FIRST
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP
ON
IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE
AND ENVIRONMENT
FOR
REFUGEES



29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 Geneva



-First International Workshop -

ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES 29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 Geneva

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- SHELTER BIBLIOGRAPHY RESOURCES: Data Form
- PAPER: An Overview of Shelter Provision and Settlement Policy Dr. Roger Zetter, Oxford Brookes University
- **BRIEFING NOTES**



FIRST INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES

Venue Château de Penthes, Geneva

18 Chemin de l'Impératrice 1292 Pregny-Chambésy Tel: (00 41-22) 734 90 21

Dates

29, 30 June through 1 July 1993

Language

English

Participants P

Participation is by invitation only, limited to approximately 60 persons. Day 1 and 2 sessions are closed to invited participants only. Day 3 welcomes other observers from donor

agencies, other UN staff, press, etc.

Format

The Workshop will be structured around a number of working groups with mixed vested interests. Each working group will be charged with addressing a key policy issue and making recommendations structured around a common policy framework.

Workshop Secretariat

Programme and Technical Support Section
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Attn: W. Neumann/F. Robin

Case Postale 2500

CH-1211 Genève 2 Dépôt

Téléphone 00 41-22 739 81 11/ Direct 00 41-22 739 87 30

Téléfax 00 41-22 731 83 09



PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

Day 1 Tuesday, 29 June	Day 2 Wednesday, 30 June	Day 3 Thursday, 1 July
■ 9.00-9.30 Registration ■ 9.30-9.45	■ 9.00-9.30 Introduction to Sessions	■ 9.00-9.30 Introduction to Sessions
Welcome! Mr. Douglas Stafford, Deputy High Commissioner, UNHCR		
■ 9.45-10.15 Introductory Remarks Mr. Eric Morris, Director, Division of Programmes and Operational Support, UNHCR	■ 9.30-11.00 Working Session III. Operational Considerations: Agencies and Roles	■ 9.30-11.00 Working Session V. An Agenda for Action: Recommendations for Next Steps
■ 10.15-11.00 Setting the Agenda Mr. Wolfgang Neumann Senior Physical Planner/Architect PTSS, UNHCR Nabeel Hamdi, CENDEP	• 11.00-11.30 Coffee Break	• 11.00-11.30 Coffee Break
■ 11.00-12.00 Overview Paper: "Shelter Provision and Settlement Policy" Dr. Roger Zetter, Oxford Brookes University	!	
■ 12.00-13.00 Workshop Session Shelter Overview: I. Policy Concepts and Implications	■ 11.30-13.00 Presentation III By Working Groups	■ 11.30-13.00 Presentation V By Working Groups
• 13.00-14.00 Working Lunch	• 13.00-14.00 Working Lunch	• 13.00-14.00 Working Lunch
■ 14.00-15.00 Presentation I	■ 14.00-15.00 Working Session IV. Operational Considerations: Bottlenecks, Resolutions and Implications	■ 14.00-15.00 Session Summaries Summary by Working Groups
• 15.00-15.30 Coffee Break	• 15.00-15.30 Coffee Break	• 15.00-15.30 Coffee Break
■ 15.30-16.30 Working Session II. Problem Identification: Key Issues	■ 15.30-17.00 Presentation IV By Working Groups	■ 15.30-16.00 Working Group Resolution Presentation
• 16.30-18.00 Presentation II By Working Groups	:	■ 16.00-16.30 What are the Next Steps? Mr. Eric Morris, Director, Division of Programmes and Operational Support UNHCR
■ 18.00 Summary of Day 1	■ 17.00 Summary of Day 2	■ 16.30-17.30 Open Discussion

Note: Coffee will be available throughout the day.

Welcome Reception

20.00



Meeting of Resolution Committee in evening; spokesperson from each working group forms committee.

■ 20.00

Closing Reception



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RESOLUTION

OF THE CHÂTEAU DE PENTHES WORKING GROUP CONVENED BY THE UNHCR GENEVA, FEBRUARY 16, 1993

- THE NEED for appropriate and cost efficient shelter for refugees and displaced persons has grown considerably in importance in the last decade. The magnitude and complexity of conflicts has placed humanitarian organizations into an exhaustive race in time and circumstance. This sequence of refugee events has so far prevented an in-depth analysis of appropriate responses.
- FOR THESE REASONS, the Programme and Technical Support Section of the UNHCR is taking the initiative, together with its partners, to search urgently for improvements in response to refugee shelter needs. What is needed is a comprehensive shelter strategy with appropriately developed standards, supply methods, specifications and production capabilities related to local needs and circumstances.
- THE WORKING GROUP AGREED on an international workshop as the appropriate forum for attacking these issues.
- THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS WORKSHOP are as follows:
- A UNHCR shelter concept to deal with both emergency and long term shelter needs.
- A policy framework and the means for its implementation. This will include considerations for:
- Preparedness (lead time, standby, early warning, etc.)
- Needs assessment (appropriate response)
- Response procedure (emergency response, care and maintenance)
- Contingency planning
- Specifications and standards (difference climatic and social conditions
- Logistics and administration (tendering, contracting, stockpiling)
- Evaluation and feedback (procedures, documentation)
- Equipment (stoves, blankets, etc.)
- Shelter (system tents, materials storage, transportation, implementation)
- <u>Terms of reference for interagency cooperation</u> including donors implementing partners and suppliers.
- IN ADDITION, the Workshop will establish the following:
- $\bullet \, \underline{A\, standing\, forum} \, on \, refugee \, shelter \, to \, coordinate\, experience \, and \, dissemination \, of \, information.$
- An exhibition of tried and available shelter products, and a number of related innovations in process.
- **SEVERAL OUTCOMES** are targeted:
- Proceedings documenting key papers, conclusion, and proposals.
- A UNHCR shelter strategy presentable to donors and implementing agencies.
- Better access to and cooperation with specialized agencies.
- Improved shelters and products to better suit the needs in refugee operations.
- <u>A set of commissioned papers</u> leading to a book which will serve as a definitive work on refugee shelter, by collating up-to-date experience on the state-of-the-art.
- PARTICIPANTS are invited from two categories:
- Working groups: experts in the field selected on the basis of individual expertise regardless of agency affiliation. These include key UNHCR staff, key NGOs, refugee experts from different regions, e.g., Eastern Europe, refugees from different regions and academics representing regional institutes.
- Observers to whom the proceedings and results of the workshop are to be targeted: these include donors, key management staff from agencies, host governments and members of the press.



THE CHÂTEAU DE PENTHES WORKING GROUP

UNHCR

Yvette Stevens, Chief, Programme and Technical

Support Section

Ann Howarth-Wiles, Coordinator for Refugee Women Romani Urasa, Chief, Supplies and Transport Section Janet Lim, Emergency Preparedness and Response Section

Sabine Wähnung, Architect

Surasak Satawiriya, Supplies and Transport Section Wolfgang Neumann, Senior Physical Planner/Architect, Programme and Technical Support Section Jeff Mposha, Programme and Technical Support Section

MSF Belgium Piet Goovaets, Architect

IFRC

Ric Hanna, Logistics and Supplies

Dr. Ulrike von Buchwald, Refugees and Displaced Persons

ICRC

Francois Rueff, Architect

Yves Etienne, Geologist and Sanitary Engineer

Swiss Disaster Relief

Dr. Max Hofer, Architect

Martin Fassler, Assistant Coordinator

UNDRO

Hans Zimmerman, Humanitarian Affairs Coordinator

Oxford Brookes University

Nabeel Hamdi, Director, CENDEP

Dr. Roger Zetter Jim Howard Farida Makki Kay Chamberlain

MIT

Dr.-Ing. Reinhard Goethert, Director, SIGUS

The Shelter Workshops were organized with the assistance of the Centre for Development and Environmental Planning (CENDEP), Oxford Brookes University, in collaboration with the Special Interest Group in Urban Settlements (SIGUS), MIT.



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WORKING GROUPS TOPIC AREAS

I. Response procedures and administration

- preparedness
- logistics
- stockpiling
- ?

II. Specifications and standards

- emergency and longer term
- social and climatic conditions
- local vs international provision
- political norms
- ?

III. Agencies, NGO's, consultants

- donors
- supplies
- implementing agencies
- training
- ?

IV. Shelter and environment

- system tents
- materials
- storage
- transportation
- implementation
- equipment
- sanitation
- climate
- ?

V. Emergency shelter and longer term development

- employment
- capacities
- impacts
- ?

VI. Environmental considerations

- assessment
- ecology
- densities
- resource consumption
- ?

WORKING GROUPS PROCEDURE

A key element of the workshop are the small working groups which address the specific topic areas. These intensive work sessions are structured to provide maximum opportunity to discuss and explore specific issues. The goal is to rapidly draw out the experience in rethinking the shelter sector, and to define an agenda for operationalizing these inputs. It is an opportunity to organize the collective experience of the large variety of experts attending the workshop.

To facilitate the inputs from the participants, a series of structured formats are provided to guide the discussions and focus and sharpened the inputs.

It is not intended to stifle creative inputs around one approach and alternatives are encouraged to be developed. However, it is urged that alternatives should follow the general organizing structure to facilitate comparison and discussion.

Procedure for Working Sessions

- Working groups are formed around topic area.
- ■. <u>Each working group will select a spokesperson</u> to make the group presentation. Each group will select a secretary to document discussions for the presentation.
- <u>Subgroups may be formed</u> within each working group for more discussion of more detailed topics.
- Main ideas should be quickly brainstormed. Redundant ideas and ideas with no consensus eliminated. Ideas should be ranked according to priority. Discussions should focus on problematic issues.
- One to 1 1/2 hours are available for each session. This incudes discussion and prepared of presentation.
- A model for the presentation is provided for each session. Large paper and markers are provided, as well as smaller reduced sheets for individual notes.
- Working Group presentations are restricted to 5 minutes each to allow time for open discussion.

Note: Focus on priority considerations only in view of the restricted time available!



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Working Session – Tuesday Morning I. SHELTER OVERVIEW "POLICY CONCEPTS AND IMPLICATIONS"

The task:

Identify potential new shelter policies and their operational implications.

Policies are drawn from the overview paper "Shelter Provision and Settlement" and the experience of the participants.

Procedure:

- 1. List key policy directions which point to new shelter concepts.
- 2. Identify potential operational implications on shelter provision which the new directions require.

1. Policy Concepts	2. Operational Implication



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I: SHELTER OVERVIEW Worksheet

Workshoot			
1. Policy Concepts	2. Operational Implications		
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Working Group:	·		
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Working Session – Tuesday Afternoon II. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION "KEY ISSUES"

The task:

Identify issues and problems encountered in shelter operations and what agencies they affect.

Procedure:

- 1. List key issues and problems which arise.
- 2. Identify the key agencies that are directly affected operationally, and explain how they are affected.
- 3. Rank them according to priority. (i.e., 1, 2, 3, etc.)

II: Problem	Identification
1. Issues/Problems	2. Agencies Affected Operationally and How
Working Group:	



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II: PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Worksheet		
1. Issues/Problems	2. Agencies Affected Operationally and How	
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Working Group:		
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Working Session - Wednesday Morning III. OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS "AGENCIES AND ROLES"

The task:

Identify the key operational agencies and explain what is their role. Identify the other agencies who support and assist the key agency.

This table is developed from the "operational implications" identified in Working Session II: "Key Issues". In a sense, this shows a map of how activities occur in the field: "who does it and what do they do".

Procedure:

- 1. Identify key agencies that have clear overriding authority.
- 2. Identify their tasks and responsibilities ("roles").
- 3. Identify the agencies who assist the key agencies in their operation.
- 4. Identify the tasks and responsibilities of the assisting agency ("roles").

1. Principal Agencies	2. Roles	3. Supporting Agencies	4. Roles



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III: OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS Worksheet

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1. Principal Agencies	2. Roles	3. Supporting Agencies	4. Roles
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Work	cing Group:		· ·

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Working Session – Wednesday Afternoon IV. OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS "BOTTLENECKS, RESOLUTIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS"

The task:

Identify the key bottlenecks and ways to resolve them for the agencies identified in "III. Agencies and Roles". Secondly, identify the technical considerations and policy implications related to the approaches for resolving the bottlenecks.

Procedure:

- 1. Identify bottlenecks of each of the agencies and their roles from "III. Agencies and Roles". Structure bottlenecks around funding, manpower, logistics, technical, mandates, etc.
- 2. Suggest how to resolve bottlenecks.
- 3. Identify technical considerations and policy implications that the resolutions imply.

1. "Bottlenecks"	2. How to Resolve	3. Considerations and Implications
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IV: OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS Worksheet

1. "Bottlenecks"	2. How to Resolve	3. Considerations and Implications
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Working Gro	oup:	

Working Session – Thursday Morning V. AN AGENDA FOR ACTION "RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT STEPS"

The task:

Develop an agenda for action to be used by agencies in addressing constraints.

Procedure:

- 1. Select 2 to 3 key areas from "IV. Bottlenecks, Resolutions and Policy Implications".
- 2. Structure an indicative work program for each area, highlighting objectives, assumptions, tasks, manpower and indicative timetable.

V: An Ag	genda for Action
Topic:	
Objectives:	
Assumptions:	
Tasks:	
Agencies Involved:	
Indicative Timetable:	
Working Group:	



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V. AN AGENDA FOR ACTION Worksheet

Topic:	·
Objectives:	
Assumptions:	
Tasks:	
Agencies Involved:	
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Indicative Timetable:	
Working Group:	

Please list. Resources may include field reports, evaluations, feasibility studies, back-to-office reports, etc. Resources should relate particularly to shelter, but also to related camp/settlement	ıt,
regional fit, and national policy concerns. Both technologies as well as processes of shelter are sought. This information will assist in the development of a shelter data-bank.	
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Source (title, author, agency, date): TRIALOG (fuglish-German Durarterly) on building & planning in the Third World
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Who in your organization can be contacted for resources? Name: Jingen Octorish Organization: (re lift of participant) Address/Telephone/Fax:

What resources do you have that would be of use to others? Please list. Resources may include field reports, evaluations, feasibility studies, back-to-office
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Who in your organization can be contacted for resources? Name: Stein Stoa, Head of Emergency Department Organization: Dorwegian Lefurge Council Address/Telephone/Fax: Pile Stredel 156, 0164 OSto, Norway	
Fax (47) 22116500	

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· Source (title, author, agency, date): UNCHS (Habital), Nairobi Kenya - Needs Assessment in the Light of imminent influx of returners/Cambodia
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■ Who in your organization can be contacted for resources?
Heinz Kull SHSA
Organization: UNCHS C Habitati
Address/Telephone/Fax: P, O, Box 300 30
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SHELTER BIBLIOGRAPHY RESOURCES

■ What resources do you have that would be of use to others? Please list. Resources may include field reports, evaluations, feasibility studies, back-to-office reports, etc. Resources should relate particularly to shelter, but also to related camp/settlement, regional fit, and national policy concerns. Both technologies as well as processes of shelter are sought. This information will assist in the development of a shelter data-bank. · Source (title, author, agency, date): SDR, MARTIN FAEISLER, 30 June 93 FIELD REPORTS, FEXITILITY Brief description of contents: STUDIES, REFUGEE CAMP HAND BOOK, VATER DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM ■ What general kinds of data resources are available? Brief description (type, scope, issues, countries): SHELTER FOR REFUGEES / JUDAN. DNDONELIA, PHILIPINNES, CAMIDO ETHIOPIA, PROCEDURE PLAN ■ What kind of information do you need? Brief description: DOCUMENTS OF PLANNING INSTRU-MENTS / SUPPLIER LIST / HE DATA BANK OF REFUGEE SHELTER PLANNING ■ Who in your organization can be contacted for resources? Name: FRITZ BUCHER Organization: SWISS DISASTER Address/Telephone/Fax: IWITZERLAND) 031/613124 031/458334 Fax



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ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES 29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 Geneva

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ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES 29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 Geneva

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Name: Nova C Rawese.
Organization: Red Registered Engineers for Disaster Relief).
Address/Telephone/Fax: 1.7 Gt George St London SWIP 3AM
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ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES 29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 Geneva

AN OVERVIEW OF SHELTER PROVISION AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Dr Roger Zetter

Acting Head School of Planning Oxford Brookes University UK

and

Editor, Journal of Refugee Studies Refugee Studies Programme Oxford

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REFUGEES - AN OVERVIEW OF SHELTER PROVISION AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Dr Roger Zetter 1

1. INTRODUCTION

Durable shelter, provided to satisfactory physical standards, using appropriate materials and related to prevailing cultural parameters, constitutes one of the basic needs for refugees. This 'architectural scale' of shelter provision is complemented by macro-level policy considerations - spatial planning and economic development - because the influx of large numbers of refugees places great pressure on the housing resources, the land use patterns and settlement structures of the host country. The need for shelter and settlement strategies thus presents major challenges to policy makers and agencies concerned with refugee assistance.

Because of the scale and speed of refugee movements and the presumed temporary status of refugees, set against the relatively costly requirements of durable shelter, host governments and the humanitarian assistance agencies have usually adopted short term, pragmatic responses. Often, however, these options prove to be at the expense of the inevitable longer term policies beyond the emergency and care and maintenance phases. This contradiction between the physical permanency of housing and the presumed temporariness of refugees, penetrates to the heart of the dilemma of refugee policy making and assistance - permanent residents or temporary migrants? Shelter and settlement policies are thus a powerful indicator of the humanitarian will of the international community to address the basic rights of refugees - their status in a host country.

In comparison with other critical sectors of refugee assistance - for example, nutrition, protection, resettlement - and despite the fact that refugee camps and settlements are the focal point of most refugee assistance, research literature of the shelter sector is much less well documented, it lacks coherence and it is widely diffused. Equally, field experience, beyond a number of site planning manuals, is not effectively disseminated and it is generally of insufficient quality, at present, to provide an effective body of replicable experience for policy makers and field staff. Lacking an institutional memory, the knowledge and experiences gained from previous responses are rarely transferred to new refugee crises; the scope for imaginative new options remains unexplored. Indeed one has to search as far back as 1987 (Hardin; UNHCR/DMC) to find any (though unpublished) appraisal of the issues and a decade before that for an overview paper (Cuny 1977).

¹ I am grateful to Bojana Klemencic Kozul who was the research assistant and to the Documentation Centre, Refugee Studies Programme, University of Oxford.

In contrast, the knowledge/experience base on shelter responses to natural disasters (eg Aysan and Davis 1992) and on 'development refugees' (Cernea 1990; Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982) is better developed. Although contingent to refugee shelter policy, it provides important comparisons. Similarly, refugee needs also bear similarities to shelter and settlement provision under conditions of rapid urbanisation in the developing world - spontaneous development, self-build modes, positive economic impacts - but current refugee praxis remains largely ignorant of it. The overview draws on these comparative literatures because they provide important coordinates for our own concerns.

This overview paper does not redress all these limitations; it certainly cannot claim to be a comprehensive overview. Neither does it embrace all the concerns of the UNHCR International Workshop - many of the technical aspects are in any case better examined in the workshops. Instead, it sets a context for the Workshop by documenting some of the recurring concerns evident in the research and operational literature. It examines the strengths and weaknesses of current and recent past responses.

The main objective of this overview, however, is to investigate guidelines for a new concept of shelter provision and settlement policies for future responses. It parallels a fundamental reconceptualisation of refugee policy making and assistance which is evident in the literature and which defines the context for new directions in shelter and settlement policy formulation and for tackling familiar operational constraints in the sector. The reconceptualisation is predicted on a number of contentions, these underpin this paper.

The paper contends that

- 1. The relief and development models are complementary. Planning methodologies, policies and interventions at different spatial scales play an enabling role the transition from relief to development in refugee assistance.
- 2. Refugee impacts and assistance should be evaluated in terms of the costs and benefits for all interest groups refugees, hosts, governments, donors and agencies; spatial and economic planning processes provide one framework for mediating these interests and for formulating integrated policy making for hosts and refugees.
- 3. Locational considerations especially at a regional scale are critically significant for refugee survival and wellbeing and the impact on host communities; these considerations should be at the crux of planning and settlement policies formulated in refugee situations.

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- 4. Refugees contribute development resources to a host country; but current policies for assistance inhibit this contribution from being achieved; proactive responses designed to capitalise on these resources eg through self help, market expansion are a necessary part of a planned approach to refugee influxes.
- 5. Sector policies must be diversified to draw on a wider range of development project experience; in retooling planning systems for refugees this should be evaluated for its appropriateness and technological replicability in the context of refugees.
- 6. In-country capacity professional, material, logistical should be the starting point for drawing up shelter and settlement policies.
- 7. Dissemination is the key to the new praxis; it is dependent on effective data bases and networks of information/experience exchange.

The paper reviews five aspects of shelter and settlement issues.

- * <u>Shelter and its setting</u>: self help and refugees' capabilities; indigenous capacity;
- * <u>Camp and settlement planning</u>: the limitations of and the scope for improvements to current practice progressive upgrading and planning for durability:
- * <u>Planned alternatives to encampment</u>: new planning tools for settling refugees;
- * Planning by refugees: learning from spontaneous settlement;
- * Refugees a macro-economic perspective; from relief to development the role of shelter and settlement planning.

A final section of the paper sets out the conclusions, the lessons learned and action for the future.

2. SHELTER AND ITS SETTING

The provision of shelter is one of the basic needs of refugees. But, fundamental to any understanding of the role of assistance agencies in refugee shelter provision, should be a concern with far more than a physical commodity and the application of basic standards codified in operational guides. Essential though plastic sheets, tents, and basic rules of thumb on space requirements might be in emergency phases, what is remarkable is the way in which refugees very quickly commence the process of adapting, personalising and upgrading their shelter. No different from other communities, refugee housing represents a cultural commodity (Oliver 1976); it supports a diversity of functional requirements (Payne 1984); it is an important economic multiplier (UNHCR 1987; Tipple 1991). Like their counterparts, the urban squatters of the developing world, and in the most adverse circumstances, the way refugees construct and consolidate shelter provide important lessons for policy makers and field staff about the refugees' capacity to survive and the skills and experiences they bring to the housing process.

Significant in the context of refugees, are the processes of consolidation, extension, adaptation and permanency for which low income groups strive - processes widely driven by self help technology. Under conditions of rapid economic and social change as characteristic in most cities of the developing world as for refugee populations, these processes are now extensively debated (Gilbert & Gugler 1992; Lloyd 1979; Ward 1982; Turner 1967; Payne 1985; World Bank 1992). Yet responses to refugee housing needs have not, to date, engaged this extensive parallel literature.

Governments and assistance agencies have considerable experience of shelter provision in different refugee situations - emergency and protracted, variations in social and cultural needs, climates, different technologies. This experience has not been effectively pooled and disseminated, compared, for example, with post disaster shelter provision. Given the specificity of housing this is not perhaps surprising. Nor is a stereotype solution being advocated - this danger must be avoided (Cuny 1992). Preferable for this International Workshop is agreement on the some of the main principles and issues where experience of shelter provision can be exchanged and disseminated and further research commenced. What follows is a summary of some of these principles.

In-country Technology

* Extensive case study experience confirms that the design and construction of shelter, even in emergencies, should be based on local materials, indigenous technologies, or the careful adaptation of imported or non-traditional methods and materials. Where this does not happen, shelter provision is either too expensive (and thus meets too few needs) or is incapable of replication because requisite skills are not available.

Nagel 's study of refugees in Costa Rica (1987), makes these points effectively,

showing how the construction of satisfactory concrete plinths was beyond the capacity of local artisans and timber framed buildings designed by European architects were unaffordable by many refugees. Ressler (1979) shows imported 'A' frame technology in Bangladesh was unsatisfactory. It could not be justified in terms of costs vis a vis local technologies; and was culturally unacceptable without adaptation of the space around the dwelling. There are many other examples. Such are the humanitarian pressures to cope with refugee crises, that imported technologies seem the only solution to mass shelter needs, despite repeated failure.

In contrast, Howard (1989), shows how plastic sheeting, to take one example of non-traditional methods, can be effectively combined with local materials and adapted to different circumstances for emergency shelter and short term needs. Scherrer's study (1990) of the upgrading of roofing structures by Afghan refugees is a useful example of how indigenous (and self help) technology was applied with low inputs of capital, energy and imported materials, and also boosted local employment. More investigation could be carried out into ways of diversifying local capacity and technology.

The experience of rebuilding after disasters (Cuny 1983; Aysan and Davis 1992) is relevant to the revision of policy for refugee situations. This suggests that preparedness is the key.

- * Rather then stockpiling materials or emergency shelter, it is information and knowledge which need to be stockpiled.
- * In-country universities, building research institutes and governments themselves should play the major role in anticipating refugee needs by:

documenting vernacular housing technologies, methods and construction processes and the inputs which might be needed in different climatic and topographical zones;

planning the enhanced local production capacities; adapting local technologies;

preparing contingency building and phasing sketch designs; evaluating the impact of building standards and planning codes and the needs for conformity.

Much of the information - especially on taxonomies of housing design and technologies - may well exist already for domestic policy needs, although not in this form. It may comprise part of the education and training of professionals; it is likely to be incorporated in building and planning regulations. Modest reconfiguration is needed for refugee situations. Even where the refugee influx has already occurred, this in-country expertise which should be exploited before international technologies are imported.

Building Materials

* Shortfalls in the provision of building materials are a major constraint to the provision and improving shelter.

Except for refugees resettled in third countries, most possess technologies which can be adapted to local conditions - self build experience and artisanal labour is often to be found amongst refugee communities. However, the crucial element in the process of consolidation is access to building materials, which quickly become commodified and locally scarce. Even where materials like poles, mats, thatch and mud can be locally garnered, supply constraints can be severe. In temperate climates and where the production of building materials is more industrialised, supplt constraints are much more acute. Expectations that planning and, more specifically, building regulations must be adhered to, accentuate the problem.

Solutions to these constraints are not easy to find, not least because of the high cost of transport of building materials, the strains which excess demand places on domestic market needs, and potential environmental degradation. Stockpiling of all but emergency needs is economically infeasible - in any case climatic, topographical and social conditions are so variable. In emergency situations these bottlenecks are usually overcome by importing materials, technologies and sometimes prefabricated units - extensively so in the case of former Yugoslavia where, for example, US\$ 1m of repair kits and prefabricated shelter needs for 25000 people were indentified on one mission (ICVA/UNHCR Task Force 1992). Large volumes of imported commodities are unlikely to be either cost effective or easily adaptable to cultural norms.

Ad hoc responses should be replaced by a more systematic evaluation of needs and supplies for both short and longer term requirements.

* An action plan should be implemented. This should, amongst other considerations:

review and implement expedited production of building materials and supply of tools;

access in-country supplies, but from outside potential refugee impacted areas;

develop expedited procurement and puchasing procedures from local suppliers;

develop co-operative purchasing methods;

review building codes and regulations.

Ideally these components would form part of a preparedness programme, paralleling

the information base on housing technology and processes, and executed in anticipation of refugee influxes.

* A preparedness plan would also:

document contingencies for building materials supplies including tools and equipment;

elaborate plans for enhancing in-country production capacity of both raw and manufactured materials and components.

* More sophisticated preparation might involve a review of the economics of the building materials industry at differing levels of anticipated demand and appropriate policies interventions to manage the demand.

The important point about both sets of interventions is that they can and should build on already available in-country data, policies and expertise. Thus, for example, strategies for the building materials industry and construction capacity are likely to form part of the orthodox national planning programme. A contingency plan for refugees should be integrated with this. Where a preparedness plan does not exist then, even so, the national planning context provides a framework and base line for incorporating the refugee impact.

Self Help

* Self help processes are the crucial element in the provision and upgrading of refugee shelter.

Despite structural and institutional limitations and contradictory interpretations of what they consist, self help housing processes are still widely advocated in the developing world as viable and appropriate approaches to mass housing needs. For refugee communities as well, all the available evidence, whether from encamped or self-settlement processes, confirms that still the most effective approach to housing provision is to enhance the refugees' own capacity, skills and self reliance (eg Harrell-Bond 1986; 1990; Zetter 1987; Kok 1989). Not only is this likely to be an efficient and economical use of resources; there are likely to be cultural and psychosocial benefits for the community as well. Participation in the reconstruction may help to rebuild communities, lead to more effective coping mechanisms and offer potential for self-sufficiency. The fact that most refugees are self settled and thus deploy self help processes as the main mechanism to achieve this, appears to confirm these contentions.

The crucial relationship of self help processes to planning and land supply policies - eg sites an services and upgrading options - is considered in later sections (Sections 4 & 5). This discussion focuses on the micro level.

From a potentially large agenda five constraints, specific to the refugee situation, are

identified here: building materials, long term needs, income generation, tenure, donor policies.

* Overcoming shortfalls in building materials supply and lack of familiarity with local construction technologies.

These factors can place severe impediments in the way of self help processes. These shortfalls are most acute in the emergency phase. However where large refugee movements and protracted residence takes place, continuing pressures on the environment and/or building materials markets may be experienced. Some of the interventions which might overcome these constraints have been proposed above. Managerial and institutional capability may need to be enhanced.

* Temporary structures for emergency needs must not preempt more durable provision of housing.

Most refugees quickly adapt temporary shelter - like their counterparts, the urban migrants in informal settlements in cities of the developing world - and this reflects important processes of adjustment and adaptation. Sufficient plot sizes are needed and space must be provided to allow consolidation to take place with satisfactory standards (Gupta 1990; Ressler 1979; Oliver-Smith 1992). The principle of parity with host country standards should be followed.

More problematic are likely to be affordability and perceived security of residence. Both are formidable barriers for refugees.

* Increasing affordability.

If self-help and upgrading are to be affordable, this requires access to employment and the right to work. My own work on self-help housing in Cyprus (1987: 1992) and Post's study in the Sudan (1985) illustrate how access to labour markets is a significant determinant of self help inputs and housing upgrading - generating investment capital, but also giving access to waged artisanal labour and materials supplies. Studies of self help processes in non-refugee communities reinforce these findings (Skinner 1983; Angel 1982; Gilbert and Gugler 1992)) emphasizing how they are incremental and small scale - determined by the level and regularity of income. This evidence underlines the essential constraint for refugees in housing themselves - employment is often denied them or they are often located great distances from employment centres and markets. Locational factors, as much in relatively developed countries (ICVA/UNHCR 1992) as in most refugee hosting countries of the developing world (Kibreab 1989), are amongst the most important factors determining refugees' capacity and should be at the crux of planning policies for refugees (Section 5).

* Enhancing perceptions of security of residence.

Access to land with perceived security of tenure - not necessarily conventional legal

title - is highly instrumental in the consolidation processes and self help investments of urban migrants and settlers in the developing world (Angel et al. 1982). In the case of refugees this condition plays even greater significance - relating to security (or perceptions of security) of residence in the host country. It is a highly contentious issue. Hansen's study (1990) of Angolan self-settled refugees in Zambia shows how these perceptions underpin differential processes of integration amongst the study group. In Malawi (Zetter 1992; Wilson 1990) it is clear that local circumstances - ethnic links between refugees and hosts and the relatively benign attitude of the government to the refugees settlement processes - have been very influential in the way large numbers of Mozambicans have constructed for themselves.

Effective shelter and planning policies need to tackle these barriers of employment access and location. Moreover a planned response to these factors becomes unavoidable in the more urbanised setting in southern and eastern Europe where the pressures on land supply and urban services are more apparant.

* Rethinking the donors' role and attitudes to refugees' status.

Removing these operational constraints goes to the heart of the status of refugees. For this requires not only interventions dealing with technology and product, but an understanding of housing processes and the limitations which institutional barriers and current assistance policies place in the way of these processes. Funding policies of donors and NGOs will need to support housing construction which is developmental and durable rather than short term (see Section 4). Government policies on employment and attitudes to protracted residence must be reconsiderede; but these are politically sensitive issues for the host population. Arguably, it is only by an integrated response, where options are mediated through systematically prepared policies and plans that some of these factors can be addressed.

3. CAMP PLANNING - IMPROVING CURRENT PRACTICE

In the literature on refugee camps two themes predominate; technical and field reports concerned with camp planning - logistics, site planning, operational needs - and a growing body of research based literature examining the largely negative impact and consequences of encampment on the lives of refugees (Waldron 1988; Journal of Refugee Studies 3/4 1992; Harrell-Bond 1986; Reynell 1988; Hitchcox 1990; Chan 1991; Goovearts 1993). Unfortunately for refugees, their hosts, and for policy makers, these two literatures have never sufficiently engaged. Instead, debates about the kinds of settlement options which should be adopted have become polarised precisely because camps are such powerful symbols of the orthodox relief model (and its inherent limitations) and because they present such a direct physical challenge to the fundamental assumptions on which that relief model is based - the presumed temporariness of refugees. The political will of host governments and relief agencies to confront this dilemma is immeasurably more important than the technological capacity to design better settlements. It is the former which has constrained the latter.

Indicative of the importance of camp planning to refugee relief agencies, a short bibliographic search currently reveals no less than eight manuals concerned in full, or in part, with site planning for refugees or post disaster reconstruction (USAID 1981; UNHCR 1982; UNDRO 1982; Oxfam 1985; UNHCR/DMC 1987 & Hardin 1987; UNDP/UNDRO 1990; Goethart and Hamdi 1990; MSF 1992). Whilst these manuals become progressively less prescriptive through time, field evidence universally confirms the dominance of prescriptive methods. Excepting the last two , they all present rather similar methodologies for the site planning process, although with considerable variation in levels of detail, prescription and comprehensiveness.

The existence of these manuals underlines the fact that, whilst they all note the disclaimer that 'the establishment of camps must be only a last resort' (UNHCR 1982:57), the encamping of refugees is the solution adopted by most host countries and relief agencies. Invariably they are the focal point of the relief programme in physical and material terms. Accommodating relatively small proportions of refugees, nonetheless, they absorb a disproportionately large part of refugee assistance. The attractiveness of camps as the 'planned' 'solution' to mass refugee influxes, need not be rehearsed here. In some cases there may, indeed, be no alternative.

Planning Limitations

When confronting the pressures of rapid refugee influxes, implementation and product drive the planning cycle - the antithesis of a planned response. Camps are usually designed according to crude engineering principles; there is a piecemeal planning frame (in terms of design and co-ordination) dictated by donors and NGOs who, as the implementing partners, provide the capital inputs for the physical and social infrastructure according to their own mandates, timescales, and funding

options; the product is imposed on a resistant refugee clientele. Most camps are far too large and rapidly fill up; densities are too great so that morbidity rates remain high and the capacity of services, basic if available at all, is rapidly overloaded. There is little scope for progressive upgrading and for the morphology to evolve.

Of greater concern is that camps, though conceived as a temporary option remain, sometimes for decades (eg Palestian refugee camps in Gaza (Jabr 1989), Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, Rwandese in Uganda), the permanent landmarks of refugee presence. Yet they fail to provide for long term needs, often because of inadequate attention to physical planning principles, and because they were never designed to support the longer term developmental objectives for refugees and their hosts. Indeed the long run costs of refugee camps to governments and donors, in terms of protracted dependency, may well be much higher than other solutions. As currently implemented they are an unsatisfactory solution to mass shelter needs of refugees. Moreover, they inhibit processes of assimilation and disrupt social cohesion.

Thus, despite the authoritative stance of the manuals and the inputs of field experience, fundamental rethinking is required on the current model of camp planning which is both operationally weak and conceptually limited.

Revising the Praxis?

These contradictions and challenges indicate the directions for a major reshaping of present practice. More development work is required, but the key elements of the new praxis are as follows.

1. Camps should be planned and developed as durable/permanent structures.

Several implications flow from this proposition:

- * it necessitates the provision of appropriate planning methodologies and skills, involving not just physical design, but expertise in project and agency coordination, in social and demographic parameters and in participatory methods of decision making which fully involve refugees.
- * it dictates that durability should be an objective adopted at the outset of the planning cycle and used to guide a phased programme of implementation.
- * location factors (considered in a subsequent section), must be a major determinant in policy formulation, since these have a crucial effect on the economic livelihood of the refuge population and their sense of integration and the impact of hosts.

In short, the planning of refugee camps is concerned with both a process <u>and</u> a product. These are the guiding principles which, unfortunately, are rarely, if at all, addressed.

2. Appropriate planning methodologies are needed to put these guiding principles into operation.

There are several methodologies which offer some potential for reshaping the planning and design process, although there is no evidence of independent field evaluation of their effectiveness. Summarising their main propositions, the following factors could form the basis of a new praxis.

UNHCR has proposed a three phase model (UNHCR/DMC 1987). The first phase deals with the immediate influx and basic needs, but safeguards land and services for future up-grading; the second phase involves a limited planning process as the population builds up, sites are expanded and shelter provision becomes more mixed as upgrading takes place and increased economic activity requires more space. The third phase is designated as 'ground up' in which more detailing of the 'master plan' and site development plans is needed to complete the process.

This model has important limitations, not least because the linear process on which it is based is largely discredited in conventional planning practice. It is unclear whether the three phases are intended to interlink, or are pragmatic adjustments to prevailing circumstances. However, it reinforces key points:

- * up grading as a progressive element in the development process;
- * camps should be planned like small district settlements, ie comprehensively to take account of social, economic and infrastructure needs.

Drawing on a more productive methodology which has now come to be termed Action Planning, (Koenigsberger 1964; Safier 1974; Baross 1991), Goethert and Hamdi (1988; 1989) promote the use of rapid appraisal and design methods. Their work emphasizes the principle that camps should have an inbuilt capacity to become settlements. The approach stresses processes, information and institutional coordination as much as design skills and end states. Nonetheless, they recognise that although the physical process ranks low in priority in the emergency phase, it is of prime importance since it forecloses options available at the consolidation phase. A number of key points arise from their approach:

- * durability (if not permanency) is an implicit objective incorporated from the initial stages of the design and development process;
- * refugee participation: refugees know best, after all most settle themselves and so their practice should be closely observed (Clark 1987); maximise the self help capacity;
- * an integrated approach to planning for refugees and hosts;
- * locational determinants sufficient capacity of local economic base to absorb the refugee settlement;

- * separation of strategy from detail (a mixed scanning approach) allowing field staff and refugees maximum flexibility and discretion in development and design;
- * preparation of an information base on procedures, technical characteristics of different layout options, house designs, materials components etc.;
- * knowledge of technical alternatives and the ability to assess their performance;
- * the role of agencies in technical support must be clearly established.

Finally, the MSF Operational Guide (1988) breaks new ground. Its merits lie, not so much in the technology - its scope is similar to the other manuals - but in the novelty of its approach. Its objectives reinforce the need:

- * to encourage a much firmer participatory and humane model of camp planning which directly questions much existing practice;
- * to adopt non standard solutions at the local, implementation level.

It attempts to balance prescription with reasoned justifications for decisions and proposals. Concrete suggestions are made for the involvement of refugees and for effective communication with them. The need for the non-standard solutions is firmly stressed - a point trenchantly made by Goovaerts (1993:5) in his summary dismissal of pre-determined standards of costs, space requirements and layout.

3. Principles for Best Practice.

In practical terms these propositions define an approach best described as planning for permanency but designing for flexibility and change.

First, as Goovaearts (1993) points out, planning for permanency implies that initial investments in infrastucture (particularly water and sanitation) must be higher than is normally procured; but this should allow lower recurrent investment in aspects such as health care and system maintenance; it should make subsequent upgrading easier to accomplish (see also UNHCR PTSS 89/39). This of course requires political commitment by governments and agencies to durability of camp development and self sustainability.

Second, assesement of spontaneous settlements should more directly inform the design process of camps. They give clear indications of the cultural and spatial determinants by which refugees organise their own settlements patterns. In Malawi, for example, these are in the form of dense clusters grouped around open spaces, usually indistinguishable from and often integrated with host villages. In contrast, the planned camps are usually grid iron, despite all the evidence, including the UNHCR's, which rejects it. This form is suitable for the rapid distribution of plots, but there is much evidence cited about the negative impacts from case studies in (eg

Hardin and UNHCR/DMC 1987). Likewise in Cyprus, the formalised layout of the permanent refugee housing estates (whether sites and services/self build or government built) contrasts with the vernacular patterns of the small towns and villages from where the displaced came (Zetter 1987) and this has had inhibited the social cohesion of the developments. Oliver-Smith (1992:60) demonstrates how layout, in the case of post disaster rehousing failed when it lacked the variety as well as the culturally constructed ritual spaces. Refugees needs are no different.

Third, site layout must be based on the designation of land use areas with a decentralised and clustered disposition of plots and shelter and with clearly designated and usable open space and with community uses incorporated into the layouts. Evidence of the social and physical suitability of this approach is noted in Managua for example (Hardin 1987). At the same time there should be flexible plot size standards to allow for expansion and upgrading of plots as uses and needs evolve - refugees have livestock, consumer goods, gardens and space must be designed to accommodate them (Oliver-Smith 1992:61). Public spaces too should be flexibly designed for changing uses: reception centres can become schools and clinics, food distribution points can be converted to markets (UNHCR/DMC 1987).

Fourth the selection of sites, at the local level, should be carefully considered. Most frequently used are criteria such as access to government owned land, preference for flat terrain which is easier and cheaper to develop, rejection of more complex sites where the topography and the natural ecology could create variety in shelter and layout. But these determinants for large numbers of refugee camps frequently prove to be problematic, for example in Turkey for displaced Kurdish refugees (UNHCR PTSS 91/05) and in Croatia and Bosnia (UNHCR/PTSS 92/49N). They may lead to understandable resistance by refugees.

Fifth, regional factors are also crucial; these are dealt with in section 5.

The Parallel Case - Informal Settlements in Cities of the Developing World

Extensive research, drawn from many cities in the developing world, describes similar informal settlement processes, their consolidation and practical experiences of their upgrading, (eg Turner 1967; Lloyd 1979; Angel et al.1982; World Bank 1983; Davidson and Payne 1983; Skinner 1983; UNCHS 1987; UNCHS 1988; Payne 1989; World Bank 1992). Despite their structural and procedural limitations, these well tested processes of mass housing supply for the urban poor provide a relavant technology for an 'upgrading model' or 'progressive development' approach replicable for refugee settlements. The interventions offer valuable insights into the processes that might be facilitated to enhance the consolidation of spontaneously developed refugee settlements.

Examples such as the Kampung Improvement Programme in Indonesian cities - a successful and probably the most extensive programme to date - indicate that significant improvements in the physical environment can take place at remarkably low costs. Over 3.3 million low income urban dwellers have benefitted from a 10

year programme of upgrading at a remarkably low cost of \$160 per capita (World Bank 1992:83). It would be instructive to relate these costs, and the resulting improvement to standards, to those involved to the infrastructure costs in a comparable refugee camp settings.

Only one study of any detail has been identified on urban informal housing processes for refugees/forcibly displaced has been located in the literature search - in Beruit (Souhail 1989). It mirrors suprisingly closely the literature on rapidly urbanising cities. Lacking organized emergency shelter, 50000 people displaced from the division of the city squatted on vacant land or empty properties. The advantages of supporting the displaced in situ and the economical use of existing infrastructure were noted. Government intervention to upgrade the infrastructure (water and sanitation) and provision of social services was noted.

Clearly there is not scope in this paper more than to sketch the main elements relevant to refugee situations.

* An initial step should be much closer collaboration and technical exchange between UNHCR and UNCHS (Habitat) Nairobi - the latter has highly developed information and documentation functions and the accumulated expertise of two decades.

Evidence from the cities of the developing world suggests that the following elements could be transferable to the upgrading and consolidation of refugee settlements :

- * perceived (not necessarily formal) security of land occupancy is most fundamental to the success of upgrading programmes and is a vital trigger to self help consolidation processes; this would require major change in the responses of governments and agencies to the status of refugees;
- * settlements should be integrated possibly by infill processes into larger scale developments and infrastructure provision; this ensures better social integration and scale economies;
- * upgrading of social, not the physical infrastructure is often the priority for low income groups; this implies that technocratic assumptions need to be very careful tested against refugee aspirations;
- * design with and adapt local technologies and materials; this reduces costs and builds an easier to maintain environment (section 2);
- * ensure that proposals are affordable and sustainable in terms of life cycle costs; donors and agencies may adopt emergency solutions despite all the evidence that emergencies usually turn into protracted needs and short term savings cretae long term costs;
- * performance indicators are preferable to prescribed building regulations and planning standards; this flexibility creates many more opportunities for low

income groups to adapt and design their own, and generally more affordable solutions (Section 2)

- * high levels and innovative methods of participation of the community and involvement of the beneficiaries at all stages of the design and development process are essential; this cannot be over-emphasised, but the uncertain status accorded refugees both legally and perceived as a depedent social group has severely limited the efficacy of most participatory decision making;
- * access to formal and informal funding sources and innovative funding methods are necessary (section 4);
- * there is a premium on institutional coordination, sustaining momentum of the programme and rapid implementation;
- * access to building materials, materials loans are desirable to overcome shortfalls (section 2);
- * extensive technological expertise on provision of water and sanitation (the basic requirements for improving refugee settlements as well) both in upgrading and sites and services schemes should be shared with refugee camp planners.

These factors, and the technical experience which supports them, it is contended, define the new praxis for refugee camp planning.

4. RETOOLING PLANNING FOR REFUGEES - FORMAL SECTOR ALTERNATIVES TO ENCAMPMENT

Although the ideas discussed in the previous section may lead to a more appropriate praxis of camp planning, it is perhaps a reflection of the resistance to planning for durable settlement, that there has been remarkably little innovation of more progressive spatial planning policies and options for the needs of refugees, beyond encampment. Current conditions in former Yugoslavia now urgently demand such an investigation.

Contrasting conditions to the experience of refugee settlement planning in the 'south', can be postulated for the situation now confronted in SE and eastern Europe, although there are significant variations. These are:

- * economies with an urban-industrial sector (albeit small scale), and thus a higher proportion of the host and, potentially, the refugee population in the urban sector;
- * the existence (if not the operation) of planning institutions, plans and codes of control over land use and development;
- * existing or emerging proprietorial interests in land and, by comparison, less easy access to land supply.

These factors can create major constraints and limit the flexibility that agencies and governments have traditionally had in determining refugee settlement plans in the developing world. But they also offer positive opportunities for innovative planing responses if procedures and practices are carefully reviewed and new approaches to policy making adopted.

There is little experience to build on. The closest examples are perhaps in: Greece, after 1922, where quite large numbers of refugees were eventually absorbed in the urban sector (see for example Hirschon 1988; Marrus 1985); in Greece with the return of the Pontic Greeks (Journal of Refugee Studies 1992); and in Cyprus after 1974, characterised by a number of planning innovations in both urban and rural locations (Zetter 1987; 1991; 1992). In all three cases, deriving from what would now be called ethnic cleansing, the absorption of refugees and forcibly displaced people by hosts of similar if not identical ethnicity, is of particular relevance to the present needs in former Yugoslavia.

Reusing the Built Environment

As the post-invasion crisis of 1974 in Cyprus evolved into protracted displacement, a large number of the more than 7000 housing units, vacated by Turkish Cypriots in the process of reverse forced migration, were gradually occupied by the Greek-Cypriots displaced from the north. Understandable psychological resistance had to

be overcome, although some houses were occupied by mutual consent. The Government quickly institutionalised this process by establishing a sophisticated registration system of all the properties. Temporary occupancy licences were granted to regularise the situation and to ensure the inalienable rights of the owners should they return. Considerable rehabilitation of the properties has subsequently taken place, funded by grants and loans from the government and by the householders, themselves. This initiative accounts for about 15% of the total housing provision for the displaced Greek-Cypriots - of an aggregate programme of some 47000 units. There are four principle benefits.

- * on economic grounds alone it represents an effective utilisation of otherwise idle investment;
- * in the early years of the crisis, the occupancy of these houses represented a much higher proportion of available housing which provided an important safety valve against enormous supply side shortfalls;
- * a substantial number of the forcibly displaced have been rehoused in the community, socially a preferable alternative, and more closely linked into employment and agricultural opportunities than is usually the case for refugees;
- * the occupation of Turkish-Cypriot housing in some of the less developed areas, has since been coordinated with investment in rural economic development, accelerating, quite rapidly, commercial farming potential and more recently small scale tourism. This is an excellent example of a developmental approach to refugee needs.

This policy could be replicated in other countries and, with necessary modifications, achieve similarly positive benefits. Indeed there is evidence in the media that it is occurring widely now in the countries of fromer Yugoslavia. Potentially the 're-use' policy could be extended to include not only property (housing and land) vacated by refugees involved in reverse movements, but as an appropriate intervention to exploit areas where rural depopulation may have taken place - eg in northern Slovenia (Elliot 1993). Again this would be an efficient utilisation of idle investment, especially if integrated into regional plans and linked into donor supported projects for refugees and hosts.

The major constraint to such formalising such policies is a political one. It suggests not only permanency, but also implies an apparant sanctioning of population transfer by ethnic cleansing.

Planning Codes and Standards

Retooling of current planning practice must also tackle planning codes and standards. In Greece, the Asia Minor refugees in Athens have displayed a prodigous ability to partition and subdivide houses, largely to retain the cultural norms of the dowry

house (Hirschon 1988). In Cyprus, the displaced have extended houses built for them by the government and set up informal sector businesses in them, despite the prohibition of planning policies (Zetter 1987; 1991). The self build housing schemes also demonstrate the high propensity to extend - densification is leading to overdevelopement. Likewise in the self build housing areas, density and use standards have been contravened. In Sudan, refugees increased their toe hold in urban housing, consolidating shacks and 'becoming fully urbanized' (Rogge 1990:21: Post 1985), although still living in squalid conditions. Refugees, like their migrant counterparts, urban squatters, display remarkable capacity to adapt and extend dwellings and diversify the uses of them. These three examples evidence the demand from migrants and refugees, even under conditions of constraint. They demonstrate the important conclusion that planning standards - densities, acceptable additional uses and, above all, attitudes physical extension and adaptation to accomodate refugees - must be revised. Several benefits are to be anticipated from revising codes and standards.

- * rapid expansion of the capacity of the stock or a reduction in overcrowding;
- * increase in stock at much lower cost than institutionalised provision; simultaneously, these revisions would most likely unlock idle investment capital;
- * likely multiplier effect in the local economy for small contracting enterprises, artisanal builders and the building materials industry;
- * assisting the process of refugee integration.

Expanding the Rental Sector

Stimulating the rental housing sector and, enhancing refugee access to it, was proposed for refugees in the Sudan (Post 1985; Rogge 1990), although no further information is available on whether this was implemented. Goovaerts (1993) also advocates this way of widening shelter options in former-Yugoslavia. If mobilised in a comprehensive way this could encourage developers, quite rapidly, to build small and medium scale projects, or make improvements or conversions to existing properties. At the same time it could make a real contribution to reducing the burden on households sharing grossly overcrowded accommodation, or increase the supply of housing. In general, this could be anticipated to have similiar benefits to the previous two intitiatives. However, it requires major changes in policies of donors and assistance agencies; this is discussed below.

Sites and Services

During the last decade, one of the most significant methods of providing affordable shelter to the urban low income groups in the cities in the developing world, has been the sites and services approach; the World Bank was a keen advocate and a principal donor (Payne 1985; World Bank 1992). These schemes provide low cost

serviced plots (to varying levels of provision) to beneficiaries who then self-build shelter. A wet core is conventional and sometimes a starter room. The projects can be uprated in time, with increased or improved services when these can be afforded by the beneficiaries.

With a preference for enabling - ie market-led - methods of housing provision, institutionalised approaches like sites and services are now less favoured. Nevertheless, they offer potential for providing for some refugee housing needs in some situations. Experience suggests that the crucial elements in the success of this policy are: land availability, plot and housing construction standards which are affordable by the beneficiaries, control over administrative costs, effective financing methods for the beneficiaries. These conditions apply equally to the refugee situation. Many of the implications have been discussed in various parts of the paper in terms of tenure security, standards and affordability, major changes in policy with regard to the long term status of refugees in host countries; funding requirements are considered below.

Such an approach has been extensively used in Cyprus, where over 11000 plots have been developed by individual households on government serviced land and 12000 on privately owned plots (Zetter 1987; 1992). Low interest loans and grants were made available according to means tests, and the displaced families were required to build according to approved plans. These have been extensively 'customised' and it is evident from that levels of investment are substantially higher than the grant/loan. The sizes of the projects vary from over 1000 plots adjacent to urban areas to quite small developments of 20 or 30 units on rural locations.

The programme captalises on the strong cultural traditions of self build in the island - a potential unlocked in novel circumstances - and introduced, ironically, when more institutionalised forms of housing the refugees proved totally inadequate to cope with the demand. The advantages of self help processes have already been discussed (section 2); and as a developmental response to protracted displacement it has much to commend it in social and economic terms (see section 6). It offers a model which could be replicated in other countries, with modifications made to accommodate local economic and social conditions and construction technologies. Significantly, there is little variation in the commitment to repatriation amongst the displaced Greek Cypriots between this form of housing and other modes, even after 20 years of exile (Zetter 1993).

Although not yet available in published documents, a sites and services approach is being used in Croatia, with capacity for 12500 people to date. Access is available to refuges and the internally displaced. The infrastructure is permanent but dwelling units are prefabricated. Already gardens are being established and the dwelling units and plots are asuming individual identity. It is principally funded by external donors and unfortunately with a high level of imported capital and professional expertise.

Financing Housing Initiatives

The essence of these different initiatives is that they improve the quality of residential provision for the refugees directly and for the hosts, indirectly. As Goovaerts (1993) points out, it is generally the lower income group hosts who incur the financial and physical space burdens of sheltering refugees, and who experience the tensions which arise when resources become overstretched. Investment in their housing helps to mitigate some of the pressures. Moreover if refugees and the displaced return, the hosts will also be the beneficiaries of developmental investment.

These proposals however are contingent on fundamental changes to the funding policies of donors, assistance agencies and governments.

Host governments will need to stimulate adjustmentments in the savings and lending policies of banking institutions, for example preferential interest rates for loans on property, for small scale residential development and to enhance building materials production and small-scale contractors. There might also be a case for investment grants as well as loans. Fiscal policies might require amendment to create the necessary incentives. Indeed, if the Cyprus case is relevant, reductions in bank liquidity rates which directed investment into the housing sector after 1974, together with preferential tax policies for the capital rebuilding of the construction industry were significant elements in producing the sector's recovery (section 6).

Changes in landlord and tenant and rent control legislation to protect refugees from exploitation might also be necessary. New types of short term leasehold may need to be established.

All these interventions offer some potential but will need to be examined in each case. They are relatively straightforwrad to adopt and there are obvious advantages for host governments to pursue them.

However, far more problematic is the challenge which these initiatives pose to the current assistance policies and priorities of donors and NGOs. Assistance which is largely developmental, as opposed to emergency, and is based on equity for hosts and refugees, as opposed to differentiation and selectivity, will require major reshaping of assistance policies of donors. Stimulating property extension, rental housing provision, rent support mechanisms, and substantial long term investment in durable housing are certainly unconventional options at present. But these should all be examined as ways of diversifying supply in the emergency and post emergency phases. They are likely to be much more responsive and faster to mobilise than conventional institutionalised responses.

The economics of housing market conditions will vary in each country and will probably differ between localities within the same country. This must be investigated in each case. But the opportunity cost of aid invested in the domestic housing market is likely to be rather more attractive than for conventional shelter and settlement responses and has additional social benefits and economic multipliers.

Planning as Promotion

Physical/spatial plans provide one framework within which the developmental opportunities and pressures which refugees create can be evaluated and incorporated. Potentially there are several benefits over conditions currently pertaining in most refugee hosting countries:

- * donors and agencies could make decisions on projects within a broader context;
- * the needs of hosts and refugees could be evaluated in a more integrated way;
- * host governments would have a clearer framework for coordinating, managing, programming and implementing assistance programmes and for integrating these into the mainstream of spatial planning policies for the hosts:
- * environmental impacts could be more clearly anticipated and policies prepared to ameliorate them:
- * the transition from emergency aid to developmental planning would be facilitated.

Regrettably, few countries hosting refugees have adequate planning tools for existing needs and what capacity exists is strained by the additional pressures which refugees create. However, even in these limiting circumstances, systematic consideration should be given to co-ordinated decision making and investment implemenation.

Preparedness planning linked to refugee early warning systems is clearly desirable (see section 2 and conclusions). These systems require much more development. And so, in their absence, the conventional response is to conduct a multi-agency needs assessment survey to clarify capabilities, responsibilities and ad hoc commitments. Necessary as NASs are, two major shortcomings usually occur. First, existing incountry planning capacity is bypassed. Second, only occassionally do they include ad hoc planning exercises - usually for selecting sites for camps, for example in Turkey (eg PTSS 91/10) and in Bosnia and Croatia (PTSS 92/49N). Very rarely do they link to more comprehensive planning processes, for example the preparation or revision of a spatial planning strategy (see eg PTSS 91/02 on planning in Syria after the Gulf crisis).

But NASs could be linked to innovative and action oriented planning methodologies such as 'rapid appraisal' and 'action planning'. Despite their limitations, they are quite adequate for emergency situations. They can: provide base line data on land use and environmental conditions; sieve potential development locations; identify existing infrastructure provision; generate a schematic outline of options, development proposals and plan of action; and assess the resource and institutional capacities for implementation. They can provide a much needed framework within which QIPs can be evaluated. These forms of plan making and implementation process could enhance the institutional capability of the host country to handle

refugee planning. The most positive consequence would be to redirect the thinking of governments, donors and agencies away from project driven and short term interventions towards developmental strategies for refugees and hosts.

Refugee influxes should trigger a rapid review of plans for the urban areas as well-again using an action planning method - so that provision for refugees and their needs are incorporated into the comprehensive plans for the impacted localities. Linking new residential areas (eg sites and services schemes for refugees) to land allocated for industrial development is one obvious proposal. The development of new, or the more efficient use of existing, infrastructure should be considered in the locational decisions which have to made. Thus in Cyprus again, 'refugee' housing estates were located on the urban periphery with precisely these intentions. They are now incorporated into the urban fabric, as the towns have expanded (Zetter 1987). One planning gain is the piecemeal construction, with each estate, of sections of major distributor roads: most are now complete. The displaced Greek Cypriots have been integrated into the urban sector with positive economic outcomes at household and macro-economic levels. Again these are excellent examples of a developmental approach benefitting both the displaced and their hosts, although the social consequences are questionable.

The princole constraint is to convince donors and agencies of the acceptability of this integrated form of development.

5. PLANNING BY REFUGEES - THE LESSONS FROM SPONTANEOUS SETTLEMENT

Camps and similar forms of institutionalised provision accommodate relatively small numbers of refugees - eg 50% in Zimbabwe (Zetter 1992a), 40% in Malawi (Government of Malawi 1990), 20% of Eritreans in Sudan (Kok 1989), 5% in Slovenia (Elliot 1993), and less than 50% in Croatia (Harrell-Bond 1993) - the majority of the world's refugees preferring to self settle.

From the refugees' perspective, location of settlement can be a vital factor in their livelihood and survival strategies and the chances of integration within the local economy (Government of Malawi 1987; Wilson et al. 1989; Ager 1991; Zetter 1992). Conversely, unconstrained mass movements of refugees into an area have dramatic impacts on the already fragile environments and economies of host countries. This makes imperative the need to consider refugee settlement policy within a broader planning frame (UNHCR 1992).

Whilst these conditions are widely acknowledged, there are suprisingly few detailed studies of the relationship of refugee settlements (whether spontaneous or planned) to their surrounding areas. Perhaps even more remarkable is that all but one (Goethert and Hamdi 1990) of the site planning manuals previously cited, fail to mention regional locational factors in the planned settlement of refugees - even given that locational choices are severely constrained. The UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies (1982), for example, deals entirely with site specific requirements but not the regional or sub-regional context.

Few host countries in the developing world have well articulated regional planning or guidance. But, as the foregoing argument suggests, the regional dimension of refugee settlement planning should not be left to chance. There is an extensive agenda for action.

Self-settled Refugees and the Regional Context

One of the most comprehensive of several studies carried out in this context in the last decade, was conducted amongst the Eritrean refugees (some 75% of whom were self settled) in Kassala, Eastern Sudan (Kuhlman et al. 1987; Kok 1989). Its importance is that it specifically addresses the impacts of refugees on their hosts within a regional analysis framework. The main findings of this study show that despite severe environmental degradation (only partially the result of the influx of refugees and displaced people) and the constraints on refugee economic activity, the congeniality of the host area led to high levels of social integration and broadly similar levels of economic status. Eritrean refugees consumed scarce resources (notably water) though significantly less than their hosts. There was crowding out in local labour markets but, conversely, refugee labour and demand had stimulated a large expansion of the horticultural sector. Urban refugees in Kassala town had integrated into the local labour market of the burgeoning economy of the city -

paradoxically partly derived from the assistance programme to service their needs (see also Post 1985). This was generally in lower socio-economic status jobs than their hosts.

At the time of the study the regional capacity to absorb more migrants was assessed to have reached its limit. Although the self settled refugees had made positive contributions, it was concluded that their overall impact had negative consequences for the region. But as Kok observes, the same 'applies to the refugees in organized settlements, but in this case their cost to the Sudanese and the international community, has so far been much greater' (Kok 1989:439).

These findings are elaborated by a number of other field studies (Wilson et al. 1989; Hansen 1990; Harrell-Bond 1990; Hansch 1992). In all these cases the researchers show that the characteristics of regional setting are one of the main determinant of refugees' survival strategies - whether encamped or self settled. Wilson et al's study of Mozambicans in Malawi (1989) and Hansen's study of Angolan refugees in Zambia (1990) consider both self settled and government settled refugees, showing self settlement to be the more beneficial, although not necessarily in economic terms: these, of course, were not the refugees receiving assistance.

Wilson et al.(1989) show how an essential input for the survival strategies of Mozambican refugee households in Malawi derived from access to wage and bartered employment on smallholder and commercial farms. Piece work and petty trading in the hinterland surrounding the settlements, as well as extensive trading of food aid, all contributed to the household incomes. Refugees and Malawians have originated many niches for income generation.

Significant regional variations occurred with wage rates found to vary by a factor of two between districts. These are explained by variations in the ecological capacity of localities and the agro-ecological potential of settlement hinterlands - since refugees relied heavily on natural resources to meet their basic needs. These factors were not only crucial to their survival but also in relation to the environmental impacts they created (Wilson 1992:229). Agricultural expansion increased (as in Sudan (Kok 1989)) and this intensification was reinforced through refugee employment. In some areas refugees displaced locals in the labour market, or their economic activation was caused by the commoditisation of previously unmarketed goods. Ager's study (1991), also in Malawi, makes the point that women seemed far more integrated into local economic activity in self settled locations than in camps, where men tended to dominate the economic opportunites.

Conversely, Wilson's study shows that in more isolated areas, refugees could not so easily sell their food or labour because local markets were small and saturated and essential consumer goods relatively expensive because of transport costs.

In short, despite the obvious strains on the hosts and their environment, these studies of Malawi, like those in Sudan (Kok 1989; Harrell-Bond 1990), demonstrate that positive benefits occurred for both hosts and refugees within an increasingly integrated economic system. These outcomes are underpinned by the assistance

programme in Malawi which is unusual in the extent to which the Government has ensured that a parallel aid programme has not developed and the social and physical infrastructure - hospital, roads, social services - has been provided for both refugees and hosts (Zetter 1992(a); Government of Malawi 1990).

As Wilson observes 'the level of engagement of refugees in host economy is strongly affected by the size of that economy and potential to absorb new labour and skills' (Wilson 1992:229) - precisely the agenda of regional policy. He might also have added the corollary, the effectiveness of the refugees and hosts in expanding the capacity and productivity of the regional economy.

Yet, ironically, it is almost invariably the case that refugees are settled in the most marginal areas where the carrying capacity of the land is most limited, access to alternative sources of commodities and income most limited and the environment most vulnerable to degradation. Especially is this the case for the acquisition of building materials either gathered from the surrounding areas - timber, thatch, mud - or affordable from commercial local building supplies.

Encamped Refugees and the Regional Economy

Not suprisingly, studies of encamped refugees bear out these findings about the crucial need to integrate refugees into the regional and local economy. Hansch's study of encamped refugees in Mexico and Honduras places similar emphasis on the importance of the camp setting vis a vis access to local markets (1992). He shows how with length of stay, refugees become more familiar and integrated into the local economy with develop intricate strategies for trading food aid.

Likewise, Christiansen's extensive work over the last decade (Christensen 1982; 1983; 1987), also shows how the trading of surplus food (surplus in an economic, not nutritional sense) is essential to survival and this is contingent on the capacity of local markets in Somalia and Pakistan. Despite encampment, she emphasizes how self help income generation - trading and local employment - commenced amongst Afghan refugees well before official interventions. Employment was short term and irregular and, as in Wilson's Malawi study, dependent on access to local labour markets in agriculture, semi-skilled and skilled occupations. The most important point she makes is that it is not aid <u>per se</u> which is important, but the resourcefulness with which the recipients invest it in other than survival needs. In other words, assistance is commodified into a resource which allows entry into the regional and local economy and the opportunity to consolidate and enhance the economic survival of refugee households.

Planned Responses and the Regional Context

Despite the strains which self settled refugees place on a region's economy, environment and society, this does not, as Kok argues, 'constitute a good argument for the resettlement of refugees into organized settlements elsewhere in the country'(1989: 438). Nevertheless planned settlement schemes, usually based on the the objective of increasing agricultural production, have been widely deployed, most

notably in Africa, as a response in protracted refugee situations. The contentions are: that they offer a more durable solution than camps; and that by removing refugees from localities which are unable to cope with the burden, they can be resettled in areas of acountry with under-utilised capacity, often as part of development strategies for. A key assumption is that refugees can achieve self-sufficiency in the settlement schemes (Bachet 1981). Unfortunately, from Kibreab's findings (1989) analysing 106 UNHCR assisted rural settlements developed in Africa in the period 1962-82, only nine had attained any form of self sufficiency (ie independently of external assistance over an extended period). They account for an investment of over US\$ 274m by the UNHCR alone, yet accommodate only 25% of the estimated refugee population in Africa.

Kibreab's evidence is widely corroborated in other studies (Refugee Policy Group 1986; Armstrong 1988; Black and Mwabe 1992). These show how ecological capacities are limited, agricultural methods are poorly adapted to local conditions and can lead to rapid depletion in soil fertility and infrastructure is insufficient to integrate them into the regional or national economy. There is dependency on external assistance. The schemes are often located on marginal land and yields rapidly decline as cultivation intensifies or as population increase is not matched by increasing land provision. Economic activity is insufficiently diverse to provide the potential for self sufficiency. Above all most of the settlements are too isolated and integration in to the local economy is often officially prevented.

An Agenda for Regional Planning

How do these studies inform more coherent responses to refugee inpacts?

Clearly there are case-specific factors here which cannot be replicated and there are more policy stances which lie outside the regional frame of planning for refugees - the attitude of governments to settlement and the role of hosts in providing land and shelter for the refugees. Ethnic similiarities and closeness to areas of origin are also relevant but independent variables. Moreover, given the experience with planned settlement schemes, the prognosis for regional planning in the context of refugee influxes is unclear.

Nonetheless, these studies have been considered in detail because they are instructive about the complex of regional and locational considerations which should be, but rarely are, taken into account when refugee policies are being formulated. It is reassuring to note that some regional level considerations are finding their way into needs assessments (UNHCR PTSS 91/05; 91/10) albeit in an ad hoc fashion.

A prescribed approach to regional planning of refugee impacted would be dangerous and specific conditions will determine the tasks. In any case, regional planning can adopt many forms - a process of resource audit and evaluating the capacity for sustainability; a method of investment allocation and the stimulation of economic development; a process of ensuring the efficient functioning of the regional economy; a tool to ensure the compatible development of economic activities and settlement and infrastructure patterns. In a sense, the need for all these forms of regional

consideration is implicit in the case studies. The fact is that the positive outcomes were largely accidental: the negative outcomes the result of a failure to evaluate and plan for refugee impacts. In neither case was an integrated approach adopted.

What is essential is to recognise that although refugee influxes should trigger a regionally-based responses, this should not be driven by the impacts and needs of refugees. Existing schematic plans should be enhanced, the tasks should build on the existing capacity and institutional frameworks, and stategies for developing and conserving the resource base of the area must consider the interests of hosts and refugees in tandem.

In these terms, the following considerations are amongst the main constituents of a regional scale considerations:

- * base line data on the the regions' main resource bases (economic and environmental), existing capacity/shortfalls and productive potential and the likely impact of given levels of refugees;
- * government and agency assistance policies which eliminate restrictions on refugees gaining access to labour markets are essential; participation in the economy of the region is likely to be the single most beneficial objective for both hosts and refugees;
- * an assessment of the capacity of local labour markets to absorb refugee labour in the urban and rural sectors and the interventions which governments and agencies might make to enhance the capacity; policies to avoid negative disequilibrium effects are essential;
- assessment of the feasibility of expanding urban economic activity;
- * assessment of the carrying capacity of the land; this includes the short and long term agricultural potential, for example soil fertility, as well the natural resource base for example for fire wood, building materials etc; formulation of policies to address shortfalls;
- * opportunities to diversify the economic base for rural refugees away from agriculture as the sole activity:
- * refugee wellbeing and integration is best enhanced by improving the general economic conditions of the impacted area, rather than by the supply of goods and projects for which there is no, or alternatively a highly competitive, market; demand side interventions which increase the flow of goods and services should be advocated;
- * enhancing the levels of provision of regional infrastructure and the degree of integration into the national economy;
- * enhancing access to local food and commodity markets for refugees;

- * the planned and integrated provision of social and physical infrastructure for both hosts and refugees; assistance policies by donors and funders which acknowledge these joint needs;
- * contingency support at moments of extreme pressure (Kok's study showed how this was provided through a reception centre which rendered assistance at points of severest drought when carrying capacity of land and economy was at its most fragile).

Developing appropriate regional level polices in respone to refugee influxes constitutes perhaps the most important area for future research.

6. REFUGEES AS DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES - A MACRO-ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

The negative impact of refugees on the economic of the host country is usually premised on some or all of the following assumptions - that refugees: consume mainstream development resources; destabilise local labour and commodity markets; create supply blockages; accentuate the scarcity of basic resources; become dependent populations on asssistance and uncompensated public expenditure. This orthodoxy, however, ignores important evidence from two other policy environments. These demonstrate how, on the one hand, the disequilibrium of disaster, and, on the other, the specific contribution of the housing and construction sector to national economic growth, can be the catalysts for development opportunities.

The literature on how communities rebuild after natural disasters or enforced displacement is particularly instructive for rethinking responses to refugee influxes at the national planning level. Here, as Cuny (1983,1992) amongst others (Cuenod 1989; Gorman 1987; ICVA/UNHCR 1985; Kok 1989) notes, there has been a remarkable turnaround in thinking. High levels of external intervention represented by the 'relief model' approach and assumptions about the negative impacts of disaster, have been replaced by the 'disaster as development' model. Evidence cited especially from a number of Latin American countries (Anderson and Woodrow 1989), but also from elsewhere (Aysan and Davis 1992) indicates two conclusions in even the most extreme situations. First, the disequilibrium of disaster may often help to break through economic, social and institutional barriers and create opportunities to kick start the economy through the physical process of reconstruction. Second, with the minimum of external support and the maximum of participation, disaster victims are best left to do what they know best - to rebuild their own houses and communities.

The role of housing in economic development constitutes the second policy environment. In many developing countries, housing processes and construction are acknowledged to be one of the leading sectors of economic growth. Whether in the formal or the informal economy, housing is a significant multiplier in employment and the building materials industry; it absorbs labour with low opportunity cost; it stimulates an increase in interhousehold income transfers and adds significantly to the capital formation of the national economy. (UNCHS 1987,209-211; UNCHS 1984; World Bank 1992:62-64). Significantly, these positive impacts are highest in the case of low income households. Typically housing investment may account for up to 20% of GNP (Malpezzi, Tipple and Willis 1990) and is the 'single largest form of fixed capital investment' (Tipple 1991:1), representing up to 50% in some situations. Arguably the conditions under which impacts occur - large scale urban migration and rapid urbanisation through unplanned squatter settlements, typically representing up to 60%/70% of urban housing provision in many third world cities - bear some comparison with the impact of refugee influxes. Yet the macro-economic developmental potential which the mass shelter needs of refugees can similarly offer to host countries has not, to date, been widely recognised.

Refugees, Housing and Economic Development

The conjuncture of these two policy environments creates new perspectives on planning for refugees at the national level. Unique to date is the experience of Cyprus in this context. Such is its significance in relation to the present and probably protracted conditions of displacement in SE Europe, that it is worth considering the implications in some detail. My research (Zetter 1987;1991;1992) shows how, after the Turkish invasion of 1974, and deploying a disaster as development model, the Government's large scale rehousing of the forcibly displaced served not only to absorb the population in the unoccupied southern half of the island (some 180,000 Greek Cypriots, nearly 40% of the country's population), but also to rebuild the shattered economy.

This programme was mobilised through a series of Emergency Economic Action Plans between 1975-1986 (Republic of Cyprus 1975; 1977; 1979; 1982), incorporating all sectors of the economy. The economy was devastated; but the 40% of the population who were homeless represented significant demand. The refugees were impoverished; but a rehoused labour force supporting an entrepreneurial economy, offered considerable scope for revival and expansion. The opportunity costs of commercial farming in previously under-developed rural areas were dramatically reduced, encouraging new settlement and production.

The housing programme of about 48000 units to date, which was largely accomplished within a decade and a half of the invasion, comprised three main components - contractor built estates (13600 units); the more popular self build housing on government sites and serviced land (11600) and private land (12000) and the rehabilitation of property vacated by Turkish Cypriots involved in the reverse migration to the north (7200, see section 4). The housing programme accounted for 40% of public sector development expenditure up to 1981 (remakably little of it from international assistance, most of it through a variety of innovative methods of taxation and savings). Between 1976 and 1981 GDP expanded by 9% pa average, unemployment fell from 30% in 1974 to less than 2% by 1978. During in this period it was the construction industry which showed the propensity for the fastest growth in the economy and dominated capital formation - largely the result of government investment in the refugee housing programme. Fiscal policies encouraged both housing investment and the restructuring of the construction and building materials industry to ensure that it had the capability to deliver the rebuilding programme. Significantly, before 1974, public sector housing provision scarcely existed. The capacity was mobilised ab initio.

Beyond the humanitarian concerns, a number of factors account for this remarkable achievement, offering the possibility for replication elsewhere.

* a unique characteristic is the response through national level <u>economic</u> policies, conceptualising the situation in terms of a developmental opportunity and durable solutions, rather than a short term emergency assistance and relief operation. For example, whilst emergency funds were established, expenditure

was always set within the context of development budgets;.

- * a strongly interventionist role for the public sector and integrated planning investment capital, logistics, interagency/interministerial management and coordination were imperatives, achieved, it should be emphasized, through the line ministries not by setting up a parallel institutional structures;
- * disaster as development was institutionalised in a series of Emergency Economic Development Plans to guide the reconstruction of the economy and ensure a fully integrated planning process;
- * the economy was rebuilt and housing largely provided in the urban sector, despiten the rural origins of a majority of the refugees;
- * implementation procedures were established to cope with the emergency situation; land acquisition procedures, housing and estate design and tendering mechanisms were all expedited;
- * at the physical planning level, housing developments were built close to new employment centres on the urban periphery and widely distributed in the rural areas where, even though farm land land was limited, there was scope for agriculture;
- * especially in rural areas, houses and of course farm land left by the displaced Turkish-Cypriots has been gradually rehabilitated and leased to forcibly displaced Greek-Cypriots (see section 4);
- * refugees were not marginalised from the mainstream of the economy of the hosts, where their potential contribution to re-building the shattered economy would have been lost. The planned response was designed to achieve both, their spatial and economic integration;

Mistakes were made in the early stages - construction methods were poor, the estates were too large and the allocation of housing has generated social discontinuity. But modifications have been adopted, most notably in the switch to self build housing (see section 5) which now evidence exceptional levels of investment and standards of construction.

Whilst from another perspective the refugees have been incorporated, far from a burden, they have literally and metaphorically rebuilt the south of the island in which the housing programme has been a leading sector in the reconstruction. Here is a forcibly displaced population for whom an uncompromisingly long-term developmental approach to their needs has established self sufficiency.

Other countries have set in place institutional frameworks to support an integrated approach to the provision of assistance for refugees and hosts. Zimbabwe and more especially, Malawi are cases in point. In Malawi, certainly until eighteen months ago,

the Government coordinated the assistance programme at central government level and ensured that aid was channelled through line ministries and District Offices. There is some evidence of developmental approaches in the integrated provision of infrastructure (Tamandong-Helin and Helin 1990; Zetter 1992(a)). These are essential first stages in adopting a developmental approach. However, national level programme coordination never extended to a national level planning process in which the 15% of the population who were refugees might be incorporated.

Ambitions for an integated and development-led approach were set out as long ago as 1961 in the 17th Session of the UN General Assembly (Kibreab 1991:91) and an integrated planning response for refugees after the Congo crisis in the early 1960s was attempted. More recently, important policy documents such as Ex Com's 1984 'Principles for Action in Developing Countries' (UN 1984) and ICVA/UNHCR Development Approaches (1985) established a coherent framework which could lead to the integrated long term developmental responses of the kind achieved in Cyprus. ICARA I (1981) and ICARA II (1984) were also essential building blocks in this processes (see Cuenod 1990).

To date these ambitions remain largely frustrated, with only fragmentary evidence that there has been an integrated approach and, with the exception of Cyprus, no evidence available of comprehensive national level reformulation of economic development plans.

7. CONCLUSIONS - LESSONS LEARNED AND FUTURE OPTIONS

Of the many lessons available form this overview, the following constitute a plan of action for the reconceptualisation of shelter and settlement policies for refugees.

A. Human Resources: Skills, Expertise and Training

- 1. The need for spatial planning: Refugee assistance programmes have ignored the contribution which planning can make to shelter and settlement needs and responses, to programme coordination and to the implementation of developmental strategies in conditions of limited resource availability. These requirements are acutely experienced in refugee situations and the case for a more integrated and developmentally orientated approach for the benefit of hosts and refugees is clear. This need is often sacrificed to dictates of emergency situations and pragmatic pressures.
- Training needs and the stockpiling of knowledge: Necessary to achieve 2. effective implementation of spatial policies, is the redeployment of existing skills and some retooling of the methods and strategies successfully used in less stressed policy environments - especially upgrading and self help strategies. Retraining is best developed and conducted within countries already hosting refugees, or as part of refugee preparedness policies. Desirable would be the provision of additional specialist modules or courses attached to existing degrees, technicians' diplomas and para-professional qualifications in planning, architecture, housing management, engineering - if these are available so that a skills resource base is built up prior to emergency needs. Appropriate expertise in, for example, informal settlement upgrading programmes, accelerated land provision, self help mobilisation, action planning are, in any case, relevant to the conventional planning requirements of most countries facing large scale refugee influxes.
- 3. <u>Institutional structures</u>: Shelter and settlement planning for refugees should be conducted within the existing institutional structures of the country. This facilitates a comprehensive appraisal of the burdens and opportunities presented by refugees at different spatial scales. It provides a framework for the coordination of government, relief and intergovernmental agencies' interests and expertise. It helps to ensure integrated policy planning and project programming for hosts and refugees at local, regional and national scales. It underpins developmental and strategic approaches, not those driven primarily by emergency needs and the sectoral specialisms of donors and agencies. It ensures that the implementation tasks are integrated into the operational practices of line ministries. It encourages local organizations to administer and service refugee settlements within a broader framework.

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- 4. Improving the information base: Evidence in this paper suggests that the transfer of experience and information in the refugee shelter and settlement sector has been very limited. UNHCR and/or a research-based institution should establish an information network, of the kind provided by UNCHS, to allow for the collection and dissemination of experience evaluations, technologies and policy initiatives in the sector.
- 5. Research: Independent research in the sector is an essential. More detailed evaluation of current practice and experience would assist in refining present responses. It is an prerequisite for the development of more appropriate spatial policy responses and interventions in future refugee crisis. If refugee preparedness planning is to be seriously considered, it must be based on authoratitive research which would indicate and anticipate the potential consequences of preparedness plans on refugee and host communities.
- 6. A refugee settlement and shelter audit stockpiling knowledge and information in-country: A number of countries already have disaster preparedness capability in government or academic institutions. This in-country capacity should be extended or initiated for refugee preparedness. The knowledge and data which should be stockpiled in such an audit might include: land availability (preferably serviced), overview of regional environmental capacities/potential impacts of given numbers of refugees, local/vernacular/cultural typologies and building technologies, capacity and shortfalls of indigenous housing market, local contracting capacity, availability of building materials supplies, purchasing proceedures.

B. Materials and Technologies

7. Local technologies: shelter and settlement policies must be conceived within the materials and skills resource base of the host countries and the refugees. Refugee influxes may accentuate local shortages, although a planned response through region-wide assessment and provision might overcome these constraints. In-country manufacture, supply and purchase can provide important multipliers. Indigenous solutions and technologies have repeatedly been shown to be more adaptable, more rapidly responsive and more culturally sensitive than imported technologies. Prescriptive standards should be avoided, indigenous responses, the presenting situation and the environmental characteristics of the locality should determine the implementation process, not 'standards'.

MATERIALS.../cont.

8. Stockpiling shelter and materials: stockpiling is not recommended for more than emergency needs; and even for emergencies it is unlikely that sufficient provision adaptable to actual needs can easily be made. The exception is the provision of building tools. Building materials and commodities such as tents or prefabricated shelter cannot easily be stockpiled because this: ties up development capital, is expensive, may well create local shortages, leads to degradation and thus wastage, expensive transport and break of bulk costs, difficulties if crucial components have been lost or inadequately requsitioned.

C. Planning and Process

- 9. Macro-level planning and economic policy a developmental approach:
 Conceiving refugees as a burden has meant that the potential which they
 can contribute to the aggregate demand for and supply of goods and
 services in a national economy has been largely ignored in policy
 formulation. An reconceptualisation of refugees as a positive resource,
 would open the door to positive policy interventions which could
 mitigate the negative disequilibrium effects and help to underpin the
 developmental opportunities that exist. Major changes in the policies of
 donors are required to fund developmental rather than emergency
 assistance in this sector. Reshaping of national development plans
 would be required of governments.
- 10. Regional Context: where refugees locate, or are located has a fundamental impact on their capacity to survive and the economic well being of their households. It has a similar impact on the economy and structure of host communities. The environmental impact of refugees is usually experienced over an extensive area. These three considerations indicate that to date there is a major gap in regional level policy making and planning, to control, manage and promote development and to conserve the resource base of impacted areas.
- 11. <u>Self help</u>: the resources which refugees bring to the shelter and settlement process skills, technologies, adaptability, locational preferences should be more closely obsrved and incorporated in planning responses.
- 12. <u>Alternative methodologies and alternative strategies for shelter and settlement</u>: most refugee influxes lend themselves to a great variety of interventions at different spatial scales. These need to be investigated and articulated more thoroughly. There are several action planning/scoping methods and processes which are adaptable to the

PLANNING.../cont.

- refugee situations. Alternative strategies include: settlement upgrading processes as a clearly stated objetive at the start of the planning cycle; site and services projects; rental housing provision; adaptation and revision of planning and building codes; reuse of vacated buildings.
- 13. <u>Integrating refugee and host communities</u>: planning processes provide a framework for mediating between the interests of refugees and hosts and for evaluating and incorporating the developmental opportunities and pressures which refugees create. An integrated approach facilitates the transition from emergency aid to developmental planning.
- 14. <u>Durable provision and the will to return</u>: Would a reformed policy of refugee shelter provision durable housing and integrated planning lead to permenancy of refugees? This is the dilemma set out in the introduction. All the available evidence suggests that repatriation from countries of first asylum at least is crucially dependent on prevailing conditions in the refugees' home country and, contigent to this, duration of exile. As a Cypriot refugee said of perhaps the most advanced formulation of the model advocated in this paper, 'We would not accept these houses, even if they were gilded: they are not ours' the will to return remains.

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PAPER

prepared for the

FIRST INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON IMPROVED SHELTER RESPONSE
AND ENVIRONMENT FOR REFUGEES

UNHCR - 29, 30 June, 1 July 1993 - Geneva

ON

SPECIFICATIONS & STANDARDS EMERGENCY & LONGER TERM

Working Group #2 Key Policy Issues:

Social Conditions, Climatic Conditions

Urban versus Rural Conditions

Political Norms

Product Development, Prototypes

Product Performance Assessment - Lessons Learned

Local versus International Shelter Provision

Shelter Range (Plastic Sheeting to Prefabs)

Piet Goovaerts, Ir.Arch., Physical Planning Consultant CASTORS, Planning & Prospects in Habitat

Brussels, 25 June 1993

DIGNITY

As much as it is UNHCR's and the entire relief organizations' primary role to help and assist in returning refugees to their home country and their homes IN DIGNITY, this workshop should focus on finding shelter solutions that can create a minimal degree of DIGNITY even in one of the most tragic periods of their life; i.e. when they are seeking temporary refuge.

(Dr.Ulrike von Buchwald, IFRC - Refugees and Displaced Persons)

Physical Planners for refugees and displaced people are able to contribute much more to assist in creating the conditions of dignity which all human beings have the right to receive, in whatever circumstances.

ak in in galagan genggalah Albagi da Dig Genggalah sakaran

Moreover, there are other elements at stake : physical planning can f.i.concretely assist in developing healthy environments.

Shelter & environmental programmes have probably lacked imagination in the development of adequate solutions and in promoting this cause for the beneficiaries at the right levels.

But, whereas it is universally recognised that food and health care are basic requirements of physical survival, shelter and environment should be recognised - as are protection, food and health care - as a fundamental right of physical and dignified survival.

As of now this may have been said and written, but unfortunately this sector of assistance meets a lot of political and operational constraints. Shelter & environment are investment oriented and project an image of long term, as well as developing these activities requires more lead time then in the other assistance sectors.

With the concern of all present at this workshop we can surely find more adequate answers.

FAMILY RELIEF TENT ("house"-type)





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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- In the general considerations the question is put forward why physical planning and shelter do not seem to have gained the same level of "need" as protection, medical and food assistance and logistics. It seems un-logical that refugees are suddenly considered to be able to cope with their environment whereas in the other sectors of assistance their dependance is more generally accepted. The shelter issue struggles nonetheless with major issues : the fact that refugees/displaced people are invading someone else's territory and are not always able to evaluate their new conditions is put forward as a need for specialist technical adivce. That this technical advice is not always taken easily has basically two fundamental roots: shelter programmes are considered by host countries as making the refugee status more permanent and the cost of adequate shelter programmes frightens the donor community. Both arguments are contradicted by the fact that refugees have other reasons to stay or to leave and that if the planning profession would get more recognition in the activities of emergency relief it would be more able to contribute substantially and not necessarily at an impossible cost. (#1->20)
- 2. The main bottleneck on adequate shelter and physical planning assistance is considered to be the lack of a global shelter policy (because too many people interfere and too few experts are involved) and the fact that physical planning has not yet been able to formulate its contributive role in a way that appeals to politicians and the public opinion. (#11->15)
- 3. Social and climatic conditions have a great impact on standards and adequate technical specifications on shelter for refugees and displaced people. Cultural and gender considerations make that a standard of a two-room family unit is proposed as the most adequate solution. Furthermore, the WHO and UNHCR standard of absolut minimum floor space per person of 3.5m2 should be enforced in all programmes. This is not considered to be the case for the time being. [#(1)21->(1)37)]
- 4. Frequent and heavy rain conditions as well as severe winter situation pose serious technical problems to the sheltering issue. The traditional "tent"-solutions which were already inadequate in the previous situations are no answer to the problem anymore. The sheltering issue is however not only limited to building and camp development, but in the same logic the alternative solutions of public buildings and private host families pose equally difficult technical problems in these more difficult climatic conditions. The above standards of 2-room family units and 3.5m2/person are even more important considering the higher degree of promiscuity and the gender relation problem. [#(1)28->(1)31]
- 5. Shelter assistance programmes should also focus on public building rehabilitation and re-organisation, host family assistance in the form of financial or other forms. More imagination is certainly required in this sector. [#(1)31->(1)37]

- 6. It is concluded that there is no simple universal set of standards and specifications for a global shelter strategy. A series of recommended standards and specifications is proposed for discussion during the workshop. [#(1)38->(1)40]
- 7. It should not go un-noticed that several shelter projects in Croatia and Bosnia have provided living standards far beyond general shelter relief assistance standards. It is recommended to reflect on this matters.
- 8. About urban problems related to refugees it is observed that rural returnees after many years of refuge often have changed their general economic pattern and prefer to return to their homecounty's bigger towns which have not necessarily the housing capacity required for such massive return. Examples from Namibia and Cambodia are cited. Returnee programmes are recommended to include urban shelter elements to this effect. [#(2)41->(2)43]
- 9. Furthermore it is pointed out that generally refugees should receive assistance at the same level of the general condition of the host community, and that therefore rural shelter projects may not have the same standards as urban shelter projects for refugees and displaced persons. However, the water situation is very critical and might justify increased standards for the refugees as well as for the host population.[#(2)44->46]
- 10. Product development, development of prototypes should be encouraged as the range of purpose developed shelter items for refugees and displaced people proves to be of interest for both the releif community and the private manufacturing sector. The proposed Standing Forum could be tasked to stimulate development activities in this sector. [#(3)47->(3)50]
- 11. The workshop could encourage working with the private sector on prototype development with respect of respectful rules and regulations on contracts. [#(3)51->53]
- 12. Future product development could be oriented towards defined needs through a series of guidelines which the workshop could recommend. A series of guidelines are proposed. [#(3)54->(3)56]
- 13. Lessons learned in shelter and environment for refugees and displaced people situation is surely not the strongest side of the assistance activity. Specialists are often called in to correct previous mistakes and post project performance assessments are non-existant. Refugees and displaced people are the victims of this negligence in a sector which is contradictorily criticised for its high investment cost. It is recommended that the workshop recommends systematic product performance and shelter programme assessments. It is assumed that the potential training institutions are the best placed to undertake these kinds of evaluations. [#(4)57->(4)62)]

- There is primarily no conflict between local and imported shelter provision for refugees and displaced people. Local solutions are by far preferable in as long as they provide solutions. However, major refugee situations generally require a mobilisation of all resources available (as are public buildings, hotels, private host accommodation, etc..), and this often means that a small proportion of the shelter programme could require international intervention and represents a more substantial budgetary component than the locally available solutions. This becomes unavoidable when this concerns large number of beneficiaries: in ex-Yougoslavia 5% of the refugee or displaced people case load still concerns more then 100,000 people. [#(5)63->(5)69)]
- This paper wants to put emphasis on the "political" recognition of the emergency assistance requierement in the fields of shelter and physical planning concerning refugee and displaced people situations. In that sense it has been attempted to make the concern on "Political Norms" as a focal subject of discussion. [#13, p.11 & #(PN)70->(PN)73]
 - 16. It is proposed to develop guidelines concerning three main subjects:
 - (i) an narrative on the impact of shelter and physical planning on refugee and displaced people's conditions;
 - (ii) as an equal contribution with the three other working groups: a series of guidelines for the development of more appropriate standards and technical specifications;
 - (iii)a proposal of follow-up mechanisms to this workshop.

The objectives of this "demarche": are twofold:

- (i) general recognition of the physical planning requierement,(ii) through this general recognition means and opportunities to improve sheltering conditions for refugees and displaced
- 17. The chapter on proposals of key issues, citics and questions to be addressed by this shelter workshop recapitulates the key issues, critics and questions raised in the different chapters as a working checklist for the workshop.

people.

This shelter workshop may seem to come right in time for many of us, as we have had the opportunity to gain field experience on the issue and learned to suppress our frustrations and think imaginatively wherever there was a need and an opportunity for a solution. For the refugees and the displaced people this is not exactly the case. The relief efforts have up to now rarely met any dignified standards of assistance in the shelter and environment sector: politically there is little or no recognition (as recently as two years ago, nobody could convince the authorities in Turkey to give any basic physical living space to the Kurds from Iraq f.i.), technically we have been happy for years to distribute the most unconfortable tents anywhere in the world: the blame is also to the relief community who did not mobilise appropriate concern around the subject.

Is it because we presently grasp with an unsolvable quagmire near our own door, and/or because after the cold war years the problem has magnified in stead of having dissolved? At last it seems the physical living environment of refugees and displaced people becomes a topic of interest.

Whereas in the legal, medical (incl. sanitation & water) and logistic assistance sectors there is by now a tradition and qualified expertise in the relief effort, the shelter and environment sectors are still struggling with voluntarism of the least qualifications. These present volunteers cannot be blamed for their contribution - on the contrary - they will always remain indispensible and welcome. The profession has probably shown too little interest, but surely the politicians and administrators of refugee and displaced people's programmes discouraged more appropriate professional concern. Land and shelter for refugees could thus be kept as an item for negociation or as a deterrent concept and element of discouragement rather than as a basic requirement.

Somehow shelter and environment concepts have not been able to capture the interest of the press. Experienced physical planners know that good physical living environments contribute substantially to the basic health profile of such populations as well as to lower psychological tension: why would we otherwise always be called in when it has deteriorated to untenable situations? Is it because our intervention shows results only on longer term, or because there is no direct "cause & effect" mechanism, or because the medical groups can satisfactorily handle the worst cases. Certainly we have to learn to project the importance of the shelter and environmental impact on these situations.

I myself am very grateful that this shelter workshop allows us to express many of these observations. I started my carreer in the development sector, and can draw comparisons and conflicts between the two fields of intervention. For one comparison I am strongly believing in is that even in emergencies the DIGNITY of the beneficiaries is the highest reward of our assistance, and as such relief assistance is equally a development effort.

I thank UNHCR and MSF-B for having had so many opportunities to assist, to express concern about the subject and for having found understanding.

I particularly thank Mr. Wolfgang Neumann for having entrusted me with many of the refugee shelter projects of UNHCR throughout Africa, the Far and Middle East. Without doubt, it is thanks to this personal and professional relationship and the many projects undertaken together that I am now able to claim some expertise on the matter.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

- 1. Already in the normal environment shelter is a rather ambiguous activity. The informal sector is much more active (both in terms of # of shelters as in terms of # of occupants) than the formal sector (architect & contractors). Architects and planners are at the same time frustrated b not having more impact, but equally admire the ingenuity of the informal sector ("vernacular" architecture). It is clear that housing and environment very much belong to the individual and to his imagination.
- 2. It is therefore not surprising that shelter and physical plannin experts are not widely considered as a priority in the emergency and longer term relief efforts.
- 3. It is also perceived, and not incorrectly, that groups of refugees/displaced people are able to manage their own living environment That they have their own knowledge and experts who can handle these problems.
 - 4. There is however one element that does not seem to be taken into account when it comes to shelter and physical planning in refugee & displaced people's circumstances <u>IS THAT THEY ARE DISPLACED</u>.

 This has two direct consequences:
 - 4.1 they are invading someone else's territory, and
 - they may not always know the local conditions, or at least not evaluate them correctly.

This makes refugee and displaced people situations so much different from natural disasters where the affected population generally re-constructs on its own land, is at home, does not conflict with other local populations, knows the land rights, and knows the physical and environmental conditions of its own land.

- On the whole, refugees and displaced people when they first seek refuge are thoroughly traumatised and often in poor health. This makes them more vulnerable and less able to handle the difficulties. This is recognised when it comes to legal protection, to food requirements, to medical assistance needs, but somehow they are suddenly considered to be able to cope with the shelter issue.
- This is even more surprising as in the first emergency phases refugees and displaced people are confronted with a situation whereby all aspects of their lives are totally unusual: it is their entire populatic who has problems (not the few one takes care of in normal society), it is when densities grow beyond proportions that the problems become unmanageable (as in over-urbanisation), every element of their life is totally disturbed (not just the odd problem).

- 7. Obviously refugees and displaced people have to be involved in re-organising their environment. As much as in the other sectors of assistance their collaboration, their initiative, their perception of needs are of extreme importance.
- 8. But equally is it indispensible to work closely with the local host authorities and host populations, as it is on their land that the refugees/displaced people are settling temporarily (for short, medium or even longer term). The host population, and one cannot necessarily blame them, often sees the arrival of refugees and displaced people as a threat to their social and physical environment. In some circumstances, they barely survive themselves (overpopulation in Bangladesh, few food resources in Sudan, few job opportunities in the former Soviet Union, etc...).
- 9. As so many factors are involved in getting the living environmen of refugees and displaced people somewhat organised it seems totally logical that this effort can only be handled with success if taken on at the very beginning of a refugee/displaced people's movement. Land will be given only once, and goodwill will only remain if the situation is cleanl organised from the onset. Well organised refugee shelter programmes contribute substantially to the overall health profile of the refugee population and reduce the disease threat to the local host population.
- 10. Such a complex network of problems and conflicting interests of various groups, related to a deeply specialised technical job (land availability, best use to make of land with optimal result in minimum living environment) should in all other circumstances easily justify the presence of experienced technical staff. Somehow shelter and planning of the environment does not often get that emergency status.
- 11. Although this workshop is specifically focussing on the core shelter, it is not possible to segregrate this core shelter from the context (land, infrastructures and services). Shelter is not only four walls and a roof. But shelter solutions are also more than the mis-leadin "tent-idea". Somehow this tent-idea was already an inadequate standard when it was used in the tropical countries: it falsely created the image that shelter programmes could be handled by everybody as it was so simple

As it is now, too many non-specialists are involved in the decision process on shelter and environment. This creates a lack of policy on the issue and there is consequently no one who really wants to listen to the story.

12. I am afraid the physical planning exercise in refugee and displaced people's circumstances is not widely recognised by politicians, administrators and other technical and non-technical operators in the relief organisations. But we have also been unable to carry the message to the press for instance. Whereas the press is able to mobilise huge resources in the medical, food and logistic's assistance fields, hardly ever has the press appealed for better shelter solutions.

- That is why I re-organised the table of contents on this working group. Whereas the organisers had put "POLITICAL NORMS" somewhere amongst the list of key-issues to be addressed by this working group #2, I have deliberately moved it into the "KEY POSITION".
- 14. It is clear that this workshop should broaden the imagination on shelter solutions for refugees and displaced people. It is evident that better, or more detailed, or new specifications and standards are expected from this workshop and that this will contribute to the sector becoming more influential and better prepared to provide solutions to the future refugees and displaced people (WHICH REMAINS THE ONLY OBJECTIVE).
 - 15. BUT IT IS A GLOBAL POLICY, AND HOW WE CAN CARRY THE MESSAGE which are the main bottlenecks in the attempt to offer better shelter solutions. This working group #2 should focus on formulating a technical and political message about a policy on refugee shelter which could be received by the big political institutions (International & bilateral) and relief organisations.
 - 16. As per my experience, there are two main reasons why it is difficult to carry the message :
 - 16.1 Reason #1: is mainly in relation with the host country:
 shelter programmes are perceived as long term and as stabilising the refugee/displaced people's population at a temporary location.
 - 16.2 Reason #2: is related to the donor community: shelter programmes are heavily investment oriented, and the donor community is reluctant to provide this kind of funding which may only have a short lifespan.
- 17. For reason #2, the engineers, architects & planners have to use their imagination and develop new ideas on how to tackle the shelter problematic. Re-cycling, re-useability, expandability, flexibility, economic solutions have to be researched. To obtain success the circle of specialists involved needs to be expanded. Training is one way to increase the number of experts, and broader recognition of the fundamental need of the shelter assistance sector in emergencies and relief is the other requirement.
- 18. But if physical planners would be integrated earlier in the first phases of emergencies the cost of their proposals would be more bareable than when already big budgets have been spent on poor or no expertise at all. In any case the cost of a planner in the first needs assessments teams is comparatively nothing with the budgets involved in shelter and physical planning. And finally, the coordination of shelter, water, sanitation and all other infrastructure requirements by a physical planner

can only result in savings: early identification of needs and well coordinated camps or general shelter situations will result in cheaper medical care at the end of the chain. This should find logical understanding from the donor community.

- 19. For reason #1, the examples are widespread that refugees & displaced people have other and better reasons than deterrence and/or confort at the place of refuge which makes them leave or stay. Hongkong and its high security prisons, the killings that happened by the military in the camps in Cox's Bazaar, the shooting by the Turkish military on the Kurds: in all these circumstances refugees stayed. The relatively more confortable camps in Western Iran were never a reason for the Kurds to stay and the Ugandans returned out of Eastern Zaire to a not so stable Uganda in 1984/86 notwithstanding a major assistance project in the Aru-region in Zaire.
- These and the many other (and maybe better examples) have to be properly documented and presented to the political authorities of both the International Organisations and the National Host Authorities. But as there is always repression and there are so often atrocities going together with these situations whereby refugees/displaced people are denied appropriate shelter, the press should be the one to make use of these documented case studies so as to mobilise the public opinion as they can do so successfully. There is enough evidence and documentation, but we have to learn how to present it to make it a cause worth fighting for.
- 20. It would finally not take a great deal of researching to establish some statistics on the duration of different refugee and displaced people circumstances. Broadly speaking, probably more than 50% of the cases have lasted longer than 5 years. And most likely less than 25% of the refugee and displaced people events have been resolved within less than 2 years. These are long periods to spend: the least one can expect is that refugees and displaced people could spend them decently and in a certain spirit of a family. This is the simplest definition of "DIGNITY".

1. Social Conditions, Climatic Conditions

- (1)21. As shelter for refugees and displaced people is often a question of minimal standards (minimal amount of space), the social and gender situations have to be considered very specifically as the fully developed environment will not allow for much adaptation (whether this is a refugee camp, or a hotel, or a public building which has been transformed, or even integration in an existing host village).
- (1)22. As the cause of conflict is often related to cultural and religious elements, very often the host populations do not have the same customs as the refugees/displaced people. Special attention has to be given to this consideration.
- (1)23. Obviously, in the worst period of the emergency all people will accept almost any form of communal shelter. But in consideration of the above mentioned social situations it is only individual family shelters that can provide the minimal family privacy, with the opportunity for men to have their social gatherings without interfering with the minimal privacy of the women. In principal, to achieve such a situation, a family cel should consist in two separate rooms at least. This should be strictly reserved for living space and would not include toilet, washing and laundry facilities but could include the kitchen function.
- (1)24. Frequently, at least in the first emergency phases the refugee/displaced people's population is constituted of more women, children and elders as men are involved in the conflict. In this phase it could appear that a more communal shelter could be adequate, also as the refugees are more in need of protection. However, the return of men and the presence of elder men is always a social problem.
 - (1)25. The standard to respond to general social conditions should always be a two-room family unit.
 - (1)26. According to WHO and UNHCR's Emergency Manual the absolute minimum floor space per person in emergency shelter is 3.5m2 (textual from p.59, #4). Unfortunately even this standard has rarely been met: the "family tent" described in the same manual (textual from p.48, #8) can accomodate 6 camp beds and measures 12m2 (or 2m2 per bed/person?)
- (1)27. Furthermore, this family tent ("house") has a ridge at 2m00, and has wall heights of 0m60. This type of "shelter" has been "home" for many thousands of refugees/displaced people for many years. And they have not always had the opportunity to build a little local shed next to it. This tent has been attractive to the relief effort for the poorest of reasons: a few years ago this tent costed US\$70=/unit. The transport cost is not negligeable as these tents are bulky and heavy (but this has a positive side: they are consequently also heavy duty), and generally on the site a

supplementary investment of US\$40 to 60=/unit was needed to repair poles and ridge pole, to improve steel pins, to knit the floor to the tent, etc.. Such a tent costs less then US\$200= but does not provide the basic sheltering requirements.

- (1)28. In the seventies and the eighties most of the refugee and displaced people situations happened to occur in tropical countries. Generally the weather conditions have allowed those refugees to survive with this type of "shelter". Nonetheless, even in these circumstances the shelter assistance can only be referred to as appalling, even if it is true that f.i. the Somali nomads in Kenya and Ethiopia build themselves tiny little sheds which are even smaller. But that is their shelter as nomads, once they settle for longer periods they expand their homes as well
- (1)29. <u>In the rainy tropical climates</u> these tents were each time totally inappropriate. <u>In the cold and freezing winter conditions</u> it is not even possible to consider them for short term transit conditions. In El Hol in Syria the "pakistani tent" (see photos on p.1) with its cheapest of the cheapest technical specifications did not withstand the freezing winds and was blown over in less than an hour.
- (1)30. In rain and winter conditions, the minimum space availability of 2 rooms per family unit and 3.5m2/person are even more needed as so much of the time of the day is then spend inside the shelter: the promiscuity is largely increased as well as the need for space to develop the normal minimal daily activities inside.
- (1)31. The concept of winter tents which could be appropriate for the armies with strong athletic men is hard to transpose to a refugee/displaced people situation. Pregnant women, sick children and weak elders would need quite sophisticated winter tents which would become comparably as expensive as the cheapest prefabs without providing any comparable shelter quality.
- (1)32. In Croatia, Bosnia, Serbie building family shelters is only a small part of the problem. Many thousands of refugees are sheltered in army or other public buildings. These buildings have required rehabilitation and also re-organisation. Although these buildings often offer quite a number of services, the need for privacy and the same social conditions as mentioned earlier require to repeat the standard of a double room unit per family.
- (1)33. But in ex-Yugoslavia and probably in Azerbaijan as well, and equally in some places in Sudan (Gedaref/Kassala) the bulk of the refugees and displaced people are sheltered by host families. It is obviously not the function nor the role of UNHCR or the international relief organisations to follow-up each individual family, and to check on their living conditions in all details. It is true that the shelter problem in Bosnia is far less problematic than the war condition itself,

but then Bosnia is not exactly the right example: "Bosnians" have lost their right of becoming a refugee. Croatia and Serbie do not allow them is and the International Community has decided the best place for them is as close to home as possible. This decision affects their right and possibility for a decent ("dignified") shelter solution.

- (1)34. The shelter conditions with host families are rarely known. But often the most hospitable hosts are the poorer people. And anyway, the masses of displaced people hosted in Bosnia (and in Croatia, and probably also in Serbie) cannot all find place in wealthier families. Thus very often their shelter conditions will be far below minimum standards, and frequently their presence in the host family will also strongly diminish the living standards of the host family.
- (1)35. Some proposals for assistance have been formulated in relation to this problem: during the inter-agency assessment mission (UNHCR August 1992) proposals of financial assistance were advanced but the international donor community has not been responsive at all. Another ide was advanced to help host families with too small houses to build an annex so as to return to at least some minimal space availability for host and refugee families, but to keep on sharing the services and infrastructures
- (1)36. Finally, in the social context, small families and/or vulnerable groups (single parents, children separated from their families, victims o atrocities, mental or physical handicapped) amongst refugees and displace people have basically the same needs of privacy, and sometimes a bigger need of social and other assistance. The shelter solutions for them shoul respect the two-room arrangement even if this requires more then 3.5m2/person.
 - (1)37. Single adults which do not belong to the group of vulnerable people obviously pose the biggest problem to accommodate with the same standard as the other groups. Perhaps they should share, perhaps they should accept a one room solutions as they are not confronted with the dual socio-sexual situation.
 - (1)38. Without making a final conclusion, in the social context and in relation with climates, it appears that it is VERY DIFFICULT TO PRODUCE A SIMPLE SET OF STANDARDS AND SPECIFICATIONS WHICH COULD BE UNIVERSALLY USED AS A SHELTER STRATEGY for refugees and displaced persons.
 - (1)39. I propose this working group #2 to work on the following statements:
 - ON STANDARDS:
 - (i) in emergency and longer term situations:
 - shelter assistance should always provide a minimum floor space of 3.5m2/person, with minimum room for 4 persons (14m2 min.). This does not include toilets, washing and laundry activities;

for families and vulnerable groups a shelter cel should always consist of two separate rooms. These rooms should not include toilet, washing and laundry facilities, but can include kitchen activities.

(ii) <u>in transit situations</u>

that a transit situation is always considered together with a longer term solution. It is not enough to have doubts about the next step to keep refugees and displaced people in transit for indefinite lengths of time;

that a transit period would preferably last no longer than 1 week, but that it cannot remain considered as: "transit" when the waiting period exceeds 2 months. In this case drastic improvements have to be undertaken to make the transit location respect the basic standards under (i);

This also means that transit situations need to be planned such

that the expandibility is included;

Improvement of the transit situation to longer term sheltering conditions should be implemented within two months after expiry of the transit period of 2 months.

In these "conditions of transit" the shelter standards can be lower. The "pakistani-tent" conditions or plastic sheeting can be acceptable for extreme emergency response (2m2/person-1 room) as long as they also provide adequate protection against heat, cold, rain/snow/... and general security as required.

the focal problem of transit conditions is not the standards provided but the duration of the below standard sheltering

conditions.

- ON SPECIFICATIONS:

(i) general conditions:

the minimum general floor surface of 3.5m2/person or 14m2 min. should be at least of 2m00 height so as to allow all persons to make use of the full surface;

every family shelter unit should be sound proof, so as to allow

a minimum of privacy;

(ii) climatic conditions :

shelter should be adapted to rainy, cold and any other demanding climatic conditions;

In rainy situations shelter should provide dry floors;

- In general high numidity situations condensation and ventilation

should be under control;

 In cold climates the insulating capacity of the outside walls should allow minimal energy consumption for normal confort heating (approx. 18/19oC).

(1)40. It should not go un-noticed that in Bosnia and in Croatia a number of bi-lateral shelter assistance projects have gone far beyond the above standards. It could be of a certain importance to reflect on this matter: is it important that there is a general policy on standards?

Urban versus Rural conditions :

and the existing open before the new all of

- (2)41. As I have very little experience with urban refugees, there is not much I can comment on this. There are however two stories on returnees which are related to the urban context: the Cambodian returnees and the Namibian returnees. In both cases these returnees before they ever fled from home were rural people very much active in the agricultural sector. Their long stay in camps in the neighbouring countries (over ten years) where they could not continue their agricultural activities made them qui this type of work. The UNHCR and the Governments of their countries. counted on the fact that they would get their own land returned to them which would make them return to farming. Most of them, or at least large numbers of them had definitively quit agriculture and were once returned more interested to live in the towns, and specifically in the capitals of their countries. These towns (Windhoek/Namibia & Phnom Penh/ Cambodia) di not have a housing stock which could cope with this new caseload. This made several hundreds of families having to survive in the streets and others were accepted by host families and had to live for more than a temporary period of time in very poor housing conditions and imposing the same to their hosts.
- (2)42. In big scale returnee programmes special attention should be given to urban housing in the main towns of the country of origin. Their will always be large number of returnees which will have adopted another life pattern than their original one and will want to settle in these towns, whether the authorities or UNHCR or any other organisation like it or not.
 - (2)43. The standards and specifications for such an urban shelter for returnees should not necessarily be different from the ones mentioned under #(1)39. But this basic unit should be expandable: the land and the core shelter should have enough flexibility to allow the occupants to develop their own home in time.
- (2)44. As in urban situations there are generally more rules and regulations concerning building permits it is very likely that the standards and specifications of the urban shelter are higher than in the rural areas when it relates to services and infrastructures (power, water sewage), but could well be less high when it concerns floor surface and house volume.
- (2)45. The general rule of assistance to refugees and displaced people is that they should not receive more in assistance than what the local host population has at its disposal (except for medical care and water). This applies equally to the shelter assistance. As the standards of the core shelter are not excessive, this is generally not a cause of conflict It concerns the services and infrastructures (water, power, sewage

system). For water special efforts have to made as water is a basic healt element and as refugee situations disturb the "invaded" territory the general water situation may need to be upgraded inclusive for the local host population.

(2)46. An aspect of planning of shelter in the rural environment is that big refugee concentrations are a threat and a disturbance to the local smaller communities. Special care has to be taken to split the refugee and displaced people's communities in smaller clusters and spread them well in the country so as to lessen the potential tensions.

- (3)47 As one can observe on the exhibit grounds quite a lot of interest is beginning to emerge in the private sector for the shelter for refugees and displaced people issue. The range of products goes from plastic sheeting (20m2 for approx. 20US\$) over improved "pakistani tents" (16m2 for US\$100 @ 130), winterised tents, communal tents, to simple steel shelters, to easy assembly prefabs (40m2 for US\$6,000 @ 8,000) and to recycled containers (14m2 for US\$5,000 @ 6,000) (prices quoted are approximative and do not include transportation).
- (3)48. Several of these products have been developed purposely for refugee and displaced people situations. And some of the prices are really very attractive: it could prove that with some thinkering on the one end and with some goodwill on the side of the producers products can be developed that are more adapted to the needs as the relief organisations (with UNHCR at the lead) can define them, that such products could have an attractive price tag for the donor community and last but not least equally interesting for the producer.
- (3)49. As was already pointed out (#17 above) on the thinkering side the group of specialists needs to be expanded by training and by recognition. This workshop should be able to put forward sufficient reasons why shelter concern for refugees and displaced people should become a continuous activity rather then the present "hit and run" approach.
 - (3)50. In that regard the idea which originated during the working group in February of setting up a STANDING FORUM on refugee shelter would have the function to not only coordinate experience and disseminate information as is suggested in the briefing notes of this workshop. The STANDING FORUM could also have as an objective to stimulate the study, research, analysis, after project evaluations, etc.. and then bring together producers, thinkers and relief organisations so as to finalise ideas into practical solutions.
- (3)51. This workshop should also recommend a procedure which would allow to develop prototypes on the basis of the above thinkering and joining of efforts which does not goes against the adequate and respectful rules and regulations of contracts. It is very impractical to only develop ideas on the drawing board and in a small workshop, the industrial manufacturers have to be involved. This is no exclusive treatment, drug development is almost entirely in the hands of the private sector which makes the consumers inclusive the relief organisations pay for this very expensive activity. But whereas the drug industry has grown into the biggest multi-nationals, the construction sector (contractors & manufacturers) do not have the same markets and consequently not the same company structures and research potentials.

(3)52. At present the shelter needs for refugees and displaced people is so vast that prototype development with a singled out manufacturer may give this manufacturer some edge against the competition, but the product could still be copied by other manufacturers and meet the required contracting procedures.

(3)53. This workshop should recommend that prototype development of shelter products for refugees and displaced people should become acceptable practice if a series of rules and regulations which need to be developed are respected. One of these rules and regulations could be that the prototype would not belong to the manufacturer but to the financing relief organisation.

(3)54. Future product development should not just be done wildly. There are guidelines along which the thinkers and the manufacturers should work so as to more coordinate the efforts.

(3)55. Here follow a number of guidelines for product development.

economic considerations: targets on the costs per person and per square meters ex-factory and also fully functional on site including bulk transport costs (considering weight and volume, but not necessarily the distance to final destination which is independent on the manufacturer and can be an element of competition for manufacturers closer to the final destination). These targets should be differentiated meeting different criteria (winter proof or not; long term or short term or first emergency; etc..);

on specifications: in the first phases of emergencies the technical specifications may f.i.not need to meet the basic standards of WHO (if temporary and a time limit is set on "temporary"): such specifications should be justified by expediency and economy so as to provide quick response without sufocating the budgets (the plastic sheeting is developed in this context). Further target specifications should be developed: for winter climates, for heavy rain situations, different cultural contexts (as toilets inside the shelter or outside), for different soil conditions (in large parts of Bosnia soil conditions are very complicated) for different technical levels of infrastructure;

flexibility : re-cycled products may be cheaper than new
products, re-usability, expandability and standard
modulation of the products, connectability of different
types of products (f.i. one part of a shelter could be
totally winter proof whereas a second part would be a tent
so as to reduce costs and provide adequate floor surface);

easy assembly: for management reasons, and to be able to count on the refugees' own assistance the technical specifications should develop assembly techniques which require the least technical skills and the least possible tools (one prefab type has been developed along these lines). This will ultimately lower the cost of the product as well;

complete package shelters: kit formulas of different standards of shelter which require the least local additions and adapts to most diverse and complicated site conditions will allow cost control, lower the construction management element, make that the product can be used faster and respond quicker to the needs (containers could be an answer to this specification). The kits should include the basic furnitures, the needed heaters, boilers, solar panels: these items should be optional and diversified in nature and in technical specifications.

on local infrastructure works: each shelter product should be linked to local infrastructure work requirements: when higher investment solutions are choosen more investment should be foreseen on the sites so as to valuate the first investment (eg. good infrastructures and solide ground conditions for prefabs but simpler drainage schemes for tent camps). Each product should also make clear which are the side costs for infrastructure works locally.

(3)56. Some of these guidelines are contradictory, but that is probably one of the main challenges which requires thorough research work.

- (4)58. For the physical planners, engineers and architects it is generally when the solutions choosen by non-specialists are failing that they are called in (eg. Cox's Bazar: 1992). Most often budgets have already been drained thoroughly by the previous efforts that any proposed solution becomes too expensive, and local authorities have at that time invested so much of their energy and reputation that any modification becomes a critissism of their work. A better planned solution at the start would benefit to the refugees, to the local authorities and to the relief organisations.
- (4)59. Post project evaluation by specialists of shelter solutions for refugees and displaced people has never been undertaken.
- (4)60. If there is any lessons learned, or any product performance assessment, it is almost solely present in the minds of the specialists here present in the workshop, and maybe narrated in some of the reports written by the same. For an assistance sector which is so much criticised for its high investment costs this is totally contradictory.
 - (4)61. This workshop could recommend that product performance assessment be systematised. If training institutions could be a logical consequence of this workshop, these "thinkering" places would most likely be the best placed to undertake case studies, analysis, evaluation and recommendations for improvement.
 - (4)62. The objectives of performance assessment could be defined as follows:
 - (i) a better needs response in shelter for refugees and displaced people;
 - (ii) research for less costly solutions;

(iii)improvement of technical specifications to meet guidelines
 as proposed in #(3)55

- (5)63. Primarily there is no conflict between these two sources of provision of shelter to refugees and displaced people. If anybody makes this distinction this can be justifiably a consequence of different logistic problems, but often it is made out of context.
- (5)64. Local solutions are the first answer to the sheltering problem for refugees and displaced people. This is entirely comparable to all the other sectors of assistance. In Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Azerbaijan the big majority of refugees and displaced people are either sheltered in public buildings, or hotels or private houses. In Poland, ex-Checkoslovakia, Hungary the contingency plans in case of a distabilisation of Russia foresaw the same possibilities. In Bangladesh (Cox's Bazar) the shelters were built from bamboo with plastic sheeting roof material, in Zaire (Ugandans in Aru-area: 1981-86) the refugees built their homes totally out of local timber and soil as the region was very forested and very lowly inhabited.
- (5)65. But in Bangladesh f.i. after building shelter for over 100,000 of the 250,000 Rohinga refugees, bamboo was more than doubling in price because the competition of transport was growing for three reasons: (i) thanks to the involvement of more local NGO's the number of shelters built each day was increasing, (ii) the improved shelter design required more bamboo for each shelter and (iii) the bamboo in the nearest proximity of Cox's Bazar was by then exhausted and was imported from more than 100km away. A fourth reason which is not popular to the NGO and relief community is that economic basic rules were starting to work: this had become an "overheated demand" market which made the prices rise.
 - (5)66. One should put it in the right context: moving local building materials for purily philosophic reasons is a nonesense. In Bangladesh bamboo was still the better solution for as far as it was possible to evaluate it, but the example proves that local building materials are no "MIRACLE SOLUTION" to the provision of shelter to refugees and displaced people.
- (5)67. Besides that each refugee situation of a big scale requires probably about all types of resources that are available or can be imagined to cover all the needs.

والمعافل والمراكبة أيروع والمراجع فلمجافئ وولفح أواري ووجاد والمنتصوب

(i) Therefore in Bangladesh corrugated iron sheets were reluctantly accepted as shelter building material although it is well known that in the typhoon conditions in Cox's Bazar flying C.I.sheets are the primary cause of injuries and deaths besides the fact that the shelters built with C.I.-sheeting are most vulnerable to these storm conditions as a consequence of their "wind-impermeability" and put so many people without a home in the worst of the storms. But another

reason of the acceptance of the C.I.sheets was that the Bangladeshi Government made a political issue on the use of C.I.sheets as they are a Bangladesh produced building material with greater economic value than bamboo and wished the International Community to pay for it. As a credit to UNHCR, this was very strongly resisted and only very limited direct UNHCR funds contributed to this part of the programme.

- (ii) In Bosnia and Croatia imported prefabs are only a small supplement to the overall sheltering programme. These projects may be the most costly for the smallest part of the population but are still indispensable. At the same time the war conditions in Bosnia make the local materials scarce and expensive and imported prefabs become more than competitive in this situation.
 - (5)68. These are only two examples of the use of "non-local" materials. Prefabs, but also imported tents are bigger budget items when they are imported then are local constructions. But the message is that all forms of shelter assistance will not yet suffise to guarantee minimum sheltering conditions to massive refugee situations. This workshop could make a statement which evidently underlines the importance of local resources on shelter for refugees and displaced people, but which also points out the need of supplementary shelter assistance through importation of internationally developed products.
 - (5)69. In order to make these imported shelters as adapted as possible to the local situations and to limited budgets better and more research has to be undertaken in this field. With appropriate preparedness measures and basic stock piles or emergency agreements with selected suppliers the imported shelters can also provide faster sheltering response to the refugees and displaced people.

POLITICAL NORMS

(PN)70. Political norms concerning refugee and displaced people's shelter assistance needs should be reconsidered in view of the evidently growing problem (as a consequence of growing numbers of refugees and displaced people and of changing conditions: the present victims have higher standards of living and live in regions with difficult winter conditions).

(PN)71. In order to achieve this the physical planners, architects, engineers, and eventually the refugees and displaced people themselves, have to present the arguments which can convince policy makers and the broad public about the need and the efficiency of the intervention on shelter and physical planning at an acceptable price tag.

- (PN)72. This workshop could deliberate about the subject as such, although the preparatory working group in February already expressed its frustrations on the lack of recognition pertaining to this subject. If the workshop still adheres to the same general attitude it should reflect on a series of guidelines concerning the subject. These guidelines could focus on three issues in particular:
- (i) an explanation of the complexity of the problem and on the short medium and long term results which can be achieved through a professional planning exercise on shelter and environment;
- (ii) as the other working groups, this working group on "technical specifications & standards - emergency & longer term" could produce a number of more detailed specific answers to the questions as pointed out in the different paragraphs above;
- (iii) some working mechanisms to keep the preparatory work of this shelter workshop alive. The subject of this workshop is so complex and extensive that no one can expect the workshop to produce the shelter strategy which is so much lacking. That is why guidelines; a Standing Forum; training programmes; contacts between research institutions, the relief organisations and manufacturers are the means to be created to further develop the compilation of the ideas of the workshop attendants.
- (PN)73. The objectives of this political "demarche" is:

- (i) to gain recognition for the basic need of physical planning in the context of refugees and displaced people situations,
- (ii) and through this recognition to gain means and opportunities to develop better shelter assistance which has also short, medium and long term health improvements and gives a minimum of human dignity back to the refugee and displaced people beneficiaries.

PROPOSAL OF KEY ISSUES, CRITICS, QUESTIONS to be addressed by this FIRST SHELTER WORKSHOP FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PEOPLE

- (P)74. This is just a recapitulation of the key questions, issues and critics pointed out in this paper so as to serve as a draft "checklist" of subjects to be handled by the working group #2.
- (P)75. The formulation of a global shelter for refugees and displaced people policy and strategy and the format and arguments which make that the issue is understood by the policy institutions, the donor community and the broad public as a fundamental contribution to the physical environment, the health and the socio-psychological ("dignity") condition of the beneficiaries. [re:#15]
- (P)76. The formulation of the basic standards and specifications which relate to the social, climatic and physical contexts. A two-room family unit which provides minimum 3.5m2 floor surface per person (excl. sanitation) is proposed as the general approach. [re:#(1)25, (1)34, (1)36, (1)37]
- (P)77. The formulation of more detailed standards and specifications which can be related to more specific situations as are temporary or transit situations versus longer term, specific climatic conditions as winter and/or heavy rainy and tropical storm conditions, etc.. [re:#(1)39]

 It should be noted in that respect that some assistance in Bosnia and Croatia has f.i. provided far more sophisticated standards but for only a limited number of beneficiaries. [re:#(1)40]
- (P)78. The formulation of a policy on shelter for returnees and the conflictual situation whereby returnees may not always want to return to their original home area but prefer settling in the bigger towns of their home country. [#(2)41->44]
- (P)79. The formulation to which extend refugees and displaced people are to be assisted in relation with the standards of living of the host populations. [#(2)44->46]
- (P)80. The formulation of the functions and the functioning of the STANDING FORUM OF EXPERTS ON SHELTER AND PHYSICAL PLANNING FOR REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PEOPLE. [#(3)49->50]
- (P)81. The formulation of recommendations concerning shelter prototype development with respect of basic and respectful rules and regulations of contract. A number of guidelines are proposed. [#(3)51->56]

(P)82. The formulation of recommendations on shelter performance assessment. It is proposed that training of physical planners should be organised and that these training institutions could be the best placed to undertake such assessments through case studies and more systematic research. [#(4)57->62]

(P)83. The formulation of a policy and strategy which would dissolve the confusion regarding the conflict between local and international shelter provision. [#(5)63->69]

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BRIEFING NOTES

Prepared by the

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Briefing Notes

- 1. The need for appropriate and cost-efficient shelter for refugees and displaced persons has grown considerably in importance during the last decade.
- 2. This concerns both the sudden magnitude of emergency and medium-term shelter needs and the specific scope to deal with climatic, logistics and socio-cultural considerations. At present, an additional conflicting phenomena, as identified in Former-Yugoslavia, stems from radical ethnic cleansing and related territorial protection, preventing any sign of permanence in the appearance of shelter. Recent large-scale refugee movements and UNHCR's mandate expanding into massive assistance to displaced persons, as experienced in the Gulf Region, Former-Yugoslavia, Tajikistan and several repatriation programmes, have shown that UNHCR's response to the complex form of shelter requirements must rapidly undergo a phase of redefinition, refinement and consolidation in order to meet the increasingly specialized demand.
- 3. The sudden magnitude and the growing complexity of conflicts put national and international humanitarian organizations, UNHCR, and the International Community, jointly into an exhaustive race against time and circumstances. Over the past decades, UNHCR has been increasingly engaged in massive efforts to bring assistance and protection to affected populations. The shelter component, as life-sustaining assistance, has grown steadily in importance, yet the qualitative and quantitative response in a given crisis is far from adequate.
- 4. Most large-scale conflicts, until the late 80's, were happening in regions with warm or moderate climatic conditions. Shelter assistance was linked either to autochthon construction methods, utilizing local materials or, during the emergency phase, through the international procurement of tents and tarpaulins.



- 5. Up to now, the prevailing type of shelter assistance during emergencies and during the medium-term, "care and maintenance assistance programmes," is still either based on tents with designs and properties from the last century, or on sufficient supply of plastic sheeting.
- 6. Although there is a lot of room and urgent need for improvements in standardization, durability, adjustment to socio-cultural needs and cost-effectiveness, the programmes were implemented with some relative success. It was only during the Gulf crisis, with the subsequent uprooting of millions of people, that UNHCR and the international community had not only to cope with great quantities of shelter, but also with shelter concepts reflecting the extremely harsh climatic conditions between temperatures of minus 25°C and plus 45°C.
- 7. Due to the immense and sudden magnitude of shelter needs, the world market of tents was literally depleted, and all involved humanitarian agencies purchased whatever came close to a tent or whatever material which could be made into a shelter. This erratic purchase of tents without a concept for necessary size, durability and cultural expression became evident in the Iranian and Iraqi camps where most of them were already decaying after a few months.
- 8. The conflicts, however, extended into the life-threatening winter season, without heatable and heat retaining shelters. Newly developed winter shelters were deployed by UNHCR and installed just in time. Some two years have elapsed since the Gulf crisis, which required large-scale shelter assistance to millions of people. Despite the substantial shelter assistance given, very little structured experience has been extracted so far to draw up a lessons-learned inventory and, while preparing for the necessary evaluation, a new megacrisis developed with millions of refugees and displaced persons: the ongoing conflict in Former-Yugoslavia and, in particular, Bosnia-Hercegovina. These sequences of large-scale refugee events have so far prohibited an in-depth analysis.



- 9. Rapid evolution of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with omnipresent destruction of the human settlements and the approaching harsh winter, required, among other shelter-providing solutions, winterproof accommodation (new structures, repair of existing buildings). Such emergency measures were also seen as eventual multi-year substitutes for the lost homes in areas from which people had been evicted or for houses which had been destroyed.
- 10. Once again, it should be pointed out that a suitable shelter concept to match, in particular, larger-scale emergency measures was not at hand. In addition, the lack of experienced agencies to deal with shelter issues was badly felt.
- 11. In light of the above, the Programme and Technical Support Section (PTSS) has taken the initiative to urgently look for radical improvement in the response to refugee shelter needs, be it in cold or tropical climates, for emergencies or medium-term programmes. What is needed is a comprehensive shelter strategy with appropriately developed standards, supply methods, specifications for shelter units and industries to make the right products available in time (eventually in strategic areas of the World). However, there is also the need to have standard shelter ready to go in large quantities (e.g. standard tent to be improved relative to size, materials, durability). Further to that, it will require new procedures to release funds for early development of custom-tailored "in situ" preparations of site infrastructure services. The present lack of professional agencies (NGOs) to implement the shelter projects must also be overcome.
- 12. The search for an improved shelter response will be problem-driven, underlining the urgent need for:
- improvement of existing shelter used in UNHCR shelter operations;
 active development of new types of shelter (system tents more flexible to cope with a range of climatic, social and environmental conditions);
- improved preparedness (contingencies, emergency stock);
- specific shelter logistics (storage/transport/distribution);
- implementation;
- operational maintenance and repair; and
- eventual recuperation and reuse of shelter components after a conflict ends.



UNHCR/PTSS SHELTER RESPONSE IMPROVEMENT WORKSHOP

- 13. Professional PTSS contacts and frequent cooperation with agencies, NGOs, Governments, research institutions and technical consultants show a growing awareness that this important sector has been neglected for decades. A dialogue among all parties involved is urgently required. Hence, an International Workshop on "Improvement of Shelter Response", the first of its kind, is planned and scheduled for the end of June 1993.
- 14. In order to plan and guide the International Workshop, design its format and contents, identify speakers and participants, a Working Group of experienced and skilled shelter experts (technical, managerial and policy) was convened by PTSS in Geneva on 16 February 1993.
- 15. Considering the aspirations, issues and problems presented in this briefing paper, the participants of the Working Group were asked to:
- reflect on their own individual experience and case work and to identify a prioritized set of issues and problems;
- consider how these might set a format and agenda for the International Workshop;
- advise on immediate steps towards shelter improvement, systems development, stock keeping and implementation; and
- advise on the format of an exhibition for shelter and auxiliary equipment, based on shelter units successfully used by their agency.

BACKGROUND TO PROJECT

- 16. UNHCR started in 1992 a "Shelter Improvement Project" with the goal to systematically analyze the following:
- shelter needs in UNHCR programmes (emergencies, care and maintenance);
- shelter needs for extreme climatic conditions (hot/cold);
- shelter stockpile in view of contingency planning for emergencies;
- existing standard equipment (tents, plastic sheeting, tarpaulins);
- shelter needs and environmental matters (deforestation, environmental health);
- shelter needs in war-prone areas;
- shelter needs and gender related issues;
- shelter needs, donors and suppliers;
- peripheral equipment (stoves, mattresses, beds, ground sheets, blankets, tools for implementation);
- cooking/food preparation and basic shelter;
- sanitation and basic shelter;
- shelter planning consultants; and
- shelter implementing agencies.
- 17. The project will lead to a comprehensive strategy and aims at identifying, developing and producing custom-tailored shelter products to meet the requirements to the maximum extent possible. UNHCR and related agencies are important buyers and have therefore many possibilities to influence the market, i.e. product design, product properties and costs.
- 18. This, however, requires systematic analysis of previous and ongoing practices and supplies and, consequently, redesign of existing products or development of new design concepts.
- 19. These design concepts will have to emerge from further policy discussions on basic standards, shelter size and equipment related to socio-cultural and climatic conditions.
- 20. The International Workshop is planned as an integral part of the Shelter Improvement Project and will be an excellent platform for a redefinition of these basic shelter standards.



PROBLEM SPECIFIC ISSUES

- 21. The issues are as follows:
- needs assessment missions;
- shelter projects require important lead time for production, shipment and installation;
- early warning and establishment of national/regional shelter files;
- shelter project funding/implementation through bilateral shelter assistance versus multilateral assistance, e.g. through UNHCR;
- standby arrangements with implementing partners (NGOs/experts); stockpiles (regional) and manufacturers (international/national);
- involvement of large international government agencies, para-military and military for project implementation (equipment, engineers, manpower).
- administrative procedures to be streamlined (tendering, contracting, procurement);
- storage and reuse of shelter components;
- refugee involvement in construction, repair and maintenance of shelter components;
- urban refugees and the definition of standards;
- ongoing evaluation and feedback shelter network of information retrieval and dissemination should be developed. The shelter specific "lessons learned" is essential. Feedback on "lessons learned" (what works and what does not) will be more measurable than "success." The inability to institutionalize experience leads to repetitive mistakes.
- How to draw up a "lessons-learned" inventory with already overworked staff?
- What criteria is to be used for product/process performance and reporting?

