From Response to Resilience

Working with Cities and City Plans to Address Urban Displacement: Lessons from Amman and Kampala

International Rescue Committee | FEBRUARY 2018

In association with

PIONEERED BY THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

RESILIENT CITIES

Greater Amman Municipality

KCCA

KAMPALA CAPITAL CITY AUTHORITY
For a better city
Downtown Kampala. Before the arrival of British colonialists and the establishment of the East African Protectorate, Kampala was the capital of the kingdom of Buganda. Although the city suffered major damage during Idi Amin’s war with Tanzania, Kampala has been reconstructed and, according to City Mayors, it is now the thirteenth fastest-growing city on the planet, having expanded well beyond the seven hills that bounded the old city.

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Roman ruins at the Citadel in Amman, with the modern city behind. Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad period structures can be seen together at the city centre site. In the ancient period, Amman was controlled by the Assyrian Empire, and later by the Persian Empire. The city was named ‘Philadelphia’ by Ptolemy II, as northern Jordan was part of the kingdom of Egypt under the Hellenistic dynasty.

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Executive Summary

The unprecedented rate of global urbanisation is heightening the role of cities as safe havens for the world’s marginalised. This is particularly true for displaced populations, who today number more than 65 million people, the majority of whom are making their way to cities. Once they arrive, they tend to live on the fringes of urban society, marginalised in a way that only exacerbates their vulnerabilities and increases their risks.

The UN’s Sustainable Development Goal #11 calls to “make cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable,” and to “substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion” by 2020. Given the tremendous challenges we face in urbanisation and urban displacement, we cannot claim that a city is sustainable if it cannot prepare for, withstand, and recover from displacement crises and rapid growth.

This paper argues for an improved humanitarian response to urban displacement crises by working directly with municipal authorities and through a resilience lens. It draws on the International Rescue Committee (IRC)’s collaboration with 100 Resilient Cities – Pioneered by The Rockefeller Foundation (100RC) and engagement with two municipal authorities, the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA). The IRC first worked with Amman, a member of the 100RC network, to support their city resilience planning. While Kampala is not in the 100RC network, the IRC replicated its approach in Amman with KCCA to support their own plans and strategies and bring an urban resilience lens to displacement within Kampala.

By discussing these relationships and the process behind them, this paper highlights how humanitarian-municipal partnerships can achieve the following benefits:

1. Strengthening coordination, sustainability, and impact of multi-stakeholder responses to urban displacement;
2. Linking humanitarian programming to long-term development goals of the city;
3. Improve the understanding of municipal authorities in relation to the needs and preferences of urban displaced; and
4. Ensure the inclusion of displaced and marginalised residents in municipally-provided public services.

Urban displacement cuts across city and humanitarian sectors. It is the collective responsibility of the international community and the localities we serve to strengthen city resilience in the face of urban displacement and we cannot do so without relying on both humanitarian and municipal actors. Whereas humanitarians have the expertise to respond to crises, municipal actors have the mandate to respond from them.

Urban resilience asks for both; that we learn to not only respond to displacement crises and aid the communities they affect in equal measure, but, in doing so, to improve those communities to be better prepared for future crises and have a higher overall quality of life; especially for displaced and marginalised city residents.
Introduction

The number of people forced from their homes is escalating more rapidly than ever before in recent history. Globally, more than 65 million people are displaced. Among them are 22.5 million refugees, two-thirds of whom live in urban areas.²

This new reality of urban displacement is nowhere more prevalent than in the current crises stemming primarily from Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and North Africa into Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and several European countries. Among Syrian refugees, for example, more than eighty percent reside outside of designated refugee camps and are spread across host cities as varied as Amman, Athens, and Paris.³ These cities in turn face myriad challenges, such as ensuring the safety of these new residents while managing the added strain on public service delivery.

At the same time, refugee inflows into cities are taking place within the broader context of global urbanisation. Recent migration into European and African cities is not only marked by displaced populations, but by economic and irregular migrants as well. While responses from international and national actors clearly differentiate between migrants and refugees, the city is the first to bear the burden of newcomers and must respond to the increased demand on city services and the tensions associated with a growing population. For example, while Uganda’s capital city of Kampala is now home to approximately 100,000 refugees – many of whom have resided in the city for over a decade – it is also facing an unprecedented rate of urbanisation and is expected to become a megacity of 21 million people by 2040.⁴ While the most recent 2017 influx of displaced persons from South Sudan was concentrated in refugee settlements in more rural areas Northern Uganda, it is reasonable to expect – and prepare for – an increase of displaced persons living in Uganda’s towns and cities.

Urban displacement has significant implications for cities, including heightened challenges for providing basic services to the city’s existing inhabitants as well as new residents. It also impacts the changing humanitarian landscape, where traditional humanitarian responses have been most often designed for camp or rural and remote contexts. This mix of urban displacement and urban migration is forcing international humanitarian and development actors, as well as national and local municipal authorities hosting displaced populations, to re-examine traditional humanitarian responses in favour of a more localised, interconnected approach. This approach relies on a broad set of actors to support the unique needs of refugees, accommodate newcomers, and foster self-reliance among both refugee populations and host communities while using response efforts to build long-term city resilience.

While international non-government organisations (INGOs) responding to urban displacement can help, they are often unable to meet the widespread needs in situations where the number of displaced and marginalised residents in a municipal area has significantly increased. As a sector initially developed to support people in rural and camp settings, it is imperative that we continually re-evaluate and re-design our approaches to the evolving challenges of our urban future.
Urban Displacement and City Planning

Cities often have long-term development plans – sometimes called ‘master plans’ or ‘strategies’ – even before a crisis occurs. These plans outline the long-term development goals of the city and how the city hopes to grow. Urban crises such as mass displacement should not mean the abandonment of these goals. Humanitarian intervention during and post-crisis should be viewed as an opportunity to contribute towards a city’s development trajectory, not detract from it.

Over the last two years, primarily through our partnership with 100 Resilient Cities – Pioneered by The Rockefeller Foundation (100RC), the International Rescue Committee (IRC) has engaged in several partnerships with municipal authorities to tie our humanitarian programmes to city plans and development goals. We have brought the challenges, needs and opportunities associated with displaced populations together with the strategies and planning approaches of municipal authorities. By helping city leaders better understand what displaced populations need and what they can offer, we have meaningfully influenced policy and programme direction in cities such as Amman, Jordan and Kampala, Uganda.

Through these partnerships, we have helped cities support some of the poorest and most vulnerable residents more effectively and in a manner that ensures their inclusion in the urban economy, society, and culture.

This paper draws on the IRC’s collaboration with two municipal authorities, the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA). The IRC first worked with Amman, a member of the 100RC network, to support their city resilience planning. While Kampala is not in the 100RC network, the IRC replicated its approach in Amman with KCCA to support their own plans and strategies and bring an urban resilience lens to displacement within Kampala.

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1. Strengthening coordination, sustainability, and impact of multi-stakeholder responses to urban displacement;
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4. Ensure the inclusion of displaced and marginalised residents in municipally-provided public services.
The Need to Focus on Displaced and Marginalised Residents of a City

Upon arriving in a city, the urban displaced often join marginalised neighbourhoods. Many of the challenges urban displaced face in accessing services, economic opportunities, and social capital affect all marginalised populations and are often exacerbated by urbanisation. With this understanding, humanitarians and municipal authorities alike must plan with displaced and marginalised residents in mind, focusing on their shared challenges while recognising the unique challenges of refugees, such as migration status, discrimination, exploitation, and insecure living conditions. For example, displaced populations can be adversely affected by government policies and mechanisms that hinder their ability to access public services.
The IRC’s Principles of Urban Humanitarian Response

The IRC has been working in cities and towns impacted by humanitarian crises for decades and our experience shows that urban settings require new approaches to delivering assistance. We are currently exploring innovative ways to support the displaced and host communities in urban contexts to survive, recover and rebuild their lives.

We are dedicated to not only meeting the immediate needs of affected populations, but to also fostering recovery, resilience, and self-reliance in the aftermath of a crisis, so that affected populations are safer and healthier, with less disruption to their education, economic, and ability to influence decisions that affect them, and the city is able to better cope with future shocks and stresses. We are committed to improving our response to urban crises and sharing our experience and evidence with the wider humanitarian community.

While there is no effective one-size-fits-all approach, the following principles can guide an effective response to humanitarian crises in urban contexts.

**Working Within a Complex Context**

As no two cities are alike, no two cities in crisis are alike. Effective urban humanitarian response requires a full understanding of the scale and complexities of the local context, its interconnected systems and stakeholders, and the way in which diverse urban communities live within it and alongside one another. To be most effective, humanitarian actors working in an urban context should take into account local power dynamics, social networks, existing structures, systems and geography in order to identify suitable entry points and opportunities to leverage the distinct characteristics of the city or town.

**Supporting Recovery and Resilience**

Building long-term recovery and resilience must be considered from the outset of a crisis, as the transition from emergency response to recovery can be rapid and normally involves a period in which the two phases overlap. Cities operate on longstanding and interconnected networks of service provision channels (such as education, health, and legal services), markets, governance structures and social systems. Humanitarians should strive to work within these systems, to avoid their duplication or disruption, and to work in ways that leaves them stronger and better able to ensure long-term recovery and resilience.

**Urban Partnerships, Collaboration and Inclusion**

Cities are shaped by a multitude of international, national and local actors from multiple sectors, including government, civil society organisations (CSOs), the academic community, the private sector and development practitioners. These diverse actors, who possess valuable knowledge of and influence over how the city functions, form networks that humanitarians can leverage to inform effective and inclusive responses. Their understanding of how the city operates and provides services, as well as how legal and social frameworks affect the lives of urban residents and communities is a critical, but often overlooked, resource.

Humanitarians should support local authorities and service providers to coordinate responses while leveraging the emergence of national and locally led response networks to ensure that activities and advocacy are well coordinated. Such an approach will help build local and sustainable capacity for preparedness and response while striving for the inclusion and empowerment of marginalised groups, such as women and minority groups.
Methodology

For both Amman and Kampala, the IRC used the following process to achieve a better understanding of the local context, identify, engage and coordinate with other stakeholders, and establish a partnership with the municipal authorities of each city:

1. Conducted an urban context analysis, using the IRC’s *Urban Context Analysis Toolkit: Guidance Note for Humanitarian Practitioners*⁴ to analyse the underlying political, social, economic, service delivery, and spatial dynamics that impact displaced populations and host communities living in Amman and Kampala.

   The *Urban Context Analysis Toolkit* is a ten-step process that includes a desk review, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions with both refugee and host communities. While the timeframe for conducting an urban context analysis varies, on average the IRC spent one week conducting in-country data collection and stakeholder/community engagement and two weeks conducting secondary data collection and analysis.

2. Engaged in dialogue with the municipal authority to inform their understanding of displaced residents within their city, identifying mutual priorities between the humanitarian sector and the municipality while focusing on areas for meaningful collaboration.

   In Amman, GAM solicited IRC’s services as part of the IRC’s presence as a 100RC platform partner. In Kampala, the IRC pro-actively reached out to KCCA to begin this dialogue.

3. Hosted an urban practitioner workshop, titled *From Response to Resilience*, in each city.

   Each workshop was attended by international, national, and local stakeholders active within the city, including civil society organisations (CSOs), humanitarian NGOs, local and national government representation, development agencies, UN agencies, and private sector actors.

4. Provided recommendations to both Amman and Kampala municipal authorities based on findings from the current response to displacement within each city.

   Based on these recommendations, the IRC and other NGOs entered into discussions on potential programmatic relationships with the municipal authorities.

   While timeframe varied for each city given the heavy reliance on stakeholder schedules and necessary in-person meetings, this process took on average approximately three months for each city, with the greatest amount of time spent conducting the urban context analyses and organising the urban practitioner workshops.
The following table details the methodology for Amman:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder interviews</th>
<th>Assessments/workshops</th>
<th>From Response to Resilience workshop attendees</th>
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<td>Al-Hashmi Al-Shamali community survey</td>
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<td>Local and regional NGOs</td>
<td>Local stakeholder workshop with religious and community leaders, local police, and civil society organisations</td>
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<td>⊳ Injaz (Regional NGO)</td>
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<td>⊳ Ruwwad (Regional NGO)</td>
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<td>Refugee focus group discussion 23 women, 2 men</td>
<td>▶ Kampala Capital City Authority</td>
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<td>Makerere University</td>
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<td>▶ International Institute for Environment and Development</td>
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<td>Refugee-run organisations</td>
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<td>The World Bank</td>
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<td>United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)</td>
<td>Host community focus group discussion 12 women</td>
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<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)</td>
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Figure 1: The City Resilience Framework (CRF)

4 dimensions
12 drivers

Urban Displacement and City Resilience

Defining City Resilience

100RC defines city resilience as “the capacity of individuals, communities, institutions, businesses, and systems within a city to survive, adapt, and grow no matter what kinds of chronic stresses and acute shocks they experience.” 100RC and the IRC use the City Resilience Framework (CRF) – developed by Arup and the Rockefeller Foundation – to assess a city’s resilience and identify its strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities.

Cities are complex environments comprising multiple overlapping systems. The CRF acts as a lens to understand this complexity and the drivers that contribute to city resilience. The framework is made up of four main dimensions – leadership & strategy, health & wellbeing, economy & society, infrastructure & environment, and the 12 drivers that together illustrate what makes a resilient city.

The IRC and 100RC: Helping Cities Address Migration and Build City Resilience for the Benefit of All Residents

At the core of our work addressing urban displacement is building effective partnerships with municipal authorities in order to ensure that short-term humanitarian programming leads to long-term self-reliance and city resilience.

As a platform partner of 100RC, the IRC has worked with nine 100RC member cities currently dealing with urban displacement and helped to shape their thinking on how to design resilience-building initiatives to benefit the most marginalised and vulnerable residents of each city. The IRC has contributed to the Resilience Strategies of three of those cities – Athens, Amman, and Paris – and has entered into programmatic relationships with Athens and Amman in order to implement initiatives included in their respective Resilience Strategies.

Kampala is not a 100RC member city. That said, the IRC utilised the City Resilience Framework, drew on its experience supporting 100RC member cities, and received insight from 100RC colleagues in helping Kampala plan for urban displacement.
Urban Displacement and City Resilience (continued)

How City Resilience Relates to Urban Displacement

A recent report by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), entitled *Mass displacement and the challenge for urban resilience*, finds that city resilience must take into account the needs and experiences of diverse vulnerable groups, including long-term residents, new arrivals, and temporary residents. The report, which uses the CRF as a basis for discussion, argues that urban displacement “represents a significant stress factor, in particular for towns and cities with already weak formal institutions that face difficulties in delivering adequate basic services to growing populations… Today, more proactive responses are needed to integrate those driven out of their homes by disasters and conflict and into urban areas.”7 Findings from the ODI report, as well as the IRC’s own experience, show that urban displacement has a significant impact on the three following dimensions of the CRF:

- **Health and wellbeing**, such as the impact on supporting livelihoods and employment and maintaining continuous and inclusive public health services;

- **Economy and society**, such as the impact on social cohesion and economic development; and

- **Infrastructure and environment**, such as the impact on service continuity and the strain on infrastructure (i.e. solid waste management).8

The impact of urban displacement on city systems is often long-term. 100RC’s *Global Migration: Resilient Cities at the Forefront* report states that, “as many migrants cannot, or do not intend to, return to their place of origin, municipal authorities must start seeing their role as long-term, or even permanent, hosts. If this is acknowledged and plans are made to anticipate and respond to the potential pressures of mass migration on urban systems, the arrival and presence of newcomers will be less likely to be perceived as a threat. Mass migration can instead be seen as an opportunity to improve a city’s infrastructure, services, and governance systems, as well as the response capacity of its local communities.”9

Why Collaboration is Key

As municipal authorities begin to take on a leadership role in hosting displaced residents within their cities over the long-term, humanitarians must engage with them in order to support their plans to anticipate and respond to the pressures of mass migration on urban systems while seeking to build city resilience. In Amman and Kampala, the IRC strives to make urban humanitarian response a collaborative effort and, in both cases, the municipal authorities have proven to be one of our most effective partners.

There are two primary reasons for this. First, while national governments must grapple with the legal and political differences between migration statuses such as citizen, asylum seeker or refugee, the Amman and Kampala municipal authorities are primarily concerned with the label of resident; that is, whether or not the person resides within the city’s municipal boundary. As such, the municipal authorities proved to be willing partners looking for expertise or support to manage an influx of new city residents while maintaining – or even strengthening – continuity and reach of public service delivery channels. While there are counter examples to this, including restrictive national policies or harmful and/or inappropriate municipal partners in some contexts, in the majority of cities where the IRC works which are overseen by legitimate municipal governments (such as Mogadishu or Athens), the lack of meaningful municipal–humanitarian partnerships (beyond simply registering with a local authority or receiving programme approval) is not due to restraint on the part of the municipal authority, but of the NGO.

Second, municipal authorities are primarily concerned with developmental endeavours. Cities differ from rural areas in many ways, but one of the clearest distinctions is that cities are dynamic and constantly changing. This is particularly true of large and/or growing cities, including Amman and Kampala. The main remit of effective municipal authorities is to steer this change in a positive direction. This is never easy, and so engaged partners who can help them achieve their vision for all residents are often welcome, if not necessary. In this way, humanitarians can help municipal authorities improve their understanding of the needs and preferences of displaced residents in relation to the overall population and use this understanding to ensure the inclusion of displaced and marginalised people in municipally-provided public services and city plans.

OPPOSITE: A low-income neighbourhood in Amman known for its Palestinian community and the many services delivered by UNRWA. Samer Saliba/IRC
From the humanitarian perspective, working with municipal authorities can benefit humanitarian responses to urban displacement in several ways. These include:

- **An improved understanding of the local context** and the needs and preferences of local communities and the stakeholders that represent them;

- **A stronger link between humanitarian and developmental endeavours**, particularly when humanitarian action is implemented as a contributing factor to the implementation of city plans; and,

- **Greater scale and reach of humanitarian programmes when delivered through or in support of municipally provided service delivery channels**. These channels are typically designed to serve larger populations but sometimes lack the ability to reach marginalised communities and neighbourhoods.

There are certainly challenges to humanitarian-municipal partnerships on both sides, such as high turnover in both local humanitarian offices and municipal agencies, changes in political climate, a lack of understanding of the international humanitarian architecture or city governance, and the significant investment of time and resources required to effectively build local capacity and long-term relationships. That said, the potential benefits of humanitarian-municipal partnerships warrant, at a minimum, an initial evaluation of their feasibility and appropriateness, ultimately leading to a mutual decision to partner based on shared priorities and a willingness to invest in meaningful collaboration.

The following sections describe the IRC’s efforts to collaborate with two municipal authorities, the Greater Amman Municipality and the Kampala Capital City Authority, and the benefits these collaborations brought to the overall response to displacement in Amman and Kampala.
Population \( (p) \) values are encoded on the map by colour intensity/saturation \( (s) \) based on their logarithm, i.e. \( s \propto \log(p) \).
Amman: Inclusionary Planning

Overview

Jordan is one of the top ten refugee hosting countries in the world and has the second highest refugee-to-host resident population. The Government of Jordan estimates that there are more than 220,000 Iraqi refugees, some 1.7 million Palestinian refugees, and over 1.2 million Syrian refugees residing in Jordan, in addition to smaller communities of other nationalities including Sudanese and Somalis. The ongoing conflict in Syria has resulted in a widespread humanitarian crisis both inside the country and throughout the region. Approximately 80 percent of the over 650,000 Syrian refugees officially registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) are residing in urban areas, while the remaining live in Za’atari, Azraq and other refugee camps. Many more Syrians arriving into Jordan did not register as they were either able to establish themselves or were hosted by relatives or friends.

Given that some Syrian refugees have been displaced for over seven years, many families have exhausted their savings. Currently, over 85 percent of Syrian households live under the Jordanian poverty line while over half of Syrian refugees are children. The capital city of Amman has been a primary destination for Syrian refugees, with an estimated 28 percent residing within the Amman metropolitan area. While the international response has long been concentrated on the northern cities of Mafraq, Irbid, and Ramtha, along with the nearby refugee camps and settlements, recent data and assessments show the growing need to expand programming in the central Jordanian cities of Amman and nearby Zarqa. While no exact figures exist, UNHCR estimates that over 185,000 Syrian persons of concern (meaning people who have been forced to flee) reside within the Amman Governorate, though general consensus is that the actual number is significantly higher.

Since opening Za’atari camp in 2012, the Jordanian government has generally screened and transferred refugees coming from Syria directly to Za’atari and later on to Azraq camp. In spite of that, many refugees have chosen to leave the camps through ‘bailouts’ or through unofficial means in order to settle in urban areas. Many cite feelings of indignity around life in the camps as a reason for leaving, while believing they have more opportunity to earn a living and reach some measure of normalcy in cities such as Amman. This has resulted in the heavy concentration of refugees in the capital city often in the low-income neighbourhoods of East Amman where they may live alongside neighbours of similar economic or cultural backgrounds, but also share their challenges, including limited access to public and municipal services, higher relative costs of living, and rent inflation.

While the goals of the overall multi-stakeholder response to the refugee crisis within Jordan are articulated by the Jordan Response Plan and the Jordan Compact – with varying levels of success – the formal implementation of this national plan has not yet translated to the city level within Amman, particularly when it comes to coordinated service delivery and the establishment of a common database on the demographics and characteristics of refugees within the city, such as their mobility patterns, population number, or place of residence. The 2018–2020 version of the Jordan Response Plan highlights some successes at the municipal level but is in draft form at the time of this writing.

Figure 3: Countries with the Most Refugees per 1,000 Inhabitants, Mid 2016

Area is proportional to the number of refugees per 1,000 inhabitants; colour saturation is proportional to the logarithm of this same value.
Greater Amman Municipality and the Amman Resilience Strategy

The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) is the governing body of the Amman metropolitan area and is constituted of dozens of separate departments who report to the Mayor. In December 2014, Amman was selected as a member city of the 100 Resilient Cities network and received technical support and resources from 100RC to develop and implement a City Resilience Strategy, including hiring and engaging a Chief Resilience Officer to work in the city government on resilience initiatives.

In May 2017, GAM released the Amman Resilience Strategy, which outlines how the Municipality aims to address its various shocks and stresses, including refugee influxes and population growth. The IRC supported GAM in including initiatives that benefit both displaced and marginalised residents, such as entrepreneurship programs that support refugee-owned businesses. Of the 54 initiatives included in the Amman Resilience Strategy, GAM adapted 16 of them to be more inclusive of displaced and marginalised residents based on recommendations provided by the IRC.

The same week GAM released the Amman Resilience Strategy, the Municipality joined 100RC and IRC in co-hosting an Urban Practitioner’s Workshop to introduce international and local humanitarian actors to the Strategy’s initiatives and invite them to collaborate in its implementation.

The release of the Amman Resilience Strategy provides a unique opportunity to connect refugee response efforts within the city to long-term resilience goals and actions. Following the workshop, GAM, in partnership with 100RC and the IRC, is dedicated to establishing a coordinated response to the refugee crisis in a way that contributes to the realisation of the City Resilience Strategy and the successful implementation of the Jordan Response Plan within the context of Amman. GAM and the IRC have since launched a joint livelihoods programme to promote both Jordanian and refugee-owned businesses within Amman’s marginalised neighbourhoods, while GAM reports other INGOs have also approached them about direct collaboration following the workshop.

The Strategy’s vision statement for Amman is as follows:
A welcoming, young, and diverse city, balancing the old and the new, the progressive and the traditional. Amman promotes a culture of sharing and inclusivity, pioneering regional change.

*The Strategy is available in English and Arabic at:* www.resilientamman.jo.
Equal Access to Services for Amman’s Refugees

There are a number of existing services in Amman, such as social support services provided by government organisations (such as the Greater Amman Municipality or the Ministry of Social Development) and international and local civil society organisations (such as the Danish Refugee Council or Injaz) that support the needs of displaced and marginalised residents through activities such as educational safe spaces for children or skills building activities. The issue is that there are not enough mechanisms on either the supply or demand side to ensure these services are inclusive of those Amman residents that would most benefit from them.

On the demand side, displaced and marginalised populations are either unaware of existing local services or unwilling to access them due to fear or misunderstanding. Of particular concern are refugees who may feel that existing local services within Amman are not meant for them. Yet the majority of local government (such as the Basman District Local Committee) or local civil society stakeholders (such as Jeel 962) the IRC spoke with provide services that do not exclude refugees or even distinguish between nationalities or legal migration status in any manner. This represents an opportunity to include marginalised and displaced populations in these local service offerings without needing to consider migration status. This is not always possible with national or internationally provided services.

On the supply side, existing local service providers who are not mandated to serve displaced populations do not typically have strategies to reach or otherwise raise awareness among displaced residents. Further, while there is negative rhetoric on how the influx of refugees has strained existing service provision channels throughout Jordan – and this is certainly true for certain public services such as health, education, solid waste management, traffic congestion and increasing pressure on public transportation services – municipal organisations the IRC spoke with, particularly those that provide social services through municipal community centres, did not mention a drastic surge in demand. (This is true of GAM certain local district committees, and the Amman Chamber of Commerce, among others.)

This potentially speaks to:

1. the absorption capacity of Amman as compared to the northern governorates and cities; and/or
2. the lack of awareness or unwillingness of the refugee population previously mentioned.

Whatever the case, there remains a need to promote inclusive and equal access to public and civil services within Amman.

The Jordan Response Plan and the Jordan Compact

The Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis (JRP) is a common vision “to ensure that critical humanitarian measures and medium-term interventions are better integrated, sequenced, and complemented.” The JRP is a collaborative effort between the Government of Jordan and the international community.

In regard to local governance and municipalities, the 2017–2019 version of the JRP focuses on five areas:

1. Municipal service delivery
2. Integrated solid waste management
3. Mainstreaming social cohesion and civic engagement
4. The capacity of municipal administrations
5. Urban management, including urban planning and decision making

The Jordan Compact is a concessional financing agreement between the World Bank (and other international donors) and the Government of Jordan to fund the JRP and bring international investment into Jordan.

The Jordan Compact is similar to those made with the governments of Lebanon and Turkey during the 2016 Supporting Syria and the Region conference in London.

Findings from the Current Response in Amman

Finding 1:
Displaced and marginalised populations are generally not accessing existing services and initiatives due to their being unaware of or unwilling to access them.

While there are agencies mandated to serve these populations, such as Save the Children or UNRWA, services meant for the general population of Amman could be more inclusive of displaced and marginalised residents through initiatives that both extend the reach of supply channels towards and increase demand within these groups.

Further, there is a need for existing service providers and the Greater Amman Municipality to engage in greater community engagement and awareness raising activities within displaced and marginalised communities and the youth among them. Both international, national, and local stakeholders place a strong emphasis on youth engagement and livelihoods, which is due in part to the high youth unemployment rate throughout Jordan.

Finding 2:
There is a need for greater coordination of the response to the refugee crisis within Amman.

While there are generally fewer humanitarian agencies in Amman than in the northern governorates, agencies that operate within Amman typically offer services that do not connect to other initiatives and are in some cases duplicative, such as INGOs operating community centres near to those operated by the municipal authority. While the Jordan Response Plan serves to guide the response to the crisis at a national level, the plan has yet to meaningfully engage municipal authorities and funding streams have not been coordinated through the Greater Amman Municipality.

These gaps aside, there is an opportunity for GAM to provide local leadership on the response to the refugee crisis within Amman. This is due to its broader mandate, higher capacity, and significant resource pool as compared with other Jordanian municipal authorities.

Finding 3:
There are serious social tensions between diverse community groups within Amman, leading to negative coping mechanisms among refugees in particular, but there are also real opportunities to overcome them.

While stakeholders spoke of discrimination, bullying, exploitation, and negative perceptions of Syrians, they also spoke of their connection with Jordanians through common language, religion, and culture, their unique skillsets, and a general empathy towards refugees.

Research shows that addressing and advocating for the needs of urban refugees in an isolated manner can ‘backfire’ and put them at greater risk for discrimination, exploitation, violence, or legal action against them, among other threats. Within the Amman context, stakeholders identified humanitarian aid as a divider between host and refugee communities that increased social tensions between them and further pushed refugees to the margins of society, to the point where they do not feel safe in their communities, keep their kids from school, or refrain from engaging in income generating activities. That said, while refugees do share many needs and risks with marginalised host populations, they also have specific legal, human rights, and safety needs that should not be neglected. In this way, Amman is similar to other contexts of urban displacement.
From Response to Resilience in Amman

Humanitarian agencies do not typically engage with municipal authorities during urban displacement crises, resulting in a missed opportunity to avoid duplicative services, integrate humanitarian programming into city plans, or include displaced populations in urban or community development initiatives. The Amman Resilience Strategy provides a unique opportunity for GAM to network and collaborate with aid actors (whose presence in Jordan has increased since the start of the Syrian conflict) and private sector actors in a way that addresses the immediate needs of displaced and marginalised residents by including them in resilience-building activities and strengthening the long-term impact of humanitarian programming.

Examples of activities included in the Amman Resilience Strategy are:

- **Ensure that ten percent of business and social sector start-ups promoted through Amman’s entrepreneurship programmes are refugee-owned and registered businesses, particularly those run by women, and promote the presence of refugee-owned businesses in non-refugee resident areas to visibly promote integration and social cohesion.**

- **Work with civil society organisations to identify and support women-run businesses in marginalised neighbourhoods and invite them to utilise municipal day care centres, while providing safe transportation services for them and their children.**

- **Solicit the partnership of civil society organisations in meeting the needs of vulnerable youth groups and supporting the safe and equal participation of women and girls in municipal youth centres.**

Many of the stakeholders the IRC spoke with during key informant interviews, whether they were government, humanitarian, or civil society representatives, either expressed a willingness to partner with public/private organisations or discussed how they are already doing so with success. By engaging in public private partnerships that include both aid actors (INGOs and CSOs), urban development initiatives, and private businesses, GAM can leverage their presence to add value to existing actions.

GAM, as compared to other Jordanian municipal authorities, is uniquely positioned to play a leadership role in the response to the refugee crisis within Jordan. This is due to the municipality’s relative autonomy in decision-making, greater responsibility in city management and public service delivery, greater amount of resources and capacity, its reporting line directly to the Prime Minister as opposed to the Ministry of Interior, and its pursuit of the Amman Resilience Strategy. By promoting an inclusionary approach to resilience and tying the humanitarian response to the refugee crisis within Amman to the Amman Resilience Strategy, GAM and its humanitarian partners can play a convening role in the overall response and promote good practice at the local level, not only for the benefit of the response within other Jordanian cities but also for current and future urban displacement crises globally.

While GAM is an appropriate and willing partner, it is contingent upon all stakeholders active within Amman to make explicit connections with other areas of action within the Amman Resilience Strategy besides humanitarian issues, preventing refugees from being seen just as a social services sector issue rather than as legitimate residents contributing to all areas of Amman’s greater development.
Figure 4: Amman Stakeholder Commitments

The May 2017 *From Response to Resilience* workshop in Amman was used as an opportunity to introduce humanitarian responders to the Amman Resilience Strategy and explore ways in which humanitarians may partner with the Greater Amman Municipality in contributing to the Strategy’s implementation.

During the workshop, humanitarian participants committed to linking their programmes with four of the five pillars of the Amman Resilience Strategy. (Participants did not commit to Pillar 2: An environmentally proactive city as it is not directly related to displacement.)

The below is a snapshot of those non-binding commitments.*

* Commitments were made by individual participants and do not necessarily represent the organisations as a whole.
Visualising Kampala’s Growth

Figure 5: Kampala’s Physical Growth

1998
2003
2015

Urbanised area including urban and suburban built-up areas and urbanised open space

Unbuilt/rural/agricultural

Central business district (Nakasero)

10 kilometers
10 miles

Major road

Figure 6: Total Population, Tokyo v Kampala, 1950–2100

Tokyo is currently the world's largest urban agglomeration. Although it will experience an atypically extreme decrease in population in the coming century, this graph shows a conservative estimate of its decline; some recent estimates see it falling to 7.13 million people by 2100 – around the same as the current population of Dallas–Fort Worth or Greater Taipei.

Kampala is set to see its population rise from less than 100,000 in 1950 to nearly 32 million in 2100, which will make it the 22nd biggest urban agglomeration in the world, with around the same population as present-day Jakarta or Shanghai – or contemporary New York and Paris combined.
Kampala: Managing Growth

Overview

Uganda is home to over 1.3 million refugees and asylum seekers, primarily from South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, and Somalia, making it one of the top five refugee-hosting countries in the world. The large presence of refugees has had a significant impact on the capacity of national and local Ugandan government agencies to provide services to populations in need. This is true not only to settlement areas, but also regional towns and cities such as in Kampala. To address this challenge, Uganda has been at the forefront of UN-supported initiatives such as the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and the associated Government of Uganda-led Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPE) framework, both meant to not only achieve durable solutions for refugees (including local integration) but to support displaced and host populations in achieving self-reliance and long-term resilience.

At the same time, Uganda is rapidly urbanising with refugees and host community members alike residing in low income informal settlements. Kampala’s population is currently 1.75 million and the city is growing annually by nearly four percent. This growth occurs predominantly within Kampala’s low income and/or informal areas and among the city’s significant poor population. Approximately 32 percent of Kampala’s residents reside in low-income informal settlements.

The refugee population of Kampala has nearly doubled since 2012, with a significant increase in the past year. According to the Ugandan Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), as of September 2017 Kampala hosts 98,300 refugees from 25 countries. This represents nearly double the 2012 estimated number of 50,646. The rate of refugee arrivals to Kampala exceeds the rate of urbanisation of the city (although at a smaller scale), meaning that an increasing percentage of the city population will be refugees in the short-term. The majority of refugees in Kampala are Congolese and Somalis, with smaller populations of Eritrean, Burundian, South Sudanese, Rwandese, and Ethiopians. Recently, the number of South Sudanese has increased and now stands at 10,319. While official numbers are useful, the actual numbers of refugees in Kampala may be significantly higher, with a large unregistered population likely residing in the city.

As refugee numbers in Kampala have been relatively low in comparison to the city’s overall population, city planning by the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) has not focused on refugee issues to date. However, there is increasing recognition by KCCA officials of the challenge and opportunity of the refugee presence in the city and a desire to incorporate refugees into future city plans. The update of the KCCA 2014-2019 plan, which currently emphasises a city that is “hospitable and welcoming to… newcomers and residents” and reinforces KCCA’s efforts to promote social cohesion and wellbeing of all people residing in the city, provides a unique opportunity for KCCA to include refugees in its future plans as it strives to make Kampala safe, inclusive, and more resilient for the benefit of all of its residents.

Figure 7: Registered Refugees and Asylum Seekers, Kampala, 2016–2017
Why Kampala Grows

Kampala is the capital and largest city of Uganda. The city accounts for 65 percent of the country’s gross domestic product (GDP) and occupies a central position in the economic spectrum of the country. Consequently, the city has been the destination for migrants, most of them economic migrants and many who arrive from neighbouring countries and contribute to the city’s rapid urbanisation.

While economic opportunity is a primary pull factor for migrants and refugees coming to Kampala, employment remains a critical challenge for the entire nation, and especially so for Kampala. According to Uganda’s Second National Development Plan (NDPII), “the proportion of the labour force in paid employment fell from 21.5 percent in 2009/10 to 18.5 percent in 2012/13 while the youth unemployment rate remained high, estimated at 78 percent.”37 Most of the unemployment is realised among the urban poor population, a large percentage of whom are newcomers to the city – both refugees and first-generation migrants.

In addition to being the commercial capital, Kampala is also Uganda’s administrative capital, with almost all government ministries, departments and agencies headquartered within the city. Almost all national government bodies require a physical presence in Kampala, including the Office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the two agencies that primarily deal with migrant populations. Apart from formal refugee settlements in Northern Uganda, Kampala is a preferred place of residence for refugees and migrants for purposes of proximity to many required administrative services.

Characterising Kampala’s Refugee Population

Refugees moving to Kampala are typically younger and more economically active than the refugee population residing in regional towns in the northern parts of the country. Many refugee youths are in KCCA schools or able to participate in economic activities in the city.

Refugees are often settling in already poor communities and informal settlements prone to floods and health risks. Refugees join the urban poor in these areas, such as Somalis in Kisenyi and the Congolese in Katwe, Makindye and Masajja. Kampala’s low income informal settlements are characterised by poor physical infrastructure, lack of public services, and lack of physical and social connections to more developed areas of the city, along with a persistent risk of flooding, poor waste management and sanitation that can lead to a high prevalence of disease.38 Given that the majority of Kampala’s future growth is likely to increase the number of these informal areas and expand existing ones, KCCA faces the dual challenges of urban displacement and urban growth.
The following is a sample of the commitments made by Kampala’s stakeholders during the September 2017 Kampala From Response to Resilience workshop, in their own words.

“Help KCCA in identifying available opportunities for both refugees and host communities. Work closely with other stakeholders to mobilise and advocate for other marginalised groups. Create awareness about opportunities planned by top authorities (such as KCCA, UNHCR, and OPM) down to beneficiaries through awareness campaigns and open dialogue.”

LOCAL NGO PARTICIPANT

“We are committed to being a part of the consultation and planning together with relevant NGOs, KCCA, and UNHCR, as well as being a part of an urban livelihoods network focused on coordination of livelihoods activities.”

INGO PARTICIPANT

“Use community-based approaches to align programmes with existing needs and preferences of both refugee and host residents within the initial stages of project design.”

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PARTICIPANT

“Use area-based approaches in detailed neighbourhood planning (Makerere, Mulago, and Kololo) in partnership with attendees. Specific actions include piloting the inclusive neighbourhood, mapping Kampala’s growth, and integrating the CRRF into KCCA’s strategic plan.”

KCCA PARTICIPANTS
Findings from the Current Response in Kampala

**Finding 1:**
**Refugees in the city experience unique challenges navigating the policy and public service delivery environment.**

The Ugandan Refugee Act of 2006 permits refugees the same access to services as Ugandans. There are even some facilities, such as primary schools, primarily serving refugees.39

That said, from a policy perspective, there are several challenges refugees in Kampala face. For example, certain government services require a national identification card. Many urban refugees do not have or simply lose their national identification cards during transit to the urban centres. While Ugandan law validates refugee identity cards as a means to access services, some local officials are not aware of this and do not honour refugee identification.

In general, refugees can access local government services, be they free or charged services. Yet many refugees lack the financial resources to access charged services and some service providers charge refugees for services that should be free.

**Finding 2:**
**The social needs of refugees, while varied by nationality, prohibit most from achieving self-reliance.**

The experiences of refugee and displaced groups in Kampala vary significantly, requiring different interventions or adaptations that are tailored to the population groups and their location in the city. For example, Somali refugees often have strong support networks upon arrival, allowing them access to community trainings and/or start-up capital. Somalis also have a geographic focal point in the city, meaning there is a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by Somalis. Congolese refugees, on the other hand, are more dispersed throughout the city and generally arrive in Kampala on short notice. They tend to access shelter and receive support through churches rather than clan/tribal networks. Congolese often have less access to capital than other refugee groups, which forces them to be reliant on selling items on the street, often informally and at risk of police arrest or forfeiture of their goods.40

**Finding 3:**
**Language, literacy, social networks and capital are among the most important factors for refugees building sustainable livelihoods in Kampala.**

Numerous studies conducted in Kampala, along with key informant interviews, highlight these factors as being of critical importance to building a business or finding and maintaining employment. Social networks can serve multiple functions in starting a business, such as facilitating access to capital and loans.

Refugees can access lower-end formal jobs, but wages may be exploitative and higher paid jobs are typically unattainable. Gaining formal employment is a major challenge for all residents of Kampala. Refugees in particular face wage discrimination in formal employment and are often paid less than their Ugandan counterparts. Some refugees may be professionally trained and/or credentialled in their country of origin but their skills or credentials are not recognised in Uganda. One NGO key informant noted that they had attempted to start up a job placement programme, but the companies were not willing to pay refugees the same rates as the Ugandans they employed. The wages offered by the company were so low that many refugees were unwilling to accept the job placement.

**Finding 4:**
**Humanitarian service provision in Kampala is localised and uncoordinated.**

Kampala benefits from a large presence of community-based, refugee-run organisations. There is an opportunity to work with and leverage these organisations for better impact due to their close ties and understanding of the refugee communities and their needs in the city. That said, there is a lack of coordination of NGO-provided services both in technical and geographic coordination. No lead agency currently organises a Kampala-specific or area-level forum to coordinate the activities and support provided to communities in Kampala.

OPPOSITE: Attendee commitments to build city resilience within Kampala during the From Response to Resilience workshop in September 2017. Samer Saliba/IRC
From Response to Resilience in Kampala

As the number of refugees residing in Kampala increases, the IRC, KCCA, and their partners have begun strategising for the inclusion of displaced populations in city plans and projects as soon as possible and within the framework of urban growth. While recognising the legal rights and unique needs of refugee populations, these strategies will view refugees as residents of the city, entitled to the same access to public services, livelihoods opportunities, and safe living conditions that KCCA hopes to provide for all inhabitants of Kampala. In order to achieve this level of inclusion, Kampala’s humanitarian stakeholders should further examine how the needs of refugees are similar to those of marginalised residents and how they differ. Such understanding can help identify and design projects that are more inclusive of refugees, address issues of legal and social discrimination against them, as well as work to improve the collective quality of life for Kampala’s residents living on the socioeconomic and physical margins of the city.

Further, all Kampala stakeholders should view refugee communities not as a burden to the city’s economy and service structures, but as an opportunity to identify and realise pathways to sustainable and inclusive growth drawing from their successes. With a holistic approach to protecting and including refugee populations, KCCA and its partners will leverage the incoming residents to realise their potential and benefit from their agency as urban contributors, better invest in larger city development initiatives, and build towards social cohesion and urban resilience for the benefit of all Kampala residents.

In the short-term (one to three years), this means pursuing actions that promote better access to information, prioritise the safety of vulnerable populations while mitigating the risks they face, and beginning to orient new residents to coordinated services offered by the city’s various public, private, and civil society service providers.

Over the long term (four to six years), Kampala stakeholders should work towards the integration of displaced and marginalised residents, helping them not only survive but thrive as self-reliant, contributing members of Kampala’s society, culture, and economy. This is especially pertinent given that the average length of time refugees are displaced is over ten years and refugees typically arrive in cities (rather than moving to or remaining in camps or settlements) to achieve self-reliance and better integrate into society. These actions should serve as a foundation and align with UNHCR and OPM’s Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in Uganda, particularly its stated goal to “support resilience and self-reliance of refugees and host communities.”

Following the IRC’s engagement, KCCA has begun the design of a municipal programme meant to harmonise planning around migration and minimise duplication of efforts among different actors. This will be achieved primarily through the creation of a participatory platform that will involve all actors, including urban migrants, in the design and implementation of programmes.
The municipal programme’s initial identified priorities and objectives are included in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priorities</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▶ Coordinated response among state and non-state actors</td>
<td>▶ To improve the coordination of all agents supporting urban migrants, through improved Communication, Planning and Reporting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Evidence-based programming and long-term planning</td>
<td>▶ To support the generation, aggregation, utilisation and sharing of data on migrants and refugees in the city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Institutional capacity enhancement and resilience building</td>
<td>▶ To strengthen the capacity of KCCA and other partner urban jurisdictions to provide services to migrants and refugees in an integrated and sustainable way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Livelihoods support for both migrants and host communities</td>
<td>▶ To support migrants and host communities to sustainably transition from reliance on relief efforts to self-sustenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Integration and peace-building</td>
<td>▶ To foster harmonious co-existence of migrant and host communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▶ Knowledge management and transfer</td>
<td>▶ To establish, document and share good practices in responding to migrants in an urban setting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ABOVE: A view of Kampala’s hills from the central business district.  
Samer Saliba/IRC
Figure 8: From Surviving to Thriving: 
A Recommended Framework for Socioeconomic Inclusion 
for Displaced Persons within Kampala

- Citizenship
- Civic engagement
- Educational opportunity
- Career upgrading
- Paths to permanent residency
- Permanent and sustainable housing
- Social connections

- Refugee processing
- Case management
- Shelter
- Cultural orientation
- Family reunification
- Language education
- Health assessments
- Employment and education services
- Interpretation
- Safety and security
- Legal counselling
- Psychosocial support

From Surviving to Thriving: 
A Recommended Framework for Socioeconomic Inclusion 
for Displaced Persons within Kampala

Thriving

Surviving
Figure 9: Why are Urban Areas Different?

- Markets and private sector have a larger influence and greater number of actors
- Greater density and diversity of affected populations
- More complex and multiple levels of governance
- Greater number of stakeholders to coordinate from local government and civil society to international organisations and donor agencies
Urban Partnerships:
A Guideline for Humanitarians Working in Cities

When operating in urban areas, humanitarian agencies are likely to be just one of a myriad of diverse stakeholders. Humanitarians should strive to add value to the entirety of the response efforts rather than from a siloed position. Establishing and maintaining meaningful partnerships between various urban stakeholders will generate more effective and longer-lasting benefits for affected populations.

While every city represents a different context, the following steps outline a basic humanitarian guideline to building urban partnerships.

1. Engage in dialogue with the local municipal authority or authorities, where appropriate, to determine if there are any opportunities for meaningful collaboration around shared outcome areas.

2. Determine whether or not the city or town in which you work has a pre-existing master plan or documented development goals and determine whether these goals are in line with programmatic outcomes.

3. Strive to better understand the interests and incentives of local authorities and stakeholders.

4. Share information with other response actors and local authorities in order to ensure that all actors are operating based on the same information and may coordinate or collaborate accordingly.

5. Strive to achieve effective coordination among the diversity of urban stakeholders, which includes local authorities, NGOs, community based organisations, faith based organisations, the private sector, and any other relevant organisation.

6. Take every opportunity to link humanitarian interventions with on-going development goals to invest in long-term sustainable change and progress towards the lasting outcomes of health, education, economic wellbeing, safety, and empowerment.
Conclusion

Urban displacement cuts across city and humanitarian sectors. As such, governments, NGOs, and private and public stakeholders must rethink their roles in addressing displacement and their relationships with one another.

Relationship-building and providing technical assistance to municipal authorities can create pathways for more inclusive community engagement, systems strengthening, and city planning through a humanitarian lens. Doing so with the Amman and Kampala municipal authorities led to more inclusive city planning that gave humanitarians a role in realising each city’s vision of becoming a welcoming city that treats displaced and marginalised communities as equal residents with equal access to public services, opportunities for self-reliance, and the ability to live safely as contributing members of urban society.

City plans, such as Amman’s City Resilience Strategy or Kampala’s Strategic Plan, provide the opportunity to connect refugee response efforts within the city to long-term resilience goals and actions. In Amman, the Greater Amman Municipality, in partnership with 100RC and the IRC, is dedicated to establishing a coordinated response to the refugee crisis in a way that contributes to the realisation of the Amman Resilience Strategy and the successful implementation of the Jordan Response Plan within the context of Amman. In Kampala, the Kampala Capital City Authority is similarly dedicated to taking a leadership role in the effective coordination of humanitarian services, the inclusion of displaced and marginalised residents in city plans and actions, and the achievement of the CRRF’s goals for Uganda within Kampala.

With this document and others produced through the IRC/100RC partnership, such as *Global Migration: Resilient Cities at the Forefront*, we hope to continue the hard work of embracing refugees as part of our future. Through our collaboration and further collaboration with local municipal authorities, UN agencies, local and international NGOs, and various other urban stakeholders, we hope to catalyse further solutions and partnerships required for future success and the advancement of more welcoming – and therefore more resilient – host cities.

Opposite: The view from a community centre in East Amman. 
Samer Saliba/IRC
References


OPPOSITE: Jabal el-Hussein camp in Amman, a UNRWA site for Palestinian refugees. As in other UNRWA sites in Jordan, overcrowding, poverty, chronic health problems and unemployment are endemic in Jabal el-Hussein. By way of contrast, the surrounding district of Al-Abdali contains Amman’s central business district and many government buildings, including the Jordanian Parliament and the Palace of Justice. The neighbourhood is among the oldest in the city and is favoured by expatriates.
References (continued)

21 The most pertinent example is the social service centres of GAM, which has several centres throughout Amman and is welcoming of refugees but has not seen a significant uptick in refugee presence since the start of the crisis.

22 Pending the Jordanian decentralisation policy.

23 Tensions between Jordanians and Syrians are most apparent, but tensions also exist between Jordanians and other nationalities, as well as between Jordanians of different socio-economic classes or areas of the city.

24 This finding results from the Stakeholder Workshop and the attendees who participated in the Dividers and Connectors Analysis (DCA).

25 See for example:

26 See for example:

27 Historical figures and predictions to 2030 from:

28 Tokyo 2100 population estimate of 7.13 million from the findings of a 2012 Tokyo Metropolitan Government study group, reported at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/japan/9519203/Tokyo-population-to-half-in-next-90-years.html


31 Ibid.

32 Statements made by OPM during the Urban Practitioner Workshop. Other figures are slightly higher.


34 UNHCR (2017) South Sudan Situation. Available at: http://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/region.php?id=51&country=229


39 One nursery and primary school the IRC spoke with noted that nearly 80 percent of their students are refugees.


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