

1. Incremental housing

Description

Rental support grants have widely been used to assist urban IDPs and refugees, and they are an important way of addressing immediate housing needs, but the deeper problem often lies in a shortage of affordable housing stock for rent. Urban densification is a quick way to make more accommodation available, and it stimulates the housing market. It either involves the vertical expansion of existing housing units or urban in-fill, building on vacant plots in the city. Subdivision, in which a house is split into two or more units, also helps to increase stock.

The floor area ratio (FAR) or plot ratio¹ determines how many floors can be built on a particular piece of land, along with regulations on density such as the number of units per building and minimum space per person. For city officials, increasing FAR facilitates vertical expansion and allows homeowners to add value. Owners tend to upgrade their homes incrementally over time as their income and needs increase. Incremental housing - or sites and services - projects, which provide land or a basic house and expect recipients to upgrade them over time, tend not to take into account the FAR concept, however, the latter shares the same underlying principles of anticipating and supporting future incremental upgrades.

When IDPs or refugees arrive in urban areas, the increased demand for housing may be temporary if they later return to their places of origin, decide to locally integrate or settle elsewhere but in many cases their displacement becomes protracted. Given that urban governance and infrastructure need to be able to absorb rapid population influxes and outflows, it is important to create flexible tools that make new housing stock available relatively quickly, and which will still be viable and put to other use if the displaced population moves on.

New housing should be built so that it also benefits host communities. It should be appropriate and affordable to them should the displaced population leave the area.² They should also be supported in adding or finishing a new floor to their home, which increases its value and makes more property available for rent. This in turn helps ease tensions between host families and IDPs. In return for the support they receive, they agree to lease out the extra units at no cost to displaced families for a fixed period of time.

Such an approach would mean that the money spent on assisting families with rental support grants would instead be invested to increase the stock of housing for rent. Stimulating local housing markets through cash-based assistance has an economic multiplier effect, as does the construction it involves. Building or upgrading property creates local jobs and demand for materials and contractors' services.

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has been experimenting with a new integrated urban housing programme. It aims to drive urban densification with the construction of multi-story buildings that benefit both urban refugees and host families. In addition to providing grants or loans to homeowners, NRC also provides legal assistance, counselling and arbitration between landlords and leaseholders. Strengthening the relationship between landlords and leaseholders through written lease agreements and dispute resolution mechanisms forms a significant part of NRC's strategy to defuse tensions and improve social cohesion between host communities and refugees.

NRC's initiative targets urban refugees rather than IDPs, and focuses on temporary rather than permanent housing, but it demonstrates the way in which humanitarians are evolving their practices and innovating in urban areas. Urban refugees and urban IDPs also face many similar challenges, though their differing legal status has implications in some areas. Refugees, for example, often face additional barriers in terms of obtaining work and residency permits. The Syrian refugees in the case study do not have the legal right to work in Jordan, which means they may resort to a range of negative coping mechanisms, such as the rapid depletion of their savings, selling their valuables, foregoing expenditure on basic needs and going into debt in order to pay for their housing. IDPs may not face the same legal obstacles, but they are still often vulnerable to discrimination in terms of employment and housing.

Case study: Integrated urban housing programme (NRC, Jordan)

Snapshot	
Practice	Integrated urban shelter programme (2013)
Main actors	Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) Irbid, Ajloun and Jerash municipalities Private building owners
Context	Syrians displaced by conflict to urban and peri-urban areas in Jordan Vulnerable Syrian refugee households outside camps live in substandard and overcrowded shelters without tenure security Lack of adequate and affordable rental housing stock to accommodate increased demand during the refugee crisis. Increased risk of tensions between Jordanian households and their Syrian refugee counterparts over competition for housing, inflation of rents, access to services and employment Thirty per cent of houses in peri-urban areas left unfinished until additional space is required (marriage, birth) or resources are available
Target group(s)	Syrian refugee households: more than 12,000 Syrian refugees in Irbid have benefited from around 4,000 new rental housing units, fulfilling 11 per cent of Syrian refugees' estimated housing needs in the governorate; 990 Jordanian property-owning host families have also been assisted.
Summary	The practice aims to increase the availability of rental housing stock in response to the shortage created by the influx of Syrian refugees to Jordanian cities. Owners of unfinished buildings are given grants to complete the work or add extra floors or rooms. The new units are provided rent-free to Syrian refugees for between 12 to 24 months. The greater NRC's investment, the longer the rent-free period. NRC identifies tenants based on vulnerability criteria such as female-headed households, people with disabilities, households with more than ten members or with infants, homeless people, families or individuals with severe financial issues and those at risk of forced eviction or living in overcrowded and inadequate housing. The NRC legal counselling programme provides lease agreements according to Jordanian legislation to the beneficiaries of the shelter assistance (owners and tenants) to protect tenure security. In case of disputes, legal assistance is available and facilitates access to remedies, information and legal support



NRC engineers assess construction works for Syrian urban refugees in Jordan. Photo: NRC Jordan/Rawan Baybars, March 2014

Strengths (Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from the matrix appear in bold)	This practice is an innovative approach that adds new rental units quickly to existing housing stock to the benefit of both refugees and host communities. It focuses on the needs of vulnerable individuals, families and groups of urban refugees. It ensures that refugee households can enter into rental agreements for between 12 and 24 months, strengthening their tenure security . It ensures affordability for the duration of tenure, because refugee households do not have to pay rent. It ensures that the additional housing units are built according to habitability guidelines, including access to water, electricity, structural integrity and freedom from leaks. The refugees are likely to have better access to local markets, goods and services and have their overall location needs met, because they live in established neighbourhoods. The practice emphasises cultural adequacy by working with Jordanian landlords and helping them to build new housing units for a growing family or for entrepreneurial reasons. The lease agreements provided by NRC's legal counselling programme contribute to tenure security and facilitates access to remedies . It also helps to foster positive relationships and understanding between the landlords and their refugee tenants through outreach and mediation if required. The practice provides many livelihood benefits to those in the local construction industry by increasing demand for materials, labour and contractors. Instead of paying rental support grants to refugees, the practice funds homeowners to help them upgrade their homes in return for housing refugees rent-free. This is an innovative financial model that shifts emphasis from funding refugees to funding host communities. The practice provides a temporary solution for refugees who expect to return or resettle elsewhere and an opportunity to stabilise their socio-economic situation. Those who choose to integrate locally will still benefit from the additional rental housing stock. The approach can be adapted and replicated. In terms of knowledge transfer , NRC's guidelines for the practice informed the IASC shelter sector working group in Jordan in drafting its own Guidelines for the Upgrading of Substandard Housing Units and Increasing Housing Units in Unfinished Buildings. Another NGO initiated a similar programme and several agencies have signed memorandums of understanding with NRC for its ICLA services.
Key challenge(s)	Though innovative and successful at its scale, the practice is unable to address the enormous deficit of affordable housing in Jordan. It has the potential to be scaled up, but in its present form it is a resource intensive project to put adequate shelter on the market that targets the most vulnerable Syrian refugees and supports landlord-tenant relationships. This means that the programme may require significant redesign to make it cost-effective at a larger scale. The programme's success is based on oversight and mediation between landlords and their refugee tenants. Sometimes one side or the other violates their tenancy agreement, and continuous education and conflict resolution are required to ensure that refugees are not displaced as a result. Despite the extra housing units, utilities are often shared between the landlords and their tenants, which can be a source of conflict. It is unclear what happens to tenant families once their rent-free agreement expires, whether it can be extended, a new one negotiated or they have to move on. The practice may not fully take refugees' need for flexibility as well as tenure security into account. The implications of refugee tenants deciding to move out before the end of their agreement – whether to be reunited with other family members, return to their places of origin or access livelihood opportunities in other areas – are unclear.
Factors for potential replicability	Existence of partially finished buildings or other structures that could be upgraded to create additional housing units A functioning construction industry Ongoing displacement crisis in which demand rises and falls in unpredictable ways.

Overview

The ongoing conflict in Syria has driven more than 3.3 million Syrians to seek refuge in neighbouring countries since 2011, primarily Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. According to UNHCR, the average monthly registration rate is in excess of 100,000. As of January 2015, there were 622,384 registered Syrian refugees in Jordan,³ the equivalent of 10 per cent of the latter's population. The vast majority, 84 per cent, live outside the official Zaatari and Azraq camps.⁴ Of them, around half live in substandard conditions in poor quality or temporary structures. The inter-agency shelter response plan for Syrian refugees highlights serious overcrowding, with as many as 20 people sharing two rooms.⁵

The refugees spend an average of 58 per cent of their monthly income on rent. They pay between 100 and 250 Jordanian dinars (\$140 and \$350) a month, and rental prices rose by 25 per cent between 2012 and 2013.⁶ Given the difficulties they face in obtaining work permits, some households have resorted to negative coping strategies, including taking children out of school to work, early arranged marriages and survival sex.⁷ Some have depleted savings set aside for dowries and wedding costs.⁸ Focus group discussions conducted by the REACH Initiative revealed that both Syrian and Jordanian respondents had also sold valuables and aid vouchers, worked for low pay and gone into debt in their efforts to meet their rising housing costs.⁹ Debt often takes the form of unpaid rent to landlords.

The governorates most affected are Irbid with 132,000 refugees, Mafraq with 95,000 and Zarqa with 51,000, and the increased demand for affordable and adequate housing affects both peri-urban and urban areas. In May 2014, the Jordanian government estimated that 120,000 new units were needed nationwide to meet it.¹⁰ Between 2004 and 2011, the country built an average of 28,600 new units a year against demand for 32,000. There was, however, an oversupply of middle and upper-range units, of which around 18 per cent remained unoccupied.¹¹

There are concerns about increased tensions between refugees and their host communities, given that they are competing for decent rental property and livelihoods opportunities.¹² A REACH assessment of 160 communities found that 83 per cent of Jordanians and 77 per cent of Syrian refugees identified housing as the main cause of tension between them.¹³

The influx of refugees has also led to overcrowding in schools and placed added strain on healthcare facilities. Tensions could be made worse by the fact that some humanitarian agencies have been disbursing rental support grants, which when coupled with increased demand can have an inflationary effect¹⁴ on the housing market.

Many households do not enter into legal rental agreements, leaving them without tenure security and at risk of eviction and multiple displacement.¹⁵ Non-payment, overcrowding and rising rental costs only add to the risk. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) reports that almost half of the refugee families assessed in urban areas have been forced to move three or more times in the last year in search of secure and adequate shelter. Ten per cent said they were under imminent threat of eviction.¹⁶ When refugees move between governorates or districts, they have to update their government-issued identity documents to maintain their legal status and access services.

Programme design

There are currently five types of humanitarian shelter response programmes in Jordan.¹⁷ There are projects to upgrade refugees' existing housing in line with Sphere Project standards;¹⁸ to disburse rental support grants to provide "adaptation kits" that shore up existing housing against winter conditions; to empower refugees and vulnerable families by raising awareness about tenure and housing rights under Jordanian tenancy law; and to complete the construction of unfinished buildings and adapt others to create additional housing units.

NRC has taken the latter approach. Other interventions improve the adequacy of existing stock, but NRC's integrated urban shelter programme is innovative because it adds new rental stock and in so doing provides tangible support to host communities while meeting vulnerable Syrian refugees' immediate shelter needs.

The organisation launched a pilot of its programme in Irbid in July 2013.¹⁹ In coordination with community-based organisations and municipal and regional government departments, it worked directly with Jordanian property owners to encourage them to finish their part-built homes by adding units or additional floors. The approach not only helps to address the large gap between the supply and demand for affordable rental housing units in the province. It also promotes an alternative model of rental support that moves away from basic cash-for-rent programmes.

Selection criteria and programme conditions

Jordanian families often leave floors of their homes unfinished until extra space is needed, for example after the marriage of a son. For others the cost of finishing their buildings is prohibitive and loans are not easily accessible. NRC found that around a third of private property in peri-urban areas was unfinished, and approached property owners to see whether they would be interested in receiving funds to complete their buildings in return for offering the extra space rent-free for a fixed period of time.

The organisation offers financial incentives and technical support to Jordanian property owners to bring new

rental housing units onto the market, and at the same time provides vulnerable Syrian refugee families with rent-free accommodation for between 12 and 18 months. The amount of funding the property owners receive depends on the number of units they are willing to add and length of time they are prepared to offer them rent-free (see Table 1).

Table 1: NRC's financial investment model

	12-month rent-free period	18-month rent-free period
1 housing unit	1,000 dinars (\$1,400)	1,400 dinars
2 housing units	2,000 dinars	2,800 dinars
3 housing units	3,000 dinars	4,200 dinars
4 housing units	4,000 dinars	5,600 dinars

Property owners are chosen for the programme after a team of national NRC engineers checks the properties in question to ensure they comply with its building standards and are suitable for upgrade, and that the owners have the appropriate planning permission. Suitability is determined using Sphere standards related to water, electricity, sanitation, ventilation, access to basic services, access to markets and protection from the elements. Minimum living space is 3.5 square metres per person, excluding kitchen and bathroom.

The organisation has also assessed more than 38,000 Syrian refugees in northern Jordan. It found more than 16,000 to be extremely vulnerable and prioritised them for its programme against standard vulnerability criteria including household size and composition, risk of eviction and current shelter conditions.

Information, counselling and legal assistance

Jordanian landlords and Syrian refugee families sign standard tenancy agreements in line with Jordanian law and are helped to understand their legal rights and obligations. Tenants receive an initial cash grant of 100 dinars (\$140) a month after moving in to help them with relocation and setting-up costs. NRC outreach teams monitor implementation of the lease agreements from start to finish and help to resolve any problems that arise. The refugees are also given information about support available to them through other organisations in an effort to improve their access services and assistance.

NRC stipulates the need for a clear rental document recognised in a Jordanian court of law and which protects from arbitrary eviction and actions by either party that contravene the agreement. Under Jordan's 1994 landlords and tenants law, any person - including a refugee - can

legally enter into a contract and are both protected by and subject to its stipulations.

Dispute resolution that focuses on strengthening landlord-tenant relationships is an important component of the programme. Some refugee households contravene their rental agreements by overstaying or bringing in adding additional family members, and this can lead to harassment and even eviction. NRC's information, counselling and legal assistance (ICLA) team conducts **eviction monitoring** through follow-up phone calls and house visits to address the concerns of both parties. Its work helps to strengthen tenants' tenure security and is a vital factor in the overall success of the programme.

Programme expansion

After positive feedback from the pilot project, NRC decided to scale up and expand the programme into Jerash, Irbid and Aljoun. Its staff met the leaders of both governorates, and used a smartphone app to conduct a profiling exercise among 3,864 refugee families in May 2014. Such an undertaking is vital before scaling up a project and expanding into new areas. Political, living and social conditions may be very different, and rental costs may vary, with implications for the cost of programme. Elements need to be adapted and evolved based on lessons learned from the pilot, and standards and guidelines revised. Housing market conditions can change rapidly and the programme must keep up with emerging trends in supply, demand and cost.

Table 2: Results of profiling exercise in Jerash and Aljoun, Jordan²⁰

Female-headed households	24 per cent
Living in Jerash because of proximity to family	80 per cent
Living in Aljoun because of proximity to family	61 per cent
Living in Jerash because of low rent	13 per cent
Living in Aljoun because of low rent	28 per cent
Houses with mould or damp issues	47 per cent
Lack of basic protection from elements	18 per cent
Major kitchen and bathroom repairs required to meet minimum standards	21 per cent
Major water availability or quality issues	11 per cent
Property owners interested in NRC programme	76 per cent
Those interested because of insufficient funds to finish their properties	58 per cent
Those interested in helping Syrian refugees	42 per cent
Average expenditure on rent	300-600 dinars

Impact

“At least, with this project, for every Syrian family that has been assisted, there is a Jordanian family that has been supported.”²¹

By the end of 2014, NRC had supported more than 990 property owners to bring 3,564 housing units onto the market, with a further 484 under construction. The new units provide secure shelter to more than 12,000 Syrian refugees, meeting around 11 per cent of their estimated housing needs in Irbid. More than 7,100 Syrian refugees who meet the vulnerability criteria to become beneficiaries are currently on the programme's waiting list.

By investing nearly \$10 million in the local economy, NRC has created a win-win situation for the both Jordanian host community and Syrian refugees. Investment in housing has an economic multiplier effect, with upstream linkages to construction materials and companies and downstream linkages that create new employment opportunities in the sector. In Irbid, which at 21 per cent has second highest unemployment rate of the country's governorates, it has meant work for around 17,000 construction workers. Landlords estimate that NRC's support meant they were able to finish the construction of their property on average 1.8 years earlier than planned.

Transfer of knowledge

In March 2014, NRC's housing, land and property (HLP) division published a guide based on its experiences in Irbid,²² intended both to support its own programme and provide advice to others on protecting both Jordanian landlords' and Syrian refugees' HLP rights. IASC's shelter sector working group in Jordan used NRC's document to draft its own guidelines.²³

NRC's programme is now a component of the Syria regional response plan for shelter for 2014 to 2015, and could be implemented in other countries. The international NGO Medair has already begun a similar initiative, and UNHCR, IOM, CARE international and Handicap International have all signed memorandums of understanding for referrals.

NRC has set an innovative precedent and created a useful instrument for transferring its knowledge about the current HLP regime in Jordan not only other NGOs and agencies, but also to community-based organisations and housing advocacy groups. It could also be used to shape Jordan's national response to its urban development challenges, which have been complicated by the Syrian refugee crisis.

Challenges

NRC's programme is innovative and successful at its scale, but it cannot address the huge deficit of affordable housing in Jordan. It has the potential to be scaled up, but in its current form is a resource intensive project that puts adequate shelter on the market, targets the most vulnerable Syrian refugees and follows up the landlord-tenant relationship throughout the tenancy period. This oversight and mediation is the cornerstone of the programme's success.

Despite the addition of extra housing units, utilities are often shared between landlord and tenants, which can be a source of tension.

Conclusion

The 4,000 housing units created represent only a fraction of the estimated 120,000 that Jordan needs, and the expansion and scaling up of the programme is a step in the right direction. Humanitarian interventions cannot, after all, be expected to plug large-scale structural gaps in the national housing sector.

Notes

1. FAR is the ratio of a building's total floor area to the plot area. If FAR is more than one, it indicates a multi-story building
2. In the early 2000s, cash-rich middle and upper-income Iraqi refugees in Syria and Amman were blamed for rapid inflation in the housing market because they were willing to pay in cash and purchased or built homes quickly. Some Jordanian and Syrian citizens also complained of discrimination by estate agents, who favoured the refugees as clients. When the refugees moved on, however, their houses were not deemed appropriate for the local market. See Patricia Weiss Fagen, *Iraqi Refugees: Seeking Stability in Syria and Jordan*, Institute for the Study of International Migration and Centre for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University, 2007. Also see Rhonda Roumani, *Iraqi Refugees Spur Housing Boom*, *Christian Science Monitor*, 22 July 2005, <http://goo.gl/qSZq4m>
3. UNHCR, *Syria Refugee Regional Response*, last accessed 8 January 2015
4. NRC, Fact Sheet: Integrated Urban Shelter Programme, August 2014
5. UNHCR, *Syria Regional Response Plan: Shelter*, 2014
6. UNHCR/IRD, *Syrian Refugees Living Outside Camps in Jordan – Home Visit Data Findings*, 2013
7. *Ibid*, p.21
8. Government of Jordan, *National Resilience Plan 2014 – 2016*, 29 May 2014
9. REACH, *Housing and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees: Thematic Assessment*, June 2014, p.12
10. Government of Jordan, *National Resilience Plan 2014 – 2016*, 29 May 2014
11. *Ibid*, p.33
12. REACH, *Housing and Tensions in Jordanian Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees: Thematic Assessment*, June 2014
13. *Ibid*, p.2
14. In Haiti, a keep-the-change policy was implemented when disbursing rental support grants in order to mitigate their inflationary effects. Recipients were encouraged to negotiate lower rents with their landlords and could keep the amount they saved by doing so.
15. NRC Jordan, *NRC Shelter Project: Potential Expansion: Jerash & Ajloun*, April 2014
16. NRC Jordan, *Urban Shelter Outreach Analysis*, November 2014
17. UNHCR, *Syria Regional Response Plan: Shelter*, 2014, p.26-27
18. IASC shelter sector working group in Jordan's *Guidelines for the Upgrading of Substandard Housing Units & Increasing Housing Units in Unfinished Buildings*, 2014
19. NRC, Fact Sheet: Integrated Urban Shelter Programme, August 2014
20. NRC Jordan, *Shelter Project: Potential Expansion: Jerash & Ajloun*, April 2014
21. *Jordan Times*, [Out-of-the-box housing solution helps both Syrian refugees and Jordanian hosts](#), 10 July 2014
22. NRC, *A Guide to Regulations governing Upgrading and Construction of Residential Properties in Irbid: Facilitating Improved Housing Responses for Syrian Refugees*, March 2014
23. IASC, *Guidelines for the Upgrading of Substandard Housing Units & Increasing Housing Units in Unfinished Buildings*, 2013

2. Housing purchase certificates

Description

Housing vouchers are subsidies that may be used to help with rent and homeowners' costs, or to buy a dwelling. If the latter, they are also sometimes referred to as housing purchase certificates, and may cover the full price of a home or a down payment on it. Beneficiaries are free to choose their dwellings on the open housing market in accordance with the terms of their purchase certificate, which is backed by funds at a credible financial institution. They become the owner of the dwelling once the transaction has closed.

Governments and international organisations have offered housing purchase certificates to IDPs living in protracted displacement in temporary shelters as a means of closing the shelters and providing them with long-term housing. In cases where IDPs have been sheltering in schools or other public buildings, such programmes also free up important community assets. Beneficiaries are given agency in choosing where they want to live, helping to facilitate their local integration.

As certificates and vouchers are specifically tied to housing, they ensure that beneficiaries use the funds for the intended purpose. A common concern is that housing purchase certificates will drive up property prices unless there is an adequate supply of housing on the market. A pilot programme can help to read the market's ability to satisfy the housing demand it creates, and the responsiveness of buyers and sellers to the resulting prices. A pilot also helps to establish a positive impression of a programme before it is rolled out.

Case study 1: Housing purchase certificates in post-earthquake recovery programme (Armenia)

Overview

The 1988 earthquake in the Spitak region of northern Armenia internally displaced around 500,000 people. Thousands of families whose public housing was destroyed were given homes in new residential apartment buildings in development areas outside city centres between 1989 and 1991. During the initial recovery period, very few damaged but salvageable residential buildings were reinforced and renovated. Families displaced from them, however, were passed over for new housing on the basis that they would eventually be returned to their original homes.

Instead most were given temporary shelter in converted shipping containers known as *domiks*,¹ where they ended up living throughout the 1990s. The containers had mains for electricity, but not all had indoor plumbing. Neither were they insulated, making them unbearably hot in the summer and cold in the winter. They were also vulnerable to vermin and leaks.

The upheaval following Armenia's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 thwarted efforts to recover from the earthquake. Until 1998, successive administrations maintained a supply-side approach to shelter recovery, continuing the development of large new regions that had started under the Soviet plan. The government did not, however, have the resources to implement the plan and the country also had to absorb a huge influx of refugees from Azerbaijan. By 1998, the entire earthquake zone recovery effort had stalled and most of those housed in *domiks* were still living there.

There was also large-scale emigration from the country following independence, which left a significant amount of housing stock vacant or underused. This combined with the mass privatisation of state housing that took place between 1993 and 1998 created a favourable environment for housing redistribution. Those who became property-rich as a result of privatisation but were cash-poor could realise their wealth by selling their homes.

Programme design

The Urban Institute led the implementation of a housing purchase certificate programme funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID). It ran a pilot in Gyumri in 1999, and rolled out the main programme from July 2001 to April 2005. It aimed both to provide permanent accommodation for households still living in temporary shelters, and to promote urban recovery by removing *domiks* from prime land. The programme was part of a larger earthquake recovery initiative that also provided grants for the renovation of urban and rural housing.

The programme ran in ten towns and cities - Akhuryan, Amasia, Aparan, Gugark, Gyumri, Jajur Station, Maralik, Stepanavan, Spitak and Vanadzor - chosen for their urban development potential and concentration of *domiks*. Beneficiaries received certificates which they could use to buy housing on the open property market, and in return they were obliged to hand over their temporary shelters for disposal or dispose of them themselves, freeing up land for redevelopment.

Snapshot	
Practice	Housing purchase certificates, Armenian earthquake zone recovery programme (1999 and 2001 to 2005)
Main actors	The Urban Institute ² Banks Real Estate agents Central government and local authorities NGOs
Context	Earthquake aftermath with significant urban destruction IDPs living in inadequate temporary shelter for prolonged periods Transition from socialist to market-based economy Significant emigration contributing to increased housing supply
Target group(s)	Displaced families living in temporary shelters and private accommodation on compensation waiting lists
Summary	The 1988 earthquake in the Spitak region of Armenia displaced more than 500,000 people. Residents of damaged homes were to have them rebuilt, but this never happened and they ended up living long-term in inadequate temporary shelters. The housing purchase certificate programme ran in ten towns and cities chosen for the concentration of IDPs in the area and their urban development potential. Beneficiaries were given certificates based on the size of their families, which they could use to buy housing on the open property market on the condition that programme staff inspected their chosen dwelling before the transaction was finalised. Temporary shelters were then closed and urban space recovered and redeveloped using a participatory urban planning approach. Public outreach helped to ensure that both buyers and sellers accepted the programme, and numerous measures were taken to maximise the redemption of the certificates.
Strengths (Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)	Beneficiaries were relocated from insalubrious temporary shelters, mostly modified shipping containers known as <i>domiks</i> , to habitable permanent dwellings with tenure security , for the most part in familiar locations within their current communities. IDPs participated in deciding where they would live. More than 4,000 <i>domiks</i> were disposed of, freeing up space for urban redevelopment and local use. The practice focussed on the existing surplus of vacant and under-used housing stock rather than building new homes.
Key challenge(s)	Many of the people who wanted to sell their housing units to those with certificates were unable to obtain the necessary documents from the cadastral survey because they had modified their homes without official permission. Many people held Soviet passports that needed to be replaced with Armenian ones, while others required power-of-attorney from relatives abroad before the head of the household could sign their agreement with the city. This caused delays in compiling beneficiary lists. The lack of accurate house price data and rudimentary estate agent services made it difficult to set certificate values. High-quality new buildings for IDPs competed with the certificate programme and delayed its implementation because recipients waited first to see if they would be allocated space in the new developments.
Factors for potential replicability	Well-developed banking and land registry system Preference for private home ownership Sufficient supply of housing in a competitive and accessible property market

Beneficiaries in Akhuryan, Amasia, Gyumri, Jajur Station and Maralik were free to use their certificate anywhere in Shirak province, and those in Aparan, Gugark, Spitak, Stepanavan and Vanadzor in Lori province. Certificate values depended on family size, which in turn determined the number of rooms needed (see Table 1).

Table 1: Certificate values

	Shirak	Lori
1-room	\$2,014	\$1,300
2-room	\$2,906	\$1,900
3-room	\$3,620	\$2,510
4-room	\$4,376	\$3,400
5-room	\$4,880	\$4,150

If the dwelling purchased cost less than the certificate value, beneficiaries were paid the difference in cash by the bank in an effort to stimulate interest and help stabilise property prices. They were also entitled to buy a dwelling worth more than the certificate value by adding their own funds. All purchases were conditional on programme staff inspecting the chosen dwelling before the transaction was finalised. In return beneficiaries were given 30 days from receipt of their title deeds to vacate their *domiks* and a further 15 days to dispose of them. They were also barred from selling their new property for two years. The city agreed to remove one *domik* for each family that bought their own home.

Public outreach helped to ensure seller and buyer acceptance of the programme, which was vital to its success. Initiatives included a weekly television programme that aired for 40 weeks, public service announcements, posters, hand-outs, direct mail, newspaper adverts and press conferences. Outreach workers also conducted neighbourhood meetings to introduce the programme and to solicit community support, and individual interviews with potential beneficiaries to review their documentation. Those found not to be eligible were informed of the reasons in writing.

Beneficiary selection evolved during the course of the project. People who lost housing as a result of the earthquake and living in *domiks* were first eligible to apply. However, in some areas, such as Vanadzor, the majority of households living in *domiks* had not been displaced by the earthquake and as such were not eligible for the programme. Thereafter urban households who had been displaced by the earthquake, had not been compensated and were not living in *domiks* were included as beneficiaries. The government's waiting list for earthquake compensation was used for beneficiary selection.

A number of measures were undertaken to maximise the redemption of certificates. The public outreach programme was put in place; beneficiaries were informed about their various housing compensation options; upward adjustments of certificate values were made; beneficiaries were helped in their house hunting and encouraged to look beyond their home areas; and supplemental mortgages were made available through local banks. Restrictions on the type of housing that could be purchased were lifted and sellers were helped with the privatisation process so that they could go ahead with the sale of their property.

Impact

Certificate holders in all ten towns and cities included in the programme were able to purchase homes. The overall rate of certificate redemption was 78 per cent, and in excess of 90 per cent in all locations except Gyumri and Akhuryan. In Shirak province, 6,104 certificates were issued and 4,575 redeemed, and in Lori province 1,448 were issued and 1,322 redeemed.

Ninety-five per cent of the certificates issued during the pilot programme were also redeemed, to the benefit of 302 families. The overall programme also benefitted 909 households who had not been living in *domiks*. Most beneficiaries bought property in the areas where they had previously been living. Those who sold property as part of the programme tended to do so for the cash, and around half moved in with relatives after the sale.⁴

By the end of the programme, 4,077 *domiks* had been removed. Given that their scrap value was in excess of \$100, most households disposed of their container themselves rather than have the municipality take them away. Informal salvage businesses sprang up to process the materials. Some beneficiaries tried to keep their containers so to be able to recycle parts or to maintain a foothold in the city, forcing the municipalities concerned to apply to the courts to force them to honour their obligations.

The removal of *domiks* freed up valuable space for redevelopment, and participatory urban planning was used for purpose, focussing on the use of the space rather than the structures themselves. Areas that had formerly been parks, kindergartens, schools, a library, a medical clinic, a theatre and a jail were restored to their previous civic function. Public spaces with fountains were created and offices and a computer lab built. In Gyumri, three development corridors were freed: the entrance to the city, Aznavour square and the All Saviour's square-Freedom square complex, all of which are important historic, religious or cultural sites.

The Urban Institute's programme also fed \$15 million into the local economy, which spurred economic growth, and

an entrepreneurial training programme was provided for both buyers and sellers. The Shirak Competitiveness Centre, an independent non-profit organisation, was established to institutionalise and sustain the urban planning and economic development activities of the broader earthquake zone recovery programme.

Challenges

It came to light early on that a significant number of people prepared to sell their property were unable to do so because their apartments had not been privatised before the 31 December 1998 deadline set by the country's housing privatisation law. The Urban Institute worked with the government to draft new legislation that was enacted in 2002 and reinstated the right to apply for privatisation for families still living in public housing in Lori and Shirak provinces. The new law also eliminated many of the official fees associated with the process.

Many would-be sellers, however, were still not able to go ahead, because they had modified their property without planning permission. This meant they were unable to obtain the necessary documentation from the cadastral survey, and there was no clear provision in the new law that would allow homeowners to work around the issue. The Urban Institute went back to work with the government and in 2003 legislation was enacted that established an affordable and understandable process of regularising illegal housing modifications.⁵

Determining house prices in each market with which to set the value of the certificates was also a challenge. Low sales volumes and tax regimes had created incentives for both buyers and sellers to understate prices in official documents, and at the time the programme got under way there were few if any professional estate agents tracking the market. The Urban Institute's ability to estimate house prices improved over time, however, as it learned how to capture increasingly reliable information.

A number of obstacles delayed the issuing of certificates. Many people still held Soviet passports that had to be replaced with Armenian ones before they were able to sign an agreement with the city entitling them to take part in the programme. Many others had one or more members abroad whose powers-of-attorney were also needed. The Urban Institute worked to fast-track beneficiaries' passport applications and provided advice, standardised forms and access to international phone and fax lines to facilitate the authorisation from relatives abroad, mainly in Russia.

Competing housing programmes were also an issue. Several hundred high quality new housing units were built for earthquake victims in Gyumri and Spitak city centre while the Urban Institute's programme was running, and

some beneficiaries waited to see if they would be eligible for new housing before they made use of their certificates to buy a second-hand property. There were significant delays in allocating the new units.

USAID, the national government and city authorities signed agreements that established responsibilities for the latter within the programme. They included confirming applicants' eligibility, registering sales and ensuring that *domiks* were disposed of. The authorities generally fulfilled their responsibilities adequately, but there were backlogs at times and the agreements signed proved useful leverage in such cases.

Conclusion

Housing purchase certificates offer a flexible and efficient demand-side tool that help families to buy their own homes. Such programmes are somewhat complex to implement, but housing agencies in most countries would be capable of running them. They work better in conjunction with other related government policies and services such title registration, and when there is a competitive and accessible property market.

The Urban Institute's programme was culturally appropriate in Armenia, given the appeal of home ownership over rental assistance as the country made the transition from a socialist to market-based economy. It also contributed to urban development following the impact of a natural hazard. The programme provided many IDPs with adequate housing, but as of 2009 some were still living in *domiks*.

Case study 2: Housing vouchers for IDPs living in collective centres (Urban Institute, Georgia)³

Snapshot	
Practice	Georgia housing voucher project for IDPs (2006 to 2007)
Main actors	The Urban Institute Project steering committee, including the Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation, Kutaisi municipality and the Abkhaz government-in-exile Charity Humanitarian Centre Abkhazeti (local NGO) Kutaisi Information Centre (local NGO) NRC
Context	Return of IDPs impossible in the absence of conflict resolution IDPs living in protracted displacement in inadequate collective centres Sufficiently developed property market 15 years after the privatisation of housing following the fall of Soviet Union
Target group(s)	IDPs in collective centres on the outskirts of Kutaisi, which were in the worst condition
Summary	The practice aimed to support the development and implementation of the government's strategy on IDPs by improving housing conditions for them. Kutaisi, Georgia's second largest city, was selected as the pilot site because of the number of IDPs living in collective centres. Voucher values were determined by family size and composition.
Strengths (Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)	Sixty per cent of IDPs, or 81 families in 16 collective centres, who were issued with vouchers, successfully bought housing with tenure security and vacated their temporary shelters. The majority of displaced families participating in the programme purchased housing in the same location as the previous accommodation in collective centres. The programme was culturally appropriate in that home ownership is favoured over renting in Georgia in the context of the transition from a socialist to a market-based economy. IDPs viewed their new housing as a long-term investment. Forty-five per cent of families added an average of \$1,980 to the value of their voucher to increase their options. Five collective centres were vacated and returned to the government for community use.
Key challenge(s)	Voucher values did not always allow for the purchase of housing in good condition, As a result some beneficiaries did not receive habitable housing. There was debate about whether the vouchers distorted the property market, but data to substantiate this was not collected. Voucher values were set in US dollars, which limited beneficiaries options because the Georgian lari appreciated against the dollar over the course of the project.
Factors for potential replicability	Well-developed banking, property market and land registry system IDPs in temporary inadequate shelters Need to return temporary shelters to their original use Adequate supply of affordable housing on the market

Overview

Conflict between Georgia and the breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia caused various waves of displacement in the early 1990s, and more people fled their homes in 2008 during the country's brief war with Russia. In the intervening period the government largely neglected IDPs' plight and pushed for their return, but with no formal settlement to the conflict only a few did so under their own steam.

The majority continued to live in temporary housing in more than 1,600 collective centres, which the government established in former public buildings such as schools,

kindergartens and hospitals. Living conditions deteriorated significantly over time and IDPs had little incentive to invest. Those who could afford alternative housing moved out, but those who could not remained in insalubrious conditions for up to 20 years.

In February 2007, the government approved a new state strategy for IDPs, which marked a significant policy shift. Its main goals were to facilitate their return to their pre-war homes and support their reintegration, and in the meantime to improve living conditions at their current residence. This marked a significant policy shift towards supporting decent living conditions for IDPs in their area

of displacement in addition to IDP return. Such initiatives, however, did not get under way until after the 2008 war with Russia and significant advocacy from the international community.

The Urban Institute's housing voucher programme began around 15 years after the large-scale privatisation of public housing, which meant a well developed property market was in place.

Programme design

The Urban Institute led the implementation of a housing purchase certificate programme funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID). The objective was to allow IDPs living in dilapidated collective centres to purchase accommodation and contribute to the achievement of durable solutions to their displacement by facilitating a sustainable housing solution. The programme was funded by the US State Department's bureau of population, refugees and migration and implemented from 2006 to 2007. The first phase ran from September 2006 to January 2007 and the second from February to October 2007. It aimed to support the state strategy on IDPs by improving their housing conditions. Georgia's second largest city, Kutaisi, was chosen to pilot the programme because of the large numbers of IDPs living in collective centres there.

The centres targeted were in a poor state of repair, often overcrowded and located on the outskirts of town. Residents were living in substandard conditions with few job opportunities and high crime levels. They also faced significant maintenance costs, but had few means and little incentive to invest. Outside investment in the collective centres improved conditions in some centres temporarily, but was rare.

To be eligible for the programme, IDPs had to be registered at and living in a collective centre in Kutaisi; have evidence of a former address in Abkhazia; and not be beneficiaries of other initiatives to improve their housing conditions. Voucher values were determined based on family composition, as shown in table one. They were valid for three months with an option to extend them for an additional three months.

Table 2 – Voucher sizes

Family composition	Voucher
One member; two members (married); two members (unmarried and of the same sex)	One-room
Two members (unmarried and not of the same sex); three members	Two-room
Four or five members	Three-room
Six or seven members	Four-room
More than seven members	Five-room

A steering committee made up of representatives from the Ministry of Refugees and Accommodation, the Kutaisi municipality and the Abkhaz government-in-exile was set up, and two local NGOs – the Charity Humanitarian Centre Abkhazeti and the Kutaisi Information Centre – helped beneficiaries to find appropriate housing and obtain the documents they needed. NRC's Kutaisi legal aid project provided counselling to beneficiary families and the programme itself.

Impacts

Housing vouchers with an average value of \$3,427 were issued to 134 beneficiaries in 16 collective centres. Eighty-one families, or 60 per cent of the beneficiaries, bought housing and vacated their collective centre space. Twenty-three per cent bought housing that cost less than the value of their vouchers and received the difference in cash. The other 40 per cent of beneficiaries who did not find suitable housing for their voucher amount were able to continue living in their collective centre space.

More than 70 per cent of beneficiaries bought property in Kutaisi, of whom 84 per cent did so in the same neighbourhood as their collective centre. The availability of housing in these areas turned out to be vital for the programme's success as beneficiaries sought to preserve ties they had built up with their local communities over the years.

The redemption rate varied considerably between collective centres. Five were vacated completely and handed back to the government for community use after all their residents bought housing and moved out. Centres with fewer families resident generally had much higher redemption rates than those with many families, though that said, all four households of one centre returned their vouchers without being able to find housing to suit their needs for the amount of the voucher.

Beneficiaries viewed their new homes as long-term investments. Forty-five per cent added an average of \$1,980 USD to the value of their vouchers, with majority of the money coming from relatives overseas or elsewhere in Georgia. More than half carried out improvements to their new property and only a small percentage said they had

plans to sell it in the future. Their willingness to invest in their own property was in contrast with their reticence to do so in their collective centre space, which was meant to be temporary accommodation.

The housing vouchers did not have a significant impact on beneficiaries' socio-economic conditions. Twenty-three per cent said they had re-registered as IDPs living in the private sector and that their government allowance had changed accordingly, but their overall income, employment situation and ability to feed their families remained broadly the same.

Challenges

House prices in Georgia increased by 25 per cent over the two years that the programme ran, but that was not reflected in a rise in voucher values, making it more difficult for beneficiaries to find decent and affordable property. There was a belief that the pilot programme had distorted market prices, and although no study was carried out to confirm the fact, it contributed to the mechanism not being replicated. The vouchers also lost purchasing power because voucher values were set in US dollars rather than Georgian lari, and the lari appreciated by six per cent against the dollar over the course of the programme.

Conclusion

As in Armenia, the programme was culturally appropriate given the appeal of home ownership over rental in the context of transition from a socialist to market-based economy. It enabled many beneficiaries to buy new homes, but as a pilot programme it could not accommodate the needs of all IDPs in collective centres. Many other IDPs were therefore left behind in dilapidated collective centres.

The overall success of the programme convinced the Georgian government to include housing vouchers as part of its action plan to implement the 2007 state strategy on IDPs along with other housing programmes.

Despite its best intentions, the housing vouchers did not lead to permanent solutions for all beneficiaries. In 2009 and 2010, NRC ran a self-help shelter programme designed to help those who had received vouchers or had been compensated for vacating their collective centres, but who were still struggling to address their housing problems. Of NRC's 164 beneficiary families, between 20 and 30 per cent had participated in the Urban Institute's programme, but had only managed to buy substandard housing and did not have the means to improve it. NRC carried out priority renovations to improve their habitability.

Notes

1. *Domik* is Russian for little house
2. The Urban Institute, www.urban.org
3. The Urban Institute, www.urban.org
4. S Anlian and J Raymond, Home Purchase Certificates: The Other Housing Vouchers, International Journal of Housing Policy, 3:3 (2003), p.238
5. *Ibid*

3. Social housing

Description

Social housing is intended to help people who are unable to secure adequate accommodation for themselves. It serves as a counterbalance to the market driven allocation of housing and may be needed if people on low incomes are unable to afford private rents. There is no single definition of social housing, and it varies in form from one country to another. It is generally built by government agencies or non-profit organisations and may include both privately and publicly-owned dwellings. The authorities define rules that govern the type of housing built and its allocation. Social housing units may be partially or fully subsidised, and tenants may or may not pay for utilities, services, maintenance and repairs. Where social housing stock or land for construction is available, it improves disadvantaged IDPs' access to decent and affordable accommodation.



Photo: Social housing in Varketili district, Tbilisi. SDC, 2010



Photo: Social housing in Varketili district, Tbilisi. SDC, 2010

Case study: Social housing in supportive environments (Armenia, Georgia, Serbia)

Snapshot	
Practice	Social housing in supportive environments (SHSE) (Serbia, 2002; Armenia, 2004 to 2008 and 2010 to 2012; Georgia, 2007 to 2012)
Main actors	Government agency for IDPs, other ministries and municipal authorities Local social work centres Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) Housing Centre (Serbia)
Context	The most vulnerable IDPs in protracted displacement live in inadequate temporary shelter and private accommodation. Return is not possible for IDPs in Georgia in the absence of a solution to the conflict, and not desired by some IDPs in Serbia because of insecurity. Government policy in Georgia and Serbia has shifted towards accepting local integration as a settlement option. There is a complete lack of public housing stock as a result of privatisation following the transition from the socialist system
Target group	Vulnerable IDPs and refugees who wish to integrate locally rather than return and are in need of housing assistance, plus vulnerable members of the local population
Summary	SDC developed the SHSE model as part of its humanitarian programme in Serbia. It aims to improve housing conditions and social inclusion for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society through non-institutional protection in an assisted living environment. Beneficiaries receive support from municipal social workers and from a “foster family”, which is at the centre of the supportive environment. Foster families are allocated an apartment in the same building based not only on need but also on the social, psychological and technical skills they can bring to their roles. The SHSE model has been replicated in Armenia and Georgia. In all three countries the buildings are owned and maintained by the municipal authorities, and families are accommodated rent-free as long as they meet the criteria for such assistance, which are reviewed each year.
Strengths	The practice provides tenure security in habitable housing and social protection for IDPs and vulnerable members of the local population. It fosters social integration by facilitating interaction between IDPs, foster families, social workers, neighbours and the wider community. In Armenia it led to the demolition of temporary housing and recovery of urban landscape.
Key challenge(s)	IDPs in Georgia were the most critical of SHSE and would have preferred to own their own homes. They felt the potentially limited tenure in social housing was culturally inappropriate . Other housing programmes for IDPs in Georgia offered housing ownership, which left some SHSE beneficiaries feeling they were being offered a less attractive option and treated unfairly. Foster family inputs varied because their role was not always clear. There is evidence that such arrangements do not negate the need for professional social workers. Considering the high level of vulnerability of this group, it is unlikely that they will move on from the SHSE. The implication is that this programme will require long-term and continuous investment from authorities. In areas where housing stock had been recently privatised, it was difficult to generate political interest in social housing programmes and policies. Stable and sustainable financing from the municipal budget to maintain SHSE has been an issue, including for social workers’ salaries.
Factors for potential replicability	Highly vulnerable IDPs in need of improved access to adequate housing Social housing is accepted as a culturally appropriate housing option Municipality ability and willingness to allocate land, provide infrastructure and manage social housing buildings

Overview

The fall of the Soviet Union and the break-up of Yugoslavia led to numerous conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus that caused significant displacement. In Armenia, around 575,000 people were internally displaced as a result of its 1988-1994 conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh and an earthquake in the north in 1988. More than 360,000 refugees also arrived from Azerbaijan as a result of the conflict.

In Georgia, the conflicts in Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia that began in 1991 forced several hundred thousand people to flee their homes. NATO air strikes that forced the withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo in 1999 and the subsequent conflict displaced people both within Kosovo and to Serbia proper. Serbia also received around 600,000 refugees from conflicts in other countries of the former Yugoslavia.

Return remains impossible for most refugees and IDPs in these countries, which in addition to the conflict and displacement they experienced were also undergoing the transition from a socialist political system and planned economy to democracy and market-based economy. Displacement was one problem among many, and funds to address it were extremely scarce.

Temporary shelter offered in Armenia, Georgia and Serbia gradually became long-term accommodation for IDPs unable to find decent housing on their own or return to their places of origin. In Armenia, they lived in various types of temporary shelter including converted shipping containers or *domiks*, while in Georgia and Serbia collective centres were set up in public buildings such as schools and hospitals.

Such accommodation served its original purpose but was never intended as a long-term solution, and over time living conditions deteriorated significantly. Residents did not invest in improvements because they hoped to return or did not feel ownership of their space, and the government increasingly neglected them. Authorities in Georgia and Serbia pushed for IDPs’ return and initially had little incentive to improve living conditions in collective centres which could have facilitated their local integration.

Around 130,000 people, or half of Georgia’s IDPs, have been housed in collective centres for the duration of their displacement. In Serbia, the figure was around 100,000 refugees and 15,000 IDPs. There are no clear figures for the number of people accommodated in *domiks* in Armenia. Those who were able to do so on their own have left their temporary shelter, but many still require assistance to secure decent housing.

Public housing played a major role in the socialist system in all three countries, and the vast majority of stock was privatised and sold to sitting tenants during their economic transition. The privatisations were not, however, accompanied by plan for the development of the housing sector. No new national policies to provide affordable housing were put in place. The region has since experienced a construction boom and a rapid rise in property prices. New property is rarely affordable for low or middle-income families, and even less so for vulnerable social groups, such as IDPs, who have few options to secure decent housing.

The social systems of all three countries have also been heavily burdened by their economic transition, and increasing numbers of vulnerable people have largely been left to fend for themselves in the changing environment. They include IDPs, single elderly people, single parents, disaster victims, families without breadwinners, orphans and people with disabilities.

A policy shift in Serbia and Georgia towards acceptance of IDPs’ local integration - and that of refugees in the case of Serbia - opened the way for housing projects to be set up in the areas where they were living. Serbia adopted a national strategy on refugees and IDPs in 2002, which included the closure of collective centres. Five years later, Georgia adopted its state strategy on IDPs, which reflected a commitment to provide durable solutions through return, local integration and settlement elsewhere in the country. The subsequent action plan for the strategy’s implementation included measures to close some collective centres and relocate IDPs to improved housing, and to renovate and privatise others. Further housing solutions have been implemented since then.

Programme design

The “social housing in a supportive environment” (SHSE) model was developed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) as part of its humanitarian programme in Serbia. Its aim was to improve housing conditions and social inclusion for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society, including IDPs, through non-institutional protection in an assisted living environment.

Beneficiaries receive social support from a “foster family”, a central element of the programme which has been key to its success. Foster families are allocated an apartment in the same building based not only on need, but also the social, psychological and technical skills they can bring to providing a supportive environment for the other residents.

In addition to its principle aim, the model’s other objectives are to contribute to the implementation of state policies on IDPs; contribute to the closure of IDPs’ tem-

porary accommodation; provide a housing scheme that governments can take over and replicate; and build local authorities' capacity in social work. Having found the model to be effective and sustainable in Serbia, SDC incorporated it into its work in Armenia and Georgia. The Serbia programme was a finalist in the 2009 and 2014 World Habitat awards.

The project has two components, the construction and provision of social housing units and the creation of a supportive environment to facilitate the social inclusion of vulnerable groups. The design of the housing encourages integration and communication between residents. The buildings have a range of different-sized apartments and special attention is given to shared spaces such as common rooms, laundries and outdoor areas where social contact takes place.

Foster families and social workers are trained to support other residents in rebuilding their lives and to monitor their progress. They help with day-to-day problems, encourage the building of networks and relationships and ensure that community guidelines are respected.

The municipality allocates land for the development, and is responsible for the installation of utilities, phone line and roads; building maintenance and repair; the selection of beneficiaries and foster families; the provision of financial and other support to foster families; the appointment of a focal point for social care; and the establishment of a mechanism for utility and other payments. It also pays the social workers' salaries in some cases.

SDC financed the construction of the initial housing units, and managed and coordinated the implementation of the programme and its funding. Relevant ministries were also involved as well as autonomous regional and municipality governments. The buildings are owned by the municipality and families live there rent-free as long as they fulfil the criteria for such assistance, which is reviewed on an annual basis.

Serbia

The Serbia programme began in 2002 and included IDPs from Kosovo as its main beneficiaries from 2006. By 2014, more than 1,000 apartments had been built in 42 municipalities. Refugees and IDPs who had been living in collective centres make up 80 per cent of beneficiaries, and the remainder are members of the local population. Neither the beneficiaries nor their foster families pay rent, and each municipality determines whether the foster families, who are themselves refugees or IDPs, are paid for their services.

Local Centres for Social Work allocate housing units to elderly people and couples, self-supporting single parents

and families with ill or disabled members. Foster families take part in capacity building workshops focussing on topics such as being a good host, providing help and encouragement, establishing dialogue and the amicable resolution of conflicts.

Special care is taken to ensure that the housing provided is in keeping with national standards in order to avoid stigmatisation and social segregation. The programmes are integrated into the host town or cities' urban planning strategy and the developments are set among other residential buildings with access to the transport network and other public services. Due attention is given to the needs of the people with disabilities. The building ground floor is barrier-free and the apartments are accessible for the disabled.

The main partners in the project were the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Commissariat for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, UNHCR and local Centres for Social Work. Municipalities were selected based on the number of refugees, IDPs and collective centres in their area, their interest and capacity to participate in the programme, the land available, the vulnerability of potential beneficiaries and the commissariat's strategic plans. SDC led the programme in terms of construction until 2004 when its office closed, after which the local NGO Housing Centre, UNHCR, the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), Intersos and others took over.

Armenia

Following a study tour to visit the programme in Serbia, the SHSE model was first implemented in Armenia from 2004 to 2008 in the Kanaker-Zeyton district of Yerevan. It was then replicated in Goris, Syunik region from 2010 to 2012. In Kanaker-Zeyton, the NGO Mission Armenia was the owner and operator of the social housing, while in Goris it was the municipality. The two areas were chosen because they had a significant number of IDPs and refugees unable to return to their homes because of persecution, the threat of violence, difficult socio-economic conditions and the presence of landmines.

A committee made up of representatives from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Urban Development, regional and municipal government, local NGOs and SDC selected the beneficiaries and foster families. They were chosen from IDPs, refugees and other marginalised people living in poor conditions in *domiks*, administrative buildings and private accommodation. The *domiks* were removed as part of the programme, allowing urban space to be recovered.

In Kanaker-Zeyton, one social housing building was built. Each one had a lower ground and ground floor devoted to social and health facilities and two upper floors with

14 two-person apartments, two larger apartments for foster families and one communal room per floor. In Goris, three two and three-storey buildings were built with apartments of various sizes and a basement with laundry facilities, storage rooms and a common room. The facility housed 101 beneficiaries, including two foster families. All apartments have kitchens, bathrooms, telephone lines, TV antennas and a gas central heating system, and are accessible for people with disabilities. Shops and social facilities on the ground floor and a mobile phone carrier cellular antenna placed on the roof generate income for building maintenance.

The Syunik regional government is also a signatory to the programme agreement, sharing a commitment with the municipality to contribute land and infrastructure, support urban planning and expand local authorities' role in social housing. The Goris programme provides social housing and protection in line with the long-term strategies of the urban development and social affairs ministries, and both agreed to refer to its results in Armenia's policies on social and affordable housing.

In July 2010, a social housing policy was adopted by the government of Armenia. It was based on experience with the SDC programme. Later, three social housing units were built financed from the state budget in the town of Maralik, in the northern Shirak region. The SHSE model and selection criteria were replicated.

Georgia

Based on the experience in Armenia, similar programmes were implemented in Georgia from 2007 to 2012 over several phases. SDC chose to work in Tbilisi, Batumi, Kutaisi, Zugdidi, Gori, Rustavi and Bolnisi, given their high numbers of IDPs. The pilot project comprised four two-storey buildings with 28 apartments and communal facilities with space for around 70 IDPs and vulnerable members of the local population. Ten two-storey buildings, each with 14 apartments, were then constructed

in five locations. Over its three phases, the programme provided housing for over 250 IDPs and 120 local people.

SDC led the implementation of the programme. Its partners included the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees, the Ministry of Regional Development and Infrastructure, the Adjara autonomous region's Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, UNHCR, UNDP, the Italian Development Cooperation and the municipalities involved.

With SDC funding, during the last phase of the programme UNDP trained municipal staff in the basics of social work and the management of SHSE facilities and drafted guidelines for social housing and future agreements between beneficiaries and municipalities. SDC and UNDP also advised the government on possible amendments to national legislation on social housing.

The Georgia programme also included advocacy to promote the SHSE approach among government officials. Given that the government does not provide social housing and there is only limited state funding available for the repair of IDPs' shelters, SDC focused its efforts on pushing for a national social housing strategy and the creation of a dedicated government unit responsible for the issue.

Impact and challenges

An external review of the programmes in all three countries was conducted in 2009. For Armenia and Georgia, it concluded: "Continuation of the project is justified by its demonstrated effectiveness, the magnitude of remaining needs, pending achievement of the main policy goal and a generally positive outlook regarding the project's impact and sustainability."¹

For Serbia, it found: "Services of social protection through SHSE have provided an adequate response to the needs of extremely vulnerable refugees, internally displaced



Social housing in Goris, SDC

persons and domicile population ... This form of social protection has provided a high level of beneficiaries' social inclusion and has significantly influenced improvement of their living conditions."²

Improved living conditions

The SHSE approach improved living conditions and quality of life for IDPs and other vulnerable people in all three countries substantially, and the 2009 external review in Serbia found that beneficiaries gave the programme seven out of ten for satisfaction. They highlighted better housing conditions, convenient transport, healthcare facilities and post offices,³ and the fact that their children attended primary and secondary school regularly. Some families also invested in the installation of telephone lines and cable television, landscaping and construction of auxiliary buildings.

One beneficiary in Georgia had suffered from cancer and could not work for five years. She believes the improved living conditions the SHSE programme provided were instrumental in her going into remission. Another said she had been renting a crowded and dilapidated apartment with relatives before becoming a programme beneficiary, and that she "felt better" in her new housing and was "very satisfied" with the conditions, particularly the furniture and hot water. She said she did not see an opportunity to move elsewhere because she was unable to afford to pay rent.⁴

Beneficiaries in Georgia were less satisfied with the lack of livelihood and employment opportunities, the fact that they are not able to buy their apartments and uncertainty about how long they will be able to stay given the annual review of their eligibility.⁵ Those who benefitted from programmes implemented before 2005 also complained about the small flats, shared electricity meters and the expectation that two unrelated people would share accommodation.

It took more than two years to build a sense of community among the new inhabitants, and meantime some families were moved out because they disturbed other beneficiaries or failed despite warnings to respect the house rules.

Foster families

Some foster families in Serbia have been exceptionally active. They have informed social workers about tenants' financial issues, cooperated with NGOs on income generation activities, led the development of project proposals, held training sessions and literary competitions, helped tenants access the local soup kitchen and initiated joint cleaning and maintenance.⁶

Others have focused solely on maintenance issues, and have not organised other activities or engaged in media-

tion and have generally relied too much on social workers. Tenants often do not understand the foster families' roles, leading to unrealistic expectations.

The initial plan was for beneficiaries to pay their foster families for their services in proportion to their income, which was meant to engender responsibility and trust. In reality, however, it created tension and open conflict when it emerged that the municipality was paying for the foster families of less well-off beneficiaries. Some municipalities now pay all foster families in addition to offering free housing, while others provide them only with free housing in lieu of their services. Foster families reportedly fulfil their role better when they are paid for their work.

In Georgia, the foster family element of the programme was cancelled shortly after the first four housing units were built in Tbilisi and other municipalities did not appoint them.

Preference for property ownership

The general preference for home ownership in all three countries was one of the main barriers to acceptance of the programme. Many people perceive ownership as the only means of guaranteeing tenure security, and mistrust of government institutions is widespread. Beneficiaries complained that they would neither be allowed to own their housing nor be given unlimited tenure, and some felt that social housing offered them second-best, compared with other projects that led to ownership. They were also sceptical that the programme would solve their poverty and shelter needs.

The issue was particularly salient in Georgia, where displaced families were more critical and reluctant to participate in SHSE programmes than members of the local community.⁷ Social workers reported that beneficiaries regularly asked if they could be given ownership of their housing, and expressed fear of having to move elsewhere, which they referred to as "another displacement".

The same fear emerged strongly in Serbia during monitoring in 2005 and led to the criteria for continued eligibility for the programme and conditions for termination being revised. Concern may have dissipated since, given that most beneficiaries have remained, though some young people have moved out to pursue higher education or get married.

Dependency syndrome

Following their experiences of war, displacement and poor living conditions, the capacity of many IDPs to adjust to their new environment is low. Instead they rely on state benefits as their main source of income. Their dependency on state assistance is also linked to their vulnerability which is one of the key beneficiary selection criteria for

social housing. In Georgia and Serbia, social workers said that unemployment was the biggest issue for beneficiaries, who asked for more financial help despite already receiving assistance with access to healthcare and utility payments. Some residents have difficulty in meeting their basic needs and paying communal services. Some beneficiaries of the Serbia programme have found employment,⁸ but many have not regained their self-reliance. Self-reliance is not a goal of the SHSE social housing model, rather it is a solution for the most vulnerable IDPs who are unlikely to reach self-reliance.

Law and policy

None of the three countries had laws or policies on social housing when the programme was first implemented. A new institutional set-up was needed to ensure social housing was linked with the social protection system. While the programmes ran, Serbia introduced a social housing law in 2009 and Armenia adopted a policy on the issue, including eligibility criteria, in 2010. Local governments have also increasingly recognised their responsibilities towards vulnerable people.

Georgia still has no such framework, but Tbilisi city council asked SDC for technical training that would equip it to design and build social housing independently by 2013. The municipalities of Rustavi, Bolnisi, Batumi and Zugdidi later asked for the same support. This allowed SDC to undertake its planned withdrawal from SHSE activities after transferring its knowledge and technical expertise. It also devised a set of planning and design standards for social housing,⁹ which the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development adopted.

SDC also cooperated with academia in the development of two syllabuses, one on social space and urban development, and the other on social housing, social work and homelessness. Both are already being taught at the Tbilisi State, Iliia State and Georgia Technical universities.

Municipal budgets

Stable and sustainable municipal funding for the SHSE programmes has been an issue. Each municipality pays for building maintenance, and utility costs are highly subsidised. The programmes are not self-sustaining, but they are likely to cost the state less in the long run than caring for vulnerable people when their situations become critical, when health costs in particular would be much higher.

Conclusion

The SHSE approach is an innovative form of social protection for IDPs in Armenia, Georgia and Serbia. In all three countries it reinforced government policy to help IDPs integrate locally, provided them with adequate and affordable housing, and served as a way of close collective centres in a dignified way for the most vulnerable

people who could not secure housing on their own. The practice was also successful in that it improved the living conditions of other vulnerable members the local population, contributing to social cohesion.

Municipalities' capacity needs to be developed so that they can implement their own social and affordable housing programmes effectively. Significant time and open minds will be required to allow changes to take place, everyday practices to be transformed and new knowledge and skills to be acquired. Training at the initial stages of the programme was key to informing all partners in it about their obligations. Contracts with foster families should define their role and obligations more clearly.

IDPs' main concern about social housing, over ownership and unlimited tenure, also needs to be addressed. IDPs living in private accommodation should be eligible for social housing assistance, because their living conditions and tenure security can be worse than those in collective centres. The programmes took place in an institutional vacuum. Ideally a clear framework would be in place to define municipal budget allocations and the conditions for funding and the termination of right to use.

Notes

1. SHSE Pilot Projects in Armenia and Georgia, external review report, p.32
2. Housing Centre and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, *Social Housing in a Supportive Environment (SHSE)*, 2010
3. *Ibid*
4. IDMC interview, October 2012
5. Housing Centre and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, *Social Housing in a Supportive Environment (SHSE)*, 2010
6. *Ibid*
7. Institute of Social Studies and Analysis, Survey of Target Groups' Attitudes and Expectations Related to Social Housing, May 2011
8. Monitoring indicators in Serbia showed "a certain percentage" of people capable of work and an increased employment rate among tenants between 2002 and 2005
9. SDC, Urban Planning and Architectural Standards for Social Housing Architectural Design

4. Transfer of public buildings to private ownership

Description

Many IDPs in the Balkans and Caucasus were housed in collective centres following their displacement, which in some cases were public buildings such as schools, kindergartens and health facilities. Some states have opted to transfer ownership to IDPs via privatisation as a means of providing those who wished to integrate locally with permanent housing. The privatisation of collective centres has been welcomed by IDPs in former Soviet countries, in part because it mirrored processes in the broader transition from a socialist to a market-based economy, under which the ownership of public housing that companies allocated to their employees was transferred to its occupants. It has allowed IDPs, who had previously been unable to benefit from the privatisation process, to become homeowners. Ownership has been a key symbol of the political and economic transition in former socialist countries such as Georgia.

Case study 1: Collective centre renovation and transfer of ownership (Georgia)

Overview

IDPs living in protracted displacement since the early 1990s were the target beneficiaries for this initiative. They originate from Abkhazia and South Ossetia, areas that have been and are still largely impossible to return to because of unresolved conflict. The government generally neglected their plight over two decades. Around half of the 260,000 IDPs were housed in collective centres, where temporary refuge became long-term residence for those who could not secure other accommodation on their own.

In a significant shift in policy, Georgia adopted a state strategy for IDPs in 2007 that embraced measures to facilitate their local integration as well as support for their return. Implementation was delayed, however, by the brief 2008 war with Russia over South Ossetia, which caused a new wave of displacement. The newly displaced were prioritised for assistance, but acknowledging that return would not be possible in the near future for any IDPs, those who fled in the early 1990s were soon included under the state strategy.

Programme design

The 2007 state strategy for IDPs had two goals, to create the conditions for their dignified and safe return, and to support their local integration. Implementation was planned in three phases, during which all IDPs in need would receive a durable housing solution that also provided opportunities for sustainable socio-economic integration. The first phase incorporated steps towards the closure of collective centres, and included the following commitment: “The state will assist IDPs, in cases when they consent, to privatize the state-owned collective centres, which are not of special importance for the state, at acceptable prices.”

In February 2009, the government initiated the voluntary transfer of ownership of collective centre units to IDPs. The Ministry of Internally Displaced People from the Occupied Territories, Refugees and Accommodation (still known by its former acronym MRA) led implementation, which included the following steps:

1. The identification of state-owned centres suitable for permanent living, or which could be made suitable by cost-effective renovation, to offer to IDPs as long-term housing solutions
2. The publication of a list of the centres identified for privatisation
3. The identification and profiling of IDPs living in the centres identified
4. The measurement of living spaces to delineate the size of future apartments for private ownership
5. The making of concrete offers to eligible IDPs in which the symbolic cost of ownership transfer of one Georgian lari (\$0.46) is assumed by the government
6. The return of the purchase - or privatisation - agreement to the Ministry for Economy and Sustainable Development for signing on behalf of the state
7. The registration of the beneficiary's ownership of their living space with the National Agency of the Public Registry (NAPR), which issues deeds
8. The acquisition by the beneficiary of full rights and obligations related to the property, including the option to sell it. The owner is obliged to accommodate family members

A steering committee coordinates joint efforts by the government and international organisations to implement the action plan for the state strategy for IDPs. It is made up of representatives from MRA, the Ministry of Labour,

Snapshot	
Practice	Renovation and transfer of ownership of collective centres to IDPs (Georgia, 2009 to present)
Main actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ministry of Internally Displaced Persons from the Occupied Territories, Accommodation and Refugees 2. Ministry of Labour, Healthcare and Social Affairs 3. Ministry of Justice 4. Ministry of Finance 5. Municipal development funds 6. UNHCR, UN resident coordinator, World Bank, EU, USAID, SDC, NRC and the Georgian Young Lawyer's Association (GYLA) 7. Civil Registry Agency (CRA) 8. National Agency of the Public Registry (NAPR)
Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. More than 130,000 IDPs living in more than 1,600 collective centres since the early 1990s. 2. Most IDPs remained in the centres for more than 25 years, because their prospects for return were limited, they could not secure housing on their own and the government did not facilitate their local integration. 3. Living conditions in the centres worsened over time and they became overcrowded, unsanitary and dilapidated. Only 540 were structurally sound as of 2009. 4. Lack of public housing stock as a result of mass privatisation after the fall of the Soviet Union. 5. 4. The government's 2007 national strategy on IDPs and its implementation plan call for measures to facilitate local integration
Target group	IDPs displaced in early 1990s from Abkhazia and South Ossetia and living in collective centres
Summary	In a significant policy shift, the government initiated the voluntary transfer of collective centre units to IDPs' ownership in February 2009 in line with its 2007 state strategy. IDPs were offered free private and individual ownership of renovated spaces according to the size of their families. They acquired full rights and obligations related to the property, including the right to sell. All adult family members had to sign the privatisation agreement to ensure equitable ownership. The state undertook all necessary steps for the registration of ownership rights and ensured the issuing and delivery of title deeds.
Strengths <i>(Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)</i>	<p>By the end of 2013, more than 16,300 displaced families had been granted private ownership of the collective centre space in which they had been living, guaranteeing them tenure security. Habitability was improved in terms of space and living conditions.</p> <p>Given that beneficiaries did not have to move, they kept their longstanding relationships with their local communities. Their location needs are met and there is no disruption of their access to goods, services and livelihood opportunities.</p> <p>The practice is culturally appropriate because property ownership is the preferred form of tenure security in Georgia.</p> <p>Sustainability is ensured through the formation of condominiums, which are eligible for funding to maintain, improve and repair common space.</p>
Key challenge(s)	<p>The standard of renovation was not always satisfactory, affecting the habitability of the individual units and common space. The complaint mechanism was unclear and some IDPs refused to sign their purchase agreements.</p> <p>Some centres were not renovated and IDPs received ownership of space that was not habitable. Around 10,000 families were still waiting for their title deeds as of the end of 2014. As such they have been unable to form condominiums and apply for infrastructure improvement schemes. IDPs lacked information or received conflicting information about the process and were not consulted in the development of the programme.</p> <p>The government has not addressed the needs of the most vulnerable IDPs first, focussing instead on the buildings that were the easiest to privatise.</p>
Factors for potential replicability	<p>Private property ownership is culturally appropriate</p> <p>IDPs live in public buildings because there is not enough available housing stock to meet their needs</p> <p>Political will to accept and facilitate IDPs' local integration and settlement elsewhere is in place</p>

Healthcare and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), the Ministry of Finance, the Municipal Development Fund (MDF), UNHCR, the UN resident coordinator, DRC, the World Bank, an EU delegation, USAID, SDC and the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA) on behalf of local civil society. The Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development (MoESD), the Civil Registry Agency (CRA) and NAPR are also involved in the process.

MRA established and facilitates a working group on privatisation to monitor the process with support from UNHCR and others. It began its work in March 2009 and DRC supported MRA significantly in 2011 and 2012. The working group shares information on good practices and concerns identified during monitoring, and makes suggestions for improvement with the aim of enabling IDPs to make informed decisions. It also produces annual privatisation reports. The process has evolved as new standards and operating procedures have been adopted.

Around 540 of Georgia's 1,600 collective centres were deemed structurally safe for residence and suitable for privatisation with or without renovation.¹ Others were in dire condition and destined for evacuation and closure, some as a matter of urgency. IDPs living in centres that were due to be closed were offered alternative housing solutions. IDPs are offered privatised space in two categories of centres, those owned by the state and those the state has bought from private owners.

The privatisation process involves centres of all sizes, from those accommodating as few as two families to others that host almost 1,000. Space is reallocated based on family size and some units are renovated in the process. Those in Tbilisi were only renovated later, after it was acknowledged that the living units in provided as "durable housing" were in fact in desperate need of repair.² Beneficiaries receive title deeds and are free to rent, mortgage or sell their property as they wish.

The Municipal Development Fund oversees the renovation of the centres. Work may include repair of the roof, sanitation system and electricity and gas supplies, and interior decoration, and should be carried out to standards established in 2009.³ Beneficiaries are free to establish condominiums with other residents to carry out the joint maintenance, management and development of shared spaces. They are also entitled to apply to the municipality for assistance with maintenance and repairs.

Privatisation is voluntary and all adult family members must sign the agreement. Until 2013, only heads of household had to sign. None of the people covered, be it as signatories or listed in the agreement, are allowed to own or have use of any other living space on the basis of their status as IDPs. Nor are they eligible for any oth-

er state housing assistance other than the recovery of their property in their places of origin in the event return becomes possible.⁴ Those who choose not to privatise their collective centre space are free to continue living in it, are protected from forced eviction and will be eligible for other housing solutions later in the implementation of the state strategy.

The state undertakes all of the necessary steps for the registration of ownership rights and ensures that the public registry extracts are issued to the new owners. It also pays a symbolic price for the process, and under an amendment introduced to Article 168(i) of the Tax Code of Georgia in 2009, IDPs are exempt from paying income tax on a property acquired for a symbolic price through privatisation. Property tax in Georgia is only payable by households whose income exceeds 40,000 lari (\$18,400).

International and local organisations have monitored the privatisation process since its inception and have conducted numerous information sharing campaigns with IDPs. They were provided with brochures on the criteria for process and a template of the purchase agreement. They were able to ask questions of the organisations involved, and had access to an MRA hotline. NRC, DRC and local NGOs conducted awareness raising and training on the formation of condominiums and the management of common property. Local NGOs provided legal counselling and assistance, and support in mobilising finance and seeking external funding to address their repair needs.

Legal framework

Despite the lack of a national housing strategy in Georgia, the existing legal and policy framework has supported privatisation and has evolved as it progresses. Important acts and documents include the action plan for the state strategy on IDPs for 2009 to 2012, decree no. 62 on "privatisation through direct sale of state-owned property of the Tbilisi self-governing entity" and a new law on IDPs adopted in 2014. The new law anchors the durable housing solutions provided for in the state strategy and establishes a legal remedy for IDPs should they consider themselves entitled to the durable housing schemes in place. A law on condominiums was also in place when the transfers of ownership began.

Impacts and challenges

The renovation and transfer of ownership of collective centre space to IDPs is still ongoing. As of the end of 2013, 16,328 families had signed privatisation agreements for their living space in the centres or other housing offered to those leaving centres that were to be closed.⁵ The figure represents around 20 per cent of the 89,000 displaced families in Georgia, not all of whom live in collective centres. The initiative improved IDPs' tenure security and living conditions while maintaining their access

to services. It is culturally appropriate because property ownership is the preferred form of tenure security in Georgia, though the condominium system is relatively new.

The programme has also encountered many challenges. Some IDPs' privatised space was neither big enough or in good enough condition to be considered a durable housing solution, and the renovation of sewage and solid waste management systems, gas and electricity supplies and flooded basements has not always been up to standard.⁶ Many IDPs in Tbilisi have taken ownership of living space that does not even meet the criteria for habitability. Those who had complaints were often unclear about who they should address them to.⁷

After its initiation in 2009, privatisation almost came to a halt in 2010 and 2011, which created a large backlog. With thousands of families on waiting lists, the government stepped up the process in 2012 with around 8,255 families receiving ownership in the run-up to October elections. The process was not transparent, however, making it difficult to assess its impact. There were also delays in the issuing of title deeds, which meant that the new owners were not able to benefit from infrastructure improvement schemes offered by their municipality to condominiums. Around 10,000 families were still waiting for their title deeds as of the end of 2014.⁸

The action plan for the state strategy on IDPs included various types of information sharing activities with IDPs and all plans for the collective centres were made public. IDPs tended, however, not to be consulted or involved in the process, and the exact purpose, conditions and consequences of privatisation were in many cases not properly explained. More efforts are needed to communicate with IDPs properly about the privatisation process to avoid disappointments and grievances.

The government has not proceeded with privatisation based on detailed assessment of the needs of the IDPs living in collective centres. No survey of IDPs' wishes and needs was done to inform the process, the result being that the most vulnerable were not treated as a priority.

The privatisation process is unfinished in around 400 former centres, resulting in "mixed buildings" in which some residents live in privatised space and others do not. The state still partially owns the building, but there are no mechanisms for its participation in condominiums, which prevents new owners from managing and maintaining their shared spaces.

Conclusion

The renovation and transfer of ownership of living space in collective centres is a commendable initiative that has

significant potential for providing IDPs who wish integrate locally with adequate housing. It is also an example of a government accepting and facilitating local integration after a long period of insisting that return was IDPs' only option. A combination of political will, the initiative being based on a policy framework, significant international funds and the active involvement of donors and international organisations have been key to its success in allowing IDPs to maintain the lives they had established over many years in their places of refuge.

Notes

1. Government of Georgia, December 2010
2. Privatisation working group, Annual privatisation report 2009, 10 April 2010
3. Standards for Rehabilitation, Conversion or Construction Works for Durable Housing for IDPs
4. Privatisation working group, Annual privatisation report 2009, 10 April 2010
5. Privatisation working group, Annual Privatization Report January-December 2012; Transfer of Ownership of IDP Living Units, April 2013
6. UNHCR, Participatory assessment, December 2011; EUMM monitoring, 2010
7. *Ibid*; Privatisation working group, Analysis of the transfer of ownership process, February to June 2009
8. IDMC correspondence with MRA, 17 February 2015

5. Rental support grants

Description

Rental support grants are a form of cash-based assistance widely used as a way of supporting IDPs during humanitarian emergencies caused by natural hazards and conflict. There is an increasing tendency among humanitarians to favour cash-based interventions, particularly in urban areas, where the economy is also mostly cash-based and banking systems and markets are more dynamic. Such schemes have several advantages. They are an efficient way to cover a wide range of needs, they empower beneficiaries to prioritise their own spending¹ and they stimulate urban markets. They also reach large numbers of beneficiaries, support existing housing options and give households more flexibility and mobility in choosing their housing options.

In the aftermath of hurricane Katrina in 2005, the American Red Cross allocated more than \$1.5 billion in cash-based assistance, including for temporary rental support.² Urban areas such as New Orleans and Port-au-Prince, Haiti, have populations with different types of housing patterns and needs, and as such they require a more flexible range of solutions. The difference in terms of access to humanitarian assistance between land or property-owners and non-owners is vast in an urban landscape that has been ravaged by a natural hazard. The reconstruction of homes and infrastructure is an important priority, but there is now consensus that the needs of displaced tenants as a category of vulnerable residents have been long overlooked.

The rapid influx of IDPs into a city often creates a shortfall in the availability of affordable and adequate housing. Those who rented their accommodation before their displacement are likely to want to establish a similar set-up as part of their durable solution. Tenants, like property-owners, however, often suffer income losses during their displacement, which makes it harder to secure another rental property. As such, rental support grants are essentially a way to make up for lost income. Despite their straightforward nature, the organisation, monitoring and programming required for such initiatives can be complex, particularly when many conditions are placed on their disbursement.

Donors have also been hesitant in the past to hand out cash, even in the form of vouchers or debit cards, because of concerns about duplication, corruption and the overall sense that money as a fungible asset cannot be monitored and controlled effectively. There are often irregularities in the implementation of cash grants, but they are outweighed by the benefits and point only to the need for better safeguards. Unconditional cash grants give beneficiaries maximum freedom to set their own priorities, while conditional ones try to ensure that the money is spent on a targeted good such as education or rent.

Rental support grants address the needs of the most vulnerable populations who do not own property in land-poor urban areas. If they are implemented with basic housing safety and adequacy standards as conditions, they can also encourage providers to improve units and attract residents who are cash-rich. The inflationary effect of cash grants has been cited as a concern, but as the "keep the change" programme in Haiti illustrates, this can be mitigated by creating competition between landlords to ensure they offer competitive prices. Essentially, the programme encourages beneficiaries to negotiate their rent down with landlords by letting them keep the difference. For programme designers, this means understanding that as subsidies, rental support programmes operate in a market with different absorption and inflation rates. As such, it is important to understand and monitor the market, in order to track and make any necessary alterations to the programme's scale or speed.

Rental support grants are a useful method to help IDPs cover their rental costs in a time of crisis until they can take over this responsibility themselves. However rental support grants need to be associated to other measures to have a long-term effect and contribute to durable solutions. The Graduation approach described in box one below shows how cash assistance can be combined to other measures to empower IDPs and reinforce their self-reliance.

Case study: Rental support grant programmes (Haiti)

A report³ by the Haiti shelter working group and an operational manual⁴ by the World Bank carried out a comparative review of rental support grant programmes in Haiti to generate a methodology that could be applied both in the country and elsewhere, therefore contributing to knowledge transfer, one of our selection criteria. The two reports highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of various programmes and provided guidance on the steps and elements to include in a rental cash support programme. The practice below reflects the key positive features of rental support grant programmes identified in these two reports.

Snapshot	
Practice	Rental support grants in Haiti
Main actors	World Bank (funded the operational manual) IASC Haiti emergency shelter/CCCM cluster (produced the two reports)
Context	Post-disaster displacement Numerous IDPs still living in camps years after the 2010 earthquake and at risk of forced eviction by landowners and political drive to close them Lack of adequate housing and tenure security for tenants, especially those who were living in informal settlements before earthquake, and whose situation had worsened significantly since then Limited government resources and capacity to lead urban planning and reconstruction activities Humanitarian response in the form of emergency and transitional shelter not linked to a long-term housing reconstruction strategy or urban development plan
Target group	Urban IDPs living in camps due to be closed IDPs who did not own housing or land before their displacement and so did not necessarily qualify for transitional shelter, housing upgrades or new housing Owner-occupiers waiting for transitional shelter and durable solutions, such as return or resettlement to areas with newly constructed homes Displaced families willing to live with host families, so supporting both groups Displaced families who moved out of Port-au-Prince into the provinces
Summary	Rental support programmes were used in Haiti to relocate people out of camps back to their neighbourhoods of origin or other areas. Based on their housing status before the earthquake, residents in camps targeted for closure were given options of transitional shelter, housing repairs, new home construction or rental support grants. All of the options except the grants, however, were steered more towards homeowners than tenants, who made up the overwhelming majority of the urban poor. Grant of \$500 per household were given, varying on the basis of family size, to cover a year's rent with a private-sector landlord. The grants guaranteed that beneficiaries had access to safe, cost-free or highly subsidised shelter for the duration of the lease. The subsidy could also be used for repairs. ⁶¹ Houses rented through the programme were verified to ensure that minimum standards were respected in terms of safety and living conditions.
Strengths (Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)	Targeted tenants, who tended to make up the large majority of the most vulnerable displaced families in urban areas Allowed 500,000 people to leave camps Focused on absorbing IDPs into existing housing stock, instead of waiting for new construction Ensured short-term affordability by covering rental costs for a fixed period of time The reports and operational manual contributed to a transfer of knowledge A "keep the change" policy was adopted to encourage beneficiaries to negotiate their rent with landlords owners, allowing them to keep the difference between the grant and the actual cost of their rent. The practice helped to improve living conditions in rented housing. Verification ensured minimum standards were respected in terms of habitability , access to services and build quality. This was key to ensuring that the "keep the change" policy did not lead IDPs to rent less than adequate housing to save more money. Verification also encouraged landlords to invest in improving and increasing rental housing stock. Such investment could be better guided with technical assistance on adhering to good construction practices in terms of disaster risk reduction, flood hazard zoning and general building regulations.

Key challenge(s)	Lack of follow-up on the fate of households after their one-year grant expires, particularly for those at risk of renewed displacement or forced eviction. Some studies suggest that only 25% of beneficiaries renewed their rental contract. ⁶¹ The main reason cited by the 75% who moved out was not having enough income to remain. This highlights the necessity for livelihood support programmes to complement rental support grants (see box on the graduation approach), although livelihood initiatives may not always be able to address structural poverty. Required significant oversight and monitoring to ensure rental housing stock was habitable and not in a hazard-risk area
Factors for potential replicability	Availability of affordable rental housing stock Landowners willing to sign written rental agreements with guidelines on maintenance, safety and protection from eviction Mechanisms to verify proposed rentals and determine their safety in terms of disaster risk reduction Access to bank accounts and/or mobile cash-transfer technologies

Overview

On 12 January 2010, a devastating earthquake struck Haiti, killing more than 200,000 people and leaving 2.3 million temporarily homeless.⁹ It was a huge disaster not only because of its scale, but also because of its effect on urban areas. Almost 20 per cent of homes in the capital, Port-au-Prince, were destroyed. Across the country as a whole more than 105,000 buildings were razed and 208,000 damaged. At the height of the crisis, around 1.5 million people were living in 1,500 temporary displacement camps in the capital and surrounding areas.⁹ As of September 2014, there were still 85,432 officially recognised IDPs in 123 camps.¹⁰

Port-au-Prince had undergone rapid urbanisation and unplanned growth since the 1980s, leading to the expansion of densely populated informal settlements and a shortage of adequate housing and basic services for low-income residents.¹¹ Even before the earthquake, the country was short of 500,000 units, and the housing sector was worst affected by the disaster, incurring losses put at \$2.3 billion and accounting for around 40 per cent of all the damage it caused.

Haiti's political system and state institutions before the earthquake were described as "centralised, weak and self-interested" with poor capacity to delivery public goods, little legitimacy and vast inequality.¹² Article 22 of the country's constitution recognises the right of every citizen to "decent housing", and the Ministry of Social Affairs has an established public agency for the promotion of social housing (EPPLS). It is, however, vastly underfunded and has not been able to tackle systemic structural issues of "poor urban planning, lax building code enforcement and an archaic system of land registry". The "price of building materials is not regulated, rent control legislation is not enforced, and speculation on land and housing is widespread".¹³

These issues persist. EPPLS has since been strengthened, but social housing may or may not be appropriate

for Haiti, given that it is resource-intensive and requires significant government oversight. There is still a need though for more designated, serviced land for housing construction and the further integration of housing and urban growth management.

In parallel with the urgent need to address long-term structural issues in the housing sector, the situation in the country's displacement camps began to grow dire in 2010 and 2011. Many became seriously overcrowded, and health, water and sanitation conditions deteriorated, leading in some cases to cholera outbreaks. There were also increasing numbers of violent forced evictions, some enforced by the police, and gender-based violence, including sexual violence, was rife.

It is also important to note that not all of the camp residents were IDPs. Many were urban poor who were not directly affected by the earthquake in terms of housing, but both groups faced similar challenges.

When President Michel Martelly took office in May 2011, he made an ambitious pledge to close all camps within six months. He announced the 16-6 plan, which was to be financed by the Haiti Reconstruction Fund and called for the rehabilitation of 16 neighbourhoods and the clearance of six public areas where camps had been set up. The plan was implemented by a coordinating body, which included the government, IOM, UNDP, UNOPS and ILO.

Policy shifts and programme design

Rental support programmes were the most popular way of moving camp residents back to their original neighbourhoods or other areas. Other housing options were also offered, including transitional shelter, housing repair and new home construction, but all options except the grants were aimed more at homeowners. Rental support grants were defined as "a financial payment given to a family displaced by a humanitarian emergency. The financial payment is given to a family or individual on the condition that it is used to pay for a fixed-term lease in

accommodation rented from a private-sector landlord. The cash grant guarantees that the beneficiary has access to safe, cost-free or highly subsidized shelter for the duration of the lease".¹⁴

Households were allocated baseline grants of \$500 to use either as a rent subsidy.¹⁵ Given that 70 per cent of camp residents were tenants before the earthquake, the vast majority received rent subsidies. The baseline figure covered around a year's rent, and families with more than seven members received double.

After the earthquake, engineers from the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Communication assessed the safety of buildings. Buildings considered safe were stamped green, those for repair yellow and those for demolition red. An environment risk map was also drawn up with "red zones" deemed to be at high risk of floods and landslides. Grant recipients were instructed to avoid these zones at all costs.

Payment was also subject to a home verification check to establish whether recipients' chosen property met building and safety requirements. Monitoring was an important component of the programme as a counterbalance to its "keep the change" element, which encouraged tenants to try to negotiate down their rent with their landlord and pocket the difference – a potential incentive to choose cheaper, substandard housing. Seventy-seven per cent of landlords surveyed in 2012 said they had invested around two-thirds of their rental income in upgrading their prop-

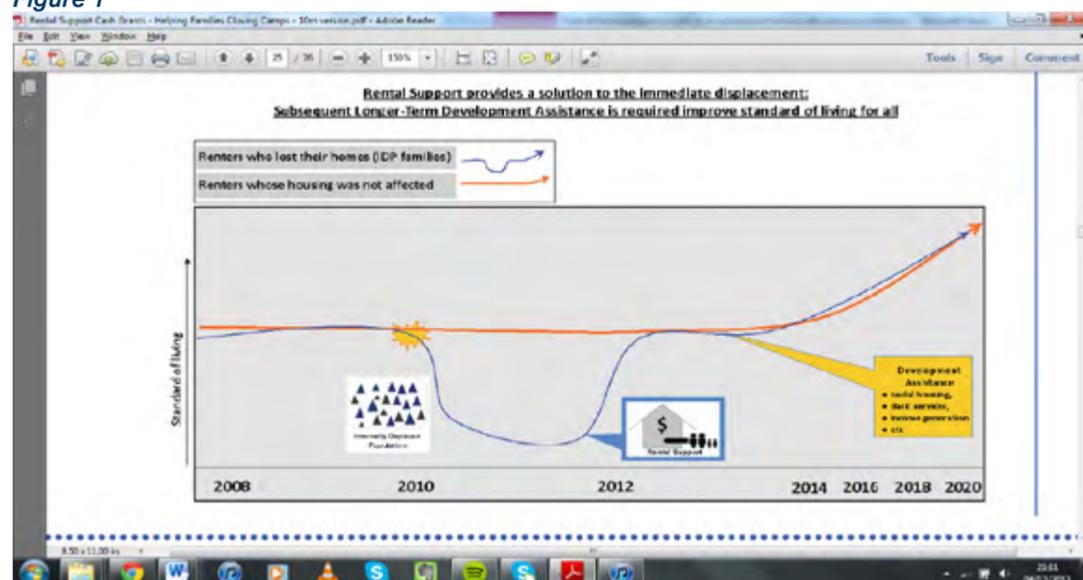
erties to meet the requirements of the home verification team, which led to some improvement in rental housing conditions.¹⁶

A grievance and appeals mechanism was set up for those excluded from the beneficiary list, made up of representatives from the Port-au-Prince mayor's office, the Unit for the Construction of Housing and Public Buildings (*Unité de Construction des Logements et Bâtiments Publics*, UCLBP) and IOM. People found to be making a fraudulent application were denied and told to vacate their camp. If they did not leave willingly, they were forced to do so under legislation introduced in 2004.¹⁷

Impact and challenges

There is debate about whether rental support grants can be seen as supporting durable solutions, given that they cover only relatively short fixed periods, and as such are unlikely in and of themselves to end the cycle of displacement. The World Bank's operational manual suggests they should be just "one building block in an overall shelter assistance strategy aiming to provide durable housing solutions for displaced populations".¹⁸ Their objective generally is to restore tenant's living standards to those before their displacement (see Figure 1). Complementary measures that monitor beneficiaries' ability to continue paying rent after their cash-based assistance ends or that keep track of affordable rental housing stock are not necessarily considered integral components of rental support grant programmes.

Figure 1¹⁹



(This diagram illustrates that the aims of rental support grants are limited to providing displaced families the opportunity to return to a pre-earthquake standard of living. Subsequent development assistance can assist both the displaced and the general population to improve their living conditions in the long term.)

According to a 2013 external evaluation of rental support grants in Haiti, no recipients returned to their camps, but only 25 per cent renewed their leases at the end of the first year.²⁰ Insufficient income was main reason cited for not doing so. The poorest urban residents earn less than \$2 a day. As such, livelihood support is essential to durable housing programmes (see box on the graduation approach). Such support cannot address structural poverty, but it can help IDPs who have temporarily lost incomes as a result of their displacement to recover wages, gain new skills and find other sustainable livelihoods opportunities. Families not eligible for grants because they did not have the required documentation received third-party help to obtain them.²¹

Contrary to initial concerns, the programme did not cause inflation in the rental housing market by flooding it with excess cash when supply was low for two main reasons. By June 2013, 40,000 people had secured rented accommodation in and around Port-au-Prince, meaning that a significant number of IDPs were housed in existing stock. The "keep the change" approach also helped to maintain competition between landlords, while the home verification checks ensured that the policy did not result in IDPs' living conditions deteriorating by their choosing

to rent cheaper, substandard accommodation in order to pocket more cash.

Rental support grants can be disbursed either as one-off lump sum payments or on a monthly or quarterly basis, which makes them easier to control but more expensive to administer. There are indications that lump sum payments in Haiti allowed some recipients to purchase land in the Canaan informal settlement rather than securing rented accommodation. As such, they could be seen as contributing to the expansion of such settlements, but in reality grant recipients made up only a fraction of those setting up home in Canaan. Its expansion is rather a symptom of the country's huge housing shortage, which neither the government nor the international community have addressed.

Knowledge transfer

A variety of agencies worked together as part of the return working group of IASC's Haiti E-Shelter/CCCM cluster to implement the rental support grant programme. They included Catholic Relief Services, Concern Worldwide, IFRC, IOM, the J/P Haitian Relief Organisation and World Vision International.²³

The graduation approach⁷

Livelihoods support and overcoming barriers to work to complement cash-based assistance

Globally tested by the World Bank's consultative group to assist the poor (CGAP) and the Ford Foundation, an adapted form of the graduation approach is currently being piloted by UNHCR through Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Caritas for 5,000 Syrian refugees in urban areas in Egypt. The approach focuses on the ultra-poor, who have no assets and are chronically food insecure. It uses a combination of cash assistance, social protection, livelihood support and microfinance to lift beneficiaries out of extreme poverty.

The most vulnerable households are selected and market analysis undertaken to determine viable livelihoods. Time-bound cash assistance is given to meet immediate needs while beneficiaries pursue business planning, legal and skills training leading to waged or self-employment. Self-employment is supported by seed capital or asset transfers.

The unique feature of this practice is its individualised approach. Each beneficiary is coached directly by a caseworker, who reviews each step taken and identi-

fies, prevents and responds to protection issues that arise from the livelihood support. The caseworkers visit the beneficiaries' homes or places of work at least twice a month or contact them by telephone. Such follow-up is expensive, with each caseworker taking on 100 refugees.

The pilot started in 2013 and is ongoing. Results as of at the end of 2014 were promising, with 800 beneficiaries having found employment. UNHCR plans to expand the pilot programme to rural areas, but there are no plans to include IDPs. Challenges in Egypt have included low pay and poor working conditions for waged employees and limited links between refugees and private sector entities.

The approach has not been piloted for urban IDPs, but they often face many similar challenges to urban refugees in terms of barriers to employment. Cash-based assistance and rental support are integral to addressing urban IDPs' short-term needs, but do not, on their own, provide a sustainable solution. Once the assistance runs out, households risk returning to their previous destitute state. The graduation approach, however, complements cash assistance with livelihood and vocational training, which facilitates self-reliance once the cash assistance dries up.

Each agency employed slightly different methodologies with varying degrees of success, and the working group's experiences were encapsulated in its 2012 Toolkit of Best Practices and Lessons Learned, which sought to transfer country-specific knowledge to global shelter practices. Two years later, the World Bank hired the toolkit's author, Emmet Fitzgerald, to write an operational manual on rental support grants - a knowledge transfer of humanitarian shelter experiences to an international development organisation that created a broad methodology with a specific focus on governments' role in devising rental support grant policies and programmes.

The Haiti programme was eventually integrated into the government's broader reconstruction and displacement policy agenda. If the approach had been further institutionalised, the grants could have been channelled through a government body rather than via various agencies.

UCLBP's 16/6 programme, which was developed in coordination with UN agencies, donors and international NGOs, suggested that rental support grants would be a short-term initiative to close six camps. The broader strategy focused on longer-term development activities, such as the repair and reconstruction of neighbourhood housing; the rehabilitation of neighbourhood infrastructure; disaster risk reduction activities focused on mapping environmental risks; the creation of "community platforms" to decide how funds should be spent in their neighbourhoods; livelihood programmes to reinvigorate the local economy; and professional training programmes for local residents.²⁴

The success of Haiti's rental support grant programmes lies not so much in the closure of camps, but in the knowledge transfer from the return working group's practical experiences to an institutional norm in the government's strategic framework for disaster response, and to a general methodology for such interventions in other contexts. The World Bank manual outlines the project cycle; the grievance and appeals process; protection, health and psychosocial support; and data management. The project cycle consists of eight steps, which cover registration, communication, property inspections, payment, relocation, dismantling tents, camp closure and a verification visit after six to eight weeks.²⁵

The manual sets out governments' role in the design of rental support grants as being to:

- Define and standardise the cash value of the grants
- Define and standardise the duration of rental contracts
- Standardise a "keep the change" approach
- Standardise rental housing safety standards
- Identify "red zones" in which no buildings are safe
- Prioritise beneficiaries by family or by camp
- Standardise vulnerability criteria

- Prevent the illegal eviction of IDPs
- Standardise data collection²⁶

It also addresses the specific interests of vulnerable groups, and recommends the establishment of protection teams to assist elderly people, people with reduced mobility, blind people, people with acute or terminal illnesses, people suffering from psychological trauma, single parents with large families, families with children showing indicators of malnourishment, pregnant women and unaccompanied minors.²⁷

The manual also envisages the use of innovative data collection and monitoring tools such as smartphone applications to register camp residents, and strategies to circumvent forgeries and illegitimate claims for grants.

Impact

Rental support grants in Haiti helped to clear some of the camps targeted for closure. Some were forcibly evicted by landowners, and others left because of the threat of natural hazards and disease. Many owner-occupiers left because they were eligible for transitional shelter, reconstruction assistance or new homes.

The rental support grant programme also encouraged private sector reconstruction and repair by increasing demand for affordable rental housing. As such, it had economic benefits for the wider affected community and the neighbourhoods people returned to.

Conclusion

If they are to contribute to durable solutions, rental support grants need to be combined with longer-term complementary programmes. The most sustainable impact of the Haiti initiative is its inclusion in UCLBP's programming and the government's disaster response strategy. It has also influenced the thinking of both humanitarian and development advocates for the use of such programmes elsewhere.

Cash-based assistance is by no means unique to Haiti. It has been used for decades in many other parts of the world. The lessons learned from Haiti are valuable, but it is unclear whether there has been enough institutional reflection and longitudinal studies on the history of such support.

Notes

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2. Paul Harvey, Cash-based Responses in Emergencies, ODI, 2007, p.9
3. Emmet Fitzgerald, Helping Families, Closing Camps: Using Rental Support Cash Grants and Other Housing Solutions to End Displacement in Camps, IASC Haiti E-Shelter/CCCM cluster, 2012
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5. Helping Families, Closing Camps, UCLBP and Government of Haiti
6. Condor, Juhn, Rana; Wolfgroup Performance Consultants, External evaluation of the Rental Support Cash Grant Approach Applied to Return and Relocation Programs in Haiti, January 2013, available at: <http://goo.gl/YQg5Zm>
7. UNHCR, DPSM Key initiatives, The Graduation Approach, 2014 and UNHCR, Global strategy for livelihoods, UNHCR 2014-2018, 2014, P.47
8. Some fled undamaged buildings out of fear, so were able to return quickly
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11. "In 1997, a study by the GOH reported that 67 per cent of the Port-au-Prince population lived on 22 per cent of the city's inhabited area," in Priscilla Phelps, "Analyzing the Haiti Post-Earthquake Shelter Response and Housing Recover: Results and Lessons from the First Two Years." The World Bank. 2013, p.12
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16. Condor, Juhn, Rana, Wolfgroup Performance Consultants, [External evaluation of the Rental Support Cash Grant Approach Applied to Return and Relocation Programs in Haiti](#), January 2013, p.10
17. Fitzgerald, p.49
18. *Ibid*, p.8
19. *Ibid*, p.24
20. Wolfgroup Performance Consultants, [External evaluation of the Rental Support Cash Grant Approach Applied to Return and Relocation Programs in Haiti](#), January 2013
21. Rental Support Cash Grants (RSCG) Program: Operational Manual, p.42
22. UNHCR, DPSM Key initiatives, The Graduation Approach, 2014 and UNHCR, Global strategy for livelihoods, UNHCR 2014-2018, 2014, P.47
23. Wolfgroup Performance Consultants, [External evaluation of the Rental Support Cash Grant Approach Applied to Return and Relocation Programs in Haiti](#), January 2013, p.23
24. Rental Support Cash Grants (RSCG) Program: Operational Manual, p.20
25. *Ibid*, p.12
26. *Ibid*, p.32
27. *Ibid*, p.40

6. Incremental tenure

Description

Incremental tenure is a practice that acknowledges the fact that tenure is a process and not a fixed system. It acknowledges that both formal and informal land rights are fraught with challenges for the urban poor. Critics of the blanket approach of establishing formal land rights for all are not necessarily against ownership in itself. Rather they disagree with the imposition of a homogenous ownership or titling model that fails to acknowledge the costs and disadvantages that ownership can entail, such as taxation, service charges and the temptation to sell land as an area becomes gentrified and return to a prior state of tenure insecurity. Critics are sympathetic to a tenure security approach,¹ with general objectives as follows:

- Focus on blanket settlement rights first, instead of individual rights
- Try to provide administrative and legal protection against eviction
- Advocate for the implicit recognition of informal settlements, including service provision, service bills, electoral rolls, registers, site plans, street and shack numbering and the issuing of identity cards
- Apply an incremental approach to tenure, under which initial requirements are simple and affordable, but can be upgraded later
- Give communities the opportunity to consolidate settlements and clarify internal disputes through community processes, which may have more social legitimacy
- Give individual households time to become gradually more secure in their tenure and invest incrementally in upgrading their housing
- Give governments time to develop technical capacities to institutionalise new approaches to tenure, land registration, settlement upgrades and infrastructure provision
- Gradually make social processes and transactions more transparent
- Make the land market work better for the most vulnerable urban residents

Incremental tenure approaches work within the continuum of tenure security to increase it in accordance with the context. Urban Land Mark, a South African research organisation, has outlined one potential model of incremental tenure as follows:²

1. Administrative recognition

- a. Survey of physical site (topography, environmental factors, geology)
- b. Survey of planning aspects (land zoning, land use, compliance with spatial development framework)

- c. Survey of legal issues (existing land ownership, deeds office search, misc. legal constraints)
- d. Survey of infrastructure (available services, connections and capacity required)
- e. Survey of demographic and social data (resident demographics, economic status, origins, employment, tenant arrangements, prior commitments)
- f. Survey of existing tenure and property transaction norms (perceptions of ownership, how informal transactions are conducted, what is transacted, the impact of previous transactions)³
- g. Insertion of settlement name into municipal land information system
- h. Preparation of a base map or site plan (could be based on satellite or aerial photography)
- i. Register structures and households with community consultation and participation
- j. Acknowledge household occupation through register
- k. Ensuring provision of emergency services (water standpipes, basic sanitation, refuse removal, some grading of roadways, water channelling)

2. Legal recognition

- a. Government and municipality will incorporate the settlement into the broader municipal or urban development plan. This could mean rezoning it (but not applying zoning or land use laws internally yet) as an informal or less formal settlement or equivalent
 - i. Allows municipalities to begin developmental regulation or area
 - ii. Legal recognition decriminalises residents, their structures and activities
 - iii. Integral step towards establishing the settlement as a township or district

3. Developmental recognition

- a. Preparing basic layout or more detailed plan of the site (with community consultation)
- b. Conducting a participatory mapping or enumeration exercise to identify individual plot boundaries
- c. Providing a higher level of infrastructure and services (electricity provision)
- d. Consulting the community on multiple forms of tenure currently recognised
- e. Introducing a pro-poor and participatory land administration system
- f. Creating addresses for residents, which can be indicated on maps, leases, permits and service bills
- g. Introduce land use management in the form of a “mini” town planning scheme
- h. **Forms of tenure** acceptable at this stage:
 - i. A lease (short or long-term, registered or unregistered)
 - ii. A servitude of use (this is similar to an unregistered “contract” between the municipality and designated plot holder)



View of Bosaso's site, providing upgraded services, housing, tenure security and a relocation close to where urban IDPs were displaced, Somalia. Photo: UN HABITAT, October 2013

- iii. A certificate of occupancy or registration certificate
- iv. A municipal services account
- i. **Content of land rights** acceptable at this stage:
 - i. Occupation
 - ii. Construction of a temporary structure
 - iii. Use, including for production
 - iv. Letting or sub-letting
 - v. Bequeath the structure and occupation rights to a named beneficiary in the event of death
 - vi. Access to basic or higher level services
 - vii. Access to social services
 - viii. Sell the right to use, let or sub-let property
- 4. **Establishment of township or district** (if residents opt for full ownership model)
 - a. Deeds office enables title deed registration for residents
 - b. Subsidies for housing upgrade can be allocated if necessary to bring certain structures up to code or a negotiated standard
 - c. The rules and regulations for establishing a township or a legal settlement vary from country to country and must be researched and followed in coordination with local planning, municipal and land administration offices

The incremental tenure model is not specifically designed for urban IDPs, but given that many end up living either in separate or integrated informal settlements, their housing rights and needs must be addressed as part of a larger urban land management issue, particularly in cases of protracted displacement. The incremental model has the potential to increase urban IDPs' tenure security, protect them from forced eviction and improve housing and living conditions in a gradual and sustainable way.

Table 4: Incremental tenure and settlement model (Urban Land Mark, South Africa)

Tenure mechanism	Administrative recognition	Legal recognition	Township establishment
Plot identification	Basic site plan – no individual plot boundaries, perhaps neighbourhood blocks, main roads. Based on aerial photographs and community verification	Detailed layout plan: individual plot boundaries, all roads, sites for facilities and plots identified	Approved layout plan with pegged sites which informs the General Plan that gets approved
Recording of occupants	List (database) of occupants, linked to a shack number with or without a single GPS point reference	Full register of all occupants linked to a property description, tenant relationships, next of kin	A township register as per the Deeds Registry Act
Tenure evidence	Letter of occupation certificate/card acknowledging occupation	Simple lease with municipality/province Simple servitude of use A municipal bill could serve as a contract	Title deed Lease Long lease
Land use management	Basic health and safety rules Can be indicated on letter of occupation	Through the Amendment Scheme, rezoning or DFA, rules or conditions for managing land use in the settlement.	Town Planning Scheme zoning and title deed conditions
Services provision	Basic services – communal level of services (LOS 1)	Planned, upgraded services, individual connections (LOS 2 - 3)	Highest level of services as per township establishment conditions

Improving urban IDPs tenure security in Bosaso (Somalia)

The first case study from Bosaso is not an exact replica of Urban Land Mark's model. It was a scheme implemented by UN-Habitat which evolved from local land considerations and constraints. When IDPs arrived in Bosaso, they settled in informal peri-urban settlements most of whose inhabitants had been displaced. They received humanitarian assistance, but as their displacement became protracted, a more integrated approach towards housing as a key element of durable solutions was increasingly called for. UN-Habitat combined improving tenure security in the short term with the introduction of incremental tenure through the establishment of new sites recognised and managed by municipal authorities.

The second case study from Bosaso contributed to upgrading IDP's settlements and strengthening their tenure security via the introduction of lease agreements.

Case study 1: Resettlement of urban IDPs and incremental tenure in Bosaso East

Snapshot	
Practice	Incremental tenure model (15 years to full ownership) in Bosaso East, Somalia. Resettlement programme for IDPs in urban and peri-urban areas, 2005 to 2008
Main actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. UN-Habitat 2. Municipality of Bosaso and other local authorities 3. UNHCR 4. OCHA 5. Danish Refugee Council
Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Successive waves of displacement driven by conflict and environmental factors 2. Unsafe conditions, including high fire risk, in IDPs' settlements 3. Unclear ownership of land on which settlements were established 4. Existence of a joint UN-NGO strategy for IDPs in Somalia, and introduction in 2006 of an IASC shelter cluster approach to upgrade settlements to reduce fire risk and improve tenure security and access to services
Target group	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. IDPs living in informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas of Bosaso
Summary	<p>The practice consisted in the identification and allocation of land plots with secure tenure to urban IDPs in Bosaso. The new settlement was located in the proximity of where IDPs were displaced therefore facilitating the preservation of their social networks and livelihood opportunities.</p> <p>Taking the lead on the tenure security element of the shelter cluster approach, UN-Habitat worked with the municipality to identify areas where settlements could be upgraded and where IDPs could settle permanently. Based on consultations that included IDPs, a proposal was made to redirect urban growth to the east as means of making development more compact and taking in IDPs' settlements.</p> <p>A campaign was launched in which landowners were encouraged to donate land to the municipality for the purpose. In return, their land was included into urban development plans as land to be connected to services, therefore increasing its value and compensating for the land they had given up. The municipality then set up a team to survey the sites and develop neighbourhood plans for the new sites.</p> <p>When IDPs resettled there, they entered into rent-free incremental tenure contracts with the municipality, under which beneficiaries were not able to sell, rent, transfer, mortgage or donate their land until they have lived on it continuously for 15 years, at which point full ownership would be transferred to them. In the event of death, lawful dependents were to inherit the right to occupy the land. If IDPs left their property before the end of the 15-year period, the land was to revert back to municipal ownership to be reallocated to another displaced beneficiary.</p> <p>The settlements were connected to the water, main access roads were traced and boundary walls of blocks were built that defined the public space, individual plot boundaries, latrines and shower units. It was up to the beneficiaries to make improvements and extensions themselves, with support from local NGOs in the form of building materials and cash for labour.</p>
Strengths <i>(Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The practice was centred on IDPs within wider urban development objectives. 2. It contributed to tenure security and uses an innovative incremental tenure approach that starts with a free and legally protected rental contract and culminates in full private ownership. 3. It involved collaboration between UN-Habitat and the municipality in establishing a resettlement plan of IDPs and the broader direction of urban growth, which benefitted the wider community. It also led to positive shifts in institutional norms and knowledge transfer, particularly by familiarising people with the concept of formal rental contracts. 4. The practice made affordable housing available to IDPs and the urban poor in locations close to their where they have sustainable access to livelihoods contributed to durable solutions by providing urban IDPs with secure tenure on plots designated by the municipality in areas close to their informal settlements, which allowed them to maintain their livelihoods and social networks. 5. Both the design of the settlements and the choice of building materials improved habitability, access to services and protection from fire risk. With national and international support, IDPs have invested incrementally in improving their property over the years, adding extra rooms, pavements and water tanks, and planting trees.

Key challenge(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of public land available and shortage of donated private land, leaving many IDPs on the waiting list to become a beneficiary. Some chose to buy their own land privately rather than wait for a donation. 2. IDPs' capacity to invest in and improve their property was limited without adequate access to credit.
Factors for potential replicability	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Landowners' interest in donating land to the municipality 2. Municipality's willingness to cooperate with external organisations to devise a new urban growth management plan

Overview

Since the state of Puntland proclaimed itself an autonomous region of Somalia in 1998, Bosaso - its largest city and commercial centre - has attracted thousands of IDPs fleeing conflict and drought over the past 15 years. As a port, it is an important transit point that connects the economy of southern Somalia, including Mogadishu, to the Gulf of Aden. Its rapid economic growth is the result of its strategic geographical location, recent population increases and the export and import of goods, both legal and otherwise. It is also a hub for the trafficking of Somali and Ethiopian migrants to the Gulf States.⁴

As of January 2015, there were around 130,000 IDPs in Puntland, according to UNHCR. Bosaso's municipal authorities estimate the population of the city to be between 500,000 and 700,000 people, compared with 15,000 to 25,000 before the outbreak of the civil war in 1991. It also estimates that the city's population includes around 100,000 IDPs living in its urban and peri-urban areas.⁵ The figures, however, may not be reliable, given the "constant movement of persons in Somalia, including return movements, new displacements, multiple displacements, a number of 'invisible' IDPs, and lack of access to some parts of the country".⁶ "Invisible" IDPs are those living with and receiving support from host families, relatives or clan members.

Many IDPs live in protracted displacement. Drivers in relatively recent years include fighting between the federal government and insurgent groups in 2007 and torrential rainfall and subsequent floods in the riverine regions of southern Somalia in 2009.

Settlement conditions

Many of Bosaso's IDPs have been living in 32 settlements in and around the city for several years. Others are dispersed among the urban poor, asylum seekers, returning refugees and refugees from neighbouring Ethiopia. Public land was all but unavailable in the early 2000s and most IDPs settled on private land, making deals with local landlords. These, however, were often contested. The fact that secular, sharia and customary law govern land rights often makes them unclear, and land grabs became widespread following the breakdown of the state and its institutions.

Those who control the peri-urban land on which some on IDPs' settlements are based often use their presence to secure a return through rent and to hold on to the land until they were ready to formally develop it. There has been a tendency towards making populations as dense as possible to maximise rent returns, and a reluctance to invest in building latrines and improving shelters. The spread of informal settlements⁷ has placed extra pressure on the already strained public infrastructure and the conditions in many have become dire.

The rapid spread of the fire, whether started deliberately or by accident, has burned down a quarter of the shelters in some settlements each year. The presence of inflammable shelter materials, high seasonal winds and population density all serve to make fires worse.⁸ A major blaze displaced 507 families in May 2006, and the local authorities used the event to propose the resettlement of all IDPs to another site more than 10 kilometres south of the city.

The proposal was ultimately rejected because it would have led to an unsustainable increase in transport, food and water costs for families who would no longer have access to local markets, and to their social segregation. Experience in other cities, such as Burao, had also shown that IDPs in remote relocation areas would gradually move back to informal settlements sites in town, drawn by the livelihood opportunities on offer there. Following criticism from several organisations, the government agreed to review resettlement options and criteria, which it did via a June 2005 assessment led by UN-Habitat.⁹

Coordination and process

Following the rejection of the first resettlement plan, two complementary approaches to meeting IDPs' needs emerged. A joint initiative by the UN and international NGOs led to the development of a strategy on IDPs for Somalia in 2005, and the IASC shelter cluster approach was introduced in 2006. One of the main interventions to come out of the cluster approach was to upgrade existing settlements to reduce fire risk, increase access to services and improve IDPs' tenure security. The initiative was based on the recognition that more IDPs would continue to arrive, and that short-term durable solutions were not feasible. By 2008, five settlements had been upgraded.

The process involved:

1. Re-planning the settlement to allow enough living space for families, roads, firebreaks, basic services and infrastructure
2. Distributing improved and less flammable temporary shelter kits
3. Conducting basic training on settlement planning and fire prevention
4. Negotiating with local authorities and landowners to improve IDPs' tenure security

UN-Habitat took the lead on the fourth element by trying to institutionalise the use of tri-partite leasehold agreements.

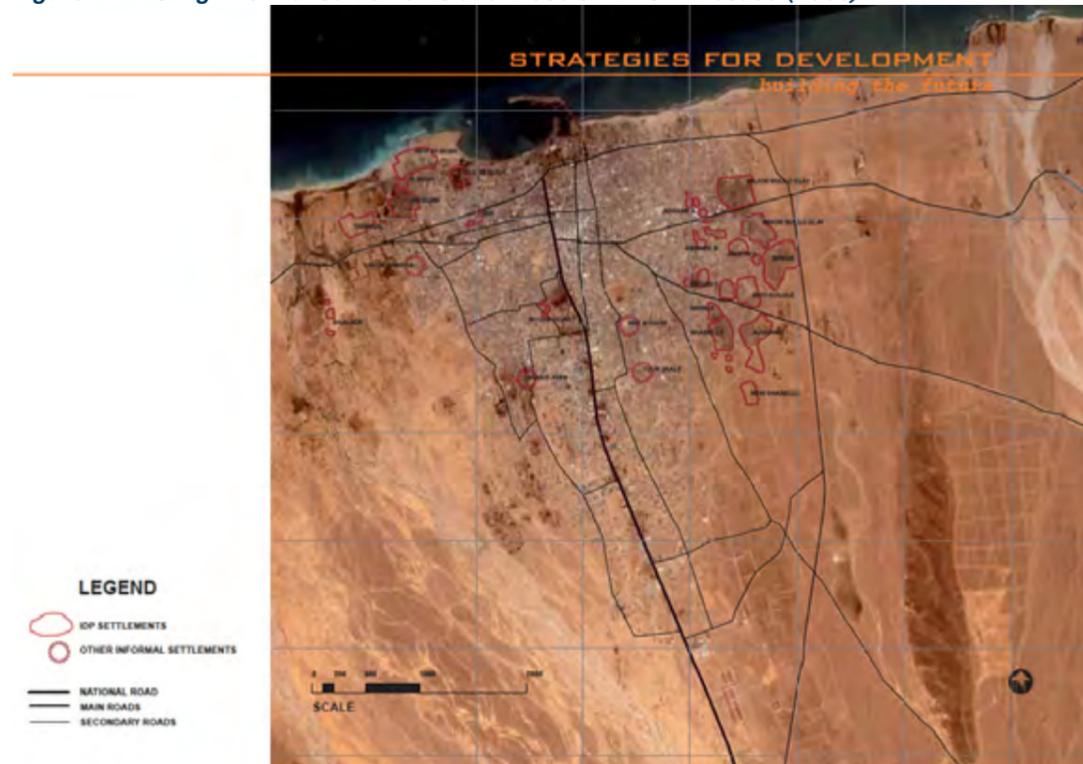
The first track of the joint strategy on IDPs sought to improve their conditions in informal settlements. The second focused on providing durable solutions, combining interventions centred on IDPs with a wider urban development approach. At the time, the city was expanding rapidly along the main road leading into town from the port, slowly stifling mobility. In conjunction with Bosaaso municipality, UN-Habitat used the pursuit of durable solutions for IDPs as an entry point for engagement in a debate on more sustainable urban growth strategies, with a view to establishing an integrated approach.

A rapid urban profile including a rudimentary strategic urban development plan for the city was developed that integrated IDPs' large-scale resettlement. As part of the planning phase, UN-Habitat ran a three-day consultation meeting in March 2005. It included representatives of central and local authorities, NGOs, traditional and religious leaders, displaced communities, media, the business sector, and the project committee. The inclusion of three representatives from displaced communities was important in emphasising that IDPs' housing and durable solution needs should be a central consideration in the development of any urban strategy.

The first step was to identify the existing informal settlements and those of IDPs (see Figure 2).

The basic proposition was to redirect urban growth to the east to create more compact development around a new bypass to the port that linked up with existing roads leading to the centre of town. It was suggested that the development of resettlement sites would be accompanied by investment in infrastructure to service them, which would at the same time lay the foundation of the Strategic Urban Development plan (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: Existing informal settlements and those of IDPs in Bosaaso (2008)



Given that the vast majority of the land targeted was controlled by the local elite, land donations were sought for the first resettlement sites (see Figure 4), based on the argument that the overall plan would increase land values, resolve major urban problems and facilitate the

city's sustainable economic growth. The municipality then set up a planning team to survey the sites, develop neighbourhood plans and outline capacity development support for East Bosaaso. Resettled IDPs entered into incremental tenure contracts.

Figure 3: Proposed expansion of the city of Bosaaso (2008)

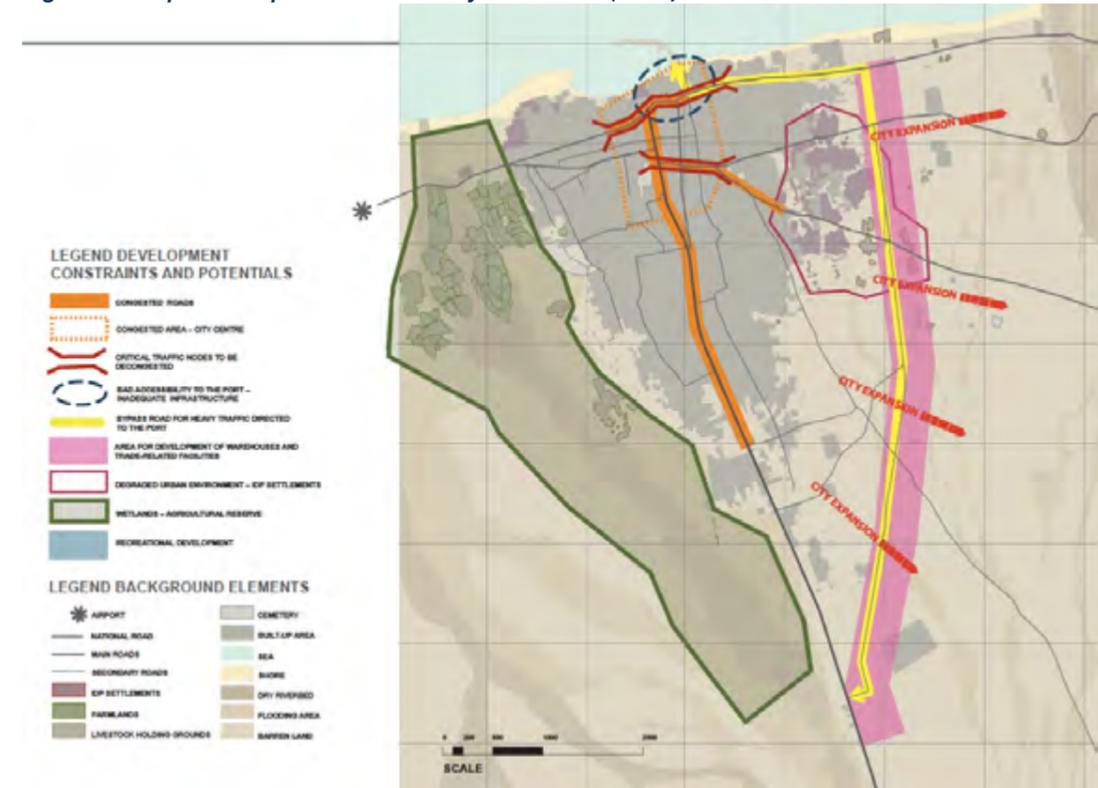
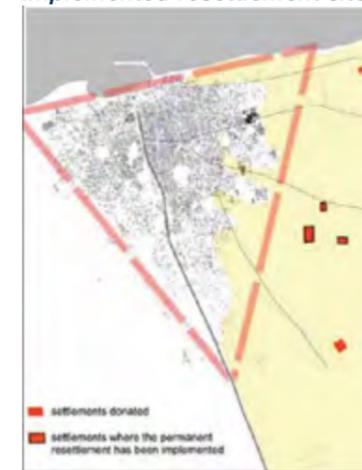


Figure 4: Map of donated settlement land and implemented resettlement sites



Incremental tenure model: Resettlement to East Bosaso

Given that no public land was available and it was unclear who controlled what, a campaign to encourage land donations using local media and town hall meetings was launched. It appealed to religious sentiments of charity and offered owners the incentive that their land would benefit from new roads and basic services if they donated a portion of it.

In absence of a functioning land administration system, the ownership of land donated for resettlement was transferred to the Bosaso municipality, which then entered into incremental tenure agreements with beneficiaries that were certified by the sharia court. This type of arrangement is particular suitable for IDPs trying to integrate locally.

Beneficiaries would not be able to sell, rent, transfer, mortgage or donate their land until they have lived on it continuously for 15 years. In the event of death, the lawful dependent(s) would inherit the right to occupy the land. After 15 years, full ownership is transferred. If a beneficiary leaves their land before the 15-year period is up, it reverts back to the municipality for reallocation. Disputes are heard by the city's district court.

Today, IDPs have started purchasing individual plots, registering them with the municipality, paying registration fees and approaching the international community for support in upgrading their property.

Selection criteria

The current eligibility criteria for housing support as part of permanent resettlement, including the incremental tenure scheme, are as follows:

1. Must have lived in Bosaso for at least five years
 - a. This targets those living in protracted displacement
2. Must not own other property in Bosaso
 - a. This targets those who are vulnerable and most in need
3. Must be willing to contribute resources and participate in the housing construction programme
 - a. This targets those willing to investment in their pursuit of long term integration
4. Should be living on the land as "visible IDPs"
 - a. *This avoids attracting those who want to hold land as an investment.*
5. Must provide proof of ownership transfer and register it with the municipality

Preference is given to IDPs who have already made some investment on their land, such as building a toilet or shed, erecting fences or creating a underground rainwater reservoir or *berkad*.

- a. This ensures the success of long-term investment and integration. In incremental shelter models, a toilet is the most expensive element. Investment in a toilet can indicate that IDPs intend to settle.

Eligibility criteria for land eligible for housing support are as follows:

1. Should be located within IDPs' settlements or not far from town limits
 - a. This is meant to avoid proposals such as the 2005 resettlement scheme that would have placed prohibitive transport, food and service costs on IDPs and reduced their livelihood opportunities.
2. Should be free of disputes
 - a. This means that prior to transfer, landowners and the municipality should settle any existing disputes or multiple claims on the plot.
3. Preference is given to a cluster of ten plots that meet the above criteria
 - a. This is to avoid urban sprawl and ensure that settlements grow with a level of population and housing density that would justify the cost of providing infrastructure and basic services.

During the initial phase, demand for resettlement plots was far greater than supply, so a lottery system was used to select beneficiaries from among eligible households. A long list was established based on criteria to prioritise beneficiaries, and supported by an external complaint mechanism to provide a check on the selection committee. There was, however, a wave of individual purchases of land following initial resettlement, which may indicate that people did not wait for further land donations and took matters into their own hands.

Incremental housing process

The initial East Bosaso scheme included the extension of the municipal water mains to the resettlement site. Access roads were traced and local construction companies were hired to build boundary walls that defined the public space, the foundations of the individual plot boundaries, latrines and shower units. It is up to beneficiaries to make improvements and add extensions themselves, with local NGOs providing support in the form of building materials and cash-for-labour schemes.

In incremental housing models, it is generally better for IDPs to have a core room built on site so they can move in immediately. Given that they have to contribute some

of their own time and resources to their new home, they should not be put in a position of having to maintain their previous site or pay rent on it while working on their new one. In East Bosaso, improved tents from the temporary settlements were used to facilitate the transition.

After the beneficiaries moved in, humanitarian agencies contributed to improving site by planting trees and building a mosque and school. Beneficiaries invested incrementally in their property by adding pavements, water tanks, trees and extra rooms. Given their land was part of a resettlement scheme, they received it free, but are subject to municipal laws such as local taxation and planning procedures.

As such they have to obtain building permits from the local authorities if they want to build new structures on their land. It is not clear, however, to what extent the municipality enforces the use of permits, the application of building regulations or land use zoning. It may be that they choose to "look the other way" when it comes to the incremental upgrading of homes. As a settlement grows and becomes more formalised, authorities can begin to be more stringent in applying local regulations and collecting revenue through taxes and permits.

Impact and conclusion

Incremental tenure resettlement schemes cannot be evaluated effectively in the short term. They take decades to evolve into formal settlements that are fully integrated into the urban development framework of a city. The East Bosaso scheme is a work in progress, and it is not without stumbling blocks. The lack of affordable and serviced land remains an issue, and this often requires state-led land redistribution and sharing schemes.

In some countries, the government purchases plots from private landowners to meet existing and projected future demand. Corruption and land grabs, however, can make the process complicated. Many governments may simply not be able to afford to buy land for IDPs' resettlement, though international could support such purchases.

Without an on-site evaluation in East Bosaso is hard to tell to what extent IDPs, who may have limited access to credit and capital, have been able to incrementally upgrade their homes. The smaller auxiliary programmes that exist to provide credit, capital and materials should be scaled up. It is also unclear whether the dispute resolution mechanisms in place have been affordable and effective.¹⁰

Local elites used to refuse to sell land to IDPs. Following the first successful resettlements, however, and acknowledgement of the benefits for the host community, individual and collective transfers began to take place.

As of August 2014, 11,022 beneficiaries, or nearly 1,700 households, had purchased land in existing settlements for IDPs or in the broader urban periphery.

The East Bosaso scheme seems to have increased momentum towards employing a durable solutions framework into Puntland's policies. Article 58, section 8 of its transitional constitution states that the regional government will be responsible for "planning for the resettlement of the refugees and displaced persons". The statement, however, needed further clarification, so in 2012, the Puntland policy guidelines on displacement were adopted, integrating the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the state's obligations under the Kampala Convention and the IASC durable solutions framework. They also recognise IDPs' participatory rights.

The guidelines represent an important shift in Puntland's legal framework for the promotion of IDPs' durable solutions and their non-discriminatory access to all services, including adequate housing. They will hopefully create opportunities to expand the use of the incremental tenure model in the growing informal settlements and those of IDPs in and around Bosaso.

Case study 2: Upgrading IDPs' settlements and strengthening tenure through rental agreements

Settlement upgrade

This practice focussed on upgrading existing settlements rather than permanent relocation. A series of negotiations were conducted with private landlords - who may or may not have been the title deed holders - of the land on which IDPs had informally settled. UN-Habitat proposed a temporary tenure model, a tri-partite leasehold agreement between the landlords, the IDPs residing on the land and the municipality. Under the agreement, landlords had to comply with minimum humanitarian standards to reduce the population density of the settlements and ensure space for effective firebreaks and communal services. Landlords kept their right to develop the site as long as sufficient notice was given. The approach improved tenure security, living conditions and access to services.

To ensure access to basic utilities during the upgrades, UN-Habitat and the municipality negotiated an agreement with GUMco, the local water provider, to install water taps on the main streets of the settlements at a maximum distance of 250 metres from each household. The taps were managed by members of the displaced community members in direct cooperation with GUMco. Landlords were not allowed to intervene, act as gatekeepers to services or charge extra fees. The upgrades also allocated space for community centres, mosques, temporary schools and sand storage for fire-fighting.

The main streets were later widened to six metres to act as firebreaks and ensure quick access for fire-fighting vehicles. A committee representing the community was tasked with keeping the roads clear and free of obstruction. Secondary access lanes between housing rows were made four metres wide. The new settlement layout, awareness raising with the local community and training of both community members and local authorities led to a 50 per cent fall in the number of families affected by outbreaks of fire in 2008 compared with 2007. Women's safety and security was also a recurring issue, particularly when using latrines at night, so the upgrades included separate pit latrines for men and women, at a minimum ratio of one toilet per 20 people and installed at strategic points.

Landowners tended to favour five-year leases, on the basis that the additional public investment and development would increase the value of their land value and attract private investors. Such agreements were also a pragmatic option for IDPs not seeking to integrate locally and unable to purchase property themselves.

It guaranteed tenants protection from eviction for five years, and thereafter landlords were obliged to give 90 days' notice if they wanted to repossess their land for developments or other purposes, in accordance with the UN basic principles and guidelines on development-based evictions and displacement¹¹.

The temporary tenure model relied on traditional and informal dispute resolution mechanisms. The rental agreements stipulated that disputes should be settled "through dialogue by the concerned parties", but was not clear what recourse IDPs had beyond appealing to the local authorities or their landlords. In 2012, the Ministry of Interior took over the mayor's responsibility for witnessing and overseeing the agreements on the basis that "if an agreement between a landowner and a tenant is signed by the Ministry of Interior, the Mayor and the Islamic court, then it is stronger".¹²

At the outset of the programme, UN-Habitat launched a radio and television campaign to discuss the minimum standards IDPs might expect and be able to demand from the local authorities and landlords. The debate mobilised local authorities and religious and community leaders to discuss IDPs' rights and economic contribution, and brought the issues of fire prevention and hygiene to light.¹³

Despite the obligation established for landlords to give 90 days' notice of their intention to evict tenants after five years of occupancy, many people agreed to 60-day notice periods agreement. The rental agreements could also have been clearer about tenants' obligations to maintain the land, latrine construction and other developments, rent payments, right to purchase, ownership of shelter materials and inheritance and sub-letting rights. IDPs needed to be the documented owners of their shelter materials so that, in the event of eviction they could relocate to another site and quickly rebuild their homes. For landlords not receiving rent from their tenants, the municipality might have been better to reassure them "that they will not be forced to pay tax on lands used by IDPs from which they derive no income."¹⁴ Such a guarantee might make them more willing to provide land for IDPs' settlements.

The radio and television campaign that accompanied the start of the programme succeeded in raising awareness of IDPs' and tenants' rights, a fact that is perhaps its crowning achievement. Displaced households have been empowered as tenants who can exercise leverage with landlords unwilling to sign a tenancy agreement that guarantees a 90-day eviction notice and basic provision and maintenance of services.

Notes

1. The incremental tenure model discussed in this section is based on the work of the Pretoria-based research organisation Urban Land Mark, which focuses on how to make urban land markets work better for the poor. This information was reproduced from Dan Smit and Gemey Abrahams, *Incrementally Securing Tenure: An Approach for Informal Settlement Upgrading in South Africa*. Urban Land Mark, April 2010, <http://goo.gl/cmnaoN>, last accessed on 1 January 2015
2. *Ibid*, p.19
3. May require community consultations and background research on community conflicts and leadership structures
4. UN-Habitat, *Bosaso: First Steps Towards Strategic Urban Planning*, 2009
5. Bosaso *municipality figures*; A 2010 Forced Migration Review article estimated the city's population as 150,000 with 35,000 IDPs
6. UNHRC, *Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on the human rights of internally displaced persons*, Walter Kälin, A/HRC/13/21/Add.2, 21 January 2010, p.7
7. UN-Habitat, *Bosaso: First Steps Towards Strategic Urban Planning*, 2009, p.26
8. Filiep Decorte and Ombretta Tempra, *Improving living conditions in Bosaso, Somalia*, in *Forced Migration Review* no. 34, ISSN 1460-9819, February 2010, p.16
9. UN-Habitat Somalia, *Resettlement Options for IDPs: Bosaso – Garowe – Galkaio*, June 2005
10. Emergency Shelter: NFI Cluster, *Bariga Bossaso Shelter Project: Land Tenure Issues*, April 2012, p.7
11. UN Human Rights Council, *Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement: Annex 1*, Miloon Kothari, 5 February 2007, A/HRC/4/18, available at: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/Go7/106/28/PDF/Go710628.pdf?OpenElement>, page 13
12. Emergency Shelter: NFI Cluster. "Bariga Bossaso Shelter Project: Land Tenure Issues." April 2012, page 6
13. *Ibid*
14. *Ibid*, p.7

7. Neighbourhood upgrades

Description

Neighbourhood upgrades generally shift the focus from IDPs specifically to area-based interventions integrated into broader urban and development plans. They are distinct from individual or beneficiary-based approaches, and as such help to overcome one of the main challenges faced by humanitarian organisations working in urban - how to reach dispersed IDPs who are largely invisible in broader communities that include other vulnerable people such as migrants, marginalised groups and the urban poor. In some cases, however, such as the Roma Mahalla in Kosovo, the upgrade was part of a return project specifically conceived as a durable solution for IDPs living in protracted displacement in lead-contaminated camps in second case study below). Better use of space to create more housing can also be achieved via North Mitrovicë/a (see first case study).

Neighbourhood upgrades include support for municipalities in improving associated infrastructure and services to an area, and more efficient use of space to increase the number of affordable rental properties available. This is often done by encouraging property owners to build additional rooms to accommodate IDPs' local integration, as was the case in Katye in Haiti.

The third case study describes how the Transitional Solutions Initiative involved community members in Colombia in identifying their priorities and then simultaneously addressing their humanitarian and development needs in the regularisation of their informal settlement.



Residents in new housing in Ravine Pintade, a hilly area in the center of Port-au-Prince which was previously damaged by the earthquake. An extra floor was added to address the small size of the plots. Photo: CHF/Maggie Steber, May 2012

The neighbourhood approach

“Practitioners define the Neighbourhood Approach as an area-based intervention that responds to multi-sectorial needs and is informed by community-based decision-making reflective of the social, economic, and physical features of the delineated area.

The approach is shelter-led but settlement-focussed: it shifts the attention from conventional ‘four walls and a roof’ efforts centred on households, towards a more synergistic and complementary focus on the entire community in defined spatial contexts. The process requires understanding of available local resources, emergent opportunities, and potential constraints regarding the sheltering of people, the recovery of affected economies, and the reduction of risks associated with vulnerability to natural hazards”.

Source: “The Neighbourhood approach” Improving the Delivery of Humanitarian Assistance in Urban Areas.” USAID/DCHQ/OFDA, no date

Case study 1: Katye¹ neighbourhood improvement programme in Ravine Pintade (Haiti)

Snapshot	
Practice	Katye neighbourhood improvement programme in Ravine Pintade
Main actors	CHF International (now Global Communities) Project Concern International
Context	Ninety per cent of Ravine Pintade residents, or around 2,000 people, were displaced by the 2010 earthquake
Target group(s)	The construction and infrastructure programme benefitted 574 families living in Ravine Pintade but other aspects such as medical consultations in a health centre benefitted another 1400 families living outside of Ravine Pintade.
Summary	The practice combined humanitarian assistance with a longer-term development approach that emphasised recovery and settlement upgrade. It supported IDPs' early return to their original neighbourhoods as part of their durable solutions, and contributed to an overall improvement in residents' access to adequate housing in Ravine Pintade. The project took a comprehensive and multi-sectorial approach, including the provision of transitional shelter that could be upgraded, disaster risk reduction measures, rubble removal, and initiatives in the areas of water and sanitation, health, livelihoods and the protection of vulnerable groups.
Strengths (Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)	The practice involved the community from an early stage, and its participation engendered a feeling of community ownership over the project. Enumeration and mapping exercises were used to identify different forms of land rights, tenure claims and ownership, and a risk mapping exercise was also conducted. A profiling exercise helped to identify the community's priorities and needs early on in terms of housing, settlement planning and infrastructure. The practice resulted in a moderate increase in rental housing stock in Ravine Pintade (similar to the incremental housing approach in Jordan). It included disaster risk reduction (DRR) measures such as retaining walls, drainage infrastructure and wider footpaths. Technical experts helped residents to implement the measures. The practice included auxiliary programmes, such as free community health care, training programmes and protection initiatives.
Key challenge(s)	Inaccessibility of the site complicated and slowed down implementation and raised costs Tension with surrounding neighbourhoods not included in the project Lack of training on building maintenance, vertical and horizontal expansion and the re-use of materials.
Factors for potential replicability	The cost-effectiveness of this type of broad approach at different scales Community ownership and participation

Background

In the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, many neighbourhoods or *katyes* were severely damaged and their residents displaced. One such area was the Ravine Pintade informal settlement situated between Port-au-Prince and Petionville, which was home to nearly 2,000 families. The settlement spans 16 acres and is built on a steep slope with precarious housing that suffered severe damage during the earthquake. Ninety per cent of the residents were displaced. Damaged roads and rubble made the settlement inaccessible.

Even before the earthquake and the displacement it caused, Ravine Pintade had problems, such as poor planning and construction practices, vulnerability to

floods and landslides, and a lack of public infrastructure including water and sanitation. Even if IDPs were to return, without disaster risk reduction measures they would be vulnerable to renewed displacement in the event of another natural hazard.

Overview

To facilitate return to Ravine Pintade, it was determined that the settlement would have to be rebuilt and upgraded. CHF International (now Global Communities) and Project Concern International (PCI) developed a *katye* improvement programme that combined humanitarian assistance with a longer-term development approach emphasising recovery and the upgrading of the settlement. In effect, the programme not only supported IDPs' prompt

return to Ravine Pintade. It also contributed to an overall improvement in residents' access to adequate housing.

The project took a comprehensive and multi-sectoral approach to settlement improvement, including the provision of transitional shelter that could be upgraded; disaster risk reduction initiatives; rubble clearance; water, sanitation, health and livelihoods programmes; and the protection of vulnerable groups.

Community enumeration and profiling exercises identified different forms of land rights, tenure claims and ownership in the settlement. The enumeration exercise also helped to identify the community's priorities and needs regarding housing, settlement planning and infrastructure. CHF and PCI conducted a risk mapping exercise with the community and then proposed solutions based on their findings. The entire process of programme design, including the enumeration and profiling exercises, aimed to build consensus around the objectives and implementation of the initiative.

In an effort to improve living standards, two-storey housing units were proposed to make up for the small plot sizes in the settlement. In some cases, an extra floor was built on the condition that the beneficiary would offer it rent-free to a homeless or displaced person. The initiative led to a moderate increase rental housing stock in the settlement, and water, sanitation and drainage infrastructure were also installed. Drainage is particularly important in terms of disaster risk reduction.

Community participation played a significant part in the success of the project, not only identifying needs that the programme could address, but also by engendering a sense of ownership of the project, building trust and resolving problems that arose during implementation. These included dealing with threats from within and outside the community, and negotiating land concessions to incorporate disaster risk reduction (DRR) measures such as retaining walls, install sanitation and drainage infrastructure, and widen footpaths. Technical experts helped residents with the implementation of disaster risk reduction measures.

The retaining walls built to shore up Ravine Pintade's steep slopes also created platforms that increased the amount of available land by 17 per cent. The space was used to create a market, community water points, benches and other public spaces with solar lighting, helping to improve living conditions in the settlement.² Auxiliary programmes included free care at a community health centre, training programmes and protection services.

Impact

Almost 2,000 people benefited from the programme.

Beneficiaries included 574 families who had previously lived in the settlement and others on the south side of the ravine and surrounding areas, showing that some effort had been made to target the wider community.³

CHF and PCI employed community members to clear rubble, providing short-term livelihood opportunities for returning IDPs who had lost income as result of their displacement. The programme also tried to address neglected tenants' needs. Many early recovery and housing upgrade or reconstruction schemes favour property owners over tenants, who tend to be side lined. As such, the help provided to returning families in upgrading their homes and building extra floors to provide rent-free housing for homeless people and IDPs were important elements of the initiative.

Challenges and lessons learned

The community's participation and sense of ownership were the main strength in the programme, which was founded on trust. Among other things, it meant that beneficiaries waiting for housing upgrades were able to rely on the community for temporary solutions by making arrangements with friends or family, which added no additional cost to the programme.

The cash-for-work initiative was helpful, but payment by the hour rather than based on productivity was not appropriate. CHF and PCI also considered reusing the rubble for building, but it was deemed unsafe to do so. The programme would have benefited from more livelihood interventions, including vocational training and access to small business loans. It could also have conducted more outreach to surrounding areas to make it even more inclusive, and more training on building maintenance, vertical or horizontal expansion and the recycling of materials should have been included. DRR activities benefited from the presence of technical experts.

The programme helped only a small fraction of the 2.3 million people left temporarily homeless by the earthquake, but it also influenced several other projects through the organisation of field visits and the dissemination of information on its methodology, best practices and costs. IFRC, the American Red Cross, the World Bank and UN-OPS among others acknowledged that it had guided the development of their own programmes.⁴

This was a new project implemented at a relatively small scale, but it could be developed and scaled up as part of future recovery programmes. One key factor to consider, however, is how cost-effective such a multi-sectoral, community-based approach would be at different scales. It touches on the perennial question of whether it is better to assist many people with relatively little, or to help a few with high-level assistance. This is hardly a realis-

tic portrayal of the cost-efficiency trade-offs involved in programme design, but it does reflect that the fact that humanitarians and their counterparts in the development sector often have to pit quantity against quality.

Given that the focus of this report is on employing a rights-based approach to durable solutions, it is important to ask whether programmes such as the one in Ravine Pintade could be mainstreamed in a more cost-effective and time-effective way.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that this was a small and isolated programme, it provides a powerful example of how IDPs' short and longer-term needs can be addressed in a complementary way by combining humanitarian and development approaches.

Case study 2: Return to Roma Mahalla (Kosovo)

Overview

Roma Mahalla is a neighbourhood on the south bank of the river Ibër/Ibar in the city of Mitrovicë/a in northern Kosovo. Before the 1999 armed conflict, it had around 750 homes on at least 13.5 hectares of land and as many as 8,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) residents,⁵ the largest community of its kind in the former Yugoslavia⁶. The entire population of Roma Mahalla was displaced as a result of the armed conflict that pitted the Kosovo Liberation Army against Yugoslav government forces and Serbian paramilitary units, the subsequent NATO bombing and the wave of retaliatory violence by ethnic Albanians. Roma Mahalla residents were targeted by Albanian Kosovars, who looted the neighbourhood and burned it down because they believed the RAE had collaborated with the Serbs⁷.

RAE who had the resources fled elsewhere in Europe, but the poorest, many of whom had previously been informal settlers, sought refuge in displacement camps near north Mitrovicë/a or fled to Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. The camps were only intended to provide temporary shelter for a few months, but IDPs ended up living there in insalubrious and harmful conditions for up to 13 years. Since the 1999 conflict, Mitrovicë/a has been politically divided. The north of the city is de facto controlled by Serbia, and the south by Kosovo. Further inter-ethnic violence displaced 4,200 people in the city in 2004.

Before the conflict, RAEs' informal settlements, including Roma Mahalla, had not been integrated into the Mitrovicë/a municipality's urban development plan. The land in Roma Mahalla was divided into three categories, each of

which required different types of solution. It had private land, much of it owned by people living in western Europe and unwilling to return and jeopardise their asylum claims; municipal land, on the majority of IDPs had been informally settled; and land administered by the Kosovo Trust Agency, on which very few IDPs had been settled.

Informal RAE settlers, tenants and those living with others tend not to have property documents. Some had never registered their property with the cadastral office, or did not record inheritance or sale transactions. To complicate matters further, Mitrovicë/a's cadastral records had been taken to Serbia during the conflict. The UN mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) requested and received the cadastral records, and updated vector coordinates and urban plans for Roma Mahalla to ensure that the locations of all previous plots and buildings were properly recorded before the rubble was cleared and reconstruction began. The information was essential in getting the project off the ground.

Mitrovicë/a is a highly politicised environment. In the aftermath of inter-ethnic conflict, it was particularly difficult to get land allocated for displaced minorities. The city also underwent significant urbanisation after the conflict. Its population is said to have doubled with the arrival of IDPs from other parts of Kosovo who wanted to integrate locally rather than return to areas where they would be part of a minority.

Roma Mahalla sits on prime land in the city centre and the municipality had many other potential uses for it. RAEs' return to the neighbourhood was in line with the national preference for IDPs to go back to the home areas, but it took a directive from the prime minister's office before the municipality would agree to allocate land for the process.⁸

Camp conditions

An estimated 1,500 IDPs from Roma Mahalla and elsewhere were accommodated in four camps in Cesmin Lug, Zitkovac, Kablare and Leposavic⁹. Shelter consisted of makeshift tents, huts and metal containers with cardboard insulation, outdoor plumbing and intermittent electricity. Initially meant to be temporary, the camps were managed by UNHCR from 1999 to 2001, UNMIK from 2001 to 2008 and the Ministry of Communities and Returns from 2008 until their closure. Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) managed Cesmin Lug and Osterode, another camp set up in 2007, on UNMIK's behalf.

The Cesmin Lug, Zitkovac and Kablare camps were established on land near the Trepca lead mine and smelter that was contaminated with heavy metals. The contamination affected all local residents, but the health risks to RAE in the camps were significantly higher than for the rest of the population. Many RAE engaged in informal lead smelting to earn an income, and their lead-painted

Snapshot	
Practice	Return to Roma Mahalla (2004 to 2013)
Main actors	UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) Municipality of Mitrovicë/a Norwegian Church Aid Danish Refugee Council UNHCR, OSCE, Mercy Corps
Context	Around 8,000 Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) people fled the Roma Mahalla neighbourhood in the city of Mitrovicë/a in northern Kosovo during the 1999 conflict. The poorest settled in informal camps where they lived for up to 13 years, during which time it emerged that they were lead-contaminated. Kosovo's bid for independence meant it came under EU scrutiny. Mitrovicë/a is a divided city. The northern part is in effect controlled by Serbia and the southern part by Kosovo. Significant urbanisation has taken place in Mitrovicë/a since the conflict, and the Roma Mahalla is prime land in the town centre.
Target group	Displaced RAE families, particularly those living in lead-contaminated camps Mitrovicë/a residents and municipal authorities
Summary	After lengthy negotiations, the Return to Roma Mahalla agreement was reached by the International Stakeholders Group for the Mitrovicë/a Region and the Mitrovicë/a municipality, and was signed on 18 April 2005 by the Municipal Assembly President, UNMIK's Regional Representative, and representatives of OSCE, UNHCR and UNMIK. It outlined the right of all former residents of the neighbourhood to return and the terms under which the move was to take place. Between 2005 and 2012, the project involved temporary resettlement, soil and blood testing for lead contamination, training of public health workers, identity registration, the verification of property rights, rubble removal, infrastructure and housing construction, educational and livelihoods initiatives and strengthening the capacity of Mitrovicë/a's municipal authorities. Housing units were distributed according to family size, and former homeowners had their properties rebuilt. Those who were given new housing units signed a 99-year lease, improving their tenure security compared to their residence in the Roma Mahalla informal settlement before the conflict. Beneficiaries did not pay rent, but were responsible for all utility bills and building maintenance costs. The project helped to overcome the sense of abandonment that the IDPs felt after years of languishing in lead-contaminated camps with few if any effective initiatives to help them.
Key challenge(s)	Considerable advocacy was required regarding the urgent need to close the lead-contaminated camps and resettle the IDPs. The RAE project beneficiaries were highly vocal about some issues, but their participation in planning and implementation was limited. It was not always clear who the legitimate community leaders were, a fact which continues to create confusion for local and international interlocutors. Dealing with the effects of lead contamination, particularly in children and young people. Overcoming IDPs' mistrust of the local and international community and their fears about the possible security issues involved in returning to Roma Mahalla. Absence or inaccuracy of land registries. Some beneficiaries sold their housing in violation of their tenancy agreement, which the municipality considered illegal but approached with flexibility to keep the peace. There were not enough livelihood opportunities for beneficiaries to become self-reliant, which in turn reduced the habitability of their housing over time.
Factors for potential replicability	1. A strong legal and policy framework on durable solutions at the national, regional and municipal level 2. Stability and security after the cessation of violence and hostilities 3. Effective coordination mechanisms between local, national and international organisations and displaced and receiving communities 4. Municipal agreement to allow returnees to resettle on public land



View of the destruction of Roma Mahala after the conflict, and of a rehabilitated building. Photo: IDMC/B. McCallin, May 2009

doors and windows, substandard living conditions, poor diet and hygiene practices, and infrequent medical visits only served to make their health risks worse.

A 2004 World Health Organisation (WHO) study found elevated blood lead levels among RAE in the camps. Further studies by WHO and the Mitrovicë/a public health institute conducted each of the next four years showed similar results and led to calls for the camps to be closed.¹⁰ RAE, human rights organisations and UN special procedures and treaty bodies issued parallel statements about the dangerous health and living conditions in the camps and pressed UNMIK to address the issue.

Five years of neglecting of the lead contamination problem were followed by years of haphazard efforts to resolve the issue. RAE living in the camps were resettled to Osterode until returns to Roma Mahalla began in 2007. After more than a decade living in lead-contaminated camps, the RAE community developed significant mistrust of the international community.

Policy shifts in favour of IDPs' return

Several national, regional and local legal and policy frameworks were applied or invoked in implementing the return of the RAE community to Roma Mahalla. The key legal document, the Return to Roma Mahalla Agreement, was signed on 18 April 2005.

It outlined the terms of the right of return of all former Roma Mahalla residents. The decision would rest with individual families and be entirely voluntary. Private property in the neighbourhood would not be affected except for changes caused by the upgrading of infrastructure, in which case the municipality would compensate owners. Those who had previously lived on municipal land would be returned to municipal land in the same or adjacent areas. Those who had not previously owned land but had lived in the neighbourhood would be given 99-year leases on new apartments in small low-rise buildings with a maximum 12 units and varying floor plans.

A revised manual for sustainable returns published in July 2006 outlines the principles and procedures for implementing a rights-based approach to resettlement. It

covers the economic and social sustainability of returns, incorporates gender and age-related factors of displacement, and establishes a grassroots participatory model that integrates displaced communities. It entitles each family to a relocation package that included food, hygiene and household items, electrical appliances, firewood and an in-kind grant for income generation aligned to beneficiaries' needs and skills.

At the regional level, Kosovo signed the Vienna Declaration on Informal Settlements in South Eastern Europe in March 2005. The goal of regularising informal settlements and closing displacement camps was reinforced in December 2011 by priority 45 of the European partnership action plan for Kosovo, which determines that the state must "find sustainable solutions for accommodation and integration of Roma community living in hazardous conditions in camps and of displaced persons/groups in informal settlements".

Kosovo's strategy for the integration of RAE communities for 2009 to 2105 sets out the state's duty to take steps to provide them with legal tenure security, integrate their settlements into municipal urban development plans and improve their access to housing and other public services. In May 2011, the need to allocate land for return was further reinforced by the European Commission and Kosovo's Ministry of European Integration in their proposals to advance the integration of RAE communities.¹¹

Kosovo's legal framework does not specify the term "social housing" and the only legislation that regulates such programmes is the 2010 law on housing financing specific programmes (Law No. 03/L-164), which aims to create "possibilities for a sustainable housing for the families or individuals that are not in such economically state to endure the offers of free market of dwelling". Article four stipulates eligibility for such programmes. It includes families that do not own an "apartment or house", who are "homeless as a result of house destruction during the last conflict in Kosovo" and whose current accommodation does not comply with "housing standards defined for social and economical category".

Coordination mechanisms and IDPs' participation

After the signing of the Return to Roma Mahalla Agreement in 2005, a project management steering group was established. It was co-chaired by the Mitrovicë/a municipality and UNMIK's minority rights adviser who served as executive officer. It included units on legal and protection issues, community development and technical implementation, which were co-chaired by the municipality and UNHCR, OSCE and UNDP respectively. RAE representatives were not formally included. Interpretation was provided at all meetings, and minutes were published in English, Albanian and Serbian.

The steering group and implementing agencies made several efforts to foster a participatory process for return to Roma Mahalla. They conducted regular individual and group consultations with beneficiaries and separately with RAE leaders, hired RAE staff and held regular community meetings. There were, however, five main challenges to IDPs' participation to overcome.

First, the RAE community had developed significant mistrust of the international community after more than a decade of unmet promises while living in lead-contaminated camps. Second, and very much related, community participation was low in activities such as the Roma Mahalla task force, community meetings and tripartite agreements with implementing agencies and the municipality.

Third, communication was made more difficult by RAE speaking mainly Albanian or Serbian. Mercy Corps hired an external legal firm to explain the content of the tripartite agreements to beneficiaries in their respective languages before they signed.

Fourth, it was not always clear who the legitimate RAE leaders were. Over the years, different people have claimed to lead the Roma Mahalla community, which created confusion for local and international interlocutors.¹² In an effort to better understand the situation, the municipality hired a Roma woman who had returned from lead-contaminated camps to be their representative in the neighbourhood.

Fifth, power relations were unequal when negotiations took place between community leaders and national or international agencies. The steering group executive officer, Laurie Wiseberg, described the situation on 14 March 2005 during talks between the municipality and Roma residents on the urban plan for Roma Mahalla:

"On one side of the table were the Roma leaders, including representatives from Serbia – largely uneducated, with little knowledge of national or international law, in shabby second-hand clothes and nervous; on the other side were the municipal officials and professionals (an urban planner, a lawyer, an architect, a political leader) in suits, well-versed in negotiations, and at ease."

That said, RAE representatives were still able to make themselves heard. They were, for example, vehemently opposed to living in apartments, because the vast majority had only ever lived in individual family homes with a yard. The steering group tried to address the fact that

apartment buildings were not considered culturally appropriate by making modifications to their design. They limited each building to 12 apartments and included measures to accommodate RAE traditions. Each apartment was allocated basement storage space, a woodstove for cooking and a balcony. Residents who moved in during the first phase of the project were given apartments, but the steering group redesigned the accommodation for the second phase to provide terraced housing.

While Roma Mahalla was being reconstructed, UNMIK's civil affairs department and the UN secretary general's special representative for Kosovo proposed relocating IDPs in the lead contaminated camps to vacant army barracks. The RAE community, however, was emphatically opposed. Its sentiments were captured by one camp leader, Skender Gusani, who said: "International organisations are not doing a good job ... people only want to return to the same houses as they had before ... the camps do not want another temporary relocation as they do not want to be forgotten". Camp residents were still offered the relocation and though not all chose to accept it, most eventually did.

When UNMIK and NCA left Kosovo in 2009, Mercy Corps took on a more prominent role in the reconstruction of Roma Mahalla, and in April 2010 it entered into a bilateral memorandum of understanding with the municipality. The agreement set out the duties and responsibilities of each party, and regular meetings were held with the municipality, the Ministry of Communities and Returns, UNHCR, DRC, OSCE, the Kosovo police, NATO's Kosovo force (KFOR) and the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS). The meetings helped to coordinate the closure and demolition of the camps, resettlement procedures, and the addressing of education and protection concerns.

Mercy Corps was not able to sign a memorandum with RAE community leaders, because of their mistrust of external organisations and their feeling that their resettlement requests were not being met. It did find, however, that they "were more comfortable signing limited and specific agreements such as the list of beneficiaries or the contents of the food resettlement packages". This was ultimately viewed as a more productive way to engage community leaders in implementing resettlement, rather than a symbolic memorandum demonstrating general support for the project.

Programme design

After broad and lengthy consensus building, negotiations and coordination, the Return to Roma Mahalla initiative was established as a series of projects across various sectors implemented by international organisations and funded by international donors and, to a lesser extent, the Ministry of Communities and Return. Between 2005 and

2012, it consisted of temporary resettlement, soil and blood testing for lead contamination, training of public health workers, identity registration, property rights verification, rubble removal, infrastructure and housing construction, educational and livelihoods assistance and efforts to strengthen the capacity of the municipal authorities.

The municipality agreed to donate 10 hectares of land to RAE residents under a 99-year lease.¹³ The concept of land donation was reinforced in April 2010, when the prime minister issued a letter advising all municipalities to allocate land for resettlement and return as a show of support of the Kosovo operational plan for displacement.¹⁴

The leasehold agreement stipulates that no rent shall be paid, but beneficiaries are "responsible for paying all utilities and for the maintenance" including repairs to water pipes, windows and roofs. Beneficiaries had to pay a nominal fee of €1 to enter into the agreement.

The Return to Roma Mahalla Agreement stipulated that 20 per cent of the labour force would come from the RAE community. Most materials were also bought from local vendors in Kosovo, although they were manufactured elsewhere. As such, the project contributed to the local economy and provided livelihood opportunities for IDPs and the receiving community. Roma Mahalla residents confirmed that RAE were hired to rebuild the settlement.¹⁵

Apartments and housing units were distributed according to family size. The minimum space allocated was 3.5 square metres per person. The houses built during the second phase took the needs of disabled returnees into account, and families with disabled members were entitled to an individual private room for them and, in some cases, additional housing options. The apartment buildings had various floor plans, such as ground floor plus two storeys (P+2) or ground floor plus three (P+3), with a maximum of 12 apartments per building. The P+3 buildings had commercial or social space on the ground floor, which was intended to help generate income to pay for the maintenance of common infrastructure and areas.

The second phase houses were built using clay bricks, a concrete façade and polystyrene insulation for external walls. The roofs were clay tiled and attics were also insulated. As lead contamination is an issue throughout the region, the land was ploughed deeply before the building work began to minimise lead content in the soil. Wood-burning stoves and portable electric heaters were also provided.

In an effort to avoid friction between returnees and the receiving community, social integration activities were run before, during and after the process. These includ-

ed "cultural and religious events, as well as multi-ethnic trainings on conflict mitigation, gender issues, advocacy and negotiation". The receiving community appears to have accepted the return of RAE to Roma Mahalla, though some have expressed envy at the housing they received.

Community board meetings have been ongoing since 2009. The municipality chairs the meetings and minutes are published in Albanian, Serbian and Romani. They are also disseminated orally for those who are illiterate. Returnees are simultaneously integrated in that they shop in south Mitrovicë/a, and not in that their children go to school in the north of the city.

Impact

Around 280 RAE families, or 1,100 people, have returned to Roma Mahalla. More than 400 had already done so by 2007, thanks in large part to intense efforts by NCA and DRC. The municipality allocated land for NCA to construct four apartment blocks for 48 families. Following the lengthy and complicated process of verifying ownership, DRC reconstructed 54 private homes. The remainder of the 1,100 were settled in terraced houses built under Mercy Corps' leadership in the following years.

Residents who did not previously hold title deeds received new apartments or terraced houses with 99-year leases providing tenure security. As the beneficiaries moved in, they signed acceptance forms to confirm that they were happy with their new homes. Professional removal companies helped them move, and they also received a resettlement package of food, non-food items, furniture, home appliances, firewood and income generation assistance. Returnees acknowledge the improved housing conditions in Roma Mahalla.¹⁶

Residents have access to a range of health facilities, such as the Roma Mahalla clinic, the south Mitrovicë/a family medical centre, the hospital in north Mitrovicë/a and the Institute of Public Health in Pristina.¹⁷ The clinic, or *ambulanta*, was equipped with lead testing equipment and local healthcare workers were trained in its use and the treatment of those with high blood lead levels. This benefits Roma Mahalla and other local residents alike, particularly given that Mitrovicë/a is a heavily polluted area, and because the medication to treat lead contamination is not listed as essential, meaning recipients would otherwise have to pay for it.

To deal with the issue of lead poisoning, NCA constructed a medical clinic with DRC's support. Around 150 RAE children from the camps were found to have high levels of lead in their blood, which in some cases dropped to acceptable levels naturally when they moved out. Between 2010 and 2012, 45 children were treated with chelation therapy, vitamin supplements and a healthy diet, and by

December 2014 only two children – whose families continue to smelt - still had high blood lead levels.

The neighbourhood received an infrastructure makeover. Roma Mahalla residents and their neighbours have benefited from the installation of mains water, electricity supplies, sewers and street lighting, and the laying of asphalted roads and pavements, making it one of the most developed neighbourhoods in the city. Ten of the project's houses were built for members of the receiving community identified by the municipality as living on social assistance without their own homes. They also received vocational training and apprenticeship opportunities. Municipal officials were trained extensively in various topics, including Roma employment, public-private partnerships and foreign investment.

A learning centre was established in Roma Mahalla to address the issue of Roma children being stigmatised because they did not do their homework. The centre also provides extra-curricular support, activities and supplies. Of the 300 or so children in the neighbourhood, around 250 go to school in north Mitrovicë/a to continue to access to Serbian language instruction. The remainder do not go to school and dropouts are common.

Livelihood support evolved over time. Skills and market assessments were conducted to determine the most appropriate and lucrative types of assistance, and returnees were given equipment ranging from chainsaws and masonry tools to musical instruments. Some received business and vocational training, and internships that in some cases led to employment.

When it became apparent that some families were selling the equipment they received, the approach shifted to providing skills rather than goods. Some organisations gave grants to businesses and factories to hire returnees, which helped some gain full-time employment. Others, however, gave up working under the arrangement, arguing that they wanted to be paid daily rather than monthly and preferred short-term labour.

A social business incubator was also set up in Roma Mahalla. It is a depot that offers space for workshops, offices and tools, and the services of a mentor. Those wishing to use the facilities have to provide a business plan. Four out of 12 businesses started in the incubator are active and profitable, with the collection of plastics for recycling the most successful. Roma Mahalla's central location and commercial value have the potential to attract both consumers and investors.

Challenges

Some returnees sold or exchanged their new housing, or transferred it to someone else in transactions that were formalised by a lawyer.¹⁸ Mercy Corps monitors

the occupancy of the terraced houses it built, and as of August 2014, 25 of the 182 units were unoccupied and 15 had been sold, for €2,000 (\$2,100).

The municipality is aware of these transactions, and considers them illegal. The terms of the leases do not permit them, but the authorities have not abrogated them, opting rather for leniency to keep the peace. The wording of the leases on the terraced houses built during the second phase of the project was changed to forbid their sale after it emerged that earlier returnees had sold their apartments.

Some instances of damp were reported in the first terraced houses to be built. The damp was treated and the housing design revised to include exterior wall insulation and improved heating and ventilation systems.¹⁹

Roma Mahalla residents have not always paid their utility bills. As of the end of 2014, the neighbourhood owed water companies around €70,000 and electricity firms €100,000, and power had been cut off.²⁰ OSCE liaised with utility companies to have the electricity reconnect. There was also a huge pile of rubbish at one end of the neighbourhood, because residents had not paid for waste disposal.

Few people frequent the laundry, hair salon and kiosks established on the ground floor of the apartment buildings, and some customers keep debts with shopkeepers. The outdoor market space currently serves as a car park.

As of the end of 2014, the sustainability of most returnees' livelihoods remained questionable. Those without full-time jobs survive on income earned through collecting plastics and other recyclables, odd jobs such as cutting wood, moving furniture and cleaning, and social assistance. Two families continue to smelt lead from batteries. Some returnees work in north Mitrovicë/a where there are more jobs, but many wish to emigrate as a result of their bleak economic outlook.²¹

Many returnees in terraced housing have erected fences around their yards to increase privacy and built sheds to store scrap, recyclables and other items RAE typically collect. They did so without planning permission and at their own expense. Municipal officials carried out an inspection in 2014, leaving many worried that their sheds would be demolished despite their insistence that their leases does not forbid such constructions. Concerned residents are preparing a petition to hand to the mayor of Mitrovicë/a during discussions aimed at finding a compromise.

Conclusion

The Return to Roma Mahalla project is a good example of a rights-based, inclusive approach to the provision of land and housing for the return of a minority community,

most of whose members had not previously owned their own homes or land. The public outcry over the lead-contaminated camps and Kosovo's bid for independence, which meant it was under EU scrutiny, were instrumental in pushing the initiative forward.

The project also shows that persistent attempts to foster IDPs' participation, however challenging, can lead to important modifications or the reformulation of national and international plans and priorities for their return. It also shows that access to livelihoods and establishing self-reliance can be a major challenge for IDPs in protracted displacement, particularly for marginalised groups such as the Roma, and that over time it reduces the habitability of their housing.

Case study 3: Transitional Solutions Initiative (Colombia)

Programme design

Colombia is a pilot country for the Transitional Solutions Initiative (TSI), an international project involving the World Bank, UNHCR and UNDP that was launched in 2010 with the aim of achieving durable solutions for people living in protracted displacement. In Colombia, the initiative is run by UNHCR and UNDP with the support of national and local authorities, and focuses on IDPs in 17 communities. Since its inception in 2012, it has set a precedent in terms of UNHCR and UNDP co-leading programmes aimed at the achievement of durable solutions in Colombia.

TSI has three components: the improvement of living conditions - access to land, housing, basic services and local economic development; institutional and organisational strengthening; and the protection of victims' and their communities' rights. It employs a community-focussed participatory approach that simultaneously engages communities, authorities and institutions. It aims to strengthen communities' leadership, giving them agency to identify their own solutions on the assumption that stronger communities require less external support.

Regularisation of informal settlements

TSI's living conditions component includes the regularisation of informal urban settlements, where most IDPs live whether on private or public land. The settlements have expanded significantly over five decades of conflict and some make up a large part of the cities in which they were established. That said, they tend not to be officially connected to water and electricity supplies or sanitation services, and residents are at risk of eviction. The settlements have become an increasingly serious issue, which authorities acknowledge needs to be resolved.

Regularisation is a highly complex legal process in Colombia, and competing claims over land make it more complicated still. TSI has succeeded in identifying a legal pathway towards regularisation, but each settlement has its own history shaped by different factors, and as such has to be treated separately and without assumptions. Municipal authorities have different reasons for agreeing to regularisation, though most acknowledge that the sheer scale of their informal settlements warrants intervention. Private landowners

also have mixed interests, but some have realised that residents are there to stay and that it would be more straightforward and lucrative to sell their land rather than trying to reclaim it.

Implementation and monitoring is still going on, but as of mid-2014 13 communities were in the process of regularising their land and one had finalised it. A profiling exercise with focus groups, participatory assessments and household surveys was conducted to review progress made in 2014 and the results are due for publication. JIPS provided technical expertise in developing TSI's set of indicators, based on a range of variables and UNDP's and UNHCR's existing monitoring tools. JIPS has also helped to establish a broader monitoring and evaluation process for multi-sectorial approaches to durable solutions, helping to bridge the humanitarian and development divide between the two agencies.

Challenges and strengths

Continuing violence and armed conflict, a lack of technical capacity and political will and the prohibitive cost of studies to determine the feasibility of legalising settlements in areas prone to natural hazards all constitute obstacles to the regularisation process. That said, the TSI programme has numerous strengths. It goes beyond the narrow approach of targeting individuals and households, and establishes the community as a whole as the beneficiary of housing and economic development activities that are planned and reviewed by the public and private sector through local leadership committees. It also goes beyond housing to support livelihoods and protection initiatives, and the strengthening of institutional capacity. It is an example of fruitful coordination and cooperation at the inter-agency level between UNHCR and UNDP and their respective partners.

Colombia's political context offers a good foundation for the implementation of TSI. The government endorsed the Victims' Law in June 2011, and began peace talks with the country's largest rebel group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in 2012. It has also taken numerous measures in recent years to make the transition from humanitarian aid to pursuing durable solutions for IDPs. TSI reinforces and continues this work.

Notes

1. Katye means "neighbourhood" in Haitian creole
2. World Bank, Priscilla Phelps, Analyzing the Haiti Post-Earthquake Shelter Response and Housing Recovery, Results and Lessons from the First Two Years, Part 2: case studies and annexes, 28 October 2013, p.139
3. Earl Kessler, Katye Neighborhood Improvement Program, Funded by USAID/OFDA – Haiti, Final Evaluation, August 16, 2012
4. World Bank, Priscilla Phelps, op cit, p.142
5. In Kosovo, Roma are mainly Serbian and Romani speakers, while Ashkali and Egyptians are Albanian speakers. Separate Ashkali and Egyptian identities emerged from the main Romani identity during Yugoslav times between 1946 and 1992, and the divisions were cemented in the 1990s
6. HRW, Kosovo: Poisoned by Lead, June 2009, p.22
7. *Ibid.*, p.4.
8. IDMC Interviews, Pristina, 8-12 December 2014
9. HRW, Kosovo: Poisoned by Lead, June 2009, p. 26.
10. US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, Lead Poisoning Prevention Branch, Recommendations for Preventing Lead Poisoning among the Internally Displaced Roma Population in Kosovo, 27 October 2007
11. EC and Ministry of European Integration, Forty Actions to Boost the Implementation of the RAE Integration Strategy and Action Plan, May 2011
12. IDMC interviews in Mitrovicë/a, 10 December 2014
13. IDMC interview with Mitrovicë/a municipality, 9 December 2014
14. Government of Kosovo, Prime Minister, Letter to all Mayors of Kosovo, 6 April 2010
15. IDMC interviews in Roma Mahalla, 10 December 2014
16. *Ibid*
17. The hospital in North Mitrovicë/a require documentation issued by Serbia
18. IDMC interviews in Roma Mahalla, 10 December 2014; NCA, Survey of NCA Constructed Buildings Roma Mahalla, 14 July 2009
19. IDMC interview with Mercy Corps, 11 December 2014
20. IDMC interviews in Mitrovicë/a and Roma Mahalla, 9-10 December 2014
21. IDMC interviews in Roma Mahalla, 10 December 2014

8. Supporting municipalities

Description

When large numbers of IDPs arrive in an urban area, a sudden increase in housing demand is only one of a complex set of strains the influx places on a city, its municipalities and other governance institutions. Longer-term shelter strategies such as NRC's integrated urban housing programme in Jordan, which stimulate the housing market and add extra units, also require municipalities and commercial providers to make their services more widely available.

As such, working towards durable solutions for urban IDPs living in protracted displacement means supporting not only the host community, but also the host municipality as a partner whose resources and capacities need to be strengthened. Local governance institutions play a key regulatory role, and they have resources and decision-making powers that can multiply the efforts of international agencies and NGOs.

If urban governance and infrastructure are to be more resilient and able to absorb rapid fluctuations in population, flexible municipal support tools are needed that can make quick assessments and provide financial and other resources to maintain adequate water, electricity, transport and waste management services. Supporting municipalities is an indirect but more sustainable way of supporting IDPs, and it strengthens local ownership and accountability.

Many IDPs move into districts that are poorly planned and under-serviced by municipalities that are either strapped for cash, staff and resources, or do not have the authority under a centralised government to set their own budgets and development plans. Water, electricity and waste management infrastructure may not have been adequate in the first place, meaning that a population influx has the potential to create social tensions over access to overburdened services. The more rapid the expansion of informal settlements, the harder it is for municipalities to keep up with demand. As such, it is important to think about how to link short-term approaches centred on households to medium and long-term development interventions for displaced and host communities as a whole.

The following case study is of a project that targets urban refugees, but it could be adapted to apply to IDPs. It demonstrates how the development sector is evolving and innovating practices for urban areas that deal with large population influxes.

Case study: Host community support platform¹ (Jordan)

Overview

Jordan has a history of poor planning and urban sprawl, made worse by previous influxes of Palestinian and Iraqi refugees. The arrival of more than 620,000 Syrian refugees since 2011 has only served to complicate matters further. It has been estimated that in addition to the expense of running camps, it will cost Jordan \$1.68 billion to cope with the Syrian refugee crisis.²

Given that more than 80 per cent of the new arrivals are thought to live outside camps,³ governorates such as Irbid, Mafrq, Amman and Zarqa are experiencing rapid informal growth in both urban and rural areas. The population of Mafrq has increased by 128 per cent since the arrival of Syrian refugees.⁴ Many municipalities in all four governorates were already struggling to meet service demand and in some, refugees have begun to outnumber local residents.⁵

Solid waste management is the most acute challenge for those hosting large populations of Syrian refugees.⁶ Across the country as a whole, the influx has created around 340 tonnes of extra solid waste a day.⁷ Such an increase requires a major overhaul of handling, compaction, treatment and landfilling, and significant investment.

Jordan's national resilience plan for 2014 to 2016 identified the a series of shortcomings in the country's existing municipal services:

- Limited attention to service delivery performance, standards and outcomes
- Out-dated equipment and logistical means of ensuring the delivery and maintenance of services and assets
- Insufficient capacities underpinned by a freeze on public recruitment and a patronage-based system of other recruitment
- Lack of planned urban growth, resulting in burgeoning informal settlements
- Limited participation of the population, especially in local development planning
- Out-dated financial management practices and system, leading to limited revenue generation and an unsustainable debt and salary burden
- De facto authority rests with mayors, with few checks and balances
- Inadequate civic engagement
- Steady decline in approval ratings⁸

Given the vast structural and systemic issues in local governance institutions, a flexible and responsive model of cooperation between Jordanian authorities and international agencies that can align along different spheres

Snapshot	
Practice	Host community support platform (HCSP) 2013; now the Jordan response platform to the Syria Crisis (JRPSC)
Main actors	UNDP Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC) Various municipalities
Context	Displacement of Syrian refugees to Jordan driven by conflict Small municipalities with insufficient financial, material and human resources to provide services for a rapidly growing population
Target group(s)	Small municipalities in poor regions that have received a rapid influx of refugees
Summary	The practice established a coordination mechanism for ministries, local authorities, donors, UN agencies and international NGOs to help address the water, sanitation, education, health and livelihood needs of both the refugees and their host communities. The large influx of Syrian refugees put extra pressure on urban infrastructure and waste management services that were already struggling to cope, and the coordination mechanism supported municipalities by providing resources and capacity building. UNDP set up the first coordinating body, HCSP, in 2013 and identified municipalities' priorities through a national assessment review. In 2014 under MOPIC's initiative HCSP was converted into JRPSC, emphasising national ownership. Its mandate was also expanded from five to 11 task forces, each chaired by a line ministry, in the areas of education, energy, environment, health, justice, livelihoods and food security, local governance and municipal services, shelter, social protection, transport and water, hygiene and sanitation (WASH). JRPSC updated the national assessment review and built on the 2014 national resilience plan to produce the Jordan response plan for the Syria crisis. Municipalities hosting large refugee populations identified their most acute need as solid waste management, ⁹ leading JRPSC to respond in the short term by providing compactors, fogging machines, pesticides and training, and in the longer term by contributing to structural changes that prepared the ground for the Ministry of Municipal Affairs to develop its solid waste management plan at the local level in 2015. Its planning was a direct consequence of the advocacy and thinking in the 2014 national resilience plan and UNDP's national assessment review.
Strengths <i>(Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)</i>	HCSP and JRPSC are holistic strategic bodies that try to address both short-term needs at the household and community level, and the medium and longer-term development needs of municipalities and other institutions. The practice is an effective, flexible and responsive model of cooperation and coordination between the Jordanian authorities and international agencies that can be aligned in different areas of intervention. It led to the transfer of knowledge between agencies and changes in institutional norms. It benefited both refugees and the wider community. It included an effective needs profiling exercise , which led to plans being based on priorities the municipalities themselves identified.
Key challenge(s)	During the first phase of the project, only some of the municipalities' needs were addressed. It was unclear whether this was because those involved in the response were unable to do so, or because they adopted a pick-and-choose approach. For organisations keen to count the number of beneficiaries served, it may prove difficult to quantify the impact at the individual or household level of supporting municipalities. Municipalities' needs do not necessarily dovetail with those of displaced households, which were not clearly established by UNDP's needs assessment. It was not clear, for example, how an external organisation would deal with a municipality's failure to prioritise the expansion of water and electricity supplies to meet increased demand. Further analysis would have been needed to determine the best way of supporting municipalities that used commercial providers to deliver services. The majority of municipalities identified the same issue as their top priority, which made it easier to determine how to respond. Disparities between different municipalities would require a broader array of resources and support, which would make the programme more complex and expensive.
Factors for potential replicability	A national ministry able to coordinate the roles and responsibilities of international organisations and national and local authorities Municipalities that are open to receiving resources and training from external sources May not be applicable in capitals and mega cities, given the scale of service provision required

of intervention was needed to mitigate the impacts of the Syrian refugee crisis on vulnerable host communities.

Programme design

UNDP set up the host community support platform (HCSP) with the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC). It was a strategic body made up of donors, UN agencies and government line ministries. It aimed to ensure effective communication and coordination between national planning efforts and humanitarian and development projects as different agencies tried to respond to the needs of Syrian refugees and the concerns of host communities.

The HCSP secretariat researched and published a national assessment review (NAR) in December 2013, and the national resilience plan for 2014 to 2016 (NRP) in May 2014. Four months later, MOPIC decided to extend HCSP's mandate and rename it the Jordan response platform to the Syria crisis (JRPSC). Aside from putting greater emphasis on national ownership of the plan, JRPSC's task forces were reorganised and their number increased. HCSP had five task forces covering education; health; water and sanitation; municipal services; and livelihoods and employment. JRPSC has 11 covering education; energy: the environment; health; justice; livelihoods and food security; local governance and municipal services; shelter; social protection; transport; and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH).

The line ministries responsible for each sector chair the task forces, which have representatives from the UN system, the donor community and national and international NGOs. One of the UN bodies acts as the task force secretariat and a representative of the donor community serves as a focal point.¹⁰ JRPSC has subsequently updated the national assessment review and built on the work of the national resilience plan to produce the Jordan response plan for the Syria crisis.

The assessment, resilience and response plans constitute an effort to identify and plan investment responses across all of the sectors covered by the task forces. Both HCSP and JRPSC were set up as holistic strategic bodies that aim to address both the short-term, household-centred needs of refugees and host communities, along with the medium and longer-term development needs of municipalities and governance institutions.

This case study focuses on HCSP's intervention in solid waste management in 2014. It is too early to evaluate JRPSC's work, but the organisation's evolution from HCSP suggests the application of lessons learned from the previous model.

Municipal needs assessment

The municipal services task force under HCSP (see Table 1) was funded by the World Bank and made up of representatives from the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, UNDP and ACTED. UNDP allocated \$16.7 million to improve municipal and social service delivery as part of its 2014 budget request for Jordan of \$32.4 million.¹¹ In 2014, it carried out a municipal needs assessment to examine the main challenges facing 36 municipalities in Irbid and Mafrq governorates.¹² In addition to the wider structural issues identified above in the national response plan, UNDP's assessment focussed on tangible goods and resources.

Given that 33 of municipalities surveyed identified solid waste management as their main challenge, a list of priority interventions was drafted (see Table 1). Across the two governorates, the influx of Syrian refugees has created an extra 60 tonnes of solid waste a day, on top of the 90 tonnes created each day by the local population – far in excess of the municipalities' capacity to collect and process.¹³ The assessment identified priority interventions for both international organisations and the government. They included a longer-term redesign of the entire solid waste management system, from collection, processing, transfer and landfills to recycling and re-use.

It is important to point out that the priorities in table 1 were set by surveying municipalities and reflect their perceptions of the problem as opposed to assumptions imposed by outsiders. Each municipality not only framed its own problems and determined its priorities, but also provided a wish-list in terms of vehicles and equipment. This is the most appropriate way to design a municipal support programme that requires revision and adaptation from one year to the next as needs change and the impacts of previous interventions are factored in.

Impact

The UNDP programme to support municipalities in Jordan is still evolving, but preliminary results suggest that approaching municipalities directly, learning about their needs and limitations and providing tangible goods is a positive approach in mitigating the impacts of rapid and unplanned population increases. In addition to supplying 18 solid compactors,¹⁶ 36 fogging machines and 9,500 litres of insect pesticide to the municipalities,¹⁷ the programme also trained staff in nine municipalities.

Its most significant work, however, has targeted the Ministry of Municipal Affairs, which intends to develop a solid waste management plan at the municipal level in 2015. This is a direct result of advocacy, the thinking behind the national response plan and UNDP's municipal needs assessment. The plan will focus on the entire solid waste management cycle, and the ministry is currently redesigning its financial administration system to provide funds to

Table 1: Municipal needs assessment findings on solid waste management¹⁴

Issue	Projected intervention	Actual intervention ¹⁴
Insufficient and aging vehicles	Provide rubbish collection trucks	
	Provide compressors	18 compactors delivered
	Provide light pickup trucks, dump trucks and loaders	
	Provide wheel barrows	
Health hazards: pollution, insects, rodents and dogs	Provide fogging trucks and related equipment	36 fogging machines and six ultra-volume sprayers provided
	Provide pesticides	9,500 litres of pesticide delivered
Insufficient and broken containers	Provide containers	
Inefficient labour	Increased number of labourers	Plan to increase labour shifts and create a labour-intensive recycling programme
Cost of fuel and maintenance	Government to provide municipalities with immediate financial support and equipment	
Long-term support		Training in nine municipal offices

municipalities more efficiently. It will also fund labour-intensive recycling programmes and make improvements to the main Alakaider dump.

Challenges

Only some of the municipalities' needs were addressed during the first phase of the project. This may be because aid organisations were unable to fulfil all of the requirements, or because they have adopted a pick-and-choose approach to their interventions. There may also be differences between municipalities' requests and the types of services displaced households need, but this was not made clear in UNDP's needs assessment. If, for example, a municipality or commercial provider does not improve or expand its services to meet increasing demand, how should external organisations deal with the disparity between IDPs' and the municipality's priorities?

The majority of municipalities identified the same issue (i.e. solid waste management) as their top priority, which allowed for a narrower focus in terms of what to provide. How the programme would cope with a wide range of different priorities is unclear, but a broader array of resources and assistance would be needed, with obvious implications in terms of cost.

Helping municipalities to provide better services to a growing population is effective, but for organisations that focus on counting the number of beneficiaries served, it may be difficult to quantify the impact of such an approach. If it is to be replicated, further analysis of how to support municipalities that contract commercial providers to deliver services is also needed.

Conclusion

UNDP's solid waste management programme and the HCSP coordination mechanism were able to help translate municipal needs into longer-term policy shifts, which should help municipalities to provide better services to both Syrian refugees and vulnerable host communities. The approach is also proactive in terms of social cohesion. Service delivery failures are not only the result of population influxes, but the arrival of IDPs can reveal existing institutional flaws and make them worse. Rather than authorities and host communities blaming the new arrivals, it would be better to use the accompanying hike in international aid to address structural and systemic issues in ways that lead to better services for all.

Municipal issues had already been flagged up in 2013 when HCSP was established, and they were reiterated in national response plan in May 2014. The mobilisation, however, of support for municipalities and its gradual realisation will take several years. If such an approach had been adopted at the outset of the Syrian refugee crisis and established as a priority by a coordination body for national and international responders, the situation may not have become as acute as it became.

The establishment of HCSP/JRPSC and UNDP's programme set an important precedent for a more integrated approach to servicing vulnerable refugee populations that addresses both short-term humanitarian and longer-term development needs. The lessons from this evolving practice should improve knowledge about how best to support urban municipalities in dealing with large populations of displaced people.

Notes

1. Established in September 2013
2. NRC, Fact Sheet: Integrated Urban Shelter Programme, August 2014
3. UNHCR, [Syria Refugee Regional Response figures](#), January 2015, last accessed 8 January 2015; NRC, Fact Sheet: Integrated Urban Shelter Programme, August 2014
4. Government of Jordan, National resilience plan 2014 – 2016, May 2014, p.42
5. MOPIC, Jordan Response Plan 2015, p.7
6. UNDP, Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities, 2014
7. Government of Jordan, National resilience plan 2014 – 2016, May 2014, p.43
8. *Ibid*, p.42
9. UNDP, Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities, 2014
10. Government of Jordan, National response plan 2015
11. UNDP, Resilience-based Development Response to the Syria Crisis, December 2013, p.18
12. UNDP, Municipal Needs Assessment Report: Mitigating the Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordanian Vulnerable Host Communities, 2014
13. *Ibid*, p.31
14. *Ibid*, p.30
15. Based on Jan 2014 reports of provisions made in late 2013. It is unclear what additional support was provided by UNDP in 2014.
16. Given on August 26, 2014
17. The rest was supplied in late 2013

9. Community development bank

Description

Community development banks (CDBs) aim to generate economic development in low to middle-income areas. They have been widely used in the US, where they have long been institutionalised and the Treasury Department has a fund to support them. The best known example, however, is Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which was founded by the Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus and popularised the use of microfinance in the developing world. CDBs can be for-profit or non-profit and take many forms. The case study below highlights a unique model established in Brazil which is managed by the community it serves.

Case study: Banco Palmas (Brazil)

In 1973, municipal redevelopment initiatives in Brazil's fifth largest city of Fortaleza, in the north-east of the country, displaced around 2,000 families from its coastal areas to a peripheral inland district called Conjunto Palmeira. Displacement to the area continued in the following years, contributing to its impoverishment, high unemployment rates and lack of services. The situation led to the establishment in 1998 of Banco Palmas, a unique community development bank, to provide credit to residents, create jobs and stimulate local development as part of the solidarity economy movement.

Principles of a solidarity economy

Given that the IDPs originally relied on fishing for their livelihoods, they became increasingly impoverished in their new inland and under-serviced area. In response, they came together in 1981 to set up the Conjunto Palmeira residents' association (*Associação dos Moradores do Conjunto Palmeira*, ASMOCONP). Over the following years, they instituted a range of community initiatives to build homes and sewage systems, pave roads and install water and electricity supplies in what was gradually becoming a favela or slum. By 1997, the residents and their community organisations had successfully urbanised the area.¹

Their vision of economic and social development was based on the principles of a solidarity economy, which encourages local production and consumption networks and job creation, and community investment in educational, cultural and social institutions.² In 1997, ASMOCONP began to organise community meetings, 96 in all, where members discussed the fact that 80 per cent of families spent all of their money outside the community, giving traction to the notion of producing, selling and buying locally.

The social entrepreneur Joaquim de Melo Neto Segundo is a key figure behind Banco Palmas and its innovations. A Fortaleza resident and long-term community mobiliser, he recognised the importance of community-driven finance institutions in the late 1990s. Community members secured a 2,000 real (\$615) loan from the local NGO Cearah Periferia and set the bank up in 1998.³ Over the next seven years, it relied on funding from international agencies, NGOs and aid organisations such as the German development agency GTZ, Oxfam, the Ecumenical Service Coordination (CESE) and the Dutch development organisation Cordaid. PRORENDA, a German foreign aid programme that focuses on upgrading slums and "urban management by the poor," provided some of the start-up funding for ASMOCONP.⁴

This illustrates how international NGOs and bilateral aid organisations can play an instrumental role in financing community development banks that become sustainable and outlive the initial programme. In 2003, ASMOCONP went on to establish Instituto Palmas, a non-profit umbrella organisation that serves as the bank's parent company.

Banco Palmas offers three types of microcredit for production, commerce and services, and it is a unique and innovative venture in many ways. Similarly to Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, which was founded by the Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus and popularised the use of microfinance in the developing world, it does not demand good credit history, extensive requirements for registration, proof of income or assets as collateral for loans. Instead, neighbours vouch for applicants and social ties are used to both evaluate and enforce the loans.

IDPs in countries where microfinance opportunities are available often still find themselves at a disadvantage because they do not have the same established social ties as the local community. In Conjunto Palmeiras, however, people displaced from the coast make up much of the district's population and the social ties they brought with them helped to engender two-way trust between the bank and its potential clients, and enable it to provide IDPs with access to credit.

Banco Palmas is not a static institution, but has learned and evolved from its experiences. Two years after its foundation, it launched another experiment when it stopped issuing loans in Brazilian reals and set up a new community or local currency called the "palma" instead. Its value was set at parity with the real to eliminate exchange costs and fluctuations, making both currencies equally attractive to use. Parity also meant local businesses were more willing to accept the palma, strengthening relationships between local merchants, consumers and producers.

Snapshot	
Practice	Banco Palmas, 1998 to present
Main actors	Associação dos Moradores do Conjunto Palmeira ⁵ (ASMOCONP) Funders: Local NGO Ceariah Periferia, German Development Agency (GIZ/GTZ), Oxfam, the Ecumenical Service Coordination (CESE) and the Dutch development organisation Cordaid
Context	Residents of coastal areas of the city of Fortaleza were displaced by development projects to the impoverished inland district of Conjunto Palmeira in the 1970s. In the absence of basic services and livelihood opportunities for former fishermen, Conjunto Palmeira residents developed a series of community initiatives to improve their living conditions and basic infrastructure. Over the decades since their displacement, they have built homes, water and sewage systems and electricity networks. In 1981, they set up ASMOCONP to promote the concept of a solidarity economy, which encourages the creation of local networks of production, consumption and job creation, and community investment in educational, cultural and social institutions. ⁶ No such investment was possible, however, without access to credit.
Target group(s)	2000 families displaced from coastal areas to Conjunto Palmeira
Summary	ASMOCONP established Banco Palmas in 1998 as a community-driven financial institution to fund the development of their neighbourhood based on principles of a solidarity economy. The bank adopted credit requirements adapted to its poor clients. No credit history was required, nor were income or assets demanded as collateral for loans. Instead, neighbours vouched for applicants, and social ties were used both to evaluate the loans and enforce their terms. Most IDPs struggled to re-establish social networks lost as a result of their plight, but given the length of time Conjunto Palmeira residents had been displaced such ties were in place. Banco Palmas offered low interest loans to local people, including those originally displaced to the area. It offered three types of microcredit for production, commerce and services. For the first seven years of its existence, the bank received funding from international NGOs and bilateral aid organisations such as GTZ, Oxfam, CESE and Cordaid, but in 2003 it was transformed into Instituto Palmas, a non-profit organisation that serves as the umbrella organization that includes Banco Palmas and other community ventures. The bank also introduced the “palma”, a local currency that is exchanged with the Brazilian real at a rate of one-to-one and has an economic multiplier effect.
Strengths <i>(Key elements of right to adequate housing and key programmatic elements from matrix appear in bold)</i>	Banco Palmas is a successful example of a community-driven development initiative that incorporates residents' meaningful participation . The community created an innovative and effective finance mechanism to transform the shape and future of the neighbourhood. Brazil's government has slowly recognised the bank's success and has facilitated similar schemes in other areas, which constitutes a transfer of knowledge and a change in institutional norms . The practice shows how international NGOs and bilateral aid organisations can play an instrumental role in financing initiatives such as community development banks that become sustainable in their own right and outlive the initial programme .
Key challenge(s)	Community development banks are an example of a gradual and incremental community-led approach. As a result they require sustained engagement, reflection and changes in practices over long periods of time.
Factors that could influence potential for replicability	Highly committed and engaged neighbourhood organisations and civil society groups Donors that are flexible when funding the initial phase, understanding that development impacts can only be measured in the-long term National government's eventual recognition of the concept of community development banks and the use of an alternative local currency IDPs living in protracted displacement for long enough to establish social ties

Merchants even began to incentivise use of the palma by offering discounts on purchases made in the local currency. The use of a local currency meant that spending also stayed local, so that purchases or investments made with Banco Palma funds helped to boost the vitality of Conjunto Palmeira economy and encourage the district's development. Each loan provides both individual economic benefits to the recipient and wider economic benefits to the district and community.

The approach was not fully accepted by the Brazilian government at first. Between 2000 and 2010, the Central Bank of Brazil tried to bring charges against Banco Palmas for creating a secondary currency that undermined the real. In 2011, however, after a decade of court cases and negotiation, the central bank issued a technical note on the importance of social currencies, community development banks and their role in the poor's social inclusion.⁷ As such, a grassroots initiative became institutionalised at the national level.⁸

Given that the community runs the bank, it promotes self-management and local autonomy and allows it to innovate, adapt and respond to new trends and pressures. It is free to expand into using and developing new financial instruments, as evidenced by its launch of a credit card, the PalmaCard.⁹

Brazil does not have a national legal framework for the establishment of community development banks so Banco Palmas is registered as a public interest civil society organisation (*Organização da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público*, OSCIP). It is also part of the Brazilian network of community banks, which provides legal support to secure government recognition.

Instituto Palmas has launched two other innovative programmes. Its *projeto fomento* or stimulus project relies on community and private donations to build community assets such as schools. The bank estimates the investment value of the project and issues loans in palmas for the same amount. In this way, it “clones” and doubles the community investment.¹⁰ *Projeto ELAS* targets women who receive social welfare benefits through the national *Bolsa Família* programme. It works towards women's social and economic inclusion by offering microcredit loans, professional training and establishing small business incubators for them.¹¹

As Banco Palmas has expanded its activities, it has also raised national awareness of the community development bank model, leading to creation of at least 104 such institutions in Brazil as of 2013. Paul Singer, the national secretary of the solidarity economy within the Ministry of Labour, has recognised their importance, and has asked Banco Palmas to replicate its model in other municipalities.

It has also formed partnerships with the Bank of Brazil, the National Bank of Economic and Social Development and the Federal Savings Bank to increase its credit portfolio to three million reals. Between 2010 and 2013, it lent 12 million reals to more than 15,000 people, reaching the poorest and most vulnerable residents in both urban and rural areas. A 2014 impact evaluation of its activities showed that 99 per cent of survey respondents thought Banco Palmas had contributed to improving their living conditions, including improvements in housing, health-care, employment opportunities and financial security.¹²

Conclusion

This case study tracks the trajectory of a community of coastal residents displaced in the early 1970s by redevelopment initiatives. International NGOs, bilateral aid organisations and national financial agencies have made a number of efforts to assist the Conjunto Palmeira community, but the success of Banco Palmas has largely been a local one.

International development experts cannot simply replicate successful community-driven initiatives. They emerge from a complex, sustained and evolving process of building solidarity in a community, undertaking campaigns to establish basic services, and introducing the principles of a solidarity economy. Forty years have seen the slow but steady growth of a community born out of the experience of forced displacement that has relied predominately on internal organisation rather than external resources to create a finance model that has transformed the shape and future of their neighbourhood.

Notes

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2. Instituto Palmas [O Que E Um Banco Comunitario?](#), last accessed 3 December 2014
3. Melo in Banco Palmas on its 15th Anniversary: Resisting and Innovating, p.24
4. Ying Gao, The Local Knowledge Bank: Uncovering the Processes and Networks of Social Innovation at Brazil's First Community Bank, MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning, 2014, p.75
5. Association of Dwellers from Conjunto Palmeira
6. Instituto Palmas, What is a Community Bank (O que e um Banco Comunitario?), <http://goo.gl/ZznZY3>, last accessed 3 December 2014
7. Central Bank of Brazil, technical note PCBG 38/2011, September 2011
8. Melo in Banco Palmas on its 15th Anniversary: Resisting and Innovating, p.25
9. Joaquim de Melo Neto Segundo, [Ashoka biography](#), last accessed 3 December 2014
10. *Ibid*
11. Augusto Câmara Neiva, Juliana de Oliveira Barros Braz, Carolina Teixeira Nakagawa and Thais Silva Mascarenhas, Banco Palmas Impact on Community Development and Finance and Banking Inclusion, in Banco Palmas on its 15th Anniversary: Resisting and Innovating, p.143
12. *Ibid*, p.177

1. Profiling of urban IDP situations

Description

The general lack of information about IDPs is a major challenge for those advocating for the fulfilment of their rights. Tools such as the urban profiling exercise developed by JIPS are useful ways of collecting baseline demographic data on displaced communities. Given that urban IDPs tend to be dispersed and are difficult to distinguish from the urban poor more generally, the JIPS methodology gathers comparative data on both IDPs and their counterparts in the general population in the same neighbourhood. Since the experiences of different groups can vary, there is a need to better understand the realities of different groups who reside in the same area (e.g. IDPs, refugees, economic migrants and urban poor with different backgrounds).

Profiling provides a comprehensive picture of the target populations, including demographics, indicators of strengths and vulnerabilities, their preferences in terms of settlement options and their degree of local integration. As such, it forms a solid basis from which to determine policies on durable solutions and the development of other strategies addressing problems identified during the profiling exercise. Profiling combines quantitative and qualitative methods at the individual, household or community levels to provide data disaggregated by location, sex, age and diversity. The analysis can be enriched with key informant interviews and a review of secondary data, leading to an extensive profile of urban populations affected by displacement and the local infrastructure and policy environment they face.

Profiling is not, however, limited to data collection. It is a sequence of interlinked steps that begins by building a consensus around the need for the exercise, and ends with the validation of its findings by the profiling partners and target populations themselves and the dissemination of results. It is a collaborative and ethical process based on the principles of transparency, and actively promotes the buy-in of partner organisations and governments at all stages.

By bringing central and local authorities and their humanitarian and development partners together to collect information on demographics, migration patterns, and factors related to the process of attaining durable solutions, including housing, land and property issues, profiling by design aims to ensure that the data obtained is widely accepted and used. It helps to ensure that those working in the same urban setting share a common un-

derstanding of the displacement situation, and reduces the need for parallel surveys by different organisations and the costs they involve.

IDPs often face specific challenges in securing housing and livelihoods, ensuring community support and building social networks. In many urban areas affected by displacement, however, the local population live in similar conditions and face similar issues. Profiling aims to understand both the crossover and the divergence between the different communities' realities, which in turn allows policymakers and practitioners to incorporate them into the development of targeted responses. Profiling works towards durable solutions by creating an evidence base for decision making.

Displaced people, like all migrants, bring with them particular skills and experiences that can benefit their host families and communities, and which, if tapped into, form the foundation for durable solutions. Profiling sheds light on such positive attributes and those of IDPs' counterparts in the local population (host families and other non-displaced neighbours) as well as their vulnerabilities. By looking at future aspirations, plans and decision-making criteria it forms the basis of a forward-looking response, even in volatile contexts.

Methodology and process

JIPS was established in 2009 to provide technical support and coordination for governments and their humanitarian and development partners in conducting collaborative profiling exercises. Given the rapid rate of urbanisation worldwide, the ever increasing numbers of IDPs who flee to towns and cities, and the distinct challenges of data collection in urban areas, JIPS has produced a specific profiling methodology for them.¹ JIPS also specialises in profiling to inform strategies for durable solutions, and advocates for the operationalization of the criteria for durable solutions set out in the IASC's framework on the issue as the starting point for planning an exercise.

Each profiling exercise uses a methodology tailored to the specific information needs of those who will use the data, and established via jointly agreed objectives. A mixed methods approach tends to be used to capture different types of data and triangulate findings. Consultation with national entities responsible for compiling statistics ensures that the methodology is compatible with existing population data sources such as censuses.

When possible, profiling aims to provide statistically representative information of the target populations acquired through an anonymous sample-based household survey. The surveys may also include individual-level questions for each household member. The quantitative data is

complemented with focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The anonymity of the process is important on a number of levels. It has ethical and protection implications, particularly when dealing with sensitive topics, and it helps to guarantee more reliable data by clearly disassociating responses from eligibility for assistance.

Given the consultative and time-consuming nature of profiling exercises, they generally take several months to complete. Findings are validated and disseminated among the partners in the exercise, wider groups of stakeholders and the target populations.

Using profiling to improve housing policies and programmes

Urban profiling can support more effective and sustainable housing policies and programmes for IDPs in a number of important ways. In Afghanistan, JIPS supported NRC in conducting a protection study of IDPs that identified a series of housing, land and property (HLP) issues and the need to improve the humanitarian response to them. The findings led to greater investment in an existing HLP taskforce that enhanced its expertise and reach.² The study also played a significant role in bringing about official recognition of urban IDPs and the inclusion of area-based approaches in a national policy on displacement. Both the survey and the policy highlight the need for comprehensive profiling to inform the design and implementation of response programmes.

In Côte d'Ivoire, JIPS provided technical support to the government and UNHCR in undertaking a profiling exercise in locations with significant displaced populations, including urban areas of Abidjan and San Pedro.³ The findings revealed the need to address issues such as IDPs' access to housing documentation such as rental agreements. They also showed that IDPs and their host communities faced many similar challenges in housing terms, while highlighting the specific challenges of different groups where relevant. The exercise informed a national strategy on durable solutions, which acknowledges the importance of adequate housing and related documentation and makes targeted suggestions for different population groups.

Challenges and lessons learned

The paucity of information on urban IDPs and their neighbours makes designing a profiling methodology much more challenging. The problem can be overcome, however, by combining what does exist with information collected through local key informants and mapping at the community and neighbourhood level. Such preparation can be

time-consuming and costly, but it ensures that the profiling exercise is representative of the target populations and produces valuable output in its own right by mapping the location and density of different groups in a given area.

The fact that profiling exercises are based on achieving a consensus about the information sought also tends to make the process time-consuming, and maintaining momentum can be a challenge while different stakeholders' definitions of key concepts are reconciled. Ensuring momentum for these long processes can be challenging in the face of lengthy discussions on the modality of the exercise. Once the objectives, methodology and tools have been agreed, however, the ground is also laid for the joint use of the findings. Given the substantial commitment of time, resources and political buy-in that profiling exercises demand, they are best suited to informing longer-term strategy and policy development rather than quick programming.

Profiling exercises are locally owned and implemented. They also increase local government capacity and establish or reinforce collaborative ways of working. An inclusive approach to the development of objectives, methodology, collection tools, analysis and recommendations is particularly important when the information sought is highly politicised or there is no consensus on existing data.

Case study: Profiling urban IDPs in Afghanistan

Background

Afghanistan's most recent displacement crisis began in 2001. There are currently around 805,000 IDPs in the country, of whom 174,000 were newly displaced in 2014.⁴ Many have fled from rural to urban areas, where around 40 per cent of the displaced population now live.⁵ Many urban IDPs are unable to afford adequate housing. Instead they rent or squat in precarious conditions in informal settlements, where they are often threatened with forced evictions - a key obstacle to their achievement of durable solutions.⁶

Informal settlements make up between 60 and 70 per cent of Afghanistan's urban areas, a consequence of rapid unplanned growth. Kabul's population grew from two million to 4.5 million between 2001 and 2010, a rate well above the average for Asia.⁷ Given the difficulties authorities face in delivering adequate housing and basic services in rapidly growing cities, there has been political reluctance to recognise urban IDPs or to support their local integration despite doing so being their preferred settlement option.⁸ Authorities also fear that the regu-

larisation of informal settlements where IDPs live would drive further migration from rural to urban areas.⁹

Survey

No country-wide profiling of IDPs has been carried out in Afghanistan, but a broad survey of the demographic data and protection needs of 1,000 households in five regions of the country affected by displacement helped bring about authorities' recognition of the need to assist urban IDPs and those with similar vulnerabilities via an area-based approach.

The survey was carried by Samuel Hall for NRC and IDMC with support from JIPS, and was completed in 2012. It helped to confirm the significance of urban displacement and the particular vulnerability of urban IDPs from rural areas. Its findings were presented at a workshop hosted by the ministry in charge of developing policy on displacement, during which it worked with national and humanitarian actors to formulate recommendations for Afghanistan's national policy on IDPs, which was being drafted at the time. The participatory process made the recommendations effective.

The recommendations highlighted the need to use the definition of an IDP set out in the Guiding Principles to shape the government's response, and to assist other people with similar needs living in the same areas. The recommendation corresponded to the finding that differentiating between various groups in urban areas, including IDPs, could be highly complex and sometimes unnecessary.

Hall's survey underlined the need to facilitate all three options for durable solutions rather than focussing on return, and emphasised that addressing displacement was as much a development challenge as a humanitarian one. The study also highlighted the need for a comprehensive profiling exercise to gather countrywide data to support the design and implementation of the national policy on IDPs.

National policy on IDPs

Afghanistan's national policy on IDPs¹⁰ was finally adopted in November 2013, and reflects a number of the points mentioned above. It recalls the primary responsibility of authorities to assist IDPs "irrespective of whether those internally displaced are in settlements or living with host families, are in rural or in urban settings, in their provinces of origin or elsewhere in the country" (para 2.2, p.16). It also recommends an area-based approach, "a response without differentiating between groups who live there and will benefit such as IDPs, returning refugees and urban poor" (p.9).

In terms of IDPs' registration, it states that "it is not necessary in the case of area-based responses to internal displacement [notably in urban areas] which do not require the explicit identification of individual IDPs". It also recognises profiling as a tool to design response. "In such cases, general profiling will be sufficient for purposes of planning and implementing such response" (para 3.3 ii, p.20).

Adequate housing for informal settlers is also identified as a key element of durable solutions. "Where there are large numbers of IDPs living in informal settlements and in substandard conditions, (authorities) will consider strategies to formalize informal settlements and improve living conditions there, and to provide the urban poor, including IDPs, with low-cost social housing" (4.4.2 Para iv, p.26).

Notes

1. JIPS, *Guidance for Profiling Urban Displacement Situations: Challenges and Solutions*, June 2014
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3. Ministry of State, Ministry of Planning and Development, the National Statistics Office (INS) and UNHCR (forthcoming): 'Profilage des personnes déplacées internes, retournées et rapatriées de Côte d'Ivoire'
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5. OCHA, *Afghanistan 2015 Humanitarian Needs Overview*, p.10
6. IDMC, *Still at risk: security of tenure and the forced eviction of IDPs and refugee returnees in urban Afghanistan*, February 2014, pp.5-6
7. ODI, *Sanctuary in the city: urban displacement and vulnerability*, 23 June 2013, pp.6-7
8. IDMC, February 2014, op. cit, p.18
9. *Ibid*
10. Government of Afghanistan, *National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons*, November 2013

2. Eviction impact assessment

Description

An eviction impact assessment is a quantitative, human rights-based tool. It was developed by Habitat International Coalition (HIC)'s housing and land rights network, and is used to quantify the “losses, costs and damages incurred by those affected by violations of forced eviction, dispossession, destruction and privatization of habitat resources.”¹ It also helps as an advocacy tool to convert human rights violations into quantifiable economic language. Data alone cannot express the emotional toll of forced displacement nor the physical impoverishment it often causes, but it improves a community's bargaining position with state and private entities involved in responding to its needs.

The tool has been used mainly to quantify the impact of displacement caused by development projects, but given that many urban IDPs displaced by conflict or disasters also face the risk of forced eviction it can be applied to such cases too. Those who squat public or private land or live in informal settlements or areas prone to hazards are particularly at risk and exposed to the prospect of renewed displacement.

Eviction impact assessments can help to bolster housing rights and the achievement of durable solutions by preventing forced evictions and other displacement from taking place in the first place and facilitating compensation when they do. They can be used to persuade courts to put evictions on hold, and to inform those intent on carrying them out about the compensation they will have to pay and the issues to be addressed in minimising the social and economic cost of relocation. Communities and courts can also use the assessments to estimate and demand compensation after the event, as was the case in Kandhamal in India.²

Displaced communities, grassroots organisations, local researchers and advocates for housing and land rights advocates have used eviction impact assessments successfully in a number of countries as part of their broader efforts to support IDPs in their pursuit of durable housing solutions. They can also be used by IDPs themselves in public interest litigation and judicial activism more generally.

Methodology

The methodology for eviction impact assessments is based on the UN basic principles and guidelines on development-induced displacement, International Criminal Court standards of evidence and the UN reparations framework.³ They constitute a comprehensive tool that tries to capture both material and non-material losses and costs during all phases of displacement. They are not prescriptive, however, in that they can be adapted to specific contexts.

The matrix for eviction impact assessments contains the following components:

1. Baseline study of pre-eviction assets and expenditure

The baseline study is a key component, because the costs and losses IDPs incur as a result of their displacement are compared and calculated against it.

- a. **Economic assets (household level):** qualitative and quantitative assessments of personal belongings, investments, inheritance prospects, livestock, dwellings, trees and crops, livelihoods, wells and water sources
- b. **Expenditure (household level):** qualitative and quantitative assessments monthly outgoings on food, education, health care, mortgages and other debt payments, rent, utilities, transport and bureaucratic, legal and advocacy costs
- c. **Social assets (household level):** qualitative and quantitative assessments of the value of shared community spaces, community membership and investments, creches, cultural heritage sites, family, health and psychological wellbeing, identity and social and institutional capital
- d. **Civic assets (non-material):** qualitative and quantitative assessments of crime patterns, political legitimacy and participation, social cohesion and integration and public health
- e. **Public/state expenditure:** bureaucracy, administration, equipment, services, security and policing costs

2. Assessment of losses as a result of eviction notice

- a. Economic costs/losses (household level)
- b. Regular expenditure/costs/losses (household level)
- c. Social assets/costs/losses (household level)
- d. Civic assets/costs/losses (non-material)
- e. Public/state costs

3. Assessment of losses at time of and during eviction

- a. Economic costs/losses (household level)
- b. Regular expenditure/costs/losses (household level)

- c. Social assets/costs/losses (household level)
- d. Civic assets/costs/losses (non-material)
- e. Public/state costs

4. **Assessment of losses following eviction**, subdivided as applicable into the following categories: transit camps or temporary shelter, resettlement site, no resettlement and reparation
- a. Economic costs/losses (household level)
 - b. Regular expenditure/costs/losses (household level)
 - c. Social assets/costs/losses (household level)
 - d. Civic assets/costs/losses (non-material)
 - e. Public/state costs

The complete matrix can be downloaded here:
<http://goo.gl/w1A31f>

Depending on the size of the target community and the resources available, either the entire affected population or a representative sample is surveyed by a team of expert enumerators who use their qualitative notes and estimates of assets and expenditure in combination with households' self-assessments to arrive at sample figures. These are then used to determine average household assets and expenditure, social assets, the impacts and duration of relocation and changes in monthly income and outgoings, to arrive at a final average cost of relocation per household that includes any new and recurring expenditure.

Case study: Muthurwa estate (Kenya)

The Mazingira Institute, a Kenyan NGO, carried out an eviction impact assessment (EvIA) in 2012 as part of an ongoing legal battle over the rights of residents of Nairobi's Muthurwa estate, who faced and still face forced eviction at the hands of the Kenya Railways Corporation. Starting in 2010, a series of petitions were presented to the High Court to procure temporary staying orders. The EvIA's inclusion in the process presented quantitative evidence of the financial costs and losses to the community and helped convince the court to make its final ruling in favour of Muthurwa residents in August 2013.

Overview

The East African Railways and Harbours Corporation (EARHC) built the 72-acre Muthurwa estate in the early twentieth century to house its workers in single-storey, terraced houses also referred to as *handies*. The estate is made up of 1,324 housing units in 56 blocks, though not all are fully occupied. The 2009 population and housing census put the number of resident households at 1,034.⁴

In 1978, EARHC was transferred to the Kenya Railways Corporation (KRC), and in 2006 Rift Valley Railways (RVR)

purchased KRC. Despite selling to Rift Valley, however, KRC was still liable for its employees' pensions, and in order to raise money for the scheme, it began to liquidate its assets in 2010. One such asset was the Muthurwa estate, which the company estimated was worth between three and five billion Kenyan shillings (\$33 million and \$54 million).

On 1 July 2010, all Muthurwa estate residents received an eviction notice. They were told to vacate their homes within 90 days, despite the fact that some families had lived there for generations, and with little regard for the specific needs of elderly, disabled, child and female residents.

The estate is a prime location in Nairobi's central business district but, given the changes in its ownership and management, residency was no longer linked to employment. Average rent is 2,500 shillings (\$27) a month, with the revenue helping to pay the money due to around 9,000 KRC pensioners.

To administer the arrangement, KRC transferred management of the estate to the Kenya Railways Staff Retirements Benefits Scheme (KRSRBS), but doing so positioned residents' interests against those of the KRC pensioners. After the evictions, the plan was for the estate to be sold and developed with shopping malls, petrol stations, luxury apartments and office buildings.

Petitioning the High Court

The demolition of homes and public toilets began within two weeks of the eviction notice, and the water supply and street lighting were disconnected. Some residents left, but others remained and protested. The standoff continued and escalated over several months, leading to large-scale demolitions using bulldozers in October 2010.

In an effort to stop the evictions, ten residents worked with the constitutional scholar Yash Ghai and the executive director of the legal advice centre Kituo Che Sheria, Priscilla Phelps, to file a petition with the High Court. Kituo Che Sheria was founded in 1970s. It uses both in-house lawyers and for some major cases it calls on outside experience. For the Muthurwa estate case, it brought in one of Kenya's leading lawyers Pheroze Nowrojee as lead counsel.

The overall aim was to build jurisprudence around the Kenyan bill of rights by working on number of court cases concerning evictions. To prepare the petition, Kituo Che Sheria also did extensive work in the community through training, mobilising, designing a legal strategy and selecting ten residents to be the main petitioners.

A community such as that living on the Muthurwa estate is a heterogeneous group made up of residents with

often competing interests. Some, for example, are also pensioners who left the estate and blame other residents who have stayed for holding up their retirement benefits. The case represented a unique opportunity, to draw a connection between anti-eviction movements and larger debates on public land and public policy. KRSRBS claimed that the estate should be considered private land because the state railway corporation had placed it in a private trust, but the petitioners argued successfully that it is public land. The definitions are, however, still fluid and being continuously revised, requiring constant vigilance and monitoring by civil society groups.

The 2010 petition invoked article 43 of the 2010 Kenyan constitution, which guarantees the right to adequate housing and reasonable standards of sanitation to get a stay order against. It also invoked a series of international human rights instruments, such as the right to adequate housing contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' general comments four and seven, which expand on the definitions of adequate housing, tenure security and forced eviction. The court granted a temporary injunction on the evictions and an order to reconnect water and sewage services upon payment of rent in February 2012.

Using the eviction impact assessment tool

Kituo Che Sheria and the Mazingira Institute conducted an EvIA⁵ on the estate in February 2012. They selected 117 households as a representative sample to survey, and enumerators from both organisations carried out the assessment based on an adapted version of the EvIA matrix⁶. The Mazingira Institute trained the enumerators to use a short questionnaire similar to the one used for the national census to collect baseline demographic data. The enumerators were all graduates, though secondary education would have been sufficient for the purpose of the survey.

Based on the data collected - only 100 households provided complete information - they analysed demographic trends on the estate such as household composition, age, marital status, length of residence, education level and employment. They also analysed the general housing conditions and amenities, including the type of cooking fuel and energy source for lighting used.

In accordance with EvIA guidelines, they also assessed the value of household assets and found them to be an average of 36,173 shillings (\$392) per household member.⁷ The enumerators invited 40 heads of households to the Mazingira institute for a day-long session to gather the information, during which they worked one-on-one to collect in-depth economic data. Given that the respondents were at the institute, the team was able to input the data

directly into its software, reducing the amount of time usually required for fieldwork, transcription and input.

The next stage was to assess each household's one-off relocation costs, based on three assumptions: that average rent would continue to be 2,500 shillings a month, and that residents would not change their employment or the course of their education. Respondents said, however, that they would have to move to neighbourhoods as far as 20 kilometres away to find homes of equal quality and cost. To do so, the average time required to move would be 13 hours, which would result in a loss of income. The average one-off relocation cost was also exceptionally high, working out at 11,325 shillings or (\$123) per household.

At one point, KRSRBS offered some Muthurwa residents the option of relocating to another estate it owned in Makongeni, around seven kilometres to the east, on the basis that they could keep their corrugated iron sheets, timber and other building materials. A few whose homes were bulldozed took up the option. The offer, however, was never presented in a systematic way through consultation with the community. Rather, coercive methods and the threat of forced eviction caused increased resentment and resistance among residents who may initially have been open to considering a relocation package. It is unclear why KRSRBS did not make a proper proposal for relocation to Makongeni, but in retrospect it seems like a tremendous missed opportunity.

The next stage of the EvIA evaluated the anticipated increase in overall household expenditure as a result of relocation, based on a survey of 40 households. They estimated that transport costs per household would increase by 19,733 shillings (\$215) a month.⁸ If households were to change their employment or education arrangements, their additional monthly costs would be 12,766 shillings or (\$139).

Using the household data, the Mazingira Institute was able to quantify the potential impoverishment that would result in the event of forced eviction. Considering Muthurwa residents' vulnerable economic status, relocation would be extremely expensive and mean that "households will be driven to places with worse housing conditions and amenities that those of Muthurwa Estate, which will worsen their well-being", which would "aggravate the urban poverty situation" in Nairobi.⁹ The information was then added to the petition presented to the High Court.

The objective of the EvIA was not merely to present empirical data. Rather it painted a picture of how the violation of housing rights affect households' lives in economic terms. It strengthened the Muthurwa residents' bargaining position and helped win the High Court's ruling in their favour in August 2013.

The court was forced to abide by the fact that the constitutional right to adequate housing was not “aspirational and merely speculative,” but rather had to be realised through actions protecting against forced evictions on the ground.¹⁰ The judge, Isaac Lenaola, directed his judgment not only to KRSRBS but also the Kenyan parliament, urging it to develop “an appropriate legal framework for eviction based on internationally acceptable guidelines”.¹¹ Despite Lenaola’s ordering a more humane framework for the Muthurwa evictions, which he determined must also be guaranteed by the Kenyan government and Nairobi county and security officials, the fate of the estate’s residents remains uncertain.

The attorney general’s office has not yet provided a status update on the ratification of the 2012 evictions and resettlements bill, though there is hope this will take place in the next year.¹² In the meantime, KRSRBS has neither continued evictions nor made proposals that would compensate Muthurwa residents for their relocation costs and losses. The company still contends that because the residents are tenants, it is under no obligation either to renew their leases or to pay any compensation for their relocation. Its stance overlooks the question of whether the Muthurwa estate, as property of a public corporation, constitutes public or private land. It also fails to address the fact that many residents are second or third-generation and have deep-rooted ties in the community.

The Muthurwa residents are currently protected by the staying order on demolitions and evictions as long as they continue to pay their rent, and although their ultimate fate still hangs in the balance, the August 2013 judgment has set a precedent that forced evictions without a court order are illegal.

Conclusion

The costs of displacement and forced eviction and the losses they cause, both material and otherwise, can never be fully quantified or described. That said, however, eviction impact assessments use a quantitative methodology to strengthen the bargaining position of displaced communities to prevent eviction and procure a more equitable compensation package that includes better relocation terms.

Urban land such as Nairobi’s central business district is valued for its location and development potential, but those who have an economic interest in exploiting it, whether public or private sector, must also understand the direct and dire economic consequences for communities they displace in the process.

The Muthurwa estate case shows how the invocation of both international human rights law and the Kenyan constitution can ensure more positive outcomes for displaced

communities with the support of empowered courts and a strong civil society. Doing so requires a broad strategy involving neighbourhood organisations, grassroots groups, international activists and human rights groups, of which an EvIA can play an integral part.

Notes

1. HIC, Put a Number on It: Quantifying Costs, Losses and Damages from the Violation of Housing and Land Rights, World Habitat Day Report, 7 October 2013, p.2
2. HIC, Annual Report 2011: Housing and Land Rights Coalition - South Asia, p.5
3. UN General Assembly resolution A/RES/60/147, 16 December 2005
4. According to the 1999 census, there were 3,147 households on the Muthurwa estate, but demolitions to create the Muthurwa market resulted in the subsequent population drop. Reported by Zarina Ishani and Davinder Lamba in A Study of Impact Assessment of a Potential Involuntary Eviction of the Community of Inhabitants of Muthurwa Estate, Nairobi, Mazingira Institute, July 2012, p.1; For further reference on recent census figures, see Government of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009 Housing and Population Census Volume IA: Population Distribution by Administrative Units
5. Mazingira Institute, A Study of Impact Assessment of a Potential Involuntary Eviction of the Community of Inhabitants of Muthurwa Estate, Nairobi, July 2012
6. See IDMC, Housing practices and tools that support durable solutions for urban IDPs, March 2015
7. The average number of individuals in a household was reported as 4.2
8. This includes transport to places of employment and recreation, schools, university, places of worship and health facilities
9. Mazingira Institute, A Study of Impact Assessment of a Potential Involuntary Eviction of the Community of Inhabitants of Muthurwa Estate, Nairobi, July 2012, p.14
10. High Court of Kenya, Muthurwa estate judgment, p.71
11. *ibid*, p.70
12. Kituo Che Sheria, December 2014

3. Legal aid

Description

Urban IDPs’ tenure is often precarious or unclear. They may not have formally owned their land or homes in their places of origin or they may have lost their personal documents, title deeds or tenancy papers during their flight. They rarely own their homes in their places of refuge and often rent informally or occupy private or public property without authorisation, exposing themselves to the risk to forced eviction.

Without their personal documents, they often struggle to access social services and benefits they would otherwise qualify for, and to exercise their rights in terms of inheritance, restitution, compensation and assistance, resulting in dispossession and long-term impoverishment. Lack of documentation also makes it difficult to enter into legal agreements and constitutes a significant obstacle to the achievement durable solutions. The fact that IDPs tend to have little access to legal information perpetuates asymmetries between them and their landlords and state agencies, and leads to disenfranchisement and disempowerment.

As such, IDPs need legal support and counselling in a number of areas:

- a. General legal information: awareness of local laws, eligibility requirements for benefits, housing, land and property issues, urban government institutions, domestic and international human rights standards
- b. Awareness of the right to adequate housing and tenure security
- c. Help in obtaining personal documents
- d. Assistance in drafting and entering into written lease agreements
- e. Help with property and inheritance claims in their places of origin
- f. Help with claims for ethnic, racial or religious discrimination
- g. Assistance for women and children to deal with discrimination in terms of their housing, land and property rights
- h. Counselling and arbitration for property and land disputes
- i. Counselling and arbitration when dealing with parallel legal systems, such formal, informal, religious and local law
- j. Counselling on dispute resolution and legal remedies in cases of forced eviction and housing rights violations

International organisations such as IOM and NRC often provide legal aid on housing, land and property issues to refugees displaced by conflict and disasters. Most countries also have local legal aid organisations and lawyer’s associations that provide similar services. Urban IDPs tend to need help with written lease and tenancy agreements, which are key to improving their tenure security.

Humanitarian and development organisations that assist IDPs should also be aware themselves of the complex legal environment in which they operate. This means translating local laws into their operational language and disseminating information to the communities they are working with. They should also be aware of a country’s international human rights commitments and how they align or conflict with local and national laws and policies.¹

Case study: Information, counselling and legal assistance (ICLA) programme (NRC)

The general objective of NRC’s ICLA programme is to contribute to IDPs’ durable solutions by providing them with information, counselling, legal assistance and advocacy, particularly on housing, land and property issues.² It includes help with the procurement of personal documentation, clarifying legal status and increasing access to justice through both formal and informal institutions.

The programme - which NRC has implemented in a number of countries to assist both IDPs and refugees, including Afghanistan, Georgia, Jordan, Lebanon and Pakistan - aims to help beneficiaries access mechanisms to claim and exercise their rights as necessary to prevent primary and secondary displacement, notably in the case of forced evictions or displacement caused by development projects when this process is fuelled by conflict; claim and exercise the rights to which they are entitled during displacement; and achieve durable solutions.

In recent years, the organisation has reinforced linkages between its ICLA programme and its shelter activities. In doing so, it seeks to establish a better understanding of national legal frameworks, clarify the tenure status of potential shelter beneficiaries, facilitate their inclusion, and address the fact that shelter and housing assistance tends to favour owners over tenants.

In Jordan, the legal aid has formed part of a package of services and assistance NRC provides to Syrian refugees, including its integrated urban housing programme. Around 620,000³ Syrians have taken refuge in Jordan since 2011, and many have sought rented accommodation in urban areas. The increase in demand for rental housing often means that landlords have disproportionate leverage in setting the terms of leases, determining the

standard of housing and services provided and arbitrarily deciding to evict residents, whether to make way for higher paying tenants or other reasons.

Poorer urban refugees tend to be disempowered, having to dig into their savings for shelter and security. Even with financial assistance in the form of rental support grants, they often still face unfavourable terms and substandard conditions. NRC works to ensure that refugees in urban areas have proper lease agreements in keeping with national legislation, which on the one hand improves their tenure security and protection from eviction, and on the other is a precondition for their ability to re-register with the Ministry of Interior in the place of their residence.

In Lebanon, which hosts large populations of both Palestinian and Syrian refugees, the challenges are different. Despite refugees not requiring valid documentation or legal residency to enter into a written or verbal lease agreement under Lebanese law,⁴ they rarely do so - either because they do not understand the benefits or because they feel too insecure to approach their landlord, particularly those living in informal settlements.⁵

The ICLA team ran a pilot project in the Bekaa valley to promote the use of written lease agreements, intended to protect the rights and responsibilities of both tenants and landlords. Given that tenants were often found to violate tenancy agreements, for example by not maintaining the property, leases aim to manage and balance expectations and responsibilities between all parties.

Conclusion

Legal aid organisations and the assistance they provide are vital to any effective rights-based approach to supporting urban IDPs' durable solutions. Multiple legal and tenure regimes are common in cities, and they affect the marginalised and poor disproportionately. IDPs and refugees need clear and timely information about their legal rights and entitlements in terms of housing, tenure and protection issues in their areas of refuge.

Notes

1. The Humanitarian Coordinator and Resident Coordinator Checklist of Housing, Land and Property Rights and Broader Land Issues Throughout the Displacement Timeline from Emergency to Recovery is an important resource for humanitarian organisations. Available at: <http://goo.gl/AdlBbF>
2. Other thematic areas of focus the ICLA programme are legal identity, including obtaining civil documentation; citizenship and statelessness issues related to displacement; procedures for refugee status determination; registration procedures for IDPs when access to rights and services is dependent on it; NRC, Programme policy, 2012
3. UNHCR, [Syria Refugee Response Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal](#), last accessed 9 February 2015)
4. Government of Lebanon, Code of Obligations and Contracts, 1932
5. NRC, Increasing Security of Tenure through Relationship Building and Written Lease Agreements: An Assessment of NRC's Housing, Land and Property Rights Pilot Project in Lebanon, August 2014, p.8

4. Community participation approaches

Community participation is an essential component of good programming, because it ensures that assistance is better adjusted to the skills and needs the beneficiaries themselves prioritise. It gives communities a sense of ownership of the programme, and engages members in skills development, consensus building and demanding authorities' accountability. Community participation can take different forms, some of which are more time-consuming and in-depth than others, depending on the level of emergency and responders' culture and methods. Community enumeration and mapping, and the social tenure domain model are particularly useful in urban areas to clarify unclear tenure.

4.1 Community enumeration and mapping

Description

Community enumeration¹ involves members in designing a method of data collection and using it to gather information about themselves and identify and prioritise their needs². They then develop an action plan as the basis for interventions by authorities, national and international organisations and the community itself. Provided vulnerable groups are included and power imbalances within the community are managed well, community enumeration can be a powerful tool in creating transparent processes, building trust and empowering community members to take decisions about their lives. It also kick-starts community negotiations with local authorities about the recognition and formalisation of multiple tenure arrangements.

The approach is particularly useful in informal settlements and other densely populated urban areas where land ownership and tenure are unclear, there is no accurate mapping and little or no state capacity to carry out planned development and provide adequate infrastructure. By setting up community governance structures, it can compensate to some extent for the lack of municipal planning and encourage local authorities to become involved.

The various uses of enumeration include:³

- Understanding a community's needs
- Enabling residents to advocate for their rights
- Improving tenure security
- Planning the provision of infrastructure and services
- Redeveloping informal settlements or planning relocations
- Assessing a community's assets and capacities
- Identifying risks and vulnerabilities
- Guiding land allocation plans and information systems
- Community planning
- Project planning

Case study: Community enumeration in Simon Pelé (Haiti)

Overview

Habitat for Humanity Haiti used community enumeration and mapping to empower the inhabitants of Simon Pelé, a densely populated informal settlement of 30,000 people on low incomes, to identify and prioritise their needs in terms of housing, infrastructure, health and livelihoods.

Based on the community action plan that emerged from the consultations, Habitat for Humanity developed a wide range of interventions including damage assessment, street naming, house numbering, reconstruction and retrofitting of homes, infrastructure projects, vocational training, health programmes and support for community governance. The project was part of a wider programme implementing the same methodology across a number of informal neighbourhoods in Port-au-Prince.

It also coordinated with the subsequent census and mapping activities conducted by the government with IOM and UN-Habitat support. The methodology and tools used were based on the experiences of Slum Dwellers International, the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights and other organisations.⁸

The process

The project began with a community enumeration exercise consisting of the following phases:

Activity	Description
Building a team	A local enumeration team is selected via engagement with community representatives, community-based organisations and camp committees. The team includes members of the target community, local authorities, academics and support professionals.
Rough mapping	The team meets local community leaders and city officials to "rough map" the settlement, identifying toilets, water taps, public services and transport systems. The exercise provides a general sense of issues to be addressed by the enumeration process, and informs the preparation of a questionnaire.
Training	Community members improve their skills and capacities to formulate the questionnaire and carry out the survey via a trial run in a sample section of the settlement.

Launch	The enumeration exercise is launched at a public ceremony. Ministers, mayors and local leaders attend to add political credibility.
Household survey	A survey of each household is carried out, and staff members begin to assess and compile data. A verification process enables community members to identify and mediate areas of disagreement. The support organisation prepares detailed documentation, including graphs, charts and narratives, to give to the community, city officials and other stakeholders. The community then uses the data in future negotiations over resources.
Household mapping	With clipboards, pencils, tape measures and GPS units, enumerators create a qualitative and quantitative map of the settlement. The work is twofold, to survey each household, and number and measure every structure. The information forms the basis of a physical and narrative picture of community-level challenges.
Community mapping	Community mapping sessions build on the initial rough mappings of the neighbourhood done by the enumerators. The focus remains on the bigger-picture elements of physical mapping, such as the mapping of social services and water and sanitation facilities. Several iterations take place, creating a more comprehensive view of the neighbourhood. Different versions of the community map are produced that highlight different key themes within the community. Each map can be laid over another as required.
Community master planning	Elements of the household and cadastral surveys are combined with the community mapping in order to provide a more in-depth and comprehensive view of the neighbourhood. Based on the three elements, the community makes informed decisions about what members need and desire, what to prioritise and what to sacrifice or delay until further resources are available. Further community workshops incorporate the information into a physical and spatial master plan.
Reporting back	The results of the enumeration are tabulated and presented to the community at a validation event, designed both to test whether the results seem plausible and to cement relationships with politicians and others.

Action planning	The main goal is to reach a position in which the community has an action plan developed with their own participation. It allows them to advocate for their rights, invite investment in their community, and in many cases use their skills and capacities to address the issues identified.
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The creation of a Habitat resource centre in the heart of the neighbourhood was key to catalysing community participation. It serves as the focal point for community consultation, training and the organisation of home and latrine construction, retrofits and large-scale infrastructure projects.

Community contracts have been put in place to implement the action plan. Such contracts are a procurement tool that empowers communities by ensuring they have an executive role in the identification, planning and implementation of development initiatives. They are an agreement between the funding agency, in this case Habitat, and a community council representing residents.

The community undertakes to implement an agreed development project according to mutually established processes and funding arrangements. In essence, the community is the contractor and the funding agency the client. The funding agency also trains community members in specifying a development project, selecting the community council and understanding the various phases of the process.

Once the development initiative is defined, the funding agency finances it and community members recruited for the project implement it, monitored by the community council.

As part of the enumeration and mapping process, Habitat for Humanity and the Simon Pelé community did the following:⁹

- Trained 30 engineers to conduct damage assessments
- Conducted 625 damage assessments to guide families on repairs
- Hired 40 enumerators from the community, 65 per cent of whom were women
- Conducted more than 6,500 household surveys
- Mapped 2,700 houses and land boundaries
- Established a community database with linked maps
- Created 36 detailed maps of the community covering topics including security risks for men and women, community capacities, critical infrastructure, flooding risks and fire risks
- Established a community action plan
- Set up community contracts to address the main issues identified, including street lighting, a health clinic and water kiosk improvements

Lessons learned

Habitat for Humanity Haiti identified the following lessons learned:¹⁰

- Community enumeration and mapping can be a time-consuming process in earlier phases, but leads towards a long-term strategy where the process can be simplified and accelerated.
- Many of the “outputs” are not the traditional ones measured, but the “outcomes” have the most impact and can be measured over time.
- Institutional donors are supportive of this type of programming, ensuring that principles of participation are at the heart of the intervention.
- Security issues can stop the process, but strong community relationships and ownership of the process allow things to keep moving.
- Being embedded in the community with a Habitat resource centre is vital and builds trust that the agency is committed to the process.
- There are many “community representatives”, and navigating their agendas and influences is difficult.
- Building relationships with the community as a facilitator rather than an aid provider takes time.
- Technology is a great asset, but good knowledge of geographic information systems is necessary to make the most out of community mapping.
- It is important to establish who owns and has access to the data.
- It is important to establish common methodologies and data collection tools between partners and other NGOs or community-based organisations running similar projects.

4.2 Social tenure domain model

Description

The social tenure domain model is a pro-poor, gender responsive and participatory land tool developed in recognition of the fact that the vast majority of the land around the world is not registered or included in cadastres.⁴ Social tenure arrangements are more popular and greatly outnumber their formal or statutory counterparts in both urban and rural areas.

Where informal, traditional, customary and indigenous tenure practices are in place, cadastral surveys and the formalisation of titles are perceived as yielding fewer benefits for poorer and marginalised populations. On the broad continuum of tenure practices, individual freehold is only one of a number of options. As Jon D Unruh notes: “All claims to land are part of a construction of an evidence-based ‘argument for claim.’” As such, it is important not only to recognise all forms of land and tenure claims, but also to “argue” for them based on alternative models of evidence.

The International Federation of Surveyors, the Global Land Tool Network and UN-Habitat have created a land administration system (LAS) that works with various forms of tenure recorded through on-the-ground observation and consultation with local communities, and which promotes the concept of a continuum. Tenure data generated by a partnership between professional surveyors and the people affected yields more sophisticated maps and in turn a better land administration system that can address IDPs’ specific needs and vulnerabilities and support their achievement of durable solutions.

A major challenge in surveying lies in reconciling different levels of accuracy and labelling practices. Traditional land surveys are extremely time-consuming and expensive, so the creators of the social tenure domain model advocate the use of satellite images and handheld GPS devices to conduct boundary surveys in conjunction with traditional land surveys. Such approaches are not cheap either, and there is the question of who a community will trust to apply them. Only after a boundary survey is complete, however, and the information has been compiled with topographic and GPS data coordinated into maps, can policymakers address land tenure, use and development issues by designing better policies.⁵

The social tenure domain model could also help communities, civil society organisations and governments to improve their monitoring and prevention of illegal land grabs, which become more common during conflict or in the aftermath of disasters when institutions and the rule of law are weakened.

Methodology

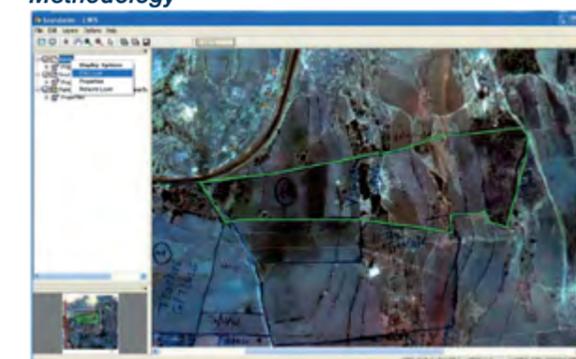


Figure 1: A screen grab of prototype software for the social tenure domain model. Drawn boundaries are vectorised to closed polygons, which in turn can be related to people via social tenure relationships.⁶

The creators of the social tenure domain model aim to pioneer a new way of maintaining land records, using free open-source software that enables individuals with minimal training to collect, record, analyse and disseminate data. The model, however, should not be understood merely as a technical exercise. It is also a deeply political process of engendering, mapping and negotiating rela-

tionships between land, its users and public institutions. The software allows for the linking of individuals or “land users” with specific plots of land or “spatial units” (see Figure 1) using different social tenure options. The individual is identified by their photograph, fingerprint and signature to ensure the validity of the record. But before inputting data, however, the land must be surveyed. The different sequences of the model are:

1. First the data needs to be acquired. Communities, villages, cooperatives, slum dwellers' organisations or NGOs can organise this, but they need tools to do so.
2. On-site tests of the potential use of high-resolution satellite images were performed to establish parcel index maps in selected cities or villages. After printing the images on paper on a 1:2,000 scale, the boundaries of spatial units were determined in the field using a pencil.
3. Data collection in the field was performed in the presence of land rights holders and local officials.
4. Apart from the boundaries, administrative data such as village names were collected. The understanding of the paper prints on a 1:2,000 scale was high, which makes the process very participatory.
 - a. Additional supporting documents such as photographs, maps and images can also be uploaded using the software.
5. After field data acquisition, the images with drawn boundaries on them were scanned and interposed on top of the original image.
 - a. Drawing can also be done using digital pens, which are immediately read and geo-referenced by a computer and do not require scanning.
6. The drawn boundaries were vectorised and given identifiers. During field data collection preliminary identifiers may be used.
7. The spatial data can then be linked to the person's data using a spatial tenure relationship.
8. Then the data has to be brought to local communities for public inspection, by the projection of images and boundaries on a screen if electricity is available. Local people are invited to check the data.
9. It should be possible to edit the data, for example to change a social tenure relationship from “informal” to “occupation” and later to “freehold”.⁷
10. A to-do list for government officials could then be generated on how to strengthen tenure arrange-

ments on a case-by-case basis. This is contingent on officials' political will to strengthen tenure.

11. Women's access to land can be improved by registering shares of land using the social tenure domain model.
12. The data can also help design better urban and community development plans.

Conclusion

The social tenure domain model can help urban IDPs and the wider community to understand and map their land and tenure claims. It can be used to determine who rents, owns or has claims to property, and it facilitates the clarification of tenure, on which eligibility for housing assistance programmes and social benefits often rides. It is also useful in resolving tenure disputes and can help protect from evictions if informal tenure claims are recognised and recorded as part of a legitimate land administration system.

The model not only feeds community-driven advocacy for tenure and housing rights, including access to basic services. It can also help municipalities and other urban governance institutions to provide services for population influxes.

Case study: Social tenure domain model pilot project in Mbale (Uganda)

Background

Seventy-two per cent of Kampala's population live in slums that cover only 12 per cent of the city's land area.¹¹ In order to begin tackling the high population density and poor service delivery, more accurate profiles of the settlements are needed to better inform urban planning, growth management and infrastructure development policies.

Overview

The National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) and the municipality of Mbale, a city in eastern Uganda, piloted a community enumeration exercise together using the social tenure domain model (STDM) tool. The project was supported by the local NGO ACTogether, which is affiliated to Slum Dwellers International, and the Ministry of Land and Housing and Urban Development.¹²

Many of the community members who were trained in using the tool and led the enumeration exercise were active NSDFU members, which ensured meaningful community participation. Sensitisation and awareness raising activities made sure it was conducted with respect for local principles of cultural adequacy.

The tool was adapted to the local context, with the methodology and questionnaire determined through a process of consensus building between community members and stakeholders. The necessary reference maps were produced using satellite imagery, which helped to digitalise existing structures to guide the enumeration process.

With the help of the maps, enumerators used handheld GPS units to number and record existing structures with a unique code. They administered the questionnaires and collected supporting material such as photographs and documents, validated the data to increase its legitimacy and entered it into the STDM software.

Some of the NSDFU leaders were trained to use the software to update information as changes occurred or new data became available. They were also able to use it to generate quick reports and analyse data in spatial and quantitative terms.

Impact

The pilot project and the data it yielded led to the production of a settlement map, on which structures, houses, roads and water points were digitalised. The STDM software also includes a tenure instrument that combines the information gathered with the map to indicate tenure and land claims. Once authorities decide to regularise Mbale's settlements, they will be able to use the feature to produce “certificates of residency”. The STDM software is not yet a legally recognised instrument of tenure security, but the certificates may help to clarify tenure claims.

The house numbers generated create a physical address system, which has the potential to improve residents' access to services. The tool also allows authorities and slum communities to use a common set of information to discuss future urban planning that is more inclusive and ensures better access to public infrastructure and services.

Challenges and lessons learned

Initiatives were taken to mobilise and sensitise the community, but the pilot could have done more in this direction. Some technical staff were apprehensive about integrating a new tool, which indicates a need for better training to familiarise enumerators and NGO staff. The success of an enumeration exercise is based on a strong partnership between the community, local authorities, local NGOs and international organisations. Community ownership of the process is also vital.

The STDM tool also needs to be scaled-up to address more structural issues in national and local land administration systems and cadastral mapping. Given that it has been piloted in other countries such as Colombia, their experiences could help to inform the development of a sustainable method to scale the tool up across muni-

palities and city planning departments.

Conclusion

The pilot project demonstrated that the STDM tool can be used in conjunction with other pro-poor land tools to better reflect the realities on the ground, which in turn can lead to better urban growth management, settlement and infrastructure planning.

Notes

1. Additional resources on this approach: Count me in by UN-Habitat, 2010; Slum Dwellers International website: <http://www.sdin.net.org>; Why enumeration counts: documenting the undocumented, Sheela Patel on IIED. The article provides links to community enumerations conducted in urban informal settlements of Ghana, Kenya, India, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda and Zimbabwe.
2. Habitat for Humanity, Mike Meaney, Community-based enumeration lessons learned in Simon-Pelé, the Forum, 2012, vol.19, no.1
3. Habitat for Humanity, Mike Meaney, Urban Neighbourhood Approach: Community-based Enumeration and Community Contracting, Port-au-Prince case study, November 2012
4. Christiaan Lemmen, The Social Tenure Domain Model: A Pro-Poor Land Tool, International Federation of Surveyors, Global Land Tool Network and UN-Habitat, May 2013
5. *Ibid*, p.8
6. *Ibid*, p.15
7. *Ibid*, p.14
8. The Haitian government has further developed and institutionalised participatory enumeration methodologies under the leadership of the inter-ministerial committee for regional development (CIAT)
9. Habitat for Humanity, Disaster Response Shelter Catalogue, 2012, pp.143-146
10. Habitat for Humanity, Community-based enumeration lessons learned in Simon-Pelé, by Mike Meaney The Forum, 2012, vol.19, no.1
11. Global Land Tool Network, [Slum Profiling Scales Up in Uganda](#), 2014
12. UN-Habitat and GLTN, [Addressing the Information Requirements of the Urban Poor: STDM Pilot in Uganda](#), 2014, last accessed 2 February 2014

8

5. Satellite imagery

Description

The UN Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT) provides geospatial information such as geographic information system (GIS) data and satellite images to support UN agencies'

needs. It has been particularly active in the areas of crisis and situational mapping and monitoring human rights violations. Satellite imagery has also become increasingly available to international NGOs, civil society groups and human rights workers. UNOSAT often provides critical data on the movement of displaced people, as it has done on Syrian refugees on the country's border with Turkey. It has helped to determine population densities in displacement camps, and to monitor mass evictions, demolitions and the destruction of property caused by conflict or disasters.

A set of satellite images taken over specific time intervals provides only impressionistic information, and as such is at its most useful when validated by observation and surveys on the ground. During conflict or in the aftermath of a disaster, however, such validation may not be possible and satellite imagery has to be taken on its own merits.

Satellite imagery can help prevent displacement and facilitate durable solutions by providing data that informs the following areas:

- Urban land planning, restricting construction in areas prone to hazards or improving resilience via building regulations
- Preventing and lobbying against forced evictions
- Land use and vacancy rates
- Camp and informal settlement management
- Identifying reconstruction needs
- Community mapping

Disaster risk management

Satellite imagery has been used to make quick assessments of the damage caused by a disaster, particularly in its immediate aftermath when access may be restricted; and to create zoning risk maps that highlight areas vulnerable to future hazards. In both cases it has helped to reduce the impact of disasters in urban areas. After tropical storm Washi struck the Philippines in 2011, for example, UNOSAT provided satellite images of the destruction it caused, which assisted humanitarian organisations in developing response and recovery strategies. Satellite imagery is also an important tool in the creation of flood hazard maps that help to ensure that IDPs do not return to and resettle in vulnerable areas, which would put them at risk of future displacement.

Forced eviction monitoring

In 2005, the Zimbabwean government began Operation Murambatsvina. Also known as Operation Drive out Rubbish and Operation Restore Order in Zimbabwe, it was a programme of mass slum clearances and forced evictions that affected around 700,000 people, and during which 92,460 homes were demolished. The volatile situation on the ground meant the international community had only limited access to the affected areas, but satellite imagery enabled quick assessments to be made of the extent of the demolitions, and the scale and pattern of the population movements they caused.

Camp and informal settlement management

UNOSAT has provided satellite images that show the growth of the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan, which was established following an influx of Syrian refugees and which has since evolved into something more akin to a self-contained urban neighbourhood with an improvised street network, commercial and residential areas and basic infrastructure. Used in conjunction with observation and enumeration on the ground, the images are a useful tool for improving the management of camps as informal neighbourhoods with changing needs over time.

Land surveys

Satellite imagery facilitates community-based land and tenure mapping and enumeration exercises, as was the case with the social tenure domain model. It is easier for community members to participate in drawing land plots on readily accessible satellite maps that show precise topographic data, housing units and natural features than it would be if they had to rely on the often out-dated maps held by municipalities and land management offices.

Challenges and conclusion

Satellite imagery has much to offer, but also much to be cautious about. It gives the illusion of precision, but can be misleading if the information gleaned is not confirmed with observations on the ground. Archives of older images may not be readily available, which makes comparisons over time difficult and inconsistent. Not all geographical areas are commercially attractive for satellite image providers, and forest and cloud cover reduce the amount of information that can be interpreted. Even given the best available images, it takes training and experience to be able to interpret them accurately. Well-meaning volunteers may make basic misinterpretations such as mistaking cars for tents.

As with all information, satellite imagery is not neutral. It is subject to power asymmetries and dynamics and manipulation. As such, it is important to ask a number of questions:

- Who produced the images and for whom?
- Who analysed the images and what additional data sets have they used to produce GIS maps?
- Why were the images produced?
- Who has access to the maps?
- Are the maps being used to advance a particular agenda?
- If so, are there any alternative interpretations that could challenge that agenda?
- What do the images not show?
- What are the biases of the producers and interpreters?

In situations of heightened police and military presence, anyone seen with satellite imagery may be perceived as a security threat. In such circumstances caution and awareness of one's audience is required before displaying it.

Comparative matrix

The following table is based on our review of the practices and case studies for this report. It identifies strengths, challenges and factors that may influence the potential for replication based on the evaluation criteria set out in the methodology.

	Elements of matrix addressed (Right to adequate housing and programmatic elements)	Challenges	Factors influencing replication
PRACTICES			
1. Incremental housing (Jordan)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tenure security 2. Affordability 3. Habitability 4. Cultural adequacy 5. Location 6. Access to remedy, information and legal support 7. Livelihoods support 8. Target beneficiaries include wider host community 9. Effective and innovative finance model used 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scale - addresses only a small fraction of the housing demand for refugees in Jordan 2. Requires monitoring and follow-up to mediate between tenants and landlords 3. Needs to consider what happens to tenants after their rental agreements expire 4. Needs to consider what happens if beneficiaries chose to move out before the end of their tenancy period 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Availability of unfinished buildings and other structures for expansion 2. Functioning local construction industry 3. Ongoing refugee crisis in which demand for housing may rise and fall exponentially 4. Costs of scaling up require further study 5. Potentially a quick and cost-effective way of adding more rental housing stock while long-term affordable housing developments are planned and implemented 6. Requires knowledge of local building, zoning and municipal regulations and their implementation 7. Availability and use of legal counselling as a key auxiliary component of shelter activities
2. Housing purchase certificates (Armenia, Georgia)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tenure security 2. Affordability 3. Habitability 4. Access to public goods and services 5. Cultural adequacy 6. Location 7. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Procuring documents for those who wanted to sell their recently privatised housing units 2. Difficulty for family members living in the diaspora to obtain power of attorney 3. Newly developed property market was insufficiently institutionalised 4. Vouchers issued in foreign currency lost value as local currency appreciated 5. Some IDPs could only afford housing in dire need of renovation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strong political will and international pressure to close collective centres 2. Well-developed banking sector, property market and land administration system 3. Private house ownership is culturally appropriate 4. Availability of housing units for sale

13. Community Enumeration (Haiti, Uganda)	1. Tenure security 2. Education and empowerment 3. Meaningful participation	1. Can be a time-consuming process, particularly in early phases 2. Navigating multiple agendas in a community requires social and political acumen 3. Elite capture can be a persistent threat. Need to include more vulnerable and marginalised voices	1. Cooperation from community members 2. Cooperation from national authorities, which must be willing to enter into a dialogue with communities 3. Being embedded in the community is key 4. External organisations act as facilitators rather than aid providers and build more sustainable relationships
14. Satellite imagery	1. Effective and innovative data collection tools or profiling exercises	1. May not be available to all users 2. Easy to misread imagery and draw false conclusions 3. Satellite images are not neutral pieces of data 4. Police and military may view possession of satellite imagery as suspect 5. Forest and cloud coverage can interfere with quality of information gleaned	1. Access to free or affordable satellite imagery 2. Training in interpretation of images 3. Identification of datasets used and actors producing images

Appendix

List of Illustrative Indicators on the right to adequate housing (*MDG indicators)⁹¹

Type of indicator	Habitability	Accessibility to services	Housing afford
Structural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International human rights instruments, relevant to the right to a Date of entry into force and coverage of the right to adequate h Date of entry into force and coverage of domestic laws relevant Number of registered/operational civil society organizations invo 		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time frame and coverage of national housing policy statement for the progressive implementation of measures for the right to housing at different levels of Government, as applicable Time frame and coverage of national policy on rehabilitation and re 		
Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of complaints on the right to adequate housing receive tional human rights institution/human rights ombudsperson/spe mechanisms (created to protect the interests of specific popula Public expenditure on reconstruction and rehabilitation of disp development budget Net ODA for housing received/provided as proportion of publi income* 		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportions of habitations (cities, towns and villages) covered under provisions of building codes and bylaws Share of public development budget spent on social/community housing Increase in habitable area effected through reclamation, including of hazardous sites and change in land use pattern Addition to habitable area earmarked for social/community housing during the reporting period 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportion of household budget spent on access to utilities, including water supply, sanitation, electricity and garbage disposal Proportion of vulnerable households dependent on private sources for water supply Share of public development budget spent on provision and maintenance of sanitation, water supply, electricity and physical connectivity of habitations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proportion holds that re lic housing a including the subsidized re ing and hous sidized for ow Proportion holds in s publicly prov ing and squa ments Average rent three income a proportion three
Type of indicator	Habitability	Accessibility to services	Housing afford



An IDP prepares to hang her clothes at the Joaquin F. Enriquez Memorial Stadium in Zamboanga city, Philippines. Photo: IDMC / F. Kok, June 2014

Outcome	Indicator
Outcome	Proportion of population (persons per room or rooms per household) with sufficient living space/ average number of persons per room among targeted households
	Proportion of households living in permanent structures in compliance with building codes and by-laws
	Proportion of habitations/households living near hazardous sites
	Proportion of urban population living in slums
	Proportion of (rural and urban) population with sustainable access to an improved water source*
	Proportion of (rural and urban) population with access to improved sanitation*
	Proportion of households spending more than "x" % of their monthly income/ expenditure on housing
	Annual average of homeless persons per 100,000 population
	Proportion of homeless population using public and community-based shelters
	"x" being defined normatively for the country context
	Reported cases of "forced evictions" per 100,000 population (e.g. as reported to United Nations special procedures) over the reporting period
	Proportion of households with legally enforceable, contractual, statutory or other protection providing security of tenure/ proportion of households with access to secure tenure*

Advisory Committee Members

	Advisory Committee members	Organisation
1	Chaloka Beyani	UN special rapporteur on the human rights of IDPs
2	Einar Bjorgo	UNOSAT
3	Georges Deikun	UN-Habitat
4	Tom Delrue	UNDP
5	Jennifer Duyne	World Habitat Research Centre
6	Leilani Farha	UN special rapporteur on adequate housing
7	Bahram Ghazi	OHCHR
8	Niels Harild	World Bank
9	Jackie Keegan	UNHCR
10	Erin Mooney	UN ProCap
11	Laura Phelps	NRC
12	Joseph Schechla	HLRN-HIC
13	Victoria Stodart	IFRC
14	Peter Van Der Auweraert	IOM
15	Roger Zetter	Refugee Studies Centre

Conclusion and comparative analysis

Findings and recommendations

The comparative matrix in the previous section reveals that some practices addressed several elements of the right to adequate housing, while others were only able to address a few. It is not necessary or even appropriate for each practice to address all of them. Using elements of the right to adequate housing to examine practices, however, helps to identify gaps and areas that could be improved upon in providing urban IDPs with better access to adequate housing.

The right to adequate housing provides a critical lens of analysis through which to determine whether a given practice truly empowers the people and communities concerned and facilitates their pursuit of durable solutions. It is a key entry point for the realisation of all the other economic, social and cultural rights, as is evidenced by the range of elements in the matrix. The fulfilment of the right to adequate housing is subject to progressive realisation, which suggests true success requires a long-term involvement and commitment by all stakeholders and practitioners involved. It may also mean shifting emphasis to engaging with local stakeholders and communities that will continue the work after the departure of humanitarian or development entities.

The durable solutions framework is also a gradual and complex process that progressively reduces needs and issues specific to displacement. It addresses challenges in the areas of human rights, humanitarian and development action, reconstruction and peacebuilding.⁴⁸ Such complexity requires coordination between all of those responding to internal displacement so as to build on experience and ensure coherence and continuity of action over time.

Because it is often difficult to identify urban IDPs who disperse among the local population, the traditional humanitarian approach of focusing on them as beneficiaries needs to be combined with more inclusive area-based initiatives that also address the needs of others who share similar circumstances. At the same time, some IDPs' needs specific to their displacement will still need to be addressed, and they may require targeted and tailor-made support to achieve durable solutions, particularly in protracted situations.

The practices included in this report are presented with the aim of providing tools and programme elements that can address such issues in different contexts, and which

3. Social housing (Armenia, Georgia, Serbia)	1. Tenure security 2. Affordability 3. Habitability 4. Access to public goods and services 5. Location 6. Target beneficiaries include wider host community	1. Some IDPs did not see social housing as culturally appropriate 2. IDPs wanted right to unlimited stay and the ability to transfer ownership, which was not possible	1. Strong political will and international pressure to close collective centres 2. Well-developed land administration system 3. Municipal cooperation in providing serviced land plots and building maintenance 4. Social housing initiatives and supporting legislation was a proven concept in region
4. Transfer of public buildings to IDPs' private ownership (Georgia)	1. Tenure security 2. Access to public goods and services 3. Location 4. Habitability	1. Insufficient or inadequate living space and conditions, for some families despite renovations 2. IDPs lacked information or received conflicting information about the process. 3. Delays in issuing title deeds prevented IDPs from seeking funds for improvements	1. Strong political will to facilitate local integration and settlement elsewhere of IDPs 2. Well-developed land administration system 3. Private house ownership culturally appropriate 4. Availability of collective centres for upgrading to acceptable conditions
5. Rental support grants (Haiti)	1. Affordability 2. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Lack of follow-up on IDPs fate after expiry of one-year grants 2. Extensive field checks of housing stock required to determine suitability for grant	1. Availability of affordable rental housing stock 2. Landowners are willing to sign written rental agreements 3. Mechanisms in place to verify proposed rental units to determine safety and hazard risk reduction 4. Access to bank accounts or mobile cash-transfer technologies
6. Incremental tenure (Somalia)	1. Tenure security 2. Affordability 3. Location 4. Target beneficiaries include wider host community 5. Livelihoods support 6. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Lack of available public land for resettlement, so many IDPs were left on waiting lists and some chose to buy their own land in the meantime	1. Strong political will 2. Municipality cooperates with external organisations to develop an urban growth management plan that also identifies areas for resettlement

7. Neighbourhood upgrades (Haiti, Kosovo and Colombia)	1. Tenure security 2. Affordability 3. Location 4. Habitability 5. Cultural adequacy 6. Meaningful participation	1. Community hesitant to participate fully despite mechanisms for doing so, and legitimate community leaders were difficult to identify 2. Absence or inaccuracy of land registries 3. Some beneficiaries sold their housing in violation of their tenancy agreement (Kosovo) 4. Limited livelihood opportunities for beneficiaries to become self-reliant, which in turn has reduced the habitability of their housing over time.	1. A strong legal and policy framework on durable solutions at the national, regional and municipal level 2. Effective coordination mechanisms between local, national and international organisations and displaced and receiving communities 3. Municipal agreement to allow returnees to resettle on public land
8. Supporting municipalities (Jordan)	1. Effective and innovative coordination mechanisms 2. Target beneficiaries include wider host community 3. Effective profiling exercise 4. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Disparities between municipality's and IDPs' needs 2. Hard to measure impact of supporting municipalities on displaced individuals or households 3. Further analysis needed on supporting municipalities which use commercial providers for services	1. Strong political will 2. National ministries coordinate activities with international organisations 3. Municipality cooperates with external organisations and is willing to receive resources and training 4. Untested in capitals and megacities, where service provision would be at a very different scale
9. Community development bank (Brazil)	1. Meaningful participation 2. Effective and innovative finance model used 2. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Requires sustained engagement, reflection and changes in practices over a long period of time	1. Highly committed and engaged neighbourhood organisations and civil society groups 2. Donors are flexible when funding the initial phases 3. Eventual national government recognition of the CDB concept and use of an alternative local currency

TOOLS

10. Profiling of urban IDPs (Afghanistan)	1. Effective and innovative data collection tools and profiling exercise 2. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Low level of existing information on target population makes methodology design challenging 2. May require labour-intensive and time-consuming comprehensive target mapping 3. Lengthy process as a result of consensus building on acquired information 4. Not effective for short-term decision making; best suited to informing long-term strategies and policies	1. Local authorities and communities cooperate 2. Access to baseline data on population and housing 3. Broader advocacy and policy to frame the objective of conducting a profiling exercise
11. Eviction impact assessment (Kenya)	1. Tenure security 2. Location 3. Freedom from dispossession, damage and destruction (including forced eviction) 4. Resettlement, restitution, compensation, non-refoulement and return 5. Education and empowerment 6. Meaningful participation 7. Access to remedies, legal support information	1. Difficulty in gaining community cooperation 2. Qualitative and quantitative data generated may not always be accepted by state authorities or private entities 3. Hard to raise awareness of the significance of impacts and non-material costs of eviction	1. Cooperation from community at risk of eviction 2. A functioning court system and an active civil society for judicial activism
12. Legal aid (Jordan)	1. Tenure security 2. Resettlement, restitution, compensation, non-refoulement and return 3. Education and empowerment 4. Access to remedies, legal support and information 5. Transfer of knowledge and change in institutional norms	1. Dealing with multiple legal systems 2. Dealing with multiple tenure arrangements and land claims 3. Often requires legal translations of local laws, policies and codes 4. Legal aid approach may need to be combined with other, non-legal conflict resolution mechanisms	1. Presence of legal experts with knowledge of IDPs' shelter and housing issues 2. Functioning judiciary and court system 3. Official translations of laws, codes and regulations

go some way to providing adequate housing that supports the achievement of durable solutions. The authors also deliberately looked for practices that have continued to have an impact beyond the conclusion of the project in question, either by influencing national and municipal policies, or national and international programmes that contributed to knowledge transfer and institutionalisation.

The progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing in urban areas and the achievement of durable solutions has implications for the nature of humanitarian response. In particular:

1. Humanitarians and their counterparts in the development sector should base their responses on international human rights law, particularly the right to adequate housing, and on frameworks that cover eviction such as the UN basic principles and guidelines on development-induced displacement.
2. National, municipal and international entities involved in development activities should be involved earlier during the humanitarian phase to ensure continuity and coherence between short and longer-term interventions, which should be integrated into broader urban planning and growth strategies.
3. Governments need to recognise displacement as a development issue for both displaced and host populations. International organisations and agencies can help advocate for and shape national housing policies that serve the needs of not only IDPs, but also other vulnerable groups. Humanitarians' traditional focus on target groups such as IDPs should be complemented with broader development plans that address these structural issues.
4. Responses should be more inclusive and address not only IDPs' housing rights, but also those of the urban poor and the wider community.
5. Development practitioners should identify the IDPs, particularly those living in protracted displacement, among their beneficiaries in order to address their specific needs.

Urban IDPs' tenure security was widely represented in various types of practices across the matrix, from rental agreements in Jordan and Somalia, to incremental tenure in Somalia and social housing in Georgia, Serbia and Armenia. Several tools that addressed tenure security were represented, such as community enumeration in Haiti and the social tenure domain model in Uganda, which maps multiple forms of tenure. The eviction impact assessment tool was also used to prevent or remedy forced evictions, and legal aid has proven critical in helping IDPs clarify and defend their tenure rights. It can also support shelter activities to achieve the same objective, as in Jordan.

6. Various forms of tenure, including informal, should be acknowledged and recognised, because they are key to the progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing.

7. More systematic legal and administrative interventions should be made in land administration systems to ensure that multiple forms of tenure are understood and codified.
8. Adequate protection from forced eviction should be put in place in order to avoid renewed displacement and increased impoverishment.
9. Programmes that aim to improve tenure security and housing conditions should ensure that their eligibility criteria do not exclude IDPs. Those that include the possession of personal documents, permanent residency or a certain number of years spent in a given place may discriminate against IDPs, and flexibility should be envisaged in such cases.
10. Legal aid should be offered to urban IDPs to inform them about issues that affect their tenure security, such as rental lease agreements and protection from eviction, and to advise them on legal and informal routes to conflict resolution and obtaining documentation and building permits.

Access to public goods and services was a key component in a few cases, but it was mainly tied to the element of location, which is vital because proximity to livelihood opportunities, markets and institutions also help to determine IDPs' overall quality of life and reduce transportation costs.

11. National and international interventions should adopt a multi-sectorial approach in order to facilitate adequate housing and durable solutions. This means addressing elements such as tenure security, affordability, habitability, disaster risk reduction, access to basic and social services and employment.

Affordability was well represented in the case studies, particularly those related to social housing. All cases, however, involved significant subsidies and investment from states, international organisations and municipalities. This investment feeds into housing market mechanisms through purchase (Armenia), transfer of ownership (Georgia), upgrade or the subsidising of rented accommo-

dation (Jordan, Haiti). The creation of affordable housing stock for rent to keep up with sudden spikes in demand, which often add to existing housing deficits, remains a significant challenge.

12. More attention should be paid to providing affordable rented housing in lieu of home ownership schemes, given that most urban residents rent, particularly the poorer and more marginalised among them and including IDPs.

13. Affordable housing can be achieved in different ways, including the opening up of serviced land, investment in infrastructure, provision of affordable credit, retrofitting of abandoned property, allowing extra floors on existing housing structures, re-zoning land for residential use, increasing population density by encouraging in-fill and subsidies for the upgrading of vacant or dilapidated housing stock.

Affordability is also directly linked to access to livelihoods. Cash-based assistance often substitutes income lost as a result of displacement, but can only temporarily provide affordable rented housing and tenure security.

14. Humanitarian relief work should be integrated with follow-up assistance as is the case with the Graduation approach where cash-based assistance is combined with livelihood programmes that also include vocational training and small business loans.

Habitability was also covered by several practices, such as those in Jordan and Armenia, notably in relation to cultural adequacy and relative notions of what is considered adequate housing. In Haiti (Katye), habitability was linked to disaster risk reduction, while in Somalia it was linked to making upgraded settlements less vulnerable to frequent outbreaks of fire.

The fact that in cases such as in Kosovo and Georgia, IDPs were not satisfied with the accommodation pointed to the need for their meaningful participation in housing programmes. Although this report illustrates several examples of positive participation (Katye and Simon Pelé in Haiti, TSI in Colombia and the use of the STDM tool in Uganda) this is one of the least represented elements of the right to adequate housing across the practices analysed and highlights the challenge of shifting the perception of IDPs as being mere beneficiaries to agents who can pursue their own durable solutions given the appropriate resources and leverage. Ensuring participation is time-consuming, however, and humanitarians tend not to have the flexibility to engage in such lengthy processes.

Unfortunately, there is shortage of comparative data on

how individual displaced households manage in urban areas and the best ways of supporting their coping mechanisms, whether it is via cash-based assistance, vocational training or housing subsidies. Understanding the underlying reasons for why IDPs may forego investment in better housing may help guide programme response instead of making assumptions that all IDPs are asset- or cash-poor or would readily invest in housing above other needs.

15. Meaningful participation of IDPs in housing programmes and community ownership of the process should be an integral component of practices.

16. A paradigm shift in programming is needed to understand IDPs and displaced households as economic agents who apply their own calculations when prioritising different needs such as housing, food, education and health.

17. IDPs should not be viewed as a homogeneous group, given that their economic status and resource levels can vary dramatically.

It is important to understand how IDPs settle in urban areas, whether it is with families, gathered in particular areas, dispersed throughout or in regular or makeshift camps. Due to their relative invisibility, it is often difficult to distinguish between poor IDPs and their non-displaced neighbours. Urban profiling can help determine the extent of IDPs' specific needs and vulnerability, as well as challenges faced by both IDPs and host populations. The practices presented in this report show both the interest of area-based approaches (Bosaso, Kosovo, Katye/Haiti, Coordination platform in Jordan) and the necessity to design targeted assistance for the most vulnerable individuals or groups (TSI Colombia, practice on social housing in protected environment in Armenia, Georgia and Serbia).

18. The profiling of urban IDPs should be used more systematically to provide valuable socioeconomic data on displaced households and the community they live in, which in turn should be used to address IDPs' specific needs and inform longer-term public policy.

19. The focus on displaced individuals and households should shift to area-based interventions integrated into broader urban planning and growth strategies. Such a shift requires cooperation with municipal authorities, and could potentially lead to practises becoming institutionalised.

20. The cost-effectiveness of shifting to more area-based interventions should be analysed further, but involving the development sector earlier during the humani-

tarian phase can help share the costs of longer-term interventions.

21. Authorities and humanitarian organisations should continue to identify and meet IDPs' specific needs, particularly those of vulnerable individuals, if they cannot be addressed by general approaches. Targeted support to facilitate durable solutions is a case in point. As displacement becomes protracted, IDPs' less obvious needs, such as psychosocial support to deal with trauma, tend to be overlooked, making those affected more vulnerable over time.

Area-based approaches involve humanitarians establishing links with and supporting local authorities and private sector organisations, many of which are development-oriented. Urban planning must be a core component of programme design. In the case of Jordan, where support for host municipalities was increased, it was clear that it helped better serve refugees and host communities in Jordan in the long term, instead of providing only emergency aid and shelter.

Increasing the urban housing supply is a significant development resource and economic multiplier, with upstream linkages to building materials and land markets and downstream linkages to construction companies and employment. The local production and supply of goods and provision of services for IDPs can make a significant contribution to a city's economy. In the case of Banco Palmas in Brazil, an effective and innovative finance mechanism allowed residents who were formerly IDPs to come together and apply the multiplier principle to generate economic development in the town. By establishing a community development bank and circulating their own local currency, they were able to ensure that loans were reinvested in community businesses, which would later expand the tax base.

The role of the private sector has not been examined in this report, but it should be remembered that commercial entities are often the main providers of urban infrastructure and services. Housing supply is also generally a product of the housing market, in which governments' role is limited to that of regulator and sometimes financier. This report was not able to address questions of urban scale, for example how supporting municipalities or working with commercial service providers in second and third-tier cities might differ from working in large capitals or megacities.

22. The links between private infrastructure and service providers (i.e water, electricity, solid waste management), their regulation by the municipality and the way the international humanitarian and development communities can better support them should be stud-

ied further.

23. The extent to which interventions need to be adapted to address urban scale should be studied further.

The selected practices show how a shift from short-term to longer-term approaches can take place. Housing policies should go beyond short-term action to facilitate durable solutions, either by linking up with development work or their incorporation into national frameworks on housing and displacement – as in Haiti cash grant and Kosovo – or into municipal urban planning, as in TSI Colombia and Jordan Host Community Support Platform.

When practices are integrated into or influence national policies, the knowledge transfer and change in institutional norms can extend their reach. The institutionalisation of an approach can take it further than the NGO or agency that initially implemented the practice. Authorities can adopt practices into their policies, as in Jordan, or international organisations can learn from one another, as in Haiti, cash rental guidelines and adapt their practices to different contexts. In Somalia, a shift in societal norms took place, in which IDPs and their landlords gradually entered into written lease agreements without the intervention of a third party, because they recognised their usefulness.

It is clear that significant political will is required if practices are to be relevant and succeed. The role of politics in urban spaces, however, is not addressed in this report and needs to be analysed further. Decisions that have a significant bearing on the lives of marginalised people in urban areas are determined by political forces, and adequate solutions often depend on how well they are handled by those working with such groups and the beneficiaries themselves.

The evaluation of cost-effectiveness was also a challenge, because the elements taken into account can vary significantly between practices, and certain aspects, such as psychological support, cannot be quantified. The report was also only able to focus on broad replicability criteria, given the high number of possible variables.

Notes

1. Armed conflict is an armed confrontation between the armed forces of states (international armed conflict) or between governmental authorities and organised armed groups or between such groups within a state (non-international armed conflict). Other situations of violence, such as internal disturbances and tensions are not considered armed conflicts (source: ICRC, Exploring Humanitarian Law, glossary, 2009)
2. Threat to life, physical integrity or freedom resulting from generalised violence including: (i) civilian casualties as a result of indiscriminate acts of violence, including bombings, suicide attacks and improvised explosive device explosions (ii) conflict-related security incidents. Such considerations are not, however, limited to the direct impact of the violence. They also encompass the longer-term, more indirect consequences of conflict-related violence that, either alone or on a cumulative basis, give rise to threats to life, physical integrity or freedom (source: UNHCR)
3. IDMC, Global Overview 2014: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence, May 2014
4. It is important to note that people in many countries are displaced by a combination of factors, there is an overlap between the 33.3 million Global Overview and 22 million Global Estimates figures. It is not possible to add the two numbers together to yield a total number of IDPs. IDMC, Global Estimates 2014: People Displaced by Disasters, October 2014
5. *Ibid*
6. It is important to bear in mind that the monitoring of IDPs has also improved, which means that previously invisible populations may now be counted
7. Protracted displacement is a situation in which the process for finding durable solutions ... is stalled, and/or IDPs are marginalised as a consequence of a lack of protection of their human rights (source: UNHCR and the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, expert seminar on protracted IDP situations, 2007)
8. A durable solution is achieved when IDPs no longer have specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and such persons can enjoy their human rights without discrimination resulting from their displacement. A durable solution can be achieved through: 1) Sustainable reintegration at the place of origin (hereinafter referred to as 'return'), 2) Sustainable local integration in areas where internally displaced persons take refuge (local integration) or 3) Sustainable integration in another part of the country (settlement elsewhere in the country) (source: IASC, Framework for Durable Solutions, 2010)
9. Roger Zetter, Reframing Displacement Crises as Development Opportunities, working paper on the roundtable for solutions, Copenhagen, 2014, p.10
10. This report follows the internationally recognised descriptive and non-legally binding definition of IDPs based on the 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, which state that IDPs are "persons or groups of person who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border".
11. Report of the special rapporteur on IDPs' human rights, 2011 (A/HRC/19/54)
12. UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, ST/ESA/SER.A/352, 2014, p.7
13. *Ibid*
14. [IDMC, Internal Displacement to Urban Areas: the Tufts-IDMC profiling study, case study 1: Khartoum, case study 2: Abidjan, case study 3: Santa Marta, September 2008](#); GA Resolution on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons
15. IDMC, Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010, March 2011
16. ALNAP, Meeting the Urban Challenge: Adapting Humanitarian Efforts to an Urban World, Overseas Development Institute, July 2012
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Home sweet home

Housing practices and tools that support durable solutions for urban IDPs

About IDMC

The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) is the leading source of information and analysis on internal displacement. For the millions of people worldwide displaced within their own country, IDMC plays a unique role as a global monitor and evidence-based advocate to influence policy and action by governments, UN agencies, donors, international organisations and NGOs.

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Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
Norwegian Refugee Council
Chemin de Balexert 7-9
CH-1219 Châtelaine (Geneva)
Tel: +41 22 799 0700, Fax: +41 22 799 0701

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