

CITIES OF REFUGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Bringing an Urban Lens to the Forced Displacement Challenge



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Policy Note

September 14, 2017

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This publication is the result of a team effort across Social Urban Rural and Resilience Global Practice at the World Bank. The Task Team Leaders were Axel Baeumler (Senior Infrastructure Economist, GSU11) and Anton Baare (Senior Social Development Specialist, GSU07) together with a core team comprising Ellen Hamilton (Lead Urban Specialist, GSU11), Phoram Shah (Urban Specialist, GSU11), Karen Jacobsen (Lead Consultant), and Catherine Kleplacki (Consultant). Benjamin Stewart (Geographer, GGSCE), Julie Biau (Program Ana Myriam Ababsa (Consultant), Andres Villaveces (Consultant) and Stephen Commins (Consultant) also provided valuable contributions. Sameh Wahba (Director, GSURB), Ayat Soliman (Practice Manager, GUS11), and Ming Zhang (Practice Manager, GSU10) provided overall management guidance.

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Preface



This policy note aims to advance our understanding of urban forced displacement, induced by conflict, by looking at the issue from the perspective of receiving towns and cities. It explores *why* we need a different approach to addressing urban forced displacement; *how* to “think differently” about urban forced displacement along the humanitarian-development assistance spectrum; *what* we can learn from existing urbanization and other relevant experiences to inform humanitarian and development responses; and *what* “thinking differently” means for local, national, and international development actors. The primary audiences of the note are development and humanitarian practitioners as well as policy makers who are increasingly confronted with the urban dimensions of protracted forced displacement.

Key Messages

Forced displacement is among the most pressing challenges in the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region.

The number of people forcibly displaced worldwide continues to increase, particularly in MENA, where waves of unrest and conflict have driven a huge increase in displacement. In 2016, there were an estimated 65.6 million people forcibly displaced around the world, of which 26 percent were living in countries across the MENA region. For each refugee displaced in MENA, there are almost six internally displaced people (IDPs).

Contrary to common belief, most of the forcibly displaced live outside of camps.

When thinking of the displaced and providing food, shelter and services, standalone camps run by humanitarian agencies are the most common image. However, only a minority of forcibly displaced people actually live in camps. Today, most of the displaced are in towns and cities, where provision of services, shelter and livelihoods

are already well established. This pattern is particularly evident in the already highly urbanized MENA region, where an estimated 80-90 percent of displaced live in towns and cities – significantly above the global average of 60 percent.

Solutions for displacement must target host towns and cities.

The shift in displacement from camps to towns and cities means changing the paradigm for how humanitarian and development agencies work with displaced populations. Instead of providing stand-alone solutions to displaced people in camps or rural areas, the challenge is to support host communities to scale up existing services, shelter and jobs to meet the needs of both the original residents and the displaced. In towns and cities, targeted assistance to the displaced should be complemented with place-based development approaches that build on existing governance structures and service delivery mechanisms to promote the welfare of all residents, regardless of origin. Approaches that target assistance only for the displaced may heighten

social tensions between displaced and host communities and do not help host communities cope with the new needs arising from rapid population growth.

Recommendations for international agencies

The main recommendation for international agencies is to integrate humanitarian and development approaches in towns and cities hosting displaced populations from the beginning. Important elements include:

- ▲ Develop integrated humanitarian and development approaches to forced displacement in cities
- ▲ Promote the integration of civil society in the development response architecture
- ▲ Work increasingly through national and local government systems to deliver aid and services
- ▲ Mobilize concessional finance to scale up response capabilities in affected countries and cities
- ▲ Improve the evidence base for better development policy decision making and programming

Recommendations for local governments

Local governments are at the forefront of the response to urban displacement. Priority interventions for local and municipal governments include:

- ▲ Scale up and expand basic services and infrastructure based on a development, not emergency, approach
- ▲ Leverage delivery modalities of service delivery to increase confidence and build trust between communities and local authorities as a basis for social cohesion
- ▲ Leverage support from national and international actors to address capacity and financing gaps
- ▲ Enhance capacity and resilience to better prepare for and respond to displacement challenges
- ▲ Promote local economic development and private sector participation for shared growth

Recommendations for national governments

National governments also play a critical role. Priority interventions for central governments include:

- ▲ Adhere to policy standards related to refugees and internally displaced, as applicable and with reference to international commitments as entered into by the respective countries
- ▲ Implement coherent national policies in areas outside the direct control of local and municipal governments, specifically in the areas of labor markets, land and housing markets, education and health
- ▲ Implement coherent national refugee and IDP policies, including alternatives to camps, as the main response focus
- ▲ Support building social cohesion between displaced and host communities as sine qua non for medium-term sustainability
- ▲ Support policies to enable a transition from humanitarian first-response approaches to medium-term development approaches
- ▲ Mobilize financing so that local governments can meet increased financing needs

Policy dialogue needs to be sensitive to the political dynamics around forced displacement

Governments from both origin and host countries are at the center of the crisis. Their decisions affect the scale and destination of population movements, as well as the impacts and solutions in the short, medium, and long terms. External development partners can support the adoption and implementation of sound responses, but the primary role rests with national and local authorities. Mitigating the impact of forced displacement on host communities (whether in camp or urban settings) is not a strictly technical agenda. Political considerations often drive the host authorities' response, and need to be taken into account when supporting governmental efforts. A development approach should expand the focus from reducing the vulnerabilities of the forcibly displaced to also mitigating impacts on host communities. This holistic approach of supporting the community as a whole can also reshape the political dialogue around forced displacement.

Cities are increasingly at the forefront of the forced displacement response

The majority of forcibly displaced now live in towns and cities. Globally, more than 60 percent of forcibly displaced live now in urban areas. In MENA, the share is even higher – an estimated 80-90 percent live in towns and cities.¹ The urbanization of forced displacement means the displaced are no longer in isolated areas, but now blend into existing urban populations. Their move to cities is often based on a perception that cities offer better economic opportunities, increased security, a degree of anonymity, greater access to services, and closer proximity to markets.² In MENA, the share of displaced in urban areas is higher because the region is highly urbanized, especially the Mashreq; in Lebanon and Jordan, 88 percent and 70 percent of the respective populations live in urban areas, which is considerably higher than the MENA average of 64 percent.³ Another factor is that some MENA countries, such as Lebanon, decided not to establish formal camps for Syrian refugees, giving them few options other than moving to cities. This shift from camps to cities requires governments, humanitarian

agencies, and development institutions to rethink long-established paradigms for humanitarian and development assistance concerning the displaced.

The scale and scope of urban forced displacement in MENA is unprecedented. Globally, 65.6 million people were forcibly displaced at the end of 2016, of which 26 percent were living in countries across the MENA region. By the end of 2016, conflicts in the region had displaced 6.1 million refugees originating from MENA. The main country of origin for refugees in 2016 was Syria, with 5.5 million refugees at the end of the year – an increase over the 4.9 million a year earlier.⁴ In addition, an unknown number of expatriate citizens and Palestinians living and working in Iraq and Syria before the crisis were forced to return to their home countries. Based on global trends, forced displacement in MENA is projected to be protracted and long lasting; more than 80 percent of refugee crises last for ten years or more, and two in five last 20 years or more.⁵

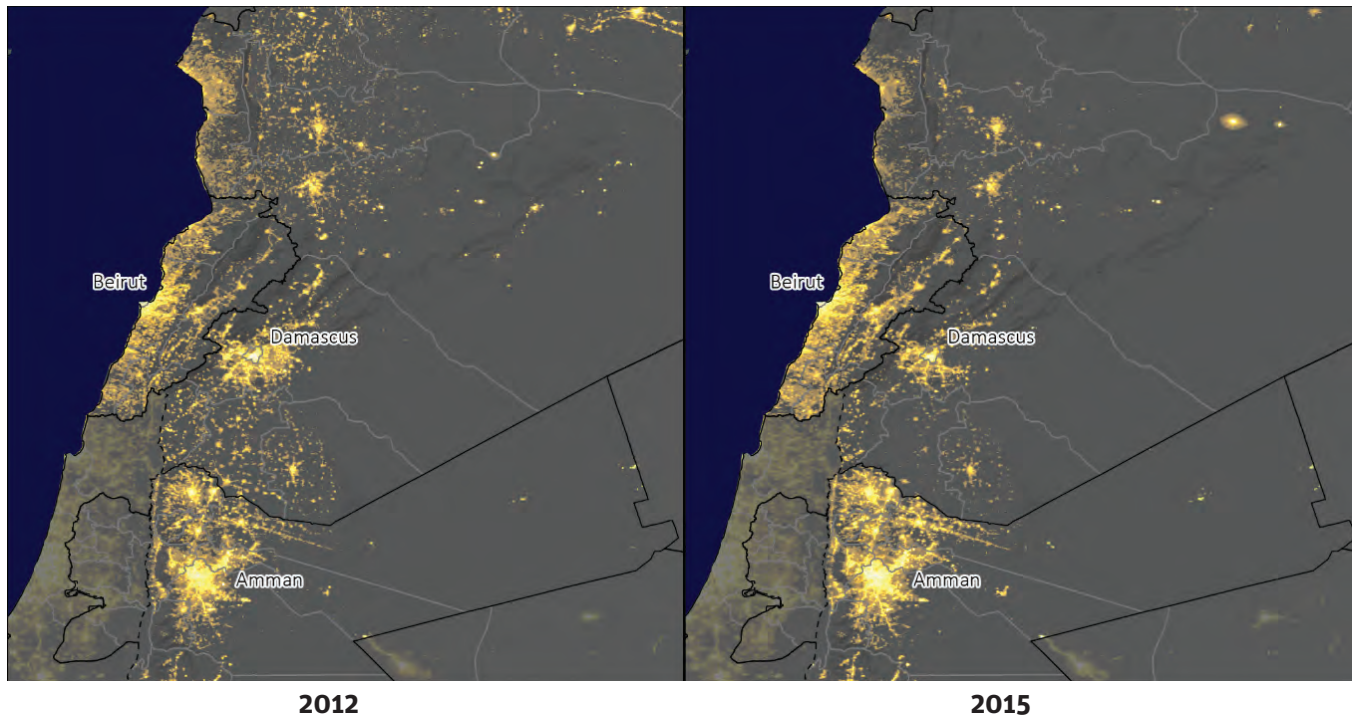
TABLE 1 Non-Camp vs Camp Refugees and Urban Proportion of Refugees and IDPs in the Mashreq Region and Turkey, End of 2016

Country	Total Refugees (and IDPs)	Total Refugees Inside Camps(% of Total)	Total Refugees Outside Camps(% of Total)	Total Refugees in Urban Areas(% of Total)
Egypt	213,530	No camps	213,530 100%	212,253 ¹ (99%)
Iraq	261,888 3,604,285 IDPs	92,826 (35%)	169,062 (65%)	261,888 ² (100%)
Jordan	685,197	137,296 (20%)	547,901 (80%)	547,901 ² (80%)
Lebanon	1,012,969	No non-Palestinian camps	1,012,969 (100%)	1,012,969 (100%)
Turkey	2,869,421	260,053 (9%) <i>Rural camps 233,669</i> <i>Urban camps 26,384</i>	2,609,368 (91%)	2,635,752 ² (92%)

Source: Numbers of refugees and IDPs as per the UNHCR Global Trends 2016 Statistical Annexes, Tables 1, 16 and 19. Numbers exclude asylum seekers.

¹ The one percent difference is explained by a small number of unknown and rural refugees.

² UNHCR classifies refugees by location into three categories – Urban, Rural/Dispersed, and Various/Unknown – and acknowledges related data limitations. In Iraq, all camps are categorized as ‘urban’ and in Jordan all camps are categorized as ‘rural,’ while in Turkey 3 out of 22 camps are categorized as ‘urban’ and the remainder as ‘rural.’

MAP 1 Nighttime Satellite Image of the Mashreq, 2012 and 2015

Source: Map created by World Bank Group staff. Satellite image and data processing by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's National Geophysical Data Center. Defense Meteorological Satellite Program data collected by the US Air Force Weather Agency. Pictures taken at identical time of day on the same day in September.

Forced displacement is a factor in the region's rapidly changing urban footprint. Map 1 provides a snapshot of nighttime satellite images across the Mashreq region, highlighting the difference in the urban footprint between 2012 and 2015. A significant change is clearly visible over a short time span. This is driven by the region's general population growth rates, which in Jordan, for example, averaged 3.2 percent per year between 2000 and 2010.⁶ Since 2011, the population growth rate in Jordan has increased to 7 percent, and it is estimated that the difference of 3.8 percentage points is largely due to the influx of the forcibly displaced. Forced displacement is part and parcel of the overall urbanization trajectory across the MENA region, but with important differences. While the region's ongoing urbanization has been a long-term trend and a gradual process, the influx of the displaced is leading to much more rapid urban population growth that is more akin to population growth patterns resulting from shocks, such as natural disasters.⁷

The forcibly displaced – both IDPs and refugees – are among a city's most vulnerable population. IDPs and refugees in urban areas face many of the same issues

as other migrants in cities. They may live in informal settlements and experience insecure land and property rights, overcrowding, severe economic constraints, crime and violence, food insecurity, and forced evictions. However, there are important differences.⁸ The displaced are often worse off compared to their non-displaced neighbors.⁹ On arrival, they have health and trauma-related vulnerabilities due to their uprooting and journeys, coupled with immediate expenses for food, shelter and other needs. Many have no social networks they can turn to for assistance. Over time, the displaced face barriers to accessing services or employment opportunities, especially if they lack legal documents, and they are at greater risk for arbitrary arrest, detention, and eviction.¹⁰ As their stay becomes protracted, it becomes very difficult for the displaced to overcome their initial disadvantages, and they are at greater risk of poverty. The impact on children and adolescents is particularly grave in terms of interrupted education – an acute and longer-term concern because the Syrian refugee populations are much younger than the total population of host countries. The median age of Syrian refugees is 16 in Lebanon, and 17 in Jordan. About 62 percent of refugees in Jordan are under the

age of 24.¹¹ Women and girls are also disproportionately impacted by the crisis and at higher risk of gender-based violence including rape, domestic violence, interpersonal violence, sexual violence, exploitation, child marriage, and human trafficking.¹²

The impact of urban displacement differs between primary and secondary cities or towns and within cities.

Capital cities and major urban agglomerations tend to have the highest numbers of forcibly displaced people. For example, Amman hosts 32 percent of the refugees in Jordan.¹³ However, secondary cities and towns near the borders of sending countries have higher proportions of refugees relative to their population and are therefore often more affected. The secondary towns in the northeast governorates of Irbid and Mafraq contain high proportions of refugees relative to their populations (32 percent in Mafraq and 23 percent in Irbid). In addition, the forcibly displaced populations are generally not evenly distributed within cities. They tend to concentrate in specific areas, usually low-income neighborhoods and informal settlements in and adjacent to urban centers, where rents are lower and there is greater availability of informal housing arrangements such as rented-out living space in basements and on roofs. Clusters of migrants often

begin with ‘anchor communities’ of migrant or refugee co-nationals (such as other Syrians), which draw new arrivals who benefit from social capital and networks.¹⁴

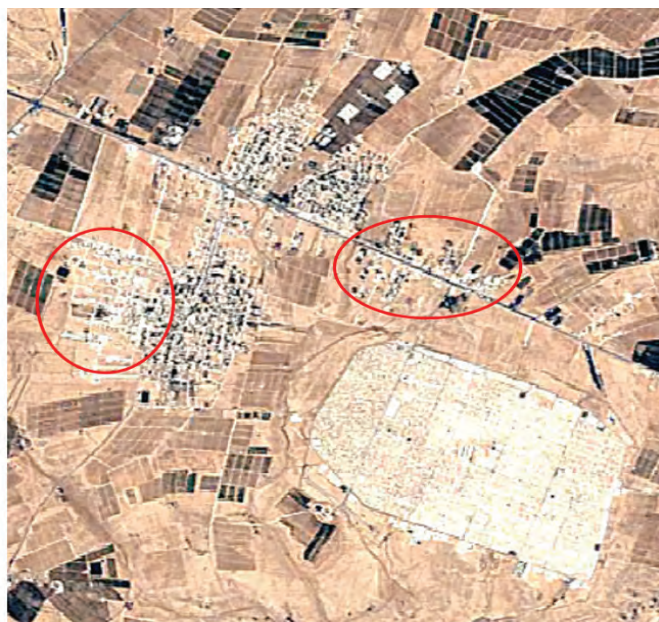
The urban spatial footprint can increase rapidly as a result of the displacement influx.

A large influx of displaced people into cities and towns can double or triple population growth rates in months, weeks or even days, expanding the urban footprint. While primary cities such as Amman will grow somewhat, spatial expansion is most visible in smaller municipalities such as Mafraq, Zaatari and Ramtha in northern Jordan, where populations have in some cases doubled and new settlement development drives rapid expansion of the urban footprint. In Mafraq, for instance, settlement growth is happening in a different direction than envisaged, and lack of planning and proactive infrastructure investment have resulted in informal housing emerging outside the municipal boundaries.¹⁵ The experience in Zaatari Municipality has been similar (see Map 2). Its built-up area has increased by 60 percent since 2013, and the establishment of the Zaatari refugee camp has had a significant spatial impact on the municipality. Spatially, Zaatari Camp is no longer expanding, but rather consolidating within the existing footprint by improving and regularizing housing and service provision. The patterns of

MAP 2 Zaatari Village and Camp 2010 vs 2016



2010



2016

Source: Map created by World Bank Group Staff. Satellite image and data from Google Timelapse.

urban growth today will determine long-term sustainability; once housing, street and public spaces are established, it is not easy to change them.

Rapid urban population growth strains or overwhelms housing markets and urban service provision. Stresses related to urban displacement converge spatially in city neighborhoods and stretch the resilience of urban local governments, institutions, and service providers alike. This is especially the case when population movements are large and happen quickly. Shelter is the top priority for the forcibly displaced arriving in towns and cities. As refugee communities stabilize, refugees seek to move from tents and temporary shelter into more permanent housing arrangements, increasing the demand for housing. The need for refugee housing has fueled a huge demand in Jordan, estimated at about 100,000 units.¹⁶ For additional perspective, if about 20,000 households shared units in 2004, by 2015 this number had increased more than ten times to 240,000.¹⁷ Furthermore, waste accumulation is a key source of discontent among the population. The influx of refugees in Jordan is estimated to have brought 340 tons of additional daily waste.¹⁸ Municipalities that already face equipment shortages are overusing existing assets, resulting in higher maintenance costs while accelerating the depreciation of equipment. In addition, competition for housing and services can cause tensions among refugees and host communities, severely straining a city's social fabric.

Despite huge strains on the receiving communities, there are some more positive impacts on cities. The prevailing perception is that refugees are a burden on the development aspirations of host governments and populations, and that negative socio-economic and environmental impacts and costs outweigh the positive contributions (actual or potential) forcibly displaced people can make.¹⁹ However, Jordan offers a good example of how the forcibly displaced can positively impact the economy. In Jordan, there has been an increase in rental housing stock to meet Syrian demand, benefiting both the displaced and small landlords in host communities. For instance, in Mafraq, host families living in two units often move in together to share one unit and rent the other one to a Syrian family. As demand for housing grows, the market responds with increased housing construction, including informal housing production and adaptive rental arrangements. New construction, upgrading and expanding properties create local jobs and demand for materials and contractor services. Humanitarian programs such as cash-based assistance or rental support stimulate local housing markets, which in turn have an economic multiplier effect, as construction is stimulated as well. However, competition for rental properties can also heighten tensions between refugees and their hosts. These tensions increase when humanitarian agencies disburse rental support grants only to refugees; when coupled with growing demand, these grants can inflate the housing market. Despite some possible positive impacts, there is no question that issues related to added strain on public services and public finances will arise in the short run.²⁰

1. Addressing urban forced displacement requires a development approach

The movement of displaced to towns and cities requires new paradigms for support.

In earlier years, the main challenge has been to supply displaced people with basic services in camps and other primarily rural locations. To do this effectively, humanitarian agencies built and operated parallel systems of service delivery aimed specifically at the displaced. These “people-centered” approaches are neither responsive nor effective in urban areas, where the public and private provision of services is often well-established and there are a variety of shelter options, existing service delivery infrastructure, diverse livelihood opportunities, and functioning markets.

The past paradigm of people-centered support provided largely by humanitarian actors should be complemented with “place-based” paradigms grounded in local and national systems and supported by development organizations. In urban areas, the most efficient response to the needs of the displaced is

to promote their inclusion and integration by scaling up existing services and markets. Introducing place-based approaches that build on existing governance structures and service delivery mechanisms to promote the welfare of all residents, displaced and hosts alike, will help bring long-term development focus and more sustainable solutions.

Urban services are shared between the displaced and host communities and therefore require an integrated approach.

The sensitivities of the host community must also be taken into consideration when providing aid to the displaced. Host communities often face similar challenges to the displaced in terms of housing, employment, and services. In cities, where it is difficult to identify beneficiaries by displacement status, targeting the displaced for aid can raise social tensions between the hosts and the displaced.²¹ An integrated approach that promotes service improvements in cities as a whole can

BOX 1 Complementing People-centered Approaches with Place-based Assistance in Cases of Protracted Displacement

Development and humanitarian organizations are already beginning to address the issue of protracted forced displacement and how it impacts cities. In 2016, the World Bank, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the UK government hosted a forum to discuss new approaches. It resulted in the Wilton Park Principles, a set of guiding principles based on five proposed themes: i) Working through National and Local Systems; ii) Support to Host Communities and Social Cohesion; iii) Economic Participation and Growth; iv) Impactful and Innovative Financing; and v) Improved Data and Evidence.

There has been increasing interest in so-called area or place-based approaches among humanitarian agencies working in urban crises. In 2010, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) – the primary mechanism for inter-agency coordination of humanitarian assistance – called for a paradigm shift for humanitarian assistance in urban areas away from individual beneficiary approaches and towards community-based ones.

In many instances, however, the humanitarian adaptations of spatial and community development approaches common in urban development programs do not sufficiently prioritize using and building the capacity of existing municipal systems – a key requirement for successful long-term, sustainable, area-based approaches. And development agencies are only now starting to move into emergency response situations, especially in areas affected by the conflicts across the MENA region.

Sources: Crawford et al 2015. Parker and Maynard 2015. World Bank Group, DFID, UNHCR 2016.

help minimize such tensions. Integrated approaches also improve sustainability in the context of the increasingly protracted nature of displacement. Duration is commonly measured in years and decades instead of weeks or months, which makes indefinite provision of humanitarian assistance increasingly unsustainable.

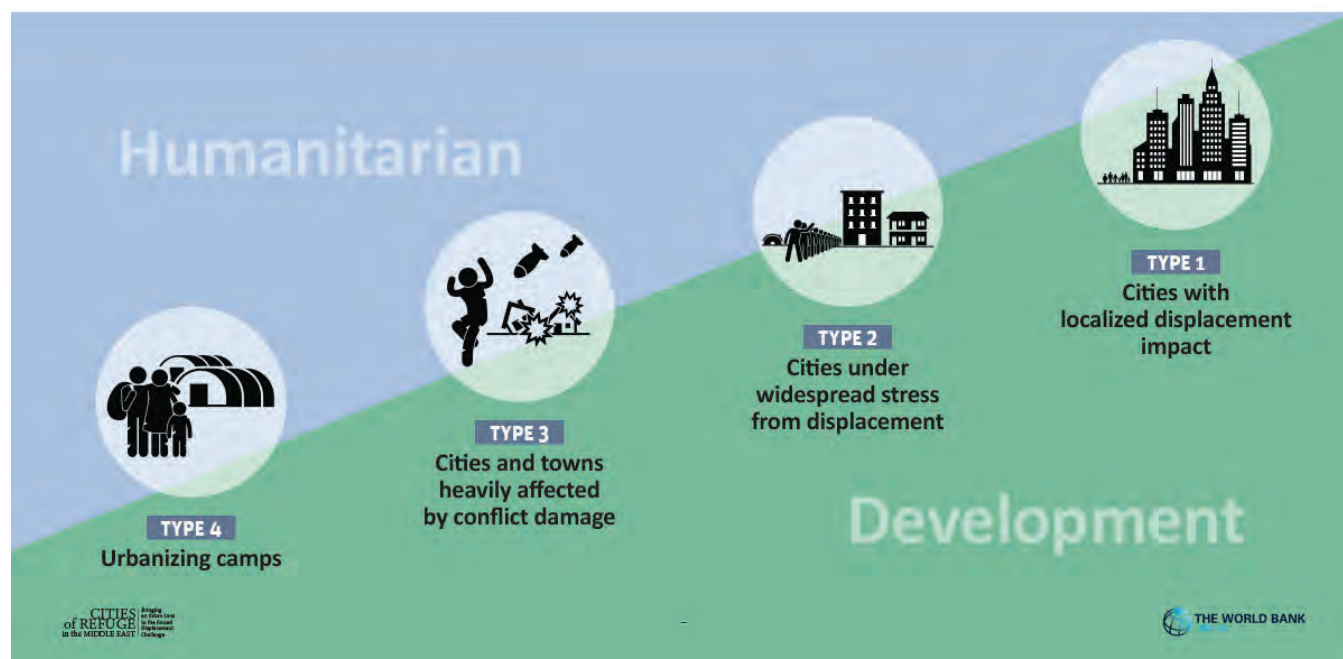
Responses to urban forced displacement often begin with an emergency humanitarian response and then move to sustained engagement that promotes long-term development. Even in urban areas, the immediate response to displacement crises often involves a strong humanitarian focus at the outset. For example, addressing displacement in cities requires an immediate emergency response to shelter that is similar to the camp-based response, such as providing tents to the displaced as temporary shelter. However, the best results are likely to be achieved when humanitarian and development actors work together from the outset. The humanitarian-development nexus has long been seen as sequential, with an initial humanitarian response followed by a development effort when the situation becomes protracted. In fact, rather than replace or succeed each other, both sets of actors can engage in complementary

efforts for greater impact throughout the entire period of forced displacement.

The idea is to create a collaborative approach that combines both people-based humanitarian assistance and place-based development response at the outset.

For example, responses to provide temporary work permits needs to be paired with development approaches focused on spurring economic activities and job creation that boost economic growth. The temporary response to provide water supply through tanker trucks needs to be complemented by improving urban service delivery through strengthening and expanding the network. The support to returnees moving to urban centers needs to be accompanied by development assistance to manage the corresponding urban growth, and so on. This entails collaboration between development and humanitarian actors on early transitioning towards government-led and executed modalities for multi-sectoral urban displacement responses. Predictable longer-term financing modalities that international financial institutions can offer to address issues of protracted displacement could be effectively leveraged in this context to promote such a continuum of responses.

FIGURE 1 Humanitarian and Development Nexus: Across Types of Cities



The humanitarian-to-development spectrum varies across different types of cities. The mix of humanitarian and development approaches in a city caught up in the violence and destruction of war will be significantly different from a well-functioning city that receives a relatively small number of refugees. Similarly, while adopting a development approach and investing in places can make sense in well-connected and economically sound cities impacted by displacement, this approach might not work equally well in lagging regions. That said, broadly speaking, urban displacement settings can be categorized into four distinct types (Types 1-4) based on the following factors:

- ▲ The size of the city or town and patterns of urban in-migration (urban spatial patterns);
- ▲ The magnitude of displacement, or the proportion of displaced to total urban population (urban populations includes the forcibly displaced and host communities);
- ▲ The physical functionality of the city, or the adequacy of the existing infrastructure to meet increased demand (urban services); and
- ▲ The city's financial and administrative capacity to cope with or absorb a mass influx (urban governance).

TYPE 1 Cities with localized displacement impact.



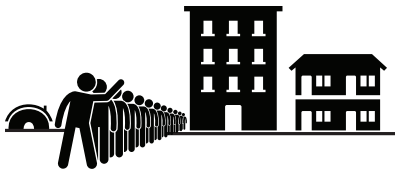
Examples: Primary cities such as Amman and Beirut. These are larger cities with broadly adequate capacity and more intact infrastructure (roads, water, sanitation, and energy). They have a more functional municipal governance and

reasonable budgetary resources to manage and absorb the impact of an influx on urban systems. Type 1 cities are not widely impacted by displacement, mainly because impact is localized in specific areas where the displaced settle, usually low-income communities. The displacement impact is significant in these areas, however, because urban infrastructure and systems, labor markets, and housing are often already under stress. In other less-affected parts of the city or areas where the displaced are more evenly distributed, their impact is more likely to be absorbed without significantly disrupting the overall urban system. While the entire city may be only minimally affected, the impact will be much more significant in areas where large numbers of displaced are concentrated. In the case of MENA, the forcibly displaced in Type 1 cities would be mainly refugees and, to a lesser extent, IDPs. In these settings, a development approach focused on using existing government capacity is likely to be most effective.

FIGURE 2 Typology of Cities



TYPE 2 Cities under widespread stress from displacement. Examples: Tripoli in Lebanon and Mafraq in Jordan.



In Type 2 cities and towns, the displaced are a large proportion of the population, such as in Tripoli (20 percent)

and Mafraq (23 percent). Displacement has significantly impacted the overall absorption capacity, including urban systems and services such as mobility and transportation systems, provision of food and water, sanitation, education, and health services. These cities and towns are often near the borders of the sending countries, such as northeast Jordan and some cities and towns in Lebanon. As with Type 1 cities, sub-districts within Type 2 towns can be more heavily affected. In conflict-affected countries such as Syria and Iraq, Type 2 cities and towns have escaped combat damage, but are heavily affected by internal displacement, such as Erbil in Iraq's Kurdistan region. In this setting, while a development approach should remain the dominant focus and long-term objective, it would need to be complemented with targeted humanitarian interventions.

TYPE 3 Cities and towns heavily affected by conflict damage. Examples: Aleppo, Homs and Raqqa in Syria; and Kirkuk, Ramadi and Mosul in Iraq.



Type 3 cities and towns have suffered significant structural damage from heavy armed conflict, are under siege, or otherwise caught up in conflict. The damage to these towns means their

urban systems are largely non-functional – mobility is physically blocked by debris and transportation, sanitation systems are nonfunctioning, and there is inadequate food, water, or health services, among others. Type 3 cities and towns are often subject both to inflows and outflows of people fleeing the violence and destruction. As people flee, these towns become hollowed out or undermined by the

loss of skills, capital, and other assets. At the same time, they face the additional burden of inflows of destitute, forcibly displaced groups and individuals. However, even Type 3 cities and towns are likely to have areas that are less damaged, where refugees and IDPs as well as the local or host population live. Humanitarian approaches are likely to be the dominant focus here, although interventions could lay the foundations for development approaches.

TYPE 4 Urbanizing camps. Example: Zaatari Camp in Jordan. Refugee or IDP camps that have existed over



a protracted period are either closed or open. In closed camps, which are often in remote or inaccessible locations

at some distance from cities, movement in and out is restricted by government authorities, and there is little change in the camps over time. Harran, Akcakale, and Nizip in Turkey are examples of closed camps. In open camps, residents are able to move in and out in search of work or livelihoods, although movement sometimes requires permits. Over time, these camps take on urban characteristics such as aspects of urban economies or spatial layouts. If open camps are linked by roads and within a reasonable distance from towns, they are likely to have a socio-economic and political impact on the nearby towns. Camps can also become incorporated into the larger urban space due to their proximity to expanding cities. Jordan's Zaatari camp, 13 km outside Mafraq, is increasingly developing into a self-standing urban space, although the government has restricted movement in and out of the camp. While camps are based on using parallel systems, some elements of development approaches could be introduced – such as in governance, similar to what is being done in Jordanian camps. In open camps near towns, the case for using a development approach is strong; some infrastructure investments, even in camps, could be used by host communities after an eventual departure of refugees.

TABLE 2 MENA Urban Displacement Typology

Country	TYPE 1 Cities with localized displacement impact	TYPE 2 Cities under widespread stress from displacement	TYPE 3 Cities heavily affected by conflict/disaster	TYPE 4 Urbanizing camps
Jordan	Amman	Zarqa, Irbid, Mafraq, Russeifa and Ma'an		3 Syrian camps near Zarqa and Mafraq
Lebanon	Beirut	Tripoli, Halba		
Syria	Damascus	Lattakia, Tartous, Hama, Idlib	Aleppo, part of Homs, Raqqqa	
Iraq	Baghdad	Erbil, Sulaymaniyah	Mosul, Kirkuk, Ramadi	Dohuk (3 camps)
Turkey	Istanbul, Ankara	Urfa, Gaziantep, Kilis		22 government-controlled camps

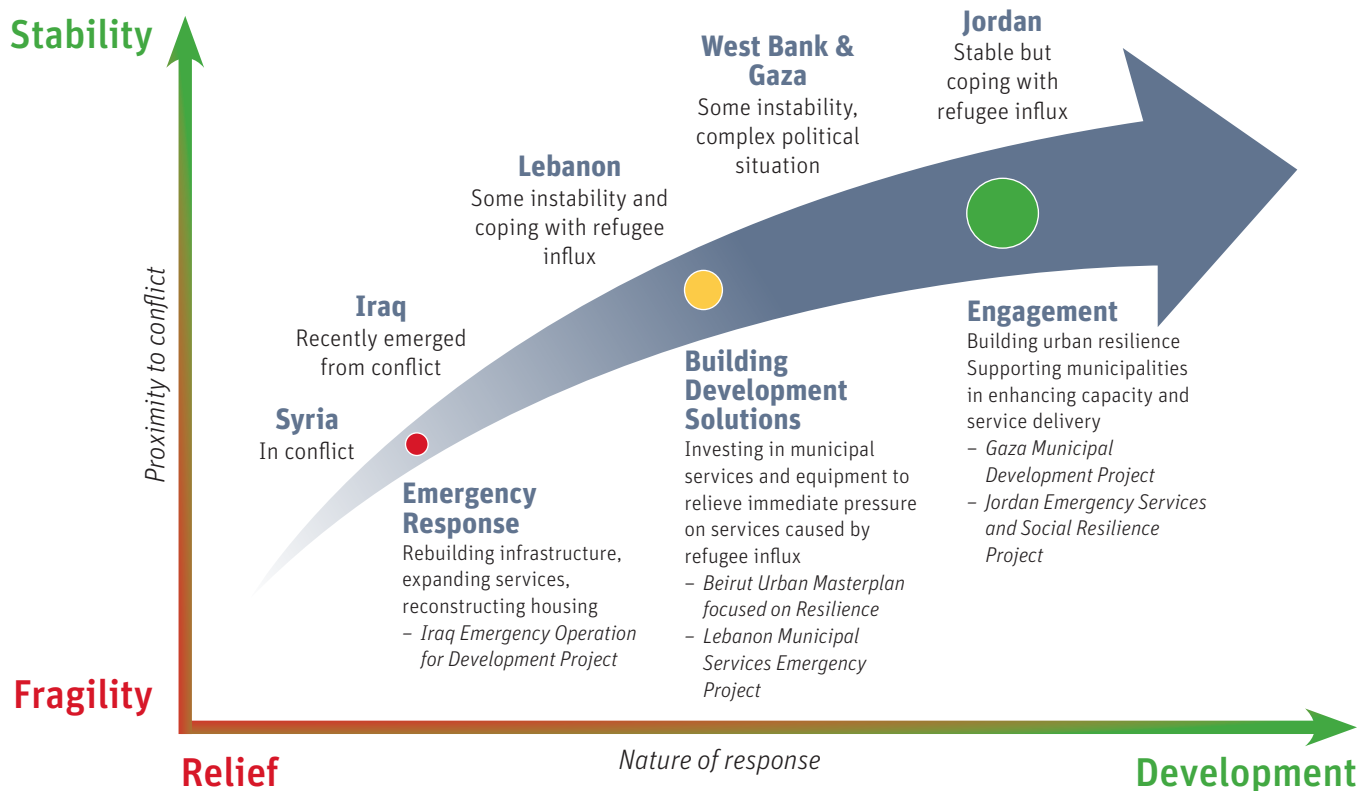
2. Existing experience can inform a development response to urban forced displacement

A shift towards a more development-oriented approach to urban forced displacement is already evident in the World Bank's portfolio (Figure 3) and other development partners' approach in the MENA region. At the outset of the displacement crisis, the World Bank funded projects in Jordan and Lebanon that invested in municipal services and equipment to relieve immediate pressure on services in Type 2 cities caused by the influx of displaced. In Jordan, the second phase of the World Bank's Municipal Services and Social Resilience Project (MSSRP) recognizes the need to address years of under-investment and inadequate local capacity, and the project is moving towards a medium-term development approach by strengthening the processes of service delivery in host communities. The World Bank Iraq Emergency Operation for Development Project (EODP) focuses on rebuilding and restoring disrupted infrastructure, expanding services, and repairing or

reconstructing housing in Type 4 cities. In the West Bank and Gaza, the Bank has had a sustained engagement over many years supporting smaller and larger municipalities (Types 1 and 2) in enhancing capacity and service delivery by providing municipal grants for capital investment that are linked to municipalities' financial performance and planning capacity.

Other development partners are also implementing development-oriented solutions. In 2017, the Center for Mediterranean Integration (CMI) published a collection of local experiences from host municipalities in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey that focuses on development challenges such as enhancing social cohesion, integrating both refugees and hosts to labor markets, finding solutions for the strained sectors of waste management and housing, and enhancing good governance.²² Many of these

FIGURE 3 A Development-oriented Approach to Urban Displacement



BOX 2 World Bank Group Urban Forced Displacement Engagements in MENA (Figure 3)

In Beirut, Lebanon, the World Bank Group supported an Urban Masterplan focused on Resilience (Type 1 city with localized impact). The project included an assessment of Beirut's current capability to mitigate and respond to adverse events, with an aim to identifying the resilience gaps and developing an integrated, multi-sectoral resilience strategy to reduce vulnerabilities and enhance local capacities.

In Lebanon and Jordan, World Bank projects are responding to increased pressure on local services in Type 2 cities with widespread displacement stress due to a high influx of Syrian refugees.

The Jordan Emergency Services and Social Resilience Project (US\$ 63.5 million) is implemented in municipalities in Northern Jordan (bordering Syria), which are receiving a high proportion of refugees. The project provided funding for immediate service gaps. The next phase, the Municipal Services and Social Resilience Project (US\$ 50 million), is taking a development-oriented approach with a focus on medium-term development and resilience by emphasizing greater community engagement and strategic planning.

In Lebanon, the Municipal Services Emergency Project (US\$ 10 million) targets 11 unions of municipalities with high influx of refugees and provides support for urgent community priorities, including solid waste management equipment, road works, water filters for schools, and parks. The project also provided small funds to NGOs for activities to enhance social cohesion.

In the West Bank and Gaza, the Bank has had a sustained engagement over many years supporting smaller and larger municipalities (Types 1 and 2) in enhancing capacity and service delivery. Phases I and II of the Gaza Municipal Development Project (Phase I US\$ 36.69 million and Phase II US\$ 57.7 million) aim to improve municipal management practices for better service delivery and transparency. The first phase provided performance-based grants linked to municipal finance and planning, while the second phase focuses on improving revenue generation and municipal responsiveness to citizens.

In Iraq, the aim is to facilitate post-conflict recovery (Type 4 cities heavily damaged by conflict). The Emergency Operation for Development Project (US\$ 350 million) targets seven municipalities. The first year focuses on rapid repair and reconstruction, including installation of damaged infrastructure and procurement of emergency equipment as well as goods and materials. A more detailed damage and needs assessment will also be conducted in the first year, which will provide the basis for investments in rehabilitation and reconstruction in subsequent years.

Source: World Bank Program Documents.

approaches have been implemented by the municipalities together with development partners including UN-Habitat, UNHCR, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the European Union, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA); NGOs such as the Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development (ACTED) and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC); and, in some cases, the private sector.

Global experiences on managing urbanization, promoting social inclusion, managing risks and enhancing resilience are highly relevant to crafting solutions for displacement in an urban context.

The changing and urbanizing nature of displacement presents an opportunity to examine existing development challenges and solutions, as well as their applicability for displacement in an urban context. In many ways, urban displacement presents the same challenges for city leaders as rapid urbanization and population movements towards

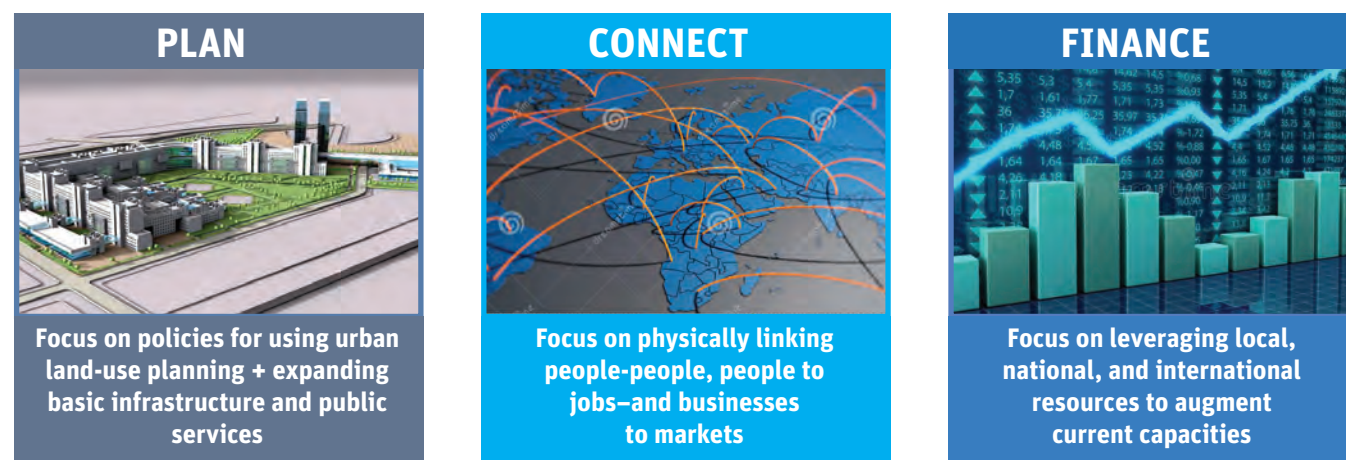
cities. Spatial challenges such as unplanned and haphazard urbanization lead to unsustainable city forms, inadequate urban services, proliferating informal settlements, and vulnerability to disasters due to unsafe locations. Social challenges include exclusion, social tensions between migrants and longtime residents, increased risks of crime and violence, and issues of voice, rights and participation. There are also economic challenges, such as unemployment and informal jobs with uncertain income sources and unsafe working conditions. Like the displaced, poor and rural migrants in urban areas often occupy temporary shelters and are denied access to basic services due to lack of tenure and property rights. Urban authorities generally do not recognize them as legal residents.

The World Bank's flagship report on managing urbanization, *Planning, Connecting and Financing Cities Now*,²³ presents challenges of urbanization in five broad categories: 1) Improving living conditions, especially in slums; 2) Managing the city's physical form; 3) Creating jobs; 4) Expanding the coverage and quality of basic infrastructure services; and 5) Bridging the divided city and fostering inclusion (See Figure 4). These categories can provide a framework of how to think about forced displacement from an urban angle.

Applying relevant development lessons to the displacement context

Overlaying the displacement context with existing urbanization challenges confirms that tested solutions can apply to addressing displacement. Adapting development solutions that have been tested and implemented to overcome these urbanization challenges within the displacement context provides a practical and evidence-based development perspective on durable solutions for cities and people. In addition to the five urbanization challenges in Figure 2, managing risks and post-disaster reconstruction are equally relevant. Similarly, social protection measures are part of traditional response to displacement challenges. Table 3 highlights the development approaches and solutions implemented to address urbanization and other development challenges, keeping in mind their applicability to urban displacement contexts. The table provides an indicative list of development approaches and explains their relevance to urban displacement, including reflections on their applicability for various types (type 1-4) of cities and towns that are presented in Section 2.

FIGURE 4 Urbanization Policy Framework



Examples of development solutions for the seven urbanization and other related challenges. This section provides more details about approaches used in World Bank financed projects listed in Table 3 that could be applied to the displacement context.

1. Managing rapid urbanization and city's physical form

- ▲ **Forward-looking urban and land use planning** could help prepare for shocks arising from sudden population increases and the resulting pressure on urban services. This is particularly important for Type 2 cities that are experiencing a high proportion of population influx, which often calls for a redefinition of priorities to reflect the changing and expanded needs.

In the early to mid-2000s, the World Bank financed the **National Water Supply and Sanitation Project** in Azerbaijan that included a component on urban planning in Baku, where nearly half of the displaced in Azerbaijan settled. Challenges included an overtaxed existing infrastructure, spatial expansion, and poor living conditions for the displaced. The World Bank supported the Government of Azerbaijan in developing a new urban plan that covered the entire area, combined social and economic objectives within a single planning framework that provided the basis for capital investments in infrastructure, many of which have been financed by the World Bank.

- ▲ **The Sites and Services** approach allows city authorities to accommodate future growth by allocating plots for housing that are linked to existing service networks. The government assembles land, lays out basic services, and produces serviced plots that are then sold to low-income households, with an expectation that they will build on the serviced plots incrementally as needed.

Since the **Sites and Services Projects in India** were part of larger urban development projects, it was possible to select locations for sites that seemed peripheral, where land was available and relatively cheap, but were close to proposed investment corridors. The sites were linked to trunk infrastructure in anticipation of growth and investments, and by 2015, most project neighborhoods were extensively built out and densely occupied. These projects provided affordable housing

and connected residents with jobs, with investments in public transport around the sites – allowing coordinated growth, expansion and infrastructure investments while delivering low-income housing. This approach could also be applied to invest in orderly expansion and provide basic services while addressing the housing situation for the displaced and low-income host communities.

2. Improving living conditions

- ▲ **Slum upgrading** offers an opportunity to improve living conditions in communities through a combination of area-based improvements and people-centered assistance. A key lesson learned from decades of investment in slum upgrading projects is this: Solutions that integrate spatial (shelter and basic services), social (voice and participation), and economic dimensions (jobs and access to credit) are far more effective. Adapting urban upgrading solutions to displacement could facilitate improved living conditions through investments in basic services and improved welfare through people-centered interventions.

The Bank-funded **Jamaica Inner Cities Basic Services project** is relevant for Type 1 cities, which experience localized impact due to the displaced settling in already impoverished areas. The project targeted 12 communities vulnerable to crime and violence with very high levels of poverty. It involved both place-based elements, such as improving access to basic urban infrastructure, and people-centered aspects aimed at family support and public safety.

- ▲ **Participatory and community-driven development** is an area-based approach that transfers decision-making and implementation responsibilities to the community, typically used in rural areas. Although implementing CDD projects in cities can be challenging due to the transient nature of populations, projects in urban areas are increasingly using community-driven, small-scale upgrading to improve living conditions, including in the displacement context.

An example is the **Afghanistan Citizen Charter project**, which currently covers four cities with large numbers of returnees and refugees and is expanding to other urban areas. The project aims to improve

TABLE 3 Overlaying displacement with relevant development challenges and solutions

Challenges	Development Approaches Applicable to the Displacement Context	Examples*
1. Managing rapid urbanization and city's physical form	Forward-looking urban and land use planning: Planning for future influx of people in an integrated manner that allows for coordinated investments in infrastructure, services and housing.	Baku urban planning as a component of the Azerbaijan National Water Supply and Sanitation (US\$ 207.58 million) (2007-2016)
	Sites and Services: Planning for accommodating population by allocating plots that are linked to existing service networks and providing people with an opportunity to incrementally build per their shifting needs.	Sites and Services Projects in India** (US\$ 1.03 billion) (1973-97)
2. Improving living conditions	Slum Upgrading: Area-based approach for upgrading basic services that also provides opportunity to target people living in the area for complementary social, economic and other interventions.	Jamaica Inner Cities Basic Services Project (US\$ 32.8 million) (2006-13)
	Community-Driven Development (CDD): Area-based approach that transfers decision making and implementation responsibilities to the community/people living in the area.	Afghanistan Citizen Charter (US\$ 200 million) (2017-20)
3. Creating Jobs and Supporting Livelihoods	Livelihood support: Providing livelihood support such as skill building, training, and access to finance to build people's self-reliance.	Azerbaijan Living Conditions and Livelihood Supports Project (US\$ 78.5 million) (2012-20)
4. Expanding the coverage and quality of basic infrastructure services	Infrastructure and Services projects: Expanding and strengthening infrastructure and services that are strained and/or damaged with an aim to expand coverage and improve quality of services.	Jenin Solid Waste Management Project (US\$ 14 million) (2001-10)
5. Bridging the divided city and fostering inclusion	Citizen engagement: Minimizing risks to social tensions through inclusion and citizen engagement and enhancing opportunities for social exchange to achieve social cohesion.	Medellín Model: Social Urbanism** (20 years of sustained effort)
6. Managing risks and post-disaster reconstruction	Damage and Needs Assessment (DNA): A diagnostic tool that provides an assessment of the needs for recovery and reconstruction following any disaster.	Yemen DNA (2015-16) Syria DNA (2016-17)
	Post-disaster housing reconstruction: Exploring options for people to move from temporary shelters to more permanent and quality housing, involving a range of options for both owners and renters.	Port-au-Prince (Haiti) Neighborhood Housing Reconstruction (US\$ 65 million) (2011-16)
7. Providing social protection to vulnerable population in urban areas	Social Protection: People-based safety net programs that are traditionally used for channeling humanitarian assistance to target populations, as defined by factors such as poverty or displacement status.	Lebanon Electronic Voucher Program** (2013 – 16)

Source: World Bank Program Documents; Draft Evaluation Report on the Bank's Sites and Services Portfolio;²⁴ World Bank 2015²⁵; and Medellín Laboratory: An exhibit of ten ongoing practices.²⁶

Notes:

*While the table and following section elaborate one example that was found more applicable to the displacement context for each solution, there are several examples of each approach.

** These are non-World Bank projects.

*** Between 1973 and 1997, the World Bank financed 11 projects in India that had sites and services components, covering approximately 3,200 hectares and providing approximately 280,000 plots across 27 cities

the delivery of core infrastructure and social services to communities through strengthened participatory community platforms called Community Development Councils (CDCs). It mitigates risks to social cohesion by including the forcibly displaced into decision-making mechanisms such as representation in CDCs, consultative assemblies (“shuras”), city governance structures, and municipal advisory boards.

3. Expanding the coverage and quality of basic infrastructure services

- ▲ **Expansion and strengthening of infrastructure and services** is particularly important for Type 2 cities that face pressure on their services due to huge influx, and for Type 3 cities that may have suffered damage or destruction. Displacement situations often become protracted, and a lack of sustainable support to host communities is likely to lead to prolonged negative outcomes. These communities are usually already underserved, and the investments needed to upgrade delivery can help remedy preexisting shortages. Solid waste management is a key service affected by influx that requires immediate attention.

The Bank-funded **Gaza Solid Waste Management project** assists communities with new approaches for landfills and has involved the private sector for recycling. Despite the difficult context, the project showed significant innovation in moving beyond a specific service task by using more efficient, socially acceptable, and environmentally-friendly mechanisms. The project also promotes citizen engagement and public accountability through awareness campaigns and the use of social media.

4. Creating jobs

- ▲ **Support for livelihoods and jobs** is particularly important for Type 2 and Type 4 cities, where both the host communities and the displaced are competing for the same few opportunities.
- ▲ The evolution of the World Bank’s engagement in Azerbaijan reinforced that immediate recovery response – including building and restoring infrastructure, services and housing – is critical, but it is equally

necessary to build self-reliance of the displaced and the host communities. The **IDP Living Standards and Livelihoods project** provides support to improve living conditions and increase the economic self-reliance of targeted IDPs with skill-building, training, and provision of grants for business startups.

5. Bridging the divided city and fostering inclusion

Engaging citizens in the decision-making process strengthens links between residents and local governments, and it helps local authorities and service providers become more responsive and effective. Lack of trust between citizens and the state and between segments of the population, including migrants and the forcibly displaced, is a serious risk to social cohesion – especially in cities where the forcibly displaced and host communities coexist in close spatial proximity.

Many of the Bank’s projects in MENA in Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon (see Box 2) are already successfully incorporating strong citizen engagement and beneficiary feedback loop design features. Beyond the Bank, governments and local authorities are also making efforts to actively involve citizens and building inclusive cities. For example, **Medellín** city spearheaded a **social urbanism approach** that transformed it from a place characterized by crime, drug trafficking and domestic war into a model city. The city used traditional urban design solutions to strategically locate new libraries, schools, and other public spaces that provide citizens with opportunities for social exchange. It established a transportation system that moves tens of thousands of hillside residents each day, dramatically cutting commuting times to jobs and services in the city center. In addition, each year the mayor of Medellín briefs citizens on the city authority’s activities and involves them in the oversight of these activities. This has helped citizens and municipal authorities build a relationship to work together for the development of the city.

6. Managing risks to resilience and post-disaster reconstruction

- ▲ **Enhancing urban resilience** is increasingly becoming

critical for responding to various shocks and stresses that cities face,²⁷ including natural disasters, economic downturns, conflicts, crime and violence, public health epidemics, and infrastructure failure. In the displacement context, a rapid influx of people can become a stress factor, for all the reasons discussed in this note (pressure on services, economic prosperity, competitiveness, livelihood, and well-being).

There are well-established approaches and tools for enhancing urban resilience and managing disaster risks that could be relevant for displacement context. The **Damage and Needs Assessment (DNA)** is a diagnostic tool that provides a basis for defining the needs for recovery and reconstruction following any disaster. It determines damage, loss, economic impacts and impacts on human development with an aim to provide estimates for post-disaster recovery and reconstruction needs. Recently, the World Bank has adapted the basic DNA tool in conflict-affected countries including Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, using remote-based techniques and social media analytics to analyze damage costs and destruction trends of physical infrastructure. DNAs could also benefit countries receiving refugees, especially cities and towns bordering countries in conflict (such as Northern Jordan or Lebanon's Bekaa Valley). In these settings, the tool could provide information that could be used to formulate an immediate response to address population shocks and stresses in terms of pressure on services, housing, and employment, for example. It could also generate much-needed data and diagnostics for a comprehensive understanding of the situation, and provide an opportunity to use remote assessments and social media analytics to inform development responses.

- ▲ **Post-disaster housing reconstruction and affordable housing** experiences offer key lessons for the displacement context. First, the density of housing in urban areas requires a focus on an entire neighborhood. Second, without a strategy outlining a process for families to return to durable and safe homes (more permanent solutions), emergency or temporary shelter could transform into a permanent slum.²⁸ Third, self-construction of houses should be combined with necessary financial and technical assistance. Fourth,

in urban areas there are large number of renters, and supporting the rental markets is equally important.²⁹ Fifth, urban areas, especially low-income ones, are characterized by inadequate infrastructure, and upgrading basic services will be critical. Sixth, there should be assistance and facilitation for people living in camps to be integrated in urban neighborhoods.³⁰

The World Bank has developed a systematic approach to assessing shelter and other needs, as well as providing operational support in a post-disaster context that is very relevant for displacement context. The **Port-au-Prince Neighborhood Housing Reconstruction project** provided funding for repairing and rebuilding homes with investments in neighborhood-level infrastructure. Since 70 percent of the people in camps were renters before the earthquake, the project piloted the first rental voucher program in Haiti to support IDPs in moving out of camps into rental units in neighborhoods. The program's success prompted the government to significantly scale it up through its own funding to support people to move out of camps and into neighborhoods.

7. Providing social protection to the vulnerable population in urban areas

- ▲ **Social protection approaches** are often an important part of the immediate response to displacement. For vulnerable populations, approaches such as cash for work and public works are designed to provide emergency income and livelihood support, while cash transfers and vouchers can help ensure they receive access to services. These approaches have the potential to channel humanitarian and development assistance through a single instrument.

The **Electronic Food Vouchers for Syrian refugees in Lebanon** program – implemented initially by the World Food Programme (WFP) in partnership with the private sector – reached about 75 percent of the entire refugee population in Lebanon and generated nearly 1,300 jobs. Its success encouraged the government to extend and scale-up the program to Lebanese nationals in addition to the displaced. Such cash transfer programs are appealing for urban displacement settings, since the displaced are dispersed within the host population

and often move between places, making portable assistance a key requirement.

Lessons for approaches to urban forced displacement

The experiences outlined in this section offer some overarching key lessons from ongoing operations to address displacement and other existing development approaches that could be adapted to the displacement context. These lessons are:

- 1. Moving from emergency approaches to more development-oriented, medium-to-long term approaches is pivotal.** Emergency approaches to displacement are necessary but insufficient. The protracted nature of displacement, and the fact that host areas and communities often face similar challenges in terms of living conditions and opportunities, require medium-term solutions that target both the displaced and the host communities.
- 2. Urban displacement and its associated trends and impacts need to be integrated into urban planning and policies.** Forced displacement is an increasingly important factor driving urban growth trends. Taking into account the scale, scope and impacts of displacement in the existing urban planning and policies will help local governments respond to the challenge effectively.
- 3. Managing urban growth is beneficial in the long run.** Large influxes of displaced people often lead to sub-optimal patterns of urban growth that will determine long-term urban resilience and sustainability of cities, since housing, street, and public spaces are not easily changed once established.
- 4. Urban service provision is extremely critical for improved living conditions and building trust with local authorities.** Local governments should invest in urban services, considering most cities in MENA are already suffering from inadequate service provision. Displacement exacerbates the situation by adding extra pressure on services, often becoming a source of tension with discontent and competition around services.
- 5. Promoting social cohesion is crucial for sustaining positive development outcomes.** Rising social tensions between host communities and the displaced, and among the displaced, pose risks and threats to development gains. Therefore, inclusive approaches that promote social cohesion should be integral part of displacement responses.
- 6. Urban resilience provides a comprehensive response framework.** Although there is little exploration of how urban systems respond to a rapid influx of new and often long-term residents displaced by conflict,³¹ it is manifest and critical to build resilient communities and institutions that are equipped to respond to shocks and stresses arising from displacement.
- 7. A systematic evaluation of interventions to address displacement is needed.** The continually evolving nature of the displacement challenge warrants a more systematic evaluation of lessons learned from the World Bank's operational work as well as that of other development partners.

4. Policy implications for local, national, and international development actors

Most urban local governments in MENA suffer from inadequate service provision, lack of capacity, and inadequate resources – challenges that are compounded when they experience a rapid influx of the displaced.

The impacts of urban displacement amplify pre-existing stresses and stretches the limited capacity of local governments, especially when population movements are large and happen quickly. Local governments are already suffering from inadequate service provision, housing shortages and high unemployment rates, and a sudden population surge from an influx of displaced exacerbates the situation. Displaced people may further contribute to the expansion and overcrowding of informal settlements and increase demands for urban services, conflicts over land, and competition for employment and housing. Moreover, many of these municipalities are severely cash-strapped with limited revenue base and unpredictable financing. In Jordan, for example, municipalities spent only 16 percent of their budgets on services and capital expenditures from 2010–12, with over half spent on salaries and wages. This trend is echoed across the region, where municipalities face budgetary constraints due to a lack of fiscal decentralization, a limited revenue base, and weak data collection and enforcement mechanisms.³² These challenges are compounded by threats to social cohesion and political tensions arising from the presence of displaced groups with different ethnic or sectarian affiliations.

With the refugee crisis now in a protracted state in the MENA region, a concerted effort from communities, local authorities, national government and international community is needed. At the height of the humanitarian emergency, getting services to people took priority. As the crisis has become protracted, development responses to forced displacement need to increasingly prioritize building sustainable governance systems for addressing the displacement challenges, both at the individual and household level as well as for urban service delivery more broadly. Local authorities, national governments and the international community should work together to address the challenge. Local governments can devise approaches

that respond to urgent community needs, enhance social cohesion, and promote resilience. The national government, in turn, can expand coverage of infrastructure and craft policies to promote growth and jobs. The international community can also play a role in designing development responses that complement traditional humanitarian approaches. Table 4 elaborates how the different actors can work together in a coordinated and integrated manner to address urban displacement.

The scale and nature of the displacement challenge requires governments and the international community to mobilize resources. Conflict has a substantial fiscal impacts, including on neighboring countries, adding to the financial burden on national and local governments. A recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) study found that countries bordering a high-intensity conflict zone in the MENA region recorded an average annual GDP decline of roughly 1.9 percentage points.³³ In Jordan, it is estimated that the municipal sector alone would need US\$ 203 million from 2016–18 to cope with the crisis.³⁴ The fiscal impact at the local level is even more acute, since local governments do not receive revenue to fulfill additional demands. The national government usually collects personal income taxes, while local governments collect taxes on property or corporate income. Both these taxes are less relevant for the displaced, who tend to rent accommodations or live in informal settlements. Moreover, many of the displaced work in the informal sector, so their income or businesses are less likely to yield taxes. While the international community is committed to provide assistance to host countries, the response is outpaced by the growing scale of need. For example, by November 2015, roughly US\$ 1.07 billion had been committed to the Jordan Response Plan (a three-year program of high priority interventions to enable Jordan to respond to Syrian crisis), which corresponds to only 36 percent of the funding requirement.³⁵

The World Bank, in partnership with other development and humanitarian actors, is well placed to take operational development responses to the next level. In recent years, the Bank has increased its focus on fragility, conflict and violence in the poorest countries. In

2016, the World Bank Group International Development Association (IDA) for the poorest countries received a record commitment of US\$ 75 billion – doubling resources to address fragility, conflict and violence to more than US\$ 14 billion, including US\$ 2 billion in earmarked financing for refugees and their host communities. The Bank has also sought to address the unprecedented burden of forced displacement on middle-income countries (MICs) such as Jordan and Lebanon – which are not eligible for IDA grants – through the launch of the Global Concessional Financing Facility (GCFF), which bridges the gap between humanitarian and development assistance financing.³⁶ The

GCFF is structured so that each dollar in grants contributed to the facility can leverage US\$ 4–5 in concessional financing for development projects that benefit refugees and the communities that host them. Opportunities exist to deploy GCFF financing in the support of a multi-sector development operation focused on cities, something that should be explored going forward. However, these approaches can only be implemented in partnership with other development and humanitarian actors, something already fully reflected in the design of the GCFF, which incorporates multiple partners.

TABLE 4 Actors and their roles in interventions for urban forced displacement

Actors	Interventions
Local Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▲ Scale up and expand basic services and infrastructure based on a development and not emergency approach ▲ Leverage delivery modalities of service delivery to increase confidence and build trust between communities and local authorities as a basis for social cohesion ▲ Leverage support from national and international actors to address capacity and financing gaps ▲ Enhance capacity and resilience to better prepare for and respond to displacement challenges ▲ Promote local economic development and private sector participation for shared growth
Central Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▲ Adhere to policy standards related to refugees and internally displaced, as applicable and with reference to international commitments as entered into by the respective countries ▲ Implement coherent national policies in areas outside the direct control of local and municipal governments, specifically in the areas of labor markets, land/ housing markets, education and health ▲ Implement coherent national refugee and IDP policies, including alternatives to camps as the main response focus ▲ Support building social cohesion between displaced and host communities as sine qua non for medium-term sustainability ▲ Support policies to enable transition from humanitarian first-response approaches to medium-development approaches ▲ Mobilize financing so that local governments can meet increased financing needs
International Partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▲ Implement moves toward integrated humanitarian and development approaches to forced displacement in cities ▲ Promote the integration of civil society in the development response architecture ▲ Work increasingly through national and local government systems to deliver aid and services ▲ Mobilize concessional finance to scale up response capabilities in affected countries and cities ▲ Improve the evidence base for better development policy decision making and programming

Finally, any policy dialogue and resulting assistance needs to be sensitive to the political dynamics around forced displacement. Governments from both origin and host countries are at the center of the crisis. Their decisions affect the scale and destination of population movements—as well as the impacts and solutions in the short, medium, and long terms. Across MENA, governments are taking a fundamentally different approach in this respect, most clearly illustrated by the different displacement approach and responses taken by, for example, Lebanon and Jordan. External development partners can support the adoption and implementation of sound responses, but the primary

role rests with national and local authorities. Mitigating the impact of forced displacement on host communities is not a strictly technical agenda – whether in camp or urban settings. Political considerations often drive the host authorities' response, and need to be taken into account when supporting governmental efforts. A development approach should expand the focus from reducing the vulnerabilities of the forcibly displaced to also mitigating impacts on host communities. This holistic approach of supporting the community as a whole can also reshape the political dialogue around forced displacement.

ENDNOTES

1. UNHCR 2016. Detailed data and estimates on urban displacement are lacking. Displaced people move within and between urban settings, between camps and urban areas, and between countries. Many leave the region altogether, as with the migration to Europe. This constant mobility makes data on refugees and IDPs unreliable and highly inconsistent across countries. The most reliable data on registered refugees comes from UNHCR's registration database, called ProGres. However, the reliability of the UNHCR data depends on how regularly it is updated, and UNHCR data captures only registered refugees, which are subset of the total refugees in a country. Given the dynamic and highly mobile nature of refugee populations, there are significant gaps, especially regarding the location of refugees; there is little data on whether they are in camps, urban areas, and in which urban areas.
2. In official camps, there is better and more detailed information about refugee numbers and whereabouts. This is the case with Syrian refugees, who are mostly registered and monitored either by the government (as in Turkey and Jordan) or by UNHCR, the WFP, and NGO agencies. In this context, and despite a lack of robust information, analysis of data from UNHCR and the governments of Jordan and Turkey provides the best initial basis to estimate how many forcibly displaced people reside in urban areas. See notes under Table 1.
3. The displaced in urban areas often prefer access to services and livelihood opportunities over short-term assistance. In Kenya, for example, refugees have been vacating refugee camps in increasing numbers or avoiding them altogether – despite losing out on food aid – in the belief that livelihood opportunities and security will be better in Nairobi. ODI 2013.
4. World Bank 2015.
5. UNHCR 2017. <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>
6. Crawford, et al 2015.
7. Jordan Population and Housing Census 2004 and 2015. Government of Jordan 2015a.
8. Note that urban statistics are very sparse across the region. In Lebanon, no census has been conducted since 1932. In Iraq, no full census has been conducted since 1987, and the 1997 census did not include the three Kurdish governorates. Only Jordan has had a recent census in 2015. As result, it is impossible to analysis the impact on urban growth patterns based on detailed census data.
9. UN-Habitat 2015.
10. Verme, et al 2016.
11. Lebanon Support 2015.
12. For information on Lebanon, see: <http://worldpopulationpyramid.info/Lebanon/2016/>. For Jordan, see Jordan Population and Housing Census 2015, Table 3.4. UNHCR 2014.
13. The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) in response to the Syria Crisis brings together more than 240 partners in a coordinated, region-wide response to assist Syrian refugees and the communities hosting them. Read about the 3RP key messages here: <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/3RP-Interagency-Key-Messages.pdf>.
14. Government of Jordan 2015a.
15. Martin, et al 2001.
16. Government of Jordan 2015a.
17. Government of Jordan 2015b.
18. Calculated from Jordan census 2004 and 2015 (Government of Jordan. 2015a).
19. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation 2013.
20. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, et al 2012.
21. For more, see Fakihi and Marrouch 2015.
22. Ibid. ODI 2013.
23. CMI 2017.
24. World Bank 2013b.
25. Between the early 1970s and 1998, the World Bank invested US\$ 14.6 billion in 100 sites and service projects across 53 countries. Between 1973 and 1997, the World Bank financed 11 projects in India that had sites and services components, covering approximately 3,200 hectares and providing approximately 280,000 plots across 27 cities. A recent evaluation report assessed sites developed in Chennai (13 sites; 57,000 plots) and Mumbai (15 sites; 88,000 plots and 17,000 apartments) between 1977 and 1997. The draft report can be found at: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/371181489181586833/Sitesandservices-DRAFT-for-discussion-15Dec2016.pdf>.
26. World Bank 2015b.
27. Alcaldía de Medellín 2011.
28. Meerow, et al 2016.
29. Habitat for Humanity 2012.
30. Sherwood, et al 2014.
31. For more about the IDA-financed Housing and Community Infrastructure Reconstruction grant in Haiti post-earthquake, see: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2013/11/25/rehabilitating-neighborhoods-and-providing-safe-housing-for-displaced-people-from-the-haiti-earthquake>.
32. ODI 2017.
33. IMF 2016.
34. Government of Jordan 2015b.
35. Government of Jordan JORISS.
36. <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/222001475547774765/FlyerGlobalCFF.pdf>

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