THE RIPPLE EFFECT

Multidimensional impacts of internal displacement

THEMATIC REPORT
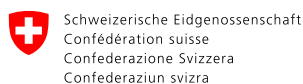
iDMC internal displacement monitoring centre

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THE RIPPLE EFFECT

Multidimensional impacts of internal displacement

OCTOBER 2018

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Internal displacement affects the lives of displaced people, their host communities and those they leave behind in many ways. The most urgent are threats to their physical safety, wellbeing and human rights. It can also have significant and long-lasting effects on their socioeconomic development.

Through the harm it causes to people's physical health, psychological wellbeing and environment, their ability to secure a livelihood and their access to security, education, housing, basic infrastructure and a social life, internal displacement can weigh heavy on the economy at the individual, community and even national level.

The financial resources needed to support those affected and the reduction in production and consumption that a displacement crisis can cause represent a cost that has yet to be estimated.

IDMC launched a dedicated research programme in 2017 to investigate the ways in which internal displacement affects the economy and to propose new methodologies to measure them comprehensively.

With that objective in mind, we undertook a review of the main impacts of internal displacement on IDPS, communities of origin and destination, affected local and national governments and donors. Once identified, IDMC will develop an original methodology to measure the economic cost of these impacts.

We identified seven dimensions that need to be considered - health, livelihoods, education, housing and infrastructure, security, the environment and social life.[1]

This report presents the results of a systematic review of nearly 1,000 publications on the impacts of internal displacement in each of these dimensions. This review

KEY MESSAGES:

| Internal displacement impacts the livelihoods, education, health, security, social life, environment and access to housing and infrastructure of displaced people, their hosts and the people they leave behind.

| The effects of internal displacement on each dimension ripple through to others.

| Health can be affected by loss of livelihoods, poor housing conditions and disrupted social life.

| Loss of livelihoods due to internal displacement can limit access to decent shelter, health-care and education, jeopardize security and social life.

| Internal displacement's consequences on livelihoods and school systems can reduce access to education and security.

| Shelter is one of the highest burden on displaced people, hosts and aid providers' financial resources, and affects security and health.

| Security can be damaged by internal displacement and subsequently threaten health, social life and livelihoods.

| The environmental impact of mass internal displacement is heavily dependent on housing, infrastructure and livelihoods solutions, with effects on security for both displaced people and host communities.

| The disruption of social life caused by displacement can damage mental health and access to work, and is connected to housing conditions.

| The impact of internal displacement must be assessed comprehensively for all of these dimensions.

| Policies looking to address or prevent internal displacement should consider the phenomenon in its entirety.

highlighted a series of knowledge gaps that are presented at the end of each chapter. An overarching gap is the assessment of internal displacement's impacts on systems, such as local or national education and health systems or public infrastructure and resources. Another is an assessment of impacts on communities of origin and destination.

This report highlights the most significant impacts on each dimension and discusses how they are connected, as illustrated in figure 1.

The effects of internal displacement on each dimension ripple through to others, creating causal chains and feedback loops that are impossible to understand or measure independently.

Table 1 below presents examples of how the impacts of internal displacement on each dimension can affect other dimensions. Impacts on the dimensions in the top row can ripple through to some of the dimensions in the left column: for instance, one of the connections between the health impacts of internal displacement and education is that children who suffer from malnutrition, a condition often linked with internal displacement, are less attentive in school. More concrete examples from the literature are highlighted in each chapter.

The analysis makes the case for comprehensive assessments of these effects, an objective that we started to work toward in 2018. Boxes in each chapter discuss how they can be costed and set out the initial results of our first attempts at doing so.

Our ultimate aim is to arrive at a comprehensive and consistent measure of the economic impacts of internal displacement across all affected countries, in the hope that highlighting this hidden cost will help to demonstrate the socioeconomic benefits of investing in its prevention and mitigation.

HEALTH

When people abandon their homes, it is most often because not doing so would pose a serious threat to their safety. Flight is their only way to escape violence or disaster and preserve their life or wellbeing. In such circumstances, internal displacement is obviously the better option, but it can have adverse effects on people's physical and mental health, particularly when it is unplanned and mismanaged, or becomes protracted.

Reports of these effects on the physical and mental condition of internally displaced people (IDPs) are numerous and often consistent, which allows the identification of common threats.

Studies reveal higher mortality rates among IDPs than the general population, mostly the result of communicable diseases. Displacement has also been linked with several reproductive health issues including lack of contraception and increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The third most commonly reported effect of internal displacement is mal or under-nutrition, which is particularly prevalent among young and older IDPs.

Individual health is affected through displacement's impacts on livelihoods, the environment, housing and infrastructure, social life, education and security. These health issues in turn affect livelihoods, security, access to housing and infrastructure, social life and education, setting up a vicious circle for displaced people and their hosts.

LIVELIHOODS

Displaced people often lose assets when they are forced to flee their home and land. They may also be unable to pursue their former work, leading to unemployment, underemployment or informal work, and a significant drop in income. Livelihood loss may lead to reduced access to food and an increase in malnutrition. It may also leave people unable to pay for contraception or push them to engage in transactional sex, with subsequent rises in pregnancy and STI rates.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

IDPs are often forced to live in substandard camps, collective shelters or informal urban settlements where overcrowding and lack of sanitation can increase the prevalence of communicable diseases. Those with pre-existing disabilities are particularly affected by inadequate shelter and infrastructure, which may cause their health and living conditions to deteriorate.

TABLE 1: Examples of how the impacts of internal displacement on each dimension can affect other dimensions

	Education	Environment	Health	Housing & infrastructure	Livelihoods	Security	Social life
Education			Children suffering from malnutrition may be less attentive in class	Crowded classrooms in host areas damage education quality	Families in financial difficulties may send their children to work	IDPs may face discrimination in school and drop out	
Environment				Shelter construction can deplete forets in host areas	IDPs may need to over-exploit natural resources to make a living		
Health	Disruption in education can affect the mental health of displaced children	Over-crowding in host areas may increase pollution and subsequent diseases		Poor housing conditions can increase the communicable disease transmission	Reduced income can lead to inability to afford healthcare	Fear of abuse or discrimination can affect IDPs' mental health	The disruption in social networks can aggravate depression
Housing & infrastructure			IDPs with disabilities may be unable to access shelter and services in camps		Loss of livelihood can lead IDPs to live in informal settlements		
Livelihood	Limited schooling can undermine future access to well paid jobs	Over exploitation can reduce crop yield for hosts and IDPs	IDPs suffering from stress aggravated by displacement may be unable to work	IDPs living in camps may be unable to access job opportunities		Lack of documentation can prevent IDPs from working or accessing aid	Displacement may disrupt business networks and reduce income opportunities
Security	Limited education has been linked with increased levels of violence	Fights over natural resources have been reported between hosts and IDPs		Women living in camps or informal settlements may be at higher risk of sexual violence	Loss of livelihood can force IDPs to undertake dangerous income-generating activities		Tensions between communities can lead to violent incidents between IDPs and hosts
Social life	Lack of access to education severely damages the social life of children	Hosts and IDPs have reported tensions caused by the sharing of natural resources	Mental disorders aggravated by internal displacement can force people into isolation	Gender separation in camps can divide families and communities	Unemployment due to internal displacement can increase isolation		

| SOCIAL LIFE

The upheaval of internal displacement, including disruption of the social environment and separation from home, family and friends may have a significant impact on IDPs mental health. It may trigger or increase anxiety, depression and other conditions, and in some cases lead to substance abuse.

LIVELIHOODS

Internal displacement separates people from their land, assets, belongings, workplace, social networks, service providers and consumers. In their host areas, IDPs often compete with local workers for employment, and their arrival also increases demand for goods and services, which may push up prices.

These consequences, which all have an economic as well as human cost, are relatively well documented and have a direct impact on IDPs' economic status and ability to sustain dignified livelihoods.

The impacts of internal displacement on livelihoods have repercussions on social life, health, education, security, housing and infrastructure. These repercussions in turn ripple back to affect the livelihoods of IDPs, their hosts and their communities of origin.

| HEALTH, HOUSING & EDUCATION

Several direct consequences of internal displacement, including the loss of assets and employment, lead to a quasi-systematic degradation of IDPs' financial resources. They are often forced to accept lower-paid, insecure employment, and the drop in income may jeopardise their ability to meet their most basic health, housing and education needs.

| SECURITY

IDPs unable to find decent work have little choice but to resort to other less secure and sometimes dangerous income-generating activities. Some displaced children are obliged to earn an income, putting them in danger in unsafe work and reducing their chances of more secure employment through education.

| SOCIAL LIFE

Social life is highly linked with work and heavily disrupted by the loss of livelihood that tends to accompany internal displacement. High levels of unemployment among IDPs mean they have no chance to socialise with colleagues and work contacts.

Displacement also separates them from their social networks at home, which may have helped them to find work or financial support. Some income groups are less able to cope with the initial loss of livelihood than others, widening pre-existing disparities and harming social cohesion.

EDUCATION

Internal displacement interrupts children's education and separates them from their familiar school environment, teachers and classmates, sometimes for months or even years. When they are able to go back to school, whether in their community of origin, host area or in a camp, they have to make up for lost time while managing the stress and trauma associated with their displacement.

Nearly every country affected by displacement yields evidence of lower enrolment and achievement rates and higher drop-out rates among displaced children.

Most of the educational impacts are the result of the loss of livelihoods, loss of documentation and the absence or inadequacy of schools. Disruption to education can harm the mental health of displaced children, many of whom may already be traumatised by their experiences, and heighten their psychosocial instability. It can affect social cohesion and increase gender inequalities, damaging social life in the short and longer term. It can also reduce children's potential earnings and livelihood opportunities as adults, creating a poverty trap that endures even after displacement.

| LIVELIHOODS

The reduction in financial resources that often accompanies internal displacement may lead the most vulnerable families to take their children out education, either because they are unable to afford their schooling or because they need them to work. These and other issues lead to lower enrolment rates for displaced children, and

Children living in Harasta, Eastern Ghouta, flock to school to catch up on years of missed education. Photo: Karl Schembri/NRC, June 2018

may reduce their chances of securing decent work and income, affecting their long-term welfare and limiting their future contribution to the economy.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Internally displaced children face different challenges in pursuing their education depending on whether they live in camps or host communities and in urban or rural areas. Children from host communities and those who remain in communities of origin may also have their education disrupted as a result of displacement. Ensuring continued education for all requires governments to adapt their infrastructure and human resources, with impacts on the entire school system.

SECURITY

Legal, physical and psychosocial security are all closely related to education. Legal barriers resulting from the loss of documentation during displacement can interrupt education, as can threats to physical safety in violent environments. Education, meantime, can help to foster security by reducing the likelihood of conflict and violence, and by increasing psychosocial stability.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

When people flee their homes, one of their first needs is for decent shelter, where they can be protected, access water, sanitation and energy, and start rebuilding a sense of home and community. In many cases, however, the urgency of the situation, the lack of suitable infrastructure in host areas and IDPs' loss of livelihoods means their housing conditions are inadequate.

Kanchhi Gole had to run through a combined landslide and earthquake with her then three-month-old daughter when the earthquake hit Nepal in April 2015. They lost everything. Since then they have been living in Selang IDP-camp. "We don't have enough warm clothes. I only have two sets of clothes for my daughter. We are suffering, but at least we are alive. There is no other option", she said. Photo: NORCAP/Kishor Sharma, January 2016

Housing is one of the main expenses IDPs face, meaning that it has an inevitable effect on their livelihoods. Substandard shelter also affects health, exposing people to weather extremes and natural hazards, and facilitating the spread of communicable diseases. It may also cause or aggravate mental illhealth, whether because of overcrowding or isolation.

Security can also suffer when poor housing conditions put people at risk of discrimination, exploitation, abuse or violence, and when their rights as tenants or owners are violated.

LIVELIHOODS

IDPs may find themselves living in a makeshift shelter near their damaged home, a hotel room in a nearby city, a government-run camp, a friend's home or a rented apartment. Housing solutions are numerous, their quality varies greatly, and each has different benefits and costs borne by different stakeholders.

The majority of IDPs live in host families who take them in free of charge or in exchange for a financial contribution. Many others end up renting accommodation, often sharing with other displaced families. Those living in displacement camps tend to be the minority.

SECURITY

The difficulties IDPs face in obtaining adequate housing may heighten security risks. The most common is of new displacement when they are forced out of their lodgings, either because they were unable pay their rent or because they were illegal occupants. Their poor housing conditions may also be a treat to their physical safety. Housing and land property (HLP) rights in areas of origin become an issue when returning IDPs face challenges in recovering their former homes.

HEALTH

Poor housing conditions may have damaging effects on IDPs' physical and mental health. Tents and inadequate housing expose them to heat, cold, damp and natural hazards. Lack of water and sanitation facilitates the spread of communicable diseases, sometimes to neighbouring communities. Poor lighting, overcrowding and the absence of privacy in camps and informal settlements may add to stress and cause or aggravate mental illness.

SECURITY

Security is often cited as one of the main concerns for IDPs and host communities. Apart from issues associated with the disaster, conflict or violence that triggered their flight in the first place, internal displacement itself has a number of specific security impacts.

People may lose their livelihood, identity documents and social support networks during displacement, with direct consequences for their vulnerability to abuse, exploitation and violence. Women, children, older people and those with disabilities are particularly at risk. Men maybe targeted by armed groups for recruitment, and they may also suffer greater animosity in their host areas.

Responding to the security needs of all affected populations affected requires specific mechanisms and investments led by governments, communities, international organisations and civil society.

LIVELIHOODS

There are abundant reports of increased violence against women during internal displacement across the world. This may be the result not only of the increased stress and financial strain that families face, but also the extreme poverty displaced women often find themselves in. Displaced men, women and children may also find themselves obliged to undertake dangerous income-generating activities to survive.

SOCIAL LIFE

The influx of a large group of displaced people inevitably disrupts a host community's social life, generating support and compassion for the new arrivals but also tensions. It may also lead a to heightened sense of insecurity, whether or not that is the case.

HEALTH

Health can be directly affected by security issues if people are harmed or abused, or constantly fear becoming so. IDPs' vulnerable situations place them at higher risk of abuse and violence than non-displaced people, and some suffer targeted violence and discrimination. Constant insults and threats can also affect their psychological wellbeing and lead to mental health problems.

ENVIRONMENT

Mass population movements have visible effects on the environment as demand for natural resources increases in destination areas and decreases in areas of origin. Such effects have been documented for large inflows of refugees or international migrants, but much less so in the case of IDPs. Seven out of ten publications investigating the environmental impacts of population movements focus on cross-border flows, meaning the environmental impact of internal displacement remains a major knowledge gap.

Relationships have, however, been identified between IDPs' often poor housing conditions and the degradation of nearby natural resources. Large influxes may also lead to overexploitation and increased pollution, with ripple effects on health and food security. The loss of livelihoods also has indirect consequences, forcing people to engage in unsustainable income-generating activities that harm the environment and in turn reduce future livelihood opportunities. All of these issues may heighten tensions between displaced people and their hosts, affecting security and social life.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The effects of a large, unplanned and mismanaged increase in population can have grave consequences for the environment. Those most frequently documented include soil erosion, forest degradation, loss of biodiversity, overexploitation of water resources and increased waste and pollution.

LIVELIHOODS

IDPs sometimes resort to negative coping strategies and unsustainable practices in an attempt to fulfil their livelihood needs. Faced with the urgency of replacing assets lost as a result of their displacement, they may overexploit natural resources such as wood, wildlife, minerals and agricultural land. Over time, this may result in soil erosion, desertification, a drop in agricultural production and the disappearance of flora and fauna, which in turn reduces their own longer-term livelihood prospects and those of their hosts.

SECURITY

When large numbers of displaced people arrive in a place of refuge, they compete with local populations for natural resources including water, agricultural land and forests. In areas where resources are already scarce, this may lead to social tensions and sometimes violence. Overexploitation may also decrease food security and increase the risk of disasters.

SOCIAL LIFE

Internal displacement has a direct impact on social life by breaking up communities and families. When it endures, it may permanently damage relationships that existed in areas of origin but also create new networks in the places that IDPs move to.

These relationships are important for stability, business and wellbeing. Their disruption may have repercussions for mental health, livelihood opportunities and security. Reduced access to education can also harm social life in the short and longer term, with ripple effects on livelihoods, mental health and security.

LIVELIHOODS

One of the ways in which displacement disrupts social life is by separating those affected from their business colleagues, providers and consumers. IDPs tend to be left facing a temporary reduction in their professional activity and sometimes have to incur start-up costs to re-establish their livelihoods. The loss of livelihoods in turn affects social life by reinforcing income inequalities.

HEALTH

The social disruption internal displacement causes may affect the mental health of IDPs, their hosts and the people they leave behind in their communities of origin. Isolation or overcrowding in places of refuge may can cause or aggravate anxiety and depression. Physical health may also be affected because the disruption of social networks makes IDPs more vulnerable to violence.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Every housing solution available to IDPs in their places of refuge has its own impacts on social life. That said, whether they share a house with a host family or live in a displacement camp, they and their hosts will have to adapt to new social structures, share resources and cope with potential tensions that may arise.

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

The literature we reviewed for this report did not cover every impact of internal displacement. In each dimension, knowledge gaps remain that require additional research. One of the most recurring one is the impact of internal displacement on systems, including health and educational systems or public infrastructure and resources. Another is an assessment of consequences for communities of origin and destination.

HEALTH

The impacts of displacement on the health of women, men and children more generally are relatively well-known, but the effects endured by older IDPs, those with disabilities, returnees, host communities and communities of origin are not as well documented.

The economic cost of these health impacts is also rarely assessed. The consequences for health systems in terms of budget, human resources and disease surveillance are only mentioned in a handful of publications, mostly related to cross-border displacement.

LIVELIHOODS

Many publications discuss the impacts of internal displacement on livelihoods, but most focus on IDPs' income and employment. Impacts for older people,

Pakoundja meets his friend Louise in BenZvi IDP camp in Bangui city, CAR, who lost her right arm and is paralysed on the right side. "I live here with her seven children. When my house was destroyed, my family had to push me in a trolley. Now, I'm staying at this place all the day. I can't move. My children have to feed me." Photo: NRC/ Edouard Dropsy, November 2016

returnees, host communities and communities of origin are rarely studied. Research on women, young people and children also needs to be complemented. Impacts on consumption and debt have been touched upon and seem significant, but are not well documented. The cost of providing aid to affected populations in the form of cash assistance and unemployment benefits remains largely unassessed.

EDUCATION

More research is needed not only to assess the longer-term costs of the disruption to IDPs' education, but also to measure its impacts on specific groups. These include girls, children in host communities and those left behind or returning to their communities of origin.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Two significant research areas in terms of the impacts of internal displacement on housing and infrastructure are largely understudied: those specific to women and girls, whose safety, hygiene and legal requirements require distinct assessments; and those on housing markets.

SECURITY

Three significant knowledge gaps remain in understanding the security aspects of internal displacement: the different types of security arrangements provided to affected populations and their economic consequences; the frequent loss of identity documents that accompanies displacement, and the mechanisms that need to be set up to replace them; and the support returnees require in exercising their HLP rights and reclaiming their property in their areas of origin.

ENVIRONMENT

The environmental impacts of internal displacement are severely understudied. The costing of environmental impacts is also a niche area for which quantitative data is rarely available, and there are few analyses of the effects of dedicated policies and the consequences of mass population movements on natural resources in areas of origin.

SOCIAL LIFE

The impacts of internal displacement on social life are a largely understudied. Most discussed are drawn from publications that focus on other topics, mainly livelihoods, mental health and security. Only a couple of dedicated reports were found, despite the fact that the disruption of social life is central to all other dimensions and its repercussions are varied and numerous.

Amongst the most glaring knowledge gaps are the effects of people's departure on communities of origin. The specific consequences for groups most dependent on social networks, including women, children, older people, those with disabilities or chronic diseases and people from ethnic, cultural, linguistic or sexual minorities, also require more research.

CONCLUSION

Internal displacement has many impacts on the lives of IDPs, their hosts and the communities they leave behind. Consequences are felt in the dimensions of health, livelihoods, education, housing and infrastructure, security, the environment and social life. Aside from their number and range, the close and complex links between them and their mutually reinforcing effects are striking.

The deterioration in people's health that often accompanies internal displacement may be the result of poor housing conditions or environmental factors, and may affect security and livelihood opportunities. The loss of their livelihoods may reduce households' ability to access housing and infrastructure, healthcare and education.

Disrupted or interrupted education may affect children's psychological health, social life and future livelihoods, while their families' housing conditions and access to infrastructure depend closely on their livelihoods and are linked to their health and security.

Security in turn may affect mental and physical health and is connected with social relations between IDPs and their hosts. Tensions arise when competition over natural resources is high and IDPs' presence and activities degrade the local environment, with further repercussions for health, livelihoods and security.

Uncovering the hidden costs of internal displacement as we aim to do will require new tools to assess all of these impacts comprehensively. As we highlighted in this report, substantial knowledge gaps remain in each dimension, especially in terms of understanding how displacement affects systems and measuring these effects quantitatively.

Our preliminary work on ten sample countries points to the highly significant burden major displacement crises place on national economies. Partial assessments already amount to between one and ten per cent of the affected countries' pre-crisis GDP.

This report demonstrates not only the importance of assessing the economic impacts of internal displacement comprehensively, but also the need for inclusive solutions that address all aspects of the phenomenon simultaneously. Without holistic approaches, the causes of internal displacement and the risks and vulnerabilities it entails will endure.

1
INTRODUCTION
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Internal displacement affects the lives of displaced people, their host communities and those they leave behind in many ways. The most urgent are threats to their physical safety, wellbeing and human rights. It can also have significant and long-lasting effects on socioeconomic development.

Through the harm it causes to people's physical health, psychological wellbeing and environment, their ability to secure a livelihood and their access to security, education, housing, basic infrastructure and a social life, internal displacement can weigh heavy on the economy at the individual, community and even national level.

The financial resources needed to support those affected and the reduction in production and consumption that a displacement crisis can cause represent a cost that has yet to be estimated.

IDMC launched a dedicated research programme in 2017 to investigate the ways in which internal displacement affects the economy and to propose new methodologies to measure them comprehensively. With that objective in mind, we undertook a review of the main impacts of internal displacement on IDPS, communities of origin and destination, affected local and national governments and donors. Once identified, IDMC will develop an original methodology to measure the economic cost of these impacts.

We identified seven dimensions that need to be considered - health, livelihoods, education, housing and infrastructure, security, the environment and social life.[1]

This report presents the results of a systematic review of nearly 1,000 publications on the impacts of internal displacement in each of these dimensions. This review highlighted a series of knowledge gaps that are presented at the end of each chapter. An overarching gap is the assessment of internal displacement's

impacts on systems, such as local or national education and health systems or public infrastructure and resources. Another is an assessment of impacts on communities of origin and destination.

This report highlights the most significant impacts on each dimension and discusses how they are connected, as illustrated in Figure 1. The effects of internal displacement on each dimension ripple through to others, creating causal chains and feedback loops that are impossible to understand or measure independently.

FIGURE 1: Links between the effects of internal displacement on each dimension
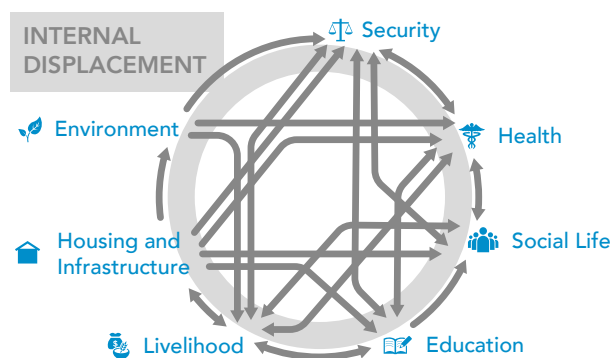
The analysis makes the case for comprehensive assessments of these effects, an objective that we started to work toward in 2018. Boxes in each chapter discuss how they can be costed and set out the initial results of our first attempts at doing so.

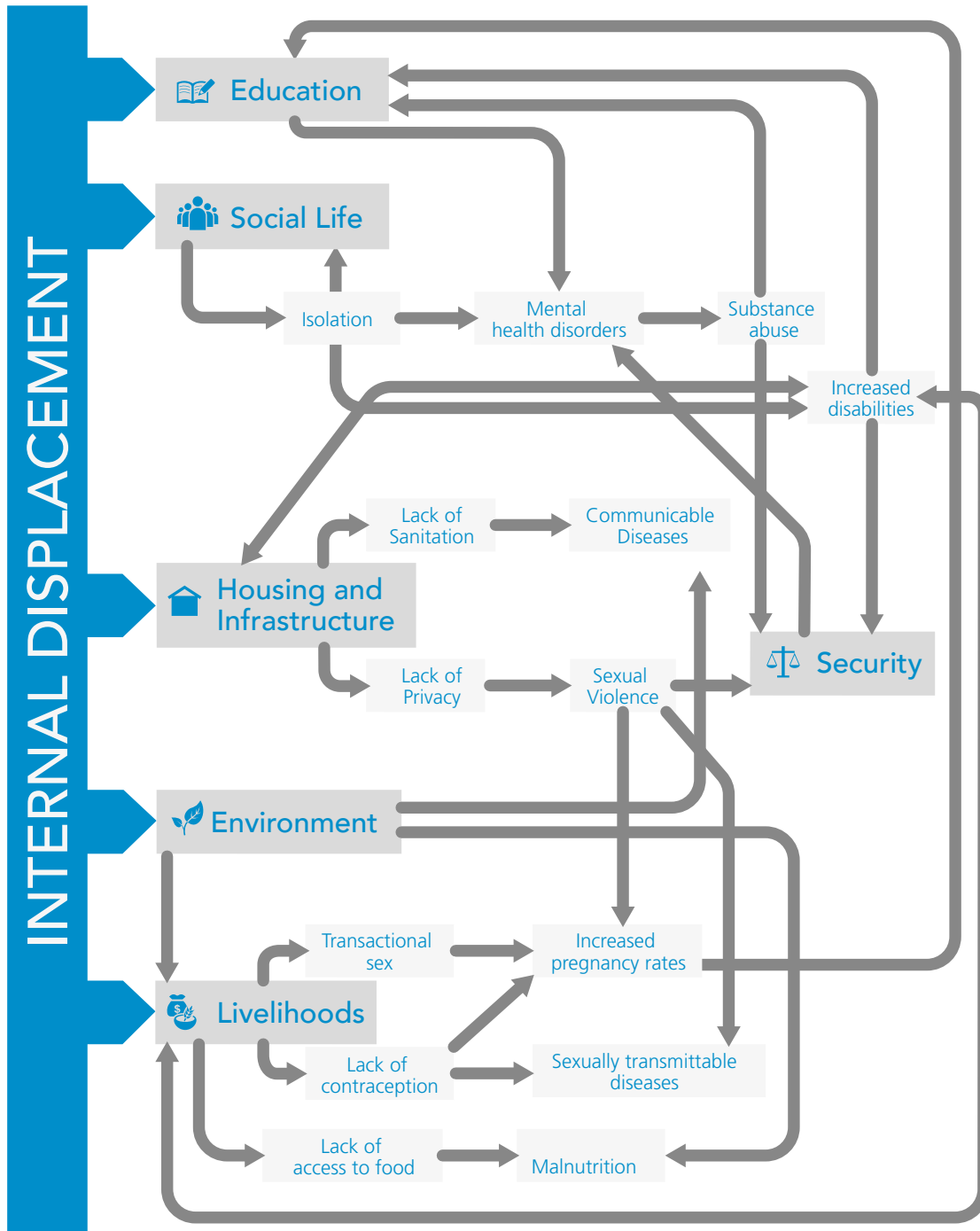Our ultimate aim is to arrive at a comprehensive and consistent measure of the economic impacts of internal displacement across all affected countries, in the hope that highlighting this hidden cost will help to demonstrate the socioeconomic benefits of investing in its prevention and mitigation.

2

HEALTH

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FIGURE 2: Selected links between internal displacement and health as highlighted in the literature

When people abandon their homes, it is most often because not doing so would pose a serious threat to their safety. Flight is their only way to escape violence or disaster and preserve their life or wellbeing. In such circumstances, internal displacement is obviously the better option, but it can have adverse effects on people's physical and mental health, particularly when it is unplanned and mismanaged, or becomes protracted.

Reports of these effects on the physical and mental condition of internally displaced people (IDPs) are numerous and often consistent, which allows the identification of common threats.

Studies reveal higher mortality rates among IDPs than the general population, mostly the result of communicable diseases. Displacement has also been linked with several reproductive health issues including lack of contraception and increased risk of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). The third most commonly reported effect of internal displacement is mal or under-nutrition, which is particularly prevalent among young and older IDPs.

Figure 2 illustrates the links between internal displacement and health as they are most often reported in the literature. Individual health is affected through displacement's impacts on livelihoods, the environment, housing and infrastructure, social life, education and security. These health issues in turn affect livelihoods, security, access to housing and infrastructure, social life and education, setting up a vicious circle of deteriorating conditions for displaced people and their hosts.

This chapter highlights some of the most documented health impacts caused by the loss of livelihood, reduced access to housing and infrastructure and disrupted social life linked with internal displacement.

LIVELIHOODS

Displaced people often lose assets when they are forced to flee their home and land. They may also be unable to pursue their former work, leading to unemployment, underemployment or informal work, and a significant drop in income. Livelihood loss may lead to reduced access to food and an increase in malnutrition. It may also leave people unable to pay for contraception or push them to engage in transactional sex, with subsequent rises in pregnancy and STI rates.

| NUTRITION

Not only are displaced people deprived of the land and natural resources that provided them with food before displacement, they also tend to have less money available to buy it. Chronic food shortages may lead to malnutrition, increasing the risk of respiratory and gastrointestinal infections, particularly among children.[2]

A study conducted among IDPS in Kenya showed that 17 per cent of deaths among displaced children aged one to five were caused by malnutrition.[3] The acute malnutrition rate among displaced children in Chad is more than 20 per cent, compared with 16 per cent for children in the general population.[4] Children living in different displacement camps in Sierra Leone suffered stunting from 14.2 to 29.3 per cent. Those under four were more underweight than other children.[5]

Most displaced Afghan families spend more than three-quarters of their income on food and report having reduced the quality or quantity they consume. Very few have access to safe drinking water, compared with three-quarters of the general population. [6]

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), 45 per cent of IDPs in Goma eat only once a day, compared with 26 per cent of their non-displaced neighbours. [7]

A study conducted in Uganda associated displacement with a decrease in the consumption of meat of as much as 71 per cent.[8] A comparative study conducted in Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda showed that IDPs suffered a higher global acute malnutrition rate than refugees, at 15.1 and 12 per cent respectively. [9]

| REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

Reduced access to contraception is often documented in displacement situations. The number of unintended pregnancies among displaced women aged between 13 and 49 in Colombia is 40 per cent higher than for non-displaced women. Displaced women aged between 40 and 49 also have an average of 5.8 children, compared with 3.1 for their counterparts in the general population.[10] Displaced girls aged 13 to 19 have higher rates of pregnancy than non-displaced girls.[11]

Pregnant displaced women receive less antenatal care and are more exposed to violence, malnutrition, poor

Women from Mbulungu village pose with their babies at a community gathering in front of the village chief's home. Though calm has returned to Mbulungu and several villages and towns just like it across Kasai-Central in DRC, people are not able to continue their lives as normal. The violent conflict of 2017 left mass destruction in its wake—homes, markets, schools, sanitation facilities and health infrastructure in complete disarray. In fact, 67 per cent of families living in Mbulungu do not have access to proper latrines and 55 per cent have no access to soap. These absence of these basic necessities coupled with malnutrition and lack of proper shelter can lead to a host of diseases and death. Photo: NRC/Aléxis Huguet, August 2018

hygiene conditions and communicable diseases. They are sometimes at risk of being left behind when others flee, without medical or social support and facing the consequences of the danger that prompted their community's displacement.[12]

Babies born to displaced mothers have lower birth weights and suffer more complications.[13] They risk dying soon after birth because of infections or prematurity and lack of adapted healthcare.[14]

Displacement is thought to increase the transmission and reduce the treatment of STIs, the result of earlier and increased sexual activity and violence, and reduced access to contraception and healthcare.[15] Reports also mention transactional sex in displacement situations, when women and girls in particular but also young boys exchange it for food, money or protection.[16]

Unprotected sex and the sharing of needles for drug use can lead to an increase in the prevalence in HIV/AIDS among IDPs.[17] HIV/AIDS treatment is another issue for internally displaced persons, who may face difficulties accessing doctors and medication because of unavailability, cost or distance.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

IDPs are often forced to live in substandard camps, collective shelters or informal urban settlements where overcrowding and lack of sanitation can increase the prevalence of communicable diseases. Those with pre-existing disabilities are particularly affected by inadequate shelter and infrastructure, which may cause their health and living conditions to deteriorate.

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

Substandard sanitation and overcrowding in camps and urban settlements can also lead to increased transmission of communicable diseases that are especially dangerous for children.[18] Of those aged one to five who died in Kenya, 31 per cent succumbed primarily to malaria, 20 per cent to tuberculosis and 20 per cent to HIV.[19] Malaria cases are also significantly more prevalent among displaced children than their counterparts in the general population in DRC.[20]

Outbreaks of tuberculosis, dystentry and flu have been reported in displacement camps in Myanmar.[21] Yet camp settings can also facilitate vector control through the distribution of insecticide sprays and mosquito nets. The annual incidence of malaria in displacement camps on the border between China and Myanmar was 3.9 per cent of the camp population between 2011 and 2014, compared with 12.7 per cent in neighbouring villages.[22]

Diarrhoeal diseases are also common in displacement situations, where access to clean water and sanitation is often limited. A 2010 study in Haiti showed that fewer than one in ten settlements for IDPs met minimum standards for water, hygiene and sanitation.[23] During the cholera outbreak that followed, in part as a result of camp conditions, Haiti accounted for 57 per cent of all cases reported to the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 2010 and 58 per cent in 2011.[24]

Poor living conditions as a result of displacement also contribute to the spread of hepatitis B, including the sharing of personal items and substandard surgical procedures. Older men seem more exposed to this risk than women and younger IDPs.[25]

Prolonged and repeated displacement can also interrupt vaccination programmes.[26] Immunisation rates in Syria fell dramatically from 91 per cent before the conflict to 45 per cent in 2017, leading to a resurgence in polio in Syria and in neighbouring countries hosting Syrian refugees.[27]

DISABILITIES

The health and living conditions of people with pre-existing disabilities may deteriorate considerably during displacement. Camps are rarely built to accommodate people with physical disabilities, effectively preventing them from accessing essential services, which in turn may affect their livelihoods, social life and education, and make them more vulnerable to violence and abuse. They may not be able to build their own shelter and those with visual or hearing impairments may not be able to access information.[28]

IDPs with disabilities may also be marginalised or rejected by host communities, as was the case in Sri Lanka where traditional beliefs prevented some from staying with host families.[29]

Access to rehabilitation services is likely to be reduced during displacement, which may aggravate conditions and lead to a deterioration in physical function. Lack of treatment for injuries, illnesses and childbirth complications may also result in permanent disabilities, and interruptions to routine healthcare may impede early detection and encourage the onset of physical and mental disabilities.[30]

Prosthetics, orthotics and wheelchairs may be lost during displacement or the event that caused it, preventing some people with disabilities from even fleeing in the first place. Others may be unable to return home unless their specific transport and resettlement needs are met.[31]

SOCIAL LIFE

The upheaval of internal displacement, including disruption of the social environment and separation from home, family and friends may have a significant impact on IDPs mental health. It may trigger or increase anxiety, depression and other conditions, and in some cases lead to substance abuse.

MENTAL HEALTH

Displacement tends to aggravate chronic disorders, including schizophrenia. Severe conditions such as psychosis and debilitating depression and anxiety increase from between one and two per cent in the general population globally to between three and four per cent among people caught up in humanitarian emergencies and crises.[32] Access to treatment meantime is often reduced. Seventy-four per cent of IDPs in need of mental healthcare in Ukraine in 2016 did not receive any.[33]

The most commonly reported impacts of internal displacement on mental health are post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD), anxiety and depression. Studies show that IDPs tend to suffer more adverse mental health impacts than refugees.[34]

A study in South Darfur found that 62.2 per cent of the IDPs surveyed showed signs of a psychiatric disorder.[35] Higher prevalence of PTSD, affective disorders and anxiety was also found in the population displaced by the 2004 earthquake and tsunami in Indonesia.

In IDP camps of southern Darfur, Three out of four children in displacement camps showed signs of PTSD, and 38 per cent signs of depression.[36] Internally displaced adolescents in DRC reported higher levels of PTSD and internalising symptoms than returnees, followed by their non-displaced peers.[37]

Health practitioners in camps often fail to notice signs of psychological distress specific to children, such as aggressive behaviour and bedwetting.[38] If left untreated, these may develop into chronic mental disorders and may even lead to suicide. Displaced children's interrupted education may also add to their psychological distress.[39]Forced displacement requires rapid adaptation to new environments, which older IDPs are less able to cope with. Reports show that they experience higher stress levels than their younger counterparts.[40] Older people, and older women in particular, are also more likely to suffer from somatic distress, as well as PTSD, depression and anxiety.[41]

Retirement, linked with isolation, significantly increases the risk of depression and other psychological disorders. A study conducted in a camp in Nigeria showed that unemployed and retired IDPs were three times more likely to suffer from depression.[42]

| SUBSTANCE ABUSE

IDPs living in camps seem to be more exposed to substance abuse than IDPs living in host communities.[43] Médecins Sans Frontières reported high levels of alcoholism in an displacement camp in South Sudan.[44] Studies in Colombia also reported increased alcohol and illicit drug consumption amongst IDPs.[45] In settings where drinking is less common, however, other studies report insignificant differences in alcohol use amongst displaced and non-displaced people.[46]

Men seem more vulnerable to substance abuse than women.[47] Another study in Uganda also highlighted a higher prevalence of harmful alcohol use among men.[48]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

The impacts of displacement on the health of women, men and children more generally are relatively well-known, but the effects endured by older IDPs, those with disabilities, returnees, host communities and communities of origin are not as well documented.

The economic cost of these health impacts is also rarely assessed. The consequences for health systems in terms of budget, human resources and disease surveillance are only mentioned in a handful of publications, mostly related to cross-border displacement.

| IDPS WITH DISABILITIES

IDPs with disabilities remain a largely under-studied group. Further research is required to determine and address their specific and significant needs. In addition to their needs once displaced, their journey to a place of refuge can take twice as long as for other IDPs, increasing fatigue and the risk of suffering violence.[49]

Some may be left behind when the rest of their community flees, abandoned to care for themselves and excluded from headcounts of IDPs.[50] In most countries, there is little or no data on their number or profile.[51]

| OLDER IDPS

Older people generally suffer more physical and mental disorders than younger people, and displacement is likely to make any pre-existing conditions worse. Research on the impact of internal displacement on non-communicable diseases associated with old age is very limited.

Reduced access to healthcare and medication, communicable diseases associated with old age including cardiovascular diseases and cancer, and food insecurity are particularly harmful to fragile older IDPs. They may also be left behind when their communities flee, particularly if they have a disability.[52]

During the journey to a place of refuge and in the host community or camp, older IDPs will likely experience

limited access to routine healthcare and rehabilitation services that maintained their level of physical and cognitive functioning, leading to a decrease of both.[53]

HOST COMMUNITIES

Only a couple of publications focus on the impacts of displacement on the health of host communities. Further research is needed to provide solid evidence that either supports or debunks concerns that IDPs' presence has a negative impact on their hosts' health.

Chief among those concerns is the fact that many host communities' resources are scarce even before IDPs arrive, and that their arrival may presage food shortages, a deterioration in living conditions and an increase in cases of communicable diseases such as measles and malaria.[54] The World Health Organization identified the resurgence of polio among displaced Syrians as a very serious threat to their host communities in neighbouring countries.[55]

Other research has highlighted the beneficial impact of refugee camps on surrounding villages. A study conducted in several African countries showed that host community members accounted for 21 per cent of outpatient visits to camp health facilities. In Sudan and the figure was as high as 30 per cent, and in some camps in Uganda more host community members than refugees used the facilities.[56] Similar studies have yet to be conducted in camps for IDPs.

RETURNEES

Few publications discuss the impacts of displacement on the health of IDPs returning home. Some mention refugees who benefited from quality healthcare in higher-income host countries, which they were unable to access when the returned. Some who become ill while displaced and require continued treatment may not be able to return at all.

This may be because facilities and treatment are not available or difficult to access in their home countries or areas, particularly for rural returnees, or in the case of HIV-positive people, because of cultural stigma.[57]

A five-year-old returnee from Pakistan drinks unclean water in Jalalabad, Afghanistan. Photo: NRC/Enayatullah Azad, September 2016

Some studies suggest returnees experience greater stress than IDPs, particularly those trying to re-establish their lives after protracted displacement. They may continue to face difficulties in meeting their needs in terms of work, food, shelter and healthcare, and they may also suffer discrimination from community members who stayed behind.[58]

A large influx of returnees to an area with insufficient resources may lead to healthcare being unavailable both to themselves and those who stayed behind. A study in Afghanistan showed that local hospitals in return areas of Nangahar province did not have enough beds to cope with increased in-patient demand. The number of out-patient consultations also rose significantly.[59]

PEOPLE LEFT BEHIND

The impact of internal displacement on the physical and mental health of people left behind in areas of origin has never been assessed. People with significant disabilities or who are otherwise incapacitated are the most likely to be left behind, and they are also most likely to require intensive and continuous healthcare. The flight of their family, community members and in many cases their health practitioners may lead to their health deteriorating and perhaps their death.

HEALTH SYSTEM IMPACTS

Two-thirds of the publications on the health impacts of internal displacement focus on physical health. A third focus on mental health, and some discuss both. Only 15 per cent covered impacts on health systems, and most of those in terms of cross-border displacement.

The only quantitative assessment of the cost of forced displacement on a health system was conducted by the Jordan's Ministry of Health in 2013 on the Syrian refugee crisis. It found that the number of Syrian patients in Jordanian public hospitals had increased by 250 per cent in the first quarter of 2013, many of them requiring surgery or treatment for non-communicable diseases. The ministry also estimated that the crisis would increase Jordan's overall disease burden due to cancer by 14 per cent in a year.

A 2013 WHO assessment attempted to quantify some of the impacts of the Syrian refugee crisis on neighbouring countries' health systems. It found that the

Jordanian government had spent $53 million on healthcare for Syrian refugees, of which it had received $5 million from the UN. It also said Jordan would need a further $180 million to expand of existing health facilities to meet increasing needs.[60]

The Lebanese health authorities found that Syrian refugees accounted for 30 to 40 per cent of all primary health care visits in 2013. More than 2,000 were admitted to Lebanese hospitals in January 2013 alone, at a cost of more than $800 per patient a day.[61]

The surveillance of communicable diseases in particular should be increased in areas hosting large numbers of displaced people.[62] So should surgical capacity. One study estimated that 2.78 million operations would be required to meet the surgery needs of 60 million displaced people worldwide.[63] These regrettably rare assessments highlight the need not only for additional financial resources and health infrastructure, but also for specialised practitioners.

ACCOUNTING FOR THE COST OF HEALTH IMPACTS

Beyond the human suffering caused by the physical and mental health impacts of internal displacement, economic costs both direct and indirect, immediate and longer-term, also need to be considered.

For major humanitarian crises, information on the funding needed to provide healthcare for IDPs is often published. We used this data for the 2010 earthquake in Haiti to estimate that the cost of providing emergency healthcare for all the people displaced between 2010 and 2017, including the response to the cholera outbreak, represented $190 million, 2.7 per cent of the country's pre-crisis GDP or more than twice the Haitian government's annual expenditure on health.

This does not cover the investments needed to adapt health systems in urban areas where IDPs have resettled, or to provide mental healthcare and longer-term treatment for conditions resulting from displacement, whose costs may stretch over decades and significantly exceed the country's capacity. Nor does it cover indirect costs on the economy through reduced activity and production.

3
LIVELIHOODS
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FIGURE 3: Selected links between internal displacement and livelihoods as highlighted in the literature
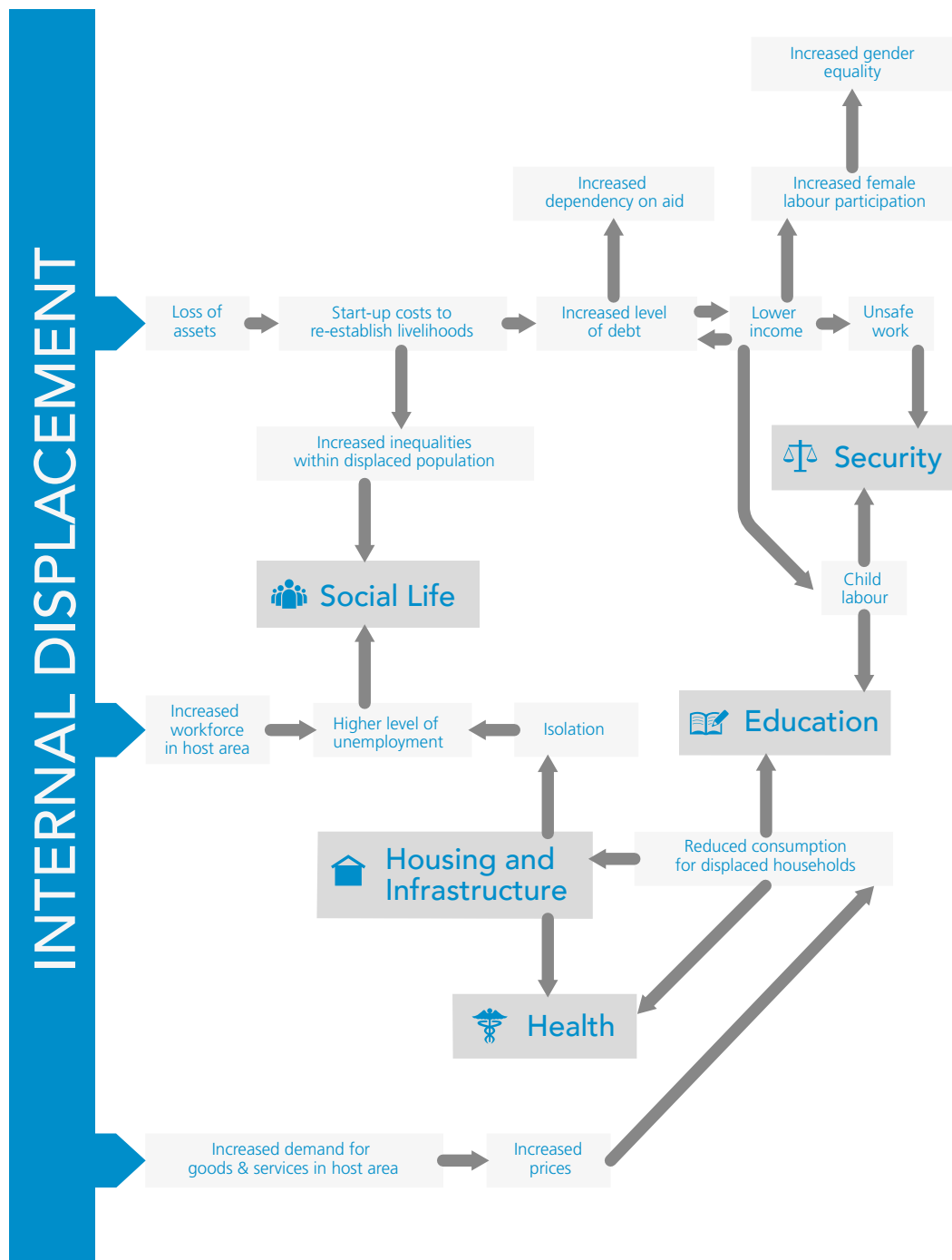
Internal displacement separates people from their land, assets, belongings, workplace, social networks, service providers and consumers. In their host areas, IDPs often compete with local workers for employment, and their arrival also increases demand for goods and services, which may push up prices.

These consequences, which all have an economic as well as human cost, are relatively well documented and have a direct impact on IDPs' economic status and ability to sustain dignified livelihoods.

Figure 3 illustrates the most frequently studied impacts of internal displacement on livelihoods. They have repercussions on social life, health, education, security, housing and infrastructure. These repercussions in turn ripple back to affect the livelihoods of IDPs, their hosts and their communities of origin.

This chapter presents some of the ways in which the livelihood impacts of internal displacement reduce the ability to meet basic health, education and housing needs, disrupt social life and affect the security of displaced workers.

HEALTH, HOUSING & EDUCATION

Several direct consequences of internal displacement, including the loss of assets and employment, lead to a quasi-systematic degradation of IDPs' financial resources. They are often forced to accept lower-paid, insecure employment, and the drop in income may jeopardise their ability to meet their most basic health, housing and education needs.

| LOWER LIVING STANDARDS

The poverty rate among IDPs in Azerbaijan has been estimated at 25 per cent, compared with 20 per cent for the general population.[64] In Somalia, IDPs in Mogadishu have lower living standards than host communities and economic migrants living in the same informal settlements.[65]

The economic consequences of internal displacement can last for years. Two years after the start of Mali's conflict, 74 per cent of those displaced said their income was still lower than before the crisis.[66]

Displaced Colombians fare worse than the broader urban poor in host cities, and their living standards seem to deteriorate over time. Averages losses as a result of internal displacement in Colombia have been estimated at around $4,084 per household, which on aggregate amounts to 1.7 per cent of the country's GDP.[67] Another study estimated that when physical assets and land are accounted for, the figure rises $7,037.[68]

Another study found that reactive displacement led to a more severe degradation of living standards than preventive displacement. It estimated welfare losses of 20 and 33 per cent respectively.[69]

| LOWER INCOME FROM LABOUR

Studies in various countries highlight the fact that IDPs are paid lower wages than their counterparts in the general population. The average day rate for casual construction work in Goma, DRC, is normally $1.80, but only $1.20 for IDPs.[70]

Displaced Colombian men earn six to 22 per cent less than their fellow non-displaced workers, and women 17 to 37 per cent less.[71] Income per adult falls from $826 a year before flight to $170 a year during the first three months of displacement and only recovers to $410 after a year.[72]

The income gap in Georgia was found to widen over time, indicating that rather than their earnings recovering IDPs tend to become trapped in poverty.[73]

| INSECURE EMPLOYMENT

Many IDPs in Colombia are engaged in low-skilled, precarious or micro-employment, where they are paid on a task-by-task basis.[74] In Somalia, almost half of the IDPs surveyed in Mogadishu were working as day labourers, compared with 36 per cent of economic migrants and 30 per cent of host community members in the same informal settlements.[75]

Only 30 per cent of male IDPs surveyed in Sudan received a monthly salary, compared with 38 per cent of the men in the host community. The figures for women were zero and five per cent respectively.[76]

LOWER PURCHASING POWER

Sixty-seven per cent of IDPs in Haiti reported difficulties in meeting their basic needs, compared with 43 per cent of the general population.[77] More than 90 per cent of IDPs in Afghanistan said they had borrowed money to meet their basic needs, including food.[78] Fifty-nine per cent in Goma, DRC, reported difficulties in feeding their family, compared with 36 per cent for their non-displaced neighbours. They also said they had resorted to loans to buy food and pay their rent.[79]

Internally displaced households in Palestine cut back on health and education expenses because they were struggling financially, eventually pushing them deeper into poverty.[80]

Ugandan households experienced a decrease in consumption of between 28 and 35 per cent in the first months of their displacement. Two years after their return home, they were still consuming 20 per cent less than non-displaced households.[81]

IDPs' reduced purchasing power not only affects their ability to fulfil their needs and ensure their wellbeing and development. It could also result in lower benefits and a reduced market for those selling goods and services in the host area. This latter impact, however, has not yet been measured.

SECURITY

IDPs unable to find decent work have little choice but to resort to other less secure and sometimes dangerous income-generating activities. Some displaced children are obliged to earn an income, putting them in danger in unsafe work and reducing their chances of more secure employment through education.

UNSAFE INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES

Some displaced families living in camps in Uganda put themselves at great risk by commuting back and forth to conflict areas to cultivate their land.[82] Young people and women are also known to have used transactional sex, gambling and dancing to earn money.[83]

In conflict areas where income opportunities are non-existent, some young male IDPs have joined armed groups to receive a salary, as reported in Iraq and Ukraine.[84]

CHILD LABOUR

The hardship of internal displacement pushes children to work, forcing them to interrupt their childhood and education to help support their families. Child labour participation reaches 7.5 per cent among displaced families in Goma, DRC, compared with 6.8 per cent for host families and 4.4 per cent for non-displaced neighbours.[85] Displaced Colombian families have also sent their older children to work.[86]

Many displaced Afghan children earn money as street vendors or car washers, which exposes them to the risk of road accidents, abuse and violence.[87]

SOCIAL LIFE

Social life is highly linked with work and heavily disrupted by the loss of livelihood that tends to accompany internal displacement. High levels of unemployment among IDPs mean they have no chance to socialise with colleagues and work contacts.

Displacement also separates them from their social networks at home, which may have helped them to find work or financial support. Some income groups are less able to cope with the initial loss of livelihood than others, widening pre-existing disparities and harming social cohesion.

INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT

IDPs are more likely to be unemployed than their counterparts in the general population. A study in Azerbaijan revealed unemployment rates of 60 and 43 per cent respectively.[88] Some reports suggest that up to 80 per cent of IDPs in Georgia may be unemployed, compared with a national average of 15 per cent.[89]

Unemployment rates for IDPs in some countries appear to improve over time. The rate for heads of household in Colombia peaks at over 50 per cent during the first three months of displacement, decreasing to 16.1 per cent after a year. That said, it is still significantly higher than the 1.7 per cent before displacement.[90] Only 23 per

cent of people who fled conflict in Mali were in work as of June 2014, compared with 79 per cent before their displacement in 2012. By December 2014, however, the figure had risen back to 78 per cent.[91]

In other countries, however, unemployment among IDPs can be a long-term problem. Research in nine former Soviet countries showed that displacement raised the short-term unemployment rate by 37 per cent and that IDPs were still more likely to be unemployed or working in the informal sector 10 to 15 years later.[92] IDPs in Georgia were up to 11.6 per cent more likely to be unemployed than members of the general population, in some cases even 20 years after their displacement.[93]

The disruption of social networks caused by internal displacement is often said to have a direct impact on IDPs' ability to secure an income. They are likely to lack connections and support to find work in their host communities, and may struggle to find new business partners, providers and consumers. IDPs disconnected from their social networks in DRC either struggle to find work or may suffer poor working conditions, lower pay or no pay at all.[94]

Discrimination may also play a role. IDPs in Ukraine said they believed employers were reluctant to hire them knowing that they were only living temporarily in the area.[95] Even without discrimination, the host community's labour market may simply not be able to absorb a large influx of IDPs. Those living in camps far away from an urban area may have no work opportunities at all.[96]

REINFORCED INEQUALITIES

IDPs will cope differently with livelihood impacts depending on their socioeconomic status at the time of their displacement. Members of political, social or economic elites tend to be able to support themselves and their dependents during their displacement, their main concern being the recovery of their property in their area of origin and the maintenance of their status in their host area.

Skilled professionals with transferable skills, such as education or health workers, are likely to be able to re-establish their livelihoods relatively quickly in their host area.

Those least able to cope are agricultural workers who flee to urban areas. Their skills are irrelevant to the local labour market, leaving them with few opportunities to earn even a basic income. They also tend to have smaller social networks, and many struggle to meet their basic needs, let alone adapt to their new environment.[97]

People who qualified as poor before displacement also suffer disproportionately, because they have fewer savings to replace lost assets. They tend to rely on social networks for work and credit, and lose access to them when their community is scattered by displacement. One study in Colombia recorded a drop in IDPs' potential to access informal credit from 18 per cent to nine per cent.[98]

Displaced women are often more disadvantaged than their male counterparts in the labour market.[99] In countries where they have no legal right to property, being separated from their family, community and home may leave them with no possibility of re-establishing themselves elsewhere.[100]

One study, however, revealed cases of displaced women emerging as entrepreneurs. This was linked to their socioeconomic status before their displacement, in that women who were previously economically active tend to adapt more quickly to their new situation. So do those who maintain active social networks in their community of origin or destination.[101]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

Many publications discuss the impacts of internal displacement on livelihoods, but most focus on IDPs' income and employment. Impacts for older people, returnees, host communities and communities of origin are rarely studied. Research on women, young people and children also needs to be complemented. Impacts on consumption and debt have been touched upon and seem significant, but are not well documented. The cost of providing aid in the form of cash assistance and unemployment benefits remains largely unassessed.

IMPACTS ON HOST COMMUNITIES

The effects of internal displacement on the livelihoods of host communities have rarely been documented, except

in Colombia where several studies provide quantitative estimates. One linked large inflows of IDPs to a 28.4 per cent reduction in wages among low-skilled host community workers, but no disruption to the highly regulated formal sector was found.[102] Another found that an increase of 10 per cent in the working-age population of host communities as result of the arrival of IDPs led to a reduction in wages of 1.63 per cent for women and 1.24 per cent for men.[103] Wages seem to recover over time, though more slowly for low-skilled women.[104]

| IMPACTS ON DEMAND AND PRICES

Although displaced households' consumption levels seem to be much lower than those of their non-displaced counterparts, an influx of IDPs tends to lead to an increase in demand for local goods and services as they inject their earnings, remittances and cash aid into the local economy.[105] This may be positive on some levels, but it can also push up prices. The price of charcoal and sugar in Dollo Ado, Ethiopia, quadrupled after the arrival of Somali refugees.[106]

| INCREASED DEBT LEVELS

A study in Goma, DRC, found that 52 per cent of IDPs were in debt, compared with 20 per cent of non-displaced residents, 30 per cent of host families and 44 per cent of returnees. Displaced families were on average five times more indebted than local residents.[107] More research of this type is needed in other countries.

| LIVELIHOODS PROGRAMMES FOR IDPS

Forty per cent of IDPs in Afghanistan have received food, water or transport aid, but less than 10 per cent employment or housing assistance.[108] Significant numbers of displaced households in Iraq, particularly those that are female-headed, receive pensions, humanitarian aid, government aid and social care support.[109]

Only eight per cent of Nigerian IDPs receive government support, because humanitarian assistance is only delivered in camps. People living in host communities are not included.[110]

Only 12 per cent of displaced households in Goma, DRC, reported having received assistance, of whom 78 per cent said it had come from humanitarian organisations, 36 per cent from the community and 10 per cent from the government. Some families receive aid from more than one source.[111]

Studies assessing the overall cost of providing assistance to IDPs and their hosts, measured consistently across donors and countries, have yet to be published.

ACCOUNTING FOR LIVELIHOOD IMPACTS

The livelihood impacts of internal displacement affect the economy directly by impairing or ceasing IDPs' productive activity, income and consumption, with potential ripple effects on their hosts, providers and customers.

We published a new methodology in 2018 that aims to estimate the cost of lost production caused by internal displacement. In the case of the 2015 earthquake in Nepal, which displaced 3.7 million people, we put the figure at $406 million, or two per cent of the country's GDP.[112]

Livelihood impacts also have longer-term costs, not only in terms of aid provision, income supplements and unemployment benefits, but also a reduction in income tax and other government revenues. These longer-term consequences have yet to be measured.

4
EDUCATION

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FIGURE 4: Selected links between internal displacement and education as highlighted in the literature
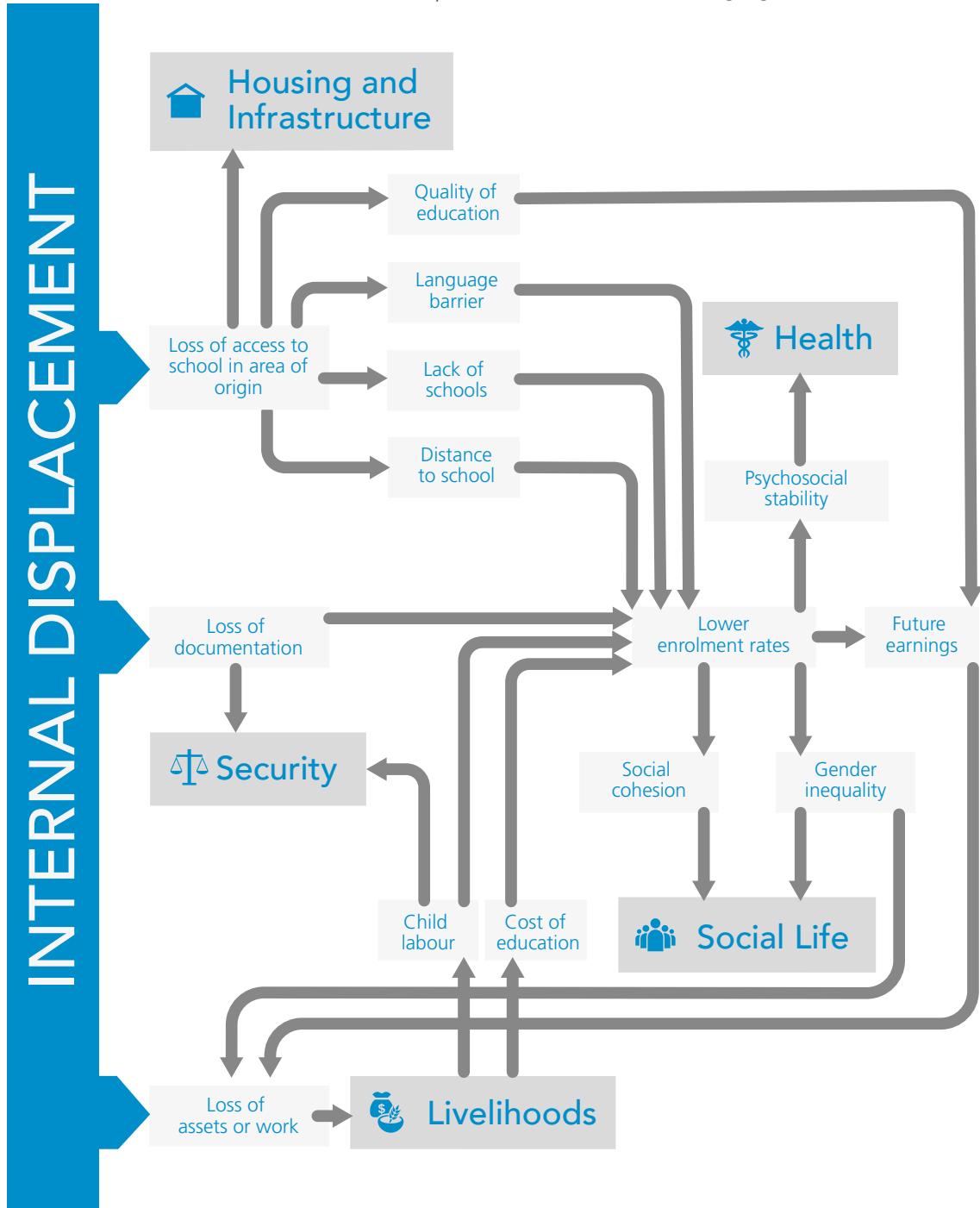
Internal displacement interrupts children's education and separates them from their familiar school environment, teachers and classmates, sometimes for months or even years. When they are able to go back to school, whether in their community of origin, host area or in a camp, they have to make up for lost time while managing the stress and trauma associated with their displacement.

Nearly every country affected by displacement yields evidence of lower enrolment and achievement rates and higher drop-out rates among displaced children. Figure 4 summarises some of the relationships between internal displacement and education most often reported in the literature.

Most of the educational impacts are the result of the loss of livelihoods, loss of documentation and the absence or inadequacy of schools. Disruption to education can harm the mental health of displaced children, many of whom may already be traumatised by their experiences, and heighten their psychosocial instability. It can affect social cohesion and increase gender inequalities, damaging social life in the short and longer term. It can also reduce children's potential earnings and livelihood opportunities as adults, creating a poverty trap that endures even after displacement.

This chapter highlights some of the ways in which the educational impacts of internal displacement relate to livelihood, housing and infrastructure and security.

LIVELIHOODS

The reduction in financial resources that often accompanies internal displacement may lead the most vulnerable families to take their children out education, either because they are unable to afford their schooling or because they need them to work. These and other issues lead to lower enrolment rates for displaced children, and may reduce their chances of securing decent work and income, affecting their long-term welfare and limiting their future contribution to the economy.

| REDUCED INCOME

Internal displacement often forces people to abandon their assets and source of income, and at the same time they incur additional expenses linked to their transport, housing and other needs in coping temporarily or re-establishing their lives in a new place.

In such circumstances, many families find themselves unable to prioritise their children's education. A survey conducted in Iraq showed that IDPs ranked education behind shelter, food and employment in terms of priority needs.[113]

Children and adolescents are also sometimes forced to work to help support their family.[114] This is cited as the main reason for displaced boys to be out of school in Afghanistan.[115] It is also reported as a barrier to education in Iraq, along with difficulties in paying school fees.[116]

Displaced families in Goma, DRC, spend an average of $9 a month on education, compared with $13 for their non-displaced counterparts, and 33 per cent said the cost of education was the main reason for not sending their children to school.[117] A study in Bosnia found that displaced households spent less on education than non-displaced households.[118] In Serbia, displaced Romas report their inability to pay for school supplies, such as notebooks, as the main reason for early drop-out.[119]

| LOWER ENROLMENT RATES

Lower enrolment rates for displaced children have been reported in nearly all regions affected by internal displacement. Only 29 per cent of displaced children over five in Mogadishu, Somalia, have ever attended school.[120] Displaced families in the Iraqi governorates of Baghdad, Basra and Ninewa are far less likely to send their children to school than their counterparts in the local population.[121]

A study conducted in Timor-Leste shows that displacement alone decreased school attendance by 8.5 per cent, and even more for boys and younger children. For children affected by both violence and displacement the figure was 13.3 per cent, with girls worst affected.[122]

In Colombia, however, displacement increased the percentage of children attending primary school from 52 to 82 per cent.[123] This may be explained by violence having prevented children from going to school in their communities of origin, and by their fleeing to cities where education is more easily accessible. That said, the net enrolment rate for displaced children in primary school was still lower than than national average.[124] Enrolment rates in secondary and tertiary education were also lower.

IMPACT ON FUTURE INCOME

The fact that displaced children's disrupted education may restrict their future job prospects and economic potential represents a causal loop of major interest to policymakers looking to address internal displacement and promote sustainable development. It has, however, rarely been studied although

UNICEF estimates that the lost earning potential of displaced Syrian children unable to go to secondary school because of the conflict runs into tens of millions of dollars.[125]

A study in Timor-Leste found that exposure to violence during school years could lead to a reduction of 1.2 per cent in the value of returns to education.[126] The study, however, assessed the impact of violence rather than internal displacement on children's future earnings.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Internally displaced children face different challenges in pursuing their education depending on whether they live in camps or host communities and in urban or rural areas. Children from host communities and those who remain in depleted communities of origin may also have their education disrupted as a result of displacement. Ensuring continued education for all requires governments to adapt their infrastructure and human resources, with impacts on the entire school system.

ACCESS TO SCHOOLS

One of the most direct ways internal displacement affects education is by pushing children away from schools. More than a third of displaced children surveyed in Afghanistan were unable to go to school because their community did not have one.[127] A study in India found that displaced children lived a minimum of two kilometres away from a secondary school, compared with less than a kilometre for their non-displaced peers.[128]

Children from host communities may also be forced out of school, as was the case in Iraq when large numbers of IDPs took refuge in local classrooms, delaying the start of the school year by six months.[129]

Many displacement camps do not have adequate educational facilities, and some have none. Only 82 per cent of camps in Myanmar provided educational services, only 19 of 42 in Nigeria.[130] Of 590,000 displaced children in Nigeria, fewer than 90,000 were able to pursue their education.[131]

Only 32 per cent of all displaced children in Iraq and 30 per cent of those living outside camps are able to go school.[132] Despite the slightly better access in camps, the quality of the education provided tends to be poor. Some camps only provide an area for children to play, while others run programmes not recognised by the Iraqi education system.[133] The quality of education also deteriorates when teachers are forced to work in tents and other environments less conducive to learning.[134]

IMPACTS ON SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Large displacement crises may affect the education system of a whole country. In disaster settings, schools and other public buildings are often repurposed to serve as emergency shelters.

Mass displacement in central and southern Somalia left many schools unable to operate because as few as a quarter of their staff members remained.[135] Schools in host areas can quickly become overloaded, as was the case in Pakistan where the entire schooling system was put under pressure to adapt to mass internal displacement.[136]

Displaced children's specific needs must also be addressed to ensure the continuity of their education. This may include providing education in a language not usually spoken in the host area. Displaced families in northern Iraq said the lack of classes in Arabic was one of the main barriers to their children's education.[137]

Other measures may have to be put in place to deal with displaced children's trauma or help them make up for lost time in their education.

SECURITY

Legal, physical and psychosocial security are all closely related to education. Legal barriers resulting from the loss of documentation during displacement can interrupt education, as can threats to physical safety in

Internally displaced children study at a school in Shimbirale, Somalia, despite not having breakfast. Photo: NRC/ Adrienne Surprenant, April 2017

violent environments. Education, meantime, can help to foster security by reducing the likelihood of conflict and violence, and by increasing psychosocial stability.

| LEGAL BARRIERS

The loss of personal documentation during displacement can have serious consequences for the recognition of IDPs' rights, the establishment of their identify in their host area and their ability to work, own property or open a bank accounts. It can also prevent children's enrolment in school.[138]

Displaced families in Iraq have to present identity documents when the cross from one province into another. Without them they are likely to be prevented from doing so or from exercising their rights outside their province of origin. Children in Nepal are required to present a certificate from their former school to register in a new one, which those displaced are often unable to do.[139]

Displaced children without documentation also used to be prevented from signing up for school in their host areas in Colombia. A law allowing them to attend school free and without paperwork increased their enrolment rate from 48 per cent in 2007 to 86 per cent in 2010.[140]

| CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Conflict reduces both children's access to schools and the quality of education they receive. Countries affected by conflict account for 18 per cent of the world's primary school age population, but 42 per cent of children out of school. Armed groups may target education facilities, as is the case for girls' schools in Afghanistan.[141] A third of all Afghan students were estimated to be out of school in 2017 as a result of conflict and violence.[142]

Education, meantime, can help to reduce the likelihood of conflict and violence. One study suggests that doubling the percentage of young people with secondary education from 30 per cent to 60 per cent could halve the risk of conflict, and another that if educational inequality

doubles, so does the probability of conflict.[143] Going to school can also reduce displaced children's exposure to physical and sexual violence and abuse, and their recruitment into armed forces and groups.[144]

Education helps to foment not only decent livelihoods and social cohesion, but also psychosocial stability, forming the basis for a more peaceful society. A study in Palestine demonstrated that quality education provided a sense of routine, stability, structure and hope that helped to support psychosocial protection.[145] Five years after the 2004 tsunami in Indonesia, better educated survivors were found to be in better psychosocial health than less educated ones.[146]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

More research is needed not only to assess the longer-term costs of the disruption to IDPs' education, but also to measure its impacts on specific groups. These include girls, children in host communities and those left behind or returning to their communities of origin.

GIRLS

Girls are disproportionately affected by the disruption to education that internal displacement causes. Only 22 per cent of internally displaced girls over five in Mogadishu have ever attended school, compared with 37 per cent of boys.[147] Internally displaced families in Iraq's Baghdad, Basra and Ninewa governorates also consistently send their boys to school more than their girls.[148]

Internally displaced girls are also less likely to finish their primary education than boys. They may have to leave school to take on their mother's domestic duties if she is forced to find work, or because of early marriages and pregnancies, which are more common in internal displacement.

By contrast, a strong focus on the need to provide primary education to displaced children in Kosovo led to slightly higher completion rates for girls than boys, though this trend did not continue in secondary school.[149] Internally displaced girls in Colombia are slightly more likely to attend school than boys at all levels, from pre-school to secondary.[150]

HOST COMMUNITIES

The arrival of large numbers of displaced children may reduce the quality of education their host community peers receive if the local system is not expanded accordingly. Some publications have discussed the effects on education of large inflows of refugees, but none have focused on internal displacement.

COMMUNITIES OF ORIGIN

The effects of internal displacement on the school system in communities of origin were briefly discussed in one article on Somalia.[151] Another report on IDPs in Iraq highlighted the loss of skilled personnel in communities of origin as a major impediment to accessing education.[152] As for all impacts of internal displacement, the educational consequences for those left behind and those returning to their communities are grossly overlooked in the literature.

ACCOUNTING FOR EDUCATIONAL IMPACTS

Few of the educational impacts presented in this chapter have been costed in quantitative or monetary terms. The provision of temporary education to displaced children living in camps can, however, be estimated from humanitarian response plans published during major crises.

We estimate that providing education to the children displaced by conflict in Libya between 2014 and 2017 cost $10 milllion, or 0.01 per cent of the country's GDP in 2010. For children displaced by conflict in the Central African Republic from 2013 to 2016, we arrived at a figure of $23.2 million, or 0.9 per cent of the country's GDP in 2012. This is almost as much as the government's annual expenditure on education.

These figures do not include the cost of adapting school systems in host areas and communities of origin. Nor do they not account for the lost earning potential of displaced children whose education is disrupted, or for their subsequent reduced consumption, tax payments or other contributions to the economy.

5

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

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FIGURE 5: Selected links between internal displacement, housing and infrastructure, as highlighted in the literature
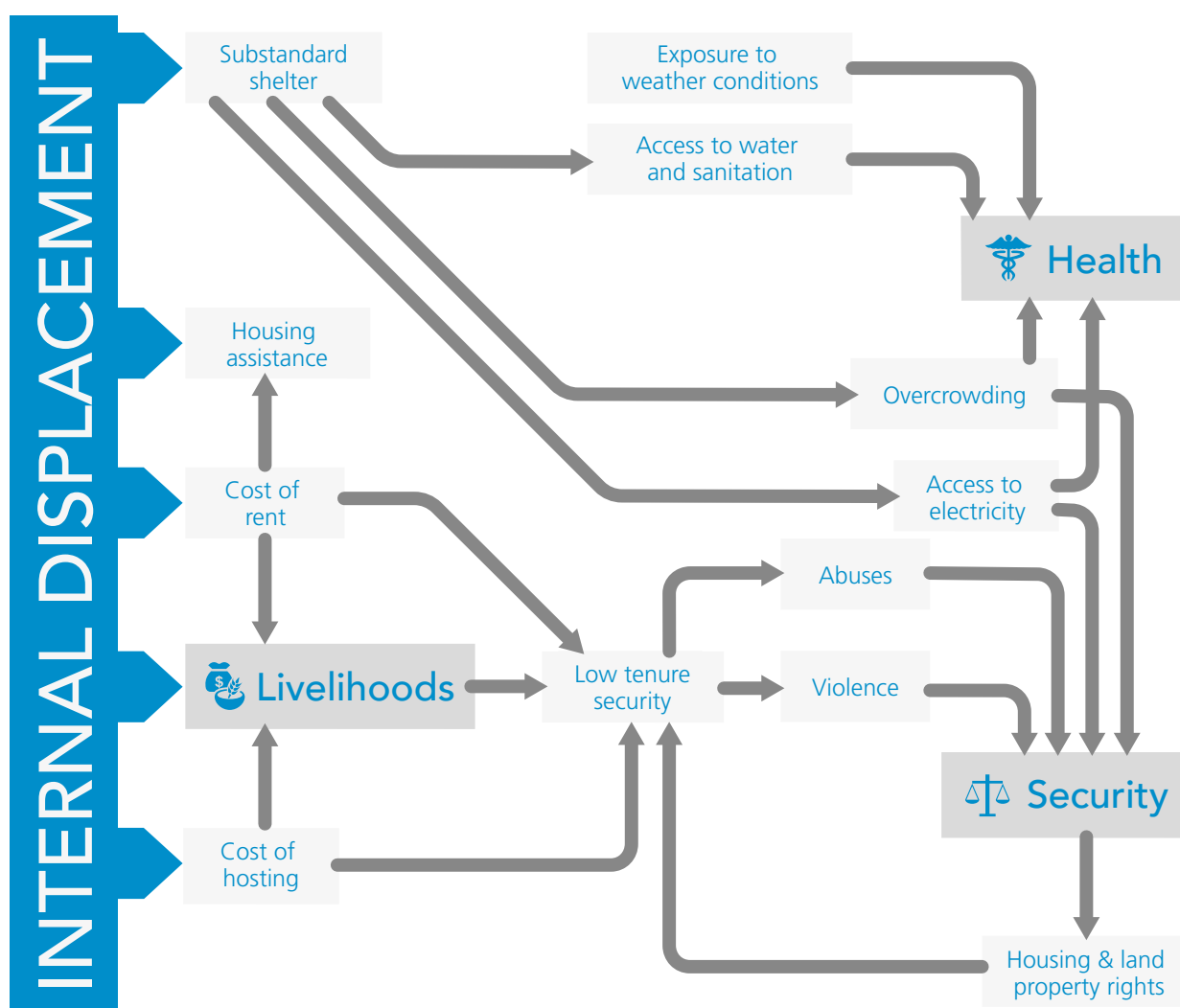
When people flee their homes, one of their first needs is for decent shelter, where they can be protected, access water, sanitation and electricity, and start rebuilding a sense of home and community. In many cases, however, the urgency of the situation, the lack of suitable infrastructure in host areas and IDPs' loss of livelihoods means their housing conditions are inadequate.

Housing is one of the main expenses IDPs face, meaning that it has an inevitable effect on their livelihoods. Substandard shelter also affects health, exposing people to weather extremes and natural hazards, and facilitating the spread of communicable diseases. It may also cause or aggravate mental illhealth, whether because of overcrowding or isolation.

Security can also suffer when poor housing conditions put people at risk of discrimination, exploitation, abuse or violence, and when their rights as tenants or owners are violated.

Figure 5 summarises some of the most often cited impacts of internal displacement on housing and infrastructure. This chapter will focus on its linkages with livelihoods, security and health.

LIVELIHOODS

IDPs may find themselves living in a makeshift tent on the street in front of their damaged home, a hotel room in a nearby city, a government-run camp, a friend's home or a rented apartment. Housing solutions are numerous, their quality varies greatly, and each has different benefits and costs borne by different stakeholders.

The majority of IDPs live in host families who take them in free of charge or in exchange for a financial contribution. Many others end up renting accommodation, often sharing with other displaced families. Those living in displacement camps tend to be the minority.

HOSTING

IDPs consistently prefer to stay with host families, because it helps them to feel a sense of home and community and means they can be closer to work opportunities. Eighty per cent of the people displaced by Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin live in host communities, as do 70 per cent of IDPs in DRC.[153]

Displaced families in DRC often contribute a small amount of rent if they can afford it, but 35 per cent of hosts report problems with their situation, mostly down to lack of financial resources or space.[154] One study estimates that the overall cost of hosting borne by families in North Kivu alone was between $1 million and $2 million a month.[155]

Thirty-six per cent of IDPs in Yemen live with host families and say it gives them a better chance of finding income-generating activities.[156] A third of displaced households in Ukraine also live with friends or family.[157]

RENTING

Renting is also a common housing solution for internally displaced families, who tend to bear most of the cost. Eighty-two per cent of those living outside camps in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province pay rent.[158] Nearly two-thirds of IDPs in Ukraine are tenants in private accommodation and in the Yemen the figure is 22 per cent.[159]

Rent is the most important expenditure for IDPs in Ukraine, and is listed as a major cost for half in Yemen.[160] Given the economic impacts of displacement, many households struggle to keep up with their rent payments. Eigthy per cent of displaced families in Iraq reported difficulties, compared to 50 per cent in the host community.[161]

Forty-three per cent of displaced households in Pakistan's informal urban settlements said they were unable to pay their rent, and many in Goma, DRC, resorted to loans to do so.[162] Six per cent of IDPs in Erbil, Iraq, have been evicted because they were unable to pay their rent, compared with less than two per cent for their host community.[163]

HOUSING ASSISTANCE

Governments and international donors also bear part of the cost of providing IDPs with housing. This may be via setting up camps, aid mechanisms such as rent subsidies or support for the construction of homes.

The government is responsible for displacement camps in Uganda, but also relies on financial and technical support from local authorities and national and international NGOs.[164] The government of the Central

African Republic (CAR) also provides shelter for IDPs but depends heavily on contributions from the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and others.[165]

In Eastern Europe, financial assistance is more common than camps. Most households registered as displaced in Ukraine receive government support including rent subsidies or the provision of shelter in hotels or collective centres.[166] The Georgian government and other donors have supported the construction of homes and the refurbishment or purchase of apartments for displaced families.[167]

About 15 per cent of internally displaced households in Serbia receive housing assistance. They are provided with apartments, mainly by international organisations and local authorities. The national government provides less than 20 per cent of them. Building materials are also offered as an option, mostly paid for by international organisations.[168]

SECURITY

The difficulties IDPs face in obtaining adequate housing may heighten security risks. The most common is of new displacement when they are forced out of their lodgings, either because they were unable pay their rent or because they were illegal occupants. Their poor housing conditions may also be a treat to their physical safety. Housing and land property (HLP) rights in areas of origin become an issue when returning IDPs face challenges in recovering their former homes.

LOW TENURE SECURITY

Relatively few IDPs manage to secure long-term shelter, and the possibility of new displacement places additional stress on them and the prospect of a new financial burden.

Twenty-seven per cent of IDPs in Ukraine own an apartment and 12 per cent a house, compared with 69 and 33 per cent of their hosts.[169] In Honduras, 42 per cent own their lodgings, but some do not hold title deeds. More than a third rent, but only 13 per cent have a rental agreement.[170] In Burundi the figure is 16 per cent.[171]

Two-thirds of internally displaced Roma in Serbia live in illegal housing, and evictions are a regular occurrence.[172] Nearly a third of IDPs in Mogadishu, Somalia, said they had faced eviction in the past six months, and more than a third feared the same fate in the next six months.[173]

HOUSING, LAND AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

Housing, land and property (HLP) rights issues arise when IDPs are able to return to their areas of origin, but not to reclaim their former home or land. This may happen if they have lost their ownership documents or never had them in the first place, if their property has been destroyed, if someone has bought or occupied it in their absence or, in the case of returning women, if only men are recognised as property owners. In some cases, property may have been claimed by the military or government, with or without compensation.

Such issues can be particularly acute after protracted displacement, as in Uganda where 71 per cent of returnees said they had faced land grabs, 41 per cent illegal occupation of their land and 30 per cent their land being deserted because of displacement.[174]

Many refugees returning to Afghanistan go back to a life of internal displacement because their home has been occupied by other displaced people or local power brokers. Even those who have deeds may struggle to reclaim their property in the absence of mechanisms to resolve legal disputes.[175]

Forty-one per cent of IDPs in Mogadishu who knew the status of their former home said it was being occupied by someone else, and most that no restitution or compensation mechanisms were available to them.[176]

VIOLENCE AND ABUSE

IDPs' vulnerability puts them at risk of exploitation, abuse and sometimes violence. The latter may occur during forced evictions, as reported in Afghanistan where one such event led to deaths and injuries. Government officials and local militias also regularly harass IDPs who occupy land illegally.[177]

Internally displaced women living in insecure shelter are at higher risk of sexual violence. They may also be attacked when they leave their camps to collect water or firewood.[178] Cases of families being pressured into marrying their daughters to their landlord have been documented in Syria.[179]

IDPs may also suffer discrimination and unfair tenancy arrangements. Some in Ukraine said landlords had been reluctant to rent apartments to them, and that they had demanded higher than normal rent and payment of a full year in advance.[180]

HEALTH

Poor housing conditions may have damaging effects on IDPs' physical and mental health. Tents and inadequate housing expose them to heat, cold, damp and natural hazards. Lack of water and sanitation facilitates the spread of communicable diseases, sometimes to neighbouring communities. Poor lighting, overcrowding and the absence of privacy in camps and informal settlements may add to stress and cause or aggravate mental illness.

| SUBSTANDARD HOUSING

Makeshift shelters such as tents, caravans, mud huts and sheds do not provide adequate protection against the elements and can lead to disease, particularly among vulnerable groups such as children, pregnant women and older people.

Seventy-five per cent of displaced households in Herat, Afghanistan, live in mud huts, 17 per cent in tents and eight per cent in makeshift shelters. More than a third of these dwellings provide insufficient protection against the country's harsh climate, and 19 per cent have little or no lighting.[181]

Roma IDPs in Serbia live in extremely poor housing, 90 per cent of which suffers from damp.[182] Three out of four households have less than 15m2 of living space per person.[183]

Tents and caravans are the most common shelters for IDPs in Iraq, while most displaced households in Kathmandu, Nepal, live in shelters with no ventilation or natural light.[184]

Internally displaced Roma live in poor housing conditions in Serbia. Photo: IDMC/Barbara McCallin, May 2009

WATER AND SANITATION

Lack of access to water and sanitation facilities in overcrowded camps and informal settlements can increase the transmission of communicable diseases such as malaria, cholera and other bacterial and diarrhoeal illnesses.

Most displaced households in Kathmandu have inadequate water supply and sanitation, and 29 per cent of people living in camps in Iraq do not have daily access to safe drinking water.[185] Only a third of IDPs surveyed in Afghanistan had access to adequate water supply and sanitation facilites, and the situation appears to be worse in rural areas.[186] Twenty per cent of IDPs in Libya live in former schools or warehouses, which have inadequate sanitation.[187]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

Two significant research areas in terms of the impacts of internal displacement on housing and infrastructure are largely understudied: those specific to women and girls, whose safety, hygiene and legal requirements require distinct assessments; and those on housing markets.

GENDER INEQUALITIES

Displaced women face specific challenges in securing housing and claiming their property back when they return to their areas of origin. Discriminatory laws and practices still prevent them from legally owning land or housing or signing rental agreements in some countries. They are also more vulnerable to abuse and violence from landlords, hosts and camp officials.

Living in substandard shelters can prove more difficult for women, who need regular access to water and sanitation during menstruation, and safe accommodation to protect them from potential attack. Only a couple of publications mention these added risks, and they require further investigation.

IMPACTS ON HOUSING MARKETS

The effects of large inflows of refugees on the housing markets of host cities are relatively well documented. Only two publications, however, discuss the conse-quences of mass internal displacement on the cost of renting accommodation.

A study in Colombia found that influxes of IDPs increase the rental price for cheaper units, but decrease the price for more expensive ones.[188] Another report noted a 19 per cent rise in rental prices over three years of internal displacement in Iraq, linking it not only to an increase in demand but also to broader economic pressures slowing the supply of new housing.[189]

More studies of this kind are needed to understand the extent to which internal displacement causes rental prices to fluctuate, which affects both displaced and non-displaced tenants and their landlords. Impacts on the housing markets in areas of origin should also be investigated.

ACCOUNTING FOR HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE IMPACTS

The housing and infrastructure impacts of internal displacement on the economy vary greatly depending on where and in what type of shelter IDPs take refuge. Granular information is needed on the costs borne by different stakeholders when they live with host families, in camps or collective centres, or in rented accommodation with or without financial support.

Humanitarian response plans sometimes have information on the funds needed to set up and manage displacement camps. Using such data, we estimate that providing temporary shelters for IDPs in South Sudan between 2014 and 2017 cost $710 million, more than five per cent of the country's GDP in 2013.

We have yet to calculate other costs, including for the adaptation of infrastructure in host areas, the extra financial burden on host families and displaced households renting and the longer-term economic consequences on housing markets in areas of origin and refuge.

6
SECURITY
—

Selected links between internal displacement and security as highlighted in the literature

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

- Housing and Infrastructure
  - Forced evictions
  - Access to water sanitation and wood
- Health
  - Psychological violence
  - Increased perception of violence
  - Physical violence
  - Relations with hosts
- Social Life
- Loss of personal identification documents
- Fight over limited resources
- Violence against women
- Livelihoods
  - Recruitment by armed groups
  - Child labour
- Education
  - Forced marriages

Security is often cited as one of the main concerns for IDPs and host communities. Apart from issues associated with the disaster, conflict or violence that triggered their flight in the first place, internal displacement itself has a number of specific security impacts.

People may lose their livelihood, identity documents and social support networks during displacement, with direct consequences for their vulnerability to abuse, exploitation and violence. Women, children, older people and those with disabilities are particularly at risk. Men maybe targeted by armed groups for recruitment, and they may also suffer greater animosity in their host areas.

Responding to the security needs of all affected populations affected requires specific mechanisms and investments led by governments, communities, international organisations and civil society.

Figure 6 represents the links most often cited in the literature between internal displacement, security and other dimensions including housing and infrastructure, livelihoods, health, social life and education. This chapter highlights security impacts in relation to livelihood, social life and health.

LIVELIHOODS

There are abundant reports of increased violence against women during internal displacement from all parts of the world. This may be the result not only of the increased stress and financial strain that families face, but also the extreme poverty displaced women often find themselves in. Displaced men, women and children may also find themselves obliged to undertake dangerous income-generating activities to survive.

| INCREASED VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The rise in violence against women during displacement has been linked to the inactivity of men who lost their work as result of their flight, and in some countries to their increased consumption of alcohol.[190]

Two-thirds of displaced women in Afghanistan report having experienced domestic violence, half of whom say it happens very often or every day. More than 12 per cent said domestic violence had become more frequent since their displacement.[191]

The most commonly reported violence against displaced women in Colombia is committed by their intimate partners, and includes forced sex, forced abortions and physical violence during pregnancy.[192] More than half said they had experienced domestic violence, including sexual violence, compared with 41 per cent of their non-displaced peers.[193]

Other forms of violence against women outside the home include abduction, sexual assault and rape. More than a third of displaced Colombian women have been forced to have sexual relations, some of which having been subjected to genital mutilation, torture, forced prostitution and sexual slavery.[194] Thirty per cent of displaced women in Azerbaijan reported forced sexual intercourse.[195]

There are similar reports of sexual violence in Somalia.[196] Women and girls living in camps in Mogadishu are particularly vulnerable when they leave the camp to collect wood or use the latrines.[197] Gender separation in camps can result in less security for women, because their male family members are unable to protect them.[198]

Two-thirds of IDPs surveyed in north-east Nigeria said camp officials sexually abused women and girls, 28 per cent said host community members did so and six per cent elders.[199] Women and girls who return home after being abducted are often stigmatised by their communities and even their families, because the prevalence of sexual violence during abduction is common knowledge. They are considered tainted for having been raped or on that presumption.[200]

| NEGATIVE COPING STRATEGIES

The financial constraints many IDPs suffer put them in extremely vulnerable positions where they may be abused, exploited and forced to undertake dangerous activities to earn money. Internally displaced women in DRC have been coerced into having sexual relations with their hosts and camp officials, and prostitution.[201]

Displaced young men and boys in conflict areas are at risk of recruitment by the armed forces, as reported among men living in camps in Nigeria.[202] Armed groups in Iraq have also recruited young men and children,

Mireille Soulaya and her husband pose in front of her big sister's house, where they and their five children have been living since they fled the fighting in Bangui, CAR. NRC/Alexis Huguet, August 2017

sometimes forcibly.[203] Displaced families in Mali were more worried than their non-displaced counterparts that armed gangs might recruit their children.[204]

Displaced families who have lost their livelihoods may feel obliged to send their children out to work, as reported in Afghanistan, Iraq and Serbia.[205] Thirty-five per cent of key informants in areas of Yemen where IDPs had found refuge reported child labour and nine per cent reported child marriage.[206] Nearly a third of displaced households in Afghanistan have forced at least one child into marriage.[207] Even in cultures where child marriage is acceptable, it may be a negative coping strategy for displaced families who either receive money in exchange or have one less mouth to feed.

SOCIAL LIFE

The influx of a large group of displaced people inevitably disrupts a host community's social life, generating support and compassion for the new arrivals but also

tensions. It may also lead a to heightened sense of insecurity, whether or not that is the case.

| RELATIONS WITH HOSTS

Most IDPs choose to live with host families rather than in displacement camps, collective centres or private accommodation. Doing is clearly cheaper than renting, but the decision is also linked to the greater sense of home, community and security that IDPs often mention as important.

Most displaced people in northern Iraq feel welcomed by their host communities.[208] More than 96 per cent of their counterparts in Afghanistan said they felt the same, most noting that their hosts treated them with kindness and respect. Some also said their hosts occasionally lent them money or shared their water with them.[209] A survey in northern Nigeria revealed similar sentiments.[210]

Tensions may arise, however, particularly when resources are scarce or displaced men are associated with conflict. Most IDPs in DRC live with host families, and the average hosting period of six months. The length of these arrangements, during which resources may dwindle, has the potential to strain relations. One study found that some community leaders blamed IDPs for bringing instability and violence into the community.[211] Another revealed that 20 per cent of both displaced families and their hosts reported occasional tensions.[212]

Thirty-four per cent of IDPs in Maban Country, South Sudan, and 42 per cent of host community members said they had suffered at least one security incident during the 2016 dry season, mainly over access to agricultural land, water and lumber. The distribution of food and non-food items to IDPs was a source of tension too.[213] Some host communities in Colombia also perceived IDPs as receiving disproportionate assistance from the government, leading to tensions and robberies.[214]

Displaced Crimean Tatars in Ukraine said they generally felt welcomed by the local community, but men less so because they were seen as associated with the conflict.[215] Similar sentiments based on actual or perceived associations were reported in Iraq.[216]

Displaced people returning to their areas of origin sometimes face tensions with their home communities, particularly if they belong to a minority or lived abroad for long periods.[217] Only 21 per cent of IDPs in Serbia said they wanted to return for such reasons, and among Roma IDPs, who face greater discrimination in their homes areas, the figure dropped to eight per cent.[218]

PERCEPTION OF SECURITY

IDPs tend to feel safe in their host communities, but their hosts often perceive an increase in insecurity following their arrival. Ninety-five per cent of displaced households in Afghanistan reported feeling secure, as did 97 per cent of their counterparts in northern Iraq although the latter was thanks to the presence of the security forces.[219]

IDPs living outside camps, hosts and returnees in DRC are more likely to report feeling insecure than residents unaffected by displacement. Ten per cent of IDPs said they never felt safe at all. None of those living in camps, however, expressed the same sentiment.[220]

Ninety-two per cent of displaced Albanians in Kosovo said they felt very safe in their neighbourhoods, but only a third of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) IDPs did so. This feeling reflected reality, given that only 1.4 per cent of Albanians reported safety incidents such as violence and threats, compared with five per cent of RAEs.[221]

Perceptions of security were rather more tenuous in Haiti, where 19.8 per cent of displaced households said they did not feel safe where they lived, compared with 13.9 per cent of their counterparts in the general population.[222]

A survey in northern Nigeria points to increased feelings of insecurity linked to internal displacement, and anecdotal evidence from Colombia also suggests that host communities perceive a rise in criminality when large numbers of IDPs arrive.[223]

HEALTH

Health can be directly affected by security issues if people are harmed or abused, or constantly fear becoming so. IDPs' vulnerable situations place them at higher risk than non-displaced people, and some suffer targeted violence and discrimination. Constant insults and threats can also affect their psychological wellbeing and lead to mental health problems.

PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE

IDPs may suffer psychologically as a result of tensions with their hosts, insecurity and overcrowding in camps, and discrimination and insults.

IDPs in Iraq from communities who find themselves in areas where they are a religious, ethnic or linguistic minority live in constant fear of hate speech, physical assault and discriminatory practices.[224] A third of returnee women surveyed said they had been subjected to psychological violence.[225]

Displaced Crimean Tatars in Ukraine report insults in public areas, mostly targeting men associated with, or perceived to be associated with the conflict.[226]

Some groups, such women, children and older people who have physical or mental disabilities face discrimination on a number of levels, based not only on their gender, age or social status but also their disability.[227]

THREATS TO PHYSICAL SAFETY

As people move from their area of origin to their place of refuge, they may have to cross active or former frontlines and minefields. Fifty per cent of recorded landmine victims in Myanmar are IDPs, and displaced people have also been killed while travelling along mined routes in Iraq.[228]

Armed groups in Uganda have in the past targeted displacement camps, killing, injuring or abducting thousands of IDPs. Defence groups were created in response, to which some IDPs were forcibly recruited.[229] Armed groups in DRC seem to target camps and host families for rape and robbery.[230] Incidents of violence against IDPs by armed groups and government forces, including killings, rape, abductions and looting, have also been documented in Darfur, Sudan.[231]

A study in Kenya highlighted the heightened vulnerability of IDPs, particularly women and children, to trafficking. They are also recruited to become child soldiers, for sexual exploitation or for organ removal.[232]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

Three significant knowledge gaps remain in understanding the security aspects of internal displacement: the different types of security arrangements provided to affected populations and their economic consequences; the frequent loss of identity documents that accompanies displacement, and the mechanisms that need to be set up to replace them; and the support returnees require in exercising their HLP rights and reclaiming their property in their areas of origin.

SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Only a couple of publications discuss how IDPs are protected or protect themselves, one of which describes women in camps in Mogadishu, Somalia, pooling their resources to hire security guards to prevent sexual assaults.[233]

Another reveals that IDPs in almost half of the camps surveyed on Nigeria had organised their own self-defence groups. Military protection was provided in 30 per cent and police protection in four per cent. Almost 20 per cent of the camps had no security arrangements.[234]

A survey in Haiti found that 31.4 per cent of displaced households had no access to police and security services, compared with 22.8 per cent of their non-displaced peers.[235]

DOCUMENTATION ISSUES

The loss of identity documents can prevent IDPs from claiming their propety, receiving aid they may be entitled to and exercising their rights. IDPs in Ukraine were unable to vote in local elections without registering with a local address, but doing would have meant losing all benefits linked to their displacement. Nor were displaced children separated from their parents able to register for assistance on their own.[236]

Identity documents are needed in Iraq to benefit from essential goods and services provided by the government and other donors. Many displaced people who have lost them are unable to access humanitarian aid. Food ration cards bear the name of the male head of household, which makes it particularly difficult for women on their own to obtain assistance.[237] IDPs in the Kurdistan region who do not have documentation may be detained or expelled. Children born in displacement have also been denied birth certificates.[238]

The extent of this specific issue and the cost it represents for authorities replacing lost documentation, for instance, is largely unknown.

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MECHANISMS

When displaced people return to their communities of origin, they often face security and legal challenges that few countries are prepared for. Discrimination, violence and the denial of HLP rights require dedicated justice mechanisms to remedy. Very few publications mention this issue, except to highlight their absence.[239]

The cost of setting up such mechanisms, of not doing so and the effects on people's perceived and actual security need to be assessed.

ACCOUNTING FOR SECURITY IMPACTS

The consequences for the economy of the security, and insecurity, of people affected by internal displacement should at very least be estimated using the cost of providing military or police protection in camps and non-camps settings as a proxy.
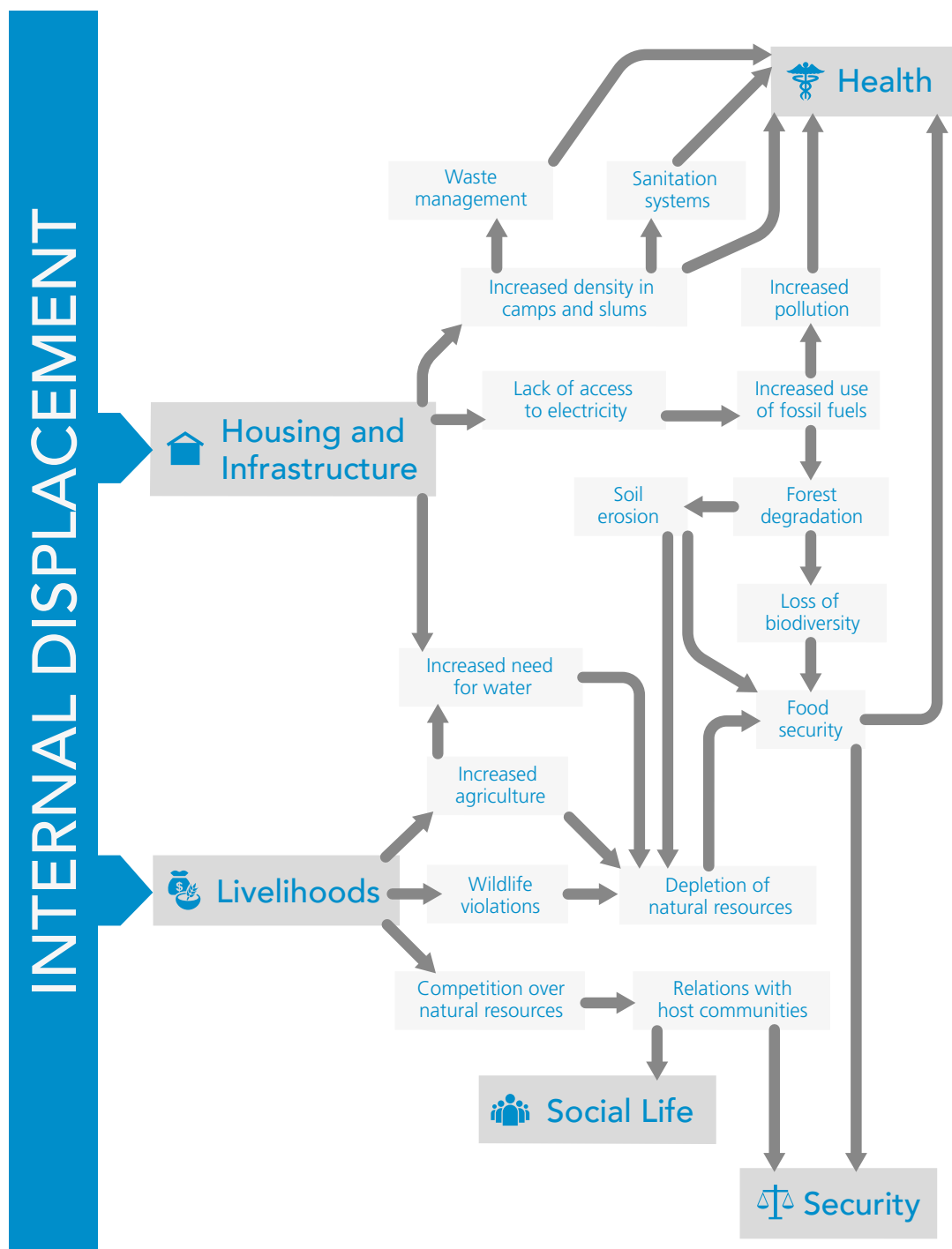
Using strategic response plans published by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), we estimate that the cost of ensuring the protection of people affected by internal displacement in Yemen, including specific actions for children and women, amounts to $20 a person. From 2015 to 2017, this equates to a total of $112 million, or 0.26 per cent of the country's GDP in 2014.

A comprehensive cost assessment should also look at the budget needed to set up mechanisms to issue documentation to displaced people, resolve the HLP claims of returnees and provide physical and mental healthcare to people affected by insecurity.

7
ENVIRONMENT
—

FIGURE 7: Selected links between internal displacement and the environment as highlighted in the literature

INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT

Health

Waste management

Sanitation systems

Increased density in camps and slums

Increased pollution

Housing and Infrastructure

Lack of access to electricity

Increased use of fossil fuels

Soil erosion

Forest degradation

Loss of biodiversity

Increased need for water

Food security

Increased agriculture

Livelihoods

Wildlife violations

Depletion of natural resources

Competition over natural resources

Relations with host communities

Social Life

Security

Mass population movements have visible effects on the environment as demand for natural resources increases in destination areas and decreases in areas of origin. Such effects have been documented for large inflows of refugees or international migrants, but much less so in the case of IDPs. Seven out of ten publications investigating the environmental impacts of population movements focus on cross-border flows, meaning the environmental impact of internal displacement remains a major knowledge gap.

Relationships have, however, been identified between IDPs' often poor housing conditions and the degradation of nearby natural resources. Large influxes may also lead to overexploitation and increased pollution, with ripple effects on health and food security. The loss of livelihoods also has indirect consequences, forcing people to engage in unsustainable income-generating activities that harm the environment and in turn reduce future livelihood opportunities. All of these issues may heighten tensions between displaced people and their hosts, affecting security and social life.

Figure 7 summarises some of these relationships as described in the literature for both cross-border and internal population movements. This chapter highlights some of the ways internal displacement's environmental impacts relate to housing and infrastructure, livelihood and security.

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The effects of a large, unplanned and mismanaged increase in population can have grave consequences for the environment. Those most frequently documented include soil erosion, forest degradation, loss of biodiversity, overexploitation of water resources and increased waste and pollution.

| OVEREXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The most often cited environmental impact of mass displacement is loss of forest coverage. Trees are felled to make way for shelters and other infrastructure, for construction timber and for use as fuel for cooking, heating and lighting.[240]

One study estimates that the world's displaced people burned the equivalent of 3.9 million tonnes of oil in 2014, mostly in the form of firewood and charcoal. It also estimates that those in camps use the equivalent of 26,000 hectares of forest a year to produce energy.[241] The construction of emergency shelters for IDPs in Haiti used up around five per cent of the country's forest cover.[242]

The overexploitation of water resources is also a significant issue. Wells in some parts of Afghanistan have dried up because humanitarian organisations were using more water than was available to meet IDPs' needs.[243]

| INCREASED WASTE AND POLLUTION

Population increases clearly mean more waste, and displacement camps rarely have adequate waste management systems in place. Humanitarian assistance for IDPs in Haiti included 2.6 million plastic water bottles and polystyrene food boxes that then required disposal.[244]

The lack of adequate water, sanitation and waste management infrastructure in makeshift settlements may also lead to air and water pollution in surrounding areas. Water pollution may result in diarrhoeal diseases, the reduction of fish stocks and a drop in agricultural production. Air pollution may irritate people's eyes and cause respiratory and lung diseases.

An analysis of water and air pollution levels in China between 2000 and 2013 shows that people moving from one province to another generates fluctuations linked not only to changes in population density, but also with the fact that migrants tend to work in polluting industries such as charcoal production.[245]

LIVELIHOODS

IDPs sometimes resort to negative coping strategies and unsustainable practices in an attempt to fulfil their livelihood needs. Faced with the urgency of replacing assets lost as a result of their displacement, they may overexploit natural resources such as wood, wildlife, minerals and agricultural land. Over time, this may result in soil erosion, desertification, a drop in agricultural production and the disappearance of flora and fauna, which in turn reduces their own longer-term livelihood prospects and those of their hosts.

UNSUSTAINABLE PRACTICES

Little evidence exists of the environmental impact of IDPs' livelihood practices, but publications that look at cross-border population movements offer some insight into what may happen in similar situations of internal displacement.

In low-income countries, wood is often sold directly or transformed into charcoal.[246] One report estimates that the arrival of Rwandan refugees in DRC resulted in thousands of hectares of forest being lost within weeks.[247] Another found that 92.5 per cent of Rohingya refugee households in Bandladesh were completely dependent on forests for their livelihoods. Eighty-five per cent were engaged in collecting wood for fuel, 22.5 per cent in illegal felling and 27.5 per cent in the collection of bamboo and cane.[248]

Refugees in Uganda earned money through sand mining, charcoal and brick making and tobacco curing, all of which degrade the environment.[249] The deterioration of economic conditions in Jordan associated with the mass influx of Syrian refugees led some host communities to engage in illegal wood cutting, grazing and hunting.[250] Wildlife populations around the Dadaab refugee camp have been reduced as animals have migrated because of disturbance and increased competition from livestock for food. They have also been hunted for their meat.[251]

IMPACTS ON HOST COMMUNITIES

Displaced people's unsustainable livelihood practices also affect host communities. The establishment of a refugee camp in northern Cameroon reduced grazing areas previously available to the local population.[252]

Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh have drastically reduced vegetation in the areas around their camps, including the Teknaf wildlife sanctuary, one of the few places where endangered Asian elephants can still be seen in the wild.[253] An area of forest equivalent to three to five football pitches is estimated to be felled each day in Cox's Bazar, limiting opportunities for local people who are highly dependant on forestry products to supplement their livelihoods.[254]

SECURITY

When large numbers of displaced people arrive in a place of refuge, they compete with local populations for natural resources including water, agricultural land and forests. In areas where resources are already scarce, this may lead to social tensions and sometimes violence. Overexploitation may also decrease food security and increase the risk of disasters.

COMPETITION FOR NATURAL RESOURCES

Few studies focus on the effect of competition for natural resources on relations between IDPs and their hosts, but here again publications that look at cross-border population movements offer some insight into potential areas of future research.

The majority of refugees and hosts in Djibouti believe the Ali Addeh camp has harmed the environment through pollution and the overexploitation of water and forest resources. Most local residents living near the Aysaita camp in Ethiopia also thought refugees had had an impact on the local environment, but their wood gathering was seem as positive because it primarily targeted an invasive species.[255]

Host communities near the Dagahaley camp in Darfur, Sudan, said refugees had begun hunting giraffes and were damaging traditional forests. Those near the Dadaab camp in Kenya blamed the new arrivals for disrupting a fragile ecosystem only suited for nomadic life to the detriment of local people.[256] Competition for firewood near Dadaab led to a court to order preventing UNHCR and other humanitarian organisations from collecting it to provide fuel for refugees.[257]

Tension arose in DRC between local communities and refugees living the Inke camp over the latter's allegedy illegal hunting, fishing and wood cutting.[258] Refugees' illegal exploitation of natural resources has also been documented as a cause of tension with hosts in Ghana.[259]

OTHER SECURITY THREATS

Several reports mention the increasing vulnerability to sexual violence of women and girls who venture outside their camps to collect wood or water, a domestic task they are often charged with. The further they have to walk, the greater the risks.

The overexploitation of forests around the Dadaab camps in Kenya has increased the distance over which

firewood is gathered from five to 70km in 20 years.[260] An analysis of satellite images of Darfur's displacement camps also reveals walks of up to 75km.[261] People living near the Minawao camp in Cameroon walk up to 18km, when in the past they only had to walk two or three.[262]

The environmental impacts of internal displacement may also heighten those of natural hazards. One study linked an intensification of seasonal floods around the Dadaab camps with the soil erosion caused by deforestation.[263] Another in the Horn of Africa linked soil erosion to the use of mud bricks to build shelters for refugees.[264]

The felling of trees and clearing of groundcover vegetation in Bangladesh by refugees from Myanmar has led to significant soil erosion that is likely to contribute to floods and landslides in the monsoon season and the risk of future displacement.[265] Deforestation linked to the construction of shelters for IDPs in Haiti may also have contributed to an increased risk of flooding and landslides.[266]

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

The environmental impacts of internal displacement are severely understudied. The costing of environmental impacts is also a niche area for which quantitative data is rarely available, and there are few analyses of the effects of dedicated policies and the consequences of mass population movements on natural resources in areas of origin.

| THE EFFECTS OF TARGETED POLICIES

One estimate of the impact of a 25 per cent increase in the local population on waste and water management facilities suggests the effects could range from catastrophic to beneficial depending on the level of response preparedness.[267]

To reduce the collection of firewood and overgrazing of land, agencies working in the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya introduced an exchange commodity programme in which refugees were given incentives such as energy-efficient stoves in return for environmentally friendly practices. The better a family's practices, the more efficient a stove they received. Around 29,000 stoves have been given out, with a possible average energy saving of 20 per cent for each family. The programme also led to the planting of 650,000 trees.[268]

Rwandan refugees ariving in Goma, DRC, in the 1990s posed a threat to the Virunga national park because of their reliance on firewood. An emphasis on modifying refugees' cooking techniques led to greater energy savings than the provision of improved stoves.[269]

| IMPACTS IN AREAS OF ORIGIN

Population movements associated with Syria's civil war led to a 47 per cent reduction in irrigated land and a 49 per cent fall in reservoir storage in the Yarmouk basin, a major sub-basin of the Jordan river. These changes resulted in 48 per cent of the 3.5-fold increase in the surface water flow to Jordan recorded from the 2006 to 2012 pre-migration period to the 2013 to 2015 post-migration period.[270]

Mass population movements out of areas of northern Ghana, particularly the Upper West and Upper East regions, led to a significant increase in vegetation cover.[271] These rare reports seem to point at an environmental improvement in areas of origin following massive displacement, but more evidence is needed to understand these impacts.

ACCOUNTING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

The cost of the environmental impacts of internal displacement to the economy has never been assessed and very little information is available with which to do so.

One study, however, estimated that the arrival of Syrian refugees in Lebanon will cost up to $2 billion to deal with increased emissions, $1.3 billion to respond to water demand and $200 million to manage extra waste.[272]

No such analysis has yet been applied to internal displacement situations, but a complete costing should also include assessments of lost income as a result of reduced productivity of agricultural land, pollution, the depletion of natural resources and wildlife, and reduced revenues from environmental tourism in regions where it is a significant activity.

8
SOCIAL LIFE

FIGURE 8: Selected links between internal displacement and social life as highlighted in the literature
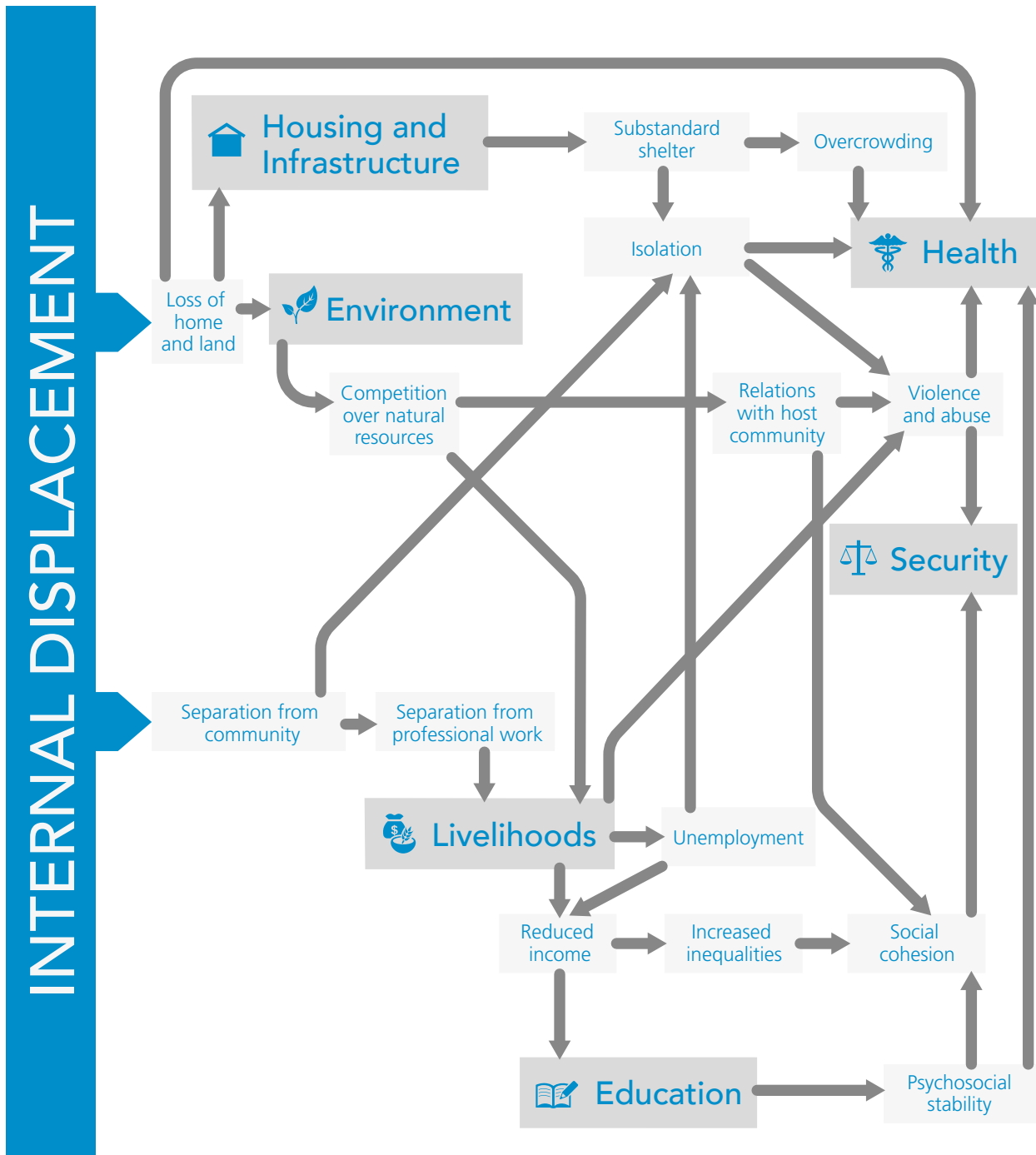
Internal displacement has a direct impact on social life by breaking up communities and sometimes even families. When it endures, it may permanently damage relationships that existed in areas of origin but also create new networks in the places that IDPs move to.

These relationships are important for stability, business and wellbeing. Their disruption may have repercussions for mental health, livelihood opportunities and security. Reduced access to education can also harm social life in the short and longer term, with ripple effects on livelihoods, mental health and security.

Figure 8 illustrates some of the most often documented links between these dimensions and the impacts of internal displacement on social life. These have never been assessed comprehensively, but the literature presents disconnected anecdotal evidence across all dimensions.

This chapter summarizes the main social impacts of internal displacement in relation to livelihood, health, housing and infrastructure.

LIVELIHOODS

One of the ways in which displacement disrupts social life is by separating those affected from their business colleagues, providers and consumers. IDPs tend to be left facing a temporary reduction in their professional activity and sometimes have to incur start-up costs to re-establish their livelihoods. The loss of livelihoods in turn affects social life by reinforcing income inequalities.

An internally displaced family in Robert Camp, Myanmar. Lashi Roi Ja, a widow, cannot do much work outside the camp, as she has to stay in the camp to take care of her youngest children. She has sleepless nights, worrying about her children's education, which she can only pay when she finds work in the fields and someone to look after her children. Photo: Ingrid Prestetun, March 2017

DISRUPTED PROFESSIONAL NETWORKS

Data from every part of the world consistently reveals higher unemployment among IDPs than the general population. The difference is particularly high in the first months following displacement, but in some cases the gap persists for years or even decades.[273] This has been linked in part to the disruption of social networks through which many workers, particularly those on low and middle incomes, find work opportunities.

One study in Colombia documented the social exclusion of displaced families in the city of Barranquilla and the dangerous activities they were forced to engage in to earn an income, including begging, prostitution and crime.[274] Similar links between IDPs' disrupted social networks and unemployment and poor or unsafe working conditions were found in DRC.[275]

GREATER INEQUALITIES

Livelihood consequences in terms of unemployment or reduced income affect different groups in different ways. This increases pre-existing disparities in IDPs' communities and may affect social cohesion.

Agricultural workers who flee to cities have particular difficulty in finding employment because their skills are not transferable to urban labour markets.[276] Poor people who relied heavily on social networks to find work and complement their low income are disproportionally affected by separation from their community, and often fall deeper into poverty.[277]

Women's livelihoods also tend to be badly affected by internal displacement. Displaced women suffer higher unemployment rates and are paid lower wages than displaced men, further widening gender inequalities.[278] One study showed that displaced women in Côte d'Ivoire who worked before displacement or maintained active social networks were more likely to find new employment than those already excluded from the labour market.[279] These anecdotal findings suggest that internal displacement contributes to polarising communities through its impact on livelihoods.

HEALTH

The social disruption internal displacement causes may affect the mental health of IDPs, their hosts and the people they leave behind in their communities of origin. Isolation or overcrowding in places of refuge may can cause or aggravate anxiety and depression. Physical health may also be affected because the disruption of social networks makes IDPs more vulnerable violence.

MENTAL HEALTH

Isolation is an aggravating factor for depression and other psychological disorders. A study in Nigeria found that unemployed or retired IDPs were three times more likely to suffer depression than those in work.[280] Education is a key factor in children's psychological stability. Interruptions and separation from their peers and teachers have the potential to cause distress.[281]

Overcrowding and lack of privacy in places of refuge may force IDPs into "mental prisons" and affect their psychological wellbeing, as highlighted by two studies in Myanmar.[282]

Tensions between IDPs and their hosts can also be a source of anxiety and stress. Displaced Iraqis reported fearing hate speech, discriminatory practices and physical assault.[283] Crimean Tatars displaced in Ukraine also said they had received insults from their host communities.[284]

PHYSICAL HEALTH

Physical health can also be affected by the social disruption internal displacement causes. Older people and those with disabilities often depend on their families and social networks for their livelihood and care. Without them, they may be unable to survive. They may also be left behind when the rest of the community leaves, particularly if they suffer from incapacities that would slow down their flight.[285]

Isolation from their families and communities puts IDPs at higher risk of violence and abuse. Gender separation in displacement camps in Nigeria is blamed for heightening the vulnerability of women and girls to sexual violence, because their male relatives are not there to protect them.[286]

HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Every housing solution available to IDPs in their places of refuge has its own impacts on social life. That said, whether they share a house with a host family or live in a displacement camp, they and their hosts will have to adapt to new social structures, share resources and cope with potential tensions that may arise.

LIVING WITH HOSTS

Host communities' social cohesion may be severely affected by the arrival of large numbers of IDPs, especially if their stay becomes protracted. Anecdotal studies point to a decrease in the support IDPs receive from their hosts over time.[287] In DRC, where the average hosting period is six months, 20 per cent of both host and displaced families report occasional tensions.[288]

The aid available to displaced households may also be a source of tensions because their hosts feel they should receive assistance too, as observed in South Sudan and Colombia.[289]

Surveys from various countries report an increase in host communities' perception of insecurity following the arrival of IDPs. In DRC they were blamed for instability and violence, and in Colombia for a rise in criminality.[290]

Overall, however, displaced people feel welcomed in their places of refuge and overwhelmingly prefer to live with hosts than in camps, as reported by IDPs in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria and Ukraine.[291]

LIVING IN CAMPS

Displacement camps disrupt social life by putting people in an unfamiliar environment in close proximity with large numbers of strangers. Even families may be separated if camps have different quarters for men and women.[292] Camps tend to house mainly women, children, older and ill people and those with disabilities, who are unable to move elsewhere to secure a livelihood as many able-bodied men do.

IDPs' relationships with communities living in the vicinity of large camps are distinct from those with hosts in non-camp settings, and mutually beneficial commercial links may be established between the two.[293]

That said, tensions linked to the overexploitation of natural resources by camp residents are often reported.[294] Camps are generally set up in sparsely populated areas and the arrival of large numbers of people disturbs the equilibrium local populations have with their environment.

KNOWLEDGE GAPS

The impacts of internal displacement on social life are a largely understudied. Most discussed are drawn from publications that focus on other topics, mainly livelihoods, mental health and security. Only a couple of dedicated reports were found, despite the fact that the disruption of social life is central to all other dimensions and its repercussions are varied and numerous.

Amongst the most glaring knowledge gaps are the effects of people's departure on communities of origin. The specific consequences for groups most dependent on social networks, including women, children, older people, those with disabilities or chronic diseases and people from ethnic, cultural, linguistic or sexual minorities, also require more research.

ACCOUNTING FOR SOCIAL LIFE IMPACTS

Costing social impacts is a challenging endeavour in itself, and it has never been done in internal displacement situations. To do so will require the development of new methodologies and the collection of original data.

Key elements of such an analysis should include the transport and communication costs of maintaining relationships with relatives and others, the costs associated with the development of new business networks and estimates of lost income caused by the disruption of social networks and its broader impacts.

9
CONCLUSION
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Internal displacement has many impacts on the lives of IDPs, their hosts and the communities they leave behind. Consequences are felt in the dimensions of health, livelihoods, education, housing and infrastructure, security, the environment and social life. Aside from their number and range, the close and complex links between them and their mutually reinforcing effects are striking.
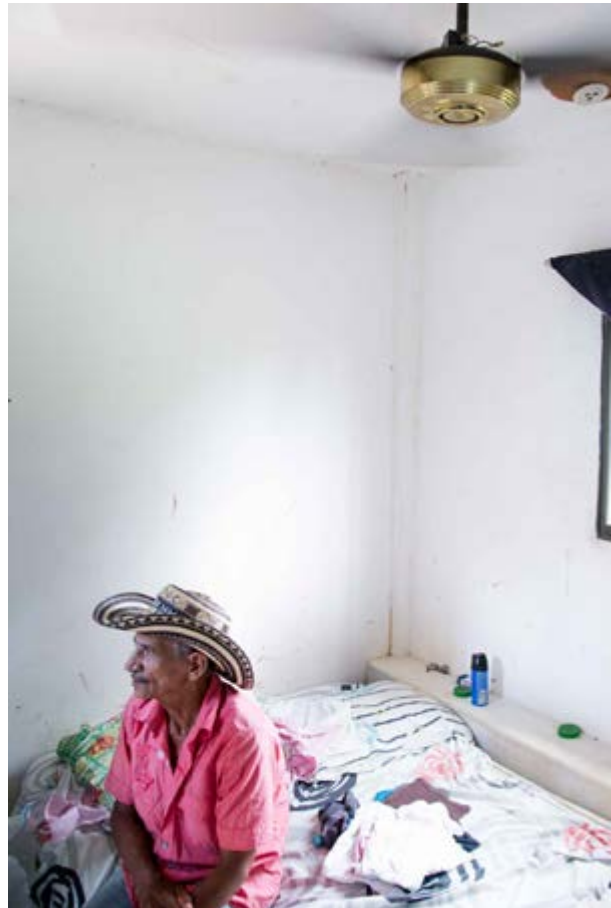
The deterioration in people's health that often accompanies internal displacement may be the result of poor housing conditions or environmental factors, and may affect security and livelihood opportunities. The loss of their livelihoods may reduce households' ability to access housing and infrastructure, healthcare and education.

Disrupted or interrupted education may affect children's psychological health, social life and future livelihoods, while their families' housing conditions and access to infrastructure depend closely on their livelihoods and are linked to their health and security.

Security in turn may affect mental and physical health and is connected with social relations between IDPs and their hosts. Tensions arise when competition over natural resources is high and IDPs' presence and activities degrade the local environment, with further repercussions for health, livelihoods and security.

Uncovering the hidden costs of internal displacement as we aim to do will require new tools to assess all of these impacts comprehensively. As we highlighted in this report, substantial knowledge gaps remain in each dimension, especially in terms of understanding how displacement affects systems and measuring these effects quantitatively.

Our preliminary work on ten sample countries points to the highly significant burden major displacement crises place on national economies. Partial assessments already amount to between one and ten per cent of the affected countries' pre-crisis GDP.

The day that Julian flew away from his home in north-west Colombia, he could only take a few savings with him. After more than two months his money has run out and, together with his wife, they survive the displacement thanks to humanitarian aid. They only hope that their town will be safe again, to return home. Photo: NRC/Daniel Sánchez, February 2018

This report demonstrates not only the importance of assessing the economic impacts of internal displacement comprehensively, but also the need for inclusive solutions that address all aspects of the phenomenon simultaneously. Without holistic approaches, the causes of internal displacement and the risks and vulnerabilities it entails will endure.

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