Under the Radar:
Internally Displaced Persons in Non-Camp Settings

Front Cover Photograph: An IDP girl and her sister in front of their shelter in Um Al-Baneen camp, located in Central Baghdad. The camp hosts 112 internally displaced families who are residing in old, damaged and abandoned military buildings. (UNHCR/H. Caux, January 24, 2013)

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FOREWORD

In spite of popular perceptions, most of the world's internally displaced persons (IDPs) do not live in camps, but rather live dispersed in communities in a wide range of living situations. Sometimes they live with family or friends in nearby communities. Sometimes they rent accommodations in large cities. Sometimes they live in unoccupied buildings or pitch tents in empty lots. When people have to flee their homes because of conflict, widespread human rights violations or disasters, they tend to move to places where they have family or friends or to places which they think will be safer than their home communities. Sometimes displacement lasts only a few weeks or months and IDPs are able to cope with their own resources or the support of family and friends until they can return to their homes. However, all too often, displacement lasts longer than anticipated, resources run out and the capacity of host families is stretched. In some cases, governments and international organizations set up camps for IDPs where assistance can be provided and the impact on host communities minimized. While camps bring their own set of problems, they also usually bring public awareness and visibility to IDPs. It is hard to ignore the presence of IDPs when they live in large camps, such as in Darfur, northern Uganda or Pakistan. In contrast, IDPs who do not live in camps are often out of the public eye; it is more difficult to identify IDPs living dispersed in communities that are often poor themselves. It is also more difficult to develop appropriate policies to protect and assist them. IDPs living in non-camp settings are usually 'under the radar.'

For the past twenty years or so, there has been growing awareness of the unique problems facing refugees living in urban areas but much less attention has been devoted to the particular situation facing those displaced within the borders of their own country and who live outside of camps. In an effort to draw attention to the needs of these IDPs – who constitute a majority of the world's IDPs – I presented a comprehensive report to the UN Human Rights Council in 2011 on IDPs living outside of camps. While this report was well-received, I felt that more needed to be done and, therefore, asked my colleagues at the Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement to publish and expand on my UN report to reach a broader audience.

I hope that this report not only raises awareness of the particular needs and capacities of IDPs living outside of camps, but that it also generates discussion and debate about the best ways of responding to IDPs who are often off the radar screen of governments and aid organizations. Working with IDPs in non-camp settings challenges traditional ways of working and requires creative thinking about new approaches and programs. It is my hope that this report contributes to a robust policy debate and leads to concrete actions that improve the lives of millions of IDPs outside of camps and that help them to secure durable solutions to their displacement.

Chaloka Beyani
UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of
Internally Displaced Persons
Co-Director, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement

I. INTRODUCTION

R ather than living in large camps, most of the world's 28.8 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) currently live "outside camps."[1] This rather inelegant term – "IDPs outside camps" – refers to IDPs who live in a variety of settings or situations, making generalizations difficult. They may be in urban, rural or remote areas; they may own or rent housing; they may be sharing a room or living with a host family; they may be occupying a building or land that they do not own, or living in makeshift shelters and slums or living on the streets. Many IDPs have fled to small

Displaced children from Douentza play in a former hotel in Mapti, Mali. (UNHCR/2012)

towns and villages near their homes but increasingly IDPs are ending up in urban areas, where those who have been forced to leave their homes because of conflict, human rights abuses and disasters live side-by-side with the non-displaced poor and economic migrants.[2] While urban areas may offer opportunities for rebuilding lives, they usually present particular difficulties for IDPs seeking to find their place in a new and complex environment. Adequate housing and shelter are often in short supply, and access to public services such as education, health, water and sanitation may be more difficult for IDPs to access.

Because of the circumstances that led to their displacement and the conditions they encounter after being displaced, IDPs often face particular assistance and protection concerns in comparison with those living in the same communities who have not been displaced. Yet, because they are dispersed and often not easy to identify, non-camp IDPs tend to remain under the radar screen of government authorities and international actors concerned with IDPs. Local organizations may be more aware of IDPs' needs and concerns, but often lack the capacity to assist all of those in need. Where assistance is provided to IDPs outside camps, it is generally ad hoc and insufficient.

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[1] In terms of displacement due to conflict, generalized violence and human rights violations; see Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010*, March 2011, p. 13. The figure of 28.8 million is for 2012; see IDMC, *Global Overview 2012: People internally displaced by conflict and violence*, 29 April 2013. Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), 7th Working Group Meeting, "Internally displaced persons outside camps: achieving a more equitable humanitarian response," WO/1006/3492/7, 12 March 1993, http://humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/pageloader.aspx?page=content-calendar-calendardetails&meetID=596, paras. 4, 7.

[2] In 2011, IDPs were living in urban areas in 47 out of 50 countries monitored by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre; IDMC, *Global Overview 2011: People internally displaced by conflict and violence,* April 2012, www.internal-displacement.org/31FFB20A-37C4-4D48-85D1-4BC7B5C73277/FinalDownload/DownloadId-138D7E284EE5EA55B1EBA4E8BE6BB961/31FFB20A-37C4-4D48-85D1-4BC7B5C73277/publications/global-overview-2011.pdf

The UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, Chaloka Beyani, has identified the issue of IDPs outside camps as one of the priority concerns of his mandate and in 2011 presented a report on the issue to the UN Human Rights Council[3] which in turn built on previous work by the mandate on IDPs living outside of camps.[4] While based on Dr. Beyani's report to the Human Rights Council, this publication is intended for a broader audience of government, humanitarian and development actors as well as the general public and expands on the issues raised in the 2011 report. Like the report to the Human Rights Council, this publication focuses on three specific issues: IDPs who live in urban contexts; IDPs and host communities; and the role of local authorities in responding to IDPs outside camps.

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[3] UN Human Rights Council, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, Chaloka Beyani*, A/HRC/19/54, 26 December 2011, http://www.brookings.edu/about/projects/idp/un-hrc-report-dec-2011

[4] Previous work included reports to the Human Rights Council identifying this as a key challenge in the field of internal displacement and a priority area for the mandate, A/HRC/16/43; A/HRC/13/21; steps bringing it to the attention of the wider humanitarian community via the IASC; see IASC, 7th Working Group Meeting, "Internally displaced persons outside camps: achieving a more equitable humanitarian response," 12 March 1993 and specific attention to the issue in the context of country visits by the mandate.

II. IDPs Outside Camps: The Urban Dimension

The flight of IDPs to urban areas reflects a global trend of increasing urbanization. By 2008, the proportion of the world's population living in urban areas had surpassed 50 percent and is expected to rise to more than 60 percent by 2025.[5] Nearly all of this urban population growth is expected to occur in cities and towns in developing countries, whose population is projected to increase from 2.7 billion in 2011 to 5.1 billion in 2050, with Africa and Asia experiencing the most rapid urbanization.[6]

A family rushes from the Abobo neighbourhood in Côte d'Ivoire on 27 February 2011 to go to safer areas in the capital. They took advantage of the lull in the fighting that took place during the whole night to flee with their children and few belongings. (UNHCR/H. Caux, February 2011)

Factors that may draw IDPs to urban areas – either for an interim period or for a long-term basis – include greater access to public services, livelihood opportunities and physical security than in rural areas or small towns as well as kinship networks or social ties. In addition, in some cases, there may simply not be any camps or formal settlements, or perceptions of living conditions in camps may be so negative that IDPs seek alternatives to living in camps.[7] Displacement is a dynamic process; IDPs often move several times in search of security and adequate living conditions. For example, due to fighting in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas in 2013, 29-year-old Yar Mohammed stayed with his cousin until he could rent a three-room mud house with his family in the Scheme Chowk area of Peshawar, the capital city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) province: "I spoke to some people who told me the facilities at Jalozai [camp] are not enough. They were going to give just one tent to us, and that will not do for 10 people," Mohammed explained, adding that he hopes to

> *"I spoke to some people who told me the facilities at Jalozai [camp] are not enough. They were going to give just one tent to us, and that will not do for 10 people."*
>
> -Yar Mohammed, 29, IDP from Federally Administered Tribal Areas living with his family in rented accommodation in Peshawar, Pakistan

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[5] UNFPA, *State of World Population 2007*, www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2007/695_filename_sowp2007_eng.pdf; UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2008/2009 - Harmonious Cities*, www.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=2562

[6] United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects. The 2011 Revision: Highlights*, March 2012, http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/pdf/WUP2011_Highlights.pdf, pp. 3 and 11.

[7] As noted by IRIN with regard to Pakistan: "How best to serve Pakistan's 750,000 IDPs?, 1 March 2013, www.irinnews.org/Report/97570/How-best-to-serve-Pakistan-s-750-000-IDPs

find a better house for his family.[8] Security incidents such as a bombing at Jalozai camp in late March and the personal enmities some IDPs have with camp dwellers have also led many to choose to live outside of camps.[9] Mohammad's choice mirrors that of the overwhelming majority of the nearly 60,000 IDPs who fled Tirah Valley in Khyber Agency between mid-March and the end of April 2013.[10] According to the latest IDP Vulnerability Assessment and Profiling exercise, 86 percent of IDPs in KP had opted to stay in "off-camp" locations and 82 percent of off-camp IDP families were paying rent.[11]

People are displaced not only by conflict but also by disasters, and those displaced by disasters also tend to move to urban areas where they face a complex web of risks and vulnerabilities.[12] Even for those displaced by conflict and human rights violations, moving to urban areas can increase their risk of being affected by disasters, pointing to the need for more equitable and systemized displacement prevention and response systems for IDPs in urban areas, as well as disaster risk reduction approaches to urban planning.[13]

While it may be easier for IDPs to settle down and start new lives in a city than in other areas, IDPs face various challenges to sustainable integration in urban and other non-camp settings.

How IDPs Fare in Urban Areas

While urban environments often provide a conducive setting for internally displaced persons to rebuild their lives, they also present important protection, development and security challenges. This is especially the case as IDPs outside of defined camp settings can be difficult to identify, protect and assist. Indeed, it is generally easier for authorities, organizations and agencies to provide assistance in camps than in non-camp settings. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), "in countries where IDPs were living in both gathered and dispersed settings, national authorities and humanitarian actors were twice as likely to provide assistance and protection to IDPs in gathered settings than to those in dispersed settings."[14]

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[8] IRIN, "How best to serve Pakistan's 750,000 IDPs?," 1 March 2013, www.irinnews.org/report/97570/how-best-to-serve-pakistan-s-750-000-idps

[9] IRIN, "Fighting in Pakistan's Tirah Valley displaces 40,000 people," 1 April 2013, www.irinnews.org/Report/97760/Fighting-in-Pakistan-s-Tirah-Valley-displaces-40-000-people; BBC, "Deadly car bomb hits Pakistan's Jalozai refugee camp," 21 March 2013, www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-21873552

[10] OCHA-Pakistan, *Pakistan: Khyber Agency Displacements Situation Report No. 3 (as of 12 April 2013)*, issue 14, 30 April 2013, www.unocha.org/pakistan; Government officials estimated that up to 120,000 people (20,000 families) may leave the conflict-affected area in the near future and remain in displacement for up to six months due to security concerns.

[11] IVAP, *IVAP Key Findings and Recommendations – Multi-Cluster Findings*, www.ivap.org.pk/MultiClusterFindings.aspx

[12] The "urbanization of poverty" is discussed by UN-HABITAT in *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*, 2003, www.unhabitat.org

[13] On migration due to the effects of climate change, see Government of the UK, *Foresight: Migration and Global Environmental Change, Final Project Report*, the Government Office for Science, London, 2011, www.bis.gov.uk/assets/foresight/docs/migration/11-1116-migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf; on rural to urban migration, see for example Judy L. Baker, *Urban poverty: a global view*, Urban Papers, no. UP-5. World Bank, 2008, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2008/01/9112288/urban-poverty-global-view

[14] IDMC, *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010*, March 2011, www.internal-displacement.org/31FFB20A-37C4-4D48-85D1-4BC7B5C73277/FinalDownload/DownloadId-D58366A8856DEB053DA0540DE559E3DE/31FFB20A-37C4-4D48-85D1-4BC7B5C73277/publications/global-

There are very few studies which assess the comparative needs of IDPs living in camps and in non-camp settings or which analyze the needs of IDPs in urban settings in comparison with their non-displaced neighbors. The few studies which are available seem to suggest that IDPs face particular vulnerabilities.[15] For example, a study on IDPs in Kenya found that despite much progress in protecting and assisting IDPs, IDPs in camps were simply more visible and easier to target with humanitarian and livelihoods recovery assistance.[16] An assessment of IDPs in Serbia found that urban IDPs had greater housing and income needs than those in non-urban areas, and that IDPs in general were more likely to be unemployed (32 percent of all IDPs) than the general population (average 19 percent).[17] Another assessment found that urban IDPs in Afghanistan were worse off than the urban poor, while an assessment of households in Bambingui-Bangoran Prefecture (including rural and urban areas) in Central African Republic found no marked differences in the situations of IDPs and those who hosted them.[18]

Even when specific assistance such as food aid is provided for IDPs in non-camp settings, this tends to consist of one-off assistance, provided at the beginning of displacement, rather than the sustained assistance that is needed when people are displaced for long periods of time.[19] Existing government assistance programs for vulnerable groups are often insufficient for IDPs whose needs increase because of their displacement. Moreover, this aid may be contingent on recipients having local residency or identity documents, which IDPs may not be able to obtain. Sometimes IDPs are reluctant to access assistance programs for fear of drawing attention to themselves, for security reasons. Discrimination on the basis of their being displaced, or other real or perceived

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overview-2010.pdf, p. 13. Majority: Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), 7th Working Group Meeting, "Internally displaced persons outside camps: achieving a more equitable humanitarian response", WO/1006/3492/7, 12 March 1993; IASC, WO/1006/3492/7, paras. 4, 5, 7.

[15] See, for example, the Feinstein International Center, Tufts University and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre profiling studies on IDPs in urban areas: *Internal Displacement to Urban Areas: Khartoum, Sudan*, September 2008; *Internal Displacement to Urban Areas: Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire*, September 2008; *Internal Displacement to Urban Areas: Santa Marta, Colombia*, September 2008. All are available at the Feinstein International Center website: http://sites.tufts.edu/feinstein/research/research-by-topic/internally-displaced-persons?submit=Go

[16] See further, Prisca Kamungi, "*Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated' Displaced Persons,*" Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013, http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/05/kenya-displacement-kamungi

[17] See further, UNHCR, Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) and Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, *Assessment of the Needs Of Internally Displaced Persons in Serbia,* February 2011, www.jips.org/en//en/field-support/countries/serbia/serbia-2011; and on the survey criteria used for IDPs "in need," see UNHCR, JIPS and Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia and Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, *Survey on Internally Displaced Persons in the Republic of Serbia, Technical Report – Draft Outline for the IDP Needs Assessment in Serbia*, www.jips.org/en//en/field-support/countries/serbia/serbia-2011, p. 12, 2011.

[18] Susanne Schmeidl, Alexander D. Mundt and Nick Miszak, *Beyond the Blanket: Towards More Effective Protection for Internally Displaced Persons in Southern Afghanistan* , (Washington, D.C.: Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, May 2010), www.brookings.edu/reports/2010/05_idp_protection_afghanistan.aspx, pp. 61-75; Afghanistan Profile at a Glance and the full-length profile: Samuel Hall, NRC, IDMC and JIPS, *Challenges of IDP Protection: Research study on the protection of internally displaced persons in Afghanistan*, www.jips.org/en/field-support/countries/afghanistan/afghanistan-displacement-tracking-system-2012-2013; JIPS, *Central African Republic: Profile at a glance*, 2011, www.jips.org/en/field-support/country-operations/central-african-republic/bamingui-bangoran-2011; Bamingui-Bangoran, World Bank and UNHCR, *Research Study on IDPs in urban settings – Afghanistan*, May 2011.

[19] IASC, WO/1006/3492/7, para.10.

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factors – such as being perceived as being associated with rebel groups – may also create an additional barrier to accessing government services.[20]

The precarious existing conditions in urban areas, including slums, deteriorate further when large population influxes occur. As Roger Zetter and George Deikun note, "Displacement places extra stress on urban services and resources with forced migrants and existing urban dwellers sharing densely populated and poorly serviced environments."[21] Urban IDPs living in slum areas that are poorly constructed and situated in hazard-prone locations, such as low-lying areas and landfill sites, are likely to be vulnerable to physical safety risks, damage or destruction of housing, and secondary displacement.[22] IDPs living in cities are less likely to be registered as IDPs and to have the personal documentation necessary to access services and livelihoods.

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Because of their displacement, the ability of IDPs to recover from additional shocks such as disasters is often impaired, particularly if they can no longer rely on family or social networks to protect and assist them. Specific groups of IDPs face particularly acute risk when such disasters occur – such as women and children, including female- and child-headed households; ethnic, religious or other minorities; older persons; people with disabilities; and the chronically ill. These groups require specific protection and assistance measures in disaster risk reduction efforts, evacuation procedures and recovery and durable solutions initiatives.

In addition to causing displacement into urban areas, natural disasters, violence and conflict are also likely to cause complex intra-city displacement, as witnessed in Haiti in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake.[23] Given that populations, resources, assets and services are concentrated in cities, the impact of conflict or natural disasters on cities can be debilitating, particularly when large numbers of people are displaced. In addition, poor governance and a lack of resources can render effective planning and responses all the more critical in preventing hazards from becoming devastating disasters and in coping when disasters do strike.

This spotty, insufficient assistance contrasts sharply against the needs of IDPs in urban settings. IDPs in urban settings – particularly certain categories of potentially vulnerable groups – often face serious socioeconomic challenges and physical security risks. As newcomers with little, if

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[20] International standards such as the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement provide guarantees of non-discrimination and make no distinction between IDPs in or outside camps or other settings.
[21] Roger Zetter and George Deikun, "Meeting humanitarian challenges in urban areas," *Forced Migration Review*, Iss. 34, Feb. 2010, www.fmr.org, p. 6.
[22] UN Secretary-General, *Protection of and assistance to internally displaced persons*, A/66/285, 9 August 2011, www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/IDPersons/A-66-285.pdf, para.68; Wilton Park, *Urban risks: moving from humanitarian responses to disaster prevention*, November 2010, www.urd.org/IMG/pdf/Wilton_park.pdf, p. 3.
[23] See further, Elizabeth Ferris and Sara Ferro-Ribeiro, "Protecting People in Cities: The Disturbing Case of Haiti," *Disasters*, March 2012, www.brookings.edu/articles/2012/03_protection_haiti_ferris.aspx; OHCHR, "Haiti still in crisis, says U.N. Expert on Displaced Persons," Press Release, 18 October 2010.

any, access to financial resources, documents or proof of income necessary to rent housing elsewhere, IDPs often have to resort to living in slum areas or in other dangerous and impoverished neighborhoods. These areas offer no security of tenure which makes them vulnerable to forced evictions. These areas are also characterized by inadequate access to services, vulnerability to disasters and urban violence. Despite these problems, rents in many urban centers around the world are high and likely to increase, rendering IDPs particularly vulnerable to homelessness and secondary displacement.

In many cases, IDPs living in impoverished urban areas have many needs in common with their non-displaced neighbors. However, IDPs also have specific needs – such as for shelter and for replacement of documentation – for which tailored assistance programs are often needed. In addition, of course, there is a need for durable solutions to their displacement. Despite these concerns, IDPs are often simply treated as part of the wider and often intractable problem of the urban poor. In most contexts, a combined approach is needed that includes the provision of assistance that benefits IDPs and the host community, as well as targeted interventions that address IDPs' specific needs.[24]

The Need for Comprehensive and Systematic Data

National authorities have the primary responsibility for providing protection and assistance to IDPs.[25] Recognizing the existence of IDPs and collecting data and credible information on the numbers, locations, demographic characteristics and conditions they face is essential to exercising this responsibility.[26] Yet there is a striking lack of accurate data on IDPs outside camps.[27]

While maintaining accurate information on IDPs is fundamental to an effective response, the fact is that data collection and response systems are often inadequate. It is particularly important that such systems be in place early phase in a crisis, in order to ensure follow-up and assistance to IDPs who later become dispersed within the larger population. In some cases, political or financial pressures may lead to either lower or inflated estimates of the numbers of IDPs. Similarly, the methodology, scope and timelines of data collection or registration procedures often limit the accuracy of the data.[28] Particularly in conflict situations, data collection and registration procedures should contain sufficient safeguards to protect the confidentiality and human rights of IDPs.

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[24] See further, "Recommendations," below.

[25] As emphasized in relevant normative frameworks, including international and regional human rights instruments and international standards on internal displacement.

[26] The Brookings Institution-University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, *Addressing Internal Displacement: A Framework for National Responsibility*, 2004, p. 14.

[27] Elizabeth Ferris, Erin Mooney and Chareen Stark, *From Responsibility to Response: Assessing National Approaches to Internal Displacement*, Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, 2011, p. 51.

[28] Global Protection Cluster Working Group (GPC), *Handbook for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, March 2010, p. 345; Elizabeth Ferris, Erin Mooney and Chareen Stark, 2011, *From Responsibility to Response: Assessing National Approaches to Internal Displacement*.

Sometimes, data collection on IDPs only takes place when IDPs are already dispersed among the wider population. IDPs may prefer not to be identified immediately after they are displaced due to security concerns and data collection systems may simply not yet be in place. New and varied methodologies are usually required in order to gather data on IDPs living outside of camp settings.[29] In recent years, important efforts have been made to improve data-collection methodologies in the different stages and contexts of internal displacement, in order to enable more targeted assistance. These methodologies include:

- Profiling can be used to estimate figures and needs of IDPs outside camps, including data disaggregated by location, age, gender and other factors as well as criteria related to vulnerability;[30]
- Household surveys, enabling IDP and host community needs to be identified in a unified manner;
- Collecting information on IDPs who are not living in camps but who either come to the camps to receive relief items or who have ties with families living in the camps;[31]
- Community outreach approaches that use local partners and community networks to identify and engage with IDPs.[32]

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[29] GPC, *Handbook for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, March 2010, p. 345.
[30] Profiling is a technique developed through an inter-agency initiative. For more information: www.idp-profiling.org/profiling-resources.html
[31] As done in Pakistan, for example: IRIN, "How best to serve Pakistan's 750,000 IDPs?," 1 March 2013.
[32] GPC, *Handbook for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, March 2010, p. 345; IDMC, *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010*, March 2011, p. 10.

While governments and humanitarian agencies are using different methods to try to acquire basic information on IDPs living outside of camps, there is as yet no consensus or even collection of good practices to provide clear guidance on how to use these methods in different contexts.

In many countries – including those visited by the IDP mandate – the lack of effective and timely data collection and profiling systems has meant that many IDPs remain "invisible," unable to be identified or to receive assistance. This directly impacts IDPs' ability to exercise their human rights and to achieve durable solutions. For example, during his official visit to Kenya in September 2011, the Special Rapporteur found that the lack of accurate and efficient systems of registration and disaggregated data collection had resulted in a situation whereby many IDPs were not included in assistance, protection and durable solutions programs.

Kenya: Lack of Data on Urban IDPs

There is no official information on the extent of displacement in Nairobi. Existing data is derived from a May 2011 government registration exercise on the numbers of IDPs per region in the wake of the 2007 post-election violence.[1] The current number is unknown, however, and the profiling exercise conducted in 2008 focused largely on camp-based IDPs given the reluctance of many non-camp IDPs to identify themselves.[2] Estimates are also derived from NGOs' assessment reports conducted in violence-affected areas. For example, a 2011 profiling exercise conducted by the Norwegian Refugee Council and IDMC did not provide statistics or estimates on the total number of IDPs, but did provide a description of who they are and their needs. It found that IDPs in Nairobi include both those born in Nairobi and those who moved to the city as adults.[3] Both categories became displaced because they belonged to the ethnic community that was persecuted during the post-election-crisis, or came to Nairobi from a violence-affected area of the country.

Kenya's national IDP policy provides for the identification of all IDPs, regardless of whether or not they are located in camps, through data collection and/or analysis and registration (Ch. 2.6-7). The policy specifies that data should be collected and analyzed "…in particular when [IDPs are] living with host communities, including disaggregated numbers, locations, causes and patterns of displacement." The policy also calls for the identification of "their protection and assistance needs and vulnerabilities as well as the needs of their hosts (profiling)" (Ch. 2.7). Disaggregated data should also cover the "…special needs of the most disadvantaged among a displaced population," and be collected in advance of planned displacements (Ch. 2.8).[4]

1. Ministry of State for Special Programs, May 2011, cited in Prisca Kamungi, "Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The case of Kenya's 'integrated' displaced persons," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013
2. Prisca Kamungi, "Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The case of Kenya's 'integrated' displaced persons."
3. Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), "IDP profiling survey in Nairobi." December 2011.
4. Government of Kenya, *National Policy on the prevention of internal displacement and the protection and assistance to internally displaced persons in Kenya*, Final consolidated draft (24 March 2010).

III. IDPs and Host Communities

The term "host community" is usually used to refer to the villages, towns and cities where IDPs who are not living in camps reside. Thus, it is frequent to refer to a dichotomy of IDPs who either live in camps or in host communities. In fact, the term "host community" is problematic in that it seems to imply a positive reception of IDPs, which cannot always be assumed, particularly when displacement becomes protracted. Moreover, the catch-all term "host community" obscures the complexity and variety of communities in which IDPs live. Often, host communities and host families may be poor or living in precarious conditions. They may lack physical security and adequate access to basic services and may have been impacted by conflict or a natural disaster as well. In other contexts, the "hosts" may be IDPs who have simply been displaced longer. For example, a Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Colombia study of relationships between host communities and urban IDPs in Colombia included in the definition of "host communities" IDPs who had been displaced for more than ten years.[33]

This internally displaced woman in Mali fled with her son from their home in the Gao region to Bamako after being robbed and assaulted by armed men. (UNHCR/H. Caux, November 2012)

Host communities are often key to ensuring essential assistance and access to services for IDPs. They are most often the "first responders" to a crisis and may welcome, support and assist IDPs upon their arrival. Community organizations can play critical roles in the work of humanitarian organizations and in supporting durable solutions. But as the above-mentioned Brookings-ICRC study demonstrated, the relationship can be ambiguous as host communities may welcome and show solidarity with the newly displaced while also seeing them as competitors for livelihoods.[34]

Socioeconomic Dynamics in Host Communities

It has often been assumed that IDPs outside camps are less in need of protection and assistance because they are being cared for by family, neighbors or friends, or that they have somehow found a solution on their own. While IDPs living in camps are greatly affected by relations with host communities, non-camp IDPs are particularly entwined with their hosts, as in many cases, they may not be able to access or rely on other support, such as that from international organizations or aid groups. In one analysis of IDP trends, it was found that in the majority of

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[33] Roberto Carlos Vidal López, Clara Inés Atehortúa Arredondo and Jorge Salcedo, *The Effects of Internal Displacement on Host Communities: A Case Study of Suba and Ciudad Bolívar Localities in Bogotá, Colombia*, (Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, October 2011), available in English and Spanish, www.brookings.edu/reports/2011/10_host_communities_colombia_idp.aspx

[34] Vidal López et al., *The Effects of Internal Displacement on Host Communities: A Case Study of Suba and Ciudad Bolívar Localities in Bogotá, Colombia*, 2011.

countries reviewed, most IDPs in non-camp settings received no assistance beyond that provided by the host community or host family.[35]

The often unacknowledged contributions of host communities – whether they are family, friends or strangers – can provide key support, by way of shelter, food, livestock, social networks, loans, transportation, employment opportunities and other forms of protection and assistance. One account in Afghanistan describes the generosity friends extended to Abdul, a 36 year-old IDP, and his gratitude: "Yesterday I borrowed 3,000 Afghanis [60 USD] and went to the doctor. My wife was sick…In all, I have borrowed about 50,000 Afghanis [1,000 USD]. I thank my friends who have helped me and given me money."[36] Not all IDPs have the option of borrowing money from hosts. Better understanding of the roles and specific assistance provided by host communities is critical for assisting and protecting the displaced living among them.

> *"We spent a night in the desert, south of Mizdah. We went there because we had nowhere else to go."*
>
> **-** Displaced Libyan male now living in Mizdah with his family

While some IDPs may have chosen to stay out of camps because they did not want or need assistance, and others managed to progress towards durable solutions on their own, many IDPs outside camps are not in these situations. Instead, they need to rely on international assistance and/or the generosity of relatives, friends, and even strangers. For example, in Libya, international and local aid organizations have provided assistance to Mizdah and nearby villages affected by interethnic armed conflict between members of the Meshashya and Qantrar communities in the Nafusa Mountains – in total, some 1,500 families had fled these areas in March 2013. However, some of these organizations have also admitted it is difficult to reach the IDPs, and some IDPs have reported that they feel abandoned. As one IDP in Mizdah told reporters of his family's displacement in 2012: "We spent a night in the desert, south of Mizdah. We went there because we had nowhere else to go." In early 2013, they were still displaced, living in a compound of ten apartments inhabited by other Qantrar families outside of Tripoli, in the district of Gyps. He explained that he has not received any formal relief assistance: "So far, we have only received food aid from some good-hearted people. Obviously, I would not call it humanitarian aid."[37]

In some cases, IDPs may need the assistance and protection that a camp may offer, but may not have that option: they may be displaced in isolated or remote locations where there are no camps or sizable host communities. They may not be able to physically make it to camp areas, fear detection by authorities, or camps may be simply be closed by the government. In some countries, it is more likely that, due to traditional customs, relatives will host the majority of the displaced in their homes.

Even when IDPs outside camps benefit from initial support from a host community, these resources tend to degrade over time. In many cases, IDPs with sufficient resources to cope in the

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[35] IDMC, *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010*, March 2011, p. 13.

[36] ICRC, *Our World: Views from Afghanistan, Opinion Survey*, 2009, p. 56.

[37] IRIN, "Thousands of Libyan families displaced in the Nafusa Mountains," 2 April 2013, www.irinnews.org/Report/97772/Thousands-of-Libyan-families-displaced-in-the-Nafusa-Mountains

initial months of displacement often find these quickly dwindling as they struggle with the high cost of housing, lack of access to land and livelihoods, inability to access social services, the loss of most of their material possessions, and the absence of their usual support structures. As a result, some IDPs outside camps may become more vulnerable and impoverished over time.[38] They may also resort to negative coping mechanisms, such as reducing the number and quality of meals per day, or moving to less expensive areas that are also less safe.[39] Where feasible, they may also resort to deliberate family separation for the pursuit of employment in other areas or to harvest their crops.[40] While this practice may assist the family economically, it can present protection problems for those who are left behind, who tend to be women, children and the elderly. In Guinea, host communities struggling to rebuild their communities and lacking adequate government and international assistance became increasingly vulnerable as they shared their meager resources with an influx of IDPs, returning refugees and returning migrants.[41]

In some cases, as noted earlier, newly-displaced IDPs seek refuge in urban areas with or among IDP families who were displaced previously. This can present challenges for both IDPs and host communities. Those displaced previously who serve as host families may already be facing economic strains. For example, in Pakistan, many IDPs in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas chose to live with previously displaced families in the area.[42] All of the newly displaced families left their livestock behind, as they would not have survived the trip, and are thus left without a source of livelihood. In addition, many of the newly displaced IDPs include the sick or wounded, elderly, women, children, and people with disabilities.[43] Already struggling economically due to their own displacement, the host families were reportedly burdened by hosting the new IDPs. Yet a lack of resources does not necessarily preclude IDPs from assisting others in need. In Afghanistan, a 2009 ICRC survey of conflict-affected populations indicated that respondents were not surprised that many Afghans, including IDPs, were keen to support other IDPs or war-affected persons even though their resources were as meager as those they were assisting, "...as they believe that the values of kindness and generosity are particular characteristics of the people of Afghanistan and, indeed, central to Islam."[44] As one IDP, Hajji, aged 65, put it: "We have given shelter to such people who have come here from conflict areas. We have helped this person, protected him – giving him wheat or an animal. I surely helped

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[38] See for example, Prisca Kamungi, "Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The case of Kenya's 'integrated' displaced persons," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013, www.brookings.edu/~/media/research/files/reports/2013/05/kenya%20displacement/idp%20municipal%20authorities%20kenya%20may%202013%20final.pdf

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] OCHA, *Consolidated Appeals Process: Humanitarian Appeal 2005 for Guinea*, November 2004, http://reliefweb.int/report/c%C3%B4te-divoire/consolidated-appeals-process-cap-humanitarian-appeal-2005-guinea; IDMC, "Guinea: Overburdened host communities," 2004, www.internal-displacement.org/idmc/website/countries.nsf/(httpEnvelopes)/FC7E33DBE3F7A5A5802570B8005A6DDB?OpenDocument

[42] OCHA-Pakistan, *Pakistan: Khyber Agency Displacements: Situation Report No. 2 (as of 5 April 2013)*, 5 April 2013; 47,913 IDPs according to OCHA-Pakistan, *Pakistan: Khyber Agency Displacements Situation Report No. 3 (as of 12 April 2013)*, 12 April 2013, www.unocha.org/pakistan. Report of the rapid observation exercise is on file with the authors.

[43] OCHA-Pakistan, *Pakistan: Khyber Agency Displacements: Situation Report No. 2 (as of 5 April 2013)*, 5 April 2013.

[44] ICRC, *Our World: Views from Afghanistan, Opinion Survey*, 2009, p. 55.

them – they are Muslim. This is humanitarian help."[45] In many situations, host communities are motivated by religion to provide hospitality to those displaced by conflict or disasters.

> *"The host community says that the Afro-descendents have problems coexisting: very loud music, games, you rent to one and ten arrive, and above all, as they arrive in a highly vulnerable state, they do not have the capacity to pay and do not meet their rental and other obligations."*
>
> **-** Public official in charge of providing assistance to IDPs in Suba, on the outskirts of Bogotá, Colombia

Tensions may also arise as the resources of host communities become depleted due to hosting IDPs,[46] or due to perceptions by host communities that their own needs are being neglected over those of IDPs. For example, in Bogotá, Colombia, tensions have developed between host communities and IDPs, sometimes due to IDPs being regarded as receiving preferential treatment in a context of widespread urban poverty.[47] In addition, IDPs in host communities may be subject to racism or other forms of discrimination, thereby affecting their ability to sustainably integrate. As one public official in charge of providing assistance to IDPs in Suba, on the outskirts of Bogotá, Colombia, explained: "The host community says that the Afro-descendents have problems coexisting: very loud music, games, you rent to one and ten arrive, and above all, as they arrive in a highly vulnerable state, they do not have the capacity to pay and do not meet their rental and other obligations."[48]

While family, friends and communities may initially welcome and assist IDPs, when displacement drags on, for months or years, strains on resources may lead to an eventual breaking point. Tensions can result due to competition over scarce resources or employment opportunities. The resulting need for IDPs to find alternative assistance or living arrangements may force them to move again, often to a more precarious situation. Prisca Kamungi explains, with regard to IDPs outside camps in Kenya, that while host families were generous at first, they eventually struggled to make ends meet, particularly in the context of high inflation and elevated food costs: "While the willingness to support violence-affected relatives and friends was initially strong, compassion gradually wore off as the displacement became protracted. Congestion in host families, lack of privacy for both hosts and IDPs and higher household costs bred resentment within host families."[49] As one IDP in this situation explained: "I know they wanted to help me and my family, but having us for long drained their patience and resources. They

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[45] Ibid., p. 55.

[46] See, for example, discussion of tension between host communities and IDPs, and the adverse impact of hosting on the economic and food security situation of the community at large, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and similar tension in Central Mindanao in the southern Philippines, in Jakob Kellenberger, "The ICRC's response to internal displacement: strengths, challenges and constraints," *International Review of the Red Cross*, vol. 91, iss. 875, September 2009, http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=IRC, p. 481, p. 483. pp. 487-490.

[47] Vidal López et al., *The Effects of Internal Displacement on Host Communities: A Case Study of Suba and Ciudad Bolívar Localities in Bogotá, Colombia*, 2011.

[48] Ibid., p. 12.

[49] Prisca Kamungi, "*Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated' Displaced Persons*," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013, p. 19.

stopped talking to us. Sometimes they ate their meals before we got home. They did not say so, but it was clear they wanted us to leave."[50]

While some of the challenges examined above can also arise in the context of IDP camps, IDPs who live within the community will be especially affected given their increased contact with non-displaced locals, and their potential dependence on informal community support. However, as shown below, some measures can reduce tensions and increase IDPs' self-sufficiency.

The Particular Protection and Assistance Needs of Non-Camp IDPs

There is often a need for improved and more systematic responses to IDPs outside camps to help address protection and assistance issues, including the precarious nature of and protection problems raised by informal hosting arrangements, such as those between IDPs and host families or friends. Certain groups of IDPs, such as vulnerable categories of women, children and the elderly, may face particular protection risks, including abuse, exploitation and sexual violence by their hosts. Monitoring efforts and activities such as visits by social workers, cooperation with local associations and counseling centers, and establishing hotlines and related awareness-raising are some measures that may enhance the protection of IDPs living within host-family arrangements.[51]

Emergency assistance and complementary support structures are also necessary in order to address cases when host family arrangements break down or are insufficient. In many cases, the assistance and hospitality provided by hosts may be primarily based on affiliations with particular family members (e.g. one of the spouses), so that if the nuclear IDP family disintegrates during displacement, some members may have to leave and find their own solutions. In other situations, the strains of assisting and providing shelter to IDPs for prolonged periods may be such that host families are simply no longer able to continue providing this support unassisted. For example, according to a 2008 survey by Action Against Hunger-USA on IDPs displaced by post-election violence in Nakuru Town in Rift Valley Province, Kenya, "For IDPs residing in the slums, 55% of household income was spent on rented accommodation. Some 43% of households indicated that they were unable to pay their rent and thus faced possible eviction and relocation to IDP camps."[52] In some cases, host families provided displaced relatives with basic household items and continued to pay rent for them in urban and peri-urban settings, but over time, this monthly support decreased.[53] To cope with these host family and IDP needs, direct cash transfer programs, such as those implemented in this situation by Action Against Hunger, may serve as effective methods of providing assistance.

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[50] Interview with a middle-aged man in Kangemi, Nairobi, October 2012, as cited in Kamungi, "*Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated' Displaced Persons*," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013, p. 19.

[51] See also Walter Kälin, Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced persons, A/HRC/16/43/Add.5, http://www.preventionweb.net/files/resolutions/G1110513.pdf, p. 21.

[52] Silke Pietzsch, "Making cash work: a case study from Kenya," *Humanitarian Exchange Magazine*, iss. 43, June 2009, www.odihpn.org/humanitarian-exchange-magazine/issue-43/making-cash-work-a-case-study-from-kenya, cited in Prisca Kamungi, "Municipalities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The case of Kenya's 'integrated' displaced persons," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013, p. 20.

[53] UNDP and OHCHR, *Durable Solutions to internal displacement, reconciliation and restoration of human dignity in Kenya: A situation report*, 2011, p. 22, cited in Kamungi, op cit., p. 20.

Ensuring that systems are in place to support hosting arrangements, and to provide protection and assistance alternatives for IDPs who can no longer remain with host communities, is vital in order to prevent the most vulnerable IDPs from resorting to negative coping mechanisms, such as early marriage or dangerous and exploitative livelihood activities. In some cases, well-intentioned assistance programs may still not be sufficient to meet IDPs' basic needs in expensive urban areas. For example, many single IDP women in and around Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire had to spend their housing relocation allowances (around $300) just to meet their basic needs. They did not receive promised assistance for income-generating activities and were thus forced to live in deplorable conditions and to rely on the support of host communities.[54] In contrast, some returnees in rural areas could depend on local agricultural production.[55]

When effectively implemented, livelihoods interventions for IDPs can help to improve local integration for IDPs, serve employers and reduce tensions between host communities and IDPs. For example, in Colombia – which has the advantage of having a strong private sector that can absorb IDPs – an international NGO provided capital and market-relevant skills training to IDPs and encouraged IDPs to forge networks with host community employers, who are traditionally discriminatory toward IDPs.[56] Resentment and negative perceptions by local municipal leaders and other host community members toward IDPs were reduced along with IDP vulnerability when IDPs secured short-term, emergency employment in public works projects.[57] Without these and other IDP-specific programs, tensions and competition over resources and services will usually have a disproportionate impact on the most vulnerable IDP groups, such as female-headed households, children and older persons, and leave them exposed to human rights violations, exploitation and poverty. Thus, a greater focus on assisting host communities – in tandem with assistance to IDPs – is needed on the part of development and humanitarian actors, as well as national and local authorities.

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[54] Eric Levron, "Livelihoods, Gender and Displacement in Cote d'Ivoire," (Washington, DC: Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, April 2013), www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/04/cote-divoire-gender-livelihoods-levron

[55] Ibid.

[56] See further on CHF International's work in Colombia: Richard Hill et al., "IDP Livelihoods and Personal Security: Case Studies from Colombia and Sudan," *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, vol. 25, iss. 2, 2006, pp. 49-59.

[57] Ibid., p. 51.

IV. ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

While national authorities bear the primary duty and responsibility for protecting and assisting IDPs, local authorities are "likely to be more directly in contact with displaced populations," and "also have a critically important role to play in ensuring that national responsibility is effectively discharged on the ground."[58] They must address both the immediate, humanitarian aspects of an IDP influx as well as the longer-term pressures related to prolonged displacement, including the provision of basic services to IDPs and the facilitation of durable solutions, including local integration.

Ghulam Eshan, 40 years old, stops for a moment on the streets of Kabul city with his wheelbarrow seeking out work in his job as a daily laborer around the markets of Kabul city. Ghulam and his family have been living in an abandoned building in Kabul where they have no running water or electricity. (UNHCR, 2011)

To achieve those objectives, local authorities have specific responsibilities and a critical role to play in upholding the human rights of IDPs within their communities. Yet, they frequently lack the necessary resources to overcome these challenges. This is the result of gaps between policies decided in the capital and local implementation, and also often reflects the complex relationships between state authorities and international actors working within the country. As experiences in countries from Colombia to Kenya reveal, coordination between central and municipal authorities is usually a challenge.[59] Many municipalities may be reluctant to address internal displacement, viewing it instead as the remit of national authorities.[60] The impact of these issues is perhaps most acutely felt in the case of IDPs outside camps, who are less likely to benefit from alternative assistance provided by non-governmental organizations and may be "invisible" to government authorities or deliberately excluded from government assistance.

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[58] IASC, *Framework for National Responsibility*, p. 10.

[59] Roberto Vidal, Clara Atehortua and Jorge Salcedo, *Internally Displaced Outside of Camps and The Role of Local Authorities in Colombia: A Comparitive Study of Bogota DC and Cali*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013), www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/05/colombia-internal-displacement-municipal-bogota-cali-vidal; Prisca Kamungi, *Municipal Authorities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated Displaced Persons',* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, May 2013), www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/05/kenya-displacement-kamungi

[60] Landau, Segatti and Misago, 2011, cited in Prisca Kamungi, *Municipal Authorities and IDPs Outside of Camps: The Case of Kenya's 'Integrated Displaced Persons'*, 2013, p. 24; Roberto Vidal, Clara Atehortua and Jorge Salcedo, *Internally Displaced Outside of Camps and The Role of Local Authorities in Colombia: A Comparative Study of Bogota DC and Cali*, 2013.

In some cases, the presence of IDPs in urban areas can be seen as a blight on the city. As a result, authorities may be reluctant to encourage the integration of IDPs in the city, including through urban development schemes, as this could act as a 'pull' factor for IDPs and migrants. This has been the case in Afghanistan, where development of urban slum areas in which many IDPs live, has not been pursued, "...for fear that this would encourage permanent settlement in areas where, frequently, they [IDPs] are living illegally."[61] In Kabul, local resources are strained in light of a five-fold increase in its total population since 2001 due to rapid urbanization—from an estimated 1.1 million to five million today. As Abdul Samad Hami, deputy minister at the Afghan Ministry of Refugees and Returnees, noted: "We've spoken with mayors and municipal leaders and no one wants to integrate IDPs. They say they are spoiling the community or the land and need to go."[62] But sustainable integration is sorely needed for IDPs in Afghanistan. For example, a 2011 World Bank-UNHCR study on IDPs in three urban areas in Afghanistan found that urban IDPs were more vulnerable and worse-off than the non-displaced urban poor. These IDPs were particularly affected by unemployment, lack of access to proper housing and food insecurity. Only one-third of those surveyed had access to electricity, adequate water supplies and sanitation facilities.[63]

Authorities opposed to the integration of IDPs may seek to find alternative locations for IDPs, which still may preclude the realization of IDPs' rights to assistance, freedom of movement and durable solutions. In January 2013, the Somali government issued a draft plan for relocating the estimated quarter million IDPs in Mogadishu and people living in IDP-like conditions in Mogadishu to sites outside the capital. According to the mayor of Mogadishu, Mohamed Ahmed Nur Tarsan, those who do not wish to return to their homes should be relocated to those settlement sites.[64] Security concerns are said to be one of the motivations for the move. As Tarsan remarked, "Honestly, no mayor in the world would tolerate IDPs form[ing] shanty shelters in the capital city. This issue touches [on] the security of the city and remains a threat to the sanitation of the city," and added that "there are no security problems on the outskirts of Mogadishu." He also noted, "I am not saying that we should put these people in faraway isolated places, but what I am saying is that we should get better places for them since these people are currently living in appalling conditions."[65] Concerns around the relocation plan include whether it is too ambitious, whether the relocation will, in fact, be voluntary in nature and respect the dignity of IDPs, as well as whether all of the planned relocation sites will provide IDPs with both

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[61] IRIN, "Analysis: Afghan government promises rethink on IDPs," 7 February 2013, www.irinnews.org/Report/97423/Analysis-Afghan-government-promises-rethink-on-IDPs
[62] Ibid.
[63] World Bank and UNHCR, *Research Study on IDPs in urban settings – Afghanistan*, May 2011.
[64] IRIN, "Analysis: Afghan government promises rethink on IDPs," 7 February 2013.
[65] IRIN, "Somali government to relocate IDPs, welcome returning refugees," 27 February 2013, www.irinnews.org/Report/97552/Somali-government-to-relocate-IDPs-welcome-returning-refugees

physical security, including "gatekeepers," and access to services and livelihoods.[66] At the time of writing, the Somali government was preparing to profile and register the IDPs, to be followed by planning and setting up the necessary infrastructure, preparing service delivery at the relocation sites and the provision of three months of food rations for the IDPs – all before transferring IDPs to the sites and establishing a camp management system.

Looking to West Africa, in the suburbs of Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, many IDPs are at risk of eviction, particularly in the Yopougon, Cocody, Abobo and Attécoubé communes. These communes not only have a high density of IDPs, but some of them are further subject to extortion by authorities to receive compensation benefits.[67] As the Special Rapporteur said following his visit to the country in July 2012, "IDPs have resorted to living in precarious informal urban settlement areas, including in Abidjan, where they may be subject to eviction. It is critical that they be supported in rebuilding their lives, finding sustainable solutions in their places of return, local integration or resettlement, and participating in the reconciliation process and in other key processes and reforms that will have an impact on their lives and consolidate peace."[68]

Upholding Human Rights within Host Communities

Because of their direct contact with IDPs and their immediate role in the provision of local services and the formulation of local development strategies, local authorities are often best placed to identify and assist IDPs outside camps. They can support IDP data collection exercises and facilitate the replacement or acquisition of identification, residency or other documents, which are both important steps enabling IDPs outside camps to access the assistance, rights and benefits to which they are entitled. This assistance enables them to benefit from national social security systems, public services and resources available to residents, and to access a series of other rights (e.g. relating to property, civil status and housing). For example, in the case of Iraq, where food security was a problem for a large part of the population, there were reports that IDPs moving from one governorate to another were often unable to transfer their food ration cards to new areas of displacement.[69]

IDPs are often the victims of direct or indirect discrimination in host communities based on the fact that they are displaced. In some cases, this discrimination may be based on ethnic or other differences. In the context of his country visits, the Special Rapporteur has found that IDPs are often denied access to basic services such as primary education and health services, due to the fact that local schools or health facilities are already underfunded or overcrowded, or for purely bureaucratic reasons.[70] In these contexts, local health and educational institutions may request

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[66] Human Rights Watch, *Hostages of the Gatekeepers: Abuses against Internally Displaced in Mogadishu, Somalia*, March 2013, www.hrw.org

[67] Eric Levron, "La mise en perspective des questions de genre et de moyens d'existence des populations déplacées et retournées en Côte d'Ivoire entre 2002 et 2012," Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, April 2013, p. 20, report in French with English executive summary available at Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement website: www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2013/04/cote-divoire-gender-livelihoods-levron

[68] UN News Centre, "Côte d'Ivoire: human rights-based solutions key to resolving displacement – UN," 31 July 2012, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42591

[69] See A/HRC/16/43/Add.1, para. 45, 53.

[70] See A/HRC/16/43/Add.1, paras. 45 and 53, and A/HRC/19/54/Add.2.

proof of residency or special fees from IDP families (for services normally provided free of charge) in order to expand their services to them. This suggests the need not only for more coordination between authorities but for more timely financial support for local authorities facing the need to provide services to IDPs arriving in their communities.

Demographic and ethnic factors, or the political priorities of local authorities, may influence the degree to which they welcome and assist IDPs or adopt an informal "policy" of non-assistance. This is particularly relevant in situations where internal displacement may affect the ethnic, religious or other composition of an area. Certain processes can exacerbate this situation, such as electoral processes or when a national or local census is carried out.[71] Local authorities can play a crucial role in such contexts, by promoting a culture of respect for human rights, rule of law and diversity. For example, they can make public statements to this effect and take active steps to ensure IDPs are effectively protected from discrimination, harassment and persecution.[72]

Even when central authorities have adopted national IDP frameworks, local authorities may not always be able or willing to fully implement these because of structural impediments or the competing needs of other local groups within the community. They may lack the capacity, financial resources, political will or understanding of IDP needs. By adopting national-level, IDP-specific programs and frameworks, national authorities have a corresponding responsibility to put in place operational and institutional capacity to ensure their local implementation, and to ensure the timely transfer of necessary funds. However, measures to address these challenges, including through the development of more flexible procedures that can be activated in emergency situations, are often not included in national preparedness and IDP frameworks.

From a technical perspective, IDPs outside camps represent a further challenge. The failure to identify and assess the needs of IDPs outside camps in municipalities may make it more difficult or impossible for local authorities to justify a request for additional resources or to tap into existing IDP-specific programs. In turn, this may act as a powerful disincentive to include them in these programs or to ensure their access to services within the community. This points to the need to support local authorities in the essential task of collecting disaggregated data on the number and specific needs of IDPs outside camps.

Local authorities can play a key role in liaising between their national government authorities and displacement-affected communities. Supporting these sub-national authorities in the development of community-based programs may be particularly important when authorities must contend with the competing demands of other vulnerable sectors of the population who may feel their needs are being neglected.

Political considerations often must be kept in mind. In addition to working with central authorities in the elaboration of policies, international actors need to develop strategies to work with local authorities and address their local sensitivities. This is particularly so when the

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[71] See also A/HRC/16/43/Add.1, para.55, and reports since 2004 of the UN Secretary-General on the on the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur, available at: www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unamid/reports.shtml. On attacks on IDPs camps and non-camp areas in Sudan and South Sudan, see the work of the Satellite Sentinel Project: www.satsentinel.org/documenting-the-crisis/evidence-of-forced-displacement

[72] Ibid, paras. 37-38.

government is decentralized, when central government authority does not reach or have effective influence over all parts of the country, or when the central authority cannot impose its policies too strongly on local affairs.

Durable Solutions

Local authorities responsible for development, social services and security in their communities have a particular responsibility and interest in ensuring that IDPs outside camps are supported in achieving durable solutions. In some cases, durable solutions will imply local integration in the host community, a process in which local authorities play a key role. They can also however, contribute towards other durable solutions, including return and resettlement elsewhere in the country. For example, local authorities can ensure that IDPs in their communities are identified and included in national durable solutions programs; improve access to information for IDPs; and facilitate the transfer of documents or benefits they may have acquired during their displacement. They can also facilitate transitional solutions, such as permitting IDPs to retain certain rights, such as residency permits in host communities while they 'try out' return or resettlement. Other possible measures include facilitating procedures so that some members of the family can remain working in the host community while the rest of the family returns to the place of origin. Depending on national electoral laws, local authorities can also play important roles in allowing IDPs to register and vote in their place of displacement. Where IDPs who have been displaced elsewhere are returning to their community of origin, local authorities will also play a central role in reinstating their rights, and addressing issues such as secondary occupancy that may have emerged as a result of their absence.

> The desire to remain in urban areas, however, is not necessarily an indication that IDPs have found durable solutions or sustainable conditions.

Like most displaced populations, urban IDPs often expect that they will return to their homes when the conditions are sustainable, particularly in terms of security and access to livelihoods. However, in general, the longer displacement (or insecurity and other factors that preclude sustainable return in the place of origin) lasts, the more urban IDPs' desire to return may wane. In Afghanistan, for example, an inter-agency profiling assessment found that, of the three options for durable solutions, IDPs surveyed were more interested in settling permanently in their current location (76 percent) than in return (23 percent), with the data indicating that rural IDPs were more likely to prefer return than urban IDPs.[73] The desire to remain in urban areas, however, is not necessarily an indication that IDPs have found durable solutions or sustainable conditions. Afghan IDPs in protracted displacement situations reported a higher rate of unemployment than

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[73] Survey of over 1,000 conflict- and natural-disaster-induced IDP households in urban, rural and semi-rural areas in five provinces: Kabul and Nangahar in the east, the southern province of Kandahar, the western province of Herat and Faryab in the northwest. One percent of IDPs wanted to resettle elsewhere; see further, JIPS, *Afghanistan Profile at a Glance*, p. 18.

those more recently displaced.[74] For the case of Afghanistan, it is also important to place this data in context: the majority of Afghans (60 percent) have experienced displacement due to decades of conflict, and the majority has not returned to their place of origin.[75] In Colombia, ICRC has reported that most urban IDPs – nearly 80 percent –did not want to return to their place of origin given ongoing insecurity there, preferring instead to remain in their place of displacement.[76] Given the range of internal displacement situations the world over, and the general trend toward protracted displacement, further research and analysis into the dynamics of non-camp displacement would be helpful in determining appropriate strategies to support durable solutions for the internally displaced.
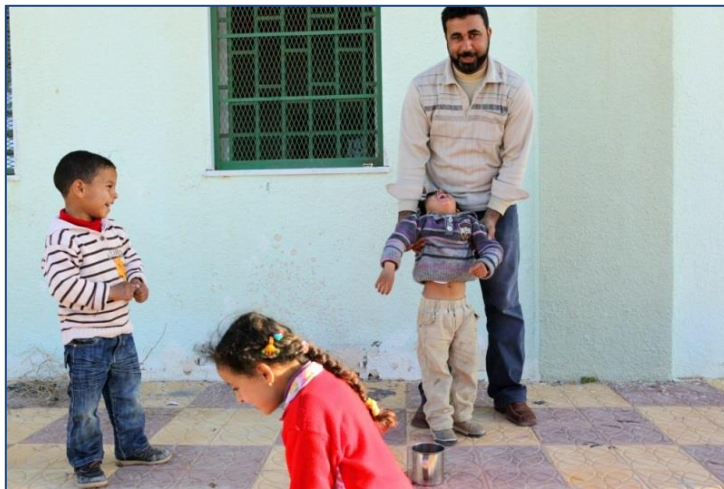
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[74] Samuel Hall, NRC, IDMC and JIPS, *Challenges of IDP Protection: Research study on the protection of internally displaced persons in Afghanistan*, November 2012.
[75] Based on a survey of relatives of missing persons or those who have been separated from their families, first responders, internally displaced persons and victims of mines: ICRC, *Our World: Views from Afghanistan, Opinion Survey*, 2009, p.6.
[76] See further, ICRC, *Survey on the socioeconomic conditions of internally displaced persons assisted by the ICRC*, May 2008.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations

IDPs living outside camps are often dispersed within urban populations while others may seek shelter in remote and isolated areas. In both cases, they are difficult to identify and thus may be excluded from programs intended to assist and protect IDPs. Although there seems to be an assumption by authorities that those outside camps have found solutions or are managing without assistance, in many cases, IDPs outside camps experience a serious deterioration in their enjoyment of a series of human rights, including the right to education, health, adequate housing

IDP children from Ajdabiya play in front of the school where they found refuge in Tobruk, Libya. (UNHCR/H. Caux, April 2011)

and protection from forced evictions. In such cases, they are particularly at risk of marginalization, poverty, exploitation and abuse. When they are 'invisible' or 'neglected' by responsible authorities, it can be doubly difficult to ensure their inclusion in measures to support durable solutions. Moreover, the lack of a systematic, equitable and human rights-based approach to IDPs outside camps can result in protracted, secondary or repeated waves of displacement.

Given the facts that internal displacement is becoming more protracted, rapid urbanization is occurring throughout the world, and natural disasters are expected increasingly to impact urban areas, national and municipal authorities will be challenged to ensure that IDPs as well as the communities that host them receive the protection and assistance they deserve. In view of the above, the following recommendations are based on those the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons made in his December 2011 report to the UN Human Rights Council.[77]

A. General recommendations to national and international stakeholders

- **Improve efforts to implement a more equitable, effective and systemized response to IDPs outside camps and the communities that host them**. Toward this end, national and international humanitarian and development actors, including the donor community, with the participation of civil society and affected communities, should:
  - Conduct assessments to identify good practices, gaps and challenges in the assistance and protection of IDPs outside camps, and host communities;
  - Promote, develop and implement strategies that include early recovery and development interventions in order to strengthen basic services and infrastructures of

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[77] UN Human Rights Council, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons*, Chaloka Beyani , A/HRC/19/54, 26 December 2011, paras. 56-59, pp. 18-21.

communities that host IDPs and enhance the achievement of durable solutions for IDPs outside camps, including through recovery and development interventions;[78]

o Enhance and systematize mechanisms for identifying, profiling, protecting and assisting IDPs, in emergency and post-emergency stages, to promote IDPs' ability to achieve durable solutions. Inter-agency profiling guidance developed in 2008 is particularly helpful in this regard.[79] Ensure that assistance and protection efforts are (i) based on solid and regular assessments, include the meaningful and effective consultation of IDPs and (ii) address the needs of the most vulnerable.

o Ensure the participation of IDPs outside camps in the development and implementation of national reconciliation and peace processes and related durable solutions. This is particularly important in situations where mass internal displacement is due to political, ethnic or sectarian violence. Finding solutions for IDPs may help to address some of the underlying tensions; at the same time, ensuring the security necessary for IDPs to find solutions may require that these conflicts be addressed.[80]

o Improve efforts to articulate and address the vulnerabilities, needs and capacities of IDPs outside camps in national and local development strategies, and ensure such strategies receive adequate and timely human and financial support for their implementation, particularly at regional and local levels. Such strategies include those on: disaster risk reduction and response; climate change adaptation; urban early recovery; and poverty reduction. These strategies should include strengthened systems to monitor influxes of IDPs, and to address the assistance and durable solutions needs of IDPs outside camps, both in urban and non- urban areas.

- **Support research and improved responses, including with regard to:**
    o The protection and assistance needs and capacities of IDPs outside camps in non-urban areas, including those living in rural, remote or isolated areas, and their host communities;
    o The specific needs of those displaced by conflict and natural disasters, and those displaced more than once, including between urban areas; and
    o The needs and capacities of especially vulnerable groups of IDPs outside camps, including women, children, youth, female- and child-headed households, people with disabilities, people with chronic illnesses, older persons, ethnic or religious minorities;
    o Developing further initiatives for the collection, dissemination and analysis of existing and best practices on: protection, assistance and durable solutions for IDPs outside camps; methodologies for identifying, reaching and engaging them; and community based approaches which support and take into account the needs of host communities.

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[78] See also Walter Kälin, *Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced persons*, A/HRC/13/21/Add.4, para.43.

[79] IDMC and OCHA, ed.s, *Guidance on Profiling Internally Displaced Persons*, April 2008, www.jips.org.

[80] See press releases by mandate: "Iraq: helping internally displaced persons improve their lives and finding durable solutions, key aspects of peacebuilding", 29 September 2010; and "UN Expert: Comprehensive strategy on internal displacement essential to secure human rights of IDPs and consolidate peace and reconciliation in Kenya", 27 September 2011. Also: Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, *Integrating Internal Displacement in Peace Processes and Agreements*, 2010.

- Analyzing good practices, including positive coping practices employed by IDPs and host communities, and lessons learned, with a view to enhancing existing programs and wider national and international responses to IDPs outside camps and their host communities.

B. On the need for comprehensive data collection

- **Engage with affected states and other stakeholders in awareness-raising, capacity-building and the implementation of effective, comprehensive, disaggregated and timely data collection systems for IDPs outside camps.** These systems should be used for the early identification of IDPs and their needs immediately during or after a crisis, so as to allow for follow up once IDPs have dispersed. Appropriate safeguards must be in place to protect IDPs who may not wish to be identified due to security or other reasons.
- **Ensure that rapid needs and protection assessment tools include mechanisms to identify:** IDPs outside camps and their needs; the reasons why they stay out of camps when camps are available; the support provided by and the needs of host communities and host families; and mechanisms for vulnerability analysis in different settings.

C. On improving support to host communities

- **Continue to compile good practices, identify gaps and develop specific guidance on arrangements and approaches to support host communities and host families,[81] including**:
  - Mechanisms to support, manage and monitor host family arrangements;
  - Wider community-based approaches that enhance the absorption capacity and resilience of host communities, such as support to community infrastructure, services and livelihoods.
- **Work towards the establishment of more predictable and systematized support systems to host families and host communities, ensuring that they:**
  - Are participatory;
  - Are based on needs assessments;
  - Embrace the use of technology where feasible, and where it leads to a more equitable, efficient and systematized approach to assistance and protection.
  - Are combined with IDP-specific interventions that address their particular needs and vulnerabilities and contribute to the achievement of durable solutions.

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[81] A joint UNICEF-IFRC initiative resulted in step-by-step guidance in a draft *Handbook for Capacity Development of Displaced and Host Communities for Humanitarian Action in Urban Areas t*o ensure cohesiveness in urban, community-based humanitarian programming. Good practices and gaps in recent responses were assessed, including from post-earthquake Haiti, for clarification of the roles of urban host communities, local governments and international humanitarian workers. The *Handbook* incorporates 'Host Families Guidelines' developed by the Haiti Shelter Cluster. Once finalized, the Handbook will be disseminated broadly throughout the IASC and to UN Humanitarian Country Teams.

D. On the role of regional and local authorities

- **Promote awareness-raising within the government on the responsibilities of regional and local authorities in protecting and assisting IDPs outside camps as well as the obstacles they confront.** In this regard, it may be necessary to collect information on structural, political and economic or budgetary factors affecting their response, both with regard to the provision of humanitarian assistance and to durable solutions such as local integration.
- **Promote better understanding and capacity-building at the level of local authorities, with a view to:** protecting the human rights of IDPs living within their communities (e.g. through non-discrimination, equal access to services); developing and/or implementing IDP-specific assistance and protection programs, and community-based approaches; facilitating durable solutions; and including IDPs outside camps in poverty reduction and local development plans;
- **In consultation with local communities, support the design and implementation of community-based programs.** Such programs should be based on disaggregated data on both IDPs and the host community, which includes their specific vulnerabilities, needs and coping mechanisms, and be participatory and inclusive. Community-based programs can vary significantly depending on the context, but can include financial or in-kind assistance to host families; community revitalization programs; or the expansion and strengthening of local infrastructures and services.
- **Provide support to local authorities**, through awareness-raising and training, on technical matters such as the conduct of consultative processes, data collection and program design.

E. To the humanitarian community, as a follow-up to previous engagements on the topic by this mandate, in the framework of the Inter Agency Standing Committee

- **Consider the existing practices, gaps and relevant issues pertaining to IDPs outside camps, including, for example**:
  - Adequately taking into account IDPs outside camps in all relevant IASC work, including through its ask forces;
  - Undertaking by agencies, on a voluntary basis, of a stocktaking exercise or survey of their programs and practices which relate (or extend) to IDPs outside camps and host communities, taking into consideration good practices as well as challenges and how to overcome them;
  - Analysis of the existing protection and assistance gaps that hinder the responses of humanitarian and development actors.

- **Continue to implement the IASC Strategy for Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas, the principal objectives of which are to:[82]**
  - (i) Strengthen partnerships among urban stakeholders for more effective humanitarian response;
  - (ii) Strengthen technical surge capacity with urban skills;
  - (iii) Develop or adapt humanitarian tools and approaches for urban areas;
  - (iv) Protect vulnerable urban population against gender-based exploitation and violence;
  - (v) Restore livelihoods and economic opportunities during initial phase for expedited early recovery in urban areas; and
  - (vi) Improve preparedness in urban areas to reduce vulnerability and save lives.

Clearly, much more work is needed to fully understand the particular needs and the many diverse contexts of IDPs living outside of camps. IDPs living in informal settlements in Kabul, for example, are likely to have different needs and resources than an IDP staying with relatives in Nariño, Colombia, or an IDP living in an abandoned building in northern Syria. 'One-size-fits-all' approaches to IDPs living outside of camps are unlikely to be useful to governments, international actors and civil society groups seeking to ensure that IDPs receive the assistance and protection they need. And yet, the well-being of IDPs – even in these diverse situations – will depend in large part on the support of local communities and municipal authorities. We hope that this report will increase awareness of some of the particular challenges facing IDPs living outside of camps, that it will stimulate more research, and that it will lead people in positions of authority to ask the right questions to ensure that IDPs living outside of camps do not continue to be 'under their radar.'

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[82] On progress made over the first year of the IASC Strategy and Two-year Action Plan for Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas, see: IASC, *Report on Reference Group for Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas - Activities in 2011*, SU/1202/3981, Dec. 2011 and IASC Working Group, *Reference Group on Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas: Work Plan for 2012*, SU/1110/3881/7, October 2011. Both documents available at IASC Reference Group on Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas website: www.humanitarianinfo.org/IASC/pageloader.aspx?page=content-subsidi-common-default&sb=74