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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)
HDPP	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

	National Ministry of Planning, Investment and Economic Development
	National Strategy for the Management of Disaster—and Climate—Induced Internal Displacement
	Nongovernmental organisation
	Norwegian Refugee Council
	Quick Impact Projects
	Refugee Law Project
	Transitional Government of Sudan
	United Nations
	United Nations Development Programme
	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
	World Food Programme

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 report 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.

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.

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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 report 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,

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The report 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 report 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.

I·a : Years of conflict, generalised insecurity and displacement have served to change the ethnic and religious composition of di□erent 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 di□culties in doing business and generating livelihood and employment opportunities. E□orts 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.

S da : Displacement in Sudan, estimated in 2021 as a□ecting 3.65 million people (including 2.55 million IDPs) (UNHCR 2021) has a long history, with di□erent drivers at di□erent 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 report 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 report 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 report 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

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.

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This report 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:

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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.

3. [illegible]

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, Koui, 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. [illegible]

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 di□cult to access cash, and some aid agencies are also struggling to find ways to pay their sta□. 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 e□ective COVID-19 response

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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. [illegible]

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 a□ected 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.

3. [illegible]

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-a□ected communities. According to UNDP Colombia sta□, 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 a□ected 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-a□ected 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. [illegible]

- 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.

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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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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. T

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

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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.

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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

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 e□ective 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 A□airs 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 e□ectively 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.

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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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.

Alongside the area-based approach, in situations of conflict processes of property restitution, transitional justice and peacebuilding are also needed. While is it beyond the scope of this report to discuss in detail

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).

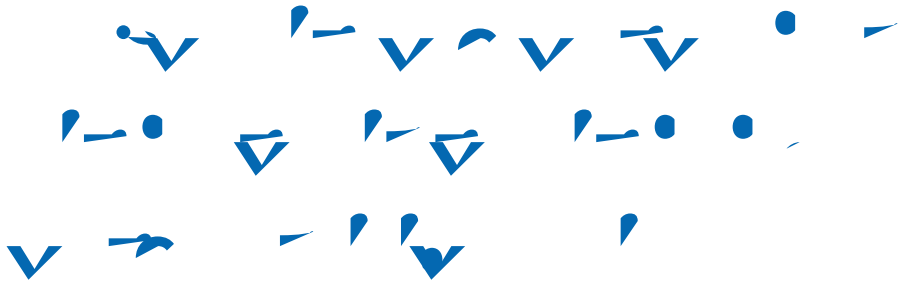
In Adama, Ethiopia, local government and community organizations collected over $1 million in cash and in-kind donations and constructed over 2,000 houses for Oromos who had been displaced as a result of violence in the Somali region of the country. While the immediate needs of registered IDPs were met, 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

7. [illegible]

considerable will to work towards solutions by engaging across the humanitarian, development and .i scn/n3.118W/rubWha



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

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 Refuge Council, International Rescue Committee, International Council of Voluntary Agencies, Platform on Disaster Displacement and Jesuit Refugee Services.

10. [illegible]

This report 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

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