

Working paper

Linking humanitarian assistance and social protection in response to forced displacement

An analytical framework

Christina Lowe^{ID}, Cécile Cherrier^{ID} and Rebecca Holmes^{ID}
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WORLD BANK GROUP

Building the Evidence on Forced Displacement

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About this publication

This paper is one of a series of outputs from a wider project exploring effective mechanisms for linking social protection programmes and humanitarian assistance in contexts of forced displacement.

By providing guidance on when, how and why different linkages might be considered, the project aims to develop the theory, evidence base and operational guidance on how social protection systems and humanitarian systems can work together to meet the needs of those affected by displacement crises, including not only displaced people but vulnerable households in their host communities as well. The research is grounded in three country contexts with a total of six study sites that present different contexts of displacement and humanitarian response: Greece (Athens and Ioannina), Colombia (Bogotá and Cúcuta) and Cameroon (Far North and East). The project is led by ODI, who work in close collaboration with the Centre for Applied Social Sciences Research and Training (CASS-RT) in Cameroon, the School of Government at the University of Los Andes in Colombia and the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in Greece.

This work is part of the programme 'Building the Evidence on Protracted Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership'. The programme is funded by UK Aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), it is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The scope of the programme is to expand the global knowledge on forced displacement by funding quality research and disseminating results for the use of practitioners and policy-makers. This work does not necessarily reflect the views of FCDO, the WBG or UNHCR.

About the authors

Christy Lowe^{ID} is a Senior Research Officer in ODI's Equity and Social Policy programme.

Cécile Cherrier^{ID} is a Research Associate in ODI's Equity and Social Policy programme.

Rebecca Holmes^{ID} is a Research Associate in ODI's Equity and Social Policy programme.

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Acronyms/Glossary

IDP internally displaced person

NGO non-governmental organisation

UN OCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1 Introduction

The number of people in the world who are forcibly displaced has more than doubled in the last decade, passing the 100 million mark in 2022 (UNHCR, 2022). Displacement is frequently long term, and rather than residing in designated camps, those affected typically live among host communities, who are often socio-economically vulnerable populations in low and middle income countries, where rates of poverty, inequality and precarious employment tend to be high and may even be growing. Both displaced and host populations are increasingly based in urban areas that appear to offer better prospects but are not always well set up to accommodate large additional populations.

These shifts in the nature of displacement have required those responding to revise their approach, and recent decades have seen a growing shift away from traditional ‘care and maintenance’ models of humanitarian assistance – based on the immediate relief of emergency needs – towards development-oriented solutions.

In the search for new approaches, there has been growing interest in the role that national social protection systems can play in supporting those affected by forced displacement (OCHA 2016; SPIAC-B 2016; UNHCR 2019). This has created a critical need to better understand when and how humanitarian assistance can effectively integrate with social protection systems to support displacement-affected populations (Peterman et al. 2018).

To start to fill this knowledge gap, an ODI-led consortium was commissioned to undertake research on the optimal approaches for linking humanitarian assistance and social protection systems in different displacement contexts. One of the principal outputs of this project is the development of an analytical framework that can be used to explore the potential approaches for linking humanitarian assistance and social protection systems in a given displacement context.

The framework was initially developed during the inception phase of the project, building on existing literature (notably Seyfert et al., 2019 and Barca, 2019). As documented in Lowe et al. (2022a), it was then tested and refined over the course of the project, using the new evidence generated through a global desk-based review of linkage approaches, global quantitative analysis and primary mixed-methods research in three countries.

The final framework is shown in Figure 1 below. The rest of the paper then outlines the three main components of the framework:

1. The **determining factors and actors** that are likely to influence the adoption and impacts of an approach to linking humanitarian assistance with social protection in a given displacement context (Left-hand column – Section 2)

2. The **typology of approaches** for linking social protection and humanitarian assistance (Middle column – Section 3)
3. The **benefits and drawbacks** that different approaches may generate (Right-hand column – Section 4)

Box 1 Key definitions

We recognise that there are many ways to define several of the areas explored in this research project. The following definitions have been selected as the most appropriate fit for this project:

Social protection system refers to ‘the nationally defined system of policies and programmes that provide equitable access to all people and protect them throughout their lives against poverty and risks to their livelihoods and wellbeing. This protection can be provided through a range of mechanisms, including in cash or in-kind benefits, contributory or non-contributory schemes, and programmes to enhance human capital, productive assets, and access to jobs’ (USP2030, n.d.).

In line with this definition, we will focus on the policies and programmes that constitute state-led (formal) social protection systems. We recognise that informal social protection also plays a crucial role in reducing and preventing poverty and vulnerabilities, including among displacement-affected populations. However, for the purposes of this research, we have limited the scope to focus only on formal social protection systems, on the basis that these are the policies and programmes that governments themselves manage and that they may therefore consider adapting or expanding to meet displacement-related needs.

Humanitarian assistance refers to ‘aid that seeks to save lives and alleviate suffering of a crisis-affected population’ (OCHA, 2008). The concept of humanitarian assistance and its potential connections to social protection are subject to interpretation and can be defined in various ways (Gentilini et al., 2018).

We recognise that the host state often plays an important role in providing humanitarian assistance to the displacement-affected population. However, since this project was largely undertaken to understand how international and non-governmental agencies might work more closely with the host state to respond to displacement challenges, we have opted for an ‘actor-oriented’ definition of humanitarian assistance (ibid.). Like the definition of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) in their tracking of humanitarian assistance funds, we focus on assistance provided by non-governmental or international actors to support displacement-affected populations, as opposed to the host government’s own expenditure on the displacement response.

Forced displacement refers to a ‘migratory movement which, although the drivers can be diverse, involves force, compulsion, or coercion’ (IOM, 2019). This includes both conflict- and disaster-induced displacement, of both an internal and international nature.

Internal displacement:

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are defined as ‘persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border’ (UN, 1998).

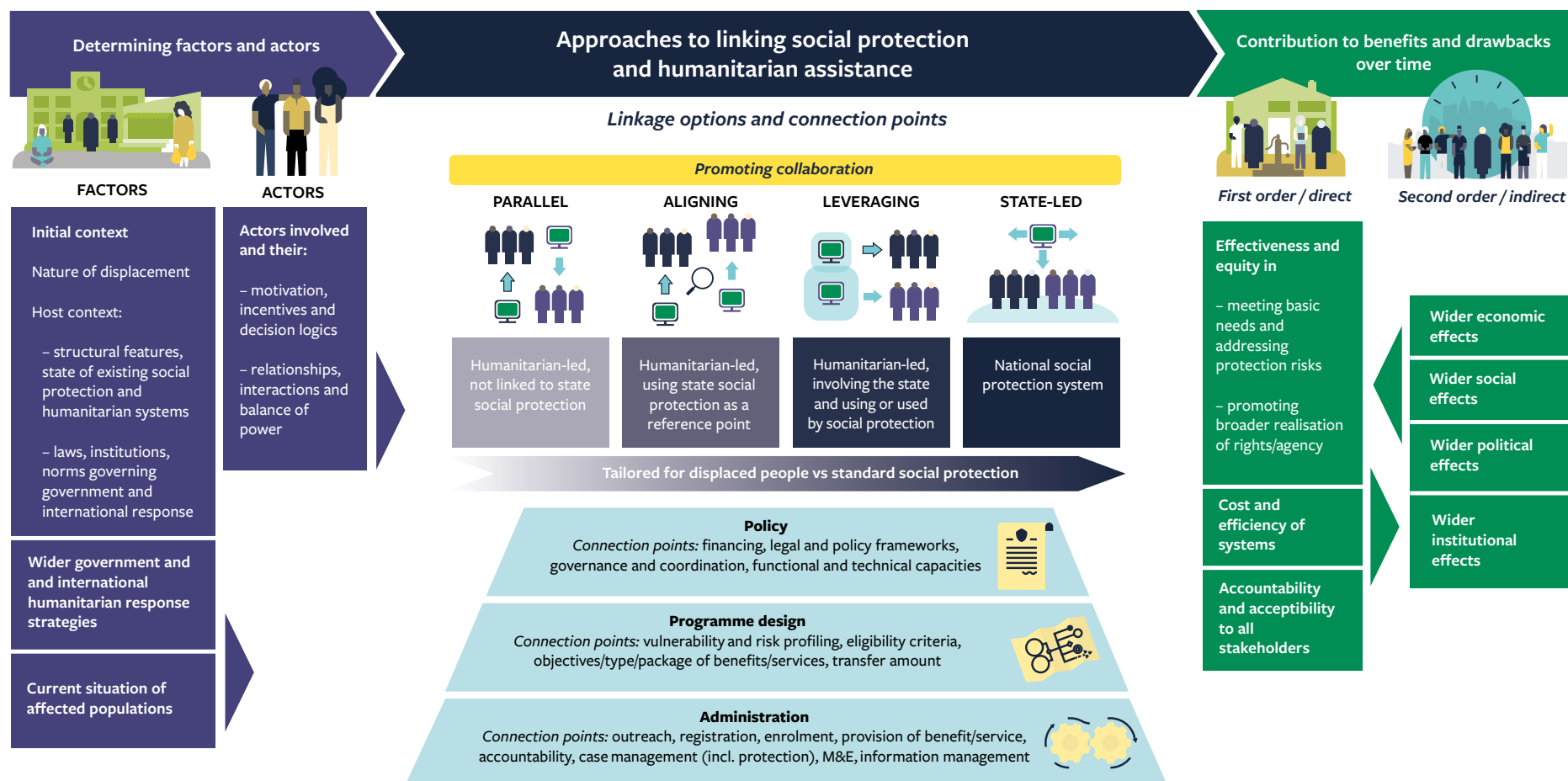
International displacement:

According to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, **refugees** are ‘persons who flee their country due to “well-founded fear” of persecution due to reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and who are outside of their country of nationality or permanent residence and due to this fear are unable or unwilling to return to it’. UNHCR includes ‘individuals recognized under the 1951 Convention, its 1967 Protocol, the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, those recognized in accordance with the UNHCR Statute, individuals granted complementary forms of protection, and those enjoying temporary protection. The refugee population also includes people in refugee-like situations’ (UNHCR, 2017).

Persons in a refugee-like situation includes ‘groups of persons who are outside their country or territory of origin and who face protection risks similar to those of refugees, but for whom refugee status has, for practical or other reasons, not been ascertained’ (UNHCR, 2013).

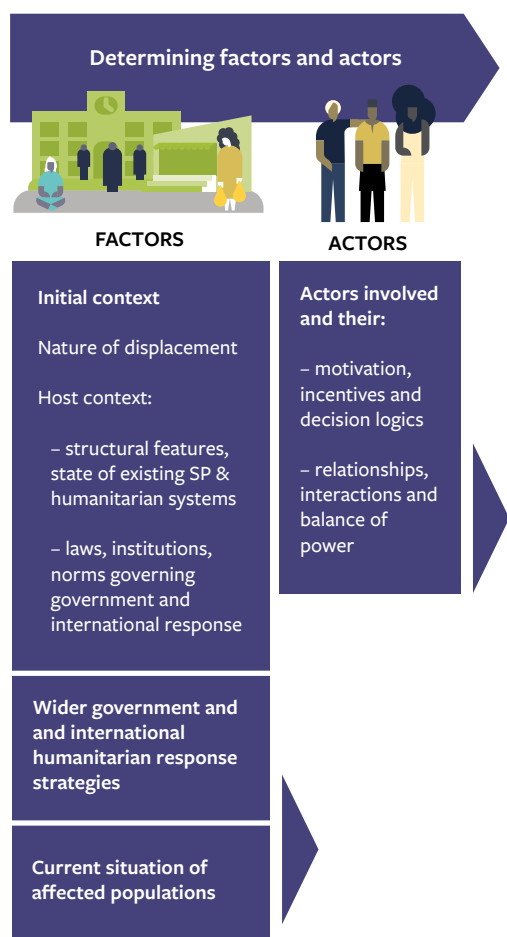
Populations of displaced people may also include **asylum-seekers**, who are ‘individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined’ (UNHCR, 2017).

Figure 1 Final analytical framework



2 Determining factors and actors

Figure 2 Determining factors and actors (column 1, left-hand column)



This column presents key factors and actors that influence both the approach taken to linking international or non-governmental assistance for displaced people with state-led social protection in a given context (column 2) and the benefits and drawbacks of the approach for different stakeholders (column 3).

Overall, actors are likely to matter much more than factors in determining which approach is selected and how it is implemented (and subsequently the outcomes that are likely to result). But the ‘factors’ categories describe the key aspects of the background context in which the actors are operating, so we describe them first in the logical flow.

For more detailed practical guidance on analysing the relevant factors and actors in a given context, please also see our accompanying toolkit (Lowe and Cherrier, 2022).

Key contextual factors

Initial context

Nature of the displacement

The nature of the displacement itself is likely to play an important role in determining the approach taken – and the outcomes of that approach. Specifically, the nature of the displacement may refer to:

- The **characteristics of the displacement shock**, such as the type (e.g., internal vs international), causes (e.g., conflict vs generalised violence vs natural hazard-induced), speed of onset, size, location, frequency and (expected) duration of the shock. For example:
 - If IDPs are displaced due to a conflict in which the government is an active party, this will reduce the feasibility and desirability of adopting a state-led approach.
 - If it is a relatively small-scale influx of refugees, this may make a state-led approach more politically and socially acceptable.
- The **characteristics of the displaced population**, such as their demographics and socio-economic profile prior to their displacement and at the time of their arrival (see later section on the current situation of affected populations to understand their current needs and preferences). For example:
 - If the displaced populations are of the same ethnicity as the host population, speak the same language and are of similar socioeconomic backgrounds, this is likely to increase the political and operational feasibility of serving both populations together through a state-led approach.
 - If the displaced are especially vulnerable compared to low-income host community households (possibly as a result of profound loss of assets, income and resources during their displacement), the national systems of assistance are unlikely to fully meet needs without re-design.
- The **phase of the displacement cycle**, namely whether it is in the ‘emergency’, ‘protracted displacement’, ‘durable solution’ or ‘preparedness’ phase. For example:
 - In an acute emergency phase, a humanitarian-led approach (whereby humanitarian actors take the lead to complement an overwhelmed national social protection system) may have more resonance and bring more benefits, whereas in subsequent protracted displacement and durable solution phases, a state-led approach may be more appropriate (e.g. to enhance displaced populations’ access to subsidised health insurance and other contributory benefits, and facilitate their inclusion in expanded social safety nets).

Structural features of the host context

Wide-ranging structural elements in the host context play a role in shaping both the selection of the assistance approach and the benefits and drawbacks that emerge from the approach taken. These are likely to include:

- The **political context**, for example:
 - If the government is an authoritarian regime with a poor human rights record, this will reduce the feasibility and desirability of working through state-led approaches.
 - If the government is highly decentralised or fragmented, or operates through a multiplicity of accredited non-governmental actors, this may be a complicating factor but may also offer a broader range of opportunities for establishing linkages with state-led systems.
- The **economic context**, for example:
 - If the country is a high-income country with low levels of poverty where most (non-displaced) citizens are already well-served by state systems, this may increase the feasibility and desirability of developing additional state-led programming for displaced populations.

- If the country has recently fallen into economic crisis, resulting in a spike in poverty and unemployment among the host population, this likely reduces the feasibility and desirability of relying on a domestically funded state-led approach and increases the need for the approach to contribute to wider economic benefits, without aggravating social tensions.
- The **socio-cultural context**, for example:
 - If the social norms of the host context heavily emphasise shared ownership, this likely increases the feasibility of integrating newcomers into existing social protection systems.
 - If there are already ethnic tensions and a fragile social contract in the host context, and the displacement influx drastically shifts the ethnic distribution, this may increase the need for the approach to ensure a positive outcome in relation to the ‘wider social impacts’ on inter-community relations.
- The **environmental context**, for example:
 - If the host region has recently been affected by an environmental disaster, this may increase the need to ensure that support for the displaced population is delivered alongside a scale-up in support for the host community.
- The **security context**, for example:
 - If the state is an active party in a conflict, linking assistance to IDPs with state systems will often be ineffective, as well as unacceptable for humanitarian agencies adhering to principles of neutrality and independence.
 - If the region where IDPs are residing is affected by conflict and governed by non-state actors, this renders a state-led approach less feasible and desirable.

The host context’s existing social protection system

For obvious reasons, the options for linking with social protection and the likely outcomes of doing so are heavily shaped by the state’s existing social protection system. This includes the system’s **formation, maturity, performance, coordination** and **shock-responsiveness** at the policy, programme design and administration levels, as well as the displaced population’s existing **legal and de facto access**. Such assessments (e.g., using the Core Diagnostic Instrument – see ISPA, n.d.) are important for determining how social protection might be engaged in the displacement response, as well as the potential ways in which the humanitarian response to the displacement might help to strengthen the existing social protection system.

The host context’s existing humanitarian presence

The existing humanitarian presence in the country can shape the approach taken to linking with the social protection system, and its outcomes. In particular, the approach taken and outcomes generated may depend on past or ongoing humanitarian responses’ **size, recurrence, duration, financing**, and **orientation**, in the country and in the specific regions hosting displaced populations. It may also depend on the **performance or outcomes** of those responses – including both the intended outcomes (for example, the extent to which the responses were perceived to meet humanitarian needs in an effective, equitable, cost-efficient and accountable manner) and potential unintended outcomes (such as any negative impacts on community relations or the social contract). Understanding the existing humanitarian presence will also require consideration of the

diverse **coordinating, implementing and donor agencies** previously involved in the humanitarian response, and their **ways of working** – including their engagement with state systems (for more detailed stakeholder analysis, see the key actors section below).

Laws, institutions and norms governing the displacement response in the host context

Alongside the structural features of the host context, the **laws, institutions and norms** governing the response to the displacement situation are likely to shape the approach to linking with state systems, and the outcomes that emerge from that approach. Institutions refer to the ‘**rules of the game**’, including both formal and informal rules that govern behaviour (Harris, 2013). Laws refer to formal laws and regulations, while norms can be thought of as informal or unofficial social, political and cultural rules.

The wider displacement response

International and national actors’ decisions about linking a given humanitarian intervention with the social protection system to assist displaced populations do not happen in a vacuum. They are typically a component of the wider displacement response being rolled out by non-governmental and international actors and by the state. It is helpful to consider this wider displacement response, for example by assessing the state and the international community’s **overarching policy and strategy** for addressing the displacement situation, as well as the **stakeholders involved, the mechanisms for coordinating them, and the financing sources/flows** for implementation.

The current situation of affected populations

One of the main factors that should influence the assistance approach taken, and the outcomes of that approach, is the situation of the displacement-affected populations – the **needs and risks** that they experience, and their **preferences and capacity** to address these needs and risks (which are likely to differ substantially between different individuals or households, for example based on gender, age and disability). The needs and risks considered should include affected households’ material and subjective wellbeing, as well as social wellbeing at the community level (i.e., social cohesion).

When considering the situation of the displacement-affected populations, it is important to understand the specific needs and risks that have resulted from their displacement (as opposed to the needs and risks associated with poverty in general). For example, displacement may have resulted in the loss of assets, land, food security, access to income or livelihoods opportunities, networks and social capital, as well as physical or mental health conditions. Depending on the precise impacts, a ‘mainstream’ social assistance programme might not be sufficient or have the flexibility to be adapted to displacement-specific needs and risks.

Key actors determining approach and outcomes

A clear finding in our research was that the approach taken to linking humanitarian assistance with state social protection, and the outcomes of that approach, depend far more on the political will and incentives of key actors than on any of the contextual factors above.

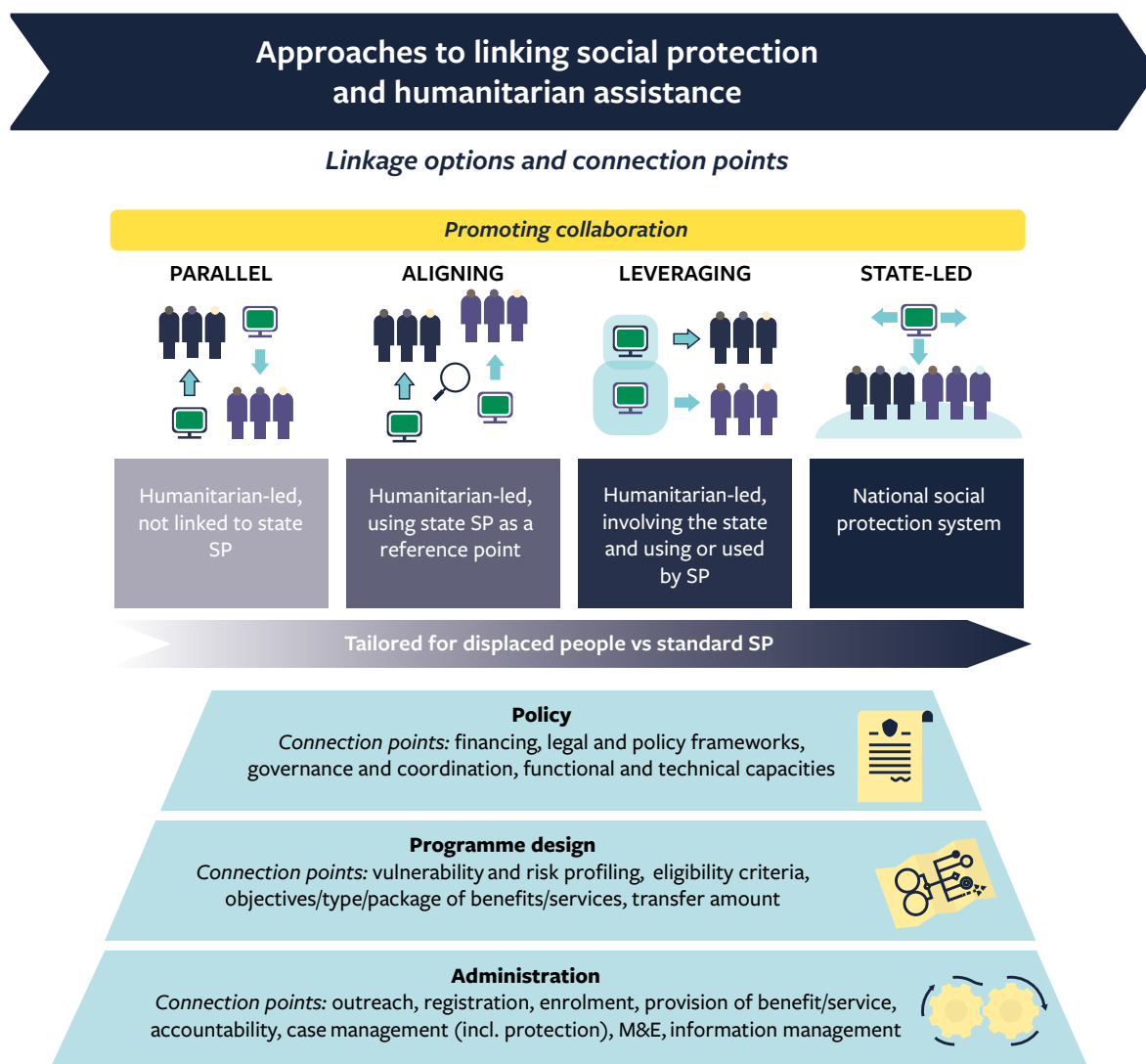
Each of these actors may have different **motivations and incentives**, and it is important to understand these to identify whether and why they might benefit from or be disadvantaged by a shift in approach.

The **logics** behind an actor's decisions may not be straightforward. For example, they may be unconsciously biased in their judgement about the intentions or capacity of other actors, or there may be information asymmetries at play, where one actor has more information to inform the decision than another actor and can potentially use that information to gain some sort of advantage. Alternatively, the optimal approach may be clear to all but there may be a collective action challenge which leads actors to avoid the optimal decision because they cannot guarantee that others will commit to this approach and are concerned about 'being left to foot the bill'. Or an actor may not have the time or energy to engage deeply in complex decision-making processes so may rely on 'heuristics', meaning 'simple decision-making procedures that we use to help find generally adequate, though imperfect, answers to difficult questions' (Kahneman, 2011, in Harris, 2013).

The approach taken and the outcomes generated will also be influenced by the **relationships and balance of power** between the different actors. This makes it essential to understand the diversity of actors within a context. So-called 'systems' such as 'the state', 'the international community' or 'the humanitarian response' consist both of many different entities and of different actors within those many entities. Each actor may have distinct interests, as well as diverging levels of capacity and authority to pursue them.

3 Typology of linking approaches

Figure 3 Typology of linking approaches (column 2, middle column)



This column shows the typology of approaches that can be used to link social protection and humanitarian assistance in displacement contexts.

The top half of the column shows the options for non-governmental/international agencies to link (or not link) their assistance with state-led social protection.

Broadly speaking, there are **four main linkage options**:

- a. **Parallel** approach – NGOs/international agencies use a standalone approach to humanitarian programming, with no link to the state social protection system.
- b. **Aligning** – the programming approach is humanitarian-led but uses the state’s existing or future social protection system as a reference point.¹ This could mean that the humanitarian actors ‘mirror’ the (standard) state-led social protection approach, but it could also mean that humanitarian arrangements are informed by the state’s existing approach but tailored by the humanitarian agencies.
- c. **Leveraging** – the programming approach is humanitarian-led, but the state is involved and the approach directly uses or is used by the social protection system.² ‘Leveraging’ means that the humanitarian approach is not just informed by state social protection, but that the state is engaged and social protection is in some way explicitly leveraged for the humanitarian programming approach, or vice versa.
- d. **State-led** – the programming approach is state-led (operating with or without humanitarian support).

Even if the assistance approach is linked with the social protection system or state-led, it does not necessarily have to use an existing (‘standard’) social protection approach. It can – and in most cases should – still be tailored for the displaced population, given their unique circumstances. For options (b), (c) and (d), there is therefore an additional decision to be made regarding **the extent to which the approach is tailored for the displaced population, versus replicating or using a standard approach of the existing social protection system**.

When formulating, designing and implementing assistance programming for displaced populations, there are many ‘**connection points**’ at which the programming could link with state social protection provision, and the same linkage option does not necessarily have to be applied across all these points. These connection points can be grouped at three levels of assistance provision:

1. The **policy level**, which relates to the key policy frameworks and mechanisms that underlie the assistance programming. *Potential connection points at this level include the legal and policy frameworks, governance and coordination mechanisms, financing mechanisms, and functional and technical capacities.*

1 The term ‘future social protection system’ acknowledges that the social protection system in many displacement settings is not yet fully established, but humanitarian actors may nevertheless refer to the expected/future plan for the social protection system when developing their approach.

2 As explained in Lowe et al. (2022a), we changed the term ‘Piggy-backing’ to ‘Leveraging’ because piggy-backing was not well-understood by non-native-English speakers.

2. The **programme design level**, which relates to the specific design features of the assistance programme. *Potential connection points at this level include the vulnerability assessment or risk profiling, the programme objectives, and the type and package of support provided, the amount given (level/value, frequency, duration), and the eligibility criteria and qualifying conditions for recipients to access the programme.*
3. The **administration level**, which relates to the operational processes and mechanisms that are used to deliver the assistance programme in practice.³ *Potential connection points at this level include the processes and mechanisms used for outreach and communications, registration, determination of eligibility and notification of enrolment, provision of benefits/services, accountability (including complaints and appeals), case management (including protection), monitoring and evaluation, and information management.*

A programme's linkage approach will depend on the extent to which different linkages were formed across different connection points in the social protection system.

An example of a detailed description of a linkage approach for a hypothetical programme is shown in Figure 4. We refer to this detailed description as the 'linkage profile' of the programme. The horizontal axis in the figure shows the range of linkage options (from an entirely parallel approach with no linkages, to an entirely state-led approach at the other extreme). The vertical axis shows the connection points in the social protection system to which different options for linking can be applied. The marks on the table illustrate the linkage option used at the different connection points.

In theory, the full 'typology of linkages' therefore consists of all the possible linkage profiles – that is, all possible combinations of linkage options and connection points. However, for practical reasons, analysis of different programmes' linkage approaches may not always describe the linkage options used at every connection point so systematically and may instead focus only on the parts of the linkage profile that are most distinctive in that case.

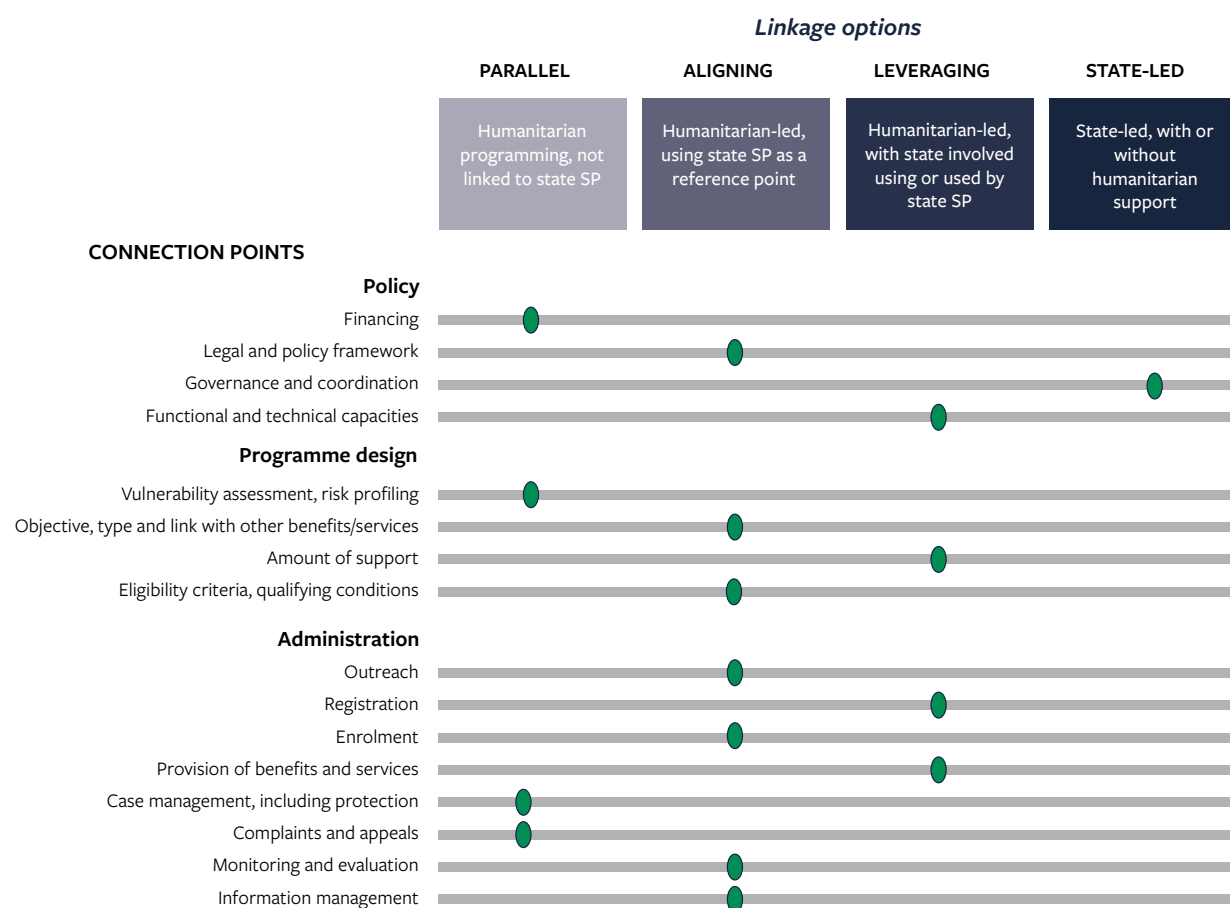
Regardless of which linkage approach is used, NGO/international agencies and state actors can and, in almost all cases, should still look to **promote collaboration** with one another.⁴ Collaborating means regularly and openly communicating, remaining informed about each other's programming, and providing technical assistance where appropriate. This is important to avoid undesirable duplication or clashes in activities, to be aware of a potential need or opportunity to change approach (should circumstances shift), and to improve coherence from the perspective

3 For more guidance on effectively delivering assistance to displaced populations in practice, see the paper (Lowe et al., 2022b) and toolkit (Holmes et al., 2022) on this topic, produced as part of this project.

4 The exceptions to this include cases where engaging with the state might legitimise actions that violate international humanitarian or human rights law, where the state is hostile or non-complicit, or where humanitarian principles of neutrality, independence or impartiality might be threatened by the type of collaboration being considered.

of the affected populations (e.g., so that humanitarian agencies can inform them of the national social protection programmes that are in place, even if they do not directly refer to or operate with those programmes).

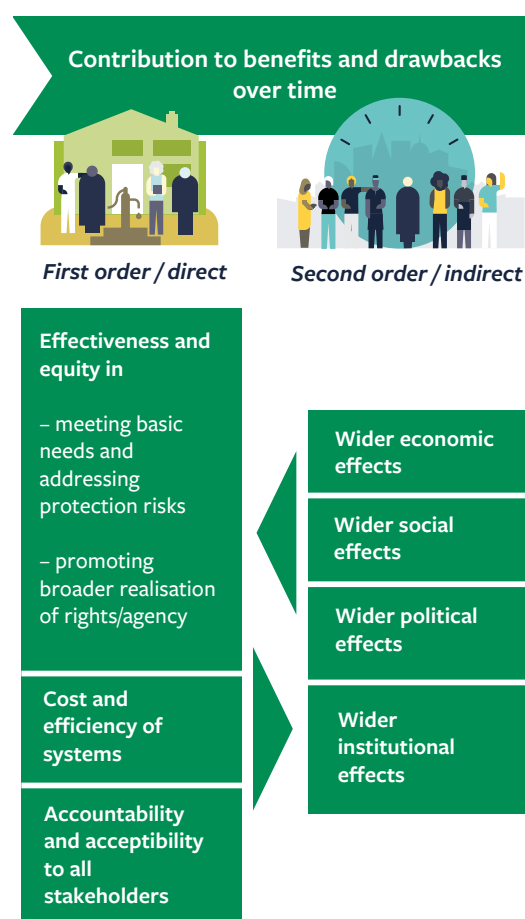
Figure 4 Linkage profile for a hypothetical programme



Source: Adapted from Seyfert et al. (2019)

4 Benefits and drawbacks

Figure 5 Contribution to benefits and drawbacks over time (column 3, right-hand column)



Column 3 presents a set of the major criteria that stakeholders may consider and/or prioritise when assessing the benefits and drawbacks of a particular linkage approach.

The net benefits and drawbacks will only truly be apparent when all programmes for displaced and host populations are considered in conjunction.

However, since this framework is a programme-level framework, the column seeks to assess a single programme's *contribution* to these overall benefits and drawbacks.

The list of benefits consists of three direct outcome dimensions and four potential indirect outcome dimensions, which collectively aim to encapsulate the key criteria of importance to all stakeholders (including the displaced and host populations, host government, humanitarian agencies and donor organisations).

Direct/first-order effects

These include:

1. **Effectiveness and equity in (a) addressing the basic needs and protection risks of the displacement-affected population, and (b) promoting the realisation of their broader rights and agency.** Effectiveness considers whether the key short- and long-term needs and risks of the displaced and host populations are addressed in a *timely* manner, with a *well-designed* and *well-implemented* intervention (comprehensive, adequate and predictable

support), that has sufficient population coverage.⁵ Equity is specifically listed to indicate the need to consider how fairly the results of the approach are distributed across different groups in the target population (including between the displaced and host populations, and across groups within these populations). This dimension pays particular attention to how well the approach reaches the most marginalised and accounts for the heightened needs and risks that they may face based on gender, age, disability, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic status or other characteristics.

2. **Cost and efficiency of systems** – this considers the overall financial costs of the approach and the extent to which it reduces the duplication of programmes, delivery systems and processes in the short and long term.
3. **Accountability and acceptability to all stakeholders** – this considers whether the approach enables both top-down and bottom-up accountability and is acceptable to the displaced population, host population, host government at national and local levels, humanitarian organisations and donor agencies. This includes considering whether the approach meets the requirements and preferences of each stakeholder. It also includes consideration of whether there are any restrictions on working with particular entities, such as in cases where donors may not be permitted to provide direct budget support to a government entity.

Indirect/second-order effects

As well as generating direct/first-order benefits and drawbacks for the immediate stakeholders affected, different approaches to linking social protection and humanitarian systems may also generate wider indirect/second-order benefits and drawbacks for the host economy, society and state more broadly.

These effects (whether positive or negative indirect costs) can be grouped into four main categories:

1. **Wider economic impacts** – these refer to the broader effects of linking assistance to the displaced with the state social protection system on the local or national host economy. For example, this may include effects on consumption of local goods and services, on wages and price levels, on financial inclusion rates (and subsequently the growth of banking or mobile money markets) and on taxes and social security contributions.
2. **Wider social impacts** – these refer to the broader effects that linked assistance may have on relations between and within host and displaced communities. These may include an assistance programme's *direct* effects on inter-community interactions or attitudes (e.g.

5 For more guidance on the effects of linking humanitarian assistance and social protection on affected populations' basic needs and wellbeing, see the paper (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2022a) and toolkit (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2022b) on this topic, produced as part of this project.

arising from interactions when participating in the programme itself or based on perceptions of fairness in relation to the programme's design or funding source). They may also include the *indirect* impacts that linked assistance has on perceptions of displaced populations, based on changes in their role in the local economy, their access to local services, and their contribution (or perceived contribution) to the local community.⁶

3. **Wider political impacts** – these refer to the broader effects that linked assistance may have on political dynamics and on state–society relations. The latter includes potential changes in: (1) people's material relationship with the state (what they get from or give to the state); (2) their perceptions of, trust in and support for the state or the ruling administration (how they view the state); and (3) their perceptions of themselves in relation to the state (how they view themselves in relation to the state – their sense of belonging and identity, as well as their voice, agency and ability to hold the state to account).⁷
4. **Wider institutional impacts** – these refer to the broader effects on the strength of state systems, including the systems for providing social protection and for responding to the displacement influx. Strengthening these systems may help improve not only the capacity of the state to serve the displaced and host communities in the displacement-affected region, but also its capacity to serve the host population more broadly, as well as to respond to potential new or subsequent influxes of displaced populations in future.

Collectively, these wider impacts may feed back into the first-order/direct effects, since they may change the calculations over time of cost and efficiency of systems, of political/social acceptability, and of effectiveness or equity.

The direct and indirect effects may also alter the *context* in which programming decisions are being made, and the incentives of the *actors* involved in those decisions. The right-hand column 3 therefore links back to the left-hand column 1 in a circular fashion, with the effects of the initial approach taken directly influencing future decision-making on appropriate linkages between humanitarian assistance and social protection in later phases of the displacement response.

6 For more guidance on the effects of linking humanitarian assistance and social protection on inter-community relations, see the paper (Lowe et al., 2022c) and toolkit (Commins et al., 2022) on social cohesion, produced as part of this project.

7 For more guidance on the effects of linking humanitarian assistance and social protection on state-society relations, see the paper (Lowe et al., 2022c) and toolkit (Commins et al., 2022).

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