoverished conditions in peri-urban areas.

El Salvador: In El Salvador, the legacies of civil war and violence during the 1980s and 90s have been incomplete post-war transitional justice processes. Gangs and criminal elements have sought to seize political and economic control over areas where the government has not been able to successfully establish itself following the conflict. This has given rise in 2020 to an IDP population of approximately 454,000 people (IDMC 2020) including at least 114,000 new displacements (IDMC 2021a). The Government of El Salvador has recently officially recognized the scale of internal displacement and is developing response strategies and policies. This includes a new law on displacement. However, like other countries considered here, this has been complicated by the COVID-19 pandemic. This case demonstrates the complexity of displacement that is not caused by the State, but rather takes place in the spaces where the State has been unable to govern effectively and where response requires the State to take greater leadership and responsibility. The case also highlights the power of civil society to raise awareness and harness political will towards taking action to protect and assist those affected by displacement.

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Iraq: Years of conflict, generalised insecurity and displacement have served to change the ethnic and religious composition of different areas within Iraq. Today, displacement of nearly 1.2 million people in Iraq is perpetuated due to physical and economic insecurity, mainly resulting from the seizure of territory by the Islamic State and the Levant (ISIS, also known as Daesh) and is focused largely in areas where central government control is weakest, particularly in Kirkuk, Diyala and Sinjar. A broader range of drivers includes environmental challenges and economic insecurity exacerbated by antiquated legislation that leads to difficulties in doing business and generating livelihood and employment opportunities. Efforts to pursue durable solutions must contend with ethnic tensions, generalized lack of security and attempts to prevent the spread of ISIS, and in some hot spots a lack of humanitarian access.

Sudan: Displacement in Sudan, estimated in 2021 as affecting 3.65 million people (including 2.55 million IDPs) (UNHCR 2021) has a long history, with different drivers at different times. The preponderance of displacement currently is from the western regions of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, where civil unrest has been going on intermittently for the past two decades. Fighting has recently intensified in Darfur, leading to new displacements. Other displacement has been generated by extreme poverty, the impact of development projects such as commercial agriculture, dam construction, oil exploration and extraction, and urban development. The change in government in 2019 presents opportunities and some challenges to promotion of durable and development solutions.

Country case studies considered the drivers, conditions of, and responses to internal displacement in each of these countries, with a focus on the challenges of finding long-term sustainable solutions for affected communities affected. Reference is made throughout this paper to some of the key findings of the case studies. Readers are encouraged to consult the full case study reports as well for the full country details and analysis.

In addition to drawing from the cases, this synthesis paper also integrates additional empirical evidence derived from interviews with UNDP staff and reference to documentation from other countries, including the Central African Republic, Colombia, Somalia and Syria.

The development of this paper has been guided by discussions within UNDP at headquarters and country office level to adopt an approach to ‘development solutions’ that seeks to go beyond the short-term durable solutions planning and programming that has characterized most displacement responses. While this concept is discussed in more depth below, the term development solutions refers to an approach to internal displacement that is based on recognition of the rights of IDPs as citizens of the country

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that they have been displaced within, the need to fully include them in national and local governance, development plans and policies, as well as in UN development strategies, and to promote both mitigation of displacement drivers and conditions of long-term recovery as central pillars of development planning. In this view, IDPs are first and foremost considered as citizens with rights, who must be included in all aspects of development planning to ensure that these rights are respected. Displacement is often a rupture of these rights so the goal of development solutions is to restore the social contract between citizens and the State. Key to this approach is the use of a governance angle that is premised upon national and local ownership such that central plans and policies are translated into concrete action. This approach requires coordinated action between government bodies, UN agencies, international financial institutions, non-governmental organizations (both international and local) and donors. The empirical analysis looks at ongoing responses to internal displacement. In some cases, as in Somalia for example, work on durable solutions has been integrated into the Ministry of Planning's National Development Plan, with a focus on a rights-based approach that seeks to promote inclusivity. In Colombia, support for IDPs is incorporated into national development plans and displacement as an issue is underpinned by a strong legal framework. Internal displacement is also included in local development plans, such as those developed by the municipality of Medellín. These initiatives integrate peacebuilding, rule of law and transitional justice work to promote a comprehensive approach to addressing the needs of those affected by displacement.

3. What does a political economy approach mean?

This paper takes the perspective of a political economy approach, which may best be summed up in the following way:

Political economy analysis is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes within a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time.’ (Collinson 2003, 3)

The scope of study in political economy analysis includes understanding the activities and interests of formal and informal institutions, the changing relationships between citizens and states, the effect of international economic influences and relationships with international institutions and organizations, including at structural and historical levels (World Bank 2014).

The political economy shapes and is shaped by power relations at multiple levels: global, regional (including neighbouring countries), national, district and local. Individuals may also feature prominently in the political economy, such as when warlords instigate violence that results in displacement.

Applied to internal displacement, a political economy approach considers the ways that arrangements of power and the pursuit of particular economic and political interests by different actors influence the ability of individuals and communities to exercise their rights as citizens and to live safely and securely. The World Bank’s guidance on the use of political economy analysis in displacement contexts aims to “analyse the contestation and distribution of power and resources along with the development challenges associated with forced displacement crises.” This guidance points to recommendations with respect to four areas: improving access to housing, land and property; reestablishment of livelihoods; improvement of delivery of services; and strengthening of accountable and responsible governance (World Bank, 2014, 5).

Political economy analysis of displacement contexts requires investigation of a range of key questions that may influence the drivers and dynamics of displacement:

- How do the dynamics and distribution of power at international, regional, national, local and individual levels support or obstruct conditions for generating displacement, and of living in contexts of displacement?

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- In what ways do individuals and groups seeking to capture or maintain power and resources influence displacement outcomes?
- How do threats to people's physical and livelihood security ultimately force them to move to safer or more secure circumstances? Who do they trust to turn to for protection and support? Who do they not trust and why?

Once people are displaced, political economy dynamics continue to govern their lives—they influence the forms of support and protection that those living in displacement contexts may be able to access. They shape the relationships between IDPs and hosts. At national level architectures of aid, involving local and national government and nongovernmental organizations, and international actors also becomes rife with power dynamics that can open up opportunities, but also present bottlenecks for DACs. These dynamics may be linked to the political economy of conflict or disaster (Keen 1994) or to the challenges of state building. They may also influence what de Waal calls the political marketplace (deWaal 2016) in which political support and patronage is provided to leaders in exchange for favours or preferential treatment later on.

Protracted displacement, lasting more than five years, is a growing problem. Kaelin and Chapuisat (OCHA 2017), citing figures from the Norwegian Refugee Council/Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, report that in 2014 more than 50 countries had populations that had been displaced for more than 10 years. In such contexts, political economy considerations have a strong limiting impact on people's search for solutions. While some are housed in camps or informal settlements, most IDPs live outside these settings, in private accommodation or with members of local or host communities. Many IDPs lack documentation, access to services, secure housing, land and property (HLP) rights, and are excluded from civic and political life, as illustrated in the four case studies and other countries analysed here. States may abdicate some or all of their responsibilities to provide support and facilitate solutions to displacement, shifting ownership of these issues to the international community. Where and from whomever assistance is available, it is often offered at insufficient levels and on a short-term basis, with the displaced routinely excluded from full participation in society, even though they are citizens. Women and children are often affected disproportionately and in different ways to men and boys. Minority groups may be further marginalized. Different groups of IDPs experience displacement in different ways. In some contexts for instance, a widow may not be able to obtain an identity document; in others displaced children face sexual exploitation or are unable to go to school. A status quo builds up, in which the inequalities that accrue to different groups of displaced populations are maintained, either because addressing them would shake up the established hierarchies of power that perpetuate displacement, or because local and municipal officials worry that extending support to communities affected by displacement would put them in competition with other citizens for what are often scarce services.

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Unpacking these inequalities requires identifying the key elements of the social contract between citizen and the State that have been broken or breached and that need to be restored for IDPs to be included as full, equal and active members of society. A political economy lens can be used to identify:

- What are the vested political and economic interests in maintaining this status quo?
- What are the opportunities and incentives that may make it possible to improve coordination, collaboration and to generate more inclusive development policies?
- Who stands to win and lose from changes that would bring long-lasting solutions to these communities, and what solutions are possible given a realistic assessment of the options?
- What are the potential resources that can be brought to bear, and how can those with access to resources be motivated to dedicate them to pursuing meaningful solutions to displacement?
- Where policies are in place that support inclusive development approaches for DACs, what political and economic interests influence the conditions for implementation?

This type of analysis also crucially includes international organizations—donors, UN agencies, and international NGOs. The influence of aid flows on governance structures, peace processes, national and local economies, and foreign relations can be transformational—and distortive. Finding ways to coordinate mandates, funding arrangements, and institutional cultures is challenging. However, given the complexities of internal displacement and its sheer scale globally, such coordination and collaboration are essential. Some lessons may be drawn from the coordinated approach to displacement taken in Central America beginning in the late 1980s. Under the CIREFCA (Conferencia Internacional sobre Refugiados Centroamericanos) process, UNHCR and UNDP worked together with national governments to address the needs of refugees, returnees, IDPs and other vulnerable people in areas affected by conflict to promote solutions through greater linkages between relief and development work and linking national dialogue and reconciliation (UNHCR 1994; UNHCR 2000). While the process was not perfect, it was the first time that the two UN agencies had worked so closely together.⁴

A contemporary example of this kind of inter-agency collaboration can be seen in the Central African Republic, where UNHCR and UNDP co-chair the Durable Solutions Working Group (DSWG) and work together with local authorities to support protection and assistance needs. This collaboration took time to develop. The civil war in the country had produced such pressing humanitarian needs that most NGOs

4 The model of cross-UN agency collaboration was adopted during the 1990s in Cambodia and Mozambique to support returning refugees as well.

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working in the country were focused on humanitarian rather than development support. It was difficult to gain consensus at first, but the process was led by an Ad Hoc Committee of the DSWG which developed a strategy of engagement in two selected Zones de Convergence: in the northwest (including Ngaoundaye, Kouï, Paoua, and Markounda) and southeast (encompassing Alindao, Kembe, and Zangba) of the country. Using the momentum and added security that arose in the run-up to the 2020–21 elections, local development plans were drawn up with local authorities that aim to integrate the needs of DACs within the overall development priorities of the areas. There is optimism that the gains will continue and be expanded once the electoral processes are completed.

International economic dynamics can weaken strategies to prevent displacement or to respond to the needs of those who are internally displaced. As Box 2 shows, the strong influence of the Lebanese economy over the Syrian economy, combined with the impact of international sanctions, has had a direct impact on the vulnerability of IDPs in Syria.

Box 2. Regional economic dynamics take their toll on Syrian displacement-affected communities

The close ties between the Syrian and Lebanese economies have bound the two countries well before the civil war in Syria started to displace civilians in 2011. Trade and supply of goods moved freely across the border between the two countries. Ten years later, the Syrian war has displaced up to half of the entire population of the country, including an estimated 1.7 million Syrian refugees who have fled into Lebanon. This has placed enormous pressures on the Lebanese economy where more than half the population lives in poverty. Those who remain in Syria, including more than 8 million IDPs, have become more dependent upon Lebanon as a source of essential goods and cash. Yet the Lebanese economy has been in freefall recently, with the value of the Lebanese pound plummeting by the first quarter of 2021 to just 10% of its value in 2019 (Chehayeb, 2021). Given that most of Syria's cash ATMs are linked to Lebanese banks, people are finding it extremely difficult to access cash, and some aid agencies are also struggling to find ways to pay their staff. Political turmoil that resulted in collapse of the Lebanese government in August 2020, the social and economic fallout from the massive explosion of ammunition being stored in the Beirut port, and the impact of COVID-19 have all taken their toll on the Lebanese economy.

International sanctions on Syria which prohibit foreign investment (much of which had been coming from Lebanese businesspeople) and political engagement have been blamed for undermining civilians' (including IDPs') livelihoods and preventing effective COVID-19 response

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(Hussain and Sen, 2020), further compounding the difficulties caused by attacks on health care facilities, restrictions in humanitarian access to areas outside of government control, and the compounded effects of a decade of total war. UNDP staff interviewed for this study called for more research to be done to fully understand the impact of sanctions on the livelihoods and welfare of IDPs in Syria.

3.1. Generating political will to address displacement challenges

Very often a lack of progress in effectively responding to internal displacement is attributed to a lack of political will. This is most common where the State is directly responsible or complicit in causing the displacement. As de Aquino Barbosa Magalhães et al (2021, 446) point out, this can involve a lack of recognition on the part of government officials, lawmakers, and judicial authorities that a particular displacement situation exists, but can also extend to a lack of “understanding its scope, causes, triggers, patterns, and impacts”. Increasing political will requires changing the calculus of incentives such that there is a reason to take responsibility for displacement, or at least for relieving its impacts. Motivations could be to respond to popular pressure, to attract aid, to demonstrate responsibility to protect citizens, to build peace (and thereby derive the economic, social and political benefits of peace), etc. The process of building political will is often a gradual process, and civil society institutions can play an important part in providing information and applying pressure to governmental actors to recognize and take responsibility for responding to displacement. Adeola and Orchard (2021, 419) argue that it is necessary to identify “trigger points” in generating the political will that will encourage states to draft and implement laws and policies related to internal displacement. These can involve timing, where action is taken alongside wider work to establish peace or at the onset of an internal displacement emergency. Linking action to the work of regional and international peace processes can be beneficial. Harnessing institutions such as the judiciary, or domestic civil society can be powerful for stimulating political interest and will, where possible. Yet these same institutions can also become victims of State capture or become beholden to State polity who are opposed to—or do not prioritize—supporting and finding solutions for IDPs.

The power of civil society to insist on an agenda that includes internal displacement can be seen in several cases. In El Salvador, Mexico and Uganda reporting and documentation of displacement helped to get displacement onto the political agenda. In Mexico, the gradually increasing recognition of displacement as a national problem and the development of laws and policies to address it came largely as a result of lobbying from civil society actors through the work of the Mexican Commission for the Defence and Promotion of Human Rights (CMDPDH) in establishing an evidence base and population estimate of the numbers of people who had been displaced, as well as monitoring government response (ibid, 453).

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In El Salvador, public and governmental awareness of the extent of internal displacement has been built up gradually since 2010 under the leadership of Cristosal, a civil society organization that works with victims of violence and strengthens capacities at municipal level. The organization has built up the capacity to document and quantify cases of internal displacement. After Cristosal brought five cases against the Salvadoran government, each emblematic of a particular condition of displacement, to the Constitutional Court in 2016–17, the court ordered structural changes to ‘correct the systematic violation of constitutional rights stemming from the State’s failure to protect people internally displaced by violence’ (ibid, 461). This resulted in the drafting and ratification of a special IDP law to provide protections to the international standards set out in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Its ratification made El Salvador the first country in Central America to recognize internal displacement by all three branches of government (Rivas 2021).

In Uganda, the Refugee Law Project has been working since 1999 with a mission to empower all who are affected by forced migration—IDPs, refugees, asylum seekers, deportees and host communities—to “enjoy their human rights and lead dignified lives” (RLP 2019). Established by, and with a continuing link to, the Law Faculty of Makerere University, the RLP provides individual psychosocial counselling and legal support, research and advocacy, and education and training. In 2010, they established the Institute for African Transitional Justice to promote reconciliation. While maintaining its independence, the RLP maintains relations with the Ugandan Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Justice, and the military, ensuring that the needs and concerns of forced migrants are understood and given attention by all areas of government.

In these cases, political will has been shifted through a combination of careful documentation of displacement experiences, mobilization of public awareness and opinion through direct engagement by displaced people themselves as well as civil society and the media, and in some cases through direct legal action.

3.2. The Political economy of displacement data

One key to building political will is to generate consensus around the data concerning displacement. This includes a recognition of the scale, extent and causes of displacement, the conditions of displacement, and the steps to be taken to support displacement-affected communities or to facilitate solutions. Data on displacement are notoriously difficult to gather given that people’s displacement takes many forms and is often highly political. IDPs may have reasons for not wanting to be identified, counted or surveyed. States may be reluctant to gather information that reflects poorly on them or that may even reveal their role as violators of citizens’ rights. Where it is possible, joint data collection and analysis can form the basis for official recognition of displacement as a priority, building confidence in the findings of assessments, or for cooperating on solutions (JIPS 2021). The work of the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS), established in 2009,

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has resulted in 42 collaborative profiling platforms established in displacement-affected countries, 33 of which engaged government authorities and national statistical offices.

Collaborative data collection processes may be carried out at subnational levels. Earle et al. recommend carrying out Urban Profiles: multi-sector spatial analyses that consider the population distribution throughout a city, the availability of services and infrastructure, differential economic indicators, availability of housing, in different parts of the city. These data, gathered through a participatory approach that draws on (settled and displaced) residents' perceptions of the lived environment, can be used for scenario planning, calculations of carrying capacity, and identification of priorities for urban development (2020, 501). Such profiles have been carried out in a wide range of cities, including Aden (Yemen), Mogadishu (Somalia), several cities in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, and in Syria and have informed the development of JIPS' Guidance for Profiling Urban Displacement Situations (2014).

In Sudan, Davies and Jenner (2020) describe the process of gathering information from IDPs in urban El Fasher, Darfur, about their views concerning their future. The aim of this participatory process, involving JIPS, the World Bank, and local authorities, was to encourage the buy-in of the local community and government. However, differing views about the use of the data—roughly half of IDPs wanted to return to their areas of origin while the other half said that they preferred to stay in the city—and the need for a participatory planning process for durable solutions (government instead wanting the international community to fund the plan that they had developed) led to a stalemate.

3.3. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the Responsibility to Protect: application to country contexts

National governments bear the primary responsibility for responding to the needs of their internally displaced citizens. Although having only the strength of 'soft law' (Adeola and Orchard, 2020) and thus not being legally binding, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (1998) have become the central instrument outlining the responsibilities of governments and the standards of rights and support that IDPs and those who live with them should be able to expect. Between 1992 and 2018, 43 countries have adopted elements of the Guiding Principles into national legislation.

As Cohen has argued (2016), efforts to provide protection to internally displaced persons guided the formation of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) movement as well. The basic R2P concept, unanimously adopted at the UN World Summit in 2005, is that State legitimacy derives not from control over physical territory but by commitment to provide protection to all citizens. When the State fails to uphold this responsibility, R2P provides for the international community to intervene to take responsibility for protection. This has proven to be problematic in practice, where States resist invoking R2P for their own citizens, and it

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does not explicitly mention protection of IDPs. Cohen argues for closer alignment of the Guiding Principles and R2P by making explicit provisions for IDP protection when R2P is applied.

Incorporating protection of IDPs' rights into national law is only half the story, since the power of any law lies in the strength of its implementation, and enforcement of legislation concerning internal displacement remains low. Adeola and Orchard (2020) report that less than one third of laws and policies concerning IDPs adopted before 2018 have been successfully implemented. Failure to implement legislation and policy may stem from lack of capacity, lack of resources or a lack of will. IDPs often lack access to the justice system and so are unable to challenge the status quo. Where implementation of laws concerning displaced communities has been strongest is often where instruments are linked to wider peace processes (2020, 414).

Box 3 discusses the experience of linking peacebuilding with support for displacement affected communities in Colombia.

Box 3. Embedding support for the displaced within wider peace processes in Colombia

Displacement in Colombia has been the outcome of conflict over the past half century, as well as violence linked to control over illicit economies and violence associated with land conflicts. In 2020, there were 5 million IDPs in the country. A Peace Agreement between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) was signed in 2016, which has opened the possibility of durable solutions, although challenges remain in terms of arranging compensation, land and property restitution and implementation of the peace deal.

Legislation providing protection for IDPs has been in place in Colombia since the passage of Law 387 in 1997 (notably, before the publishing of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, although these processes were linked). Implementation was problematic, particularly in areas where people had been displaced at the hands of government. The passage of Law 1448, the Victims and Land Restitution Law in 2011 expanded the scope of support to be made available to communities affected by displacement. It included methods for promoting durable solutions to internal displacement, for the protection of IDPs and the prevention of new displacements, as well as the provision of reparations (IDMC 2020). Key to restitution of property lost by IDPs was a comprehensive programme of rural development.

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The 2016 Peace Agreement called for the establishment of Regional Development Plans, many of which are being developed with reference to the interests and needs of displacement-affected communities. According to UNDP Colombia staff, the focus of support for IDPs has recently been shifting from humanitarian assistance to more of a focus on reparations. With an estimated 8 million IDPs in the country, much of the focus of supporting victims' centres on IDPs and DACs. Security needs are approached in the round, as multi-dimensional issues involving humanitarian, protection and environmental needs. Together with access to sustained humanitarian provision is access to justice, preparation for return or relocation within the country, and reparations. Much of this work is done collectively, focusing on the entire community affected by displacement. This helps to move beyond a concern for only certain categories of people—IDPs, ex-combatants, local residents who are destitute, and Venezuelans who have crossed into Colombia as a result of the economic collapse in their country.

At the same time, activism by Colombian groups representing displaced persons and victims of conflict and violence have helped to recast the relationship between the State and those requiring humanitarian assistance. As Iverson's work shows, State approaches to displacement issues tend to be focused on responding to vulnerability and access to the bare minimum needed to survive. Once that threshold has been reached, State commitment to supporting displacement-affected communities has tended to diminish, even though it maintains an IDP registry with millions of entries. Civil society has pushed back against the idea of vulnerability being the main criterion for determining who is eligible or deserving of humanitarian support, opening avenues for the kind of longer-term support referred to above (Iverson 2021).

The will to enact legislation is closely tied to other interests, such as peacebuilding, the maintenance of good relations with international actors, or even as a response to terms of conditionality imposed by international donors. Laws and policies concerning internal displacement, however, tend to reflect states' interests and may focus on some types of displacement and exclude others. El Salvador's 2020 law on internal displacement, for example, uses most of the Guiding Principles' definition but focuses on criminal gang violence and explicitly excludes both victims from the prior internal armed conflict and natural disasters (Adeola and Orchard 416). In other countries, laws and policies relating to displacement are more likely to be implemented when the agents of displacement are non-state actors, or where displacement can be attributed to less political drivers such as disasters and the adverse impact of climate change, or the demands of development; they are less responsive to the needs of those that the government has had a hand in displacing.

4. Durable solutions through a political economy lens

4.1. The IASC Framework on Durable Solutions

The 2010 Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons defines durable solutions as being achieved “when IDPs no longer have any specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement” (IASC 2010, A-1). Generally, three types of durable solutions (borrowed from the language of durable solutions to refugee displacement) are distinguished:

- Return involving sustainable reintegration at the place of origin.
- Local integration in areas where IDPs take refuge.
- Sustainable integration in another part of the country (resettlement).⁵

Achievement of durable solutions is recognized by the IASC as often being a “long-term process of gradually diminishing displacement-specific needs;” this involves restitution of rights and may go beyond a re-establishment of the status quo before displacement. This process has different kinds of challenges related to registration of human rights, addressing humanitarian needs, and promoting development and peacebuilding or reconstruction.

Eight criteria used to determine the extent to which a durable solution has been achieved include:

- Long-term safety, security and freedom of movement.
- An adequate standard of living, including at a minimum access to adequate food, water, housing, health care and basic education.
- Access to employment and livelihoods.

5 While the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement do not use the language of “durable solutions”, Principles 28–30 do assert that all IDPs should be able to return home voluntarily, resettle or reintegrate elsewhere in the country.

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- Access to effective mechanisms that restore IDPs' housing, land and property or provide them with compensation.
- Access to and replacement of personal and other documentation.
- Voluntary reunification with family members separated during displacement.
- Participation in public affairs at all levels on an equal basis with the resident population.
- Effective remedies for displacement-related violations, including access to justice, reparations and information about the causes of violations (IASC 2010, 5).

Most governments lack the capacity to ensure that all eight of these criteria are met, and there are clearly roles for international and national humanitarian and development actors and civil society to play in working towards them. Each of the provisions is linked to key political economy questions as well. For instance, enabling freedom of movement or participation in public affairs requires a willingness on the part of government to welcome contributions and interaction from formerly displaced persons; in contexts of conflict, where reconciliation and transitional justice processes may be incomplete, this is often difficult for some within government to support. Some of the criteria may attract more support than others, and sometimes starting with those that are less contentious may pave the way for later on tackling the more politically sensitive criteria.

The IASC Framework explicitly states that durable solutions are not reached only by resolution of the immediate causes of displacement or by physical movement to the place of origin or to another part of the country, or the mere choice to integrate locally (2010, 5). The IASC Framework does recognize that it can sometimes take years or even generations for full restoration of rights to DACs to take form. What signals the arrival at a durable solution is, rather, the full restoration of rights and cessation of needs of the formerly displaced. As such, some have argued that the criteria are too broad and ambitious to be realistic. Yet it is this focus on rights and inclusion, the developmental aspect of durable solutions, that makes the solutions sustainable and brings an end to the experience of displacement.

4.2. Challenge of durable solutions in practice

The reality of a great deal of durable solutions programming is that this long-term perspective and commitment is often not taken. In most countries, return tends to be favored over other solutions (Adeola and Orchard 2020). Government-led policies that favor return as a durable solution are often influenced by strategic interests of those in power rather than from an impartial assessment of the conditions of return or consultation with displacement-affected communities themselves. Such policies may be tied to a desire to

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demonstrate that the State is winning in its fight against rebels or other non-state actors (as in Colombia and to some extent Somalia) or not wanting different groups to mix (as is the case in some parts of Afghanistan) (ibid.). People may ‘voluntarily’ return only because they have no other options, and if conditions have not fundamentally changed in areas of return, they may be subject to the same discriminatory dynamics that made them leave in the first place, leading to secondary displacement of elite power brokers.

Often the decision about which durable solution to pursue is determined by political interests rather than the aspirations of IDPs themselves, which may lead to an overemphasis on return. In Iraq, the government’s focus has been on pursuing plans for return of IDPs. A recent survey, however, found that 90% of IDPs do not intend to return in the short term (Shanks 2021, citing IOM Iraq, 2021). Shanks attributes this reluctance to “loss of faith in both political and security actors and the general erosion of rule of law.”

In Afghanistan, many refugees repatriating to the country find that they are unable to integrate sustainably and are therefore further displaced (Samuel Hall 2018). As Jabeen and Awan (2017) show, the Government of Afghanistan has been distrustful of those returning from Pakistan, fearing that militants were infiltrating the returnee population. This has complicated their reception. While it is estimated that 40% of displaced Afghans have sought to settle in urban areas of the country, many returnee-IDPs have instead sought to settle in rural rather than urban areas. They lack access to essential services and often do not have any identity documents. Local municipalities and administrations have been reluctant to accept responsibility for IDPs, and funding from international donors to support durable solutions has been dwindling in recent years particularly as NATO has scaled back its presence.

As difficult as sustainable return may be, local integration in many areas of displacement is also complicated by a range of political and economic issues, including ethnic or religious tensions between local and displaced communities, scarce availability of resources, and inability to move out of precarious living situations, particularly in urban environments. This can be seen, for instance, in Bangladesh, where people displaced into Dhaka have come to occupy informal settlements with extremely poor living conditions. Unable to return to their rural livelihoods and also not able to fully become settled urban residents, they remain stuck—figuratively and literally—on the margins of the urban landscape (Mostefa 2021).

Permanent settlement to another part of the country may inflame other tensions between local populations and settlers. In Afghanistan, IDPs have found it difficult to move to areas where they do not have ethnic ties, as they are unable to secure access to housing or land. Property rights are highly contentious politically; many communities and leaders have expressed concern that allowing people to settle within their jurisdictions could change the demographics and political balance in the area (Wiseberg and Rao, 2014).

In reality, people tend to pursue different and often multiple options simultaneously, and mobility continues to play an important role. Often IDPs will divide their time and family members across multiple locations, with some family members returning to their area of origin, others seeking employment in urban centres,

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and still others remaining in the area to which they have been displaced. People then move between these different locations, engaging in business or labour activities that maximize the opportunities of multiple locations and also minimize the risks of being settled in a single location and having to depend on the economic and security environment in what may be a precarious context.

Underlying durable solutions policies and frames is the assumption that people will seek a single solution to their displacement rather than recognize that many people will move between different locations. This kind of mobility is often referred to as a ‘pendular’ movement to reflect the movements to and from different localities. Such mobility may involve households distributing their members, some returning to their area of origin for a period of time, some staying in the locations where they have been living as IDPs and some moving to new areas where there are opportunities. This approach enables IDPs to maximize opportunities and minimize risks. When assistance providers and government do not recognize the mobility that features in the strategies of people affected by displacement, mobility tends to be treated as a problem needing to be solved rather than as a key form of resilience in and of itself. While some people may choose not to move again following displacement, many others will seek lives and livelihoods in which mobility is a key productive and positive feature of their lives.

Another challenge with respect to durable solutions is that very often the same (single) solution is sought for all IDPs living in an area. This may be problematic, as different people face different risk and protection challenges and have different prospects for the future. In situations of protracted displacement, for instance, where different waves of displacement have occurred over the years (such as Afghanistan, Colombia, Somalia or Sudan), even if the area of potential return is accessible, secure and available, return may be desirable and more possible for those who have been displaced more recently. For others, particularly those who have been born into or grown up in conditions of displacement, ‘return’ to an area where they have never lived as adults may be a fictive idea that has no real appeal or prospects for being realized, even if government and aid agencies may see their move as a return to their family’s area of origin. For such individuals, local integration or settlement to a third location may be more practical and sustainable in the long term. Protracted situations call for an approach of seeking different solutions for different people—allowing the flexibility for solution-oriented support to reflect the real situation that IDPs are living in and their best prospects and aspirations for the future.

Ideally work on durable solutions to internal displacement should involve engaging with the humanitarian-development-peacebuilding (HDP) ‘triple nexus.’ Attempts in this regard are being made in Central African Republic, Somalia and Sudan, to name a few examples. This approach aims to respond to immediate needs while also working to promote recovery and reduce risk and vulnerability to recurrent crisis. By definition, durable solutions when fully realized imply that people are protected from repeat displacement from the factors that originally forced them to move. In practice, this involves responding to both immediate as well as longer-term protection needs at the same time, needs which should be addressed through restoration of full citizenship rights and as such go beyond humanitarian support.

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However, in practice much more work needs to be done to strengthen approaches to durable solutions that utilize this kind of triple nexus approach. States' and aid actors' efforts to promote durable solutions often stop short of full inclusion of displacement-affected communities in development strategies and restitution of rights. This is where a development solutions approach can be useful.

4.3. Using political economy to promote development approaches to durable solutions

The political economy of displacement influences humanitarian action and work on durable solutions by showing how some pathways for providing protection and assistance are more promising than others. This analysis identifies the key stakeholders who may have an interest in seeing durable solutions realized, and some who may actively seek to block them if they consider them to pose a threat to their power or economic wellbeing. Such spoilers may even see the perpetuation of humanitarian and displacement dynamics as essential to maintaining their income stream and positions. Political economy analysis identifies the power interests and structures that enhance or impede the search for solutions with a view to working in support of or around such structures.

Identifying these interests does not mean accepting arrangements of power as they are or considering them to be immovable. Governments and leaders have multiple constituencies that they must be accountable to, and political economy analysis also identifies the pressure points that those who wield power must respond to. In Sudan, for instance, the new Transitional Government of Sudan (TGOS) is the target of high expectations, particularly from women and youth activists. The TGOS must manage these expectations while also ensuring adherence to its commitments under the Juba Peace Agreement (JPA) brokered by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Therefore, the pressure to deliver on the peace agenda and the rolling out of the JPA is a top priority for the TGOS despite the interests of those elites who may want to see a continuation of the *status quo*. In such an environment, and particularly given Sudan's role in 2021 as chair of IGAD, there may be opportunities to open up the space for pursuing development solutions.

The same can be said for an approach to development solutions which seeks to complement and extend durable solutions from a largely humanitarian focus to embrace a wider development emphasis, creating an enabling legal and policy environment for longer-term integration of displacement-affected communities into overall development planning by States themselves. Development solutions are premised on the view that IDPs must be included in all aspects of development planning and programming to ensure that their rights as citizens are restored and respected. Rather than a replacement for durable solutions policies and programming, development solutions complement this work, strengthening the social contract between IDPs as citizens and the State and fully upholding the State's responsibility to protect (see UNDP, 2021).

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Implementing a development solutions approach requires a good deal of flexibility. What may be possible in one country context may not be possible in another. In Colombia, important strides are being made by government and UN partners to extend the current support for displaced persons to include rights restitution in the reparations and peacebuilding work that is being done in the country. In Syria, security concerns and lack of humanitarian access to many areas of displacement prevent a comprehensive engagement with many DACs. The long years of war and the highly political nature of international involvement in Syria have strained relations between the government and many aid actors, limiting the amount of leverage that the latter may have in pushing for meaningful legal reforms towards development-focused approaches to durable solutions. Instead, the focus is on building resilience in the short-term and working at the local level to build capacity to increase protection capabilities.

Taking a contextual approach to development solutions in many cases means focusing on local and other sub-national levels to engage with leadership that often is better known and more trusted than central level government. Exactly what that collaboration looks like will vary from one context to the next. The key to understanding how and with whom to engage lies in the results of one's political economy analysis, which identifies who is respected as a legitimate holder of power, how much power they have, and what is their interest in facilitating or blocking the restitution of rights to displacement-affected communities. It may also involve the identification of Champions—political leaders, prominent public personalities, and/or influential civil society groups—who see a real benefit to a development solutions approach and who are willing to put their political and/or economic weight behind it to promote it.

Box 4 on Somalia describes the ways that durable solutions approaches have been extended from project-based, largely external activities to a government-owned process embedded in the National Development Plan and government structures.

Box 4. From durable solutions to development solutions in Somalia

Since state collapse in 1991, Somalia has generated waves of internal displacement and refugee flows in response to civil unrest, extreme food emergencies (including famines in 1992 and 2010), environmental change, and extreme poverty. As of 2019, it was estimated that there were 3.3 million refugees and IDPs in the country (with another million living as refugees in other countries within the Horn of Africa region).

During the 1990s, refugee repatriation from Ethiopia and Kenya exacerbated internal displacement, as many returning refugees were unable to establish themselves in areas of return (whether in their original areas or the cities to which they relocated). Reintegration

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assistance tended to focus, as it did in many other countries at the time, on Quick Impact Projects (QUIPs), which built up infrastructure and provided short-term support but did not address the long-term material and security needs of returnees and IDPs.

IDPs have tended to establish themselves in urban centres (Mogadishu, Baidoa, Kismayo and, in Somaliland, Hargeisa). They live on land to which they do not have secure tenure, in settlements that suffer from extremely poor water, sanitation and shelter conditions. Gatekeepers sometimes referred to as ‘black cats’ regularly extort money and a portion of aid received in exchange for protection (or as the price for not being attacked). Gender-based violence is a serious problem in the settlements. People rely on infrequent and poorly paid daily labour and aid resources. They report that their main immediate concerns are to secure their housing, land and property (HLP) rights, after which they can focus on their other needs.

Somalia’s governance apparatus is extremely weak. Its Draft Constitution has not yet been finalized and power struggles between the central level and federal states have led to political stalemates. In past years, a lack of clarity over lines of responsibility for dealing with displacement issues led to confusion and conflict between the National Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development (MoPIED) and the National Commission for Refugees and IDPs. More recently, however, the Federal Government of Somalia has been proactive in its approach to durable solutions for refugees, returnees and IDPs. Overall responsibilities for displacement issues have been assigned to the MoPIED and are enshrined in the 2020–2024 National Development Plan. Internal displacement solutions are mainstreamed into national development priorities and are included in strategies for fulfilling the Sustainable Development Goals. Further articulating provisions for addressing displacement is a National Durable Solutions Strategy, National Policy on Evictions, and National Policy on Refugees, Returnees and IDPs, which have been approved by the Presidential Cabinet.

Federal Member States have gone on to establish Durable Solutions Units within their own Planning Ministries. While coordination between federal and central level is not always entirely smooth, it has vastly improved, creating the possibility of addressing displacement issues at the local level. In Baidoa, for instance, the mayor of the city led a process by which IDPs and returned refugees were given permanent title to land (Watiin 2020).

As Somalia heads into an election season in 2021, the embeddedness of the durable-development solutions strategy will be tested. It remains to be seen whether, if the MoPIED’s leadership changes, the political commitment to finding comprehensive solutions to displacement will be upheld.

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A collective and participatory approach to displacement solutions requires a whole-of-government, whole-of-society, whole-of-UN and whole-of-international-community engagement with the problem of ensuring that the rights of those affected by displacement are protected and strengthened. Although IDPs are not the focus of either the Global Compact on Refugees or the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, it follows from the spirit of both compacts, not to mention that of the Sustainable Development Goals, by making a commitment to leave no one behind, to integrate displacement-affected communities into service provision, economic development, climate adaptation, and resilience work and peacebuilding plans. It necessarily also involves a rights-based approach, working to strengthen the social contract between citizens, states and societies to ensure that all who are affected are able to enjoy their full rights as citizens, to access the same level of services without regard to their status or level of vulnerability, and to participate freely in public, civic and political life. This requires sustained, long-term work.

4.4. Integrating development approaches into support for IDPs and displacement-affected communities

The development aspects of durable solutions may be elusive not only because of a lack of political will but because they depend on achieving systemic change in terms of peacebuilding, statebuilding, economic reform, rule of law and respect for human rights, or enhancement of the public service sector. As Nguya and Siddiqui (2020, 473) point out, “Resolution of internal displacement may be difficult to delink from broader national plans given that IDPs are within their own countries and durable solutions are often contingent on broader reforms therein”. Here the political economy of development becomes particularly relevant, as change requires a reconfiguration of the costs, benefits and rewards that extend from maintaining the status quo. Elites who hold political or economic power and who might be able to use that power to contribute to change, may not be convinced that they should subscribe to a change agenda. Di John and Putzel (2009, 4) refer to ‘political settlements’ as “*bargaining* outcomes among *contending* elites” (emphasis in the original). Knowing who the relevant elites are is essential, as is determining what their points of contention with each other are, and how the calculus of benefits may need to be redefined to provide incentives for change, or the costs of failing to change must be shown to be unbearable or undesirable. These changes can come from international pressure, the influence of the judiciary, legislative and executive branches of government on each other, or from popular demands for change from the citizenry and civil society. Access to data showing the extent of displacement, its causes, and effects on local communities may galvanise the will to effect change.

Meeting the challenges of integrating the needs of IDPs and displacement-affected communities into development planning requires engagement at multiple levels: it draws on the active participation of people living in contexts of internal displacement, together with broader structural engagement in processes of peacebuilding, political reconciliation, rights-based development or climate-change adaptation (Bradley, 2012). It may involve changing the job descriptions and expectations of line ministry staff, ensuring that

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development policies and plans are expanded to encompass the concerns and challenges of DACs, and redirecting funding streams to ensure that there are adequate and confirmed multi-year resources to implement expanded and more inclusive policy agendas.

As the case of Somalia (Box 4) demonstrates, significant impact can be made even where governance structures are weak. Where the legislative and policy environment has not been established to facilitate such comprehensive approaches, responding to the needs of IDPs and DACs is much more problematic. Nigeria, with 2.6 million IDPs, provides a good example of this. In 2010, the government published a National Disaster Management Framework, which includes short-term solutions such as the distribution of relief materials to IDPs and promotes long-term solutions, such as assisting in the rehabilitation of displacement-affected areas. Much of the work in developing this policy can be attributed to the then Chairperson of the House Committee on IDPs, who functioned as what Adeola and Orchard (2021) term a *norm entrepreneur*, an individual who champions a change in policy or legislation in a transformative way. However, Nigeria does not yet have national legislation on IDPs. It has ratified the African Union's 2009 Kampala Convention and developed a National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons which includes adherence to many of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. However, despite being prepared a decade ago, it has never been enacted into law due to a lack of political will and a concern that legal contradictions concerning ethnic and religious conflicts need to be resolved before attention can be devoted to legislation on IDPs. As a result, the National Policy lacks legal status and responsibilities and coordination arrangements for IDP protection are unclear (Ezeanokwasa et al. 2018).

The case of Ukraine, discussed in Box 5, provides another example of how, even when there is national policy, comprehensive solutions can elude people who are displaced outside areas of government control.

Box 5. Complications of access in Ukraine

Internal displacement in Ukraine is driven by armed conflict after Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014. Following this, in May 2014, eastern regions of Donetsk and Luhansk declared independence from Ukraine, resulting in military action from Kiev. According to registration data, most IDPs moved to government-controlled urban areas in the east of the country. The continuing insecurity, however, means that IDPs in Ukraine are currently at risk of repeated displacement or have already moved on from their registered areas (IDMC 2021b).

In 2014, Ukraine adopted a law on the protection of IDPs, the 'Law on Ensuring Rights and Freedoms of IDPs'. This law, based on similar legislation in neighbouring Georgia, explicitly promotes durable solutions to internal displacements. The Ministry for Temporarily Occupied

Territories and IDPs is responsible for implementation of the law (IDMC 2020; IDMC, 2021). A detailed action plan has been developed and in 2017 the government adopted a Strategy on Integration of IDPs and Implementation of Long-term-Solutions to Internal Displacement until 2020. This strategy aimed to ensure the restoration and protection of IDP rights. It focuses on factors contributing to durable, long-term solutions such as establishing effective cooperation between IDPs and local government bodies and supporting host communities. With the change of government in 2019, the ministry dealing with internal displacement was disbanded and responsibility was assigned to the Ministry of Veterans Affairs stalling progress. The following year Prime Minister Denys Shmyhal reinstated the Ministry of Temporary Reintegration of Temporarily Occupied Territories and IDPs.

Housing is a challenge for many Ukrainian IDPs. Most people who were displaced from non-government-controlled territories owned their own homes. In areas of displacement however, only 17% of IDPs own their own homes, while over 90% of the local population are homeowners. Many IDPs live with relatives, friends, host families or in collective accommodation under poor conditions. The Government of Ukraine has implemented many housing schemes to meet IDPs' housing needs, recognising that access to secure housing is the foundation for stabilising people's livelihoods so that they may more effectively pursue durable solutions. At the local level action was also taken; a good practice example is that of the city of Mariupol, which actively distributed housing to the most vulnerable IDPs (UNHCR, 2015; IDMC, 2021).

In some areas, the presence of IDPs has been of benefit to host communities: some universities and businesses were relocated from areas outside government control to areas under government control, and local communities that had been experiencing declining populations were able to keep schools and other services open with the arrival of IDPs (UNOCHA 2020, 38).

Ukraine's loss of territory to Russian-based separatist groups has posed challenges for people who continue to live in areas outside of government control but seek assistance and payment of pensions from the government of Ukraine. To receive payments, they must register as IDPs and cross the lines of control. This illustrates how political factors have led to an impractical system whereby the State still tries to give benefits to people while they are administratively in territories outside government control (UNHCR, 2015; IDMC, 2021).

5. Drivers of internal displacement

Having discussed the central concepts of political economy, durable solutions and development solutions, this section considers the different phases of displacement to demonstrate how political economy analysis can inform all aspects of prevention, assistance and protection and pave the way for development solutions.

Unpacking the political economy of displacement requires understanding the drivers of displacement and the interests and exercises of power that have led people to be forced to leave their homes. In some cases actions by the powerful will be the main drivers, as with contexts of conflict or political repression. In others the main drivers may be related to natural hazards, technological disasters, or development projects. In all cases, however, political and economic relations influence the underlying conditions of vulnerability and resilience that make some people more likely to be displaced than others; these may be considered the proximate causes of displacement. Power relations and the economies of war, disaster and humanitarian and development assistance may also have an impact upon displacement movements, even where they are taken in response to natural hazards. This considers the ways in which vested interests and relations of power form primary and proximate drivers of displacement.

Our understanding of how political economy influences displacement owes a great deal to the literatures on ‘new famines’ (see Devereux 2007, DeWaal 2018, Edkins 2002, Keen 2008) which consider the ways that extreme food insecurity and famine are ‘made’ to happen either deliberately or through an inability to effectively prevent them. The circumstances surrounding each instance of extreme food insecurity may vary, and may involve conflict, prolonged drought, pest infestation, etc., which prevent people from being able to procure adequate food to be able to survive. Such an approach stresses the fact that people who face crisis are often no strangers to it and have developed effective ways of dealing with risk and resource shortages, but for a variety of reasons find that these adaptations are insufficient or impossible to carry out.

In a similar vein, displacement occurs when people’s own ability to protect themselves, both physically and in terms of accessing essential resources, is broken down and the State’s protective function is ruptured. The breakdown in the role of the protective State can be the result of deliberately targeting people, or it may arise from an unwillingness to recognize the problem that is eroding people’s coping mechanisms or the inability to adequately meet people’s needs despite a genuine will to do so.

When a State is functioning as it should, all citizens should be able to trust that their rights will be respected—rights relating to due process and rule of law, participation in social, economic and political

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life, ability to move, work, own or access property, and to be able to access adequate health, education, food security and other basic resources. When the State—including its representatives at local or district level—is unable to guarantee people access to these resources, people may have no choice but to move to a place where they can expect greater access to the resources and rights they lack, or that are withheld from them. Often this is to the nearest city, town or region. People tend to want to remain as close to their homes as they can, at least at first, so that they can return periodically and maintain access to their property, livelihoods and social networks.

Often it is only if such localized settlement is not possible, security is lacking, or social networks are stronger far from the areas of origin do people tend to look to destinations further away, including outside their country of origin. For instance, in the Horn of Africa regional drought of 2017–18, Somalia saw an increase of more than 1 million IDPs in 2018 (half displaced by conflict and the other half by drought), yet outmigration from the region was not significantly greater (Horwood 2020). In many contexts, IDPs who later seek refuge outside the country or travel to more developed countries are younger, better educated and wealthier people than those who remain behind.

The breakdown in the State's protective function can be influenced by dynamics at global, regional, national or subnational levels. The global economic recession brought by the COVID-19 pandemic, for instance, has threatened the livelihoods of people throughout the world, and has rendered particularly vulnerable groups even more insecure. The lockdowns imposed by countries in an attempt to stop the spread of the virus left many IDPs unemployed who previously relied on informal, precarious jobs. At the same time, the ability to move has been severely limited. UNHCR (2020, 5) estimates that in the first six months of 2020, there were 33 percent fewer asylum applications than for the same period in 2019, and 90 countries denied access to territory with no exceptions for asylum seekers. By February 2021, the number of states that had closed their borders or otherwise restricted access to asylum seekers and refugees had grown to 144 (UNHCR 2021). It is reasonable to assume that there was not a corresponding improvement in human rights and protection conditions during 2020. In fact, the Norwegian Refugee Council reported that 660,000 people had been displaced between March 23, 2020 when the UN Secretary General called for a global ceasefire to help respond to COVID-19, and May 15, 2020 (NRC 2020). This suggests that people at risk have either had to remain in place, or else have become internally displaced. Moreover, in virtually every country, displaced populations have less access to testing, treatment and vaccination for COVID-19 than settled citizens.

Fluctuations in the availability of humanitarian and development assistance, which many citizens hold their governments accountable for securing, may also influence people's decisions about whether to move, where to go and who to move with. Chronically underfunded humanitarian crises such as in the Central African Republic, for instance, have accelerated rates of displacement towards cities and across international borders. Breakdowns in rule of law, as seen in Central America, as the El Salvador case study conducted for this project shows (Rivas 2021), are sometimes the continuing legacies of incomplete

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post-war transitional justice processes, whereby gangs and criminal elements have sought to seize political and economic control over areas where governments have not been able to successfully establish themselves following the conflict or respond to the needs of citizens.

Political economy analysis of the drivers of displacement focuses on the structural causes that render people vulnerable and that block their ability to have their rights as citizens recognized. These structural drivers may seem intractable; international actors may feel that they have very little leverage to influence the systems generating and perpetuating inequalities. However, longer-term development engagement requires a clear understanding of what these conditions are in order to find potential openings and means of engaging with power brokers to maximize benefits to displacement-affected communities.

6. Efforts to pursue social-economic integration in displacement areas

The degree and means by which displaced people and their hosts can pursue social and economic integration, including—but also going beyond—questions of livelihoods and coping strategies reflects the conditions of political economy that they are exposed to. As noted above, States take varying approaches to recognizing situations of displacement within their territories, offering greater or less protection depending on the causes of displacement, who is displaced, where they are settled, what competing political and economic interests and priorities there are and whether international or local assistance is available. Donor responses also fluctuate, and typically are focused almost exclusively on humanitarian and short-term development support; funding tends to diminish before longer-term durable or development solutions are achieved, leaving DACs vulnerable to repeated shocks or further displacement.

6.1. Invisibility and urbanisation

Perhaps the most severe displacement problems emerge from situations in which there is a lack of trust in the will or ability of those in power to provide effective assistance and protection. This may be the case when the State is directly responsible for causing displacement, such as in a civil conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia in 2020–21. It may also happen when the State is not able to exercise effective control over an area, and the authorities in control—whether state or non-state actors, or criminal elements such as gangs—pose significant threats to civilians. Internally displaced persons often seek out invisibility as a strategy, settling with relatives and friends in local communities rather than registering as displaced or seeking support that would draw attention to them. While there may be some limited security from not being visible as IDPs, there is also often greater vulnerability from more precarious housing and employment conditions, having less access to justice mechanisms, not being able to access humanitarian assistance and having to share or compete for what are often limited resources with local communities. Those who are invisible often face greater risk that violation of their basic rights and security will be carried out with impunity (Polzer and Hammond, 2008; Turner and Bjarnesen 2020).

Invisibility is not always a choice that displaced people make—many are unable to qualify or register for assistance from local authorities because they lack the necessary documentation or information about their rights and available services, they do not meet strict criteria for eligibility or there are inadequate resources to help all who are displaced.

6. EFFORTS TO PURSUE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN DISPLACEMENT AREAS

Many IDPs who choose or are forced to settle themselves without support from the State or international organizations, tend to move into urban settings. Several of the examples cited in this paper refer to urban centres as IDP destinations. Importantly, many of these destinations are secondary cities—regional or provincial capitals or urban centres outside the national capital. Secondary cities have tended not to be the focus of attention and investment in urban development.

Those who move to cities do so because they feel they have more opportunities to find work, housing, education and services, and to escape the protection risks from which they have fled. Earle et al. (2021, 495) suggest that internal displacement should be reconceptualized “as an accelerated version of an inevitable and widespread trend towards urbanisation that opens up opportunities to work with those at the frontline of reception of most IDPs—municipal authorities—and to do so in such a way that stimulates political will and social and economic inclusion, by investing in urban services that meet the needs of all residents, displaced and hosts”. This represents a dramatic departure from typical forms of response to internal displacement, which Earle et al. (Ibid.) point out ‘responds to the immediate needs of IDPs but may fall short of providing the foundations for their dignified existence as urban citizens’ (Ibid.).

In Bangladesh, mixed movements of forcibly displaced and migrant workers into urban centres, particularly the capital Dhaka, represent a major challenge for municipalities. Newcomers to the city are typically destitute and are unable to fully establish themselves as urban residents as they cannot afford to rent adequate housing, find secure employment and access essential services. They remain ‘trapped’ on the periphery of the city, both geographically and socio-economically (Mostefa 2021).

Directing funds through local and municipal authorities may help change the ways officials view displacement, in that they come to integrate the needs and interests of the displaced into their overall plans for urban development. This is a departure from the way that most humanitarian assistance is delivered, which is through nongovernmental agencies on a project basis that often does not respond to the overall urban development priorities of the municipality. Many municipal officials worry that providing improved services for IDPs may encourage more people to come into the city. Here it can be useful to invest in parallel support to rural areas as well, to enable those who would rather remain in their rural homes to do so, while at the same time helping cities cope with their increasing populations (Iazzolino, 2018). Helping IDPs to settle in smaller cities and towns may also take some of the pressure off the larger cities that have so far been the main destination for IDPs.

While the point has been made that most IDPs live outside of camps or assisted settlements, these spaces are themselves urban spaces of a sort, and people who are displaced into them often become urbanised quickly. Although services and assistance may be very basic, over time IDPs may become accustomed to living in such settings, which makes return or onward movement to rural settings increasingly unlikely as time passes.

6.2. Tensions with hosts

Even where blatant violations are not obvious, self-settled or under-served IDPs often run into conflict with local communities as they compete for resources. In some cases, initial expressions of hospitality and sharing of resources are worn out through the gradual erosion of hosts' own resources and tensions mount over time. For instance, in Iraq's Kurdistan region, tensions between non-Kurdish IDPs and local communities—along economic but also ethnic grounds—are hindering efforts at local integration (Shanks 2021; Human Rights Watch 2019). In the same area, families perceived to be affiliated with ISIS often struggle to find a solution to their displacement, unable to return for fear of revenge attacks from victims of ISIS and regarded as a security risk by host communities (Shanks 2021). In Somalia, people living in urban IDP settlements are the poorest of the poor (those who are better off have settled with relatives outside of the settlements) and as many as 75 per cent of the population belongs to one of the several weaker minority clans. Here, discrimination based on clan identity or ethnicity is overlaid with the stigma of being displaced to severely limit people's efforts at local integration and their access to livelihood resources (REF 2018).

In a country where displacement is protracted and large-scale, there may be negative impacts on local conditions and national development. Undocumented IDPs may strain already weak health and education systems. Large influxes of people into urban areas may drive up housing and property rental and purchase costs, as well as the prices for essential household items. However, these impacts are not experienced everywhere and, in some cases, displacement may bring opportunities for local community development in terms of stimulating markets, providing a pool of available labour, and attracting development resources. A 2019 IDMC study in Benadir, Somalia and Sabeta, Ethiopia found that most local residents did not experience a decline in quality of housing, healthcare or education following the arrival of IDPs and that wage rates in Benadir increased due to a boom in the construction industry and market activity (Yasukawa 2020). Many IDPs come with skills, assets and energy and are keen to contribute to the overall economy. Yet the more excluded they are from labour markets and economic integration, the more difficult it is for these positive benefits to be realized (see Section 8 on Financing Development Solutions, below).

Invisibility and local tensions call for an area-based or community-based approach to development solutions. Local tensions may be smoothed by supporting communities that host displaced people, and by providing incentives for engagement to community and municipal leaders. While some assistance may need to be targeted specifically for IDPs (such as ensuring that people have affordable and sustainable access to housing), a great deal of assistance can be targeted according to need; support for people with vulnerabilities is then provided irrespective of their displacement status. This allows for a more inclusive approach to supporting displacement-affected communities, and helps protect and reach those IDPs who would, for whatever reason, prefer not to be registered as being displaced.

6. EFFORTS TO PURSUE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN DISPLACEMENT AREAS

Alongside the area-based approach, in situations of conflict processes of property restitution, transitional justice and peacebuilding are also needed. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in detail the means by which these goals should be achieved, they are very often the keys to unlocking durable solutions and ensuring equal access for all to development benefits.

7. Political economy analysis of potential development solutions

As with durable solutions, working towards development solutions requires continual assessment of the political economy of a given context. This involves knowing who the power brokers are:

- Who are the key government officials and offices that would need to be engaged to promote strategies that return citizens' rights to them and foster inclusive development planning processes?
- What interests might they have in pursuing such strategies, and why might they be hesitant to do so?
- What are the interests and strengths of civil society and how can their work (which is often already focused on protecting and restoring people's rights and access to key resources) be supported through the engagement of international actors?
- What are the areas of engagement that are most likely to gain traction (and why)?
- What areas are likely to be the most difficult for a change to occur (and why)?

The private sector can be important partners—as employers of people in DACs, financial services providers, investors in local economies and implementing agents. A political economy approach asks how businesspeople and companies at the local, national and international level might be engaged to contribute to the local economy in ways that benefit displacement-affected communities and investors, traders, service providers and employers. What opportunities would incentivize this involvement, and what are the obstacles (lack of infrastructure, insecurity, lack of trained workforce, etc.)?

Regional actors can also be helpful catalysts for change. In Central America, the Comprehensive Regional Protection and Solutions Framework (Marco Integral Regional de Protección y Soluciones para las Américas, or MIRPS) was established in 2017 to help work towards durable solutions for refugees and IDPs, following the 2016 New York Declaration and the development of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). Through its involvement in MIRPS, Honduras has incorporated the category of causing internal displacement within its new draft Penal Code. As Hudson and Ní Ghráinne (2020) observe, various national institutes in Honduras formed a working group with the aim of enhancing knowledge on the protection of land and housing in the context of internal forced displacement. MIRPS offers several peer-to-peer forums where IDP issues can be raised as part of the discussion surrounding refugee response.

7. POLITICAL ECONOMY ANALYSIS OF POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT SOLUTIONS

Similarly, in the Horn of Africa, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development has been an important source of positive political peer pressure to encourage the eight member states to pursue more inclusive approaches towards displacement-affected populations (see REF 2019). These institutions can—and have demonstrated an ability—to do what no international organization can: to secure the will at the highest political level for pursuing development solutions across a wide geopolitical region.

A political economy analysis might also consider the intended outcomes of a development solutions approach. How might greater inclusion of DACs into national development plans, health care service delivery strategies and education provision, for example, lead to opportunities for generating jobs, promoting local development, or fuelling a construction boom in secondary cities, etc.? By what means can displaced populations become active contributors to the economy, including as taxpayers? On the other hand, what challenges might be faced—will tensions between DACs and local communities be exacerbated? What are the financial requirements of promoting an inclusive approach within the health or education sectors? What challenges are there with respect to housing, land and property rights that would need to be addressed to work towards sustainable development solutions? Crucially, what benefits might there be from these activities and strategies?

It is useful to look at countries that have been working on inclusive policies for IDPs for a long time. In Colombia (see Box 3), support to DACs brings together work with communities on peacebuilding and reconciliation, reparations and rule of law. There, UNDP and UNHCR are working together to support people in displacement situations whether they are IDPs or hosts.

In Somalia, as noted in Box 4, displacement issues have been included in the National Development Plan. The National Policy for Refugees, Returnees and IDPs has been ratified at the central level, while at the federal regional state level, durable solutions units within the regional planning departments help ensure that support for DACs is integrated into regional and municipal planning. The implementation of this work is admittedly uneven. In Baidoa, Somalia, a particularly pro-active mayor led a process of identifying land that IDPs and returning refugees could be resettled to, thereby ending their fear of eviction and enabling them to settle and focus on their other needs. In Hargeisa, a partnership between the European Commission's Humanitarian Office (ECHO), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the Somaliland Administration facilitated the settlement of one group of displaced former pastoralists onto permanent plots of land.

Research in Hargeisa has shown that having the security of knowing that they did not face eviction helped people focus on other challenges, such as enrolling their children in school, investing in better housing and a reliable water source (rather than expensive purchases from water tankers). Other IDPs squatting on public or private lands around the city of Hargeisa pointed to the settled community and indicated that the security of HLP rights was the main thing they wanted help to achieve (Hammond 2019).

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In Adama, Ethiopia, local government and community organizations collected over \$1 million in cash and in-kind donations and constructed over 2,000 houses for Oromos who had been displaced as a result of violence in the Somali region of the country. While the immediate needs of registered IDPs were met, many more IDPs were not able to register and thus remained ‘invisible’ to local authorities. Funds were not available from local, national, or international sources for longer-term integration into development efforts (Easton-Calabria 2020).

While some governments will have an appetite and capacity for working towards comprehensive inclusion of displacement issues in national legislation and policy, others may not. In Syria, for instance, the focus centers on building the resilience of displacement-affected communities and working with local authorities to help strengthen livelihoods for those whose displacement is protracted and for whom long-term solutions are elusive.

Ideally, working toward development solutions should be firmly implanted within government structures, and led and owned by government interests. In some cases, this can be difficult due to lack of capacity or political engagement. Still, interagency collaboration can help to foster longer-term and more inclusive approaches towards displacement. The role of the UN Resident Coordinator, who is the primary interlocutor with the government on behalf of the UN Country Team at the highest level, has an important role to play in this regard. UNDP, UNHCR, IOM and other specialized UN agencies have developed ways of working together to help build resilience and provide protection where this function is not yet fully available from the government. None of these agencies can work in isolation, as the needed scale of change is too broad, and their individual organizational mandates are generally too narrow. Strategies for shifting this collaboration onto government, rather than operating a parallel assistance and protection function, must be a key objective in such settings.

Integrating displacement concerns within wider development strategies is not only about including DACs within overall development plans or poverty reduction strategies. It may also be appropriate to integrate risk-reduction strategies for IDPs within disaster prevention policies and climate change mitigation strategies. In Bangladesh, where most displacement is due to environmental hazards, disaster prevention measures include mitigating the vulnerability of people living in areas susceptible to flooding and supporting people who are displaced seasonally. These measures are relatively short-term, however, and longer-term integration of mitigation and response measures for DACs has only recently been taken into account with the drafting of the National Strategy for the Management of Disaster- and Climate-Induced Internal Displacement (NSMDCIID). This strategy takes an explicitly rights-based approach, integrating key aspects of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement into an understanding of the ways climate change and environmental risks affect community responses (Scott and Salamanca 2020; Mostefa 2021).

8. Financing development solutions

Financing development solutions is a major challenge. Integrating displacement-affected communities into development plans and policies and extending line ministry services to everyone regardless of displacement status is expensive, and implementation plans often founder due to funding shortages. For this reason, financing of development solutions is a key challenge that requires the combined inputs of governments, multilateral and bilateral donors, international financial institutions, private sector actors (both international and domestic and including public-private partnerships) and implementing organisations.

The economic impact of internal displacement is conservatively estimated to have been \$20.5 billion in 2020 (IDMC 2021). This figure “includes the cost of providing every IDP with support for their housing, education, health and security, and accounts for their loss of income for one year of displacement. It does not account for displacement’s longer-term consequences for the economy or its impacts on host communities and communities of origin (IDMC 2021a). According to IDMC, the average cost per IDP was \$370 per year (ranging from \$109 in Afghanistan to \$830 in Syria). These estimates are based on data from the Humanitarian Response Plans and Humanitarian Needs Overviews, and so are necessarily focused on short-term impacts; the real cost of development solutions and inclusion of IDPs within development plans and sectoral budgets is much higher. These costs can significantly impede the poorest countries’ ability to achieve their poverty reduction targets and fulfil their Sustainable Development Goals.

An inclusive approach towards development solutions seeks to bring efforts to work towards long-term development solutions for displacement-affected communities together with strategies for meeting these targets. This approach requires creative and sustained approaches to finance rather than grand master plans which lack support and ownership at national and local levels. Engagement is needed at central level, to support legal and policy reform to integrate displacement protection and support into development strategies. But it is also needed at local level, where the actual implementation of laws, policies and action plans takes place. Each without the other will not succeed.

Support for DACs tends to be kept separate from other forms of development funding and to be broken down into sectoral or target-group oriented budget lines. Nguya and Siddiqui (2020, 477) call for flexible, multiyear, country-level pooled funding to be considered “as a means to further break down sector-based silos”. To complement these humanitarian funding mechanisms, longer-term trust funds and commitments are needed to support development plans and support the mainstreaming of services for displacement-affected communities. They advocate for Multi-Partner Trust Funds to be used to stimulate and incentivize cross-sectoral support for HDP nexus activities. This may help where there is already

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considerable will to work towards solutions by engaging across the humanitarian, development and peacebuilding spaces. However, this may not work well where political will is lacking or there are overriding competing demands on limited funding streams.

Funds and in-kind support may come from multiple sources, ranging from host remittances, host communities, municipalities, regional and central government and the nongovernmental sector to bilateral and multilateral international donors. Increasingly, private sector interests—both as philanthropic donors and commercial investors—have been active in engaging with displacement interests. This should be promoted wherever possible.

Whatever form financial support comes in—whether trust funds, national development plans, etc.—it is essential in adopting a development solutions approach to make a shift from project-based, shorter term approaches to more strategic, multi-year funding. This is not a new idea, but the funding commitment to make it happen is generally inadequate. Not only is this essential for government planning, but donors also need to adopt this approach with their implementing partners so that NGOs and others—not to mention DACs themselves—will have the assurance that they can plan strategically for integrating displacement and development strategies.

9. Taking advantage of international interest and political will

Several challenges and opportunities at the international level affect the feasibility of initiating a development solutions approach to displacement. Current challenges include a lack of an international compact to guide support for IDPs. Internal displacement is not included in the scope of either the Global Compact on Refugees or the Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. This reflects States' reluctance to invite international oversight into how they manage what most consider to be internal matters regarding population displacement. The Responsibility to Protect has some way to go before universal acceptance by States as both an obligation and a matter for mandated intervention by the international community.

The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in a 3.5% increase in foreign aid from official donors in 2020 as compared to 2019. ODA rose in 16 DAC countries, but fell in 13 countries. Even where funding has not been reduced, however, the added costs of responding to the pandemic worldwide has squeezed humanitarian and development budgets. The OECD/DAC reports that while governments globally provided 16 trillion dollars' worth of stimulus measures for COVID-19, only 1 per cent of that total was directed to helping developing countries (OECD 2021). The increased costs of controlling the virus and managing the economic impacts of the pandemic is squeezing aid and government budgets, threatening funding that is specifically targeted at displacement.

The work of the High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement, tasked with recommending comprehensive solutions, represents an important opportunity to rethink how protection and support for displacement-affected communities is thought of and worked towards. The suggestion to give more focus to the humanitarian-development-peacebuilding nexus and to durable solutions at the level of the Emergency Relief Coordinator could be an important step towards improving interagency coordination and collaboration towards facilitating solutions for displacement-affected communities. Promoting political economy analysis in displacement settings would also be an important contribution towards more effective and comprehensive solutions.

During the 20th anniversary of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, a three-year process known as GP20, was initiated to “raise awareness, spark reflection and inspire action” regarding promotion of the Guiding Principles and “to reduce and resolve internal displacement through prevention, protection and solutions for IDPs” (GP20: 2018). This multi-stakeholder initiative involving the UN Special Rapporteur on

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the Human Rights of IDPs, UNHCR, UNDP, and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), has provided a valuable platform for raising political commitment towards promoting long-term solutions to internal displacement. In 2021, this has been expanded into the GP2.0 platform, co-chaired by UNOCHA, UNHCR, IOM, UNDP, and with a mission to strengthen collaboration on internal displacement and to advance prevention, protection and solutions for internally displaced people.⁶

6 Members of the core group of GP2.0 include the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of IDPs, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Development Coordination Office, World Food Programme, UNICEF, UN HABITAT, UN Population Fund (UNFPA), IDMC, JIPS, Danish Refugee Council, Norwegian Refugee Council, International Rescue Committee, International Council of Voluntary Agencies, Platform on Disaster Displacement and Jesuit Refugee Services.

10. Conclusion: best practice and lessons learned

This paper considers how a political economy approach can be used to bring forward an approach to development solutions to internal displacement. It especially shows how political interests and economic dynamics at all levels can impinge upon, or conversely open up, areas for engagement.

This section pulls together the various threads of the argument by focusing on best practices and lessons learned through a consideration of evidence from many of the countries that host the largest displaced populations. This includes a range of contexts, from conflict-generated protracted displacement situations, to post-conflict scenarios, situations of gang violence and criminality, as well as countries in which climate-related mixed forced displacement and migration have been dominant.

There are positive lessons learned and success stories that can be helpful in devising a strategy for development solutions. These include innovative approaches to legal and policy reform, productive coordination and financing mechanisms, and strategies by the displaced themselves and/or local communities.

- 1. Development actors must engage early and systematically on displacement issues, preferably by scanning the horizon for displacement before it happens.** Supported by political economy analysis, this will allow for an earlier understanding of underlying causes, which in turn will save time and resources in promoting solutions.
- 2. Focus development solutions work on achieving the eight indicators set out by the IASC Framework on Durable Solutions, complementing humanitarian and peacebuilding work, not replacing it.** Medium and long-term engagement at central, regional, and local levels should go alongside essential emergency work, building the pieces of a developmental approach from existing opportunities and political will. This work should be based on principles of sustainability, accountability and respect for rights, and should aim at ensuring government ownership of inclusive support for displacement-affected populations.
- 3. Look for development-oriented allies—within government, civil society, the donor community, the UN system, at the community and municipal levels, and within the private sector.** Map them and identify what their interests are. Similarly, identify which stakeholders might stand as obstacles, and why? What reasons might they have for not wanting to engage in more inclusive development planning

10. CONCLUSION: BEST PRACTICE AND LESSONS LEARNED

and implementation? Why might they not want to see displacement-affected communities included in mainstream development programmes?

4. **Promote data systems that are robust and widely regarded as legitimate by those who are involved in working for comprehensive durable solutions.** Ideally such data systems should be owned by government and supported by the international community and civil society. Such systems can enhance collaboration and engender a common understanding of the scale, priorities, and pathways to development approaches to durable solutions.
5. **Work to make development policies and strategies more ‘mobility friendly’.** Including the needs of displacement-affected communities within development strategies and policies is not only about extending protection and services to the displaced and the communities they live in, but is also about ensuring that development approaches incorporate an understanding of the various ways that human mobility helps build resilience of communities. Movement is not negative *per se*. Yet, when it is forced or unsafe, movement becomes problematic. Long-term solutions to displacement are likely to include a need for people to move freely (as their citizenship rights entitle them) to take advantage of opportunities in different places. Durable solutions planning should take this into account and not try to force people into sedentary single solutions that may undermine their resilience.
6. **Work at a pace that matches the interests, needs and concerns of the local area.** Displacement contexts are often extremely fragile and volatile, and sometimes long-term planning for development solutions cannot be undertaken too quickly. A development solutions approach that is phased, taking advantage of the opportunities and political will that exist rather than pushing too hard or too fast is likely to work better. Where security is limited or political engagement does not allow for comprehensive durable solutions, focus on the local level at building up the trust between local actors and displacement-affected communities. This will hopefully become an asset that can be further built upon in the future. Similarly, some areas within a country may be more conducive than others for approaching development and durable solutions. An area-based approach is required with attendant analyses of demographics, including a sex and age disaggregation of data, the political economy, the environment and other factors of that particular area.
7. **Take a participatory approach.** Several of the interviewees consulted for this study have stressed that where they have had the most success at embedding displacement issues into development strategies has been where they have been careful to work closely with communities and other stakeholders. “Follow, don’t lead,” said colleagues in Colombia. Such participation must be meaningful, and some of the power of priority setting and decision-making must be devolved to these partners. If the political will to pursue a particular line of action is not secured, then the approach will not succeed. A participatory approach also involves asking IDPs how they themselves intend to pursue their solutions, what

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obstacles they face and how they intend to overcome them, in order to determine what external assistance they may need.

- 8. Clearly communicate the benefits of an inclusive development solutions approach to help bring all stakeholders on board.** The UN Resident Coordinator can play an important part in building up political will towards inclusion of displacement-affected communities in legal and development policy frameworks. UN agencies, with their respective areas of competence and leadership, all have a role to play in the pursuit of development solutions. Coordination should be managed by engaging with different levels. UNDP has committed itself to a development solutions approach, and has proposed to assume a coordination role. But all agencies must be willing for such a coordination function to be assigned in this way.
- 9. To guide interagency collaboration, it is essential for organizations to approach their mandates flexibly, and through cooperation rather than defensiveness.** This requires development actors to more effectively engage with humanitarian environments and for humanitarian actors to likewise engage with development platforms and stakeholders more systematically. Of course, a good deal of this cooperation already exists, but some of the best successes in comprehensive development solutions work can be achieved when organizations agree to work together in a concerted fashion towards this common goal.
- 10. Develop operational processes for embedding a political economy analysis within UN agencies.** This requires the elaboration of methods or toolkits for conducting such analysis that can be undertaken by staff at all levels. It is also likely to require specific training of staff in political economy and/or the deployment of political economy specialists to help advise on how to build such analysis into planning and programming. UNDP has a clear advantage over other agencies in incorporating such capacity at regional and country levels, but can use this advantage as a complementary benefit rather than a standalone replacement of other approaches. UNDP can also take the lead in training and communications on the subject.

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