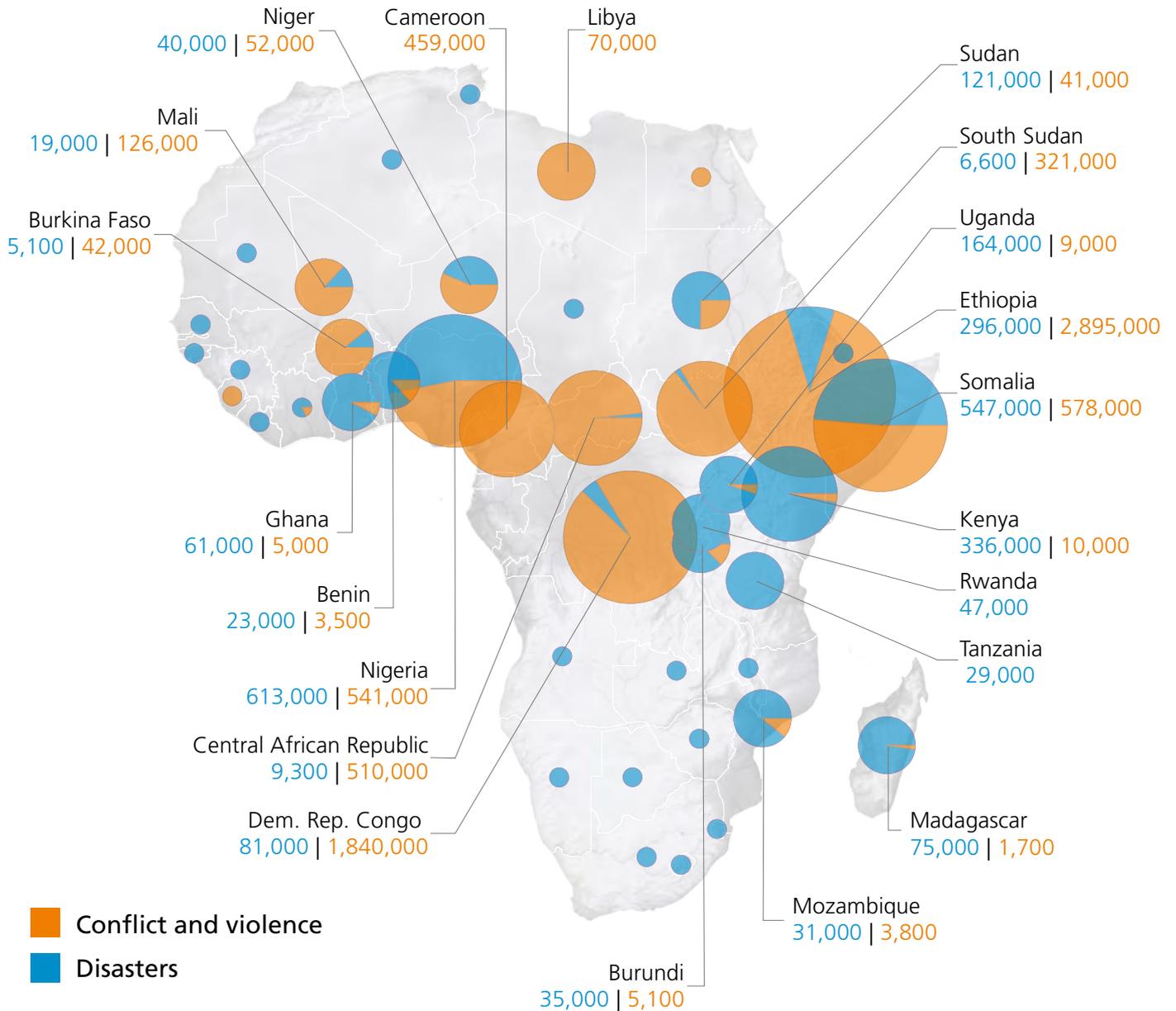




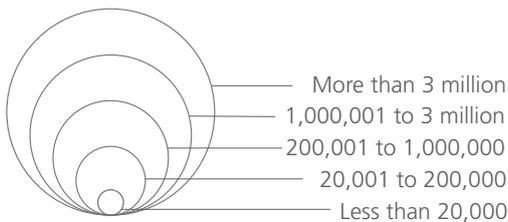
2019

AFRICA REPORT ON  
INTERNAL  
DISPLACEMENT

# NEW DISPLACEMENTS BY CONFLICT, VIOLENCE AND DISASTERS IN 2018



■ Conflict and violence  
■ Disasters



The country names and figures are shown only when the total new displacements value exceeds 20,000. Due to rounding, some totals may not correspond with the sum of the separate figures.

The boundaries and the names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IDMC.

AFRICA REPORT ON  
**INTERNAL  
DISPLACEMENT**

DECEMBER 2019

## Acknowledgements

This report was written by Clémentine André, Vicente Anzellini, Ivana Hajžmanová and Clémence Leduc with contributions from Christelle Cazabat, Bina Desai, Pablo Ferrández, Raphaëlla Montandon, Sylvain Ponsérre, Schadi Semnani and Chloe Sydney.

IDMC extends its thanks to the governments and partners that provided up-to-date and detailed information on displacement.

Editor: Jeremy Lennard

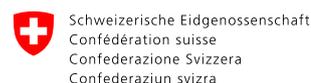
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Cover photo: Congolese families shelter at a Catholic church being used as a temporary site for internally displaced persons in Drodro, Ituri. Credit: © UNHCR/John Wessels, September 2019

IDMC's work would not be possible without the generous contributions of its financial partners. We would like to thank them for their continuous support in 2019, and we extend particular gratitude to the following contributors:

The U.S. Agency for International Development, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the US Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, the European Commission, the International Organization for Migration, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and Liechtenstein's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



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# FOREWORD

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Although forced displacement is a global phenomenon, it is more pronounced in Africa. Africa hosts over one-third of the global forced displacement population. As at 31 December 2018, the continent hosted some 16.8 million internally displaced persons, 7.4 million refugees and 712,000 stateless persons. In response, across the continent, various stakeholders - including governments, civil society organisations and regional bodies - are stepping up their efforts to address the structural factors that trigger forced displacement. These include underdevelopment, poverty, inequality, unemployment, governance deficits, environmental degradation, climate change, instability and insecurity. This explains, in part, why the Africa Union declared 2019 as *The Year of Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement*.

Addressing the structural causes of forced displacement, and identifying durable solutions, are key to the achievement of *Agenda 2063 - The Africa We Want*, as well as the 2030 global agenda on Sustainable Development. Of all forms of forced displacement, the most devastating is internal displacement. Droughts and floods, insecurity and conflict are some of the causes that push millions of people into displacement every year, and are contributing to the increasing levels of internal displacement recorded across the continent. Internal displacement is a humanitarian, governance, development and security concern that needs our full and multi-faceted attention.

This year's *Africa Report on Internal Displacement* helps us focus on this problem on the continent. It represents a timely and relevant contribution to the discussion on internal displacement and its links with governance, peace and socio-economic development in Africa. It provides reliable and up-to-date evidence about the drivers, scale and consequences of internal displacement on the continent. The analysis in this report represents an important baseline to inform policymaking and actions. We hope it can be widely used to inform both policy and operations, as Africa continues to address structural root causes and find durable solutions to internal displacement.

2019 marks the tenth anniversary of the AU Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, commonly known as the Kampala Convention. While the AU declared 2019 as the year to focus squarely on forced displacement, it has declared 2020 as *The Year of Silencing Guns: Creating Conducive Conditions for Socio-Economic Development*. This theme is still pertinent given that much forced displacement is caused by protracted violent conflict. We must invest much more in preventing violent conflict in order to stop the scourge of internal displacement in Africa.

H.E. Minata Samate Cessouma  
Commissioner for Political Affairs  
African Union Commission

# SUMMARY AND KEY MESSAGES

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## | Internal displacement in Africa has reached unprecedented levels

There were 16.8 million people living in internal displacement as a result of conflict and violence in Africa as of the end of 2018. This is the highest figure ever recorded for the continent, and around 40 per cent of the global total. Disasters, particularly those associated with hydro-meteorological hazards such as floods, storms and drought, also triggered 2.6 million new displacements during the year. Conflict and disaster events in 2019 suggest that the number of displacements is likely to continue rising, which shows that the phenomenon is not being reduced.

## | Some conflicts have escalated but do not receive the attention they merit

Conflict and violence are emerging or escalating in many countries, but the displacement crises they trigger are often underreported and responses underfunded. In Cameroon, conflict in the country's anglophone regions triggered 20 times more displacement than the Boko Haram insurgency in 2018. Communal violence in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger has also fuelled a sharp increase in displacement, both internal and across borders, in the last two years. Mid-year figures for Libya in 2019 were already double the total for 2018 as a whole. Many of these conflicts are not new, which highlights the need for renewed efforts to address their underlying causes.

## | Returning does not necessarily mean putting an end to displacement

Millions of internally displaced people (IDPs) were reported as having returned in 2018 across the 11 African countries affected by conflict. More than 341,000 refugees were also thought to have gone back to their countries of origin, most of them to Somalia and South Sudan. Many returns, however, are known to have taken place to unsafe and unstable areas, but most data does not track the trajectory or conditions of individual returnees or households over time. This means there is rarely enough evidence with which to determine whether people still face vulnerabilities related to their displacement. Greater efforts are needed to understand how such vulnerabilities evolve over time and whether or not they have been overcome.

## | Slow-onset disasters are a major driver of displacement but more robust evidence is needed

IDMC has only been able to report on displacement associated with drought since 2017, and only for a few countries. As such, our estimate of 1.6 million new displacements is clearly a small fraction of the true total, but it still accounts for around eight per cent of all new disaster displacements recorded in Africa over the last decade. In many affected countries in the Horn of Africa and the Sahel, conflict also triggers displacement. Understanding and measuring these converging drivers and their impacts in fragile situations where climate variability and change are also at play will help to inform policies and actions needed to reduce displacement risk.

## | Rapid urbanisation plays a role in shaping displacement risk

Africa is home to some of the fastest growing cities in the world, and displacement to, from and within them will shape urban landscapes and societies. Tripoli in Libya and Jijiga in Ethiopia have recently experienced conflict and violence events that triggered urban displacement. Maiduguri in Nigeria and Mogadishu in Somalia are home to millions of people who have fled instability and conflict. Millions of urban dwellers, including IDPs, live in inadequate housing in underserved and marginalised neighbourhoods, leaving them highly exposed and vulnerable to disasters and displacement. Better urban planning and the devolution of resources to local authorities will be key to reducing risk and supporting displaced people in their pursuit of durable solutions.

## | In sub-Saharan Africa alone, internal displacement costs more than \$4 billion a year

Our estimates of the economic impact of displacement in sub-Saharan Africa suggest that it amounts to an annual loss of between 0.1 and 11 per cent of pre-crisis GDP in countries that are already struggling economically. The Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia and South Sudan face the highest average annual economic impact relative to their pre-crisis GDP. As things stand, they are unlikely to be able to cope with these costs, which in turn jeopardises their national development and stability. With its potential for growth and socio-economic advancement, Africa cannot afford to leave internal displacement unaddressed.

## | The tenth anniversary of the Kampala Convention should catalyse efforts to address displacement

The African Union (AU) declared 2019 the year of refugees, returnees and IDPs to mark the tenth anniversary of the Kampala Convention. A decade after it came into force, however, fewer than half of the continent's 55 countries have ratified it. Implementation may not have been as fast as expected, but there were promising developments during the year. Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia developed policies on internal displacement, setting good examples of government responsibility and accountability for other countries to follow.

## | Filling the data gaps on displacement is essential for policymaking to address it and reduce it

Persistent data gaps make it difficult, if not impossible, to adequately inform policies to reduce displacement risk. Understanding displacement triggered by drought and other slow-onset phenomena, capturing small-scale displacement and obtaining data in hard-to-reach areas are among the main challenges. Knowing who is displaced and for how long would also help to tailor responses and adapt durable solution initiatives.

In order to fill these data gaps and deliver on their commitments to implement the Kampala Convention, governments need to improve their capacity to monitor displacement, regardless of its causes and without thresholds that limit the data they collect. A key first step would be to map who collects displacement data in the region and identify what is needed to improve cooperation between stakeholders and across sectors.

# INTRODUCTION

Southern Africa has experienced below-average rainfall over the past five years, and drought has become a norm rather than an anomaly across the eight countries that make up the subregion. The consequences have been devastating. Agricultural outputs have been decimated and by the end of 2018 around 9.6 million people were food insecure.<sup>1</sup>

Increased rainfall in early 2019 raised hopes that the situation was improving, but these did not last long. At the beginning of March, international meteorological services identified the formation of a storm off Mozambique.<sup>2</sup> It started as a tropical depression, causing severe flooding in northern Mozambique and Malawi, before moving out to sea where it developed into an intense tropical cyclone.<sup>3</sup>

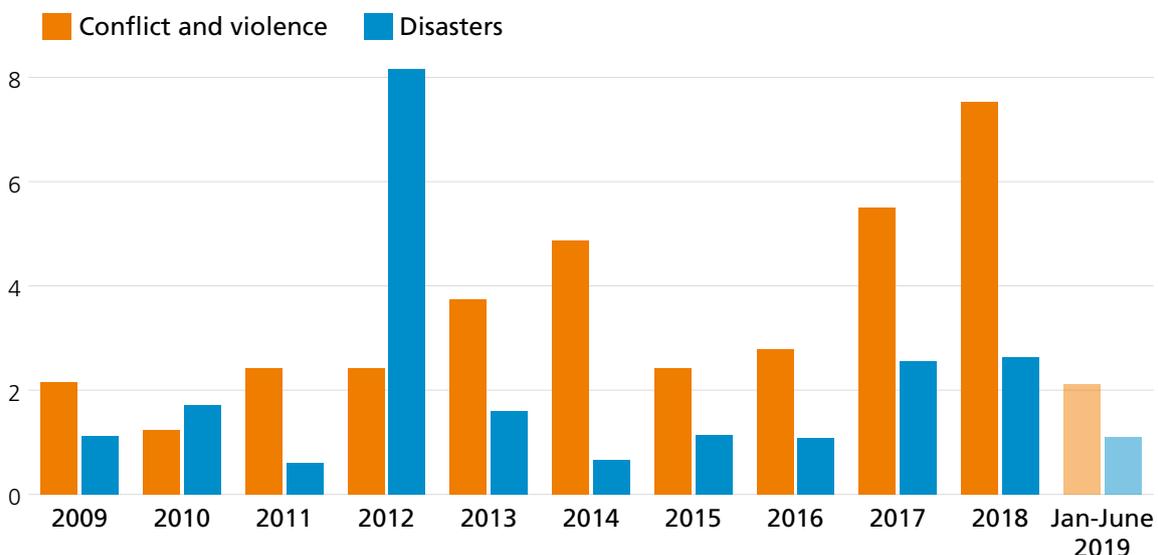
Mozambique’s meteorological service issued a disaster alert, and disaster management authorities met to prepare for what was expected to be a severe storm, but they could not have imagined that it would trigger one of the southern hemisphere’s most devastating disasters ever recorded.<sup>4</sup> The storm made landfall as cyclone Idai on 15 March and wrought havoc across several countries.

It caused widespread damage to infrastructure, homes and crops, and triggered almost 617,000 displacements in Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.<sup>5</sup>

Idai’s unprecedented impacts are partly explained by the fact that it hit the coastal city of Beira in Mozambique, with a population of 500,000. The majority of those affected were poor people living in substandard houses in informal settlements that were unable to withstand the high winds, torrential rain and floodwaters.<sup>6</sup> Around 90 per cent of Beira’s homes were destroyed.<sup>7</sup>

The following month another more intense tropical storm formed off the coast of Mozambique. Cyclone Kenneth was the equivalent of a category four hurricane and became the most powerful storm ever to hit the African continent.<sup>8</sup> Kenneth made landfall on 25 April in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, which was already affected by conflict, violence and displacement. Kenneth triggered around 24,000 new displacements in Mozambique and Malawi, including some secondary movements of people already displaced. It also caused devastation and triggered at least 15,000 new displacements in the archipelago of Comoros.

FIGURE 1: New displacements in Africa, in millions





*Destroyed neighbourhood of Praia Nova in Beira after Cyclone Idai made landfall. Photo: IFRC Climate Centre/Denis Onyodi, March 2019*

This cascading disaster was one of the worst recorded in Africa in a decade. More powerful storms have been recorded elsewhere in the world in 2019, but what made Idai and Kenneth so catastrophic was the fact that two intense hazards followed an extended drought, and struck areas that were already poor, vulnerable and in some cases unstable.

Similar scenarios could occur in other African countries, if not perhaps at the same scale. Across the continent, the factors that heighten vulnerability –weak governance capacity, low economic and social development, chronic insecurity and high disaster risk– are already persistent drivers of humanitarian and displacement crises.

There were 16.8 million people living in internal displacement as a result of conflict and violence in Africa as of the end of 2018. This is the highest figure ever recorded, and around 40 per cent of the global total.<sup>9</sup> Persistent

conflict keeps taking place in the provinces of Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu in the DRC, where displacement remains unabated. In Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali, violence has reignited, triggering unprecedented displacement. In Libya, the civil war has escalated, and displacement figures in mid-2019 were almost double than the whole of 2018. Longstanding instability and violence in other countries like Nigeria, Somalia and South Sudan continue to trigger displacement. Across the continent, not only is the number of new displacements increasing, but the prospects for durable solutions for millions of IDPs remain elusive.

The average number of new conflict displacements has increased sharply over the last decade, while the figures for disasters have remained steady with the exception of 2012, when massive floods impacted Nigeria and other West African countries. Mid-year figures for 2019 suggest these trends are set to continue (see figure 1).

These figures are IDMC's best estimates of the scale of displacement in Africa, but many data gaps remain. Issues such as the severity and duration of displacement and its social and economic impacts are still poorly understood. Many IDPs are reported to have returned to their place of origin, but it is difficult in most cases to ascertain whether they did so in a safe, sustainable and dignified way. There are concerns about human rights violations and a lack of basic services, but evidence is scattered and responses often inadequate, making IDPs some of the continent's most vulnerable and neglected people.

These persistent data gaps mean it is difficult to adequately inform policies to facilitate solutions and reduce risk. They are also indicative of the complex humanitarian and development challenge that internal displacement represents not only for IDPs and their host communities, but also for national governments and the region as a whole.

Data shortfalls are not the only reminder, however, that more political will and action are needed to tackle the phenomenon. The African Union (AU) declared 2019 the year of refugees, returnees and IDPs to mark the tenth anniversary of its Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, better known as the Kampala Convention. As the world's first legally binding regional instrument on internal displacement, it represents a landmark effort to promote state responsibility for IDPs' protection and assistance. A decade after it came into force, however, 29 of the 55 AU members have ratified it. Only one, Niger, has domesticated it by adopting a national law on internal displacement in 2018.<sup>10</sup>

Other countries have made progress in implementing the convention. Equatorial Guinea ratified it in October 2019, Ethiopia is discussing its ratification, and Somalia has adopted a national policy on returning refugees and IDPs and established a Durable Solutions Unit to coordinate initiatives to bring displacement to a sustainable end.<sup>11</sup> Promoting and enforcing the convention's implementation is a regional priority, but progress is particularly needed in countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Libya and Sudan, where persistent displacement aggravates poverty and conflict and where people are experiencing high levels of exposure and vulnerability to disasters.

This year's Africa Report on Internal Displacement presents the latest figures for the continent and discusses why, despite having a unique legal mechanism to address and reduce the phenomenon, policy and operational actions to implement it remain modest and are not progressing fast enough to cope with emerging situations. This inaction also impedes national sustainable development efforts and puts the most vulnerable IDPs at risk of repeated, cyclical and protracted displacement.

As the example of cyclone Idai shows, displacement does not have single cause. Longstanding development challenges influence its scale and nature, and in some cases it is the result of both slow and sudden-onset processes when the drivers and impacts of conflict and disasters converge. This report discusses how addressing internal displacement as part of broader development initiatives represents an opportunity for Africa. It reiterates the view that greater political will and long-term social and economic investments will be required, and that the Kampala Convention should be the catalyst for such change.

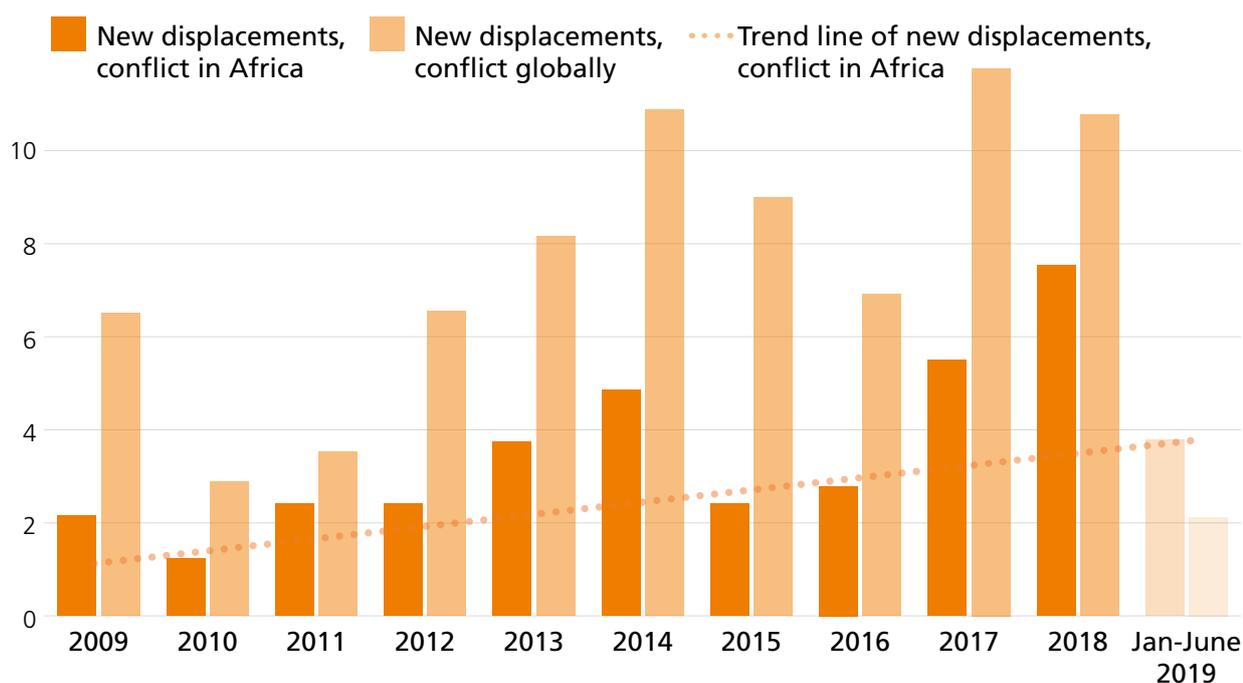
# INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT TRENDS

This chapter presents data on internal displacement associated with conflict and disasters in Africa between 2009 and 2018. It also includes more recent developments and preliminary figures for the first half of 2019 for some countries. Internal displacement is a growing phenomenon on the continent, but many situations are underreported. A better understanding of its true scale and complexity is needed to inform effective policies and programmes to address and reduce it.

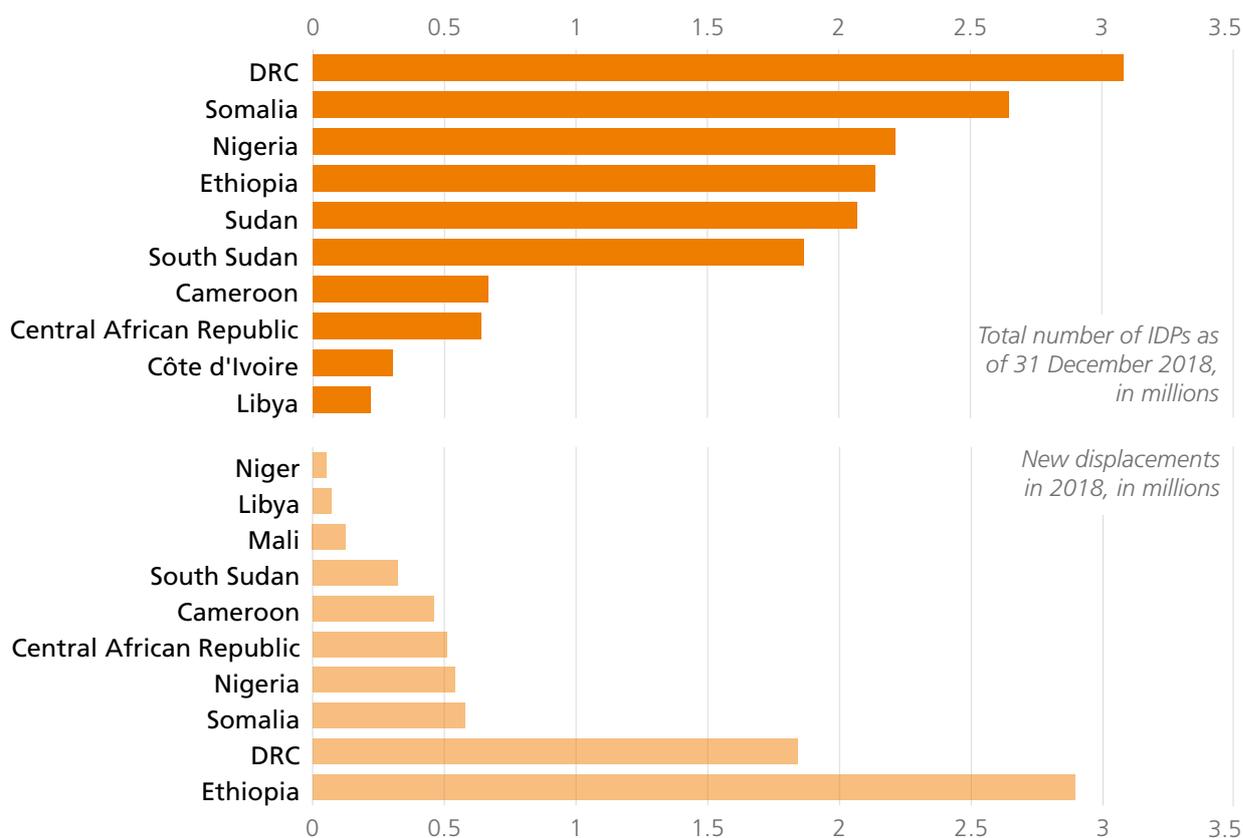
## INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Africa has consistently been the region most affected by displacement associated with conflict and violence over the past decade. High numbers are recorded each year, and average figures have increased (see figure 2). There were peaks in 2014 and 2017 in countries such as CAR, DRC, Nigeria and Somalia as a result of intercommunal clashes, armed conflict and indiscriminate attacks on civilians. Around 7.5 million new displacements were recorded in the region in 2018, accounting for more than two-thirds of the global total.

**FIGURE 2:** Comparison of new displacements associated with conflict and violence between Africa and globally, in millions



**FIGURE 3:** Countries with the highest number of conflict IDPs as of the end of 2018 and new displacements associated with conflict and violence in 2018



Most of the countries with high levels of new displacements also have the largest number of people living in internal displacement as the end of the year (see figure 3). This suggests that protracted conflict and instability both trigger new displacements and contribute to prolonging them.

In DRC, for example, there were around 3.1 million IDPs as of the end of 2018, and conflict and displacement continued in provinces including Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu in the first half of 2019.<sup>12</sup> Preliminary estimates point to around 718,000 new displacements between January and June, and many of those forced to flee are likely to add to the country’s growing overall number of IDPs at the end of the year. Conditions are similar in other countries affected by longstanding instability and violence, such as Nigeria, Somalia and South Sudan.

Elsewhere, new waves of violence have broken out or former conflicts reignited. Intercommunal clashes triggered unprecedented displacement in Ethiopia in 2018.<sup>13</sup> Displacement also increased sharply in Libya

in 2018, and the situation deteriorated further in 2019 as conflict between the UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) and the Libyan National Army (LNA) flared up again in and around Tripoli in April after LNA launched an offensive.<sup>14</sup>

Some emerging or escalating conflicts do not receive the attention they merit. In Cameroon, for example, a “new” conflict broke out in the country’s western anglophone regions, triggering around 20 times more displacement than Boko Haram’s insurgency in the north-east. The conflict has worsened in 2019 but remains underreported, making it one of the world’s most neglected crises.<sup>15</sup> Communal violence has also reignited in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, where preliminary figures reveal a sharp increase in displacement in 2019 (see Spotlight).

Communal violence is a major trigger of displacement in Africa. It was responsible for significantly more new displacements than armed conflict in 2018, even based on estimates known to be highly conservative because of challenges inherent in obtaining data on such events.

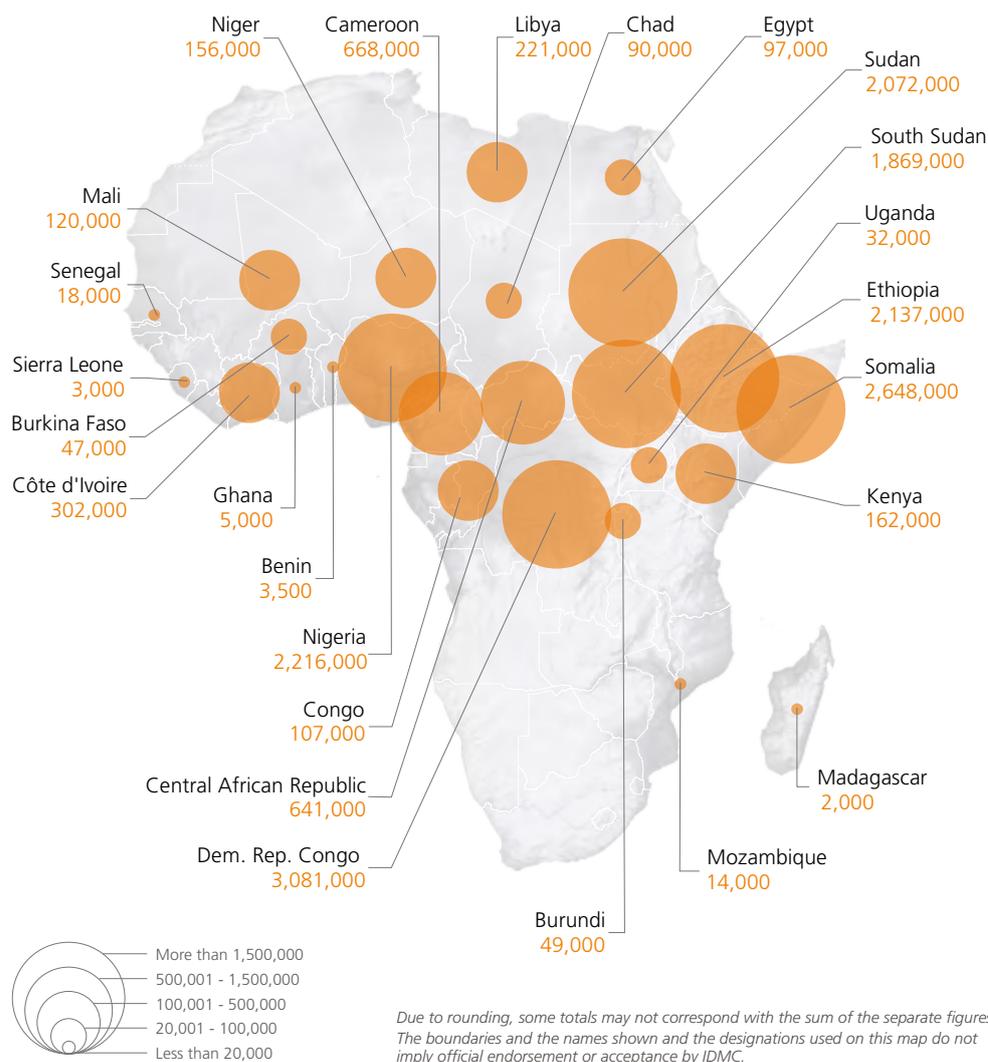
In some cases, communal violence has escalated as armed conflict has waned. In South Sudan, for example, the signing of a revitalised peace agreement in September has reined in the country's armed conflict, but violence between the Dinka and Nuer communities of the warring parties has increased and remains high. Cattle rustling and disputes over land and resources have also triggered communal violence and displacement.

In Nigeria, banditry, criminal activities and communal clashes triggered 74,000 new displacements in the north-western states at Katsina, Sokoto and Zamfara along the border with Niger in the first half of 2019. They outnumbered those triggered by Boko Haram's decade-long insurgency and violence by other non-state armed groups (NSAGs) in the north-east of the country for the same period. However, it is not always possible

to draw conclusions directly from the numbers as they may vary as a result of differing data collection, rather than changes in the situation on the ground.

The overall figures for displacement associated with conflict and violence in Africa show that the phenomenon is a considerable challenge, and that urgent action is needed to reverse the trends. It is not, however, all bad news. In addition to South Sudan's revitalised agreement, a peace deal was signed in CAR in February 2019 that has led to a reduction in violence and enabled IDPs and refugees to return.<sup>16</sup> The deal is fragile, but that has not prevented them from trying to re-establish their lives and contribute to the peace process (see Spotlight). More such efforts are needed across the continent to reduce displacement and revitalise local and national development.

MAP 1: People internally displaced by conflict and violence as of 31 December 2018



# BURKINA FASO, MALI AND NIGER

## Communal violence reignited

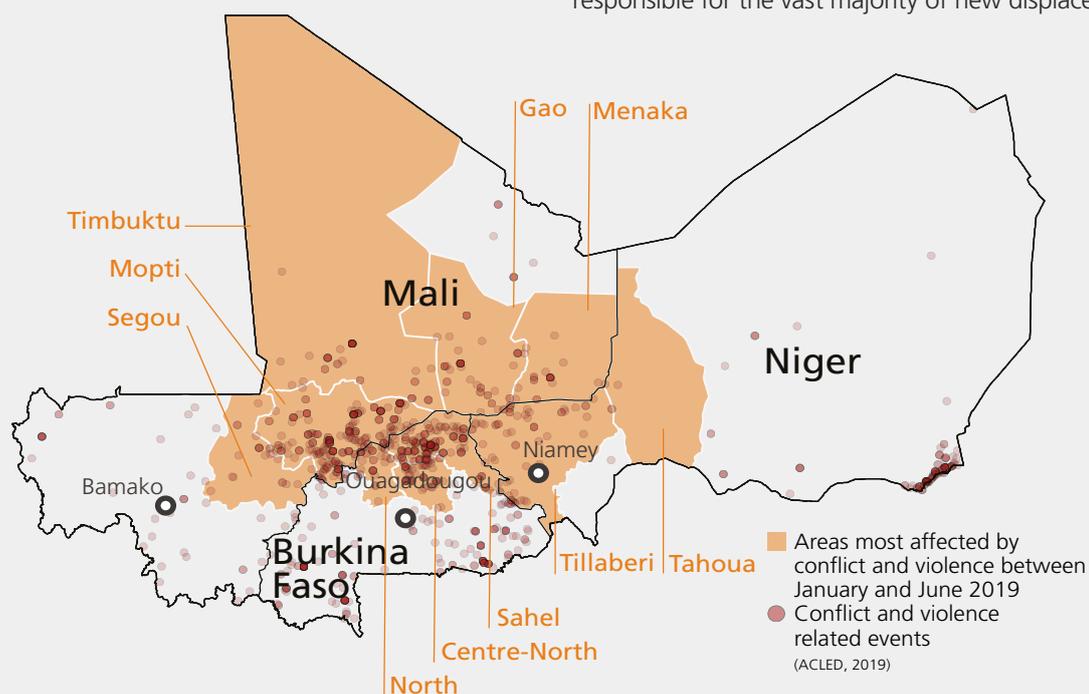
Displacement associated with conflict and violence in West Africa tends to be linked to Boko Haram's insurgency in the Lake Chad region.<sup>17</sup> More recently, however, communal clashes have reignited in border areas between central Mali, northern Burkina Faso and south-western Niger, triggering a sharp increase in displacement. More than 140,000 new displacements were recorded in Mali in the first half of 2019, a higher figure than for the whole of 2018. The figure for Burkina Faso was 173,000, the highest ever recorded in the country, and in Niger it was 42,000 or 80 per cent of the figure for the whole of 2018.

The violence and displacement have their roots in the activities of several local but globally oriented jihadist groups. They have spent years exploiting local grievances to lay the groundwork for armed insurgencies that are now wreaking havoc across the three countries.<sup>18</sup> Some of the disputes involve access to land and water, but many attacks are part of efforts to root out individuals linked to extremist groups or to take revenge for previous attacks.<sup>19</sup>

The militants have also taken advantage of porous borders and the absence of government forces.<sup>20</sup> They have been gaining ground in all three countries since 2012. As the violence spirals, self-defence militias have emerged. Armed groups have laid siege to villages, burned homes, destroyed the livelihoods of whole communities and perpetrated severe human rights violations.<sup>21</sup>

Those displaced have not been able to return because of the prevailing insecurity and scarcity of resources. There have been efforts to combat the insurgencies, but with only limited success. At the policy level, Niger has adopted a law on internal displacement to address the challenge.<sup>22</sup>

The situation merits close attention, because those displaced are living in vulnerable conditions and the risk of further new and secondary displacements is high. All three countries also suffered extensive flooding between June and September 2019. This serves as a reminder that many countries known for displacement associated with conflict and violence may also suffer the impacts of disasters and climate change. In some cases, the latter may even be responsible for the vast majority of new displacements.



# SOUTH SUDAN AND CAR

## Peacebuilding and durable solutions

South Sudan's government and opposition signed a revitalised peace deal in September 2018 intended to bring six years of civil war to an end. CAR's government similarly signed an agreement with 14 armed groups to end seven years of internal conflict in February 2019. These developments renewed hopes for long-awaited peace in both countries, but also scepticism given the failure of previous agreements.

The latest peace deals also prompted large numbers of people to return to their areas of origin.<sup>23</sup> On one hand, well-timed returns can serve as an expression of confidence in a peace process and boost the economy by revitalising livelihoods. On the other, premature returns may threaten the process by disrupting fragile relationships between communities and putting a strain on limited resources.

South Sudan's civil war has uprooted millions of people from their homes since December 2013, and hundreds of thousands have been killed. Several ceasefires and peace deals have been signed, none of which held for more than a few months. The latest agreement, however, is still in place after a year and the number of clashes between the army and opposition forces has decreased sharply. Only 33 violent incidents have been recorded, compared with 211 in the 12 months after the previous 2015 deal.<sup>24</sup>

Clashes between ethnic militias, which are not signatories to the 2018 deal, have decreased only slightly, but this has not prevented 454,000 IDPs and 190,000 refugees from trying to return to their homes, most of them to states less affected by violence but still suffering from severe food insecurity.<sup>25</sup>

Infrastructure and basic services are lacking across South Sudan. Access to housing, land and property is a major challenge for IDPs whether because it was destroyed during the war, or they lack documentation to prove ownership.<sup>26</sup> Food security has improved slightly since the peace deal because farmers have been able to return

and work their land. That said, more than 60 per cent of the population are still food insecure, but if the peace holds and more farmers are able to resume their livelihoods, the country might recover from its food crisis and gradually stabilise its fragile situation.<sup>27</sup>

The reduction in violence is not as obvious in CAR, although the latest peace deal is the most serious attempt to end the conflict since a 2014 ceasefire agreement. The number of violent incidents between the signatories has decreased since February compared with the previous two years, but the figures are still comparable with those for 2014 to 2016.<sup>28</sup>

The number of IDPs has nevertheless decreased by 75,000 since February and several thousand refugees have come back from neighbouring countries.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that many people intend to return before it is safe to do so, no matter what conditions they may face, and they will require support if they are to achieve lasting solutions to their displacement.

Even in relatively safe parts of the country, villages often lack basic infrastructure and long-term economic opportunities, which hampers returnees' efforts to re-establish their lives and livelihoods. As in South Sudan, housing is also a major challenge because many homes have been damaged or destroyed. Others have been occupied, and returnees struggle to reclaim them under the country's outdated tenure system.<sup>30</sup>

Conditions in South Sudan and CAR are not secure or stable enough for safe and dignified returns, but many IDPs understandably want to try to put an end to their displacement by going back home. Humanitarian organisations may advise against unsafe returns, but there is little they can do to prevent them. The peace deals in both countries make little mention of how to deal with the issue, and any future peacebuilding plan should include provisions for voluntary returns that enable those going home to engage in the peace process.

## | Partial or unverified solutions: the challenge of reporting on returns

The recent waves of returns in a number of African countries have thrown up challenges in assessing their sustainability and returnees' progress in achieving durable solutions. Because most internal displacement data does not track the trajectory or conditions of individual IDPs or households over time, there is rarely enough evidence with which to determine whether or not people still face vulnerabilities related to their displacement.

It is vital to prevent returnees who may still be vulnerable from falling off the radar, so their number needs to be recorded. But if we were to include them in our figures for IDPs, it would risk double-counting people displaced more than once and inflating the total number of displaced people.

In response to these challenges, we have developed new metrics to analyse reports of people having returned, integrated locally or settled elsewhere, and if necessary,

account for them either as having found partial or unverified solutions. These two categories include people who have been displaced for vastly different lengths of time and who face a wide array of challenges in their efforts to eventually achieve a durable solution.

Sometimes our sources provide evidence that people who have returned, resettled or locally integrated still have needs related to their displacement. We now account for such people as having achieved partial solutions. For example, nearly 1.5 million people were reported as having returned in DRC, but for whom there was significant evidence that insecurity had made their situation unsustainable; similarly, 86,000 people were reported as having returned in north-east Nigeria, but for whom information on their shelter conditions showed that they had gone back to damaged or destroyed homes or were living in temporary structures in their place of origin.

In other cases, our sources report only that people have left a shelter, camp, evacuation centre or host community, sometimes with the intention of returning



*Internally displaced Nigerian families in Teachers Village IDP Camp. Photo: IDMC/John Phillips, November 2019*

home, and no further information is available about what happens to them or the conditions they face after leaving. We now account for people in such situations as unverified solutions. They include, among others, 12,000 IDPs in South Sudan reported by the UN and local media as having returned in 2018, but for whom no information was available about conditions in their places of origin.

Partial and unverified solutions encompassed a wide range of situations across 11 African countries in 2018. These new metrics underscore the need for governments and data providers to capture more robust information about the conditions into which people have reported as having returned or achieved other durable solutions.

## INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT ASSOCIATED WITH DISASTERS

Africa as a whole, and sub-Saharan countries in particular, are undergoing unprecedented urbanisation and economic and population growth, which has increased the number of people exposed to hazards.<sup>31</sup> Unregulated and informal urban expansion, poor waste management and drainage systems in cities and poverty in both rural and urban areas also make people more vulnerable to the impacts of a hazard, and the two factors together drive up disaster and displacement risk.<sup>32</sup>

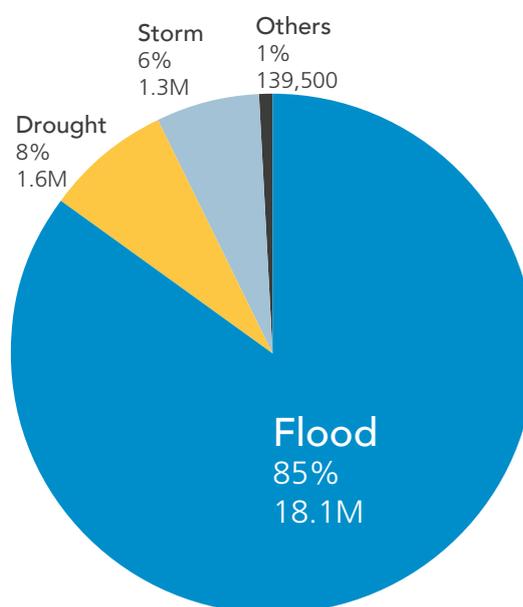
Climate change is also making natural hazards more intense and less predictable. Prolonged periods of drought, above-average rainfall and more powerful storms are becoming more frequent. Impacts vary considerably within and between countries, but with some notable exceptions it tends to be small to medium-sized disasters that trigger displacement. Such events often affect poor and marginalised communities with only limited capacities to prevent and respond to the challenges they bring.<sup>33</sup>

Displacement associated with conflict in Africa tends to receive more attention, but disasters triggered 2.6 million new displacements in 2018 and more than 21.2 million between 2009 and 2018. The latter figure amounts to 9.3 per cent of disaster displacement globally over the decade. Sudden-onset hydrometeorological hazards such as floods triggered 18.1 million and storms 1.3 million.

## Drought, an important but underreported driver of displacement

We recorded 1.6 million new displacements associated with drought between 2009 and 2018, but the figure is a gross underestimate because we have only been able to obtain data disaggregated by this hazard type for a few countries since 2017.<sup>34</sup> It still shows, however, that the scale of the phenomenon is considerable, accounting for eight per cent of all new disaster displacements over the decade (see figure 4).

FIGURE 4: Displacement by hazard categories (2009-2018)



In Somalia and Ethiopia, where more data is available, we estimate that drought has triggered 1.1 million and 500,000 new displacements respectively since 2017, figures that illustrate the scale of the challenge in the Horn of Africa. Severe drought has also been followed by floods in both countries in recent years, and these too have displaced hundreds of thousands of people, increased their vulnerability and eroded their livelihoods.

Other countries including Angola, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Chad, Namibia and Niger have been affected by drought recently, but a lack of systematic monitoring means we are unable to compile displacement figures. This major data gap needs to be filled, because climate change, deforestation, extensive agriculture and unsustainable water use are likely to aggravate the severity and impacts of drought, including displacement (see chapter 3).

## I Flood displacement, a major challenge

Eighty-five per cent of all disaster displacement recorded in Africa since 2009 has been triggered by floods, the impacts of which are aggravated by broader development issues including poverty; a lack of urban planning, drainage systems and waste management; and river-bank erosion and land degradation.

Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, was affected by widespread flooding and a major landslide in August 2017 that destroyed approximately 1200 homes and other urban infrastructure, and triggered around 11,800 new displacements.<sup>35</sup> Torrential rain and floods in August 2019 destroyed another 450 homes, mainly in poor neighbourhoods, and triggered another 5,300 new displacements in August 2019.<sup>36</sup> Informal and unregulated urban sprawl and deforestation on the slopes surrounding the city intensified the impacts of both events.<sup>37</sup> Recently, the Disaster Management Department collaborated with different stakeholders to step-up efforts for flood risk reduction, awareness raising and response.<sup>38</sup>

Flood displacement often reoccurs in the same location, which points to the cyclical nature of hazards and people's chronic vulnerability, poverty and exposure. In Niger, floods destroyed around 9,000 homes in 2018 and 5,500 as of September 2019.<sup>39</sup> Lack of data makes it difficult to determine if the same families are displaced each year. But evidence shows that the city of Niamey struggles with floods each year during the rainy season. The city is expanding fast, and people have settled in flood-prone areas and built their homes with materials unable to withstand such events.<sup>40</sup> The government has banned construction in these areas, but people keep building in and returning to them.<sup>41</sup>

Floods affect both urban and rural communities, but those who have already been displaced by conflict are often overlooked when they are displaced again by disasters. Floods destroyed shelters hosting 6,800 IDPs in the city of Maiduguri in north-east Nigeria in August 2019 and contributed to the spread of cholera.<sup>42</sup> In the state of Borno more broadly, floods have affected people already suffering the impacts of Boko Haram's decade-long insurgency and the activities of other non-state armed groups.<sup>43</sup>

Flood have also displaced hundreds thousands of people in recent years in other countries such as Cameroon, Somalia and South Sudan, where the impacts of conflict and disasters combine to deepen humanitarian crises.<sup>44</sup> In Sudan, floods displace thousands of people every year in the Jebel Marra area of Darfur, where ongoing clashes worsen their plight and make access extremely difficult.<sup>45</sup>

In countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, sudden-onset hazards often strike areas already affected by drought.<sup>46</sup> Heavy rain and floods have also affected agricultural production in Malawi recently after an extended period of drought.<sup>47</sup> Displacement associated with coastal erosion is less reported on but has been identified across West Africa, where slow-onset sea level rise and human factors such as poor of coastal management combine with sudden-onset events such as storms and tidal surges (see Spotlight).

# COASTAL EROSION IN WEST AFRICA

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## When slow and sudden-onset hazards combine

The coastline of West Africa is affected by sudden-onset weather-related hazards such as storms, tidal surges, floods and landslides, and by slow-onset phenomena such as coastal erosion. Displacements associated with the latter have recently been recorded in Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, and Togo, countries that also suffer the impacts of flooding inland. About 520 members of a fishing community in the Volta region of Ghana were displaced by tidal surges in early July 2019, most of whom moved in with family and friends.<sup>48</sup>

The convergence of slow-onset processes such as coastal erosion and sudden-onset hazards such as storms and tidal surges threatens thousands of kilometres of coastal areas from Mauritania to Gabon, which are home to around 105 million people. In countries such as Benin, the coast is receding every year.<sup>49</sup>

Most coastal erosion and the displacement it triggers are associated with sea level rise, but human factors also increase the risks involved and aggravate the impacts. The coastline of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana is thought to be receding by between one and two metres a year, a process which has been fuelled by the rapid urbanisation and the construction of infrastructure on coastal areas, mining, mangrove deforestation and unregulated waste disposal.<sup>50</sup>

Around 70 per cent of Senegal's population live in coastal areas, and the impacts of erosion have already been felt across the country.<sup>51</sup> Saint-Louis, a major urban area, lies at the Atlantic mouth of the Senegal river, and coastal residents are increasingly vulnerable to sea level rise as settlements expand and densify.<sup>52</sup> Given the all but inevitable consequences, the government and the World Bank are working to resettle nearly 10,000 people from high-risk areas. Similar initiatives are under way in other countries in the region as the effects of coastal erosion mount.<sup>53</sup>

Most of the families displaced from Saint Louis' shoreline lived off fishing, which means they have lost their livelihoods as well as their homes. They have been resettled temporarily to camps built in flood prone areas, not too far away, illustrating a broader issue of families being provided solutions in new settlements that may also be affected by flooding and coastal erosion as the sea level continues to rise. This leaves them vulnerable to onward displacement.<sup>54</sup>

These recent events illustrate the way in which slow-onset hazards and climate change impacts combine with human factors to trigger displacement. West African countries will continue to face these issues, which call for improved coastal management and planning. For some communities in high-risk areas, however, resettlement may be the only option. Where and how to implement climate change adaptation and mitigation measures without harming peoples' livelihoods remains a major question.

## I Flood displacement risk

To break the cycle of floods repeatedly triggering displacement in the same countries and communities, it is important to assess the likelihood and potential scale of future flood displacement events. Reactive measures alone will not reduce the phenomenon. It has to be seen as a risk which can, however, be mitigated. Longer-term development investments that include flood prevention and risk reduction are required, and baseline data is needed to inform them.

We improved our riverine flood displacement risk model in 2018 with the aim of creating a dataset to inform disaster risk reduction measures. The model now has more granular data on population exposure, which gives a clearer sense of the people likely to be displaced by future riverine floods. It estimates that an average of 2.8 million people could be displaced by riverine floods in Africa during any given year in the future. Highly populated countries such as DRC, Ethiopia and Nigeria unsurprisingly have greater flood displacement risk.

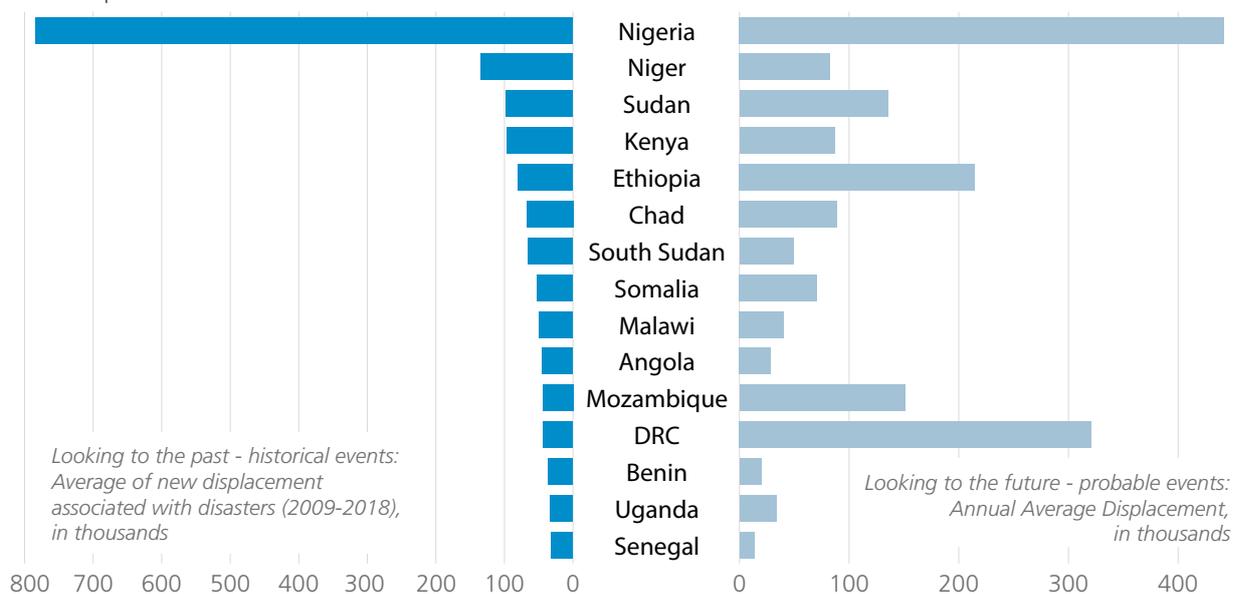
Nigeria is not only Africa's most populous country. It is also at the confluence of two major West African rivers, the Niger and the Benue, which meet in centre of the country. Heavy precipitation upstream in Cameroon, Mali and Niger during the rainy season often triggers flooding down river, and hundreds of thousands of Nigerians are displaced each year.

Mass events were recorded in 2012 and 2018, giving Nigeria an average of 785,000 flood displacements a year over the past decade, the highest figure on the continent. It is also more than the next 11 most affected countries combined. Our model predicts that an annual average of 442,000 people could be displaced by floods in the future, giving Nigeria the highest flood displacement risk in Africa as well (see figure 5).

Nigeria is clearly an outlier, but when flood displacement risk is looked at relative to population size, other countries come to light. Somalia, where one in 100 people could be displaced at any given year in the future, has the highest relative flood displacement risk on the continent. Other countries with high relative risk include Chad, Congo, Liberia and Madagascar.

These figures may appear high, but although they give a sense of the scale of the challenge that lies ahead, they should be considered underestimates. Our model only considers riverine flooding, which means that other phenomena such as flash floods and urban floods are not captured. In addition, the model uses the likelihood of housing destruction as a proxy. Flood displacement risk is likely to be much higher in urban areas without adequate drainage and water management systems. Nor does the model assess the role of rapid urban growth in increasing risk because it works with current exposure data.

**FIGURE 5:** Comparison between the countries with the highest historical flood displacement and those at higher flood displacement risk



Even with these caveats, however, the evidence it produces can be used to inform national and local disaster risk reduction (DRR) measures. It not only calculates national flood displacement risk, but can also generate more granular figures to identify hotspots. This valuable information can be used as the basis for developing crisis prevention and management tools, contingency plans and early warning systems.

## I Displacement associated with storms

Many floods are triggered by tropical depressions, or storms. Most do not develop into cyclones, but climate change is driving more frequent, intense and less predictable events that have hit many African countries hard. Twenty storms and cyclones have triggered more than a million displacements across the continent over the past decade. Few countries are in the tropical cyclone belt, but storms such as Idai and Kenneth do widespread damage in addition to the displacement they trigger (see Spotlight).

Most of Kenneth's impacts were felt in Mozambique and Malawi, where media attention was also concentrated. The storm also triggered more than 14,500 new displacements and destroyed more than 3,800 homes in Comoros, one of the world's poorest countries, but this received little coverage. The island of Grande Comore was hardest hit.<sup>55</sup>

Kenneth represented a significant setback for the small island developing state's population, which is highly vulnerable. Agriculture was particularly hard hit, and some departments lost almost all of their productivity. This has had a cascading effect on people's livelihoods and income. It is likely to take some months or even years to recover from the storm's impacts.<sup>56</sup>

Cyclone Sagar also aggravated already fragile situations when it hit the coasts of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia in May 2018, triggering 9,400, 4,100 and 8,900 new displacements respectively. The storm received relatively little media coverage, despite the fact that it destroyed homes and decimated livelihoods. Thousands of fishermen lost their boats and equipment, leaving them without a source of income and struggling to feed their families.<sup>57</sup>

To tackle the challenges that floods and storms present, the underlying drivers of risk must be addressed, including unregulated urban expansion, poor water and waste management and poverty. Many countries are ill-prepared for such events, which make their impacts, including displacement, worse. Effective early warning systems and disaster risk awareness are vital to preparedness, risk reduction and response.

Both donors, the UN System and African states have stepped-up efforts to fill the current gaps in policy and practice to reduce risk. As of 2019, thirty-three countries across Africa have implemented disaster loss and damage databases.<sup>58</sup> Ongoing projects across the continent aim at improving capacities for early warning and risk identification.<sup>59</sup> Other local initiatives, like the Ramani Huria Project in Tanzania, are promising approaches for bottom-up data collection that will allow increased flood modelling and risk reduction.<sup>60</sup>

# CYCLONES IDAI AND KENNETH

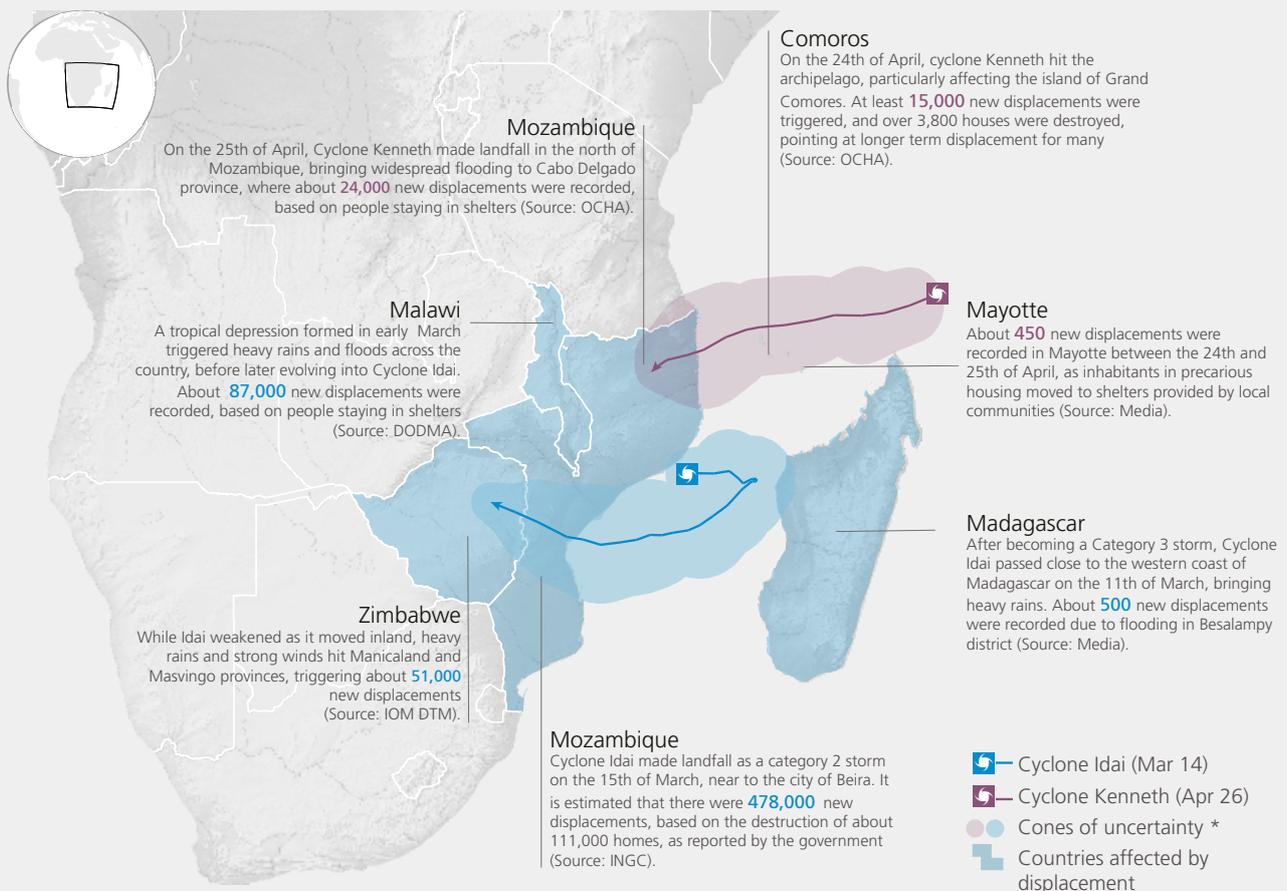
Cyclone Idai triggered Africa’s most devastating disaster of the first half of 2019. The storm originated as a tropical depression in early March, causing severe flooding in northern Mozambique and Malawi before moving back out to sea where it developed into an intense tropical cyclone. It made landfall as cyclone Idai before dawn on 15 March near the city of Beira in Mozambique.<sup>61</sup>

The following month another more intense tropical storm formed off Mozambique. Cyclone Kenneth was the equivalent of a category four hurricane and became the most powerful storm ever to hit Africa. It was also the first time since records began that two major cyclones had hit the

region in the same season, and the only known occurrence of a cyclone in the far north of Mozambique.<sup>62</sup>

Idai and its precursor storm caused riverine and flash floods and landslides, leading to significant loss of life and property.<sup>63</sup> It affected around 2.2 million people, triggering around 617,000 new displacements across four countries - 478,000 in Mozambique, 87,000 in Malawi, 51,000 in Zimbabwe and 500 in Madagascar.

The severity of Idai’s and Kenneth’s impacts is explained less by the storms’ intensity and more by vulnerability of the people in their path, most notably in the city of



\*Uncertainty in the forecast of the storm

The boundaries and the names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IDMC.

Beira. Mozambique has an advanced DRR framework and institutional set up for disaster risk management, but Idai highlighted weaknesses in the reach of early warnings and capacity to organise pre-emptive evacuations, particularly in communities at high risk.<sup>64</sup>

The succession of disasters also heightened existing vulnerabilities. A lack of clean water and sanitation in affected areas led to cholera outbreaks, and the storms aggravated an acute food insecurity situation brought on by prolonged drought.<sup>65</sup> Flooding destroyed around 800,000 hectares of crops in Mozambique, and key supply routes were severely disrupted.<sup>66</sup> Idai also triggered secondary displacements in areas previously flooded, and Kenneth struck Cabo Delgado province in northern Mozambique, which was already affected by conflict, violence and displacement.<sup>67</sup> In Zimbabwe, Idai disrupted government efforts to combat malnutrition, leaving about 2.3 million people in urgent need for food aid.<sup>68</sup>

Idai also devastated Beira. Located at the Indian Ocean mouth of the Pungwe river, it was the first city the storm struck, destroying about 90 per cent of its built environment. Major infrastructure including its airport and port were destroyed or shut down, along with roads, schools and hospitals, which severely hampered the humanitarian response.<sup>69</sup>

Beira's historically relatively safe location had attracted people displaced by conflict and drought for years, leading to unregulated urban expansion.<sup>70</sup> More than half the city's population of 530,000 were living in informal settlements and its water management and drainage systems were inadequate or non-existent, leaving many people vulnerable to displacement by floods.<sup>71</sup> Given sea level rise and other climate change impacts, flood displacement risk in Beira is expected to increase in the coming years, which demonstrates how rapid and unregulated urbanisation heightens city dwellers' vulnerability.<sup>72</sup>

Conscious of the issues confronting the city, stakeholders including municipal authorities, local communities and international organisations have invested in reducing urban disaster risk.<sup>73</sup> Beira even won an award in 2012 for setting up local DRR committees, raising awareness and establishing early flood warning systems in informal settlements.<sup>74</sup> The Cities and Climate Change project led by the World Bank also made extensive investments in drainage systems in an effort to strengthen the city's resilience to disasters.<sup>75</sup> The local authorities took steps to prevent development in flood-prone areas in December 2018.<sup>76</sup>

Despite these initiatives, Beira's authorities and communities were ill-prepared to cope with a storm of Idai's intensity.<sup>77</sup> In its aftermath there were calls from local and national authorities and international organisations for more resilient infrastructure and better emergency preparedness and risk management.<sup>78</sup> Any such plans and measures must take pre-existing vulnerabilities into account and do more to reach the communities that bear the highest disaster and displacement risk.<sup>79</sup>

# POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

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The increase in internal displacement across Africa over the past decade shows that neither measures to establish peace and improve security, nor DRR, climate change adaptation or sustainable development efforts have been sufficient. Policy development and implementation are the foundations for effective solutions that address displacement and reduce future risk.

African countries are well placed to take the initiative in this sense. The AU declared 2019 the year of refugees, returnees and IDPs to mark the tenth anniversary of the Kampala Convention, a unique and legally binding regional mechanism on internal displacement.<sup>80</sup> It constitutes a solid basis for governments to develop and strengthen their policies and actions.

Some countries took steps to introduce national frameworks on the phenomenon even before the convention came into force, but much more needs to be done in terms of implementation and follow-up, and in linking measures to address displacement with other social and economic development policies.

By doing so, governments will not only support IDPs in achieving durable solutions. They will also gradually reduce the risk of new, secondary and protracted displacement. This in turn will bolster sustainable development efforts and reduce the need to expend human and financial resources on humanitarian assistance and crisis responses.

The social and economic setbacks that displacement involves for affected communities and countries are a further reminder that renewed efforts are required to implement the Kampala Convention and other policy and legal instruments. Strengthening governance arrangements for internal displacement is key to addressing what should be considered one of Africa's most significant challenges.

## THE KAMPALA CONVENTION TEN YEARS ON

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The Kampala Convention was adopted in 2009. It establishes standards for the protection of the rights and well-being of people displaced by conflict and violence, disasters and human rights abuses. It also provides a common understanding of the issue and makes recommendations to support countries in capitalising on lessons learned at the national level. It calls for responses to be tailored to specific displacement situations, and promotes greater coordination by clearly defining roles and responsibilities among national and international stakeholders.<sup>81</sup>

Because it is based on the Guiding Principles, the convention holds that governments have primary responsibility for IDPs' protection and assistance, and should domesticate its provisions in their national legislation and policies.<sup>82</sup> Forty of the AU's 55 member states have signed it and 29 have ratified it, but only one - Niger - has domesticated it (see map).<sup>83</sup>

The Kampala Convention has been an important catalyst for increased government responsibility and accountability for internal displacement. Since its adoption, Burundi, Ethiopia, DRC, Niger, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Zambia have developed related laws or policies. In 2018, the African Union created a model law to support countries in developing their national laws in line with the convention.<sup>84</sup>

Some of the laws and policies are more comprehensive than others in terms of the causes and phases of displacement they cover. Some apply nationwide, others only to specific regions or areas. Some are in line with the Kampala Convention and other international instruments such the Guiding Principles, but others not (see figure 6, p.28).

Comprehensive policies on internal displacement allow states to establish mechanisms and institutions to prevent and respond to it in a more coordinated way. Uganda's national policy on IDPs is a good example. Implemented in 2004, it addresses internal displacement associated with conflict and disasters, and contains measures to prevent it, promote durable solutions and mitigate consequences on other groups.<sup>85</sup> It also provided for a national coordination body, which has been established, and specific provisions for IDPs' protection and assistance have been introduced, particularly in terms of education.<sup>86</sup>

That said, most of the policies developed so far frame displacement as an issue to be responded to once it has occurred. Few have specific provisions to reduce displacement risk. Others only cover certain parts of the displacement cycle. For example, South Sudan's national framework on return, resettlement and reintegration of 2017 focuses specifically on achieving durable solutions for the people displaced by conflict. It is also intended to improve coordination among national and international stakeholders.<sup>87</sup>

As in South Sudan, many policies on IDPs' return and reintegration have been incorporated into or are derived from peace agreements and reconciliation frameworks.<sup>88</sup> Burundi's comprehensive Arusha agreement signed in 2000 recognises IDPs as victims of the country's conflict and enshrines respect for their rights, including to humanitarian aid.<sup>89</sup> The agreement was complemented four years later with a victims' reintegration programme.<sup>90</sup> A revised national strategy for socioeconomic reintegration adopted in 2017 envisages solutions for all people affected by conflict, including IDPs. It does not include specific measures to prevent new displacement, but it does cover the mitigation of consequences for other groups and the promotion of social cohesion, which are important steps toward doing so.<sup>91</sup>

Some countries have introduced elements of the Kampala Convention into other related laws or policies. DRC, for example, criminalised the arbitrary displacement of people under 18 and enshrined displaced children's right to protection in its 2009 Child Code.<sup>92</sup> Chad's 2017 Penal Code also criminalises arbitrary displacement.<sup>93</sup> Liberia adopted an instrument in 2004 specifically to recognise the Guiding Principles.<sup>94</sup>

These are good examples of mainstreaming internal displacement into existing laws and policies. Similar initiatives could be taken to incorporate the phenomenon into instruments intended to reduce poverty or improve access to housing and health, education and other basic services. Somalia's national development plan for 2017 to 2019, for example, mentions housing for IDPs and other vulnerable groups.<sup>95</sup> Such approaches have a number of benefits. They are more adaptable to local realities and capacities, they can target challenges beyond those posed by displacement and they help to channel investments and raise funds in a more targeted way.

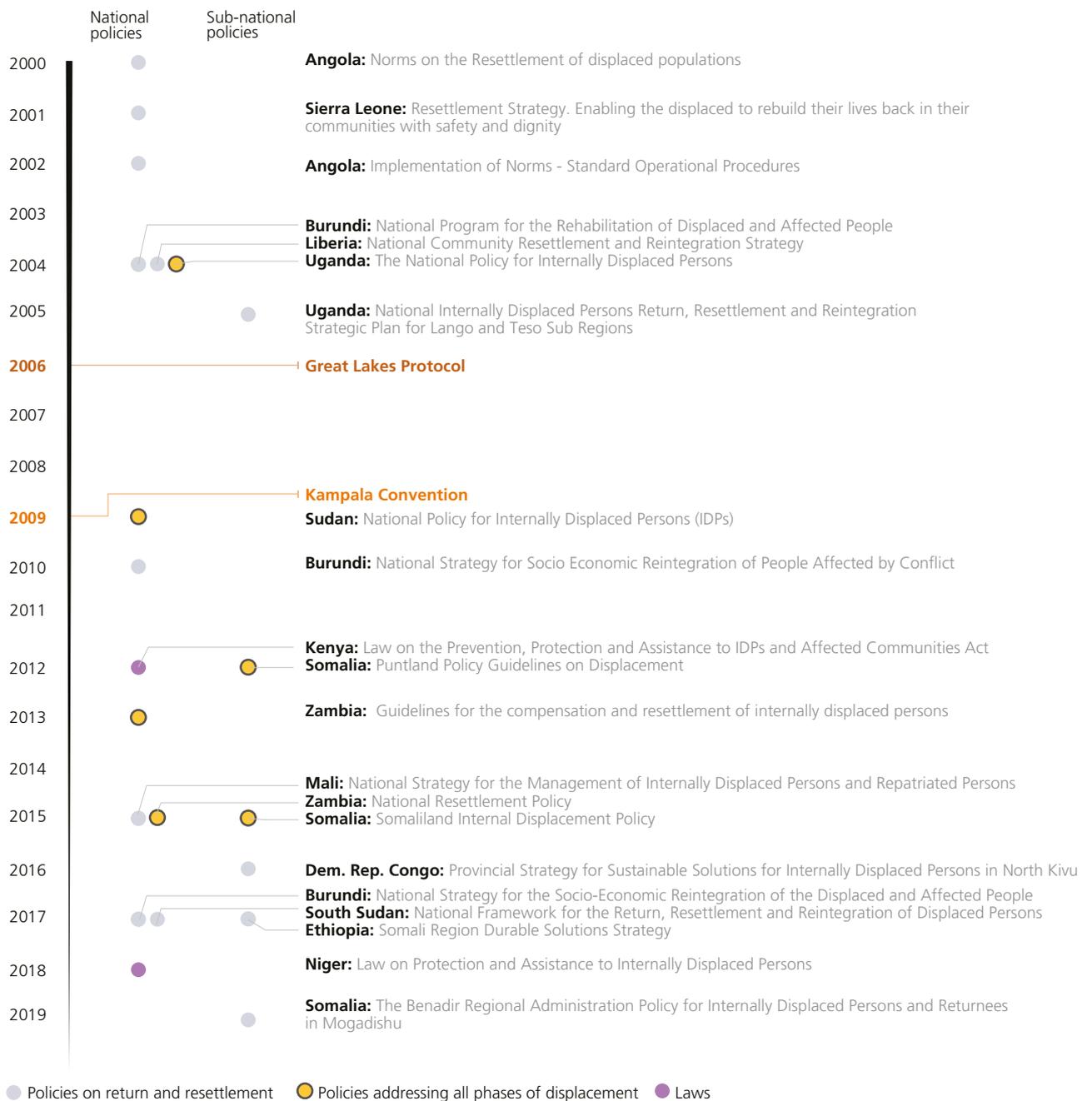
An increasing number of African countries have also developed DRR policies, some of which include specific provisions on displacement.<sup>96</sup> Namibia's 2011 national disaster risk management plan, for example, cover the prevention of displacement and assistance for IDPs and host communities. It also sets out clear guidelines for IDPs' resettlement, return and local integration.<sup>97</sup> Burkina Faso's national disaster preparedness and response plan also considers displacement risk. These developments show that the issue of internal displacement and the risk of it happening in the future are starting to permeate into policymaking across sectors.<sup>98</sup>

## I The role of regional economic communities

Other regional mechanisms and bodies have also played a role in supporting the implementation of laws and policies on internal displacement. Countries affected by displacement in the Great Lakes region adopted a protocol on IDPs' protection and assistance in 2006 with the objective of incorporating the Guiding Principles into their domestic laws. Kenya, which is signatory to the protocol but not to the Kampala Convention, adopted a law on internal displacement in 2012.<sup>99</sup>

Economic bodies such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have been key in promoting dialogue and policy development on internal displacement. IGAD, for example, recently brought a wide range of stakeholders together to exchange experiences in supporting IDPs' resilience and achievement of durable solutions.<sup>100</sup>

**FIGURE 6:** Timeline of policy developments on internal displacement in Africa



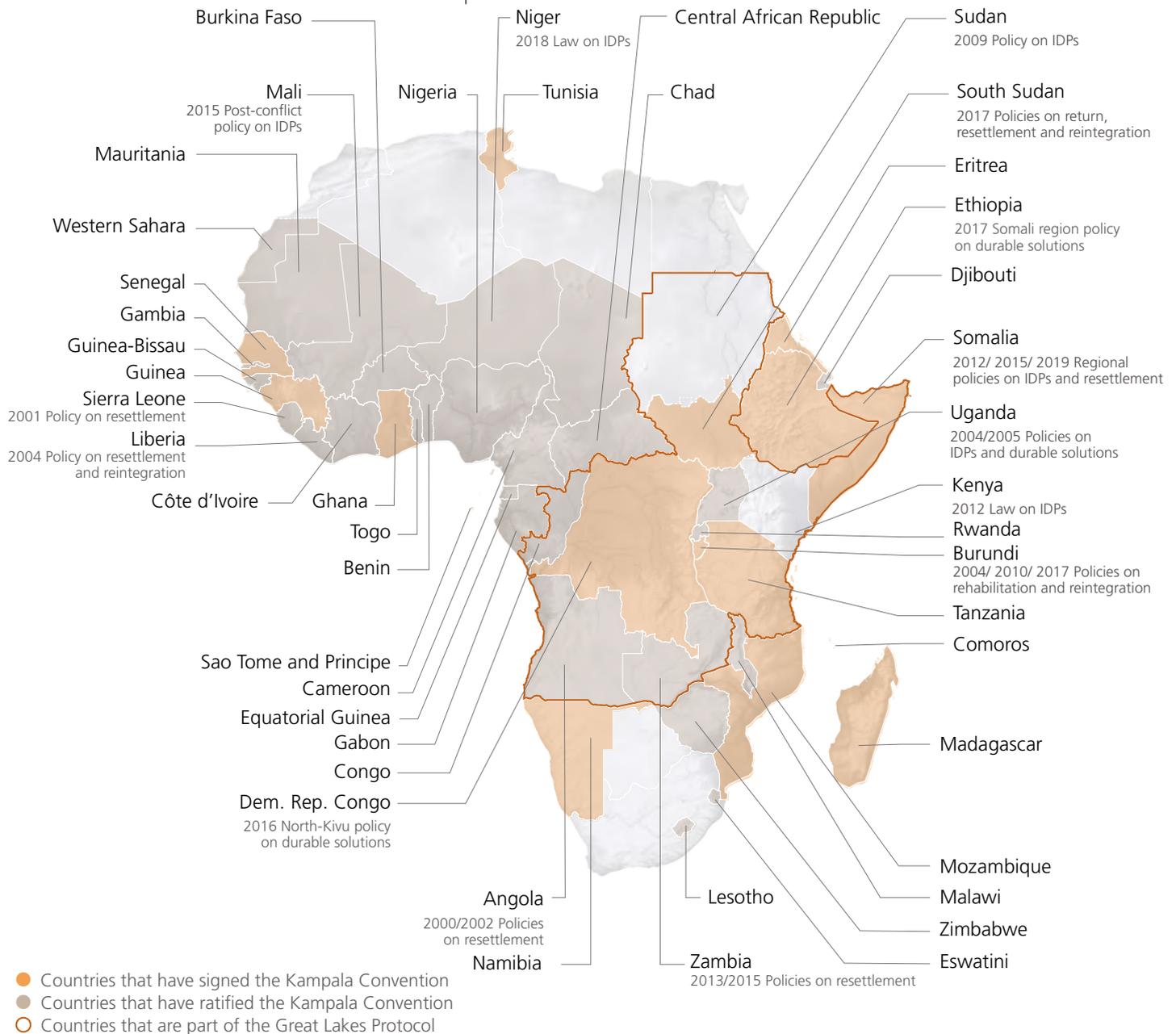
Main policies and laws as per <http://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/global-database-on-idp-laws-and-policies/> last updated on 9 October 2019.

As part a regional dialogue on IDPs' protection and solutions in the Sahel region, the governments of Burkina Faso, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Chad reiterated the need for better transnational cooperation to address displacement and to improve monitoring.<sup>101</sup>

These examples show that there is no one way to facilitate dialogue and include internal displacement in legal and policy frameworks. Doing so is a long-term process

that may work best via less formal and more consultative processes, in which countries gradually learn from one another's experiences and adapt them to their own situations and institutional setups. Such exchanges should be promoted and maintained, because they have led a growing number of countries, including Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia, to improve their governance arrangements and capacity to address internal displacement (see Spotlight).

**MAP 2: Policies and laws related to internal displacement in Africa**



*The boundaries and the names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IDMC.*

# RECENT POLICY DEVELOPMENTS

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## in Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia

Implementation of the Kampala Convention may not have been as fast as expected, but there were promising developments over the past year. Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia developed policies on internal displacement, representing good examples of government responsibility and accountability for the issue.

Niger showed leadership by becoming the first country to incorporate the convention into its national legislation by passing a law on IDPs' protection and assistance in December 2018. The law covers displacement associated with conflict, human rights violations, disasters and development projects, recognises IDPs' rights and stipulates their protection. It also supports durable solutions as defined by IASC's framework and aims to promote regional and national measures to prevent, mitigate and eliminate the triggers and drivers of displacement. It specifies budgets and funding mechanisms for doing so, and establishes bodies responsible for prevention and the coordination of relief efforts between national and international agencies.<sup>102</sup>

In Somalia, the Benadir regional administration and municipality of Mogadishu passed a policy on IDPs and returnees in the capital in January 2019.<sup>103</sup> It sets out provisions for durable solutions and envisages innovative approaches to issues such as access to land, tenure security, inclusive development, documentation and social and economic participation.<sup>104</sup> It forms part of a broader strategic development plan for the Benadir region, and covers the 17 districts most affected by displacement. It also include refugees and returnees in its provisions and encourages coordination and collaboration between federal and regional authorities and international organisations.

Ethiopia published a humanitarian response plan and is launching the durable solutions initiative (DSI) in December 2019 in coordination with the UN and other humanitarian agencies. The DSI is based on the 2017 durable solutions strategy for the Somali region.<sup>105</sup> It establishes a cooperative framework at the national, regional and local level for the design and implementation of measures to support IDPs and host communities in return and relocation areas. It aims to support political ownership and leadership, ensure community engagement and establish links between humanitarian, development and peacebuilding work at the legislative, institutional and operational level.<sup>106</sup>

The government has also initiated discussion with regional authorities about the possible ratification of the Kampala Convention. The text has been translated into regional languages, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs organised a consultative workshop. The UNHCR and the former Special Rapporteur on the human rights of IDPs are also providing support. The government is also developing a ten-year plan and its third growth and transformation plan, which will guide development efforts and investments over the next five years.<sup>107</sup>

## | The challenges ahead

The Kampala Convention will not prevent displacement associated with conflict, disasters and development projects from happening, but it helps to focus attention on the issue, promotes the rights of IDPs and provides a framework for national and local authorities' responses.<sup>108</sup> More efforts are needed, however, to encourage countries to enact the convention. Even among the countries that have ratified it, little has been done to implement it.

Greater commitment is needed at a more practical level, where collaboration between national and local authorities should be strengthened. More human, financial and technical resources are also needed to support the convention's implementation.<sup>109</sup> DRC's government has designed national mechanisms to respond to displacement and designated the Ministry of Social Affairs, Humanitarian Action and National Solidarity as the lead agency for IDPs' humanitarian assistance, but in reality it does not have either the resources or the capacity to fulfil its mandate.<sup>110</sup>

The lack of public funds dedicated to addressing internal displacement is major issue across many African coun-

tries. Policies are of little use if governments are unable or unwilling to implement them. Given limited financial resources and human capacities, the contextual differences between countries and displacement situations, and the number of stakeholders that need to be involved in addressing the phenomenon, more sectoral measures should be taken, in line with national development plans.

The Kampala Convention does provide a solid basis for action. It should not be looked at only from a legal or institutional point of view. Its provisions cover a wide range of aspects involved in addressing displacement. They are not only adapted to the situation in Africa, but also adaptable to changes the continent will face in the years to come, which makes it a model for others to follow.

The way countries frame the discussion about displacement will now determine their ability to make the case for investments to address it. If they do so in a comprehensive way that encompasses other aspects of social and economic wellbeing, they will be more likely to achieve sustainable development outcomes, reduce the impacts of displacement, find solutions to it and reduce the risk of it happening in the future.



People gather to receive a UNHCR distribution of non-food items at a site for internally displaced persons in Kasenyi, Ituri, DRC. Photo © UNHCR/John Wessels, September 2019

# UNDERSTANDING DISPLACEMENT RISK AND IMPACTS

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Africa is undergoing rapid economic and demographic growth and unprecedented urbanisation. Figures for internal displacement, however, stand at a record high. IDPs, host communities and economies absorb the impacts, which contribute to making the phenomenon cyclical and protracted.

Humanitarian responses will never be enough to address the challenges displacement poses. Long-term sustainable development initiatives, however, have the potential to gradually reduce its drivers and triggers. This chapter discusses some key aspects policymakers need to consider if the impacts and risk of displacement are to be reduced.

## HOW THE DRIVERS, TRIGGERS AND IMPACTS OF DISPLACEMENT CONVERGE

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The impacts of displacement crises feed back to generate further instability and risk across the continent. The data collected and presented in this report differentiates between conflict and disasters as triggers, but the reality is far more complex. Policy responses should be adapted to reflect this complexity, and solutions aligned with broader peacebuilding, sustainable development, climate change adaptation and DRR efforts.

The situation in the Lake Chad region is illustrative of how conflict and disasters can converge to drive displacement risk and aggravate its impacts. The politically marginalised region has long lacked investment in

health and education, and poverty and inequality are widespread. It has also suffered prolonged periods of drought which, combined with the overuse of water, have caused Lake Chad to shrink to a fraction of its size in the last 50 years. This in turn has undermined people's livelihoods, and competition for resources has fuelled intercommunal violence and paved the way for insurgent groups such as Boko Haram to emerge and expand. It has also impeded durable solutions for those forced to flee, leading to protracted displacement.<sup>111</sup>

Disasters have also struck in conflict settings, triggering secondary displacements. Flooding that affected more than 80 per cent of Nigeria in 2018 forced many people already displaced by conflict to move again.<sup>112</sup> Widespread flooding after years of drought also triggered secondary movements in Somalia. Displacement in such situations is the result of a range of interlinked and overlapping drivers and triggers including lack of livelihoods, rural and urban poverty, conflict and violence, drought and floods.<sup>113</sup> Regardless of the trigger, the impacts of displacement often result in further movements, which traps those affected in a vicious circle of vulnerability and risk.<sup>114</sup>

Some African countries have acknowledged forced displacement as both a cause and a consequence of the disasters and conflict interplay. This has been also reflected in regional and sub-regional policies.<sup>115</sup> Recently, the Africa Common Position to the 2019 Global Platform on DRR highlighted the importance of better understanding the nexus between disasters and climate change, migration and displacement, and peace



*On the 29th of August heavy rains in the Far-North Region of Cameroon led to severe flooding. Photo: NRC, August 2019*

and security. AU countries called for accelerating the implementation of Sendai Framework Target E with a particular focus on finding durable solutions to forced displacement.<sup>116</sup>

Considering displacement as part of a conflict-and-disasters nexus is a useful step forward in the process of implementing of the Kampala Convention and policies intended to improve stability and resilience. Challenges remain, however, particularly in terms of understanding the complex nature of displacement drivers and placing the issue in specific bureaucracies and programmes.<sup>117</sup> A clearer understanding of the factors at play would shed new light not only on how they combine to generate displacement, but also how its impacts fuel vulnerability and poverty that end up triggering secondary and tertiary movements.

## SLOW-ONSET EVENTS AND CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS

The convergence of disasters and conflict and the role it plays in generating displacement becomes more complex still when slow-onset events such as drought, climate change impacts and environmental degradation are considered. Such hazards only add to the myriad of factors that drive conflict and violence, the decline of livelihoods and ultimately displacement. Distinguishing between forced and voluntary movements and identifying push and pull factors in slow-onset situations also tends to be more difficult, because cyclical rural-to-urban migration is often a poverty reduction strategy not necessarily related to the effects of slow-onset events and conflict.<sup>118</sup>

As the world's climate changes, mass displacement triggered by extreme weather events is becoming the norm.<sup>119</sup> Ever scarcer and less predictable rainfall

is reducing crop yields and causing livestock losses. Depending on the socioeconomic characteristics of the communities and countries affected, this may aggravate already high levels of food insecurity and put pressure on people to move.

Drought is prompting an increasing number of pastoralists and agropastoralists to scale down their herds or abandon their traditional livelihoods altogether.<sup>120</sup> Those living in drylands are among the most vulnerable and at risk of becoming displaced. The fact that return may not be a sustainable option in many cases raises the question of how durable solutions initiatives should be tailored to such situations.

The Sahel, Horn of Africa and Southern Africa are the regions most affected by drought on the continent. Rainfall in the Sahel has decreased by more than 20 per cent since the early 1970s in “one of the most dramatic long-term changes in climate observed anywhere in the world”.<sup>121</sup> Niger suffered severe periods of drought in 1973 and 1984, and scarce and unreliable rainfall continues to affect rural communities. A significant forage deficit in 2018 led to thousands of school drop-outs as pastoralists’ and agropastoralists’ children were forced to follow their parents in search of pasture.<sup>122</sup>

The bulk of Niger’s economy is dependent on rain-fed agriculture, and periods of drought and associated drops in crop yield fuel recurrent food security crises.<sup>123</sup> As the periods of drought become more frequent and intense, pastoralists are displaced when their livelihoods eventually reach a critical threshold below which they are no longer viable. Vulnerable farmers have no choice but to migrate seasonally to urban areas in search of alternative income to ensure their households’ survival. These movements, referred to locally as the “exodus”, increase during times of drought. Seasonal migration driven by poverty is a strategy, but it is not a choice. It is a form of distress migration, and should be considered displacement.<sup>124</sup>

Countries in the Horn of Africa are still recovering from the 2015-2016 El Niño emergency and prolonged drought in 2016 and 2017, and they continue to receive erratic and below-average rainfall.<sup>125</sup> Around 11.7 million people were food insecure and 1.8 million had been displaced as of June 2019.<sup>126</sup> For pastoralists, displacement means disrupting their nomadic way of life and settling permanently in a place where alterna-

tive income-generating opportunities are hard to come by.<sup>127</sup> Southern Africa has also been affected by drought and food insecurity, and some areas recently recorded their lowest seasonal rainfall since records began in 1981.<sup>128</sup>

Information on drought displacement is sparse, however, and difficult to obtain. Significant data and knowledge gaps need filling as a matter of urgency to inform measures to increase communities’ resilience and capacity to cope in a changing climate. Without them displacement will continue, be it in the Sahel, the Horn of Africa or Southern Africa. In the absence of effective investments, it is likely to lead to permanent change as people abandon their traditional ways of life altogether.<sup>129</sup>

The combination of climate change and other human factors such as deforestation and land degradation have serious implications for livelihoods and resilience.<sup>130</sup> While migration can represent an opportunity, being forced to move tends to have many negative consequences, including loss of assets, community cohesion and reduced access to services.<sup>131</sup>

Durable solutions for people displaced as a result of slow-onset events may have to be pursued while basic needs are still unmet. Ethiopia has been laying the groundwork to try to do so in the Somali region despite myriad challenges. Food insecurity remains high, displacement sites and peri-urban areas have poor access to water, displaced families are still living in unprotected temporary shelters and host communities have serious shortfalls in health and education services (see Spotlight).

# ETHIOPIA

## People displaced by drought are at risk of being forgotten

Displacement associated with drought in Ethiopia is an extreme manifestation of the challenges many pastoralist and agropastoralist communities face in the wider Horn of Africa. More than 300,000 pastoralists were estimated to have been displaced in the eastern Somali region in 2016 and 2017.<sup>132</sup> Communities in Doolo zone remember it as the worst drought in living memory and refer to it as *afgudhiuye*, which means “nothing to put in your mouth”.<sup>133</sup> Most households lost as much as 80 per cent of their livestock, which is the basis of their livelihood.<sup>134</sup>

Alternate periods of drought and flooding and repeated intercommunal conflict have all triggered displacement in the Somali region, which was hosting more than a million IDPs as of June 2019. Children and young people make up more than half of them. About 703,000 have been displaced by conflict, 334,000 by drought and 16,000 by floods.<sup>135</sup>



Male pastoralist, 45. He lives at the Gafow camp for IDPs with his wife and 13 children. Qotomalay, his place of origin, was affected by the drought and they lost 20 camels and 300 goats and sheep. Photo: IDMC/Pablo Cortés Ferrández, July 2019

All 231 displacement sites established in 2017 as a result of the drought are still open, which shows that pastoralists' displacement has become protracted. 63 per cent of IDPs have taken refuge within the region and 59 per cent within their area of origin, making local integration the preferred durable solution option for the overwhelming majority.<sup>136</sup> IDPs are highly dependent on aid, but the humanitarian presence in the region has shrunk in the last couple of years, complicating their situation still further.<sup>137</sup>

Until recently people displaced by drought in Ethiopia were in danger of being forgotten. There are indications, however, that this might change as promising approaches to supporting durable solutions have emerged. IDPs' protracted situation in the middle of a neglected crisis should alert international donors to the need to finance such initiatives.

A durable solutions working group for the Somali region was established in 2014, co-chaired by the regional government's Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau (DPPB) and IOM. Most recently, the federal government has mainstreamed the "New Way of Working" approach in durable solutions programming with technical support from the UN.<sup>138</sup> A durable solutions initiative (DSI) launched in December 2019 follows this strategy and will be an important platform for discussion, decision making and action.<sup>139</sup>

Various stakeholders have acknowledged that any durable solutions strategy will have to align short-term humanitarian needs with long-term development approaches, and that a paradigm shift from crisis to risk management is much needed. The Somali region, however, has been deprived of development investments for many years and the absence of development organisations on the ground is further proof that much more needs to be done.

The Somali regional government and UN agencies advocate for durable solutions initiatives to be implemented through existing local systems, mainly the underdeveloped zonal and *woreda* or district institutions. Forthcoming efforts intend to strengthen the resilience of authorities and capacities of federal, regional, zonal and *woreda* authorities and improve the coordination of operations across all levels in a whole-of-government approach.

All stakeholders, including IDPs themselves, say access to jobs and other economic opportunities is key to the achievement of durable solutions. Pastoralists and the authorities also need to strengthen their capacity to anticipate, respond to and recover from drought and other climate stressors. Durable solutions initiatives should diversify livelihoods through vocational training and local capacity building. There is an urgent need to address displacement associated with drought in a way that goes beyond "care and aid".<sup>140</sup>

The sustainability of durable solutions is one of the most important criteria of the so-called "New Way of Working" in Ethiopia. This is especially relevant for the neglected drought crisis in the Somali region, where IDPs are highly dependent on aid. A durable solutions initiative, based on strengthening institutional and local capacities, would overcome these challenges by installing capacities in national, regional and local institutions, and national NGOs and communities affected by displacement, through grass-roots groups and committees of IDPs.

## UNDERSTANDING THE 'DISPLACEMENT CONTINUUM': CROSS-BORDER MOVEMENTS AND RETURNS INTO DISPLACEMENT

The relationship between internal displacement and cross-border movements is not well understood, but evidence suggests that the majority of Africa's refugees began their plight as IDPs.<sup>141</sup> There are more than 6.7 million refugees on the continent, but the figures pales in comparison with the 16.8 million people living in internal displacement as a result of conflict and violence as of the end of 2018.<sup>142</sup> Countries that produce high numbers of refugees also have high - and often higher - numbers of IDPs. There are more than four times as many IDPs in DRC than refugees from the country.<sup>143</sup>

The gulf between the number of IDPs and refugees can be explained partly by barriers to cross-border movement. Many IDPs find themselves unable to leave their country, particularly those who live further away from the border for whom the cost of travel is prohibitive. Lack of safe passage because of ongoing insecurity is also a factor.<sup>144</sup>

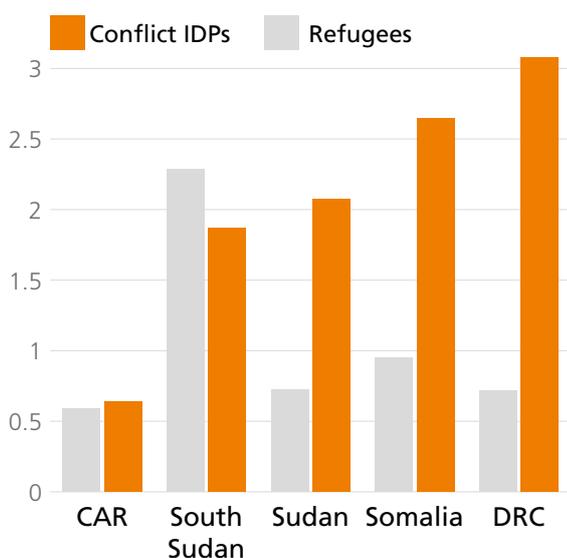
Many of those who do cross borders later return, sometimes driven by being unable to meet their basic

needs abroad. Nigerian returnees from Cameroon, for example, said they had access to shelter and water, but no food. Some Somalis are thought to be returning so they take advantage of the cash UNHCR provides as part of its repatriation package to pay off their significant debts.<sup>145</sup>

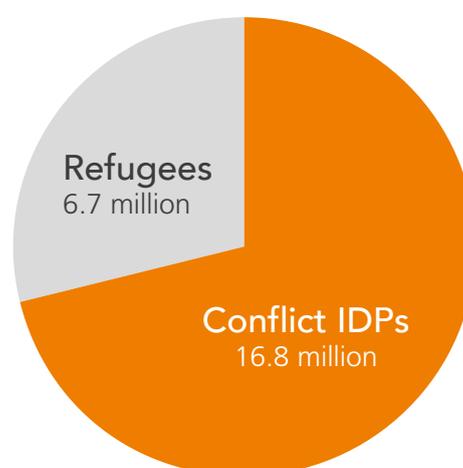
More than 80 per cent of returning refugees surveyed in South Sudan in July 2019 said they had previously been IDPs, as did more than 65 per cent surveyed in north-eastern Nigeria earlier in the year.<sup>146</sup> Many had been displaced internally more than once before crossing the border for lack of safe alternatives in their country. South Sudan has produced the third largest number of refugees in the world. Around 2.3 million people have sought refuge abroad, mainly in Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. Seven of the ten countries to have generated the highest numbers of refugees worldwide are in Africa. Most flee no further than neighbouring countries. Of Somalia's 900,000 refugees, more than 80 per cent remain in the region.

More than 341,000 African refugees were thought to have returned to their countries of origin in 2018, most of them to Somalia and South Sudan. Many returns, however, took place "to areas where circumstances were partially improving but where peace and security were not fully established".<sup>147</sup> In essence, this means that many of the refugees who returned during the year are likely to have become IDPs.

**FIGURE 7:** Numbers of IDPs vs refugees from selected African countries as of the end of 2018 (in millions)



**FIGURE 8:** Total number of refugees and internally displaced people due to conflict and violence in Africa, as of the end of 2018





*The POCs in Juba house nearly 30,000 IDPs. Photo: Ingrid Prestetun/INRC, 2018. An IDMC survey taken in July 2019 found that more than 80 per cent of the returning refugees surveyed had been internally displaced before they left the country, half of these more than once.*

A tripartite agreement signed between the governments of Burundi and Tanzania and UNHCR at the end of 2017 encouraged Burundian refugees to return home. Around 25,000 were thought to have done so in 2018, but many went back to a life of internal displacement. They were living with host families or in tents and had few resources to adapt to an environment of poverty and lack of opportunity. The Tanzanian government was recently reported to be planning to close all refugee camps hosting Burundians, and local markets in hosting areas were said to be gradually closing.

UNHCR estimates that 85 per cent of refugees who have returned to South Sudan are living in IDP-like situations.<sup>148</sup> This figure is broadly reflected by research in July 2019 which found that two-thirds of returning refugees surveyed were living outside their area of origin, many of them in protection of civilians (POC) sites. Many had come back from Uganda or Sudan after hearing that security had improved, but on arrival felt the POC sites were the only safe place to go.<sup>149</sup>

Among the returning refugees surveyed in north-eastern Nigeria, fewer than a third were living in their areas of origin, and almost two-thirds were living in tents or temporary shelters. Barriers to their true return include ongoing insecurity, the widespread destruction of homes and a lack of services and livelihood opportunities.<sup>150</sup>

Porous borders and a lack of coordination between countries have facilitated circular cross-border displacement in central and eastern Africa, where people move back and forth between CAR, DRC, South Sudan and Sudan when they are unable to find safety.<sup>151</sup> About 1.2 million refugees from the four countries were living in one of the others as of June 2019.<sup>152</sup> The four countries were also hosting 7.7 million people displaced internally by conflict and violence as of the end of 2018, more than a fifth of the global total.<sup>153</sup>

To prevent refugee crises in Africa, more focus on internal displacement is needed. If the latter leads to

cross-border movements, it is clear that IDPs' situations are not being addressed in their own countries. At the same time, hosting states should ensure that refugees have sufficient access to livelihoods and assistance to prevent premature returns contributing to vicious circles of displacement.<sup>154</sup> If returns lead to further internal displacement, they are clearly no solution for those involved.

Policymakers should take this "displacement continuum" and its implications into account. A holistic approach to durable solutions is needed in countries of origin that should include both returning refugees and IDPs in policy and programming. Somalia provides an example of good practice, covering the plight of the two groups in a single national policy.<sup>155</sup>

## INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT ON AN URBANISING CONTINENT

Africa is urbanising rapidly and will continue to do so in the years to come.<sup>156</sup> The continent is home to some of the world's fastest growing cities, which is expected to change its demographic, social and economic landscape considerably.<sup>157</sup> Many cities are expected to double in size by 2035, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. This makes it even more relevant to look at how displacement shapes and will shape urban settings, and the role of urban development in allowing displaced people to integrate, resettle or return in dignity and security.

### I Displacement to and from cities

Cities such as Abuja in Nigeria, Kampala in Uganda and Bamako in Mali have long been destinations for IDPs, but urban areas do not only receive those fleeing conflict and disasters.<sup>158</sup> People are also displaced within them. In cities such as Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Lagos in Nigeria and Nairobi in Kenya, heavy rain during the wet season combines with inadequate infrastructure and waste management cause flooding that displaces tens of thousands of people every year.<sup>159</sup>

Other cities, most recently in Libya, suffer conflict and violence that lead to displacement. Fighting in the country escalated in 2018 and 2019, and much of it has taken place in urban areas (see Spotlight). Urban development also triggers displacement when informal settlers

are evicted to make way for projects. Not all evictions are unlawful, but many people are forced to leave without notice, raising concern about human rights violations.<sup>160</sup>

Intercommunal violence in Jijiga, a previously calm and vibrant Ethiopian city, triggered the displacement of 140,000 people in just a few days in August 2018, of whom 35,000 remained in the city and sheltered in and around churches. Jijiga was inaccessible for several weeks as a result of the insecurity, but economic activity had resumed by the middle of the month and many people returned once the situation had stabilised.<sup>161</sup>

IDPs from rural areas often seek refuge in cities, because they offer relative safety and more opportunities. Displaced people are often highly vulnerable and lack protection, but jobs and services in urban areas have the potential to help them achieve durable solutions. As such, urbanisation and human mobility in principle have the potential to improve individual and social wellbeing. The Acholi community in Uganda, for example, sought anonymity and security in Gulu town after being dispossessed and victimised in their rural areas of origin. They have since decided to remain in the town despite the option of return in order to prevent further conflict.<sup>162</sup>

Acknowledging that many IDPs who settle in urban areas do not want to go back to their rural places of origin is important. Young people and those with a better education are particularly averse to returning. The majority of young IDPs in Butembo, DRC, decided to stay in the city because it offered better socio-economic conditions and opportunities than their rural places of origin. Better educated IDPs with higher levels of economic integration and job security in Khartoum, Sudan, were also found to be more intent on staying to establish urban lives.<sup>163</sup>

It is also important to understand how displacement shapes the demographic composition of cities. This issue should not only be looked at from a negative point of view, because evidence shows that IDPs can contribute positively to local economies.<sup>164</sup> How IDPs contribute to local economies and the social fabric is not well understood, but local authorities in particular could benefit from filling this knowledge gap because it would help them to understand how displaced communities' agency could be leveraged to support social and economic development.

# LIBYA

## Urban areas bear brunt of worst conflict and displacement since 2014

Fighting in Libya's civil war has been escalating since 2018, triggering a sharp increase in new displacements. Around 70,000 were recorded in 2018, many of them in urban areas. That figure almost doubled to 136,000 in the first half of 2019, the vast majority in the capital, Tripoli. Displacement is taking place against a backdrop of high political instability, economic fragility and social fragmentation.

Most of the displacement in 2018 and 2019 has been triggered by conflict between Libya's internationally recognised Government of National Accord (GNA), which is based in Tripoli, and the Libyan Liberation Army (LNA), which controls the east of the country, including its major oil fields.<sup>165</sup> The presence of Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is also aggravating the security situation, particularly in the south of the country.<sup>166</sup>

On 4 April 2019, just before a planned national reconciliation conference in Tripoli, LNA launched an offensive to seize control of the capital and the rest of north-west Libya from GNA.<sup>167</sup> Heavy fighting broke out in and around Tripoli, launching a new phase in the country's conflict with the most serious episode of violence since it began in 2014.<sup>168</sup> Around 130,000 new displacements were recorded as people fled to more secure areas of the city, the Nafusa mountains and elsewhere along the country's west coast. Almost a half of the IDPs were under 18.<sup>169</sup>

The conflict in and around Tripoli also increased humanitarian needs in the south of the country. Key supply routes out of the city were disrupted, which reduced access to food, medical supplies, and cash elsewhere. The parties to the conflict also pulled some of their forces out of the south to join the frontlines in Tripoli, aggravating lawlessness and insecurity.<sup>170</sup>

Fighting spread to the southern city of Murzuq in early August, marked by heavy aerial bombardments and numerous attacks on residential neighbourhoods. The death toll, which included many children, amounted to one of largest losses of civilian life since the fall of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011.<sup>171</sup> Almost all of the city's inhabitants have been displaced, and fighting was still ongoing at the time of writing.<sup>172</sup>

Both parties to the conflict have ignored repeated calls for a ceasefire and the international community is deeply concerned about the humanitarian consequences of the ongoing urban offensives. If the fighting continues, the combatants must ensure that humanitarian law is respected and urban residents and infrastructure are not targeted or caught in the crossfire.

## I Growing exposure and vulnerability to disasters

Given Africa's rapid urbanisation, the number of people exposed to disasters is likely to continue to rise. Many of the continent's cities are in hazard-prone areas such as seismic zones, coasts, deltas and estuaries, and they are expanding against a backdrop of hazards that are increasingly frequent and intense. Some cities are also exposed to climate change impacts such as sea level rise, coastal erosion, salinization, extreme temperatures and water scarcity.<sup>173</sup>

When hazards hit urban areas, the concentration of people and assets and the vulnerability of residents and the built environment can lead to catastrophic outcomes.<sup>174</sup> Many African cities have high levels of poverty and inequality, and many urban dwellers have little or no access to water and sanitation.<sup>175</sup> Millions of people live in inadequate housing in overcrowded, underserved and marginalised neighbourhoods, leaving them highly exposed and vulnerable to disasters and displacement.<sup>176</sup> Many urban IDPs live in these conditions, and understanding their specific vulnerabilities and conditions is necessary.<sup>177</sup>

Beira in Mozambique, for example, has long attracted IDPs from elsewhere in the country. It had undergone decades of unregulated urban expansion before cyclone Idai struck in March 2019. The storm destroyed around 90 per cent of the city's homes, triggering mass displacement.<sup>178</sup> The case shows that social and economic vulnerability play an important role in driving urban displacement risk in Africa (see Spotlight, p.24).

Poor urban planning and waste management are also major drivers of disaster displacement risk. Many of the inhabitants of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania live in unserved informal neighbourhoods that are flooded every year. The city is expected to double in size by 2030, making adequate measures to reduce risk, including sustainable urban development planning, a matter of urgency (see Spotlight, p.42).<sup>179</sup>

Many urban and peri-urban areas have high levels of disaster risk, and so by definition are home to most of the people at risk of disaster displacement. Addressing urban flooding should be one of Africa's main priorities. Six of the ten largest flooding events that triggered displacement worldwide in 2018 took place in sub-Saharan Africa, and urban areas bore the brunt of the impacts.



Benghazi, Libya. June 2018. Photo: NRC/Alex Koclejda

# DAR ES SALAAM

## Urbanisation and flood displacement risk

Dar es Salaam is an example of how rapid and unregulated urban growth can increase flood displacement risk and illustrates the challenges that many sub-Saharan cities may face as they grow. Around 70 per cent of its inhabitants live in informal settlements that are particularly vulnerable to flooding because of poor infrastructure and drainage and waste management systems.<sup>180</sup> The city's population is expected to double to 10.8 million by 2030 and reach 13.4 million by 2035, giving it one of the highest average urban growth rates in the world.<sup>181</sup>

Tanzania is the country most affected by floods in East Africa, and Dar es Salaam, its most populous area, has been particularly hard hit.<sup>182</sup> Of the 29,000 new displacements recorded in the country in 2018, a third

were recorded in the city as a result of torrential rains and flooding between the 12 and 18 April. Another 5,800 were recorded in similar circumstances in May 2019.<sup>183</sup>

Flooding keeps displacing significant numbers of people for lack of sustainable urban development planning and DRR measures. Policy frameworks and institutional capacity will also need to be strengthened to prevent and reduce the phenomenon and unlock solutions. Civil society initiatives such as the Ramani Huria project, which means "open map" in Swahili, have conducted community mapping of flood-prone areas of the city.<sup>184</sup> Such tools could be used to understand displacement risk and inform action to reduce it.



*Aerial view of flooding in Dar Es Salaam. Photo: Shutterstock/Explorer Moiz Husein, 2018*

## I Evictions in urban centres as a driver of displacement

Urban development projects often displace people, but data is scarce and there is little recognition of the issue despite the Kampala Convention and some national laws on internal displacement including them as a trigger. Kenya, for example, has comprehensive national legislation on internal displacement, but evictions from an informal settlement in Nairobi in July 2018 to make way for a new road triggered more than 30,000 new displacements in violation of the rights of those affected.<sup>185</sup>

In South Africa, a private security company known as the Red Ants specialises in evicting illegal tenants from their homes. Inadequate housing and stark divisions in land ownership left over from the country's apartheid period mean that many people live in homes without proper documentation. We have not yet been able to estimate the number of evictions, but the Red Ants carry out operations several times a week.<sup>186</sup>

Reliable data on the number and profile of people displaced by urban development projects would help to identify measures to reduce displacement risk and impacts. The World Bank undertook an urban development project in Nouakchott, Mauritania, in 2004, for which it conducted a series of surveys and questionnaires to understand how many people would be affected and what their needs would be. A resettlement plan for 2,300 households was devised with the participation of those to be moved and an emphasis on recovering their livelihoods.<sup>187</sup> Such undertakings, however, are few and far between.

Evictions and other forms of displacement associated with urban change often entail the loss of livelihood assets and food stocks, family separation and trauma. Sometimes physical violence is used to force people to leave. Urban evictees tend to move locally to other already overcrowded settlements, putting additional pressure on their services and facilities and aggravating the humanitarian situation on the outskirts of cities.<sup>188</sup>

The number of people evicted in Mogadishu has risen sharply in recent years, and reached a record 256,000 in 2018. The upward trend continued in early 2019, with another 60,000 people evicted in January and February alone.<sup>189</sup> Most of those forced from their homes had

already been displaced at least once before. Many urban IDPs become displaced again because of insecure tenure, abusive landlords who increase rents arbitrarily, gender-based and other types of violence, and disasters that affect the poor and marginalised neighbourhoods where they often settle.

Urban displacement should be considered in national and local development planning, particularly in rapidly urbanising countries where significant numbers of people are displaced. If IDPs are offered the means to integrate, urban areas benefit from their social and economic contributions. In this sense, urban displacement constitutes a development challenge but also opportunity for Africa, and reducing it is a prerequisite for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).<sup>190</sup>

## ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF DISPLACEMENT

Internal displacement has potential repercussions for the livelihoods, social life, security, housing conditions, environment, health and education of IDPs, their hosts and those left behind in areas of origin.<sup>191</sup> The consequences are rarely positive, though adequate policies could foster better outcomes. A better understanding of displacement's direct and indirect impacts is needed to inform such policies.

Not only does displacement affect people's lives and wellbeing. It also hinders their ability to contribute to their local economy, and may divert financial resources away from development. The economic impact of internal displacement in sub-Saharan Africa alone is estimated at more than \$4 billion a year.<sup>192</sup> At the national level, this represents an annual loss of between 0.1 to 11 per cent of GDP in countries that are already struggling economically. With its potential for growth and socioeconomic advancement, Africa cannot afford to leave this issue unaddressed.

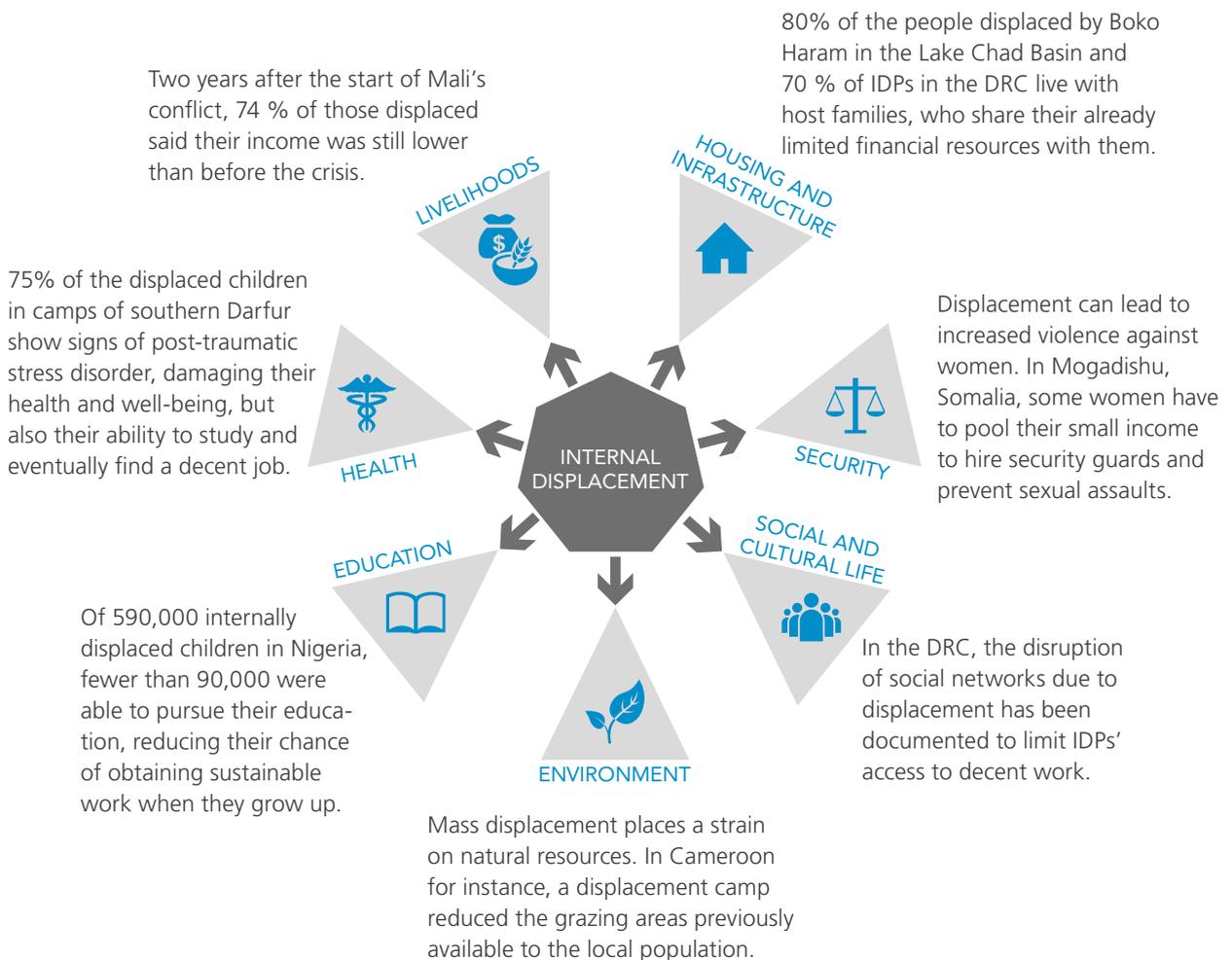
Internal displacement has direct economic consequences, such as the cost of providing IDPs with temporary shelters. There may also be indirect costs if, for example, the building used as a shelter is diverted from its original income-generating use. Previous studies have looked at the direct economic impact of displacement, mainly cross-border, for aid providers and sometimes

for displaced people in the form of lost income.<sup>193</sup> The less direct and longer-term consequences have yet to be estimated, but real-life examples from African countries reveal some of them (see figure 9).

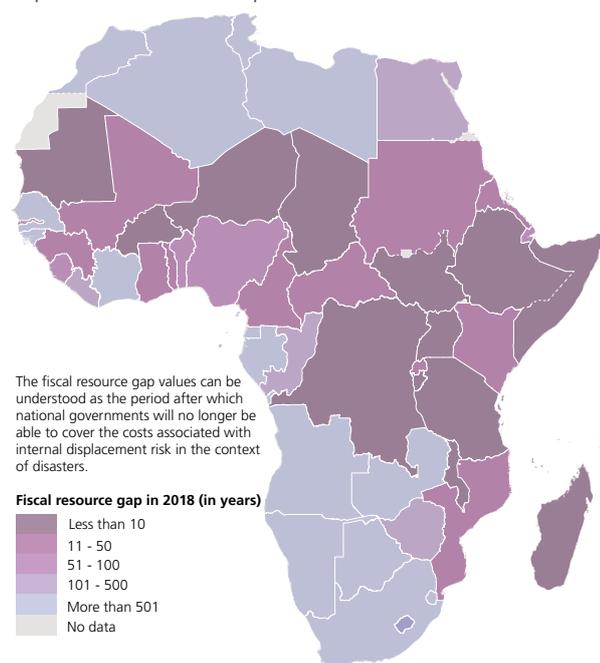
We published the first comprehensive framework for measuring these economic impacts of internal displacement across various dimensions in 2018.<sup>194</sup> That led to the development of an original methodology to estimate the cost of meeting IDPs' most immediate needs in terms of health, security, livelihood, education and housing.<sup>195</sup> This cost averages globally at \$310 per IDP for each year of displacement. In Africa, however, it is \$350.<sup>196</sup> This is linked to the severity of displacement on the continent and the limited resources available before crises in low-income countries.

This type of information is not only useful for advocacy and raising awareness of the need to invest in reducing and preventing displacement. It can also inform more accurate fundraising and better planning. It is now possible to estimate the financial resource gap countries will face in the coming years and decades by comparing their available means with the cost they can be expected to bear because of internal displacement associated with disasters.<sup>197</sup> If nothing changes, the African countries least able to cope with this cost are Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Niger, Somalia, South Sudan and Tanzania (see map 3).<sup>198</sup> Acknowledging this risk would allow them to plan ahead and look for additional resources or ways to reduce the cost of future displacement.

FIGURE 9: Internal displacement's economic repercussions in Africa<sup>199</sup>



**MAP 3:** Fiscal resource gaps linked with the economic impacts of disaster displacement for African countries.



*The boundaries and the names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IDMC. Countries in dark pink will face a fiscal resource gap sooner and more often than countries in light blue.*

More evidence on the economic impacts of internal displacement would help to improve the support to IDPs and their host communities. All interventions by governments and their partners should aim to help achieve durable solutions by ending the consequences of displacement on the lives those affected. This means ensuring displaced children have the same access to education as their non-displaced counterparts, and may entail compensating IDPs for belongings lost as a result of their flight so they can start anew.

Given that the information available to measure economic impacts and monitor progress in the short and long term is limited, we conducted primary data collection in 2019 on the effects of displacement on the livelihoods, health, housing, security and education of IDPs and their hosts in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Eswatini. This led to surprising findings, including rare positive outcomes and striking gaps in aid.

The IDPs we interviewed in Kenya had lost their homes 11 years ago during post-election violence. Despite several government-led programmes with measurable results, they are still suffering repercussions from their displacement.<sup>200</sup> Their average income is \$70 a month, compared with \$92 for members of their host commu-

nity, much lower than before their displacement, and 78 per cent of those who were previously employees are now self-employed. Nearly all had lost not only income, but also premises, stock or both. Their estimated average loss of \$6,400 per person has never been compensated for, and both IDPs and key informants said all assistance had stopped a few years ago. Our research shows it is still urgently needed.

In Somalia, we interviewed people forced to leave their rural homes for Mogadishu because of drought.<sup>201</sup> They had been living in the Banadir camps for between six months and two years, and had trouble finding work in the overcrowded labour market. We also looked at impacts on the host community in the area of health. Fifty-nine per cent of interviewees said healthcare had become more expensive since IDPs arrived in the area. They said the cost of a visit to a doctor had gone up from around \$4 to \$7. Our findings in all four countries also revealed a significant psychological impact on both IDPs and hosts, and a consistent gap in mental health support.

The economic impacts of internal displacement are still largely unknown. Quantitative evidence is growing rapidly, but it remains partial and impacts are underestimated. More surveys such as those conducted in Ethiopia, Eswatini, Kenya and Somalia would help, but they cannot measure the longer-term repercussions on people's lives or for societies as a whole. Other approaches are needed to do this, including risk models and projections. One of our areas of focus will be the consequence of barriers to education for internally displaced children's futures. As a first step in unpacking this ripple effect, the number of children affected must first be estimated (see Spotlight).

# INVESTING IN THE FUTURE

## Supporting the education of internally displaced children

Millions of children worldwide are currently out of school, receiving poor quality education or at risk of dropping out, their futures jeopardised by their displacement. Their actual number is unknown. Even the overall number of internally displaced children is unknown, and only 14 per cent of countries and territories with data on IDPs disaggregate it by age.

If we know the number of IDPs, however, we can estimate the number of displaced children whose education may be affected using national-level demographic data. Assuming the age distribution among IDPs is roughly the same as for the country's overall population, we can estimate the number of internally displaced children of primary and secondary school age.

Doing so reveals that the education of nearly 5.7 million displaced children aged 5 to 16 may be affected in the 25 African countries for which data is available.<sup>202</sup> This is likely to be an underestimate, given that evidence from countries where data on IDPs is disaggregated by age shows the proportion of children among them to be higher than in the general population.

Across countries where humanitarian response plans include basic education support for IDPs, the average cost per child is estimated at \$68 per year.<sup>203</sup> This means that \$390 million could support the education of all Africa's internally displaced children, protecting their wellbeing, stability and personal and social development, and increasing their potential to contribute to society in the future. Education, however, is the most underfunded area during emergencies. Less than 55 per cent of the overall budget required to implement humanitarian response plans across sub-Saharan Africa is funded. For education, the figure falls to 32 per cent.

Further research on the medium and long-term financial benefits of investment in mitigating the negative effects of internal displacement on education, health, livelihoods, security and other areas of life would support more efficient fundraising and better programming that leave no one behind and no repercussion unaddressed.



*Before being displaced by attacks in 2013, Majok was living a middle class life and his children were in good schools. Now, he is unable to provide as back then, living in an IDP camp. Photo: NRC/Ingrid Prestetun, May 2018*

# DISPLACEMENT DATA: PERSISTING CHALLENGES AND WAYS FORWARD

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Obtaining accurate figures on the scale of internal displacement in Africa is challenging. Even when the full picture can be assessed, little is known about the ripple effects of displacement on IDPs themselves, host communities and national development, stability and security. This lack of information hampers efforts to design and implement support for solutions, which in turn increases the risk of displacement becoming cyclical and/or protracted. Data on the likelihood and potential scale of future displacement is also limited, but would be extremely helpful in informing risk reduction policies and plans.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the major challenges in obtaining accurate and timely data on internal displacement in Africa. It also will suggest ways to overcome them and provide a robust evidence base for the successful implementation of the Kampala Convention and other policies intended to address what is an ever-growing phenomenon on the continent.

## THE MAIN CHALLENGES

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### I Understanding displacement triggered by drought and other slow-onset phenomena

Capturing internal displacement associated with drought and other slow-onset phenomena is particularly challenging. This is because people are displaced over long periods of time rather than fleeing en masse, as tends to happen during sudden-onset disaster and conflict events. It is also often difficult to distinguish between

forced displacements and voluntary movements, and to determine those triggered specifically by drought as opposed to general poverty and lack of livelihoods. Settings where conflict and drought occur together pose further problems in this sense, and it is hard to analyse the interplay between them.

We published our first drought displacement estimates in 2018, for both Ethiopia and Somalia, but there are a number of caveats attached to the figures. The main ones include the fact that pastoralists are only accounted for as IDPs in Ethiopia if they seek refuge at a displacement site. Those who lose their livelihoods but stay put are not included, which is out of keeping with the definition of the forced displacement of nomadic populations. Nor are those displaced elsewhere captured. These two issues combined mean our figure for Ethiopia is likely to be a significant underestimate.<sup>204</sup> In Somalia, it was difficult to distinguish between displacements triggered by drought and other factors as well as to distinguish between forced movements and seasonal migration.

People are also affected by drought and hunger in other African countries. Thirteen SADC member states are considered food insecure, and Angola, Botswana and Namibia declared drought emergencies in 2019, but there is little data to link these situations to forced population movements.<sup>205</sup> Internal displacement is not included in the surveys and evaluations that governments or humanitarian organisations conduct, making it difficult to assess the phenomenon.

Niger has suffered extended periods of drought in recent years, but data collection on any associated displacement is neither centralised nor harmonised. We have, however, reviewed the data available on indicators related to drought in the country and concluded that most of the information that could be used to understand the dynamics of the phenomenon already exists.

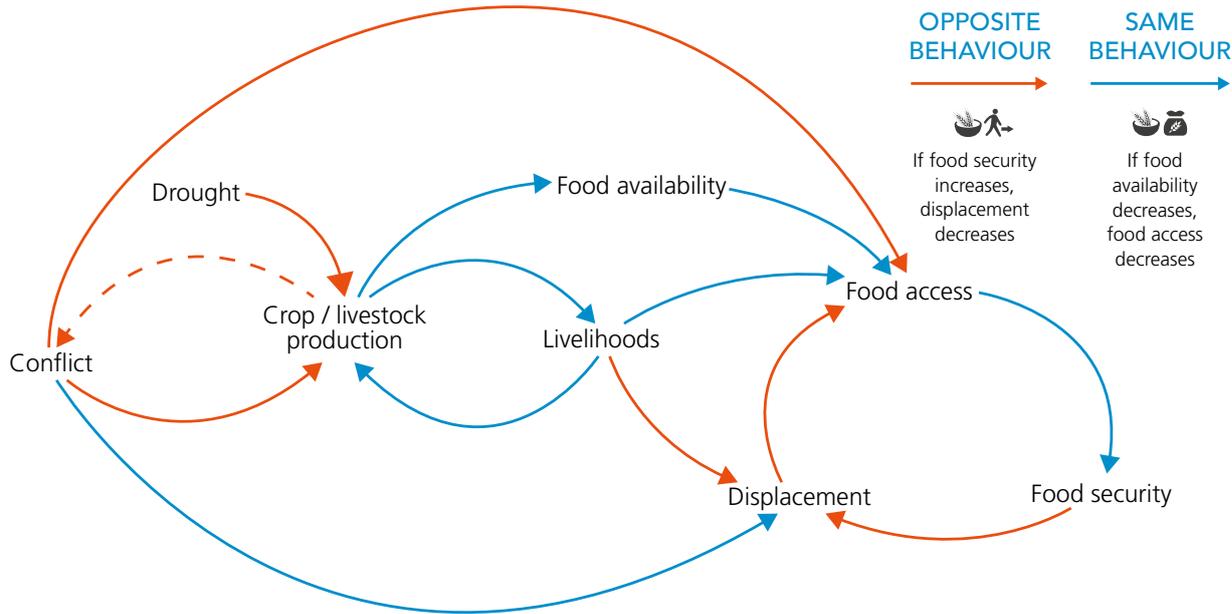
Governments and international agencies are looking at ways to improve their estimates by identifying and analysing the dynamics and interactions between the many interlinked factors that contribute to drought and internal displacement. These include rainfall, crop yields, the availability of pasture and market prices (see figure 10). IDMC engaged with partners in the region and organised workshops in Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia that brought together line ministries, UN agencies, local and international NGOs and farmers’ unions to review this conceptual framework and discussed how best to apply it in different countries and situations.

Doing so will contribute to better planning and preparedness by government agencies, humanitarian and development organisations and communities affected by drought. The framework could also be expanded and complemented with other types of data and information that would help to understand the relationship between drought, conflict and internal displacement.

To analyse displacement associated with other slow-onset phenomena such as coastal erosion, sea level rise, salinization and desertification requires similar system dynamics approaches that take causal loops and their evolution over time into consideration. Understanding how human factors increase risk and impacts, and the causal relationships between slow-onset hazards and sudden-onset events is also essential to better prevent and respond to such disasters. Information, however, is extremely scarce. It is only since 2018 that we have been able to obtain figures on displacement associated with coastal erosion and the impacts of tidal surges, and only then for Benin, Ghana, Senegal and Togo (see Spotlight).

The improvement of monitoring capacities would enable a more comprehensive understanding on how displacement comes about in a changing climate when natural resources are being overused. The work made on drought displacement in Niger offers a good way forward that could be replicated and adapted for use in other countries. The many triggers and drivers of displacement associated with slow-onset phenomena and their links with other factors, including conflict, violence and development projects, need to be unpacked to inform efforts to prevent it from happening in the future.

FIGURE 10: Diagram illustrating the multi-causal nature of displacement linked to drought



## | Capturing small-scale displacement

The internal displacement estimates we have published over the years and across regions have been conservative. Innovative data collection methodologies and new technologies have enabled us to paint a more accurate picture of scale of the phenomenon, but the identification of small-scale displacements is still a major challenge. As elsewhere, such movements tend to go unreported in Africa because of the absence of humanitarians and data collectors on the ground and lack of media coverage.

In an effort to fill this gap we try to detect small-scale displacements using event-based monitoring and local media articles, an approach that enabled us recently to identify cases associated with conflict and violence in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Tunisia. Most of the evidence we gathered on displacements associated flooding in West Africa also came from reports by local media and other small news platforms.

There are a number of challenges, however, in using media reports in this way. The figures are not produced for data collection purposes, and they tend not to be validated or disaggregated. It is also rare for media outlets to follow up on a displacement situation, particularly if it is small-scale, which makes it all but impossible to assess its evolution and duration. The disparities between media outlets in the way they collect and report their information also makes it difficult to make comparisons between different situations and countries.

This includes inconsistency in the terms used to report on displacement. Media outlets may variously refer to people "evacuated", "homeless" or "sheltered", or they may simply report on people "affected" by a particular trigger. They may also use housing "damage" and "destruction" interchangeably. This impedes a clear understanding of what lies behind the figures and makes it hard to understand local impacts.

To overcome these challenges, governments should work closely with local authorities, the media and communities, and use new technologies to reach out to the latter and collect the data needed to prevent and respond to displacement. Rwanda's Ministry of Disaster Preparedness and Refugee Affairs, for example, uses SMS to communicate disaster alerts and early warnings to local communities across the country. Local focal points send back information on damage and losses,

which is compiled in a centralised system. This in turn enables the government to identify those in need and prioritise risk reduction and response measures.<sup>206</sup>

## | Hard-to-reach areas

Some displacements are difficult to detect because of access restrictions, political sensitivities and security concerns, particularly in places affected by conflict. Data collectors often struggle to conduct displacement assessments on a regular basis in remote and hard-to-reach areas, and reports may only be sporadic. IOM's rapid assessments of criminal and communal violence in north-west Nigeria are a case in point. In DRC, the sheer size of the country combined with the lack of decent roads and constant insecurity make it difficult for humanitarian partners to access the often-remote locations where conflict takes place.

Many disasters clearly have implications for humanitarian access, even if it is only short term. They may also make access to areas affected by conflict more difficult, as has been the case with flooding in Cameroon's anglophone regions. Areas of Darfur in Sudan not under government control are also regularly affected by floods, making information on the scale of displacement and the needs of those affected all but non-existent.

Political sensitivities may also prevent humanitarian organisations from collecting data on population movements. We were unable, for example, to obtain figures for new displacements in Cameroon's anglophone regions for the first half of 2019 (see Spotlight). Cabo Delgado province in northern Mozambique has been affected by a violent insurgency since 2017 and suffered the impacts of cyclone Kenneth in April 2018.<sup>207</sup> Estimates of the displacement triggered by the latter were quickly made available, but humanitarian organisations have not been granted access to collect data on that associated with violence.

Data was also hard to come by in Chad until very recently, but more has become available in 2019, leading to an increase in the number of new displacements recorded compared with previous years. This may in part reflect a worsening security situation, but it is also the result of more systematic data collection and reporting in Lac province, which has been particularly hard hit by Boko Haram's insurgency (see Spotlight). Humanitarian access has also improved in South Sudan since the signing of a revitalised peace deal in 2018, making more comprehensive data on displacement available.

# CAMEROON AND CHAD

## Changes in data availability and access

Cameroon's anglophone regions have suffered a sharp increase in violence and new displacements in the past couple of years. Longstanding tensions with the franco-phone-led government have spiralled since 2016, when the authorities cracked down on strikes and protests that began over the government's efforts to impose French on the education and judicial sectors.<sup>208</sup> More than 437,000 new displacements were recorded in 2018, 20 times more than those triggered by conflict against Boko Haram in the Far North region.

At the time of writing, in September 2019, however, we were still unable to say with any certainty how many people had lost their homes, how many children were not attending school or how many families had been separated in 2019. Insecurity and difficult access have impeded assessments of the situation, which is underreported as a result. This could lead to the misconception that the crisis has waned, but available evidence suggests people continued to be displaced, and that attacks on public and private infrastructure are a daily occurrence. Very little data and information on the impact of the conflict is publicly available.

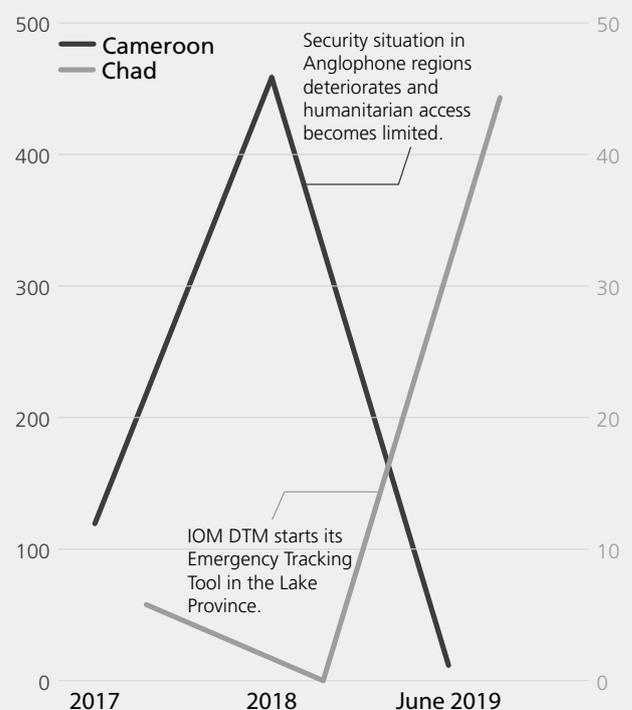
Data on displacement associated with conflict and violence in neighbouring Chad was also difficult to obtain until very recently, to the extent that we were unable to compile an estimate for the country in 2018. This did not mean, however, that no displacement took place, but rather highlighted a lack of systematic data collection. This was a cause for concern, particularly given that Lac province has been hard hit by Boko Haram's insurgency.

In response, IOM DTM began running its Emergency Tracking Tool (ETT) in Chad in 2019. This has increased monitoring capacity considerably, because displacement is now tracked on an event-basis and reports are published following each attack or large-scale population movement. This has enabled us to report a prelimi-

nary figure of at least 44,000 new displacements in the first half of the year. Despite the improvement in monitoring, this should still be considered an underestimate. It is also still difficult to draw reliable conclusions about how the conflict is unfolding and its consequences for those displaced.

More efforts should be made to improve data collection and dissemination on both internal displacement and cross-border movements in Cameroon and Chad. If not, humanitarian and development organisations will not have a robust basis for their work in supporting people who have been displaced, and the two crises will continue to be underreported and neglected.

FIGURE 11: Data availability in Chad and Cameroon, reported new displacements, in thousands



## | Capturing secondary and tertiary displacements

People in many African countries have been displaced more than once in their search for shelter, safety and security. IDPs fleeing conflict may move to a new location and stay there for a few days, but then have to move on when the fighting catches up with them. They may flee very locally, to neighbouring villages or into the bush, before returning home only to be displaced again by further violence. Others who have fled conflict may later be displaced a disaster.

Displacement camps and sites are also often attacked or affected by natural hazards. This has happened in Nigeria and Somalia, where floods have forced people sheltering from conflict to move again. Local militias in CAR attack displacement sites with the same consequences. Such cycles of displacement may be repeated, making it extremely difficult to capture people's movements and account for them in a consistent way. Repeated and pendular displacement in DRC often takes place in very remote, hard-to-reach villages, making the task harder still.

It is vital, however, that such movements are captured and understood, because each new displacement heightens IDPs' vulnerability and increases their needs. IOM DTM's has started to capture the average number of movements that IDPs who arrive at displacement sites have undergone to allow a better understanding of their vulnerabilities and the planning for more effective responses.

If data collectors increase their efforts to capture IDPs' onward movements, be they secondary, tertiary, cyclical or pendular, humanitarian and development stakeholders would be able to advocate, fundraise and target their resources better in support of those most in need. Complemented with qualitative information on why people flee and conditions during their displacement, it would also improve our understanding of how the impacts of displacement are reabsorbed and become drivers and triggers of further movements. Such evidence is indispensable if governments are to break this downward spiral of displacement and vulnerability.

## | Obtaining disaggregated data

African countries have made significant efforts to improve their data collection mechanisms as part of the reporting processes for the Sendai framework and SDGs, but disaggregation continues to be a challenge.<sup>209</sup> This also applies to internal displacement data. Little that we receive is disaggregated, because most countries are still a long way from achieving the necessary granularity to record IDPs' age, sex, disabilities, places of origin and other characteristics.

Current data allows us to plot general trends and figures, but disaggregation is required because different groups require interventions tailored to their specific needs and vulnerabilities. This could be achieved if data providers scale up their efforts to include specific questions about IDPs' characteristics while conducting displacement assessments. Understanding what triggers people's displacement is also vital to paint a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon and determine the type of responses needed. Such information should also be compiled in interoperable and publicly available datasets.

Progress has been made in some countries. IOM's DTM collects data disaggregated by IDPs' sex, age and place of origin in Ethiopia, which helps humanitarians target their interventions, including in places of potential return.<sup>210</sup> Burkina Faso's government collects data disaggregated by sex and age, thanks to which its partners know that nearly half of the country's IDPs are children and are able to adjust their programming accordingly. More governments and others involved in data collection should follow these examples to start filling this major data gap.

## | Capturing the duration of displacement

Assessing how long people are displaced for is a challenge far from unique to Africa. Data is collected at the time that people are displaced, but it is rarely followed up during their displacement. This constitutes another major data gap that needs to be filled with a renewed sense of urgency by gathering information on the duration of displacement as part of data collection efforts.

In its absence, it is fair to assume that people will remain displaced for longer if their homes have been destroyed. Knowing exactly how long, however, is essential to inform reconstruction and resettlement plans and assess their cost and timeframes. Governments can also use such data to reach out to donors and financial institutions for long-term investments.

There are few signs that this challenge will overcome in the near future, but the daily updates led by IOM's DTM after cyclone Idai in Mozambique serve as a good example of tracking displacement over time.<sup>211</sup> The assessments contained detailed data on the location of those displaced and their age and sex, and some information on their perspectives in terms of durable solutions. This shed light on people's needs and expectations and issues preventing their return, valuable information to inform long-term recovery efforts in Idai's aftermath.

## OVERCOMING THE CHALLENGES

The Kampala Convention clearly states governments' primary responsibility for collecting data on internal displacement, its impacts and the vulnerabilities of those forced to flee.<sup>212</sup> There has been progress in some countries, but there is still much room for improvement when it comes to capturing the full spectrum of displacement and its immediate and long-term effects on IDPs, host communities and societies as a whole.

In order to fill these data gaps and deliver on their commitments to implement the Kampala Convention, governments need to improve their capacity to monitor displacement regardless of its causes and without thresholds that limit the data they collect. To do so, they should reinforce collaboration among their ministries and with other stakeholders that collect data, including UN agencies, humanitarian and development organisations and local authorities. A key first step would be to map who collects displacement data in the region and identify what is needed to improve cooperation between stakeholders and across sectors.

We have been collecting information systematically on sources that report on internal displacement since 2016, which has given us an overview of who is involved in the collection, processing, validation and publication of data. There are significant differences across the

African Union between those who collect information on disaster displacement and those who do so for movements triggered by conflict and other forms of violence. Government ownership of the data collection and validation process also varies significantly depending on the trigger.

Around 45 per cent of the data we obtained on disaster displacement in Africa in 2018 came from national and local authorities, 21 per cent from UN agencies and 13 per cent from the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement (see figure 12). This illustrates a positive development in recent years in that an increasing number of countries have put in place or strengthened national disaster damage and loss accounting systems.<sup>213</sup>

National disaster management agencies in countries such as Kenya, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Sudan record such data and sometimes release figures on people displaced. We continue, however, to use housing destruction as a proxy as the most reliable way to estimate disaster displacement, because most countries do not report on the number of people displaced.

The breakdown for displacement associated with conflict and violence is very different. About 59 per cent of the data we obtained in 2018 came from UN agencies and only ten per cent from national and local authorities (see figure 13). There are, however, significant differences across countries, because international humanitarian organisations may not have the access or the capacity to conduct assessments in certain countries and certain locations. Data sources also vary depending the type of violence involved. It tends to be media outlets that report on displacement associated with criminal violence, and UN agencies on that associated with armed conflict.

UN agencies may be the primary data publishers in some countries, but displacement estimates tend to be compiled in close collaboration with government agencies. National and local authorities are often involved in different parts of the data production process, be it through initial scoping exercises, collection or validation. In Burkina Faso, the National Emergency, Relief and Rehabilitation Council collects displacement data, but OCHA publishes it in reports and on its online dashboard. In Niger, the Regional Directorate of the Civil Status collects data in Diffa region while UNHCR does so elsewhere. Country-level figures are then published in UNHCR reports.

FIGURE 12: Sources of IDMC's estimates for displacement associated with disasters in Africa

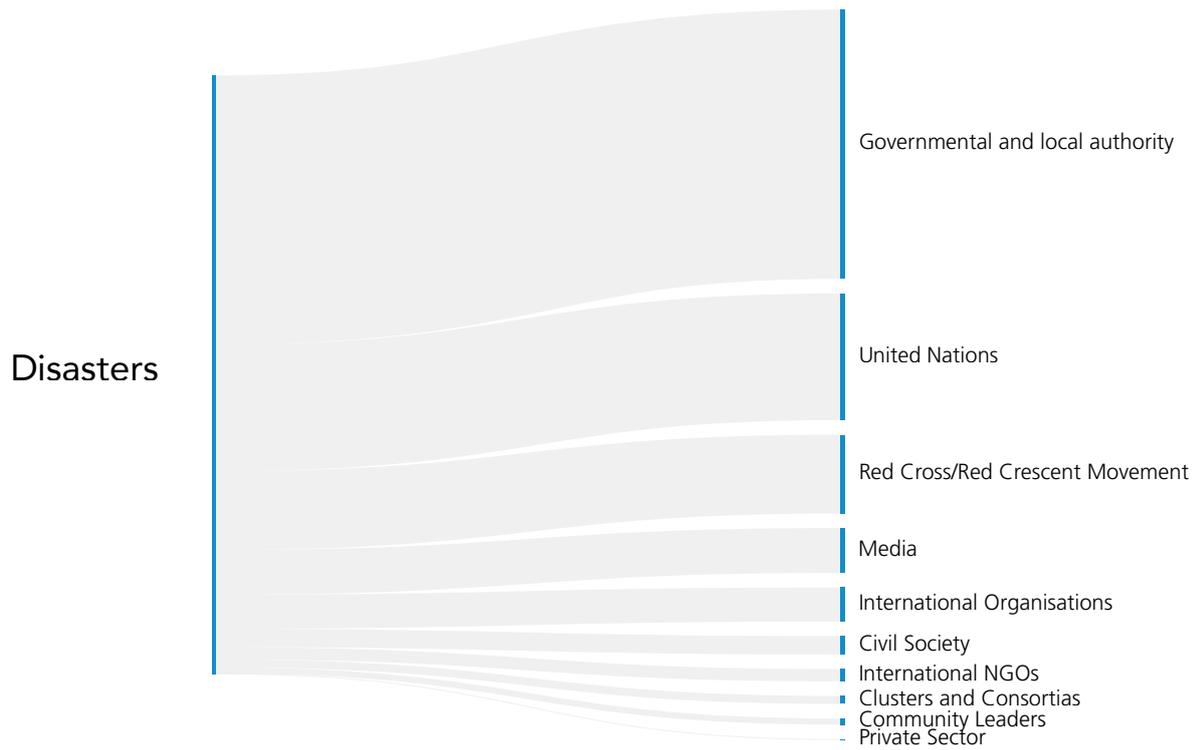
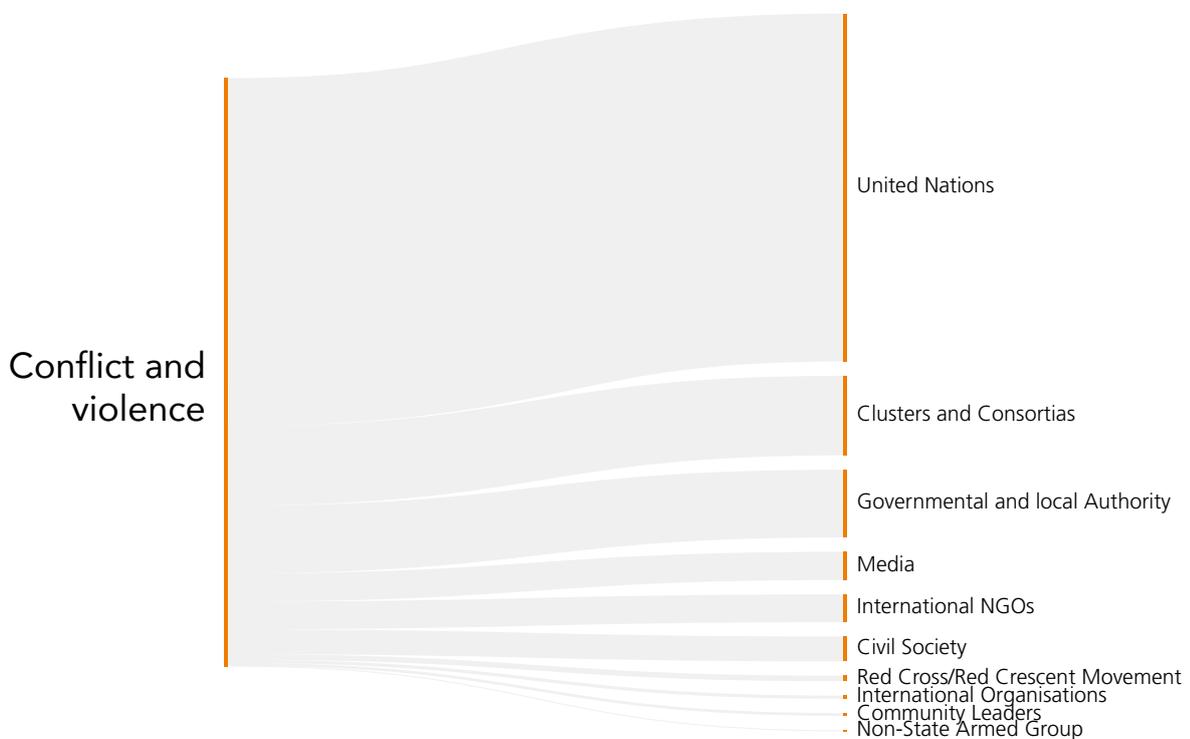
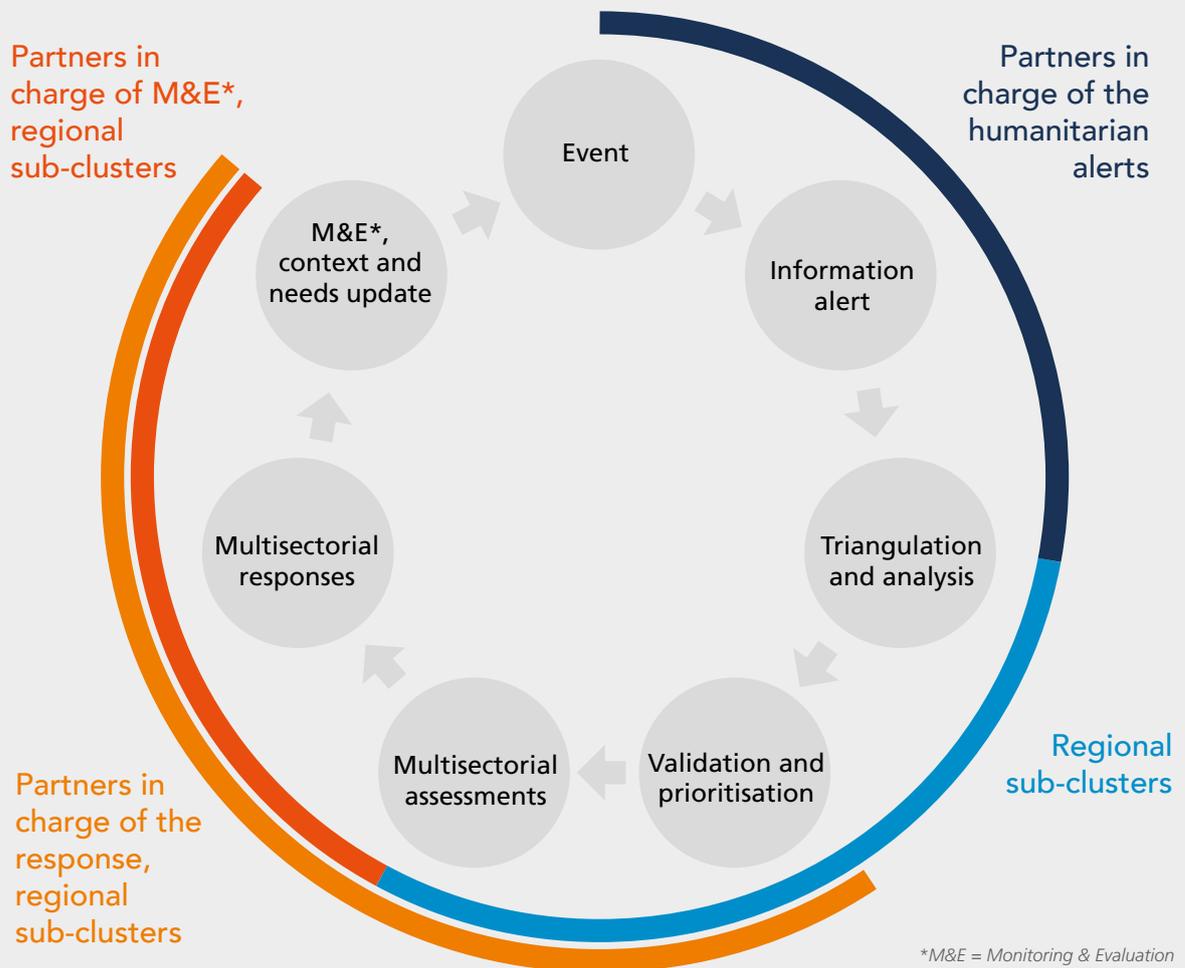


FIGURE 13: Sources of IDMC's estimates for displacement associated with conflict and violence in Africa



## BOX 1: AN EXAMPLE OF SYSTEMATIC MONITORING OF DISPLACEMENT: THE RAPID RESPONSE MECHANISM IN MALI

FIGURE 14: The Rapid Response Mechanism explained



The monitoring of displacement associated with conflict and violence in Mali is an example of systematic data collection, verification and sharing. The country has established a validated system of population movement alerts and subsequent tracking of displacement, all the more important given that the security situation in the country has deteriorated since 2018 and the number of new displacements has increased sharply, mostly in central Mali.

The Rapid Response Mechanism (RRM), which is led by NRC, is the primary source of information on new displacements. It consists of a network of focal points at the regional, *cercle* and *commune* level that send information about population movements from the commune to the regional level. This is then further verified and validated through the network in close collaboration with the country's social development bodies and local authorities. The RRM is used in sudden, acute crises in northern and central regions of the country.

It is important to understand these nuances in terms of sources and publishers in order to paint a clear picture of each country's data ecosystem. They also serve to highlight collaborations that should be strengthened. The UN system should continue to support nationally-owned data collection, validation and analysis, and expand its training and capacity-building efforts.

## | Ensuring consistent methodologies

It is not unusual for several organisations to collect data on specific displacement situations, but they do so use different methodologies. Some may be highly sophisticated and able to track flows, impacts and even duration. Others may be more rudimentary. In some cases, methodologies may even vary within a single organisation. This divergence often leads to conflicting figures for the same situation and makes it difficult for those collecting data to understand each other and cooperate.

In Nigeria, for example, we rely on different methods including event-based monitoring through local media and reports from IOM's DTM, the Crisis Group, the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). Consequently, an important part of our work involves triangulating and validating figures with partners to produce accurate estimates.<sup>214</sup>

Data sources may also alter their methodologies from time to time, which in turn may lead to variations in their estimates that do not necessarily reflect a change in the displacement situation on the ground. The geographical coverage of surveys may change because of access restrictions, for example, as in the Lake Chad basin where the number of displacement sites assessed often changes because of security concerns. Sometimes methodologies also change for the good. A data collector may improve the quality or detail of its survey by increasing the number of questions about IDPs' conditions and the reasons for their displacement.

Divergent and changeable data has the potential to create confusion about displacement situations and impede clear decision making and action. The ultimate aim should be for data collectors to have consistent methodologies, but in their absence, it is vital that they are at least transparent so that data users are better able to understand any variations in the information published.

## | Making data interoperable

Interoperable information would go a long way to facilitating organisations' data entry and analysis. Data sharing is just as important as collection in the process of addressing and responding to displacement. Data should be compiled in easily sharable formats such as Excel sheets or online databases. Many countries still collect the data on paper, which can only be shared using scanned PDFs. Switching is challenging, however, and requires additional technical support to transfer the data into filterable and calculable formats.

It is also important to invest in new tools and technologies to collect data in areas with little or no mobile phone and internet coverage, in order to make the work of enumerators and information managers easier. That said, the potential to do so is limited in some countries. In Somalia, for example, carrying a smartphone or a similar device for data collection is a punishable offence in areas controlled by al-Shabaab. Paper-based evaluations that are digitalised later are inevitable in such situations.

Progress is gradually being made in overcoming some of the above data challenges and establishing consistency among stakeholders, and some good practices already exist. There is a comprehensive monitoring framework for internal displacement in place in Mali, which has helped all stakeholders, from data collectors to policy-makers and from humanitarian to development organisations, in establishing a better understanding of the phenomenon (see Box 1).

# CONCLUSION

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This year's Africa Report on Internal Displacement shows that the phenomenon is on the rise across the continent. Implementation of the Kampala Convention, which marked its tenth anniversary in 2019, is more relevant than ever. A combination of protracted conflicts, new intercommunal clashes and re-emerging waves of violence are affecting many countries and displacing millions of people each year. The countries that have recorded most new displacements associated with conflict and violence over the last decade also have the highest number of people living in longer-term displacement. Both new and protracted displacement need to be addressed with a renewed sense of purpose.

Recent peacebuilding efforts, such as those in CAR and South Sudan, should be encouraged and supported. The introduction of policies on internal displacement in countries such as Ethiopia, Niger and Somalia has the potential to improve longer term planning and governance to address current displacement and future risk. Such undertakings serve as an example to other countries with high displacement figures of how to move IDPs and solutions to their plight up their policy agendas.

Slow and sudden-onset disasters trigger significant displacement across the continent, though impacts vary significantly within and across countries. Socioeconomic vulnerability is the main driver of disaster displacement risk and the factor that most aggravates its impacts. Greater efforts are needed to make displacement an integral part of poverty reduction strategies, DRR measures and climate change adaptation and mitigation initiatives.

The economic cost of internal displacement for IDPs, host communities and national economies is high, setting up negative ripple effects that drive future instability and risk. Understanding the full spectrum of displacement risk and impacts is a prerequisite for designing the policies and actions needed to address the phenomenon and reduce it over time. Doing so calls for a multi-sector approach toward durable solutions, including policy development, coherent budget allocation and the devolution of resources to local authorities.

There are many data gaps on internal displacement in Africa, but there are also good examples of comprehensive monitoring systems that could be improved and replicated. More needs to be done to make datasets interoperable and improve coordination and collaboration among data collectors and analysts. Once coherent monitoring frameworks are in place, it will be possible to track progress in reducing displacement over time.

Internal displacement is one of Africa's critical challenges. Addressing it requires a combination of coordinated humanitarian responses and comprehensive sustainable development strategies. Prevention and risk reduction have the potential to enhance the continent's political, social and economic outlook, and to ensure that IDPs, as some of its most vulnerable groups, are not left behind. With its potential for growth and socio-economic advancement, Africa cannot afford to leave internal displacement unaddressed.

# TABLES

Table 1: New displacements and total number of IDPs in Africa as of the end of 2018

| Country or territory     | New displacements in 2018 (disasters) | New displacements in 2018 (conflict and violence) | Total number of IDPs as of 31 December 2018 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Algeria                  | 19                                    |   |   |
| Angola                   | 11,000                                |   |   |
| Benin                    | 23,000                                | 3,500   | 3,500                                       |
| Botswana                 | 1,600                                 |   |   |
| Burkina Faso             | 5,100                                 | 42,000  | 47,000                                      |
| Burundi                  | 35,000                                | 5,100   | 49,000                                      |
| Cameroon                 |                                       | 459,000   | 668,000                                     |
| Central African Republic | 9,300                                 | 510,000   | 641,000                                     |
| Chad                     | 2,000                                 |   | 90,000                                      |
| Congo                    |                                       |   | 107,000                                     |
| Côte d'Ivoire            | 3,200                                 | 700   | 302,000                                     |
| Dem. Rep. Congo          | 81,000                                | 1,840,000   | 3,081,000                                   |
| Djibouti                 | 9,400                                 |   |   |
| Egypt                    | 8                                     | 15,000  | 97,000                                      |
| Eswatini                 | 110                                   |   |   |
| Ethiopia                 | 296,000                               | 2,895,000   | 2,137,000                                   |
| Ghana                    | 61,000                                | 5,000   | 5,000                                       |
| Guinea                   | 3,900                                 |   |   |
| Guinea-Bissau            | 3,700                                 |   |   |
| Kenya                    | 336,000                               | 10,000  | 162,000                                     |
| Lesotho                  | 1,400                                 |   |   |
| Liberia                  | 15,000                                |   |   |

| Country or territory | New displacements in 2018 (disasters) | New displacements in 2018 (conflict and violence) | Total number of IDPs as of 31 December 2018 |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Libya                |                                       | 70,000  | 221,000                                     |
| Madagascar           | 75,000                                | 1,700   | 2,000                                       |
| Malawi               | 20,000                                |   |   |
| Mali                 | 19,000                                | 126,000   | 120,000                                     |
| Mauritania           | 450                                   |   |   |
| Mauritius            | 3,600                                 |   |   |
| Mozambique           | 31,000                                | 3,800   | 14,000                                      |
| Namibia              | 13                                    |   |   |
| Niger                | 40,000                                | 52,000  | 156,000                                     |
| Nigeria              | 613,000                               | 541,000   | 2,216,000                                   |
| Rwanda               | 47,000                                |   |   |
| Senegal              | 2                                     |   | 18,000                                      |
| Sierra Leone         |                                       | 3,000   | 3,000                                       |
| Somalia              | 547,000                               | 578,000   | 2,648,000                                   |
| South Africa         | 2,100                                 |   |   |
| South Sudan          | 6,600                                 | 321,000   | 1,869,000                                   |
| Sudan                | 121,000                               | 41,000  | 2,072,000                                   |
| Tanzania             | 29,000                                |   |   |
| Tunisia              | 3,300                                 |   |   |
| Uganda               | 164,000                               | 9,000   | 32,000                                      |
| Zambia               | 21                                    |   |   |
| Zimbabwe             | 1,100                                 |   |   |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>2,620,923</b>                      | <b>7,531,800</b>                                  | <b>16,760,500</b>                           |

Table 2: Main policies relating to internal displacement in Africa

| Country                  | Date | Title  | Government level | Type    |
|--------------------------|------|--|------------------|---------|
| Angola                   | 2000 | Decree Number 1/01, 5 January 2001 (Norms on the Resettlement of Displaced Populations)  | National         | Policy  |
|                          | 2002 | Decree Nr. 79/02, 6 December (Implementation of Norms - Standard Operational Procedures)   | National         | Policy  |
| Burundi                  | 2004 | Programme National de Réhabilitation des Sinistrés   | National         | Policy  |
|                          | 2010 | Stratégie Nationale de Réintégration Socio-économique des personnes affectées par le conflit   | National         | Policy  |
|                          | 2017 | Stratégie Nationale de Réintégration Socio-Economique des Personnes Sinistrées au Burundi: Document de la Stratégie révisée sur la base des Solutions Durables | National         | Policy  |
| Central African Republic | 2015 | Politique nationale sur la Protection et l'Assistance aux Personnes déplacées internes en Centrafrique (DRAFT)   | National         | Ongoing |
| Côte d'Ivoire            | 2018 | Lobby for adoption of a national framework on internal displacement  | National         | Ongoing |
| DRC                      | 2014 | Projet de Loi Portant Protection et Assistances aux Personnes Déplacées Internes   | National         | Ongoing |
|                          | 2016 | Stratégie Nationale de Solutions Durables pour les Populations Déplacées Internes et les Rapatriés   | National         | Ongoing |
|                          | 2016 | Stratégie Provinciale pour des Solutions Durables en Faveur des Personnes Déplacées Internes au Nord-Kivu  | Sub-national     | Policy  |
| Ethiopia                 | 2017 | Somali Region Durable Solutions Strategy (Durable Solutions Strategy 2017/2020. The Durable Solutions Strategy of the Somali Regional Government of Ethiopia)  | Sub-national     | Policy  |
| Kenya                    | 2011 | National policy on the prevention of internal displacement, protection and assistance to internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Kenya (DRAFT)                  | National         | Ongoing |
|                          | 2012 | The Prevention, Protection and Assistance to IDPs and Affected Communities Act, 2012 (No.56)   | National         | Law     |
|                          | 2012 | Bills No.44: Evictions and resettlement procedures bill  | National         | Ongoing |
| Liberia                  | 2004 | National Community Resettlement and Reintegration Strategy   | National         | Policy  |

|                     |      |  |              |         |
|---------------------|------|--|--------------|---------|
| <b>Mali</b>         | 2015 | Stratégie Nationale de Gestion des Personnes Déplacées Internes et des Rapatriés (2015-2017) (et Plan d'Actions)           | National     | Policy  |
|                     | 2018 | Process of elaboration of a national legislative framework on internal displacement  | National     | Ongoing |
| <b>Niger</b>        | 2018 | Projet de loi relative à la protection et l'assistance aux personnes déplacées internes au Niger                           | National     | Law     |
| <b>Nigeria</b>      | 2012 | National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria (DRAFT)  | National     | Ongoing |
|                     | 2016 | Rights of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) Bill, 2016   | National     | Ongoing |
| <b>Sierra Leone</b> | 2001 | Resettlement Strategy. Enabling the displaced to rebuild their lives back in their communities with safety and dignity     | National     | Policy  |
| <b>Somalia</b>      | 2012 | Puntland Policy Guidelines on Displacement   | Sub-national | Policy  |
|                     | 2014 | Policy framework on displacement within Somalia  | National     | Ongoing |
|                     | 2015 | Somaliland Internal Displacement Policy  | Sub-national | Policy  |
|                     | 2017 | National Policy for Refugee-Returnees and IDPs   | National     | Ongoing |
|                     | 2019 | The Benadir Regional Administration Policy for Internally Displaced Persons and Returnees in Mogadishu                     | Sub-national | Policy  |
|                     | 2019 | National Policy on Refugee-Returnees and internally Displaced Persons  | National     | Ongoing |
|                     | 2019 | National Eviction Guidelines   | National     | Ongoing |
|                     | 2019 | Interim Protocol on Land Distribution for Housing to Eligible Refugee-Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons           | National     | Ongoing |
| <b>South Sudan</b>  | 2017 | National Framework for the Return, Resettlement and Reintegration of Displaced Persons                                     | National     | Policy  |
|                     | 2019 | Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons Act, 2019 (Draft)  | National     | Ongoing |
| <b>Sudan</b>        | 2009 | The National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) - 2009   | National     | Policy  |
| <b>Uganda</b>       | 2004 | The National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons   | National     | Policy  |
|                     | 2005 | National Internally Displaced Persons Return, Resettlement and Reintegration Strategic Plan for Lango and Teso Sub Regions | Sub-National | Policy  |
| <b>Zambia</b>       | 2013 | Guidelines for the compensation and resettlement of internally displaced persons   | National     | Policy  |
|                     | 2015 | National Resettlement Policy   | National     | Policy  |

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