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Internal Displacement and Responses at the Global Level: A Review of the Scholarship

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Abstract

This paper reviews the scholarship that addresses internal displacement at a global or general level. This includes research on global frameworks or processes concerned with internal displacement as well as that which addresses internal displacement in a general, or non-region/country-specific, way. It starts by describing the main internal displacement trends at the global level. It then reviews how scholarship on internal displacement at a global or general level has developed, respectively, in the fields of law and policy, other social sciences and humanities, and health and medicine. It ends by offering conclusions on the scope of existing research and directions for future study.

This review of the scholarly literature seeks to identify principal trends, gaps and opportunities relating to research on internal displacement. Towards this end, the review concentrates on academic publications, including monographs, chapters in edited volumes and peer-reviewed articles, from the early 1990s until the start of 2020, a period of approximately 30 years. It thus offers not only a critical review of the state of the art in this field of study but also a key point of reference for researchers looking to develop our understanding of internal displacement from the standpoint of a variety of different disciplines and themes.

The paper forms part of a series of papers published in this Working Paper Series that review the state of the scholarship on internal displacement at the global level and in particular regions as we enter the decade of the 2020s. This research forms part of the Interdisciplinary Network on Displacement, Conflict and Protection (AH/T005351/1) and Global Engagement on Internal Displacement in sub-Saharan Africa (EP/T003227/1) projects, pilots of which were supported by the UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF). It should be read in conjunction with the other review papers in this series.

Keywords

Internal Displacement, IDPs, Conflict, Global

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1. Introduction

At the start of the decade of the 2020s, this review of the scholarship provides an overview of the academic research literature to date relating to general or global aspects of the topics of internal displacement and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The study is designed to be read alongside the other studies in this series that review the published research on these themes in the regions of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.¹ It builds on a recent 'state of the art' review of research in the IDP field,² which it complements with its more comprehensive review of the academic literature. This allows it to offer a broader perspective on how academic scholarship has sought to engage with questions of internal displacement and IDPs and the gaps and questions that emerge as a result of this analysis.

The review starts by reviewing the main trends identified by the key existing sources of quantitative data at the global level (2). It then reviews the published literature from scholarly sources in relation to law and policy, the other social sciences and humanities, and health that focus on developments at the global level or which offer a general, i.e. non-regionally based, perspective on internal displacement or IDPs (3). The study ends by offering conclusions on the overall scope of existing research on these general or global aspects of the topic and identifying areas where new research could be focused (4). Thus, read alongside the regional studies in this series, this review offers a perspective on the state of research scholarship on global or general approaches to internal displacement as we enter the 2020s.

1 See the other research reviews published in this *Working Paper Series* as part of the Interdisciplinary Network on Displacement, Conflict and Protection (INDCaP). The INDCaP pilot project (AH/T005351/1) was generously supported by the UK Research and Innovation Global Challenges Research Fund.

2 A. Al-Mahaidi, L. Gross & D.J. Cantor, *Revitalising IDP Research: A 'State of the Art' Review*, London, Refugee Law Initiative, 2019.

2. Main trends in data on IDPs globally

For internal displacement linked to conflict and violence, quantitative data that offer a window onto trends at the global level are published by two organisations. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), which is part of the Norwegian Refugee Council, a non-governmental humanitarian agency, collates data from different sources to produce global estimates on internal displacement. In tandem, the office for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) publishes data on the IDPs whom it protects or assists in different countries around the world. In future, the Displacement Tracking Matrix operated by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) may also come to represent an alternative data source on global IDP trends. The Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) publishes profiling data on IDPs in particular countries but not at the global level. IDMC, JIPS and UNHCR also publish qualitative information about internal displacement.

Global reports by IDMC point to quite significant variations in the annual level of estimated new displacements linked to conflict and violence, ranging from an annual low of 2.9 million new displacements (2010) to an annual peak of 11.8 million new displacements (2017).³ On average, though, the overall number of estimated new displacements has been much higher over the last five-year period (47 million for 2015-2019) than for the preceding one (32 million for 2010-2014),⁴ or the one before that (20.9 million for 2005-2009).⁵ The general trend thus appears to be one of a steady increase in the estimated annual total of new internal displacements over the past 15 years, although this might also partly reflect improved methods for counting or estimating the number of new displacements.

Global estimates by IDMC of the total number of conflict and violence IDPs also show a general increase over the past 15 years. The annual figure for the total number of IDPs fluctuated around the 25 million IDPs mark for much of the period 2004-2013 before rising sharply from 2014 onwards to reach the global estimated total of 45.7 million IDPs as at the start of 2020.⁶ However, the difficulties of determining and verifying when internal displacement ends makes this a 'best estimate', and IDMC no longer offers separate estimates for the number of IDPs to return or achieve durable solutions during each year.⁷ A key trend within the global data on internal displacement linked to conflict and violence identified by IDMC is the emergence of 'cyclical and protracted' patterns of displacement.⁸

The IDMC global data also allows for comparison of levels of internal displacement between regions over the past 15 years.⁹ In this regard, Africa consistently has both the highest number of new displacements and overall IDP population, with a wide range of affected countries. By contrast, the extent of internal displacement in Europe, Latin America and Asia has been generally less significant over the last 15 years, with only a few countries heavily affected, and showing a tendency towards decline. In the Middle East, although only a limited number of countries are affected, their levels of displacement have become increasingly significant in the past five years as a result of events linked to the Arab Spring. Globally, certain heavily-affected countries

3 Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2019*, Geneva, IDMC, 2019, 1. In 2019, there were 8.5 million new displacements linked to these drivers. IDMC, *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2020*, Geneva, IDMC, 2020.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Figures provided for annual new displacements from IDMC global database, available at: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/database/displacement-data>.

6 IDMC, *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2020*, 2.

7 IDMC, *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2019*, 50. Indeed, reflecting a decrease in confidence on the accuracy of these estimates, IDMC now prefers to report the "flow" numbers of new displacements rather than the "stock" numbers of people in displacement.

8 *Ibid.*, vi.

9 Comparison of figures from IDMC global reports for years 2004 to 2018.

regularly report high annual figures for new displacements.¹⁰ Moreover, in 2019, with few exceptions, the vast majority of new conflict- and violence-related internal displacement took place in countries of the global South.¹¹

UNHCR also publishes annual reports that contain quantitative data on internal displacement that offers a different perspective to IDMC data.¹² Most importantly, this data speaks only to the numbers of IDPs protected and assisted by UNHCR. They thus estimate the population of concern to UNHCR in the countries where it operates rather than the entire IDP population in those countries or globally. Even so, for 2018 (the most recent year for which data is available), it is notable that the overall UNHCR total for IDPs and ‘persons in an IDP-like situation’, although reflecting a narrower range of countries, still exceeds that of the IDMC data.¹³ In general, at the global level, the UNHCR figures show that the number of IDPs being assisted or protected by that agency have increased steeply on an annual basis over the past 15 years,¹⁴ as have the number of countries where that IDP mandate is being exercised by UNHCR.¹⁵

That much of this quantitative data on internal displacement takes the form of ‘estimates’ reflects inherent methodological challenges. Some involve deeper questions as to the scope of the IDP concept or the difficulty of developing indicators for key elements (e.g. when displacement ends). Others reflect practical issues, such as the kinds of tools that are used to collect IDP data for diverse purposes, the wider challenge of working with such vulnerable or hidden populations in unstable contexts.¹⁶ In response, the Expert Group on Refugee and IDP Statistics (EGRIS) formed a sub-group on IDPs. Based on a review of current practice led by the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) and national governments, the sub-group published its recommendations on promoting improvement in 2018.¹⁷ Other data challenges, though, reflect the particularly acute politics at play around IDP data and national governments.

By contrast, whereas the overwhelming majority of IDPs are currently located in the global South, refugees are spread out across the world, with a presence in almost every country.¹⁸ Even so, the majority of the world’s refugees (some 85%) are located in countries in the global South, although almost two-thirds of refugees currently come from just five countries. Currently, there are some 25 million refugees worldwide. The absolute number of refugees is higher today than at any other recorded point in history. The number of refugees as a proportion of the global population is also approaching an historical high. After a dip in refugee numbers during the 1990s, the tendency over the past 15 years is of steady increase, mirroring the pattern for conflict-affected IDPs.

10 For example, Colombia, DRC, Somalia.

11 IDMC, *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2020*. In Ukraine, 60 new displacements were recorded. In Mexico, 7,100 new displacements were recorded.

12 See the IDP tables in the statistical annexes to the annual reports by UNHCR on *Global Trends and Statistical Yearbooks*.

13 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Global Trends 2018*, Geneva, UNHCR, 2019, Statistical Annex, Table 6. This gives a total population of concern in 2018 of 41,425,147 people, in comparison with the IDMC total for 2018 of 41.3 million. The category of ‘persons in an IDP-like situation’ includes ‘groups of persons who are inside their country of nationality or habitual residence and who face protection risks similar to those of IDPs but who, for practical or other reasons, could not be reported as such’ (ibid.).

14 At the end of 2004, the total was just over 5.4 million IDPs whilst at the end of 2018 this figure had increased to just over 41.4 million IDPs. Here too, there is a sudden jump in numbers during 2014.

15 At the end of 2004, UNHCR IDP populations of concern were listed for 13 countries whilst at the end of 2018 this figure had increased to 33 countries. For research and analysis on UNHCR’s work with IDPs, see section 3.1.2 below.

16 N. Baal & L. Ronkainen, ‘Obtaining Representative Data on IDPs: Challenges and Recommendations’, Geneva, UNHCR, UNHCR Statistics Technical Series Report 2017/1, 2017; Expert Group on Refugee and IDP Statistics (EGRIS), *Technical Report on Statistics of Internally Displaced Persons: Current Practice and Recommendations for Improvement*, Luxembourg, European Union, 2018.

17 EGRIS, *Technical Report on Statistics*.

18 For current data on refugees, see UNHCR, *Global Trends 2018*.

3. Scholarship on internal displacement at the global level

Against the backdrop of these global trends in IDP figures, this section provides an overview of the main global or general aspects of internal displacement on which research has been published. It starts by considering that relating to law and policy (3.1), then the wider social sciences and humanities (3.2) and finally medicine and health (3.3).

3.1 Legal and policy research

Research on global or general aspects of internal displacement in the legal/policy field has tended to revolve around four main themes, which are highly interrelated, although these connections are not always drawn out in the literature itself. They are the development of an international framework for protection and assistance of IDPs (3.1.1), and the legal and policy aspects of the institutional response to IDPs at the international level (3.1.2), the global framework for assistance and protection of IDPs (3.1.3) and the implementation of assistance and protection in practice (3.1.4).

3.1.1 Development of an international framework

Research traces the emergence and growing consolidation of internal displacement as a matter of international concern during the late 1980s, and its take up within the United Nations (UN) system throughout the 1990s, is an area of research interest. It elucidates the move toward States and other actors at the international level recognising a need to assist and protect IDPs. Much of the analysis concentrates on the work of first Representative of the Secretary General (RSG) on IDPs, Francis Deng, and his team in putting the issue on the international agenda,¹⁹ even if this was not the first time that internal displacement was discussed in the UN context.²⁰

The concept of 'sovereignty as responsibility',²¹ proposed by Deng during the 1990s in part as a way to justify attention to IDPs in the face of State concerns that it would interfere in domestic affairs,²² has received relatively little elaboration in the IDP literature. This is not because research in the IDP field has not considered questions of sovereignty.²³ Instead, it seems that the concept of 'sovereignty as responsibility' has been taken up as a foundation for broader analyses and policy ideas around the so-called 'responsibility to protect' (RtP or R2P).²⁴ During the 2000s, this R2P agenda has generated substantial debate among academics but, with a few notable exceptions, remains largely disconnected from research on IDPs (as opposed to research on refugees).²⁵

19 See, generally, T.G. Weiss & D.A. Korn, *Internal Displacement: Conceptualization and its Consequences*, London, Routledge, 2006; S. Bagshaw *Developing a Normative Framework for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, Ardsley, NY, Transnational Publishers Inc., 2005; D.A. Korn, *Exodus within Borders: An Introduction to the Crisis of Internal Displacement*, Washington, DC, Brookings University Press, 1999; R. Cohen & F.M. Deng, *Masses in Flight: The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement*, Washington, DC, Brookings University Press, 1998.

20 For an overview of discussions on 'internal refugees' after the Second World War, see P. Orchard, "The Contested Origins of Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 28(2), 2016, 210-233.

21 F.M. Deng, "Frontiers of Sovereignty: A Framework of Protection, Assistance and Development for the Internally Displaced", *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 8(2), 1995, 249-286; also F.M. Deng, S. Kimaro, T. Lyons, D. Rothchild, & I.W. Zartmann, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, Washington, DC, Brookings University Press, 1996.

22 R. Cohen and F.M. Deng, "Sovereignty as Responsibility: Building Block for R2P", in A.J. Bellamy and T. Dunne (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*, Oxford, OUP, 2016, 74-93.

23 See, for example, C. Phuong, *The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, 208-234; E.E. Ruddick, "The Continuing Constraint of Sovereignty: International Law, International Protection, and the Internally Displaced", *Boston University Law Review*, 77, 1997, 429-468; R. Plender, "The Legal Basis of International Jurisdiction to Act with Regard to the Internally Displaced", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 6(3), 1994, 345-361. On the potential for States to misuse IDP concepts, see R. Vidal López, *Derecho global y desplazamiento interno: creación, uso y desaparición del desplazamiento forzado por la violencia en el derecho contemporáneo*, Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2007.

24 F.M. Deng, "'From Sovereignty as Responsibility' to the 'Responsibility to Protect'", *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 2, 2010, 353-370. For an early and influential policy rendering of the R2P concept, see International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect*, Ottawa, IDRC, 2001.

25 For exceptions, see E. Ferris, "International Responsibility, Protection and Displacement: Exploring the Connections between R2P, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons", *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 8(4), 2016, 390-409; R. Cohen, "Reconciling R2P with IDP Protection", *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 2(1), 2010, 15-37; E. Mooney, "Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed ... Something Blue? The Protection

Scholarship on international engagement with IDPs from the 1990s onwards largely focuses on the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Guiding Principles) that were drafted by Deng and his team and presented in 1998 to the UN Commission on Human Rights (now replaced by the UN Human Rights Council).²⁶ This soft law instrument sets out 30 basic principles for the protection and assistance of IDPs. Those are claimed merely to interpret how broader standards of legal protection in existing international law apply to situations of internal displacement.²⁷ As such, the Guiding Principles do not create a legal status for IDPs at the international level and their definition of the IDPs to whom they apply is merely descriptive.²⁸

The literature on the Guiding Principles focuses mainly on describing the creation of this normative framework and explaining the decision by Deng, in light of important contemporary legal and political considerations, to craft the Guiding Principles as a form of 'soft' rather than 'hard' law, as well as assessing the early stages of their dissemination and uptake by actors at the international level.²⁹ Far less scholarly attention is devoted to other widely-applied global policy or soft law norms on IDPs,³⁰ such as the UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Framework on Durable Solutions for IDPs.³¹ In part, this reflects the central role that the Guiding Principles have come to assume in IDP policy.

Moreover, much of the work on the Guiding Principles, particularly in the late 1990s and early 2000s, originates from members of Deng's team - including his successor as Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on IDPs, Walter Kälin - and affiliated scholars. These studies tend to push the Guiding Principles as the key reference point for framing IDPs as a category of concern and developing the international response, with analysis concerned mainly with how to gain better traction for them in policy and practice.³² Moreover, since the late 2000s, the perceived success of the Guiding Principles has spawned a new set of studies interested in deriving wider lessons about normative and policy development in relation to a range of themes from the process of creating and disseminating the Guiding Principles.³³

Potential of a Marriage of Concepts between R2P and IDP Protection" in S.E. Davies & L. Glanville (eds.), *Protecting the Displaced: Deepening the Responsibility to Protect*, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2010, 59–84; S. Harris-Rimmer, "Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons and the 'Responsibility to Protect'", *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Research Paper No. 185, Geneva, UNHCR, 2010.

26 United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR), *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons*, Geneva, UNHCR, 1998, E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, Annex.

27 *Ibid.*, para. 3.

28 *Ibid.*, para. 2. By contrast, regional IDP treaties in Africa, such as the Kampala Convention, create a legal definition of the IDP concept, as may IDP laws at the national level. For a review of the pertinent research, see R. Adeola, 'The State of Research on Internal Displacement in Africa', IDRP Working Paper Series, 2020.

29 Among many examples, see W. Kälin, "Consolidating the Normative Framework for IDPs", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 314–317; F.T. Temprosa, 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: Expression of Lex Lata or De Lega Ferenda - Status in International Law and Implication on the Law on International Peace and Security', 35(2), 2018, *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 257–286; R. Cohen & F.M. Deng, "The Genesis and the Challenges", *Forced Migration Review*, Special Issue, 2008, 4–5; S. Russell, "The Operational Relevance of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 307–309; W. Kälin, *How Hard is Soft Law? The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the Need for a Normative Framework*, Washington, DC, Brookings Press, 2001; R. Cohen, "The Development of International Standards to Protect Internally Displaced Persons", in A.F. Bayefsky & J. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Human Rights and Forced Displacement*, Hague, Brill, 2000, 76–85; also Weiss & Korn (eds.), *Internal Displacement*; Bagshaw, *Developing a Normative Framework*.

30 For exceptions, see occasional references cited in following paragraphs, such as to the 'Pinheiro Principles'.

31 Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), *Framework: Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons*, Washington D.C., Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, 2010.

32 See, among many other examples, W. Kälin, "The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement as International Minimum Standard and Protection Tool", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 27–36; R. Cohen, "The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: An Innovation in International Standard Setting", *Global Governance*, 10, 2004, 459–480; R. Cohen, "The Guiding Principles: How Do They Support IDP Response Strategies?", in -, *Response Strategies of the Internally Displaced: Changing the Humanitarian Lens*, Seminar Report, Oslo, Norway, 9 November 2001 organised by the Norwegian Refugee Council in cooperation with the Norwegian University of Technology and Science.

33 See, for example, F. Gemenne & P. Brücker, "From the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement to the Nansen Initiative: What the Governance of Environmental Migration Can Learn from the Governance of Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 27(2), 2015, 245–263; R. Cohen, "Lessons from the Development of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", *Forced Migration Review*, 45, 2014, 12–14; I. Bode, "Francis Deng and the Concern for Internally Displaced Persons: Intellectual Leadership in the United Nations", *Global Governance*, 20(2), 2014, 277–295; A.M. Abebe, "Special Rapporteurs as Law Makers: The Developments and Evolution of the Normative Framework for Protecting and Assisting Internally Displaced Persons", *International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(2), 2011, 286–298; P. Orchard, "Protection of Internally Displaced Persons: Soft Law as a Norm-Generating Mechanism", *Review of International Studies*, 36(2), 2010, 281–303.

Other literature, though, reflects more critically on the Guiding Principles. Scholars raise conceptual concerns, asking whether IDPs can really be treated as a category of concern distinct from other vulnerable populations.³⁴ A growing body of work poses crucial questions about how the Guiding Principles (and IASC Framework) frame the 'end of displacement' and 'durable solutions' for IDPs.³⁵ Many of these studies also consider challenges in implementing the Guiding Principles in practice,³⁶ and a number reflect on the mechanisms responsible for their apparent impact on changing State behaviour.³⁷ Finally, a handful of legal studies seek to elucidate the implications of the Guiding Principles for the development of international law on internal displacement.³⁸

3.1.2 Institutional response

Scholarly analysis has contributed to parallel debates about developing institutional responses to IDP situations at the international level. Thus, a strand of legal literature, mostly during the late 1990s, considered how, in general, international attention to IDPs might be reconciled with respect for State sovereignty.³⁹ It was recognised that offers of protection to IDPs by the international community were a point of real political sensitivity.⁴⁰ For legal scholars, though, a particular area of debate is whether international law provided international humanitarian organisations with a right to offer their services in support of IDPs and, if so, whether it establishes any legal parameters for a State to consent to or refuse such offers.⁴¹ Some of those scholars have also taken issue with the way in which the Guiding Principles articulate the rules in these underlying legal sources.⁴²

Another key strand of this literature deliberated the appropriate institutional locus and form of any international attention to IDPs at the international level. Questions about the role of the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, were central to this debate. Some early studies affirmed a legal mandate for UNHCR to act for IDPs,⁴³ whilst others disputed it.⁴⁴ Certainly, despite growing engagement of the agency in IDP situations during the 1990s and 2000s, scholars mostly joined UNHCR in rejecting proposals that it be given overall responsibility for IDPs in the UN system.⁴⁵

34 E. Mooney, "The Concept of Internal Displacement and the Case for Internally Displaced Persons as a Category of Concern", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 9-26; J. Borton, M. Buchanan-Smith & R. Otto, *Support to Internally Displaced Persons: Learning from Evaluations*, Stockholm, SIDA, 2005; F. Bouchet-Saulnier, *Using the Law of War to Protect the Displaced: MSF Activity Report 2000-2001*, Paris, Médecins sans Frontières, 2001.

35 *Ibid.*; see also M. Bradley, "Durable Solutions and the Right of Return for IDPs: Evolving Interpretations", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 218-242; and M. Bradley & A. Sherwood, "Addressing and Resolving Internal Displacement: Reflections on a Soft Law 'Success Story'", in S. Lagoutte, T. Gammeltoft-Hansen & J. Cerone (eds.), *Tracing the Roles of Soft Law in Human Rights*, Oxford, OUP, 2016, 155-182; C. Beyani, N. Krynsky Baal & M. Caterina, "Conceptual Challenges and Practical Solutions in Situations of Internal Displacement", *Forced Migration Review*, 52, 2016, 39-42; E. Mooney, "Bringing the End into Sight for Internally Displaced Persons", *Forced Migration Review*, 17, 2003, 4-7.

36 *Ibid.*; see also, C. Ruta, H. Ruauadel & P. Bongard, "The Guiding Principles and Armed Non-State Actors", *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 37-39; and the range of contributions on that same issue to *Forced Migration Review*, 37, 2011.

37 G. Cardona-Fox, *Exile within Borders: A Global Look at Commitment to the International Regime to Protect Internally Displaced Persons*, Leiden, Brill, 2019; P. Orchard, "Protection of Internally Displaced Persons: Soft Law as a Norm-generating Mechanism", *Review of International Studies*, 36, 2010, 281-303.

38 D.J. Cantor, "The IDP in International Law? Developments, Debates, Prospects", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 191-217; P.L. Schmidt, "The Process and Prospects for the U.N. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement to become Customary International Law: A Preliminary Analysis", *Georgetown Journal of International Law*, 35, 2004, 483-519

39 See section 3.1.1 above and citations in footnotes 21-25 above.

40 *Ibid.*; see also N. Geissler, "The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 11(3), 1999, 451-478.

41 K. Luopajarvi, "Is there an Obligation on States to Accept International Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons under International Law?", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 2003, 15(4), 678-714; Geissler, "The International Protection of IDPs".

42 Luopajarvi, "Is there an Obligation on States", referring to Guiding Principle No. 25.

43 R. Plender, "The Legal Basis of International Jurisdiction to Act with Regard to the Internally Displaced", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 6(3), 1994, 345-361.

44 G.S. Goodwin-Gill, "Refugee Identity and Protection's Fading Prospect", in F. Nicholson and P. Twomey (eds.), *Refugee Rights and Realities: Evolving Concepts and Regimes*, CUP, Cambridge, 1999, 220-249.

45 C. Phuong, "The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 71-83; C. Phuong, "Improving the United Nations Response to Crises of Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 13(4), 2001, 491-517; G.S. Goodwin-Gill, "UNHCR and Internal Displacement: Stepping into a Legal and Political Minefield", in U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) (ed.), *World Refugee Survey 2000*, Washington D.C., USCR, 2000. For a contrary view, see R. Cohen, "Strengthening Protection

Some also questioned whether working with IDPs might compromise UNHCR's core mandate for refugee protection, facilitate containment and generate a dysfunctional approach to IDP protection.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, since 2005, when the UN system adopted a 'cluster' approach to IDPs, UNHCR has increasingly involved itself in IDP situations and leads the global clusters of 'protection', 'shelter' and 'camp management' (the last co-led with IOM) for conflict IDPs.⁴⁷

Other UN agencies also have specific operational responsibilities for IDPs under this cluster system. However, scholarly analyses of the engagement with internal displacement by other UN agencies and forums, and that of the cluster approach as a whole, are relatively limited and outdated.⁴⁸ There is some analytical work that engages with the role of the RSG on IDPs,⁴⁹ but this is mostly focused on the period of Deng's tenure with little work on the mandates of the subsequent RSG on the human rights of IDPs (Walter Kälin, 2004-2010) or the Special Rapporteurs to the Human Rights Council on the Human Rights of IDPs (Chaloka Beyani, 2010-2016, and Cecilia Jimenez-Damary, 2016-). With one exception, little academic work exists on international institutions working on IDPs outside the UN system, whether international organisations, non-government organisations or civil society.

The exception is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Indeed, the ICRC has attracted a small body of scholarly comment on its role with IDPs, although most of these publications are by ICRC staff members. This emphasises that the ICRC's interest in both protection and assistance of IDPs during conflict derives from the humanitarian principles that guide its work and from its related role as the 'guardian' of the international law of armed conflict (ILAC).⁵⁰ The operational approach of the ICRC towards IDPs is also explained and analysed, including its position that prioritises focusing on the vulnerability and specific needs of civilians in conflict over any concern for 'excessive categorisation' of victims as IDPs etc.⁵¹ Yet, by contrast, the wider components of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement have largely escaped

of IDPs: the UN's Role", *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 2006, 101-109; also R. Cohen, "Developing an International System for Internally Displaced Persons", *International Studies Perspectives*, 7, 2006, 87-101.

46 For critical views, see M. Bradley, 'Unintended Consequences of Adjacency Claims: The Function and Dysfunction of Analogies between Refugee Protection and IDP Protection in the Work of UNHCR', *Global Governance*, 25(4), 2019, 620-644; D. Lanz, "Subversion or Reinvention? Dilemmas and Debates in the Context of UNHCR's Increasing Involvement with IDPs", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), 2008, 192-209; Goodwin-Gill, "Refugee Identity and Protection's Fading Prospect"; M. Barutciski, "A Critical View on UNHCR's Mandate Dilemmas", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 14(2-3), 2002, 365-381; M. Barutciski, "The Reinforcement of Non-Admission Policies and the Subversion of UNHCR: Displacement and Internal Assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1994", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 8(1-2), 1996, 49-110. For a contrary view, see E. Feller, "UNHCR's Role in IDP Protection: Opportunities and Challenges", *Forced Migration Review*, Special Issue, 2006, 11-13; E.D. Mooney, "In-Country Protection: Out of Bounds for UNHCR?", in F. Nicholson and P. Twomey (eds.), *Refugee Rights and Realities: Evolving Concepts and Regimes*, CUP, Cambridge, 1999, 200-219.

47 UNHCR, "Operational Review of UNHCR's Engagement in Situations of Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 32(2), 2018, 373-391; L. Aubin, E. Eyster & D. Macguire, "People-Centred Principles: The Participation of IDPs and the Guiding Principles", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 287-291; G.S. Goodwin-Gill, "International Protection and Assistance for Refugees and the Displaced: Institutional Challenges and United Nations Reform", Workshop on Refugee Protection in International Law, Oxford, 2006.

48 For exceptions, see O'Neill, "Internal Displacement and Peacebuilding"; S. Weerasinghe & E. Ferris, *Security Council, Internal Displacement and Protection*, Washington D.C., Brookings Project on Internal Displacement, 2011; E. Ferris, *The Politics of Protection: The Limits of Humanitarian Action*, Washington D.C., Brookings, 2011; S. Graves, V. Wheeler & E. Martin, *Lost in Translation: Managing Coordination and Leadership Reform in the Humanitarian System*, London, Overseas Development Institute, Humanitarian Policy Group, Policy Brief 27, 2009; A.W. Bijleveld, "Towards More Predictable Humanitarian Responses Inter-Agency Cluster Approach to IDPs", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 25(4), 2006, 28-34; J.-H. Eschenberger, "The Global Internal Displacement Crisis: Recent Development and Perspectives for an Improved International Response", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 49-60; D. McNamara, "The Mandate of the Emergency Relief Coordinator and the Role of OCHA's Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 61-70; Phuong, *The International Protection of IDPs*, 92-116; N. Kastberg, "Strengthening the Response to Displaced Children", *Forced Migration Review*, 15, 2002, 4-6.

49 See section 3.1.1 and citations in footnotes 19, 26 and 29 above.

50 F. Krill, "The ICRC's Policy on Refugees and Internally Displaced Civilians", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 83(843), 2001, 607-628; J.-P. Lavoyer, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: A Few Comments on the Contribution of International Humanitarian Law", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 324, 1998, 467-480; J.-P. Lavoyer, "Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: International Humanitarian Law and the Role of the ICRC", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 305, 1995, 162-180.

51 V. Talviste, J. Williamson & A. Zeidan, "The ICRC Approach in Situations of Pre-displacement", *Forced Migration Review*, 41, 2012, 22-24; V. Talviste, "ICRC: Careful Analysis is the Key", *Forced Migration Review*, 36, 2010, pp.42-43; J. Kellenberger, "The ICRC's Response to Internal Displacement: Strengths, Challenges and Constraints", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 91(875), 2009, 475-490; M. Furrer, "The Mandate of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 84-95.

scholarly analysis.⁵²

Overall, some scholars manifest a preoccupation that, particularly following the UN process of humanitarian reform and implementation of the cluster approach, 'international commitment to addressing internal displacement seems to be diminishing'.⁵³ That this analysis may reflect a wider perception of reducing interest at the international level in IDPs in recent years is suggested by the UN Secretary-General's decision in 2019 to establish a High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement 'to improve the approach and response to the issue, with a particular focus on durable solutions'.⁵⁴

3.1.3 Legal and policy framework

A growing concern with internal displacement among international law scholars also emerged during the 1990s. One crucial early debate concerned the form and the scope of protection due to IDPs in international law, given that no international instrument specific to the situation of such persons existed at that time.⁵⁵ Yet the uptake of the Guiding Principles in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and the publication of background legal studies and subsequent annotations that explained the empirical protection rationale and legal provenance of each principle,⁵⁶ served rapidly to eclipse discussion of various alternative proposals for creating an international normative framework on IDP protection.⁵⁷ Since then, international law interest has coalesced mainly around African regional developments.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, scholars remain interested in locating the IDP concept within international law and policy. The essential distinction drawn by Deng and his team in the Guiding Principles between IDPs and refugees, with refugee law applying to IDPs only 'by analogy', has largely been endorsed by the subsequent literature.⁵⁹ However, some authors have cautioned that promoting protection for IDPs risks undermining refugee protection by justifying containment strategies.⁶⁰ Others, though, contend that such fears have not in fact manifested in practice and that a degree of interaction between the two fields is not necessarily negative.⁶¹ For instance, the longstanding refugee law concept of 'internal flight alternative' might be interpreted in light of standards in the Guiding Principles to help prevent premature refugee returns that might further exacerbate

52 See, though, S. Moretti & T. Bonzon, "Some Reflections on the IFRC's Approach to Migration and Displacement", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 2017, 153-178.

53 E. Ferris, *Ten Years after Humanitarian Reform: How Have IDPs Fared?*, Washington D.C., Brookings, 2014; see also W. Kälin, *Innovative Global Governance for Internally Displaced Persons*, Waterloo ON, World Refugee Council Research Paper No. 10, 2019;.

54 UN Secretary-General, "Secretary-General's Statement Announcing the Establishment of a High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement", *UN News*, 23 October 2019, available at: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2019-10-23/secretary-generals-statement-announcing-the-establishment-of-high-level-panel-internal-displacement>.

55 N. Geissler, "The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 11(3), 1999, 451-478; D. Petrasek, "New Standards for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons: A Proposal for a Comprehensive Approach", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 14(1-2), 1995, 285-290.

56 UNCHR, *Compilation and Analysis of Legal Norms, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons*, Geneva, UNCHR, 1995, UN Doc E/CN.4/1996/52/Add.2; UNCHR, *Compilation and analysis of legal norms, part II: Legal aspects relating to the protection against forced displacement, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons*, Geneva, UNCHR, 1998, UN Doc E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.1; W. Kälin, "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: Annotations, 2nd edition", *Studies in Transnational Legal Policy*, 38, 2008.

57 See, for instance, L.T. Lee, "Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees: Towards a Legal Synthesis?", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 9(1), 1996, 27-42; also International Law Association (ILA), *London Declaration of International Law Principles on Internally Displaced Persons*, London, ILA, 2000, available at: <http://www.ila-hq.org/en/committees/index.cfm/cid/17>.

58 See Adeola, "The State of Research on Internal Displacement in Africa".

59 See, for example, Phuong, *The International Protection of IDPs*, 13-38, arguing against the 'legal synthesis' between refugees and IDPs proposed by Lee, "IDPs and Refugees"; see also P. Kourula, *Broadening the Edges: Refugee Definition and International Protection Revisited*, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 1997; and M. Barutciski, "Tensions between the Refugee Concept and the IDP Debate", *Forced Migration Review*, 3, 1998, 11-14 and the responses to that article in *Forced Migration Review*, 4, 29-35.

60 See, for instance, Barutciski, "Tensions between the Refugee Concept and the IDP Debate".

61 B. Rutinwa, "How Tense Is the Tension between the Refugee Concept and the IDP Debate?", *Forced Migration Review*, 4, 29-31; M. Kingsley-Nyinah, "What May Be Borrowed; What Is New?", *Forced Migration Review*, 4, 32-33.

IDP crises.⁶² By contrast, UNHCR involvement in-country with IDPs is not a form of ‘protection’ that legally vitiates refugee status.⁶³ A reassessment of both links and tensions between the refugee and IDP fields is needed in light of developing practice.⁶⁴

ILAC, also known as ‘international humanitarian law’ (IHL), regulates forcible displacement of civilians in both treaty and customary law.⁶⁵ This has attracted a substantial body of somewhat settled analysis pertinent to IDPs that focuses on describing and debating the logic and scope of both explicit and implicit ILAC prohibitions on forcible displacement and their rendering as crimes under international law.⁶⁶ A new treaty to prevent and punish forcible displacement as a crime has even been proposed by scholars.⁶⁷ Several studies assess the wider protections that ILAC affords to those IDPs who have the status of civilians.⁶⁸ The implications of ILAC rules for specific IDP concerns – such as the use of land mines,⁶⁹ attacks on IDP camps,⁷⁰ safety zones for IDPs,⁷¹ and the return of IDPs⁷² – are also considered in this literature.

Interest in the prevention of displacement carries through into research on the so-called ‘right not to be displaced’.⁷³ However, the wider body of scholarship on IDPs and international human rights law is comparably fragmentary.⁷⁴ Mostly, it tends to focus on the Guiding Principles. Thus, some authors criticise the international frameworks on IDP protection for not adequately incor-

62 E. Ferris, “Internal Displacement and the Right to Seek Asylum”, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 27(3), 2008, 76-92.

63 B. Ni Ghraíne, “UNHCR’s Involvement with IDPs ‘Protection of that Country’ for the Purposes of Precluding Refugee Status?”, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 26(4), 2014, 536-554.

64 Cantor, “The IDP in International Law?”. See also Bradley, ‘Unintended Consequences of Adjacency Claims’; E.J. Rushing & M. Clarey, *Are Today’s Returning Refugees Tomorrow’s IDPs?*, Geneva, IDMC, 2017.

65 For treaty provisions, see studies cited in following footnote. For customary law, see J.-M. Henckaerts & L. Doswald-Beck (eds.), *Customary International Humanitarian Law, Volume I: Rules*, Cambridge, ICRC/CUP, 2005, Rule 129; also R. Piotrowicz, “Displacement and Displaced Persons”, in E. Wilmshurst & S. Breau (eds.), *Perspectives on the ICRC Study on Customary International Humanitarian Law*, Cambridge, CUP, 2007, 337-353.

66 M. Gillett, “Collective Dislocation: Crimes of Displacement, Property Deprivation and Discrimination under International Criminal Law”, in E. Katselli Proukaki (ed.), *Armed Conflict and Forcible Displacement: Individual Rights under International Law*, London, Routledge, 2018; D. Casalin, “Prohibitions on Arbitrary Displacement in International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights: A Time and A Place For Everything” in P. de Hert, S. Smis & M. Holvoet (eds.), *Convergences and Divergences between International Human Rights, International Humanitarian, and International Criminal Law*, Cambridge, Intersentia, 2018, 253–257; D.J. Cantor, “Forcible Displacement of Civilians and the Nature of State Authority: A Historical Study of the Law of International Armed Conflict”, in S.S. Juss (ed.), *Research Companion to Migration Theory and Policy*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012; D.J. Cantor, “Does IHL Prohibit the Forced Displacement of Civilians during War?”, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 24(4), 2012, 840–846; M. Jacques, *Armed Conflict and Displacement: The Protection of Refugees and Displaced Persons under International Humanitarian Law*, Cambridge, CUP, 2012; J. Willms, “Without Order, Anything Goes? The Prohibition of Forced Displacement in Non-International Armed Conflict”, *International Review of the Red Cross*, 91, 2009, 547-565; E.-C. Gillard, “The Role of International Humanitarian Law in the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons”, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 37-48; K. Hulme, “Armed Conflict and the Displaced”, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 17(1), 2005, 91-116; J.-P. Lavoyer, “Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: International Humanitarian Law and the Role of the ICRC”, *International Review of the Red Cross*, 305, 1995, 162-180.

67 G. Dawson & S. Farber, *Forcible Displacement throughout the Ages: Towards an International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Forcible Displacement*, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2012.

68 Jacques, *Armed Conflict and Displacement*, 185-208; Lavoyer, “Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons”

69 S. Maslen, “The Implications of the 1966 Land-mines Protocol for Refugees and the Internally Displaced”, *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 8(3), 1996, 383-396.

70 Jacques, *Armed Conflict and Displacement*, 209-244.

71 Y. Sandoz, “The Establishment of Safety Zones for Persons within their Country of Origin”, in N. Al-Nuaimi & R. Meese (eds.), *International Legal Issues Arising under the United Nations Decade of International Law*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1995, 899-930. For a critical view on their role in containment (see also above), see B.S. Chimni, “The Incarceration of Victims: Deconstructing Safety Zones” in N. Al-Nuaimi & R. Meese (eds.), *International Legal Issues Arising under the United Nations Decade of International Law*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1995, 823-855.

72 D.J. Cantor, *Returns of Internally Displaced Persons in Armed Conflict: International Law and Its Application in Colombia*, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2018, 82-120.

73 E. Katselli Proukaki, “The Right Not to be Displaced by Armed Conflict under International Law”, in E. Katselli Proukaki (ed.), *Armed Conflict and Forcible Displacement: Individual Rights under International Law*, London, Routledge, 2018; R. Adeola, “The Right Not to Be Arbitrarily Displaced under the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”, *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 16(1), 2016, 83-98; M. Morel, *The Right Not to Be Displaced in International Law*, Cambridge, Intersentia, 2014; M. Morel, M. Stavropoulou & J.-F. Durieux, “The History and Status of the Right Not to be Displaced”, *Forced Migration Review*, 41, 2012, 5-7; M. Simons, “The Emergence of a Norm Against Forced Relocation”, *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 34(1), 2002, 95-156; M. Stavropoulou, “The Right Not to be Displaced”, *American University International Law Review*, 9(3), 1994, 689-749.

74 A key point of reference, although not specifically on internal displacement, is C. Beyani, *Human Rights Standards and the Free Movement of People within States*, Oxford, OUP, 2000.

porating minority rights or disability rights standards.⁷⁵ Others, by contrast, look at how human rights standards have been interpreted by treaty body mechanisms in application to situations of internal displacement.⁷⁶ Where such interpretation draws on the Guiding Principles, a 'hardening' of those soft law standards may be discerned,⁷⁷ including for principles that seem to develop rather than restate existing law.

Particularly during the 2000s, restitution of housing, land and property (HLP) rights for IDPs attracted real interest from scholars. This appears to be one area where the Guiding Principles do not simply restate existing law but push it to its limits.⁷⁸ Moreover, HLP restitution is a challenge not only for IDPs but also for refugees, such that both scholarly analysis and the international framework on HLP rights that later emerged have often connected the two fields.⁷⁹ A range of HLP restitution contexts from around the world have been analysed.⁸⁰ More recently, it has been argued that restitution for IDPs should be conceived independently from return and must encompass remedies beyond just individual real property restitution.⁸¹ In practice, a gradual shift from the restitution of property rights to the promotion of housing rights and alternative forms of tenure has been identified.⁸²

Durable solutions, more generally, appear in the legal scholarship.⁸³ This is another area where the Guiding Principles seem to go beyond merely restating existing law.⁸⁴ Legal and policy analysis of the three solutions focuses more on return than resettlement or reintegration.⁸⁵ The provenance, evolution and scope in international law of the asserted right of IDPs to return is a key concern, as is the significance of concepts of 'voluntariness', 'safety' and 'dignity' in IDP return contexts.⁸⁶ Again, a connection with policy approaches to return in the refugee concept is drawn,

75 See, respectively, Phuong, *The International Protection of IDPs*, 65; and M.A. Stein & J.E. Lord, "Enabling Refugee and IDP Law and Policy: Implications of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities", *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 28(2), 2011, 401-433.

76 See, for example, Cantor, "The IDP in International Law?"; D. Casalin, "The Guiding Principles in International Human Rights Courts", *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 42-43; E. Meleagrou & C. Paraskeva, "The Right to Respect of Home and Enjoyment of Property for Cypriot IDPs: The Developing Jurisprudence of the ECtHR", in E. Katselli Proukaki (ed.), *Armed Conflict and Forcible Displacement: Individual Rights under International Law*, London, Routledge, 2018; C. Sandoval, "A Critical View of the Protection of Refugees and IDPs by the Inter-American System of Human Rights", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 17(1), 2005, 43-66.

77 Cantor, "The IDP in International Law?";

78 Phuong, *The International Protection of IDPs*, 60-64, referring to Guiding Principle No. 29(2).

79 See citations in following footnotes. For an example from the policy field, see UNCHR Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, *Principles on Housing and Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Housing and Property Restitution*, 2005, UN Doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/17, Annex (also known as the 'Pinheiro Principles').

80 See, for example, the contributions to S. Leckie (ed.), *Returning Home: Housing and Property Restitution Rights of Refugees and Displaced Persons*, Ardsley NY, Transnational Publishers, 2003, and to *Forced Migration Review*, 7, 2000; C.B. Philpott, "From the Right to Return to Return of Rights: Completing Post-War Property Restitution in Bosnia Herzegovina" *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 18(1), 2006, 30-80; C. Philpott, "Though the Dog is Dead, the Pig must be Killed: Finishing with Property Restitution to Bosnia-Herzegovina's IDPs and Refugees", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 18(1), 2005, 1-24; H. Das, "Restoring Property Rights in the Aftermath of War" *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 53, 2004(2), 429-443; B. Wak-Woya, "Property Restitution in Post-War Croatia: Problems and Perspectives, A Discussion Paper", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 19(3), 2000, 86-112.

81 G. Paglione, "Individual Property Restitution: From Deng to Pinheiro – and the Challenges Ahead", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 20(3), 2008, 391-412.

82 P. García Amado, "Connecting Tenure Security with Durable Solutions to Internal Displacement: From Restitution of Property Rights to the Right to Adequate Housing", *International Migration*, 54(4), 2016, 74-86; N. Brighton, K. Farmer & Ø. Nordlie, "Security of Tenure in the Urban Context", *Forced Migration Review*, 55, 2017, 59-62.

83 W. Kälin, "The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the Search for a Universal Framework of Protection for Internally Displaced Persons", in V. Chetail & C. Bauloz (eds.), *Research Handbook on International Law and Migration*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2014, 612-633.

84 Cantor, *Returns of Internally Displaced Persons*; see, more generally, L. Ky, "Comments on Principles relating to Return, Resettlement, and Reintegration (Principles 28-30)", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 19(2), 2000, 191-193. The pertinent provisions for durable solutions are Guiding Principles Nos. 28-30.

85 For an exception, see E. Ferris and K. Halff, "Protracted Internal Displacement: Is Local Integration a Solution?", *Forced Migration Review*, 38, 2011, 53-54.

86 Cantor, *Returns of Internally Displaced Persons*, 43-183; M. Bradley, "Durable Solutions and the Right of Return for IDPs: Evolving Interpretations", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 218-242; E. Katselli Proukaki, "The Right to Return Home and the Right to Property Restitution under International Law", in E. Katselli Proukaki (ed.), *Armed Conflict and Forcible Displacement: Individual Rights under International Law*, London, Routledge, 2018; E. Rosand, "The Kosovo Crisis: Implications of the Right to Return", *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, 18(2), 2000, 229-240; E. Rosand, "The Right to Return under International Law following Mass Dislocation: the Bosnia Precedent?", *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 19(4), 1998, 1091-1139.

especially by authors concerned with how contextual factors shape return in practice.⁸⁷ The UN's 'New Way of Working' and its focus on 'collective outcomes' may also facilitate solutions to protracted IDP situations.⁸⁸

From the late 2000s, a particular line of enquiry analyses the relationship between durable solutions for IDPs and international peace and security. It considers how addressing internal displacement in the context of peace processes might impact on sustainable peace and development.⁸⁹ A link to the literature on restitution for IDPs also exists as part of the scholarship on transitional justice.⁹⁰ In the 2010s, though, the underlying interest in how durable solutions for IDPs connect to wider processes of sustainable development has attracted a small degree of scholarly interest in its own right.⁹¹ This coincides with a move in international policy to promote a response to IDPs (and refugees) with not only humanitarian but also development and peacebuilding elements, especially for solutions.⁹²

Finally, whilst a comparatively substantial body of academic research exists on the legal and policy framework for IDPs in contexts of conflict and violence, the literature on such frameworks for IDPs in other disaster situations is relatively minimal. This is an important point, since the few publications on the topic suggest that gaps in protection exist in relation to those disaster IDPs.⁹³ This contrasts with a more established and growing literature on legal, policy and other aspects of development-induced internal displacement,⁹⁴ and its impact on legal rights,⁹⁵ and which overlaps somewhat with thematic concerns in the literature on displacement linked to the

87 Bradley, "Durable Solutions"; Cantor, *Returns of Internally Displaced Persons*; D. Heimerl, "The Return of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: From Coercion to Sustainability", *International Peacekeeping*, 12, 2005, 377-390; C. Phuong, "'Freely to Return': Reversing Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 13(2), 2000, 165-183.

88 W. Kälin & H. Entwisle Chapuisat, "Guiding Principle 28: The Unfulfilled Promise to End Protracted Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 243-268.

89 D.R. Andersen-Rodgers, "Back Home Again Assessing the Impact of Provisions for Internally Displaced Persons in Comprehensive Peace Accords", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 43(3), 2015, 24-45; W. O'Neill, "Internal Displacement and Peacebuilding: Institutional Responses", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(1), 2009, 151-180; J. Grace & E.D. Mooney, "Peacebuilding through the Electoral Participation of Displaced Populations", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(1), 2009, 95-121; P.W. Fagen, "Peace Processes and IDP Solutions", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(1), 2009, 31-58.

90 See, for example, the contributions to R. Duthie (ed.), *Transitional Justice and Displacement*, New York, Social Science Research Council, 2012; L. Hovil, *The Nexus between Displacement and Transitional Justice: A Gender-Justice Dimension*, Washington D.C., International Center for Transitional Justice and Brookings Project on Internal Displacement, 2013; M. Bradley, *Displacement, Transitional Justice and Reconciliation: Assumptions, Challenges and Lessons*, Policy Briefing 9, Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, 2012; S. Harris-Rimmer, "Reconceiving Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as Transitional Justice Actors", *Contemporary Readings in Law and Justice*, 2(2), 2010, 163-180.

91 A. Christensen and N. Harild, *Forced Displacement: The Development Challenge*, Washington D.C., World Bank, 2009. Most other scholarship is brief and policy-oriented. See, for example, G. Zeender, "The Sustainable Development Goals and IDPs", *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 24-26; N. Harild, "Forced Displacement: A Development Issue with Humanitarian Elements", *Forced Migration Review*, 52, 2016, 4-7; C. Cazabat, "The Importance of Monitoring Internal Displacement", *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 27-28; Y. Araya, "State Fragility, Displacement and Development Interventions", *Forced Migration Review*, 43, 2013, 63-65; A. Rhoades, "The Road to Recovery: Education in IDP Communities", *Forced Migration Review*, 37, 2011, 54-55.

92 See, for example, the UN's 'New Way of Working' in United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), *Outcome of the World Humanitarian Summit: Report of the Secretary-General*, New York, United Nations, 2016, UN Doc. A/71/353; and United Nations, *Agenda For Humanity*, Annex to the Report of the Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit, 2016, UN Doc. A/70/709; also G. Zeender & B.J. Crowther, *Reducing Protracted Internal Displacement: A Snapshot of Successful Humanitarian-Development Initiatives*, New York, OCHA, 2019; World Bank, *Forcibly Displaced: Toward a Development Approach Supporting Refugees, the Internally Displaced, and their Hosts*, Washington D.C., World Bank, 2017.

93 M. Bradley & R. Cohen, "Disasters and Displacement: Gaps in Protection", *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies*, 2010, 1(1), 95-142; R. Cohen, "An Institutional Gap for Disaster IDPs", *Forced Migration Review*, 32, 2009, 58-59; see also L. Rubio Diaz-Leal, *Desplazamiento ambiental: experiencia global, realidad mexicana*, México D.F., Tres Picos Servicios Editoriales, 2017; A. Mosneaga, A. Sato & N. Turner, *Fukushima Global Communication Programme Final Report*, Tokyo, United Nations University, 2016;

94 M.M. Cernea & H.M. Mathur (eds.), *Can Compensation Prevent Impoverishment? Reforming Resettlement Through Investments and Benefits-Sharing*, Oxford, OUP, 2008; C. de Wet (ed.), *Development-Induced Displacement: Problems, Policies, and People*, Providence, Berghahn, 2006; T. Scudder, *The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with Social, Environmental, Institutional and Political Costs*, London, Earthscan, 2005; W.C. Robinson, *Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement*, Washington D.C., Brookings Project on Internal Displacement, 2003; C. McDowell (ed.), *Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, Providence, Berghahn, 1996.

95 R. Adeola, "The Legal Protection of Development-Induced Displaced Persons in Africa", *African Journal of Legal Studies*, 10(1), 2017, 91-104; P. Penz, J. Drydyk & P.S. Bose, *Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities*, Cambridge, CUP, 2011; A. Oliver-Smith (Ed.), *Development and Dispossession: The Crisis of Forced Displacement and Resettlement*, Santa Fe, School for Advanced Research, 2009; R. Muggah, "A Tale of Two Solitudes: Comparing Conflict and Development-Induced Displacement and Involuntary Resettlement", *International Migration*, 41(5), 2003, 5-31; P. Penz, "Development, Displacement and Ethics", *Forced Migration Review*, 12, 2002, 4-5.

environment.⁹⁶

3.1.4 Assistance and protection in practice

Many of the studies of assistance and protection in the context of internal displacement focus on a single case study country.⁹⁷ Relatively few studies examine legal and policy considerations in practice on a general basis or via comparison of a significant range of country case studies.

Several comparative studies of national laws or policies relating to IDPs exist. Crucially, following general acceptance of the standing of the Guiding Principles at the international level in the 2000s, they shift the analysis to domestic implementation. Even if the Guiding Principles remain a principal point of reference for many national instruments, these studies emphasise that the content of the diverse national laws and policies rightly reflects the specific circumstances of IDPs in each country.⁹⁸ Certain trends have been identified in the variety of national instruments adopted by the late 2010s, including a tendency to overlook disaster IDPs and the prevention of displacement and an emphasis on return as the solution for IDPs.⁹⁹ Crucial research has also begun to assess the extent to which such instruments have been effective in addressing displacement in practice.¹⁰⁰

Other studies more carefully analyse responses to internal displacement in practice.¹⁰¹ Thus, some raise general questions over whether a status-based approach to protection is effective.¹⁰² Others consider the practical implications of engaging such actors as non-State armed groups or municipal authorities in protection, assistance and solution activities with IDPs in conflict contexts.¹⁰³ One study considers the impact on humanitarian work with IDPs of the transformation of armed conflict in the twenty years since the Guiding Principles were presented.¹⁰⁴ A limited literature that reflects generally on IDP self-protection also exists.¹⁰⁵ Displacement in urban contexts is a topic of increasing interest in the literature on IDPs (and also on refugees), including on the challenges of responding to internal displacement in urban settings.¹⁰⁶ Questions remain,

96 See, for example, E. Ferris, *Protection and Planned Relocations in the Context of Climate Change*, Geneva, UNHCR, 2012; M.M. Cernea (ed.), *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, Washington D.C., World Bank, 2000.

97 See regional scoping studies for this project.

98 N. Schrepfer, "Addressing Internal Displacement through National Laws and Policies: A Plea for a Promising Means of Protection", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 24(4), 2012, 667-691; W. Kälin, R.C. Williams, K. Koser & A. Solomon, (eds.), *Incorporating the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement into Domestic Law: Issues and Challenges*, Washington D.C., American Society of International Law, 2010; S. Carr, "From Theory to Practice: National and Regional Application of the Guiding Principles", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 21(2), 2009, 34-47; J. Wyndham, "A Developing Trend: Laws and Policies on Internal Displacement", *Human Rights Brief*, 14, 7-12.

99 D. Macguire, "The Relationship between National Normative Frameworks on Internal Displacement and the Reduction of Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 269-286; I. Nicolau & A. Pagot, "Laws and Policies on Internal Displacement: Global Adoption and Gaps", *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 9-10; E. Ferris, "Assessing the Impact of the Principles: An Unfinished Task", *Forced Migration Review*, Special Issue, 2008, 10-11.

100 Cardona-Fox, *Exile within Borders*; P. Orchard, *Protecting the Internally Displaced: Rhetoric and Reality*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2019; Macguire, "The Relationship between National Normative Frameworks"; E. Ferris, E. Mooney & C. Stark, *From Responsibility to Response: Assessing National Approaches to Internal Displacement*, Washington D.C., Brookings Project on Internal Displacement, 2011.

101 See, in general, Beyani, Baal and Caterina, "Conceptual Challenges".

102 S. Collinson, "The Emergent Status of 'Internally Displaced Person'", in S. Collinson, J. Darcy, N. Waddell & A. Schmidt (eds.), *Realising Protection: The Uncertain Benefits of Civilian, Refugee and IDP Status*, London, ODI, Humanitarian Policy Group Report No. 28, 2009, 39-54.

103 See, respectively, P. Lacroix, P. Bongard, & C. Rush, "Engaging Armed Non-State Actors in Mechanisms for Protection", *Forced Migration Review*, 37, 2011, 10-12, and other contributions to that issue of the journal; G. Zeender, "Engaging Armed Non-State Actors on Internally Displaced Persons Protection", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24(3), 2005, 96-111; and E. Ferris, "The Role of Municipal Authorities", *Forced Migration Review*, 34, 2010, 39.

104 N. Schrepfer, "Protection in Practice: Protecting IDPs in Today's Armed Conflicts", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 30(2), 2018, 292-306.

105 N. Carstensen, "Understanding and Supporting Community-led Protection", *Forced Migration Review*, 53, 2016, 4-7; A. Cotroneo & M. Pawlak, "Community-based Protection: the ICRC Approach", *Forced Migration Review*, 53, 2016, 36-39; C. Barrs, "To Prevent or Pursue Displacement?", *Forced Migration Review*, 41, 2012, 8-9.

106 C.-L. Grayson & A. Cotroneo, *Displaced in Cities: Experiencing and Responding to Urban Internal Displacement Outside Camps*, Geneva, ICRC, 2018; A. Cotroneo, "Specificities and Challenges of Responding to Internal Displacement in Urban Settings", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 2017, 283-318; S. Schmeidl, & K. Hedditch, "Changing Patterns of Internal Displacement: The Art of Figure Skating" in G. Hugo, M.J. Abbasi-Shavazi & E.P. Kraly (eds.), *Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration*, New York, Springer Publishing, 2017, 177-199; P.W. Fagen, "Flight to the Cities", *Forced Migration Review*, 45, 2014, 14-17; S. Pantuliano, V. Metcalfe, S. Haysom & E. Davey, "Urban Vulnerability and Displacement: A

though, about singling out IDPs for special attention, especially as those who are unable to flee may be equally or more vulnerable.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, on a general or global level, there is relatively little research on how IDP protection intersects with gender, childhood, sexuality and other forms of social identity, perhaps suggesting that such questions are seen as highly context-specific.¹⁰⁸

The role of data in facilitating this response to internal displacement on the ground has also seen a degree of scholarly interest. The lack of reliable IDP data is repeatedly identified by policy actors as a significant problem, with publications asserting the need for enhanced data-gathering and profiling of IDPs to help implement the Guiding Principles and improve assistance, protection and solutions outcomes for IDPs overall.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, in the current political context and range of new technologies, scholars warn that it is crucial not to underestimate the data protection challenges facing humanitarian organisations involved in responding to situations of internal displacement.¹¹⁰

3.2 Social sciences and humanities

In the social science literature, questions about the inception of the term ‘internally displaced persons’ form the basis of much historical and conceptual discussion. Although the phenomenon of internal displacement has always existed, the emergence of the term, and of IDPs as a discrete concern in the international community, is usually dated to the late 1980s.¹¹¹ Indeed, it has been claimed that the “flight of refugees from former Yugoslavia into Western Europe during the early 1990s marked a critical turning point” in scholarly interest on internal displacement and in policy change.¹¹² Similarly, a prominent collection of country case studies on the topic of internal displacement takes the post-Cold War era as its starting point.¹¹³

The emergence of the term has engendered certain disciplinary shifts, primarily the integration of ‘Refugee Studies’ into the broader field of ‘Forced Migration Studies’. This seems to capture what is common to both groups: involuntary movement.¹¹⁴ This disciplinary movement, though, is the object of some debate. Where some argue for a looser association between ‘refugee studies’ and ‘forced migration studies’, others advocate for greater nuance in distinguishing different forms of migration within the field of forced migration.¹¹⁵ Rising numbers of IDPs in the post-Cold War era have led, according to some scholars, to IDPs moving up the “public and policy agendas to become a central concern in the humanitarian arena”.¹¹⁶ A greater interest in IDPs in academia and in policy has led to re-evaluations of the ‘refugee regime’ including the role of the

Review of Current Issues”, *Disasters*, 36(1), 2012, 1–22; J. Crisp, T. Morris & H. Refstie, “Displacement in Urban Areas: New Challenges, New Partnerships”, *Disasters*, 36(1), 2012, 23–42; A. Davies & K. Jacobsen, “Profiling Urban IDPs”, *Forced Migration Review*, 34, 2010, 13–15;

107 W. Chemaly, K. Jacobsen & N. Krynsky Baal, *Forced Displacement, Go Figure! Shaking the Box of Profiling IDP situations*, Geneva, JIPS and Feinstein International Center, 2016; R. Black & M. Collyer, “Populations “Trapped” at Times of Crisis”, *Forced Migration Review*, 45, 2014, 52–56.

108 Indeed, most of the scholarly literature on this point is found in studies undertaken in particular national or local contexts and lacks a strongly comparative aspect. For an assessment of the scope of that research, see the other reviews undertaken by the INDCaP project in this series.

109 Cazabat, “The Importance of Monitoring Internal Displacement”; N. Baal, L. Kivelä & M. Weilmayer, “Improving IDP Data to Help Implement the Guiding Principles”, *Forced Migration Review*, 59, 2018, 21–23; Chemaly, Jacobsen & Krynsky Baal, *Forced Displacement, Go Figure!*; J.-H. Eschenbächer & T. Delrue, “Profiling IDP Populations: New Guidelines”, *Forced Migration Review*, 29, 2007, 66.

110 B. Hayes, “Migration and Data Protection: Doing No Harm in an Age of Mass Displacement, Mass Surveillance and “Big Data”, *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 2017, 179–209.

111 C. Phuong, “Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees: Conceptual Differences and Similarities”, *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, 18(2), 2000, 215–229.

112 J. Hathaway, “Forced Migration Studies: Could We Agree Just to ‘Date’?”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20(3), 2007, 349–369 (p. 356).

113 R. Cohen & F. M. Deng (eds.), *The Forsaken People: Case Studies of the Internally Displaced*, Washington D.C. Brookings Institution Press, 1998.

114 *Ibid.*, 356

115 N. Van Hear, “Locating internally displaced people in the field of forced migration”, *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 54(3), 2000, 90–95

116 *Ibid.*, 90

UNHCR in intervening in situations of internal displacement.¹¹⁷

Though potentially very valuable, there are few discourse analysis approaches to this topic.¹¹⁸ Instead, the debates circle around the entanglement of research and policy. Thus, the emergence of the term 'IDP' and the international recognition of the group is seen as indicative of gaps in displacement discourses, both in relation to policy and from the perspective of academic knowledge production.¹¹⁹ Analysing the visibility of displaced groups, they note that while the UN and or academics might not have been aware of internal displacement, those groups working on the ground such as the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and local governments would have had considerable experience and exposure to the issue. The authors take this as an opportunity to analyse the relationship between policy and academia, concluding that academics need a greater "awareness of the power relationships inherent in the act of making someone or something visible in a certain way".¹²⁰ Delving even further into the history of the terms 'refugee' and 'IDP', questions have been raised about why IDPs only begin to be recognised in the early 1990s when in fact internal displacement had been a serious concern after World War Two.¹²¹

Outside these historical and disciplinary debates generated by the issue of internal displacement, much arts, humanities and social science research concerns national-level issues such as land use, housing, food and resources, the impact of regime changes, ongoing conflict and peace negotiations. On the latter, the treatment of IDPs within peace negotiations is an important concern, suggesting that successful integration of IDPs is actually an indicator of the success of post-conflict peace agreements.¹²² Others suggest that the domestic spread of conflict is found to be worsened by the movement of IDPs,¹²³ and that a link exists between internal displacement and suicide terrorism.¹²⁴ Moreover, IDPs decisions about where to go in civil war contexts often bifurcate into a choice between anonymity in a large city, or security within a rival stronghold.¹²⁵ While issues of return are not considered extensively in the general humanities and social science literature, research on patterns of return suggests that successful resettling is dependent on property rights and economic opportunities.¹²⁶

Considering the effects of internal displacement on host communities, some researchers offer policy solutions on issues such as changes in labour and housing markets in contexts where a community is host to a group of IDPs.¹²⁷ Housing is a key concern, including the impact of forced evictions and illegal demolition.¹²⁸ Another study identifies urbanisation as a growing concern for humanitarian actors in relation to internal displacement.¹²⁹ National governments come

117 *Ibid.*

118 One exception is a discussion of the ways in which state approaches to refugees and IDPs are reliant on the language of security and securitisation (F. Donnelly, "In the name of (de)securitization: Speaking security to protect migrants, refugees and internally displaced persons?", *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 2017, 241-261).

119 T. Polzer & L. Hammond, "Invisible Displacement", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(4), 2008, 417-431.

120 *Ibid.*, 429.

121 P. Orchard, "The Contested Origins of Internal Displacement", *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 28(2), 2016, 210-233. He suggests that the exclusion of internal displacement in the original drafting of the 1951 convention was in fact a deliberate strategy on the part of the United States to prevent an overly expansive refugee convention and assistance mandate for the UN.

122 P. W. Fagen, "Peace Processes and IDP Solutions", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28(1), 2009, 31-58.

123 H. Bohnet, F. Cottier & S. Hug, "Conflict-induced IDPs and the Spread of Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(4), 2018, 691-716.

124 S. Choi & J. A. Piazza, "Internally Displaced Populations and Suicide Terrorism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(6), 2016, 1008-1040.

125 A. Steele, "Seeking Safety: Avoiding Displacement and Choosing Destinations in Civil Wars", *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(3), 2009, 419-429.

126 D. S. Sert, "Internal Displacement: Return, Property, Economy", *International Migration*, 52(5), 2014, 227-244.

127 J. Alix-Garcia, A. Bartlett, & D. Saah, "Displaced Populations, Humanitarian Assistance and Hosts: A Framework for Analyzing Impacts on Semi-urban Households", *World Development*, 40(2), 2012, 373-386.

128 R. E. Roberts & O. Okanya, "Measuring the socio-economic impact of forced evictions and illegal demolition; A comparative study between displaced and existing informal settlements", *The Social Science Journal* (2020); A. O. Afolabi, A. Oluwatayo, O. Oyeyipo, R. Ojelabi & O. Fagbenle, "Assessment of Designers' Perception of Post Conflict Housing Schemes for Internally Displaced Persons", *Construction Economics and Building*, 18(1), 2018, 27-47.

129 J. Crisp, T. Morris & H. Refstie, "Displacement in urban areas: new challenges, new partnerships", *Disasters*, 36, 2012, S23-S42.

under scrutiny in two papers, the first focusing on the rise in governments displacing their own populations¹³⁰ and the second on changes in government attitudes towards the treatment of IDPs as a result of shifts in norms promoted by international non-governmental organisations and institutions like the UN.¹³¹ From a national to a supranational framework, a number of papers take up the challenges and opportunities for organisations like the UN, which have a remit that includes internal displacement. In particular, they address the challenges of protracted conflict situations¹³² and the significance of faith-based organisations and the importance of inter-faith cooperation.¹³³ An attention to faith and gender seem lacking in the literature, although some argue that women have particular protection and assistance needs that exceed those of men.¹³⁴ Specific issues around the role of education in internal displacement are taken up in a wide-ranging collection.¹³⁵

Where there does seem to be a general consensus in the literature is on the importance of the participation of IDPs in projects that affect them¹³⁶ and that IDPs be given plenty of opportunities to share their experiences and have their voices heard. Using direct testimony from Colombian IDPs, it is possible to set out advice on “how to behave” in situations of internal displacement.¹³⁷ Participation seems especially important in relation to return and resettlement. Looking at community building in post-conflict situations, one study suggests the importance of engagement and participation with affected communities.¹³⁸ Another argues for the importance of ‘microfoundations’ for the reasons informing IDP decision-making on return and calls for the reinstatement of refugees and IDPs as vital actors in the micro-politics of displacement and their own life options.¹³⁹ One even more practice-based study recounts experiences of using art therapy with IDP teens who benefited from being empowered to voice their own stories.¹⁴⁰

3.3 Medicine and health

There appear to be relatively few general studies with IDPs published in the field of medicine and health. Many reviews of a particular health topic include literature on both refugees and IDPs. Most original research studies a particular IDP population. Even so, it is clear that mental health is one point of interest for health and medical researchers. Studies in that field suggest that IDPs are underrepresented in psycho-traumatology literature but argue that internal displacement as a form of ‘event centrality’ among IDPs predicted post-traumatic stress disorder.¹⁴¹

130 P. Orchard, “The Perils of Humanitarianism: Refugee and IDP Protection in Situations of Regime-induced Displacement”, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 29(1), 2010, 38-60.

131 P. Orchard, “Protection of internally displaced persons: soft law as a norm-generating mechanism”, *Review of International Studies*, 36(2), 2010, 281-303.

132 H. Lang & A. Knudsen, “‘Your subject of protection is a dangerous one’: Protracted internal conflict and the challenges for humanitarian agencies”, *Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 63(1), 2009, 35-45.

133 N. Kirmani & A. A. Khan, “Does Faith Matter: An Examination of Islamic Relief’s Work with Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons”, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 27(2), 2008, 41-50.

134 K. Amirthalingam & R. W. D. Lakshman, “Impact of Displacement on Women and Female-headed Households: A Mixed Method Analysis with a Microeconomic Touch”, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(1), 2013, 26-46.

135 C. Smith Ellison & A. Smith (eds.), *Education and Internally Displaced Persons*, London, Bloomsbury, 2013.

136 See e.g. Afolabi et al., “Assessment of Designers’ Perception of Post Conflict Housing Schemes for Internally Displaced Persons”.

137 S. Jakobsen, “How to behave: advice from IDPs”, *Forced Migration Review*, 37, 2011, 23-24

138 M. M. Frederico, C. J. Picton, S. Muncy, L. M. Ongsiapco, C. Santos & V. Hernandez, “Building community following displacement due to armed conflict: A case study”, *International Social Work*, 50(2), 2007, 171-184.

139 I. Serrano, “Understanding the dynamics of return: the importance of microfoundations”, *Refugee*, 25(1), 2008, 27-34.

140 J. Czamanski-Cohen, “‘Oh! Now I remember’: The use of a studio approach to art therapy with internally displaced people”, *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 37(5), 2010, 407-413.

141 J.B.C. Chukwuorji, C.M. Ifeagwazi & J.E. Eze, “Event Centrality Influences Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms via Core Beliefs in Internally Displaced Older Adults”, *Aging & Mental Health*, 23(1), 2019, 113-121; J.B.C. Chukwuorji, C.M. Ifeagwazi & J.E. Eze, “Role of Event Centrality and Emotion Regulation in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms among Internally Displaced Persons”, *Anxiety, Stress, & Coping*, 30(6), 2017, 702-715. Data is from IDP camp populations in Nigeria. See also, for example, I.G. Mordeno, M.J.N. Nalipay, D.J.S. Sy & J.G.C. Luzano, “PTSD Factor Structure and Relationship with Self-construal among Internally Displaced Persons”, *Journal of Anxiety Disorders*, 44, 2016, 102-110. Data is from IDPs in the Philippines.

Another study systematically reviews an extremely weak existing evidence base to identify risk factors associated with harmful alcohol use among forcible displaced persons, including IDPs.¹⁴²

Other studies focus on other health concerns for IDP populations, especially in comparison with refugees. Thus, a review of data from aid agencies suggests that, whilst mortality among refugees is not significantly different from baselines in host countries, significant excess mortality exists for IDPs (but also, to a lesser extent, for other residents) affected by complex humanitarian emergencies.¹⁴³ Other publications also suggest health inequalities exist between IDP and refugee populations in general.¹⁴⁴ Community health interventions are also researched in IDP contexts.¹⁴⁵ A review of the somewhat fragmentary existing evidence base also suggests a positive impact for training and deploying lay IDPs (and refugees) as health workers in camps.¹⁴⁶

142 H. Weaver & B. Roberts, "Drinking and Displacement: A Systematic Review of the Influence of Forced Displacement on Harmful Alcohol Use", *Substance Use & Misuse*, 45(13), 2010, 2340-2355.

143 P. Heudtlass, N. Speybroeck, D. Guha-Sapir, Debarati, "Excess Mortality in Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons and Resident Populations in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies (1998-2012) - Insights from Operational Data", *Conflict and Health*, 10(1), 2016, 15-26.

144 F. Rae, "Border-controlled Health Inequality: The International Community's Neglect of Internally Displaced Persons", *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 27(1), 2011, 33-41.

145 For instance, on the role of nurses in promoting effective autonomous IDP management of healthcare, see K. Solheim, "Patterns of Community Relationship: Nurses, Non-Governmental Organizations and Internally Displaced Persons", *International Nursing Review*, 52(1), 2005, 60-67. This is based on data from a camp on the Thai-Cambodia border.

146 J.E. Ehiri, J.K.L. Gunn, K.E. Center, Y. Li, M. Rouhani & E.E. Ezeanolue, "Training and Deployment of Lay Refugee/Internally Displaced Persons to Provide Basic Health Services in Camps: A Systematic Review", *Global Health Action*, 7(1), 2014.

4. Conclusions

Global data on IDPs collated by international institutions such as UNHCR and IDMC suggest that the numbers of IDPs, and the number of countries where this is a major issue, are both growing. At the same time, the weakness in the quantitative data means that the absolute precision of the figures, and such apparent numerical trends, cannot be taken entirely at face value. The establishment of a UNHCR-World Bank Group Joint Data Center on Forced Displacement may help to address quality concerns about data on IDPs over time.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, even recognising the methodological concerns posed in this field, such data as currently exist do suggest that, at the start of the 2020s, internal displacement due to conflict is a phenomenon that exists principally in countries of the global South rather than those of the global North (although this has not always been the case).

Academic research on internal displacement at the global level, i.e. where not addressed towards particular IDP situations or countries, is most extensive in relation to legal and policy issues. It focuses at the international level, particularly on the Guiding Principles (and ILAC) and UNHCR (and ICRC). Much of that research feels quite outdated. There is scope for researchers to reengage with international law, policy and actors in the IDP field to take account of developments over the past decade or two. Moreover, there is a need for greater comparative (i.e. cross-contextual) work on law, policy and actors in distinct national contexts, drawing wider lessons for research and policy. The fact that a significant proportion of research on the international response to IDPs is produced by practitioners, and tends to be rather descriptive and even 'promotional' in nature,¹⁴⁸ raises questions about what a critical research agenda might entail for this area of studies.

A more critical line of enquiry does emerge in academic research from social science and humanities disciplines that seeks to engage with internal displacement on a general basis. Perhaps the key debate there has revolved around the challenges posed to 'refugee studies' by a broader focus on IDPs as part of a move towards 'forced migration studies'. Elements of that debate recur in contemporary analyses of internal displacement, although the debate itself feels largely outdated or overtaken by events in practice. Alongside that, a wider body of social sciences and humanities scholarship on internal displacement does not really exist. Studies of particular IDP situations predominate. As a result, there is scope to develop broader sets of 'debates' on internal displacement by linking this disconnected body of research to cross-cutting themes like gender and by promoting comparative analyses of different IDP situations. Finally, the humanities disciplines in particular are largely absent from research on IDPs, although growing work on refugees within the humanities offers a platform for building such work.

For the medical and health sciences, this same sense of a somewhat 'disconnected' body of literature prevails in relation to the rather isolated and bare bones research carried out within those disciplines on IDP-related themes. Certainly, considerable scope seems to exist for building on the few 'meta'-analyses that currently exist in order to draw together and interrogate research on particular situations about how medical and health issues play out in the internal displacement context. Research in these fields also seems relatively insulated from the debates and themes being researched in the law/policy and social science/humanities fields. Finally, it is notable that many health-related studies on IDPs seem to be focused on camp-based populations, raising the question of how this body of research can be supplemented by more consistent work with IDPs outside IDP camp contexts.

147 See, for example, -, *UNHCR-World Bank Group Joint Data Center on Forced Displacement Fact Sheet*, 2019, available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/forceddisplacement/brief/unhcr-world-bank-group-joint-data-center-on-forced-displacement-fact-sheet>.

148 The fact that a substantial quantity of recent IDP research is located in the *Forced Migration Review* journal, as practitioner-oriented short-piece platform, seems to reflect this tendency.

Finally, in terms of particular themes that might emerge as research priorities, this scoping study confirms some of the 'global' themes identified by the 'state-of-the-art' report on IDP research published in 2019. they include: regional approaches to IDP protection and assistance; comparative studies of the implementation of IDP law/policy in practice; comparative micro-politics of internal displacement; development and internal displacement; urban displacement; the relationship of internal and cross-border displacement; internal displacement in disaster contexts; funding and IDP responses; area-based approaches to IDP responses; and internal displacement and host communities.¹⁴⁹ For researchers, we could also ask the broader questions about: how and where should academics contribute to policy/practice debates on internal displacement; and how can we integrate internal displacement into wider debates that cut across a more diverse set of academic disciplines?

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