UCL

April 2015

Urban Crises and Humanitarian Responses: A Literature Review

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Acronyms

ACHR	Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
ACCCRN	Asian Cities Climate Change Resilience Network
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance
ATHA	Advanced Training Program on Humanitarian Action
ATM	Automated teller machine
BRC	British Red Cross
BRR	Executing Agency for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction
CaLP	Cash Learning Partnership
CBA	Community-based Adaptation
CBTs	Cash-based Transfer Programmes
CBOs	Community-based Organisations
CHRGJ	Center for Human rights and Global Justice
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
DDR	Donor-driven reconstruction
DEC	Disasters Emergency Committee
DFID	UK Department of International Development
DIY	Do it yourself
DPU	Development Planning Unit
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
E&U	Environment & Urbanization
EEFIT	Earthquake Engineering Field Investigation Team
EMI	Earthquakes and Megacities Initiative, Inc.
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FBO	Faith-based organisaion
FGDs	Focus group discussions
GBV	Gender-based violence
GFDRR	Global Facility for Disaster Risk Reduction
GHD	Good Humanitarian Donorship
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GSDRC	Governance, Social Development, Humanitarian, Conflict
GUDC	Gujarat Urban Development Company
HERR	Humanitarian Emergency Response Review
HHI	Harvard Humanitarian Initiative
HLP	Housing, land and property
HPFPI	Homeless People's Federation of the Philippines, Incorporated
HPG	Humanitarian Policy Group
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
INTRAC	International NGO Training and Research Centre
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JOPs	Joint Operating Principles
KIPRED	Kosovar Institute for by the Research and Development
KFSSG	Kenya Food Security Steering Group
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NFIs	Non-food items
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
PDES	Policy Development and Evaluation Service
PDNA	Post-disaster needs assessment
PPPs	Public-Private partnships
PRB	Population Reference Bureau
PRIAD	Partnerships for Research in International Affairs and Development
RULER	Roundtable on Urban Living Environment Research
SDI	Slum/Shack Dwellers International
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SMS	Short message service
SOPs	Standard Operating Procedures
UCL	University College London
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
VCA	Vulnerability and Capacity Assessment
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Executive summary

The impetus for this review emerged from the growing recognition that many international humanitarian actors have yet to become operationally effective in responding to crises affecting urban areas. Many of these actors have been finding that traditional approaches – often rurally-derived or camp-focused – have been ill-suited to the particular challenges presented by densely populated urban areas (IASC 2010).

In an effort to help address these challenges, this paper aims to inform DFID's current work on urban humanitarian response through assessing the current state of literature on the subject, with a particular focus on both the impacts of crises and humanitarian responses on urban areas.

Overall, the paper emphasises the need to reframe the problematic away from an emphasis on good/'best' practices and towards the need to better understand urban systems and processes as a basis for informing more contextually appropriate and dynamic urban responses.

The main body of this review is structured around four main themes: complex/diverse communities; infrastructure systems; markets; and local governance structures and capacities. The key findings across these themes are summarised in the table below.

Key findings across major themes

Themes	Characteristics	Impacts of urban crises	Implications for humanitarian response
Diverse/complex communities	• Diverse • Unequal • Fluid/mobile • Less bounded/rooted than rural communities • Protection issues linked with poverty and insecurity	• Different people are affected by crises in different ways • Increased social diversity (e.g. as a result of forced migration) • Impoverishment caused by crises creates resource scarcity (e.g. housing, food, water, etc.) and competition, leading to social conflict • Increased competition over public spaces and resources (e.g. services) leading to social conflict	• Need to consider social diversity and the questions it raises for upholding accountability to 'communities of place' and 'communities of interest' • Need to develop new humanitarian approaches to better reflect the characteristics of urban communities and the constraints they face

Infrastructure systems	• Interconnected within urban systems • 'Splintered' (i.e. inequitably provided) • Provided by diverse actors and institutions (public, private and formal, informal) at different scales (household, settlement and city-wide)	• Cascading infrastructure failures • Damage and destruction of critical infrastructure • Increasing demand for infrastructure (including shelter) and services (e.g. health care) in urban areas affected by displacement. Increased demand may exacerbate pre-existing service deficiencies and housing scarcities, particularly where urban growth rates are high and local capacities to respond are low	• Need to adopt an urban systems perspective when approaching infrastructure networks • Consider land and planning issues and responses at all stages of recovery based on concepts of resilience and sustainable development.
Markets	• Informal and formal • Public and private • Populated by diverse providers • Primary sources of food and non-food essentials (monetised in urban areas) • Cash-based • Inaccessible for those with low-income	• Disruptions to livelihoods decrease access to markets, thereby inhibiting peoples' ability to meet their basic needs • Increases in demand on local services • Linkages between production, supply and distribution systems and markets may be disrupted.	• Need to work with existing actors in existing markets (formal and informal) and to avoid creating parallel markets
Local governance structures and capacities	• Varied capacities • Different institutional structures with different degrees of support from national and other levels of government • Often supported by strong local civil society organisations	• Weak local government capacities further eroded • Humanitarian interventions and humanitarian presence indirectly impact on socio-economic realities and local power and authority structures	• Need to work with existing actors in a support role • Need to build capacity at the local government level • Need for new skills and approaches regarding facilitation, coordination, negotiation, etc.

The review concludes by identifying key evidence gaps alongside a set of corresponding research questions structured around the four themes of this review. These are summarised in the table below. The review then presents a set of recommendations aimed at building knowledge on urban crises and humanitarian response.

Evidence gaps and action areas on key thematic issues

Themes	Evidence gaps	Action areas
Diverse	**Sources of urban vulnerability** – The current focus on the immediate needs of crisis-affected people based on a presumed link between vulnerability and social identity overlooks the underlying sources of urban vulnerability (acute and chronic) (see Annex IV).	Develop a better understanding of the underlying structural causes of vulnerability and how they differ between social groups. Examine the potential of new approaches (e.g. area-based) capable of reaching a wider range of groups facing similar circumstances in a given area.
	Urban systems – There has been a broad failure to marry research across development and humanitarian contexts and at different scales of analysis (individual, household, community/neighbourhood, city-wide). This has impeded an understanding of how urban areas function as complex systems. There is still limited understanding of how humanitarian assistance can support the role of local service/infrastructure providers to rehabilitate and/or improve their delivery capacities.	Improve exchange on the knowledge that exists across development and humanitarian domains. Undertake more holistic research to inform the kind of coordinated, multi-sector approach that is required in urban settings. Examine how local service providers can help to rapidly increase services in immediate and longer-term.
Markets	**Local economies** – The increasing use of cash and voucher based humanitarian programming post natural disaster and in conflict displacement has not been extensively documented or analysed in terms of short and longer term impacts or implications for humanitarian response architecture.	Better understand the impacts of cash-based programming. Better understand the role of local economies (particularly informal) in supporting the economic integration of the poor and displaced and in community recovery.
Local governance structures and capacities	**Local experiences and perceptions** – There is little documentation of local actors' (e.g. governments) experience or perception of their own role, actions, options, successes, challenges and impacts, or their experience or perception of humanitarian agencies and donors.	Undertake documentation of this kind to provide insight into how governments can be assisted at both the national and local levels.
	Local partnerships – There are few documented examples where international humanitarian actors have partnered with local actors, including city/municipal governments, but also small-scale (informal) vendors, traders and builders	Learn from experiences of partnerships between local actors and humanitarian actors. Document instances where local actors have contributed to urban response with little or no external assistance and identify lessons for local governance.
	Indirect humanitarian impacts – Most agency documentation and reporting (including evaluations) focuses on the direct impact of humanitarian interventions in the short-term	Document the indirect impacts of humanitarian interventions/presence on local socio-economic realities and power and authority structures, particularly in protracted situations.

Recommendations

The recommendations are aimed at researchers, local and international humanitarian actors involved in urban humanitarian response. Together, they form a future evidence and knowledge agenda that these actors can take forward to build communication, research and information to strengthen humanitarian response in urban settings.

(1) Reframe the problematic – The current framing of the problematic is on the lack of good/'best' practices in urban humanitarian response. However, there are serious concerns about whether a 'best practice' culture is fostering contextually appropriate, dynamic and iterative programming or is leading instead to an approach that favours 'how to' questions over more fundamental questions about 'why' different ways of thinking and doing are required in urban settings. A clear action area is to focus less on 'best' practice and more on better understanding local systems and processes, contextual issues and unexplored questions (including many identified by this review), particularly outside humanitarian interventions.

(2) Support research outside humanitarian interventions – This involves four action areas. The first action area is to document the 'normal' operation of urban systems in pre-crisis situations or outside of crisis-affected areas as a basis for understanding urban response and recovery processes (i.e. understanding 'normal' as part of understanding recovery as 'returning to normal'). The second action area is to improve evidence and documentation in crises-affected places where international humanitarian actors do not operate. This reflects a recognition that humanitarian interventions only reach a limited proportion of crisis-affected populations and that the majority of people cope with crisis and recover through their own means (commonly termed 'self-recovery'). The third action area is to broaden learning to other fields and bodies of literature to draw on other insights and new

approaches to urban response. The fourth action area is to document local experiences and perceptions to provide insight into how governments and other local actors can be better assisted by international humanitarian actors.

(3) Broaden methodology and scope – This involves four action areas. The first action area is to complement the rich evidence that comes from the experiences of practitioners (international and local) by triangulating different types of data (quantitative and qualitative) from multiple sources. The second action area is to expand research timeframes through longitudinal studies. This may require the participation of local humanitarian actors with first-hand experience in planning and implementing responses during and after the crisis. The third action area is to foster inter-agency coordination in monitoring and evaluation to support common methodologies, larger aggregated results and comparative analysis. Consolidated reporting may provide better opportunities to document challenges, shortcomings, failures and successes collectively and more broadly. The fourth action area is to broaden the scope of research across sectors (e.g. water, sanitation, shelter) and different scales of analysis (individual, household, community/neighbourhood, city-wide). This research would help to inform the kind of coordinated, multi-sector approach that is required in urban settings.

(4) Co-produce knowledge and evidence with local actors – This involves two action areas. The first action area is to foster co-production and co-responsibility to improve the depth of content and to position local humanitarian actors as active analysts in understanding, explaining and acting on evidence. The second action area is to create spaces for local actors where they can articulate their knowledge and experience and identify lessons for local audiences, including affected communities, local officials and newly arrived international responding agencies.

1. Introduction

This literature review on urban crisis and humanitarian response was commissioned by the United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development (DFID) and undertaken by a team of researchers led by the Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU) at University College London (UCL). The impetus for this review emerged from the growing recognition that crises are increasingly happening in urban areas and that both local and international humanitarian actors are seeking to learn how to respond more effectively. Following recent events, many humanitarian actors have found that traditional approaches – often rurally-derived or camp-focused – are ill-suited to the particular challenges presented by densely populated urban settings (IASC 2010). In an effort to help address these challenges, this paper aims to:

- Assess the available evidence about the challenges of humanitarian response to crises affecting urban areas (including urban-based crises and crises occurring elsewhere that have an effect on urban areas);

- Improve the understanding of how humanitarian response in urban areas can impact (positively and negatively) on urban systems;

- Identify gaps in the evidence and provide recommendations for the development of future research/innovation programmes that will generate policy relevant knowledge; and

- Inform DFID's current work on urban humanitarian response, including contributing to the debate on how DFID should be working with partner institutions to adapt to the 'urbanisation of emergencies'.

This paper is structured around four main themes: complex/diverse communities; infrastructure systems; markets; and local governance structures and capacities. These themes were used by DFID to structure a series of workshops hosted by DFID (DFID, 2014), and drew on the British Red Cross's *Learning from the City* report (Kyazze et al. 2012b). Each theme is further examined by this review by looking specifically at a) how each theme is impacted by urban crises and b) how each theme is impacted (positively and negatively) by urban humanitarian response.

1.1 Methods

Recent literature reviews of humanitarian interventions have utilised standard systematic methodologies involving key terms, inclusion/exclusion criteria and specific search strategies to identify, collect and categorise published material on particular subjects, including health (see Blanchet et al. 2013). The scope of this review paper, however, required a more iterative and flexible approach that was capable of capturing an array of dispersed material (including both 'grey' and scholarly literature) produced within different disciplines (including humanitarian response, peace-building, urban development planning, disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation) across various sources (including journals, special journal issues, books, working papers, evaluation reports, guidelines and toolkits, and literature reviews, among other sources).

To guide this approach, the researchers adopted a methodology that combined 'expert-led intuition' with a more meticulous search of the internet, Google Scholar, web of knowledge, online academic databases (e.g. Metalib), websites, blogs and online knowledge sharing forums, including ALNAP's Urban Humanitarian Response Portal (http://www.urban-response.org/). The material was then organised according to emerging themes, cross-cutting issues and patterns in the arguments and supporting evidence. A workshop attended by humanitarian and urban development practitioners was also held in September 2014 to present and discuss preliminary findings and emerging themes from the literature review. This project was coordinated by a team of Senior Researchers who oversaw a Research Assistant tasked with carefully reviewing the texts and drafting the review.

1.2 Outline of the paper

This paper is structured into two main sections. Following the Introduction (Section One), Section Two reviews the 'grey' and scholarly literature on urban crises and humanitarian response, with a focus on the four themes adopted by this paper: complex/diverse communities; infrastructure systems; markets; and local governance structures and capacities. Section Three identifies key knowledge and evidence gaps and outlines a set of research questions structured around the four themes. It concludes by outlining a set of recommendations to guide a future research agenda aimed at building relevant knowledge and evidence on urban crises and humanitarian response.

Box 1: Key terms and definitions

International humanitarian actors/agencies: Members of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) – the international organising body for providing humanitarian assistance – including key UN and non-UN humanitarian partners, but also international NGOs and operational and non-operational donors.

Local humanitarian actors: Existing/emerging actors and institutions that are involved, or have the potential to be involved, in responding to humanitarian emergencies.

Humanitarian system: local and international actors that prepare for and respond to humanitarian emergencies.

Humanitarian principles: Independence, neutrality and impartiality.

Sudden-onset humanitarian emergency: A sudden-onset humanitarian crisis triggered by natural or technological disaster or conflict.

Slow-onset humanitarian emergency: An emergency "that does not emerge from a single, distinct event but one that emerges gradually over time, often based on a confluence of different events" (OCHA 2011).

Humanitarian emergency: Any event (sudden- or slow-onset) or series of events that significantly threatens the health, safety and well-being of a community or larger population and that requires humanitarian assistance.

Humanitarian assistance: Resources/aid and action by local and/or international humanitarian actors designed to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain and protect human dignity during and following a crisis as well as to strengthen preparedness and prevention of future crisis.

Disaster: "A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources" (UNISDR 2014).

Conflict: A protracted event caused by intrastate or interstate conflict and use of armed forces by governmental and/or non-governmental groups.

Violence: "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or a community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (WHO, 2002, p. 5, cited in Lucchi 2010).

Complex emergency: An event that combines "internal conflict with large-scale displacements of people, mass famine or food shortage, and fragile or failing economic, political, and social institutions. Often, complex emergencies are also exacerbated by natural disasters" (WHO 2014).

Acute vulnerability: Vulnerability associated with sudden, relatively infrequent events (such as large-scale disasters).

Chronic vulnerability: Vulnerability associated with everyday hazards (such as communicable illnesses) or relatively frequent small events (such as seasonal flooding).

Fragile states: A country characterised by weak state capacity/legitimacy and inability or unwillingness to uphold the social contract, leaving people (citizens and non-citizens) vulnerable to various shocks and stresses.

Internally Displaced People (IDP): People who have fled to avoid disasters and conflict, generalised violence, human rights violations, among other reasons, but who have not crossed an international border. Because they remain within their home countries, IDPs remain under the legal protection of their government.

Refugees: People who have crossed international borders to find sanctuary for similar reasons to IDPs, but who may be unable or unwilling to return to their home countries. Refugees are protected by International Refugee Law.

Protracted displacement: A situation where refugees (including IDPs) remain displaced for a protracted period. Sometimes this can be for many years, a generation or more.

2.0 Urban crisis and humanitarian response

Drawing on a survey of the 'grey' and scholarly literature from the fields of urban humanitarian response, urban development, disasters and peace-building, this section reviews the current state of evidence to assess the impacts that both crises and humanitarian responses have on urban areas, with a focus on complex/diverse communities; infrastructure systems; markets; and local governance structures and capacities.

To provide a backdrop for this assessment, Annex I profiles the major humanitarian emergencies that have been affecting urban areas over the past decade and examines a number of inter-related pressures that are coming together to create specific urban crisis contexts. Overall, this profile suggests that international humanitarian actors will find themselves responding to a growing number of urban-specific crises in the future, which will require increased understanding of urban crises contexts and reflection on appropriate approaches for response, support and local engagement.

2.1 Complex/diverse communities

Key summary points

- **Urban populations are highly diverse and unequal, meaning that different people are affected by crises in different ways according to their social identities, including their socio-economic and legal status;**

- **Crises can intensify existing urban inequalities and poverty;**

- **The protection of vulnerable groups becomes more complicated in urban areas where displaced populations live amongst host populations and where poverty and insecurity are endemic.**

Reflecting on their experience in urban settings, international humanitarian agencies have found urban communities to be inherently more complex than rural communities (DFID, 2014; Kyazze et al. 2012). From a governance perspective, urban communities are complex for a number of reasons:

Population diversity – Urban areas concentrate mixtures of people with multiple, intersecting social identities (of gender, age, income, ethnicity, religion, nationality, ability and disability, etc.) (Walker et al. 2012). This means the juxtaposition of multiple groups of women and men and boys and girls with distinct social values, social practices and vulnerabilities and development needs, will therefore be impacted by urban crises in different ways (ibid) and will have different capacities, needs and priorities during the stages of recovery.

Inequality – As key nodes of production, trade and wealth in a global economy, cities are increasingly characterised by high levels of inequality (Beall 2002; Mitlin & Satterthwaite 2013; UN-Habitat 2008). This characteristic intersects with urban diversity to overlay fragmented sets of interest with unequal power relations between different groups of urban women and men, with significant implications for upholding the rights of different people to access basic urban services and space in the city to both live and work (Harvey 2008; Marcuse 2009; see also Erensu 2014).

Fluidity and mobility – The social environment of urban areas is often made complex by the fact that urban populations are characterised by high levels of fluidity and movement stemming from: high levels of migration (Saunders 2012), including migration induced by conflict, disasters and political instability or a combination of these factors (Haysom 2013; Lu et al. 2012; Metcalfe et al. 2011); rapid growth, redevelopment, and spatial changes, which lead to displacement (Porter & Shaw 2009); and high urban land values, which mean that cities are associated with a higher reliance on rental tenure arrangements rather than more durable forms of formal or traditional housing ownership (UN-Habitat 2003a), as discussed below (Section 2.3.1).

Absence of clear/bounded communities – Although this distinction may be over emphasised, and tends towards a caricature of urban and rural spaces, urban populations tend to be less built around clear, bounded communities, and more structured through bureaucracy, impersonal roles, and structured institutional relationships (in line with Tönnies' classic distinction between the idea types of *Gemeinshaft* and *Gesellschaft*, or 'community' and 'society').

Indeed, 'communities of place' may be easier to identify in rural areas where the built environment tends to be much less complex than in urban areas. On the other hand, 'communities of interest' – around, for example,

livelihoods, religious groups, political parties, etc. – tend to be much more complicated in urban areas, where residents, including the poor, are tied into a complex web of relationships. This can be partially explained by the fact that urban dwellers tend to be much more reliant on the cash economy and on state and market service providers than their rural counterparts (Wratten 1995). In addition, although the urban poor are often characterised as having limited social networks, this is often not the case, particularly among recent newcomers, who frequently rely on mutual help and support (Sanderson 2000). These relationships are important for governance because they mean a) interventions for urban populations need to engage with the market and state systems in which they are embedded, b) it is far more difficult for those involved in urban governance to identify individuals and organisations who can speak on behalf of 'communities', and c) it is important to understand that urban residents are part of multiple communities that extend beyond geographic boundaries (EMI 2012, p. 10).

2.1.1 Impacts on diverse communities

Research suggests that crises affecting urban areas can have a number of impacts on communities, which are likely to increase the significance of, and inter-relationship between, the four features of urban complexity discussed above. Three impacts are identifiable.

Increased urban population diversity – Forced migration has led to increased ethnic diversity in many cities (CSIS 2010; Haysom 2013; IRC 2012; McLeod 2013; ODI 2004; Pantuliano et al. 2011). Crises also frequently increase the diversity of needs and/or vulnerabilities associated with urban populations by fragmenting or disrupting existing social structures and behaviours. For example, the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Southern Africa has led to a rapid growth in non-traditional household structures, such as child headed households, with associated governance issues and vulnerabilities (UNDP 2002). Similarly, disasters and conflicts typically increase the proportion of urban populations with specific needs, including, for example, people living with disabilities (Women's Refugee Commission 2008).

Intensified competition, inequalities and conflict – Disasters and conflict, by increasing social care needs at the same time as creating scarcity of goods and resources (e.g. housing, food, water), can increase competition between different social groups, as observed in Jordanian communities affected by the Syrian refugee crisis (REACH 2014). Competition can also heighten the politicisation of humanitarian assistance when, for example, competition around the right to access government and agency relief services is intensified by peopling claim IDP status, as observed in Colombia (Carrillo 2010; López et al. 2011). As inequalities frequently correspond to social identities around race, ethnicity or religion, crisis can contribute

to the emergence of cities that are divided along these identities, as observed in Beirut (Boano & Chabarek 2013). In other instances, the influx of newcomers, including urban IDPs and refugees, may further stress overburdened services (e.g. water and sanitation) and housing scarcities (Gupta 2015).

Heightened competition over community resources combined with the need to share public and private spaces may also increase existing social tensions and create new conflict between displaced and host populations (Tibaijuka 2010), as observed in Khartoum (Motasim 2008). If left unaddressed, deepening social divisions and tensions can lead to civic conflict, which "is fundamentally urban in nature and is often associated with inherent urban qualities such as density, diversity and compressed inequality" (Beall et al. 2013, p. 3069).

2.1.2 Implications of diverse/complex communities for humanitarian response

The urban context creates challenges for ways in which humanitarian assistance interacts with urban populations, for which clear leadership structures or spokespeople may not be obvious or apparent at first (Zetter & Deikun 2011b). For instance, a recent review of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies' (IFRC) vulnerability and capacity assessment (VCA) approach found that "the biggest challenge was the lack of an obvious 'community' to work with" (cited in Kyazze et al. 2012, p. 34). Another recent review by the IFRC (2014) reflecting specifically on the application of the VCA approach in urban areas also highlighted the need for further guidance on the "considerable differences between urban and rural communities that will need to be taken into account" (p. 12).

Implications for accountability – Rogers (2012) suggests that the diversity of urban communities raises important questions for accountability – e.g. at what geographic scale can humanitarian agencies work with people to make decisions linked to their 'community' in a representative way? There may be various lower level administrative units or informal structures that have legitimacy with local populations and that may be appropriate to engage with. Accountability to communities of interest may also require engagement through institutions, such as the workplace, church, schools, etc. Accountability to both 'communities of place' and 'communities of interest' remains an ongoing challenge in urban areas, as reflected by recent workshops on the subject (see World Vision 2013).

Implications for standard humanitarian tools, methods and approaches – As mentioned earlier, urban communities may be more difficult to define and vulnerable groups may be more difficult to identify (ALNAP 2014). This ambiguity can create the dangerous

situation of 'invisible' crisis affecting particular segments of the urban population (Zetter & Deikun 2011b). There are also concerns that traditional approaches to targeting – particularly targeting on the basis of single identities, such as women, children, refugees, the disabled, etc. – can lead to the misinterpretation of identifies and needs, to the maldistribution of humanitarian assistance, and potentially to the reinforcement of existing inequalities between the poorest and most vulnerable groups, particularly in protracted situations (Moncrieffe & Eyben 2007; see also IDS 2013).

It is increasingly recognised that new area-based approaches that are capable of benefitting a wider range of vulnerable groups facing similar circumstances are required in urban settings (IRC 2015; Grünewald 2012; Gupta 2015). However, more needs to be known about how these approaches can be supported cost effectively and in partnership with municipal authorities, the private sector (including local service providers) and civil society, and about how they can be integrated into broader urban planning strategies at the city-wide scale (Gupta 2015).

New humanitarian tools, approaches and methods are only beginning to be developed and adapted to reflect the diversity and complexity of urban communities (IASC 2010; Ramalingam & Knox Clarke 2012). Better understanding the characteristics and dynamics of urban communities and the constraints they face represents an area where further research is required as a basis for developing more appropriate approaches in urban settings.

2.1.3 Cross-cutting protection issues

When compared to rural areas, protection issues in urban settings are generally more complex due to the diversity of urban populations and the range of actors involved (Guterres 2010; Kyazze et al. 2012; Zetter & Deikun 2011). Accordingly, international humanitarian agencies have begun to develop policy and operational guidelines that address the specificity of protection issues in urban crisis situations. For instance, the UNHCR's (2009) *Policy on Refugee and Protection Solutions in Urban Areas* identifies a number of problems specifically confronting urban refugees, including the threat of arrest and detention, inadequate and overcrowded shelters, vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), HIV/AIDS, human smuggling and trafficking, among others. These problems show how urban areas are often not safe havens for displaced populations who, out of fear of harassment, detention and possible *refoulement,* commonly live with precarious legal status, and with limited or no access to official protection as a result (Zetter & Deikun 2011a). In this context, two particular humanitarian challenges are apparent: firstly, how to protect urban IDPs and refugees who wish to remain un-identified to authorities; and secondly, how to protect others who are hard to identify

in highly dispersed urban communities (ibid).

There is also a growing recognition that, "The plight of refugees and others of concern in urban areas cannot be treated in isolation but needs to be responded to in the broader context of the urban poor" (Guterres 2010). For instance, studies by the Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) in Amman (Pavanello with Haysom 2012), Damascus (Haysom & Pavanello 2011), the Gaza Strip (Haysom & el Sarraj 2012), Kabul (Metcalfe et al. 2012), Nairobi (Metcalfe and Pavanello with Mishra 2011), Yei (Martin & Sluga 2011) and Peshawar (Mosel & Jackson 2013) show how the urban displaced and non-displaced face a number of acute protection and security threats in the context of chronic vulnerability (for a synthesis review see Haysom, 2013). These studies also show how protection and security threats can vary considerably depending on: the degree of repression by local authorities; the effectiveness of law enforcement; the attitude of the state towards the urban poor and displaced populations; the location of these populations within urban areas; their legal status; and their many social identities.

Across the seven studies, SGBV was identified as a cross-cutting protection issue attributed to changing gender roles associated with rural-to-urban migration and displacement to urban areas (Haysom 2013). Women often find it easier to find work in urban than in rural areas, exposing them to heightened risk of sexual harassment by employers (ibid). A recent study also uncovered high levels of sexual harassment, abuse and exploitation among urban refugee women working to provide for themselves and their families, as observed among Burmese women in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and among Iraqi, Somali, Sudanese, Eritrean and Ethiopian refugee women in Cairo (Buscher & Heller 2010). Other issues such as violence; constraints on mobility; limited access to information; increased responsibilities and demands on women's time inside and outside the home (e.g. caring for the sick and injured); and the strain of hosting displaced family members and renters, can all place women in particularly difficult and vulnerable situations.

Other studies suggest that child protection is a growing concern among urban displaced populations, as reported among Syrian refugee in Jordan (UN Women 2013). However, this review uncovered little research on child protection issues specifically in urban settings.

A number of studies also identify urban violence as a growing security threat among displaced and non-displaced populations (Haysom, 2013; Pantuliano et al. 2012; Zetter & Deikun 2011). This situation reflects a broader trend toward violence in urban areas, and in low-income and informal settlements in particular (Duijsens 2010; Harroff-Tavel 2010; Lucchi 2010; 2014; Moser & McIlwaine 2014; Reid-Henry & Sending 2014; UN-Habitat, 2007). People living in these settlements may require additional safeguards and protection from

private actions and anti-poor policies, including forced evictions and 'slum' clearance (UN-Habitat 2007b, p. 10), as discussed below (Section 2.2.2). In this context, protection issues appear to be increasingly entangled with the linkages between urban poverty and insecurity (Barcelo et al. 2011).

In attempting to respond to these issues, there is growing recognition that urban areas require new approaches to protection. In particular, Tibaijuka (2010) argues that, "The processes and modalities of humanitarian work need to be adapted – may be even transformed – to enable [the humanitarian system] to meet the basic living requirements and protection needs of the urban displaced" (p. 5). This includes greater partnerships between elected officials, public servants, community-based groups and researchers to address urban women's protection issues, in particular (Whitzman et al. 2014).

2.2 Infrastructure systems

Key summary points

- **Understanding and engaging with urban infrastructure systems requires a coordinated, multi-sector approach**

- **Formal infrastructure networks frequently do not extend into low-income informal settlements, where a range of local service providers have emerged to fill the gap**

- **Crises can reconfigure land, housing and property rights, with disproportionate consequences for the landless and homeless who already lack access to basic infrastructure**

Due to the architecture of the humanitarian system, funding is usually allocated to single sectors and is thus seldom integrated or area-based (i.e. in terms of coinciding with urban administrative units and authorities) (Grünewald 2012). This explains in large part why so many international humanitarian agencies have been accustomed to addressing infrastructure in sector-based clusters.

It has become increasingly recognised that responding in densely populated urban environments requires a more coordinated, multi-sector approach (Boyer et al. 2011; Grünewald et al. 2011; Grünewald 2012; Gupta 2015; IASC 2010; Kyazze et al. 2012). With this in mind, this section begins by examining how various infrastructures form broader urban systems. It then examines the more specific ways in which infrastructure linked to the built environment is impacted both by crises and humanitarian responses, with a focus on housing and land; water and sanitation; health care; and solid waste management[1].

2.2.1 Urban systems

da Silva et al. (2012) argue that urban areas must be understood by looking at their entire systems rather than just their individual parts, and that this requires a more holistic approach in which urban areas are understood as "complex 'living' systems" (ibid, p. 5). Table 1 presents some key urban infrastructure systems and the diversity of actors, institutions and markets that support them in urban settings. This table also includes some of the key services that these infrastructure systems provide.

1 While recognising the importance and interdependence of all the urban infrastructure systems, due to the scope this review we have chosen to focus only on a few of the systems.

Table 1: Urban infrastructure systems

Urban infrastructure systems[1]	
Systems	*Actors/institutions/markets*
Water • Drinking water • Sewerage • Groundwater, rivers, fresh water bodies	• Municipalities • Communities • Large utilities (public/private) • Small-scale service providers (formal/informal) • Markets (formal/informal)
Housing and land • Building materials and inputs • Labour • Regulatory and transactional • Financial	• Municipalities and their planning/building departments • Corporate real estate agencies • Large construction companies • Local builders and artisans (formal/informal) • Housing, land, labour, building input markets (formal/informal) • Rental markets

1 Informed by: López et al. (2009)

Food • Storage/processing facilities • Transport • Distribution • Urban/peri-urban land	• Government departments (agriculture and food) • Shippers/transporters • Cash and credit markets • Corporate suppliers (e.g. supermarkets) • Local vendors (formal/informal) • Local producers (formal/informal)
Health • Hospitals/clinics • Supplies • Power/energy	• Government departments (health care) • Health care providers (public/private) • Health care professionals • Skilled labour markets • Shippers/transporters • Energy utilities (public/private)
Education • Schools/universities/ technical colleges	• Government departments (education) • Teaching staff • Skilled labour markets • Supplies (transport/distribution) • Energy utilities (pubilc/private)
Telecommunications • Radio masts/towers • Cables/fibre • Networking hardware • Power/energy	• Mobile service providers • Radio operators/stations • Media • Energy utilities (pubilc/private)
Transport/mobility • Roads/rail/waterways/air • Multi-modal mass transit (public/ private) • Ports/airports	• Government departments (transportation/public works) • Service operators (public/private, formal/informal) • Travellers/commuters (public/private) • Ecosystems
Energy • Power sources/stations/cables	• Government departments (energy) • Energy utilities (public/private) • Local providers of biofuels (formal/informal)
• Solid waste • Dumps/landfill • Recycling facilities • Collection • Transport	• Municipal waste management and environmental protection services • Private sector collectors and reculers • Waste pickers/recyclers (formal/informal)
• Social services/welfare • Community centres • Religious buildings • Drop-in-centres/shelters	• Government departments (health/ public safety) • Social workers • Skilled labour markets
• Economic systems/livelihoods • Physical markets for trading goods and services • Commericial buildings • Factories/warehouses	• Government departments (economic development), including ministries of social welfare/protection • Employers (public/private) • Work force (formal/informal)

2.2.2 Land and housing

Land and housing may be difficult to access in urban areas due to restricted land availability, high land and housing prices, and complicated land acquisition processes. Different kinds of tenure arrangements exist, including ownership, lease, rental, informal rental and squatting (IFRC 2010).

In this context, people with limited land rights or informal tenure arrangements are often disproportionately impacted by displacement and damage to shelter caused by disasters and conflict (ibid; Pantuliano, 2009). This group generally includes informal dwellers and squatters on public and private land who lack formalised/legal rights; tenants who are not able to return to their homes or land; and households headed by women whose housing, land and property (HLP) rights are not recognised (ibid).

Both urban crises and humanitarian interventions can give rise to a number of HLP issues, which are outlined below. These issues underscore the difficulty of isolating issues of housing from land and property, highlighting the need to understand HLP issues together.

- *Illegal/unjust land acquisition –* The destruction of housing and resultant displacement often provides opportunities for unjust land acquisition, which can adversely impact people whose land is literally stolen from them (IFRC 2010). Land grabs can take various forms, including overt violence by both public and private actors and carefully planned legislative measures, including land-use planning and zoning mechanisms (Bell, 2007). For instance, following Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, planning reforms resulted in significant land-use and property ownership reconfigurations, which in many instances allowed private developers to 'grab' valuable real estate from poor African Americans (Brookings Institution, 2005).

- In addition, following tsunamis in the heavily affected countries of India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand, reconstruction plans displaced coastal towns and traditional fishing villages through, for example, the enforcement of buffer zones as an environmental management measure, and through higher-economic return development projects, such as the development of hotels and resorts (Bristol 2010).

- *Restitution versus resettlement –* According to the UN (2007) *Principles on Housing and Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons,* the right of people to return to their land is supported over resettlement where conditions permit. However, in many cases, restitution can be impeded by HLP disputes over real or attempted land grabs, a land plot or dwelling, or the secondary occupation of housing and land. These and other urban land disputes have gained increasing

attention within humanitarian debates, as reflected by the growing body of literature (Scott Leckie, 2005; Pons-vignon & Lecomte, 2004; van der Auweraert, 2013) and practical guidelines (UN-Habitat, 2007; 2010; Wehrmann, 2008) on the issue.

- *Proving who has HLP rights* – Shelter programming in urban areas can be hampered by the difficulties of clarifying the existence of property titles for land (Crawford et al. 2010), as observed following the 2007 Pisco earthquake in Peru (IFRC 2010) and the 2010 earthquake in Port-au-Prince (Forsman 2009). In post-disaster situations, particularly following conflict, legal frameworks can collapse altogether, making the task of verifying the legal status of land and property ownership especially difficult, as was the case in Kosovo (Barakat 2003). In other instances, natural disasters have destroyed physical records of land ownership, or land itself, as in Aceh (da Silva & Batchelor 2010). Other studies in Gaza and Damascus (Haysom & el Sarraj 2012; Metcalfe et al., 2012) show how land laws are often poorly understood by the local judiciary, and how decades of conflict have made it increasingly difficult for residents and lawyers to make sense of ownership on the ground and the rights established by often overlapping legal systems. A study on land in Haiti (Levine et al. 2012) also showed how the complexity of land law and land administration, "[made] it almost impossible to know definitely who owns what" (p. 1).

- *Inequitable treatment of non-owners* – The urban poor, who are predominately tenants and non-owners of HLP (UN-Habitat, 2003), often face inequitable treatment (IFRC 2010a; Schilderman 2010). For instance, following the Pisco earthquake in Peru, 78 per cent of the population that had titles received grants for reconstruction, whilst both tenants and informal dwellers were generally excluded (IFRC 2010). A similar distinction was made following the 1995 Kobe earthquake in Japan, where owners were entitled to return to their original homes, whereas tenants ended up having to find new housing (ibid).

- *Insecure tenure* – Insecure tenure is a pervasive feature of urban inequality (Crawford 2011; UN-Habitat 2003b) and can compound HLP prospects among affected populations, whilst also creating significant challenges for shelter providers (IFRC 2010). Tenure insecurity can arise through a range of pre-existing or post-crisis situations, including structural weaknesses in HLP registration and record-keeping systems in affected countries, limited clarity between informal and formal and customary HLP rights frameworks, systematic bias against tenants and other non-owners (resulting in heightened tenure insecurity), and the damage, loss or manipulation of land registers and other systems for recording HLP rights (ibid). For instance, Metcalfe & Pavanello (2011) show how informal agreements

between landlords and tenants in Nairobi's 'slums' tend to be verbal rather than written, and how landlords often do not own the plots on which they have built. These factors "make [tenants] highly vulnerable to rent increases and forced evictions" (p. 28).

- In addition, a recent study by the NRC (2014a) in Jordan revealed that 70 per cent of Syrian refugees – most of whom live in urban areas – lack secure tenure with many renting without basic rental agreements, leaving them vulnerable to forced eviction and further displacement. The consequences of insecure tenure are also evident in Lebanon, where the NRC recorded increases in forced evictions among refugees living in informal settlements, particularly those perceived as becoming 'too permanent', and higher rates of forced evictions of refugees from rental accommodation, partly due to inability to pay (UN-Habitat & UNHCR 2014).

- ***Gender, land and housing*** – A recent study by the Norwegian Refugee Council (Bermudez et al. 2014) in Afghanistan, Ecuador, Lebanon, Liberia, Palestine (Gaza) and South Sudan has addressed an important evidence gap surrounding women's HLP rights in conflict settings. Although the study is not specifically grounded in urban areas, the crisis affecting these countries have had a strong urban component. The study identified a number of barriers that women face in accessing HLP rights, notably repressive social norms (including those embedded in family, community and justice structures), poverty and destitution, and how these factors are working to perpetuate gender inequalities. Moreover, these inequalities are often exacerbated during displacement, when women – as refugees, IDPs, returnees, members of economically disadvantaged groups, and as members of ethnic and/or religious minorities – face "multiple layers of discrimination" (ibid, p. 10).

In order to respond to many of the HLP issues raised above, it is increasingly argued that humanitarian agencies need to shift their focus away from providing shelter as a product towards addressing the processes through which people gain access to shelter and recover (Crawford et al. 2010; Davis 1978, 2011; IASC 2010; UN-Habitat & UNHCR 2014). This shift is especially relevant in urban areas where there often exist:

- established markets, a cash economy and various layers of informal and formal financial institutions;

- local authorities, planning bodies, housing strategies, legal institutions and building codes;

- civil society organisations with various agendas, hierarchies and mechanisms of accountability;

- private contractors and workers with 'urban skills';

- infrastructure and service providers;

- households and neighbourhoods with urban coping strategies and livelihoods; and complex, multi-functional usage of a variety of outdoor or public spaces. These are generally not envisaged in the concepts of vocabulary or rural-based shelter response guidelines and needs a 'settlements approach' – and ultimately an urban planning-based approach (Crawford et al. 2010, p. 27).

A focus on self-recovery and mutual assistance is of increasing importance given that most urban crisis-affected and displaced populations undertake autonomous actions to secure their own housing and that protracted displacement in urban environments/outside camp settings is becoming the norm (Davies 2012; Federici 2014). For example, NRC documents that the majority of refugees in Lebanon and Jordon are not in camps but residing within private rental arrangements in urban/peri- urban areas.

In this context, authorities in crisis-affected cities and shelter agencies are trying to respond to renting as temporary shelter strategies in urban areas and are shifting their approaches to include cash and voucher assistance for rent and shelter and to support the rehabilitation and upgrading of buildings and services to improve conditions in houses and neighbourhoods receiving the displaced (Barcelo et al. 2011; Davies 2012; Federici 2014; Gupta 2015; UN-Habitat & UNHCR 2014; USAID 2011; World Bank/EU/UN 2014). Such support has been provided in Beirut (UN-Habitat & UNHCR 2014), Tacloban (Catholic Relief Services Philippines 2015), Port-au-Prince (Hirano 2012), among many other crisis-affected cities. Current documentation of practices looks at the different methods for these interventions, for example thinking about rental laws, dealing with private landlords.

2.2.3 Water and Sanitation

Strongly connected with housing and land, water and sanitation infrastructure and networks in most urban areas in low- and middle-income countries are fragmented and levels of service vary widely. There are a multiplicity of local actors, such as water/waste water utilities operated by the private or public sectors, private sector water vendors and waste haulage companies, small or micro enterprises, community groups and local NGOs involved in water provision, toilet provision and solid waste management and recycling. An assemblage of infrastructure supports the systems in the form of pipes, rivers and drains, pumping stations, tube wells, communal and private toilets, roads and vehicles for transport, and dumping stations in variable quality across the city.

In upper- and middle-income areas within a town or city,

service levels may be satisfactory, but people in most low-income and informal settlements live in a situation of chronic poverty and vulnerability (Mitlin & Satterthwaite 2013). The urban poor do not have access to safe water unless they pay very high rates to access water from private vendors, sewerage systems are often non-existent, and open defecation remains common. In some settlements, community or small-scale private or public schemes operate toilets and solid waste management. Estimates that suggest that up to 50 per cent of urban dwellers in Asia and up to 70 per cent of those in Africa live in ill-served informal settlements (ibid; UN-Habitat 2003b).

Crises can disturb and weaken urban water and sanitation systems and, in turn, the poor quality of these systems can exacerbate the crises. Luff's (2014) review of humanitarian water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) preparedness and response differentiates between the impacts and responses for different types of crises (Table 2). Intensive disasters that cause large-scale housing

destruction, such as earthquakes, tsunami, tidal surges, and armed conflict can cause wide-scale destruction of existing physical infrastructure. Interrupted power supplies can cut off water and sewerage pumping facilities, as observed in Kabul (Pinera & Reed, 2009). Conflict can also have an eroding effect on institutions such as water utilities (Pinera & Reed, 2007). In situations of chronic vulnerability affected by flood-related disasters, the whole urban area may not be affected, but it is likely that the urban poor will suffer disproportionately (Douglas et al. 2008). In IDP crises, increased demand for water and burden on sanitation systems would increase water stress and incidence of disease for both the host and incoming populations, (anecdotal evidence from Quetta 1990s, Pakistan 2009, Lebanon 2011). As a cumulative affect made worse in crises situations endemic vector-borne diseases such as dengue and malaria, and other water-borne viruses and bacteria causing diarrheal disease can increase in urban areas where there is poor drainage, poor sanitation and poor water quality (IFRC, 2010; Luff, 2014).

Table 2: *Impact of different types of crises on water and sanitation and on their urban response*

Crises type	Impacts on urban water and sanitation infrastructure and networks in crises	Strategic objective of response	Who does this require working with?
Disaster and Conflict	• Destruction of all or part of water and sanitation infrastructure systems. Inability of pumping systems to work. Flooding causing contaminated water. Interruption of markets for water	• Meeting of basic needs of those displaced by the disaster. The key objective is to rapidly get basic services for water and sanitation functioning, with attention to reinstatement of infrastructure systems in/t-shelter/rebuilding	• Shelter sector in the short-term, and local service providers of all kinds in medium-term. Integrate emergency response in getting basic provision within plans for more adequate longer-term solutions. Where possible involve those displaced in developing solutions
Displace-ment	• If dispersed throughout host populations then increasing demand for services	• To enhance welfare safety nets through support for WASH services, household economies and to mitigate the effects of extreme poverty	• Support to local service providers for infrastructure development and capacity-building of systems
Disease	• This usually has a cumulative effect. Increasing incidence of vector borne, viral and bacterial disease because of lack of water and sanitation infrastructure caused by chronic conditions or from disaster destroyed infrastructure	• To reduce the WASH related disease burden	• Supporting the restoration or improvement of WASH systems in high risk locales. If in camp siatuations work with agencies or with local organisational structures

Source: Building on Luff (2014)

A review of the literature suggests the main challenge facing this sector when confronted with the urban-specific context is bringing the principle of working with local actors and service providers to the fore and deepening engagement with public and private service providers at every level (Luff 2014). During the DFID (2014) workshops on humanitarian response, it was suggested that agencies should seek to complement and support service providers and only substitute for them when no other options exist. As described above, WASH service providers exist in very diverse organisational forms and humanitarian engagement with them has been too limited.

There is some evidence of the efficacy and nature of partnerships with local urban organisations, including a number of relevant studies conducted by Pinera and colleagues (see Pinera & Reed 2007, 2009; Pinera 2012). One study looked at urban water services in situations of six war-affected cities (Pinera 2012). This study concludes that partnerships did not necessarily influence the effectiveness of response in the short term, but were beneficial because they prepared for rehabilitation. Yet, after the earthquakes in Bam in 2003 and Gujrat in 2001, in was found that using assets belonging to the local authority together with emergency equipment provided by aid agencies was the most effective way to provide quick results (Pinera et al. 2005; Sharma 2001).

There are many case-studies where organisations formed by the residents of informal settlements contributed much to workable (and affordable) provision of water and/or sanitation (see Burra et al. 2003; Hasan 2006; McGranahan 2015). Archer & Boonyabancha (2011) describes how the residents of an emergency camp in Thailand for survivors of the 2004 Tsunami self-organised to take over much of the management of the camp and the plans for the future;

"As noted, this process can start right from the beginning of relief efforts, in relief camps. For example, in Thailand, the Bang Muang camp housed 850 families in the aftermath of the tsunami in December 2004. The camp was managed by the tsunami [survivors] themselves, who organized into committees dealing with issues such as cooking, camp hygiene, water supply, medical care and children's activities, and tents were set up in an arrangement of 10-family groups and 3-group zones, each zone with its own leader. Every evening, camp-wide meetings were held to discuss camp management, in a fully transparent process. From the very beginning, this collective management system helped to prepare the survivors for the longer-term tasks of negotiating for secure land and rebuilding their communities and livelihoods" (p.3).

A study by Pinera (2012) showed that partnerships between aid agencies and water sector institutions were more likely to support the provision of infrastructure for areas already served by water distribution networks as opposed to institutional capacity building aimed at increasing service coverage across the city (Pinera 2012). Here, there are many lessons to be learned from urban development. For example, in Khartoum in the late 1980s, with the city population growing rapidly and with expanding informal settlements on the city periphery far from the central city, 300,000 people depended on the services of some 6,000 vendors. Prices were particularly high for those furthest from water sources. Cairncross (1990) proposed two key recommendations for increasing the supply and reducing the cost of water from vendors: open more boreholes from which the vendors can get water and provide credit for new water vendors to cover the cost of a donkey and cart.

There are also many examples from recent practice that underscore the importance of local collaboration. In Port-au-Prince, Oxfam undertook a water market survey, which "proved popular with DINEPA (the Government's water and sanitation department) and other agencies" (Oxfam 2011, p. 6) and the WASH cluster was applauded for early engagement with DINEPA (Luff 2014). In Lebanon, where Syrian refuges have been displaced in towns and villages, "the dominant modality to work with utilities was for agencies to approach the municipality to work with them but latterly the water establishment (regional utility) has become the key partner for review and agencies select from a list of priority projects" (Luff 2014, p. 26).

The literature on this topic clearly identifies a lack of analysis of water and sanitation relief operations carried out in cities or towns, and although agencies acknowledge the need for new approaches to urban work, there is little macro-level data and few published case studies available (Bastable & Lamb 2012; Luff 2014). Pinera & Reed (2007) call for a better understanding about when and how to apply the local partnerships approach in WASH, and while their research goes some way to understanding this in the rehabilitation phase, much more work is needed, especially for the emergency phase.

Luff (2014) further highlights the need for agencies to build more knowledge and experience on how to rapidly interface and work with a whole variety of service providers, from the informal, small-scale, to water/wastewater utilities and engineering companies. There is thus a need to review agency partnership and contracting experiences at sector level to learn lessons for the future. Related to gaining a better understanding of WASH partnerships in the urban context, there is growing sentiment among practitioners that ways of assessing and understanding the urban water and sanitation systems are needed. Participants of the DFID (2014) workshops expressed concern that technical assessments of existing infrastructure networks (pre- and post-disaster) constituted a weakness among humanitarian organisations, leading to ineffective programme design and delays in implementation.

Another urban-specific challenge identified in the literature is the need for effective, efficient, affordable, acceptable, appropriate sanitation options for urban settings (Brown et al. 2012). In urban contexts, better sanitation within households or from community toilets may not be reducing the risk of faecal contamination for the local population in using public space unless these improvements are reaching all households. Community or public toilets must all be accessible and safe at night. In non-urban contexts, it is usually possible to dig pit latrines, but in urban areas this may not be possible due to risks of water contamination, high water tables, concrete sites, or of lack of permission (Bastable & Lamb 2012; Brown et al. 2012). Emergency and temporary water and sanitation measures need greater technical, physical, social and economic evaluation, such as user feedback and impact analysis, not only in the short term but also longer term such as environmental impacts, decommissioning implications and sustainable behaviour change.

2.2.4 Health care

Anecdotal evidence from a limited number of case studies shows how different types of crises can impact on health care infrastructure and medical services in urban areas. As summarised in Table 3, these impacts generally entail damage and destruction to critical health care infrastructure (e.g. hospitals and clinics); the additional strain exerted by increased patient caseloads and by new demands on medical services; and disruption to supply chains affecting the availability of critical services. The 2014 Ebola outbreaks in West Africa have also shown how densely populated urban areas can provide the conditions for infections to propagate (see Alirol et al. 2011).

Table 3: Impact of crises on health care infrastructure and medical services in urban areas

Crises type	Impact on health care infrastructure and medical services	Case studies	References
Disaster	• Damage to critical health care infrastructure (e.g. hospitals and clinics) weakens the health care system • Increased patient caseloads in hospitals, placing additional strain on facilities and medical workers • Disruptions to external systems supplying hospitals with critical services and resources, including power • External emergency healthcare providers present	New Orleans (Hurricane Katrina), New York City (Hurricane Sandy)	Adalja et al. 2014; Rodríguez & Aguirre (2006)
Conflict	• Increased patient caseload (protracted) • Damage to critical health care infrastructure weakens the health care system and reduce its capacity to deliver a proper medical response to conflict trauma • Insecurity may restrict movement, preventing treatment • Displacement of, or restricted movement of medical staff	Mogadishu	
Violence	• Governmental health structures unable to cope with various medical demands produced by violent acts (e.g. armed robberies, assaults, beatings, sexual violence, kidnappings, murders, etc.) • Collapse of entire medical system due to violent events • Health care professionals may choose to avoid areas where security threats are high • Insecurity among front-line medical workers • Insecurity may restrict movement, preventing treatment of victims	Port-au-Prince, Rio de Janeiro, Guatemala City	Lucchi (2010); see also Lucchi (2012)

Displa-cement	• Rapid influx of IDPs and refugees into urban areas increase patient caseloads in local clinics thereby impacting on the health care services available to host populations • Health services provided by international humanitarian agencies are seldom adequate and urban refugees frequently complain of limited access to government facilities	Lebanon (Syrian refugee crises)	World Vision (2013) Crisp et al. (2012)
Disease outbre-aks	• Increased patient caseloads • Morbidity and mortality among front-line medical workers infected by Ebola undermines local capacity for a sustained response	Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Senegal (as of October 2014)	MSF (2014)

In urban response, international humanitarian agencies, such as by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), are focusing their efforts on addressing the health needs among the most vulnerable and neglected urban populations (Lucchi 2012). These agencies are shifting their focus from 'why' they should intervene to 'how' they should intervene more effectively in urban settings (Lucchi 2012). However, a recent literature review by Blanchet et al. (2013) found little evidence on the effectiveness of health care interventions in urban humanitarian settings. A notable exception includes a recent study by Lucchi (2012) that documents a number of lessons from MSF's expanding experience in urban settings, which are summarised in Box 2. These lessons indicate that the most appropriate medical interventions in urban humanitarian crises situations remain a learning process, underscoring the need for further documentation of experiences and lessons learnt from urban projects (Lucchi 2012).

Box 2: *Lessons learned from MSFs experience in urban health care response*

> ***Targeting*** – It is difficult to find a clear intervention focus in urban areas given the multitude of overlapping health issues among a potentially large target population. Although urban areas generally permit easier physical access to certain locations, actual access to vulnerable groups and identification of victims of neglect or violence within the larger population remain challenging;
>
> ***Medical strategies*** – It is not possible to create a 'standard' package of medical strategies in urban areas. Instead, there is a need for a more extensive suite of activities that are adapted to the diversity of contexts and to the particularities of each setting in terms of medical humanitarian needs and available health care;
>
> ***Inclusion*** – Developing medical response packages implies making a choice regarding inclusion and exclusion criteria for services and categories of patients eligible to access them. These criteria are particularly important in urban areas: if no strict admission criteria are identified, the accessibility associated with free health care would attract an unmanageable number of patients, putting a considerable strain on the resources of the humanitarian actor and undermining the quality of intervention;
>
> ***Gaps in the system*** – There is a need to ensure that humanitarian medical strategies address an existing gap according to evaluated needs, the capacity and performance of the existing health system, and the barriers to access, whilst also adapting these strategies to local health-seeking behaviour;
>
> ***Barriers to care*** – Existing health care systems may create intentional and unintentional barriers to care (e.g. certain groups may not be granted access to free care), which require careful analysis when developing an intervention strategy;
>
> ***Partnerships*** – Partnerships with local authorities and other organisations (e.g. churches, CBOs and NGOs) are more common in urban areas and provide ways for humanitarian agencies to avoid a substitutive role (Harroff-Tavel 2010, p. 340). The challenge for humanitarian agencies is to engage with actors in existing health care systems in ways that add value, avoid duplication and ensure ownership, whilst also addressing the barriers to care. Engaging with these actors can assist in better understanding the context, developing a more accurate analysis of needs, and providing a better overall medical response;
>
> ***Exit strategies*** – Engaging with existing actors in capacity building can support an exit strategy that facilitates the transition from emergency response to longer-term development through strengthening the existing health care system.

Source: Lucchi (2012)

2.2.5 Solid waste management

Urban disasters, conflict and displacement can generate substantial volumes of debris and solid waste, with significant impacts on urban response and recovery efforts (for a comprehensive review see Brown et al. 2011). For instance, following the 1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in Kobe, road blockages prevented building access, which impeded rescuers and emergency responders from reaching survivors (Kobayashi 1995). More recently, the 2010 earthquake in Port-au-Prince underscored the difficulties of managing debris in high-density urban environments with narrow roads and hilly terrains.

Reports suggest that, whilst nearly 200,000 buildings collapsed in and around Port-au-Prince, creating an estimated 10 million cubic metres (estimates varied widely) of debris, only one-fifth of the debris had been removed as of 2011 (Rodgers 2011). In this case, almost all informal neighbourhoods had labour intensive debris management programmes underway in 2011.

Although waste is often a by-product of urban crises, it can also be a contributing factor. Organic waste and standing pools of water in and around debris can create breeding grounds for rodents and communicable diseases in communities (Brown et al. 2011). Health threats such as these can be particularly high where drainage systems and waterways have become blocked by waste, where solid waste collection services are lacking, and where population densities are high, as in many informal settlements (Few 2003; Global WASH Cluster 2009; Wilding et al. 2005). In such settlements, health crises may be the side-effect of poor environmental conditions combined with other emergencies, such as flooding, earthquakes and violence, creating what Zetter & Deikun (2011) call 'stress bundles'.

Based on a review of the literature, Table 4 summarises some of the different ways in which solid waste can impact on urban response and recovery efforts depending on the type of crisis and the characteristics of the built environment, the landscape and solid waste.

Table 4: *Impacts of different types of crises on solid waste management in urban response*

Crises type	Solid waste characteristics	Impacts on urban response
Earthquake	Structures collapse 'in-situ' (i.e. floor slabs collapse on top of each other, trapping waste within damaged buildings and structures) Collapsed buildings overlap across streets Quantities of waste are higher compared to other disaster types, because building materials and contents normally become rubble	• Difficulties in sorting hazardous waste (e.g. asbestos) from non-hazardous waste (e.g. general building rubble) • Difficulties of search and rescue vehicles in passing roads • Difficulties accessing affected communities in inaccessible locations (e.g. steep slopes)
Flood	Initial damage depends on structural integrity of infrastructure (e.g. drainage) Building contents are normally damaged extensively Buildings are typically stripped by owners and waste placed on roads for collection Waste and debris may be brought into affected communities	• Waste may be mixed with hazardous materials • Waste and debris removal may be required for response and recovery operations once flood waters recede
Tsunami	Widespread damage to buildings and infrastructure, spreading debris over large areas Debris often mixed with organic matter (e.g. soil, trees, shrubbery, etc.) and other loose objects (e.g. vehicles)	• Difficulty in managing, handling and segregating waste and debris

Adapted from: UNEP/OCHA (2011, p. 6)

Hurricanes, typhoons and cyclones	• Waste may be spread over open land, streets and marketplaces • Strong winds may tear roofs off buildings, causing walls to collapse • Poorly constructed housing can 'fold' under roof tops • Ships are often thrown ashore and destroyed • Electrical and telephone grids and transformers may be destroyed	• Specialised machinery may be required to remove vessels that have come ashore or sunk in harbours
Short-term conflict	• Intense short-term conflicts involve rockets, missiles and bombs, which, combined with urban combat, can result in damage to buildings, infrastructure and strategic installations • Roads, bridges and railway structures may be deliberately targeted • Damaged infrastructure is often burnt, resulting in the destruction of most internal furnishings and fittings. This can reduce the quantity of debris and leave non-flammable items	• Specialised heavy machinery (e.g. bull dozers, excavators, etc.) may be required to remove debris • Waste collection vehicles may be damaged, destroyed or commandeered for military purposes • Unexploded ordinance (e.g. undetonated landmines) may exist among waste
Protracted conflict	• Often more widespread damage to buildings and infrastructure as compared to short-term conflict • Increased use of explosives on or near strategic roads and facilities	• As above
Displacement	• Additional household and consumer wastes produced in camps and urban environments	• Additional pressures placed on local authorities and their solid waste management systems

A significant body of literature on debris management has emerged in response to many of the impacts outlined above. This literature has typically focused on three phases:

• **Emergency response** – involving debris management to facilitate preservation of life, provision of emergency services, removing immediate public health and safety hazards, such as unstable buildings;

• **Recovery** – involving debris management as part of restoring lifeline restoration and building demolition; and

• **Rebuilding** – involving debris management of wastes generated by, and used in, reconstruction (Brown et al. 2011, p. 1090).

Most disaster situations have a debris management system that mobilises vehicles and defines temporary and longer term disposal sites. However, some case studies suggest that the presence of numerous international humanitarian agencies without sufficient coordination can lead to the inappropriate handling and disposal of debris in emergency situations, as observed in Aceh and Nias (UNDP 2006).

Government data from the Pakistan 2005 earthquake documented the reuse of materials by over 400,000 households. While almost everything is re-usable in some way, even rubble, there are few documented examples where disaster debris have been salvaged, recycled and reused by local builders and affected communities. Available documentation indicates that reusing and recycling materials from disaster debris can reduce the need to transport new materials, contribute towards price stability of materials (Karunasena et al. 2013), and create short-term and to a lesser extent long-term livelihood opportunities (UNDP/UNISDR n.d., p. 22). Providing free removal of debris can accelerate demolition. Experience from Aceh and Nias suggests that these opportunities can be supported through cash-for-work and direct employment programmes that facilitate the clean-up process while supporting the recovery of people's livelihoods (ibid).

2.3 Markets

Key summary points

- **Access to basic services in urban areas is monetised, meaning they must be purchased in cash markets**

- **Those with low-incomes face heightened difficulties in fulfilling basic needs, which may be compounded when their livelihoods and incomes are disrupted by crises**

- **Cash transfers can be vital in providing immediate relief and support, but a better understanding of their longer-term impacts on urban markets and livelihoods is needed**

Access to non-food essentials, including housing, building materials, water, transport, fuel, health care, and so on, are highly monetised in urban areas and therefore must be purchased in markets (Cross & Johnston 2010). Although the urban poor typically spend most of their income on food needs, studies reviewed by Mitlin & Satterthwaite (2013, p. 55) show that the urban poor often spend a much higher proportion of their income on non-food needs (particularly on housing and transport) than the rural poor due to their higher costs (particularly in larger and more prosperous cities). Groups that are especially vulnerable often include urban refugees, IDPs, migrants and economically dependent groups who may lack the support networks or economic means to survive in a market economy, the skills to compete in highly competitive labour markets, and social networks able to provide support (Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Haysom 2013; FANTA-2 2008).

Against this backdrop, this section reviews the available evidence on both the impacts of urban crises and humanitarian responses on urban markets, with a focus on land and housing; water and sanitation; food markets; and livelihoods and labour markets. Although there are markets for many of the infrastructure systems reviewed in Section 2.2 (see also Table 1) (e.g. health care is often privately provided), this review found little research on these markets in the context of urban humanitarian response.

2.3.1 Land and housing markets

Urban land and housing markets are highly complex. The great variety of land and property ownership patterns, and tenure and living arrangements can make navigating HLP issues extremely difficult, particularly in urban crisis situations where both displaced and non-displaced populations may live in informal settlements without secure tenure, in private social/state rental housing, in multiple occupancy mid-rise dwellings, or with host

families (Crawford et al. 2010). These difficulties are reflected in a case study of Haiti by Levine et al. (2012);

"The occupancy status of Port-au-Prince's inhabitants varies according to how they acquire land, ranging from property owners with title deeds to owners without title deeds and cases where the owner did not know what they owned (including the government itself). There are also tenants with or without negotiated temporary agreement, tenants with leases from the state or from private landholders and tenants with leases from official or self-proclaimed guardians of land belonging to people who had fled unfavourable political events" (p. 9-10).

Furthermore, as noted above (Section 2.2.2), the difficulty of determining people's occupancy and legal status can be compounded in urban crisis situations where land registers and title documents may have been damaged or destroyed (IFRC 2010), where land laws are inappropriate or poorly understood (Metcalfe et al., 2012; Haysom & el Sarraj 2012), or where land administration systems and their supporting cadastres are poorly maintained and do not capture the diversity of tenure arrangements (formal and informal, and hybridised) that often co-exist (see UN-Habitat 2004).

What is clear is that informal land and housing markets now account for the main way in which poor people access urban land and housing in low- and middle-income countries (Marx 2009). The reasons for this are many, but generally centre on the following:

Formal markets favour well-defined property arrangements (e.g. ownership or freehold tenure) and people who are able and willing to pay for basic services (e.g. piped water, all-weather roads, waste collection, drainage, sewerage, etc.) (McGranahan et al. 2008);

Urban land markets and the government regulations that influence them often make little provision for the land needed for housing among the urban poor (Satterthwaite 2009);

Government planning policies and building regulations often impose prohibitive constraints and costs that effectively price the vast majority of the urban poor out of formal land and housing markets (Watson 2009); and

Government housing programmes (where they exist) rarely reach more than a small minority of the urban poor (McGranahan et al. 2008).

Urban land and housing markets can be affected by crises in a number of ways. For instance, in Port-au-Prince, the destruction of over 80,000 buildings and damage to 120,000 more reduced the rental stock and increased the asking price for rent in many areas, which was particularly problematic considering that a large

proportion of the population were tenants prior to the earthquake (Hirano 2012). In displacement situations, increasing demand for housing may be exacerbating existing market pressures. For instance, studies in Amman, Damascus, Gaza Strip, Kabul, Nairobi, Yei, and Peshawar show that rental prices are rising, putting pressure on urban land and rental markets (Haysom 2013). Studies also show how displacement is, in some cases, altering urban land relations. For instance, in Lebanon, increasing numbers of Syrian refugees are seeking shelter in urban areas where a "predatory relationship is emerging between property owners, realtors, and slum lords on the one hand and tenants on the other, complicating the process of intervening to regulate this housing market" (UN-Habitat & UNHCR 2014, p. 7).

As noted by Zetter & Deikun (2011), the predominance of rental markets presents a significant opportunity to provide shelter to crisis-affected urban populations and humanitarian programming has been providing cash support for rent, shelter and self-recovery over the last several years, as discussed above (Section 2.2.2).

2.3.2 Water and sanitation markets

The diversity of service providers for water provision (from source and treatment to delivery and use to removal of waste water) and sanitation (from provision of toilets to their use and management, and disposal of toilet wastes) in urban areas means that urban markets are highly complex and include a multitude of actors in the private and public sectors operating at different scales. There is some recognition in the literature that humanitarian agencies need to better understand how their interventions impact on these markets for water and sanitation.

As mentioned above, this begins with an understanding of how people gain access to water. The water wheel (Figure 1) depicts how water is supplied in urban areas through both policy-driven and needs-driven practices. In fact, research has shown that the urban poor in informal settlements will largely gain access to water through the needs-driven practices established either through community cooperation or through small-scale private sector provision (Allen et al. 2006). All of these practices operate as part of the urban market.

Figure 1: Policy- and needs-driven practices in the 'water supply wheel'
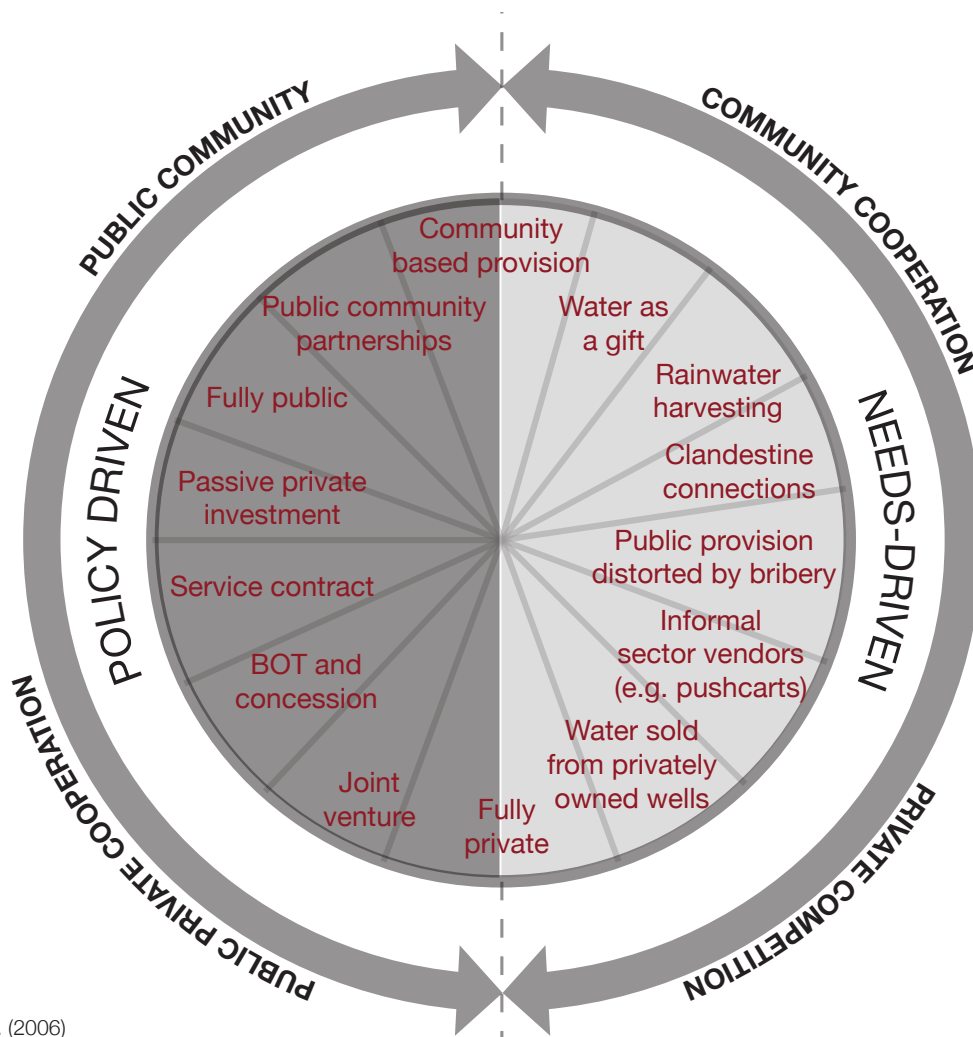
Source: Allen et al. (2006)

Supporting markets entails understanding how response programming may impact on revenue collection for various kinds of service providers. The financial implications of WASH responses on urban markets for water and sanitation services are often not well understood, nor are they managed in current response programming. In order for markets to operate, revenue collection is a key concern for water/waste utilities and other service providers; free access to services can erode urban-based markets and threaten the livelihoods that depend on them. There is a need to avoid dependency and over-riding market mechanisms, which can destroy businesses and livelihoods that depend on these markets. Yet, humanitarian organisations seek to help those most in need and most vulnerable, and thus seek to provide goods and services free of charge, especially in the emergency phase. Furthermore, those who are most vulnerable are often those who end up paying the greatest amount for water and sanitation services – e.g. access to clean water in informal settlements can cost 10-100 times the amount of municipal services (Allen et al. 2006).

King (2014) describes how in Port-au-Prince, DINEPA (Haitian government body responsible for water) had stressed the need to end free water provision within six months after the earthquake and to support local water kiosk operators that formed the water market before the earthquake. Before the earthquake, DINEPA had been working with local organisations, including GRET, to build up this network of community water kiosk operators that serviced informal settlements (Pinera & Reed 2009). It took organisations some time to be able to support this, partly because they wanted to ensure that vulnerable

people could still get access to free water and partly due to the Cholera epidemic that occurred several months after the earthquake. Pinera and Reed document how IFRC and Oxfam developed innovative ways to transfer support to these local market operators, although this took almost two years to achieve.

In urban areas in Lebanon, where Syrian refugees are settling, the multi-municipality water board was concerned with refugees' ability to pay water charges. Luff (2014) identifies that one way to deal with this is providing vouchers/credit to the affected population, which could be used for the procurement of WASH services. Voucher systems have been used in Gaza, as documented by Oxfam.

Anecdotal evidence, as reviewed by Luff (2014), shows that cash transfer programming is commonly considered and used in urban WASH responses. This could become a more prominent area of programming in the future. However, research is needed to understand the impacts of cash programming, as Luff (2014) notes; "WASH agencies need to understand how it can be used to support WASH outcomes, and ensure it can support transition and not undermine long-term development" (p. 1). As part of their WASH programming in Port-au-Prince, Oxfam and its partners used cash transfers as a means to enable affected people to take part in the reconstruction of WASH facilities and cleaning up solid waste (Oxfam 2011). Oxfam was able to evaluate the effectiveness of this approach, but the question of how this kind of programming enables the development and support of local markets for sanitation services remains poorly understood.

Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania by Matthew Wood-Hill

2.3.3 Food markets

Although food insecurity is often viewed as a rural problem, this is changing in light of recent events (Egal 2011; FAO 2008) and urbanisation trends (Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013). Among the most significant factors differentiating food security in urban from rural areas is the centrality of markets in supplying food to urban dwellers (for a useful summary see FANTA-2, 2008). Urban food markets are particularly vulnerable to internal and external shocks and stresses because they rely on food supply systems (Figure 2) that extend well beyond urban boundaries (Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013). Studies show how urban markets have been disrupted by the impacts of extreme weather events – which are expected to increase in frequency and intensity with climate change – on local food production, transport and storage, as observed in Southern African cities (Ziervogel & Frayne 2011), and by the dislocation of agricultural production systems caused by rural conflict and forced urban migraiton, as observed in Freetown (Lynch et al. 2013).

Studies also show how international economic conditions can cause short-term spikes in food and fuel prices (IFRC 2010, p. 37) and how higher prices disproportionately impact low-income countries due to their heavy reliance on food and fuel imports, as observed during the 2007-08 financial crisis (Holleman & Moloney 2009; Vermeulen et al. 2012).

Figure 2: Urban food supply system
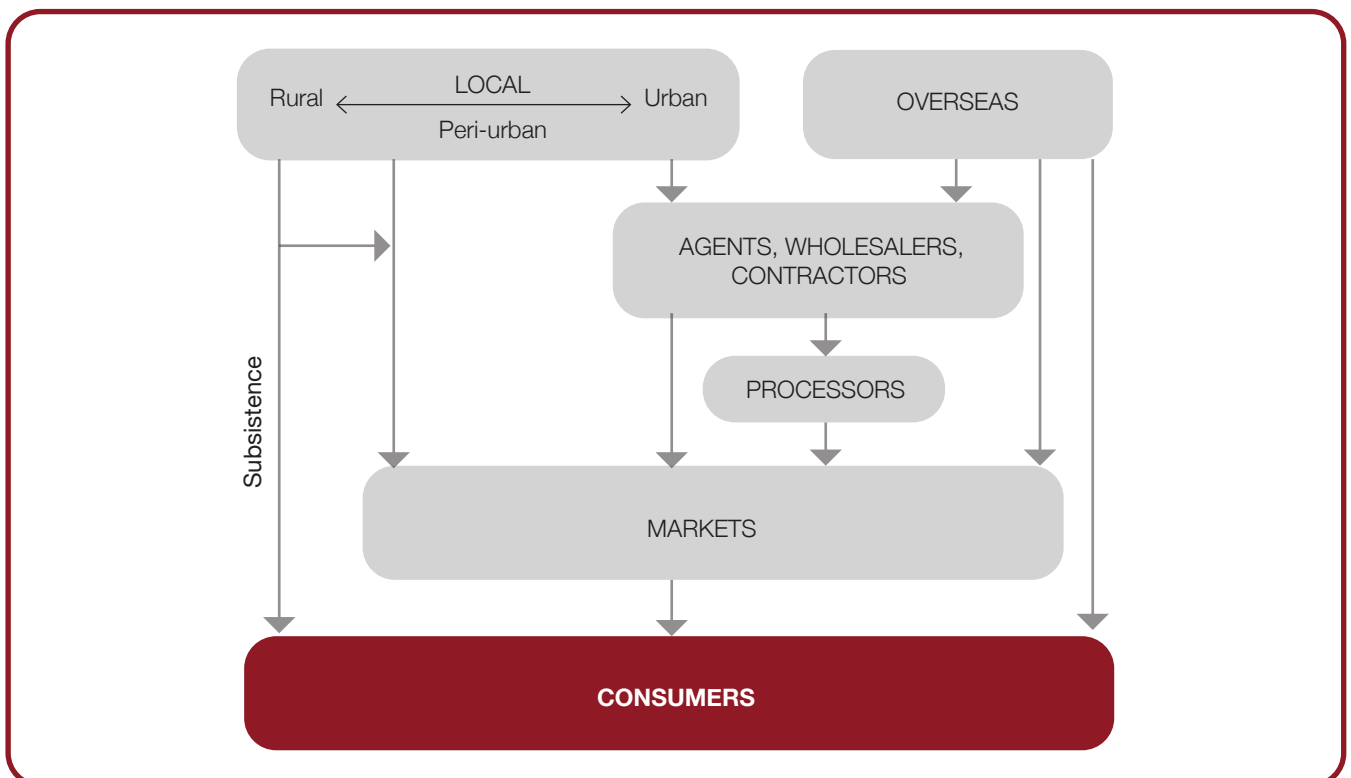
Source: Adapted from Drakakis-Smith (1990) and Lynch (1992, 2005)

Most importantly in urban areas, shocks and stresses can accelerate the socio-economic drivers of food insecurity underpinned by urban poverty and inequality (Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013). For instance, the impacts of extreme weather events on incomes and livelihoods, and thus on food access, often disproportionately affect urban dwellers, who rely on food markets rather than on food production (urban agriculture is also illegal in many cities) (ibid; Cohen & Garrett 2010). This means that food insecurity in urban areas is triggered more by the inability of people to access food markets than by food shortages (Crush & Frayne 2011; FANTA-2 2008; Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013). More specifically, periods of food security are more closely related to periods of low earnings, fluctuations in food prices, and high expenditure on non-food essentials (e.g. housing and health care), all of which are intensified by shocks and stresses (Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013).

Despite the importance of food access in urban areas, humanitarian approaches to food aid have focused on in-kind assistance as a response to food supply shortages (Barrett 2006; Harvey et al. 2010). There is a growing concern in the literature on urban food security that a focus on availability and supply will "neglect the crucial importance of access and affordability for low-income

groups and more specifically for poor urban residents" (Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013, p. 1). There is also a concern that in-kind food aid creates parallel markets that can displace existing suppliers, thereby undermining local markets and livelihoods (ibid; Shoham 2003). Key suppliers in urban areas include large-scale supermarkets and locally-owned independent grocery stores, but also small-scale vendors and traders (mostly women), who play crucial roles in informal food markets and in ensuring access to food for the urban poor (Cohen & Garrett 2010; Crush & Frayne 2011; FAO 2003; Tacoli with Bukhari and Fisher 2013).

The need to engage with existing markets for both food and non-food essentials has led to a growing focus on the use of cash transfers in urban humanitarian response situations (Cross & Johnston 2010). However, recent experience by the British Red Cross (BRC) has highlighted the need for a better understanding of how cash transfers will contribute to a broad range of humanitarian objectives – including food security, livelihoods promotion, shelter, health, water and sanitation – in the short and longer-term (Sokpoh & Carpenter 2014).

To ensure that humanitarian responses reach the most vulnerable groups, Campbell (2013) argues for food assessment tools that are better adapted to the dynamism of urban markets (see also Creti 2010). A recent toolkit by the Cash Learning Partnership (CaLP) aimed at informing the development of these tools highlights a number of key points for designing market analysis in urban response situations:

- Focus on staple food commodities, shelter items, non-food items (NFIs) that are necessities for survival, and/or livelihoods markets, where people buy/sell services;

- Find out how many urban markets exist and what commodities are available and where;

- Find out how many wholesalers, transporters, market stall vendors, and other market actors are in the urban markets;

- Initially focus on the main urban market and the neighbourhood markets in your area of assessment; and

Collect and analyse price information on staple foods and non-food items weekly in the aftermath of a disaster for trends in price fluctuation (Cross & Johnston 2010, p. 14).

Despite the development of a variety of urban food assessment tools, Campbell (2013) finds that few are consistently used in practice. Consequently, the most marginalised and vulnerable groups risk being overlooked by urban food programmes.

2.3.4 Livelihoods and labour markets

Studies show that rural livelihoods are often diverse, which challenges the assumption that rural populations depend solely on agriculture (Ellis 1998). However, urban livelihoods are generally more diverse due to the variety of income earning opportunities that are available – although not necessarily accesible – in urban areas (Cosgrave 2013). In addition, unlike rural dwellers, who are able to meet many of their basic needs through subsistence activities, urban dwellers enter labour markets while others create their own production activities (often home-based) to generate a cash income (Mitlin & Satterthwaite 2013; Setchell 2001).

Thus, when crises occur, disruptions to incomes and livelihoods can significantly impact on the ability of affected people to access basic needs (Figure 3) (Sanderson 2000). This is particularly the case among the urban poor since they typically have: weak, insecure or unreliable assets, livelihoods (often informal) and incomes; limited or no access to formal safety nets, insurance and basic services; and housing located in hazard-prone areas (often to remain close to their livelihoods) (Hardoy et al. 2001; IFRC, 2010a; Jabeen et al. 2010; Moser & Satterthwaite 2008; Sanderson 2000; Satterthwaite et al. 2007; UN-Habitat 2003, 2011; WFP 2002).

Studies also show how displacement can impact on urban livelihood opportunities and labour markets. Whilst greater access to livelihood opportunities is commonly cited as one of the incentives for IDPs and refugees to settle in urban areas (Crisp et al. 2012; Haysom 2013; Pavanello et al. 2010), Tibaijuka (2010) suggests that increased competition over scarce livelihood opportunities and resources can increase social tension and create new conflicts between displaced and host populations[1]. A number of case studies show how the displaced experience significant difficulties in accessing livelihood opportunities, as has been well-documented in Sudan since the 1980s (Wright 1980; Martin & Sluga 2011; Pantuliano et al. 2011). A series of more recent case studies in Amman, Damascus, the Gaza Strip, Kabul, Nairobi, Yei and Peshawar also show how the urban displaced face "extreme difficulties in securing sustainable livelihoods" (Haysom 2013, p. 21).

Despite these difficulties, a common finding is that displacement itself rarely places people at a greater disadvantage in the urban economy than other members of the urban poor (Haysom 2013). This finding reflects a growing sentiment in the literature, "that acute vulnerability is not always related to displacement per se, and that both displaced people and the populations

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1 Many displaced from conflict also transfer their business activities. They are not all arriving competing for jobs, many have means and generate their own work.

Figure 3: CARE's household livelihood security model
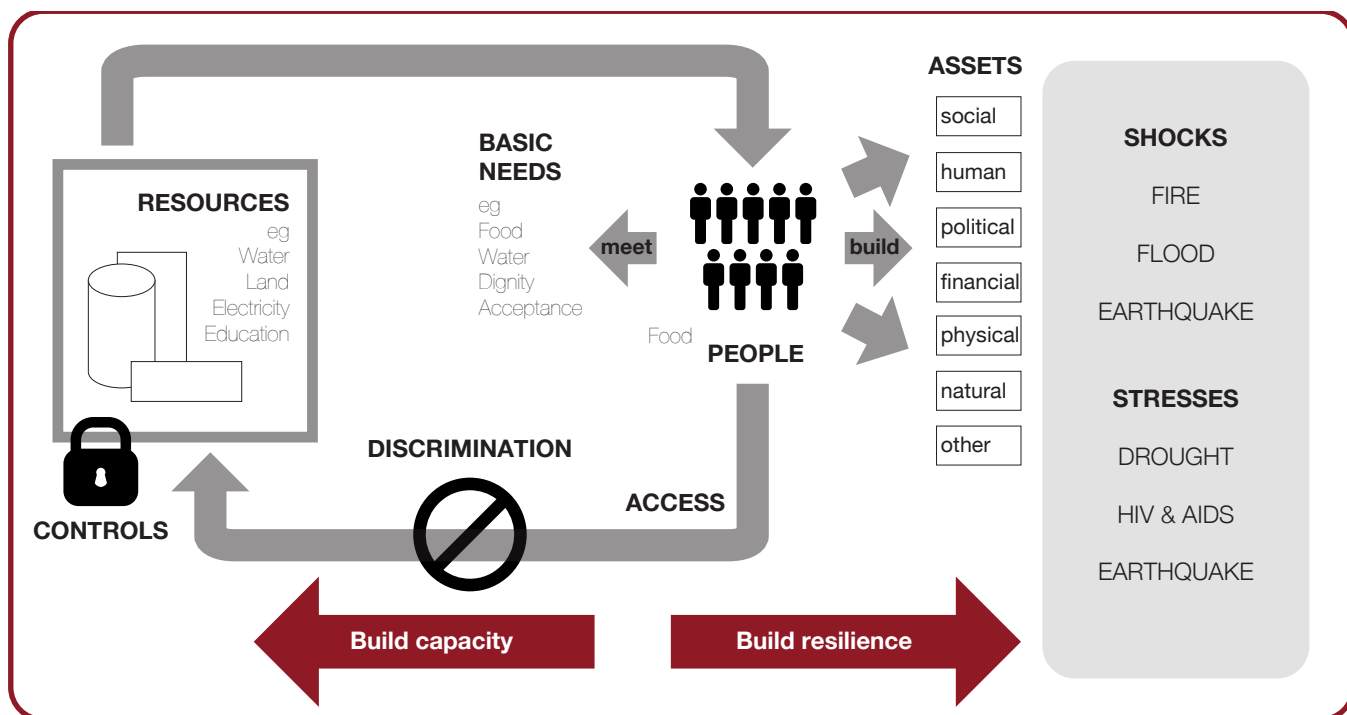
Adapted by: Sanderson et al. (2012)

among which they settle in urban contexts often face similar challenges in accessing basic services, in achieving adequate housing, and in accessing livelihood opportunities" (Pantuliano et al. 2012, p. S2). Humanitarian interventions can have a number of intended and unintended impacts on urban livelihoods, (Table 5). Given the focus of most of these interventions on immediate response and relief, there have been growing calls in humanitarian debates for longer-term approaches that are capable of strengthening urban markets and livelihoods (DFID 2014), and supporting stronger skills and expertise in urban livelihood recovery, beyond cash transfers (BRC 2014). Longer-term approaches such as these include business recovery, microfinance schemes and vocational adjustment programmes as a means of enhancing incomes and developing: new income generating activities among the urban displaced (Davies & Jacobsen 2010; Jacobsen 2004; Sylvester 2011); urban and peri-urban agriculture as a longer-term response to sustainable livelihoods and food and nutritional security than traditional in-kind food aid (Egal 2011; Pascal & Mwende 2009). However, despite a growing focus on learning from these and other good/'best' practices, the BRC's experience in urban settings indicates that different approaches to livelihood recovery are required in different urban contexts, and that there is "no one-size fits-all best practice approach" (ibid, p. 2).

Table 5: Intended and unintended impacts of humanitarian interventions on urban livelihoods and labour markets

Intervention	Intended impacts	Unintended impacts	References
In-kind aid	• Providing relief from deprivation	• Could undermine existing urban markets and livelihoods, particularly among well-established small-scale vendors and traders	Barrett (2006); Cohen & Garrett (2010); Shoham (2003)
Cash transfers	• As above • Helping displaced populations, otherwise unable to find employment, to meet their basic needs	• Supplements or substitutes income but may not address underlying capacity issues. • Protracted large scale cash support may have significant budgetary implications	BRC (2014); Haysom (2013)

Cash for work (CfW)	• As above	• Artificially inflating wages • Triggering unsustainable shifts in the urban labour force	Haiti Grass Roots Watch (2014); Grünewald & Binder (2010); Lumsden & Naylor (2002); MercyCrops (2007)
Microfinance	• Strengthen livelihoods and enhance income earning potential	• Increasing exposure to hazardous working conditions and other protection risks in the informal economy	Sylvester (2011)
Livelihoods promotion in shelter sector activities	• Leverage multiplier affects associated with investments in shelter construction and improvement	• Undermining livelihoods if local economies (including the production activities of the poor) are poorly understood or ignored by humanitarian programmes	Setchell (2001)
Local partnerships with CBOs	• Provides close support to beneficiaries	• Addressing the needs of members, but potentially overlooking the most vulnerable	BRC (2014)
Camps	• Provide temporary shelter and immediate relief to displaced populations	• Undermining livelihoods by locating camps in peripheral areas far removed from local markets	Haysom (2013); Winchester (1981)
Resettlement	• Provide permanent shelter in safer locations	• Undermining livelihoods by resettling displaced communities in peripheral areas far removed from their original income generating activities and from local markets • Motivating people to return to their original locations, even if they are hazard-prone • Potentially reproducing rather than reducing risk among the poorest and most vulnerable urban communities	Boano (2009); IFRC (2010); Schilderman (2010)

2.4 Local governance structures and capacities

Key summary points

• **Crises can further erode already weak local government capacities (particularly in fragile states), but they can also provide opportunities for local governments to build their own capacity in urban response and to develop more proactive measures**

• **There exist numerous actors in urban areas that may be capable of responding to crises, meaning that international humanitarian agencies should re-orient themselves to work in a support role**

• **Humanitarian agencies must consider the indirect impacts of their presence and interventions on socio-economic realities, local capacities, and local power and authority structures**

Urban areas concentrate an array of different actors with the capability of contributing to urban response. These actors include, but are not limited to: local, regional and national government agencies and line departments (including the police and military); the private sector (including the insurance sector, banks and lenders, small-scale service providers, professional service providers); local civil society organisations (including NGOs, CBOs and FBOs); affected-communities; academic and research institutions (including various epistemic

communities); and international humanitarian actors (including INGOs and UN agencies as well as UN country teams). It is increasingly recognised that responding to urban crises requires the involvement of all these actors (Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Zetter & Deikun 2011) and that effective responses must take into account the particular circumstances of the poorest and most vulnerable groups, including the community organisations that support them (IFRC 2010; Schilderman 2010).

With this in mind, this section reviews the available evidence on the impacts that both crises and humanitarian responses have on local governance structures and capacities in urban settings. It then reviews available evidence on practices where existing actors, including communities and community organisations, local governments and the private sector, have led or contributed to urban response efforts. It also discusses the challenges and opportunities of engaging with the private sector.

2.4.1 Impacts on local governance

The lack of capacity of local government in low- and middle-income countries (particularly in fragile states) are widely identified in the literature as a key challenge for effective humanitarian response. Partly this is due to severely restricted financial capacities of local governments.

The capacities of local governments may be further eroded when their staff are affected by disasters and conflict or when they have been implicated in urban violence (Zetter & Deikun 2011b). Vital administrative resources, including land registers, maps, office equipment or municipal buildings may have been damaged or destroyed, creating significant difficulties for local administrators and their counterparts, and for international humanitarian actors in planning and implementing emergency assistance (ibid; Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012). The IASC (2010) also notes how the rapid influx of IDPs and refugees into urban areas can create additional difficulties for urban administrations and governance structures, which may not have been able to provide basic services to the pre-crisis population. These local governments may be overwhelmed and thus may not always be able or willing to provide basic services or to support the provision of humanitarian assistance to the urban poor and displaced (Feinstein International Center 2012; Haysom, 2013; Pavanello et al. 2010; Refstie et al. 2010; Sanyal 2012; Tibaijuka, 2010; Zetter & Deikun, 2011a).

In other cases, national and local governments may have well developed institutional structures and procedures in place to deal with the constant pressures of protracted crises affecting urban areas. For instance, in Colombia, prolonged armed conflict in rural areas has forced large numbers of IDPs to towns and large cities, including Medellín, Bogotá and Cali (Carrillo 2010; Vidal et al. 2013). In response, the national government has adopted legislation and established bureaucratic and policy frameworks and budgets to provide systematic assistance to 'victims' at the local government level (Ferris, 2010; Vidal et al., 2013). However, the capacities of local authorities and the level of inter-institutional coordination can vary considerably between towns and cities, as can the demographic pressures of displacement (Vidal et al., 2013).

2.4.2 Impacts of humanitarian response on local governance

Urban areas present complex institutional landscapes and social and spatial structures that international humanitarian agencies must necessarily understand and engage with (Pavanello 2012). As noted above, humanitarian agencies will need to consult, coordinate with, and seek permission from many more actors – such as national and local governments, urban development authorities, informal 'gatekeepers', militias and gangs, among many others – than in rural areas (ibid). The inverse is also true, as local authorities have to deal with the plethora of humanitarian actors. In this context, establishing partnerships and inter-agency coordination is an unavoidable necessity (Crisp et al. 2012; IASC 2010; Kyazze et al. 2012b; Pavanello 2012; Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012).

In attempting to engage with existing urban actors, humanitarian agencies can have a number of impacts (positive and negative) on local governance structures and capacities. Based on a review of the literature, three impacts stand out as particularly important for humanitarian actors to consider in urban settings: impacts on local coordination and partnerships; on local government capacity; and on local power and authority structures.

Impacts on local coordination and partnerships – 'Humanitarian space' is generally conceived as an arena in which international humanitarian agencies provide assistance to affected populations in accordance with the principles of humanitarian action (independence, neutrality and impartiality) (Collinson & Elhaway 2012). To improve inter-agency coordination within this space, a number of recent reforms have been introduced. Among the most significant is the cluster system, which was introduced in 2005 by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA 2014). Whilst evaluations show that the cluster system has generally increased the effectiveness of humanitarian action (for a comprehensive review see Humphries 2013), it has been heavily criticised for marginalising and excluding the plethora of existing/emerging actors in urban areas (Kyazze et al. 2012b; Pantuliano et al. 2012; Pavanello 2012). A study in Mogadishu (Grünewald 2012) also found that the complex and interlinked nature of urban vulnerability

requires more inter-sector coordination that is aligned with urban administrative units and authorities rather than with sectors.

Impacts on local government capacity – Engaging with, and building the capacity of, local governments is a common enterprise in urban development planning (see Satterthwaite et al. 2013). However, engagement with local governments by humanitarian agencies tends to be "limited at best and generally does not take place" (Kyazze et al. 2012, p. 43). For instance, reflecting on 40 years of post-disaster shelter, Davis (2011) remarks that humanitarian agencies too often focus on building their own capacity (Davis 2011).A recent assessment of urban response efforts in Nairobi, Eldoret, Manila, and Port-au-Prince by UN-Habitat (Barcelo et al. 2011) also found that a lack of urban technical assistance for national ministries and local government departments further impacted on already weak local capacities. It must also be acknowledged that there is a huge difference in levels of funding to and through local government/local actors compared to international humanitarian actors.

International humanitarian agencies often do not engage with national and local governments partly due to a lack of trust in their ability to deliver effective and accountable assistance, particularly in instances where governments are corrupt, parties to conflict, or where they simply lack capacity (ALNAP 2010; Harvey 2009). An additional challenge in this regard is how to balance engagement with humanitarian principles in crisis situations where governments are engaged in campaigns against urban populations, gangs and paramilitary groups (Pavanello 2012).

Despite this challenge, the BRC highlights the importance of not overlooking the vital roles played by city/municipal governments in disaster management (Table 7) (Kyazze et al. 2012b). The scope and significance of these roles means that humanitarian agencies must necessarily engage with local governments at all stages (ibid; DFID 2014; IASC 2010; IFRC 2010; Pavanello 2012; Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Sanderson et al. 2012; Tibaijuka 2010). If this engagement does not occur, the capacity of local governments may be further undermined.

Table 6: *The role of city/municipal governments in disaster management*

Role of city/municipal government	Long-term protection	Pre-disaster damage limitation	Immediate post-disaster response	Rebuilding
Built environment				
Responsive, appropriate and enforced building codes	High	High	High	High
Land use regulations and property registration	High	Some	High	High
Public building construction and maintenance	High	Some	High	High
Urban planning (including zoning and development controls)	High		High	High
Infrastructure				
Piped water including treatment	High	Some	High	High
Sanitation	High	Some	High	High
Drainage	High	High	High	High
Roads, bridges, pavements	High		High	High
Electricity	High	Some	High	High
Solid waste disposal	High	Some	High	High
Waste water treatment	High		High	High

Source: Dodman et al. (2013)

Services				
Fire protection	High	Some	High	High
Public order/police/early warning	Medium	High	High	High
Solid waste collection	High	High	High	High
Schools	Medium	Medium		
Healthcare/public health/environmental health/ambulances	Medium	Medium	High	High
Social welfare (includes provision for child care and old age care)	High	High	High	High

Impacts on local power and authority structures – The settling of vast numbers of international humanitarian agencies in urban crisis contexts, particularly in protracted situations, can transform local power and authority structures (Büscher & Vlassenroot 2010). However, whilst international humanitarian agencies tend to focus on the direct impacts of their interventions, the indirect impacts of their interventions on local governance structures has received far less attention.

Büscher & Vlassenroot (2010) undertook a study to examine the indirect impacts of the long-term presence of international humanitarian agencies on the urban political and socio-economic landscape of Goma – a city plagued by protracted conflict and displacement. The study provides rare empirical insight into how international humanitarian agencies have reinforced a process of gradual state withdrawal from public services and have initiated a transfer of power, authority and state sovereignty away from the Congolese government towards non-state actors. In this case, the inability of the Congolese government to deliver basic services – due to lack of means, motivation and vision, and corruption and mismanagement – has meant that urban decision-making processes have gradually become the responsibility of international humanitarian agencies. As a consequence, urban administrations have been continuously forced into a position of negotiation, having lost much of their bargaining power and ability to attach conditions to humanitarian interventions.

This case illuminates the contradictions that can potentially arise when international humanitarian actors continue to justify external intervention based on the inadequacies of local governance, even though they, as non-state actors, lack local legitimacy and accountability. Moreover, in conceiving Goma as a humanitarian space, Büscher & Vlassenroot (2010) emphasise the need for international humanitarian actors to understand their position as a political actor within existing local governance structures.

2.4.3 Humanitarian engagement with local governments and governance

As noted by Zetter & Deikun (2011, p. 7), "Perhaps the biggest challenge for humanitarian actors – as well as opportunity – is to develop ways of working with the existing institutional framework of municipal and civil society organisations which exists in most towns and cities". However, there remain few documented examples from humanitarian practice.

On the other hand, there are numerous examples of cases where local governments, affected communities and local NGOs have led urban response efforts autonomously with little or no external assistance. These examples suggest that international humanitarian agencies may need to re-orient themselves to work more effectively with municipal governments and other local actors in a support role (Ramalingam & Knox Clarke 2012). This sub-section therefore reviews cases where local actors, including communities and community organisations, local governments, and the private sector, have contributed to urban response efforts themselves or in partnership with international humanitarian agencies.

2.4.3.1 Communities and community organisations

Churches, mosques and other organised community-based religious groups are among the most active in humanitarian crisis response and recovery, providing a focus and structure for local mobilisation, assistance for vulnerable and severely affected, from practical measures like community shelters and services to vital emotional and psychological support.

Other organised groups, such as student organisations and universities, youth organisations, including scouts, women's groups, national and local Red Cross and Red Crescent organisations are all active in response. Experience from Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) in Thailand (see Archer & Boonyabancha, 2011)

also shows how low-income communities can take a lead role as agents of change in post-disaster recovery processes, particularly in instances where they have formed collective platforms and have been provided flexible and direct financial support.

A number of factors that contribute to effective community-driven responses are consolidated in Box 3. However, as noted above, understanding how community-driven responses can be supported to reach scale requires further investigation.

Box 3: *Factors contributing to effective community-driven response*

Locally-rooted information and documentation – Community-rooted information and documentation (e.g. maps, community managed surveys and enumerations) collected by survivors provides a basis for prioritising affected households and for planning, but also for resisting evictions and for negotiating the right to rebuild and to get secure tenure, and thus avoid the adverse impacts of relocation (on livelihoods for example) (Patel et al. 2012).

Local knowledge and skills – Community-driven reconstruction draws on the knowledge and skills within the affected population, who, if provided with technical support, can work to build resilience into safer homes and stronger communities (Jha et al. 2010).

Local partnerships for scaling-up – Community-driven initiatives are limited by their inability to construct large infrastructures or make structural policy changes, which require partnerships or relationships with local governments.

Flexible finance – Community organisations need flexible finance that responds to their needs and priorities.

Savings groups – Savings groups in affected settlements help to provide immediate support for affected people through, for example, community welfare funds (Archer 2012). Savings groups also provide a basis for collective mobilisation (Boonyabancha 2005).

Community organisations – Community organisations help with immediate relief and support and contribute towards the social cohesion needed to act on longer-term issues such as rebuilding or relocation. Communities are adapting and repurposing existing informal networks to perform vital tasks normally carried out by the government in emergencies.

Informed by: IFRC (2010) and Rayos Co (2010)

2.4.3.2 Local governments

As noted extensively elsewhere in this review, local governments are often mandated with urban planning, providing and maintaining basic infrastructure and services, and are therefore of central importance for urban response, recovery and reconstruction. An important step towards supporting governments at all levels and stages of response was made in September 2014 when the World Bank, European Union and United Nations revised the Post-Disaster Needs Assessment Framework (PDNA). This revision emphasised a shift from only counting damages and losses to also analysing local capacities for recovery, with governments taking the lead role with the support of the EU and UN system.

2.4.3.3 The private sector

The private sector, in its diverse forms is a major actor in urban decision-making processes, planning systems, and in the investments (particularly relating to construction and infrastructure) that shape urban development processes (see UNISDR 2013, p. 124). The private sector also plays a key role in urban market economies through investing in business, providing employment, spurring innovation (particularly in information technology and finance),

promoting economic growth, and providing goods and services (World Bank 2009). Engagement of the private sector has become increasingly promoted in humanitarian response efforts (Clermont et al. 2011; HERR 2011). It has also attracted a growing body of research in crisis-affected countries, including Jordan (Zyck & Armstrong 2014), Kenya (Burke & Fan 2014) and Indonesia (Burke & Fan 2014). This research generally focuses on instances where private sector engagement has strengthened existing humanitarian relief activities.

However, little attention has been paid to the role of the private sector in these activities from an urban perspective, with few exceptions (see Sanderson et al. 2012, p. 11). Limited attention has also been paid to the disputes that often arise between low-income communities and large private interests, which often seek to control disputed land for development purposes and which can undermine recovery efforts through forced evictions (IFRC 2010), as discussed above (Section 2.2.2). Nor has there been much focus on small-scale private sector service providers, despite the vital role they play in water, sanitation and food markets, as discussed above (Sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3, respectively). A key question is thus whether and how humanitarian agencies can work to support small-scale private service providers (informal and formal) from the onset of urban response.

3.0 Evidence-based humanitarian action in urban settings

This section identifies key evidence gaps and outlines a set of corresponding research questions structured around the four themes of this review (the sources of the evidence consulted are summarised in Annex II). The conclusion then outlines a set of recommendations aimed at building knowledge and evidence to inform more appropriate approaches to humanitarian response in urban settings.

3.1 Evidence gaps and research questions

At a general level, the literature tends to be dominated by a focus on urban-based natural disaster preparedness and response, with far less attention paid to urban areas affected by conflict and violence and complex emergencies. The literature also tends to focus on crisis affecting large cities with little consideration of small and intermediate urban centres or the unique challenges they may pose for humanitarian response. Future research thus needs to expand its focus to address the different urban crises that are emerging and to capture the variety of settlements that are being affected (as outlined in Appendix I).

Below are a set of more specific research questions that address some of the key evidence gaps arising across the four themes of this review.

3.1.1 Research questions

Diverse/complex communities

- How can humanitarian actors comprehend the underlying sources of urban vulnerability (acute and chronic) as they relate to the urban social context and to people's multiple, overlapping social identities? Annex IV provides a preliminary framework for investigating this question and its implications for urban humanitarian response.

- How can humanitarian actors uphold accountability to both 'communities of place' and 'communities of interest'?

- How can host communities and individual households be supported in ways that alleviate pressures on community resources and that prevent/reduce tensions of sharing them? What are the similarities and differences in conditions and constraints that host and displaced populations face, particularly in low-income and informal settlements?

- What are the various protection issues faced by specific groups in situations of chronic urban poverty and insecurity, particularly in low-income and informal settlements? How do humanitarian responses need to transform to meet the protection needs of the urban displaced and other vulnerable groups?

- What would the implications of better understanding the diversity and complexity of urban communities be for adapting and developing new humanitarian approaches and capacities in urban settings? How can multi-sectorial and area-based approaches be supported cost effectively and in partnership with municipal authorities, the private sector (including local service providers) and civil society? How can these approaches be integrated with broader urban planning strategies at the city-wide scale?

Infrastructure systems

- How can humanitarian actors rapidly understand broader interconnected urban infrastructure systems? How should urban humanitarian responses transform to address cascading failures?

- What innovations might support infrastructure and services for displaced populations in urban settings, rather than in camps?

- How can small-scale private service providers (e.g. water providers, food vendors and traders, builders, and waste recyclers) be supported by humanitarian actors as part of community recovery and livelihoods promotion activities, particularly in informal settlements where basic infrastructure networks do not extend? What should the nature of partnerships and contracts be between humanitarian actors and service providers?

- How can methods of organised urban poor communities, such as saving groups, self-enumerations and collective decision-making be supported to meet the scale of need in urban humanitarian emergencies?

- How can humanitarian actors address questions of access, exclusion and justice (particularly regarding evictions, unjust land acquisition and service provision) in urban response?

Markets

- What are the short- and longer-term impacts of cash-based programming on urban markets and livelihoods?

- What approaches may be required to strengthen urban markets and livelihoods in community recovery and reconstruction efforts beyond the use of cash transfers?

- What role do local economies (including labour markets) play in supporting the economic integration of the urban poor and displaced in community recovery, particularly in the informal sector?

- What are the key revenue collection considerations that need to be addressed in situations where free access to services can erode urban markets and the livelihoods that depend on them? What are the financial implications of urban responses to water and sanitation and other markets?

Local governance structures and capacities

- What are ways of working within the existing institutional and municipal policy frameworks? How can local humanitarian actors (e.g. city/municipal governments, affected communities, their local support NGOs, and other local civil society organisations) take a lead role in urban response with humanitarian actors playing a support role?

- What can be learned from self-recovery processes and other instances where local actors have responded to urban crises with little or no external assistance? What are the implications for building local partnerships?

- What are the indirect impacts of humanitarian interventions and humanitarian presence on local power and authority structures?

- What are the experiences of local humanitarian actors (particularly governments) and how do they perceive international humanitarian agencies and donors?

3.2 Recommendations: Innovation areas

This sub-section concludes by outlining a set of recommendations aimed at researchers, local and international humanitarian actors interested in building knowledge and evidence that can inform more appropriate approaches to humanitarian response in urban settings.

Recommendation 1: Reframe the problematic

The current framing of the problematic in the humanitarian literature is on the need for more documentation on 'best' practices in urban humanitarian response. However, there are serious concerns about whether a 'best practice'

culture is fostering contextually appropriate, dynamic and iterative programming or leading instead to an approach that favours 'how to' questions over more fundamental questions about 'why' different ways of thinking and doing are required in urban settings. A clear action area is to focus more on better understanding local systems and processes, contextual issues and unexplored questions (including those outlined above), particularly outside the context of humanitarian interventions.

Recommendation 2: Support research outside humanitarian interventions

This includes four action areas:

(1) Compile existing evidence on the 'normal' operation of urban systems – Documenting and analysing the normal operation of urban systems in pre-crisis situations or outside of crisis affected areas can improve understanding of urban response and recovery processes (i.e. understanding 'normal' as part of understanding recovery as 'returning to normal'). Knowledge of these processes is vital to inform humanitarian understanding of local contexts, particularly when the impact of crisis interrupts normal processes, making them more difficult to analyse.

Various information sources exist on normal processes in a given context, including government data, international and national academic research, media sources, reports by development agencies and financial institutions, commercial data, and remote and local imagery. Taking advantage of these sources involves three steps:

- Collecting, processing and disseminating information to make it available;

- Identifying and addressing major gaps in this information; and

- Understanding how this information system may or may not be used in post-crisis situations to monitor recovery and to inform policies and programmes for recovery.

(2) Engage in humanitarian documentation and academic research outside humanitarian emergencies – Documentation and analysis by humanitarian agencies is primarily focused on their own interventions. However, there is an increasing recognition that humanitarian interventions only reach a limited proportion of urban crisis-affected populations, and that the majority of people cope with crisis and recover through their own means.

The options to improve the quantity and quality of evidence on self-recovery and on local partnerships could include investments in studies on self-recovery dynamics

and/or broadening the documentation and analysis carried out by the humanitarian sector beyond their own interventions.

(3) Broaden learning – Much of the humanitarian literature on urban response draws on learning from within the humanitarian community. Broadening learning to other fields and bodies of literature could offer valuable insights into new approaches. For example, Fan (2012) urges humanitarian to draw on lessons learnt from urban planning in addressing questions of access, exclusion and justice (particularly regarding land tenure and basic services). The literature on disaster risk reduction also presents lessons for supporting local partnerships between municipal governments and affected-communities and financing collective action (see Archer & Boonyabancha 2011; Hardoy et al. 2011; Smith et al. 2014), including in urban response (revisit Box 3) (see Rayos Co 2010).

(4) Document local experiences and perceptions – Most of the evidence on urban humanitarian response is experiential, but is based mainly on the experiences and perceptions of international humanitarian practitioners in the field. Consequently, there is little documentation of governments' (national and city/municipal) experience or perception of their own role, actions, options, successes, challenges and impacts, or of their experiences and perceptions of international humanitarian agencies and donors. Documentation of this kind could provide insight into how local humanitarian actors can be better assisted by international humanitarian agencies.

Recommendation 3: Broaden methodologies and scope
This includes four action areas:

(1) Triangulate methods – Experiential evidence from humanitarian practitioners is an important source of information for learning within the humanitarian community. However, expanding the information sources from both inside and outside the international humanitarian sector in order to capture and balance multiple (often conflicting) perspectives would make more robust learning.

Experiential evidence along with other types of qualitative data can be triangulated with quantitative data to ensure that subjective interpretations of a given issue, impact or outcome are balanced with more objective measurements. However, in other instances, qualitative data may be required to capture impacts and outcomes that are more difficult to quantify (e.g. impacts on local power structures and urban socio-economic realities). Achieving a balanced research approach will require mixed-methods as well as more representative samples given the array of actors (international and local) engaged in urban humanitarian response and the diversity of urban communities.

(2) Expand research timeframes – The majority of documentation and analysis by both humanitarian agencies and academic researchers is limited to short timeframes. The brevity of the research period can severely compromise the quality and validity of documentation and analysis in highly dynamic situations. Changes and impacts attributed to humanitarian interventions over time also remain largely undocumented and poorly understood because impacts and outcomes frequently take time to materialise. For example, training and microfinance are not ends in themselves, but are intended to support further actions that require time to play out and to understand fully.

Supporting longitudinal research would provide much needed evidence on both the direct and indirect impacts of international humanitarian interventions and presence over time. This research would benefit from the participation of local actors who often have first-hand knowledge of the causes and consequences of urban crisis; the planning and implementation process from the beginning of the response; and the urban transformations that may have occurred as a result of prolonged humanitarian presence.

(3) Foster inter-agency coordination – Documentation and analysis by humanitarian agencies tend to be on a project-to-project basis according to budgets and activities. As a result, documentation and analysis is often limited in terms of scope and timeframes. These limitations could be addressed by requiring humanitarian agencies to coordinate, share and consolidate their resources collectively, and to undertake joint monitoring and evaluation (M&E) projects with a broader scope, common methodologies, larger aggregated results, and comparative analysis.

Greater coordination and consolidation could ensure access to increased levels of expertise, larger numbers of researchers, higher data management capacity and a better use of time. Consolidated reporting may provide better opportunities to document challenges, shortcomings, failures and successes collectively. In addition, apart from individual cases, consolidated as well as comparative documentation and analysis would reveal systemic issues within government structures and between other stakeholders. Investment in this activity requires preparatory steps, facilitation, capacity building and other considerations to capture tacit knowledge and triangulate at different levels. Clusters, local governments and other coordinating bodies can play a key role in promoting these efforts.

(4) Marry analysis across sectors and scales – There is a need to understand how urban areas function as complex systems and to undertake more holistic research to inform a more coordinated and multi-sectorial approach that is required in urban response. This includes conducting research across sectors and at different

scales of analysis (individual, household, community/ neighbourhood, city-wide).

Recommendation 4: Co-produce knowledge and evidence with local actors
This involves two action areas:

(1) Foster co-production and co-responsibility – Humanitarian documentation and analysis tends to be prepared by those with advanced writing skills, often at project management rather than field implementation level, or by dedicated reporting staff or external consultants. However, there is still considerable room to improve the depth of reporting and the roles of local actors as active analysts (rather than passive sources of information) in understanding, explaining and acting on the findings. This requires investment in capacity building of agency staff and community representatives, training agency staff in facilitation, and programme design structures based on co-production of knowledge and co-responsibility for decision-making and implementation. The large local teams, extensive field access and often prolonged presence of humanitarian agencies have not been optimised in terms of mining local knowledge and building knowledge continuity.

(2) Create spaces for local actors – It is frequently reported that local actors feel excluded by the international humanitarian system (including cluster operations). In response, recommendations to improve local engagement have been continuously presented, particularly in large crisis situations where the number of new humanitarian agencies (including the use of English) may side-line local voices (Humphries 2013). Instead of simply recommending greater sensitivity and inclusion, it may be more feasible and practical to create spaces for local actors where they can articulate their knowledge and experience and identify lessons for local audiences, including affected communities, local officials and newly arrived international responding agencies. Specific activities could include:

- *Subject briefings* – Undertaking institutional mapping to explain the roles of various government authorities, or orientations/briefings on topics likely to arise in recovery decision-making involving, for example, land administration, urban planning, and building codes and regulations. These briefings may be accompanied by training or question and answer sessions to identify, share and address issues arising; and

- *Experience briefings* – Sharing experience responding to previous crises in the same or nearby areas, the crisis impact, response successes, challenges, shortcomings, lessons learned, and recovery processes by government officials, NGO staff, private sector actors, civil society organisations, affected communities and community leaders.

Top: Port-au-Prince, Haiti by Jennifer Duyne Barenstein.
Bottom: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania by Matthew Wood-Hill

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Annex I – Humanitarian crises in the urban context

In recent years, there has been surge of interest in urban humanitarian crises within international policy debates. This interest has been motivated by a recognition of rapid urbanisation in crisis-affected countries (Duijsens 2010), the increasing frequency of disasters affecting urban areas in the context of climate change (IFRC 2010a), the pace at which towns and cities are becoming new territories of conflict and violence (Lucchi 2010, 2014; Reid-Henry & Sending, 2014), the growing prevalence of displaced populations settling in urban areas (UNHCR 2009), and the challenges facing international humanitarian actors in responding to these situations (IASC 2010; Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Pavanello 2012; Sanderson et al. 2012). This annex profiles some of the major humanitarian emergencies that have been affecting urban areas over the past decade in addition to earlier emergencies that have had lasting repercussions (see Table below). Whilst some of the emergencies have an urban component, others could be labelled 'urban', since the majority of damages and losses have been concentrated in urban areas, as demonstrated by the recent earthquake in Port-au-Prince and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (IFRC 2010). At the same time, rural emergencies have also been affecting urban areas, as demonstrated by the impacts of conflict and extreme weather events (notably droughts and floods) on urban food security in cities such as Djibouti City, the Gaza Strip, Monrovia (Egal 2011) and Freetown (Lynch et al. 2013).

Major humanitarian crises affecting urban areas by region

| Region	Country/city	Emergency, year	Type	References consulted for this review
Eastern Europe	Kosovo	Civil war, 1998	Conflict	Barakat (2003); Boussauw 2012; Muharremi et al. (2003)
Latin America and the	Haiti, Port-au-Prince	Earthquake, 2010	Natural disaster	ARUP (2010); Clermont et al. (2011); Dixon & Holt (2009); Dunkle et al. (2011); Forsman (2009); Hirano, (2012); Levine et al. (2012); Lu et al. (2012); Kyazze et al. (2012); UN-Habitat (2009)
	Chile, various towns and cities	Earthquake, 2007; earthquake and tsunami, 2010	Natural disaster	Boano & García (2011)
	Chile, Chaitén	Volcanic eruption, 2008	Natural disaster	
	Colombia, numerous towns and cities	Civil war, on going		Albuja & Ceballos (2010); Carrillo (2010); COHRE (2005); Corral & Flétcher 2010; Ferris (2010); Jacobsen & Howe (2008); López et al. (2011); Medina (2010); Vidal et al. (2013)

Middle East	Afghanistan, Kabul	Civil war, 2001-present	Conflict	Metcalfe et al. (2012)
	Iran, Bam	Earthquake, 2003	Natural disaster	
	Iraq, Baghdad	Sovereign War, 2003	Conflict	Shanovich et al. (2011)
	Palestine, the Gaza Strip	Civil war, on going	Conflict	Haysom & el Sarraj (2012); Haysom (2013)
	Jordan, numerous towns and cities	Conflict-induced displacement (Syrian and Iraqi refugee crises)		Care International (2013); Crisp et al. (2009); IRC (2012); Pavanello with Haysom (2012); Washington (2011)
	Lebanon, numerous towns and cities	Conflict-induced displacement (Syrian, Iraqi and Palestinian refugee crises)		Boano & Chabarek (2013); Crisp et al. (2009); El Khazen (1997); Hudson (1997); Knudsen 2008); World Vision (2013)
	Syria, numerous towns and cities	Civil war, 2011 – present	Conflict	Haysom (2013); Grünewald (2013); NRC (2014); Sami et al. (2014); Zaman (2012)
North Africa	South Sudan, Juba, Khartoum, Mogadishu, Yei	Civil war, 2013 – present	Conflict	Grünewald (2012); Haysom (2013); Jacobsen (2008); McMichael (2014); Motasim (2008); Pantuliano et al. (2011)
sub-Saharan Africa	Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Goma	Civil war	Conflict	Büscher & Vlassenroot (2010)
	Côte d'Ivoire, Abidjan	Prolonged conflict	Conflict	Jacobsen (2008b)
	Kenya, Nairobi	Post-election violence and food insecurity, 2007-08	Food insecurity in conflict setting	Haysom (2013); (Heyer & Crosskey 2008); KFSSG (2009); Metcalfe and Pavanello with Mishra (2011); Oxfam (2008, 2012); Oxfam et al. (2009)
	Sierra Leone, Freetown	Civil war, 1990s	Conflict (with lasting	Lynch et al. (2013)
	Towns and cities throughout Guinea, Liberia (e.g. Monrovia), Nigeria (e.g. Lagos), Sierra Leone and Senegal	Ebola, 2014-present	Disease outbreak	MSF (2014)
North America	United States, New Orleans	Hurricane Katrina, 2005	Natural disaster	Brookings Institution (2005); Maret & Amdal (2010); Walker & Warren (2007)
	United States, New York State and New Jersey	Hurricane Sandy	Natural disaster	Burger & Gochfeld (2014); Lane et al. (2013); Schreiber et al. (2014)

Oceania	New Zealand, Christchurch	Earthquake, 2010	Natural disaster	
Southeast Asia	Philippines, Metro Manila	Typhoon, 2009	Natural disaster	Ievers & Pacaigue (2010)
	Philippines, Tacloban city (and elsewhere)	Typhoon, 2013	Natural disaster	
	Indonesia, Banda Aceh	Earthquake and Tsunami, 2004	Natural disaster in conflict setting	BRR (2009); da Silva (2010); da Silva & Batchelor (2010); Dercon & Kusumawijaya (2007); Kennedy et al. (2008); UNEP (2007)
	Indonesia, Jakarta	Floods, 2007	Natural disaster	
	Indonesia, Jakarta	Floods, 2007, 2011, 2013	Natural disaster	Baker (2013)
South Asia	Pakistan, Kashmir	Earthquake, 2005	Natural disaster	Qazi (2010)
	Pakistan, Karachi	Ongoing civil conflict	Conflict	Yusuf (2012)
	Pakistan, numerous towns and cities	Floods, 2010	Natural disaster in conflict setting	Burki (2010); CSIS (2010); Solberg (2010)
	Bangladesh, Dhaka	Building collapse (Rana Plaza), 2013		Brown & Dodman (2014)
	India, Gujarat	Earthquake, 2001	Natural disaster	Barenstein (2006); Price & Bhatt (2009); Barenstein & Iyenger (2010); Powell 2011; Sharma (2001)
	India, Tamil Nadu	Tsunami, 2004	Natural disaster	
	India, Mumbai	Floods, 2005	Natural disaster	
	India, Bihar	Floods 2007	Natural disaster	Price & Bhatt (2009)
	India, Pune	Floods, 1997	Natural disaster	Cronin & Guthrie (2011)
	Sri Lanka, numerous towns and cities	Tsunami, 2004	Natural disaster	Boano (2009); Hidellage & Usoof (2010); Kennedy et al. (2008); Lyons (2009)
East Asia	China, numerous towns and cities throughout Sichuan province	Earthquake, 2008	Natural disaster	Zhang et al. (2012)
	Japan, numerous towns and cities	Earthquake and Tsunami, 2011	Natural disaster	Cho (2014); Edgington (2010); EEFIT (2011); GFDRR (2012); Hirayama (2000); Kako et al. (2014)
	Japan, numerous towns and cities	Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant explosion following 2011 earthquake and tsunami		

Column two in Table 10 also reveals the diversity of settlement types that have been affected by crises, ranging from small towns and villages to large cities and mega-city regions. The diversity of these settlements reaffirms the need to conceptualise urban, rural and intermediate locations (including peri-urban areas, towns and villages) across a variegated and overlapping landscape, encompassing various settlement types and territorial scales, rather than as a strict dichotomy (Figure 4) (World Bank 2009; see also Brenner & Schmid 2014).

Figure 4: From rural-urban dichotomy to rural-urban continuum

*Rural-urban dichotomy* · *Variegated and overlapping rural-urban landscapes*
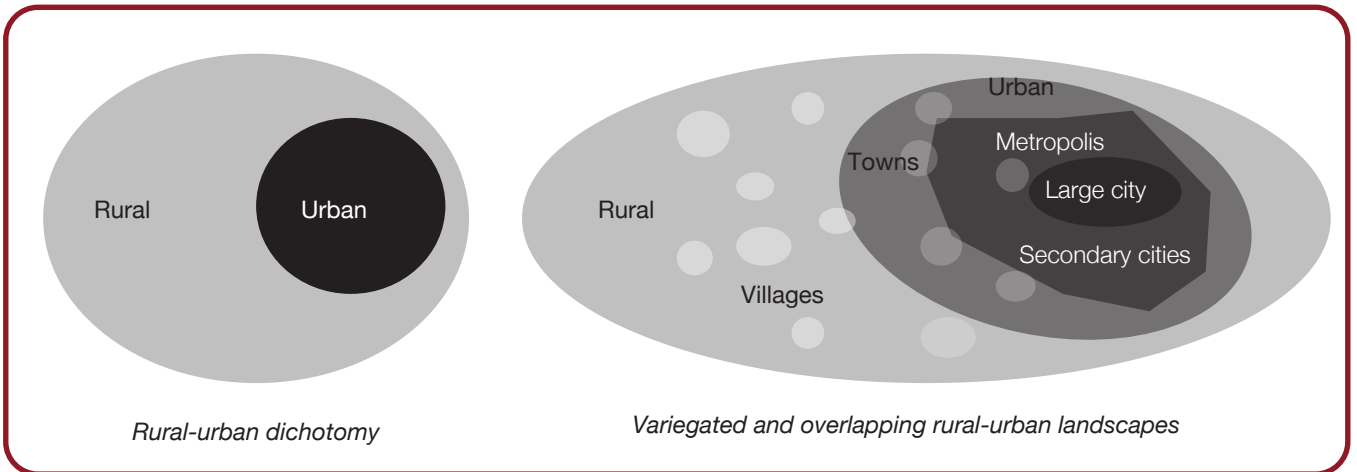
Source: adapted from World Bank (2009)

Based on Table 10, Figure 5 illustrates how a number of inter-related pressures – including poorly planned and managed urbanisation, disasters and climate change, conflict and violence, chronic poverty and insecurity, and population displacement – are converging in urban areas to produce and reproduce acute crises (catastrophic) and chronic crises (everyday or relatively frequent). These pressures appear to be contributing to six specific types of urban crises, outlined below. It should be noted that these types are not intended to rigidly categorise urban crises, but rather to provide a framework for further theorisation and investigation.

Figure 5: Converging pressures on urban crisis
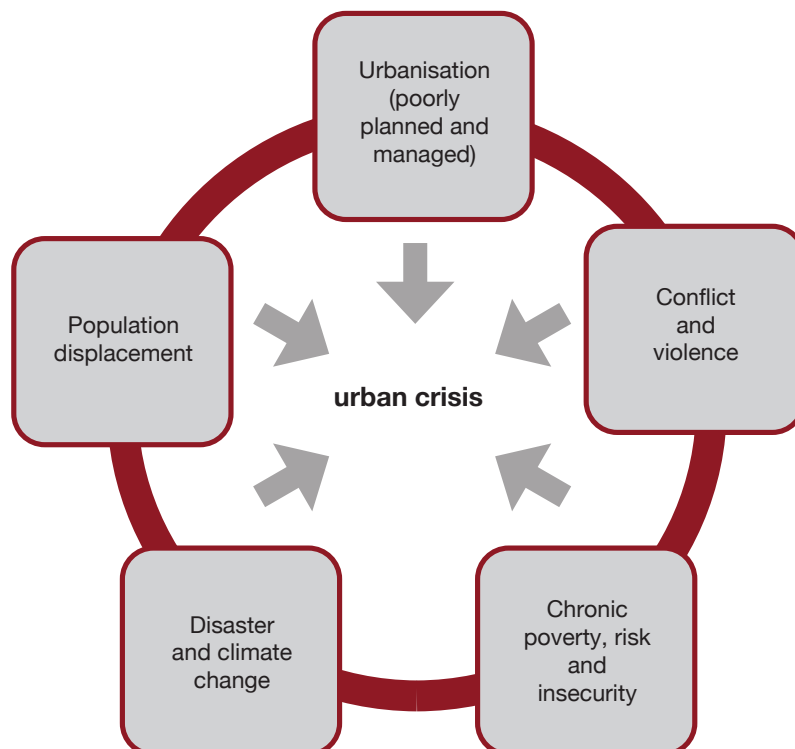
Urban areas shaped by poorly planned and managed urban population growth – This type of urban crisis context includes urban areas where the capacity to effectively plan and manage urban population growth is lacking and where risk and insecurity are intensifying as a result. This is especially the case in low- and middle-income countries, where the majority of the world's future urban population growth is expected to occur (UNDESA 2014), where some of the world's most climate vulnerable urban populations are concentrated (Revi et al., 2014), but where the capacity to plan urban growth, respond to urban crises, and adapt to emerging risks (including climate impacts) is widely lacking (Dodman & Satterthwaite 2009). In these countries, it has been observed that urbanisation is shifting risk profiles towards emergencies (e.g. disease epidemics, violence, internal displacement) occurring in densely populated towns and cities, including throughout Southern Africa (Holloway et al. 2013; see also Fox & Beall 2012). These trends suggest that international humanitarian actors will find themselves responding to a growing variety of urban-specific crises in the future.

Urban areas affected by forced displacement – This type of urban crisis context include urban areas affected by an influx of people due to forced displacement triggered by disasters (slow- and sudden-onset), conflict and political instability, or a combination of these factors (Metcalfe and Pavanello with Mishra 2011; Tibaijuka, 2010). The displaced include those who have been internally displaced by disasters within their own country (i.e. Internally Displaced People – or 'IDPs'), such as by the 2010 floods in Pakistan, which triggered a rapid influx of Sindhi migrants into Karachi (CSIS 2010). They also include those who have been displaced to other countries by disasters (i.e. refugees), such as by the 2012 drought in Sudan, which triggered mass emigration to a number of surrounding East African countries (Pantuliano et al. 2011), and by conflict, such as by the Iraqi and the on-going Syrian refugee crises in Jordan (Haysom 2013; IRC 2012) and Lebanon (McLeod 2013) and by the on-going South Sudanese crisis in Chad (ODI 2004). Studies in these and other countries show that the urban displaced are increasingly by-passing camps to settle in urban areas, particularly in low-income informal settlements, often in protracted situations of several years or more (Crisp et al. 2012; Haysom, 2013; IDMC 2012; Pantuliano et al. 2012; Sanyal 2012). In this context, displacement is becoming an increasingly prominent feature of urbanisation (Pantuliano et al. 2012).

Urban areas affected by disasters and climate change – This type of urban crisis context includes urban areas where risk from natural and technological hazards, including sudden and slow onset events induced by climate change, may be exacerbated by endemic poverty (including high proportions of the urban population living in informal settlements), poor quality and low coverage of basic infrastructure and services, and weak urban planning and governance systems (particularly involving local governments that are unaccountable to the poorest and most vulnerable populations) (IFRC 2010; Revi et al. 2014). These factors render urban populations (particularly the poor) and the built stock (particularly in informal settlements) more vulnerable and therefore more likely to be affected when exposed to climate shocks and stresses as compared to other places where these factors are less prevalent, absent or have been progressively removed over time (as in some middle-income countries and in most high-income countries) (Satterthwaite 2013). These factors help explain why human losses are higher in low- and middle-income countries than in high-income countries when disasters of similar intensity strike (see IFRC 2010a, p. 34).

***Urban areas affected by conflict* and violence** – This type of urban crisis context includes two sub-types. The first includes war-torn urban areas, such as Baghdad, Mogadishu and Kabul, where war or civil conflict is occurring in-situ. These contexts are subject to International Human Rights Law, which regulates contexts of international or civil war, including humanitarian assistance to affected civilians (Lucchi 2010).

The second include urban areas, where conflict and violence, "… is generally linked to state failures to provide security, growth and welfare" (Beall et al. 2013, p. 3069). These urban areas include, for example, Johannesburg, Kigali, Managua, Medellín, Mexico City, Nairobi and São Paulo (for case studies of each see Davis 2012). Although these places are located in non-conflict settings (otherwise perceived to be in 'peace') (Reid-Henry & Sending, 2014; Lucchi 2010), they are highly distressed by civic violence, which is fundamentally urban in character (Beall et al. 2013; Harroff-Tavel 2010). Most recently, these contexts have become the subject of an incipient body of literature on 'fragile cities' (see Muggah 2014).

Urban areas affected by complex emergencies – This type of urban crisis context include urban areas affected by multi-layered and multi-dimensional crises that combine "internal conflict with large-scale displacements of people, mass famine or food shortage, and fragile or failing economic, political, and social institutions. Often, complex emergencies are also exacerbated by natural disasters" (WHO 2014; see also Burkle 1999). These emergencies show how the urban crisis contexts outlined above are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Studies also expect urbanisation – alongside climate change, food insecurity, financial shocks and other stresses – to further complicate the disasters-conflict interface (Harris et al. 2013), which will likely lead to more complex urban emergencies in the future. However, there are growing concerns that international humanitarian actors are ill-prepared to respond to complex urban emergencies, as voiced by participants of the 5th Asia Pacific Urban Forum in 2011 (Win 2011).

Urban areas affected by chronic poverty, risk and insecurity – This type of urban crisis context includes urban areas where acute crises overlays and intersects with chronic crises, as in many low- and middle-income countries, where the links between urban poverty, risk and insecurity are becoming increasingly embedded (IFRC, 2010a; Moser & McIlwaine 2014; Muggah, 2012). In this context, a growing number of observers argue that distinguishing between chronic and acute vulnerability is difficult and ultimately counter-productive (see Bull-Kamanga et al. 2003; da Silva et al. 2012; Haysom 2013; Pantuliano et al. 2012; Pavanello 2012; Pelling 2003; UN-Habitat 2010). For instance, in Nariobi's informal settlements, a number of international humanitarian agencies reported signficant difficulties in attempting to differentiate a food security emergency in 2007-08 from extreme chronic poverty (Oxfam GB et al. 2009). Similar difficulties in distinguishing between the deprivations facing the urban poor and the displaced were also noted in Amman, Damascus, the Gaza Strip, Kabul, Nairobi, Yei and Peshawar (Haysom 2013; Metcalfe et al. 2011; Mosel & Jackson 2013). Deprivations, such as unsafe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and poor quality housing combined with overcrowding and insecure tenure, can also trigger or exacerbate urban crises (IFRC 2010a; Kyazze et al. 2012; Lucchi 2012; Zetter & Deikun 2011). In such situations, it is becoming increasingly difficult to understand where 'emergency' ends and 'normal' conditions begin and thus to decide which urban crises warrants a humanitarian response, at what stage such a response should be initiated, and for identifying and planning exit strategies (Pavanello 2012).

The diversity of urban crisis contexts that are emerging suggests that international humanitarian actors will have to adapt their operational practices, tools, methods, and approaches to a variety of urban crisis contexts and to the specific needs of diverse urban populations (IASC 2010; Kyazze et al. 2012; Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Sanderson et al. 2012; Tibaijuka, 2010).

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Annex II – Sources of evidence

This review is testament to the profusion of recent 'grey' and scholarly literature on urban crises and humanitarian response. The 'grey' literature includes a variety of documents that focus mainly on lessons from responding to crises affecting urban areas and on the associated challenges experienced or observed by international humanitarian agencies, committees, clusters, research networks and donors, such as: the BRC (Kyazze et al. 2012b), Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) (Clermont et al. 2011), Oxfam (Oxfam 2011), ACF, Oxfam, Care, WEDC (Global WASH Cluster 2009), NRC and UKAID (Heykoop & Kelling forthcoming), Practical Action (da Silva 2010), ALNAP (Ramalingam & Knox-Clarke 2012; Sanderson et al. 2012), DFID (2014), IASC (2010) and UN-Habitat (Barcelo et al. 2011).

The 'grey' literature has been accompanied by a growing body of scholarly literature spanning various humanitarian issues and urban crisis contexts. This literature includes recent papers published in several special issues of several scholarly journals, such as:

Forced Migration Review (Issue 34, February 2010) dedicated to "Adapting to urban displacement" (Albuja & Ceballos 2010; Brumat 2010; Buscher & Heller 2010; Corral & Flétcher 2010; Crawford et al. 2010; Crisp 2010; Darling et al. 2010; Davies & Jacobsen 2010; Decorte & Tempra 2010; Edwards 2010; Ensor 2010; Ferris 2010; Guterres 2010; Jeene & Rouse 2010; Montemurro & Walicki 2010; Mallett 2010; Morris 2010; Medina 2010; Nah 2010; Nyce 2010; Singh & Robinson 2010; Tibaijuka 2010; Varoli 2010; Zetter & Deikun 2011);

Environmental hazards (Volume 10, Issue 3-4, 2011) dedicated to "Shelter after disaster", although not all papers focus explicitly on urban contexts (exceptions include Boano & García 2011; Cronin & Guthrie 2011; Schilderman & Lyons 2011) (note: recent edited books have also been published on this subject – see Lizarralde et al. 2010; Lyons et al. 2010);

Disasters (Volume 62, Issue S1, 2012) dedicated to "urban vulnerability and humanitarian response" (Crisp et al. 2012; Fan 2012; Ferris & Ferro-Ribeiro 2012; Grünewald 2012; Lucchi 2012; Pantuliano et al. 2012; Zaman 2012); and

Environment & Urbanization (E&U) (Volume 26, Issue 2, 2014) dedicated to "Conflict and violence in 21st century cities" (Esser 2014; McMichael 2014; McIlwaine 2014; Moser & McIlwaine 2014; Muggah 2014; Reid-Henry & Sending 2014; Rodríguez et al. 2014; Whitzman et al. 2014; Winton 2014; Yazdani et al. 2014).

The scholarly literature also includes a growing number of working papers as well as journal articles produced by academic research institutions, such as:

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), which has launched the "Sanctuary in the City" Working Paper Series on urban displacement led by the HPG (see Haysom 2013; Haysom & Pavanello 2011; Haysom & el Sarraj 2012; Martin & Sluga 2011; Metcalfe et al. 2012; Metcalfe and Pavanello with Mishra 2011; Mosel & Jackson 2013; Pavanello with Haysom 2012);

Feinstein International Center at Tufts University, which has partnered with NRC and IDMC to produce a number of profiling studies on internal displacement to urban areas (see Jacobsen 2008a; Jacobsen 2008b; Jacobsen & Howe 2008); and

Harvard University, which has established the multidisciplinary "Harvard Humanitarian Initiative" (HHI) (http://hhi.harvard.edu/) to promote evidence-based approaches to humanitarian assistance. To date, the HHI has published a number of scholarly papers in health journals (e.g. *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine)* on issues such as urbanisation, disasters, violence, and health (see Janneck et al. 2011; Patel & Burke 2009; Patel & Burkle 2012a; Patel & Burkle 2012b).

Given the rapid increase in the recent 'grey' and scholarly literature outlined above, it might be assumed that urban humanitarian response is a new issue. However, in reality, urban response has been a topic of interest in the humanitarian literature since the 1970s, though it has received increasing attention in light of rapid urbanisation and climate change trends more recently (Pantuliano et al. 2012). Thus, a key question for the humanitarian sector is not just what additional evidence is required, but also how the sector can process, absorb and employ extant knowledge and evidence more effectively in urban settings.

Annex III – Examining the underlying sources of urban vulnerability: a preliminary framework

The Table below provides a framework aimed at linking the sources of vulnerability to the urban social context and to social identities. This framework differs from current approaches to targeting affected people for humanitarian assistance based on an assumed link between vulnerability and social identity. Instead, this framework emphasises a better understanding of how access to basic urban services and other basic needs is often a matter of contestation between diverse social groups with varying degrees of power and influence.

Operationalising this framework will require researchers to disaggregate their subjects according to people's multiple, overlapping social identities.

Source of Vulnerability	Urban social context	Linking causes of vulnerability to social identities. Examples:
Lack of access to goods, services and livelihoods	Inequality: Cities are characterised by spatial inequalities and inequalities in (formal and de facto) ownership of assets, especially land and housing.	Gender norms (formal and customary) around tenure and inheritance often mean that women, and displaced women in particular, often face the most significant barriers in realising their rights to housing land and property (Bermudez et al. 2014). Similarly, formal and de facto linkages between land ownership, rental relations and ethnicity in many contexts mean that certain ethnic groups are more likely to be disenfranchised (Marx et al. 2013; McMichael 2014).
	Urban areas are characterised by greater reliance on markets/ commodities for basic welfare meaning that women and men with low access to income are highly vulnerable (Mitlin & Satterthwaite 2013).	Individuals who are economically inactive and depend on relationships with others (state, household and family, community orgs) for access to resources are particularly vulnerable when disaster disrupts these relationships. Some groups are more likely to be economically inactive, including children, elderly people, people with some form of disability, and in some contexts, women. Furthermore, households with a high number of dependent/economically inactive members are likely to be more vulnerable (e.g. female headed households and households headed by children or grandparents).
	State services are particularly important in urban areas but some social groups may lack access due to discrimination and anti-poor/ inappropriate policies and regulations.	There are many similarities and differences between the vulnerabilities facing the urban poor and the displaced (Grünewald 2012; Harroff-Tavel 2010; Haysom 2013; Pantuliano et al. 2012;) and also temporary rural migrants (Deshingkar 2006). However, people newest to the city often face the most significant difficulties in accessing shelter, basic services and in finding employment, and they may face hostility (including xenophobic violence) when attempting to integrate into host communities (Harroff-Tavel 2010).

Low or marginal social status (leading to exclusion from social networks/ direct	*Urban areas are characterised by the juxtaposition of 'different' populations/ subcultures (which may be in conflict). This can lead to victimisation or exclusion of 'low status' groups.* *Low social status, or norms about different groups 'appropriate' use of and access to public spaces, can lead to increased danger of vicitimisation. Low-income urban areas, in particular, may be insecure and unsafe spaces.*	*Migrant and conflict displaced ethnic groups may face discrimination form the wider community and from state services providers, as is the case with gypsy communities in many urban contexts in Europe (Sigona 2005).* *In many contexts, social norms mean that low-income women and girls, and young men, are particularly vulnerable to violence (Moser & McIlwaine 2014).* *Children are also among those most vulnerable to sexual abuse, particularly in post-disaster shelter camps (Bartlett 2008) and refugee camps (Human Rights Watch 2011).* *The design and delivery of urban services such as water and sanitation can address, or reinforce vulnerability of particular groups to violence, for example low income woman girls in India (UN-Habitat 2004b).*
Lack of voice (exclusion from decision-making, limits to autonomy)	*In the context of high population densities, and mobile populations, the processes and institutions that give the space for political representation and voice in urban areas are often accessible only to the few.*	*Exclusion of different groups from decision-making is key in terms of both their social status and the claims they are able to make around distribution. Data from many contexts highlights the under representation of women, youth, and ethnic minorities from urban government.* *Twigg et al. (2011) finds that the needs of certain social groups may be less visible, e.g. post-disaster shelter interventions often fail to consider the needs of the 'invisible' disabled.*
Biological/ physiological vulnerability	*The physical characteristics of urban informal settlements (marginal, flood prone, presence of disease vectors) create high risk of morbidity (Mitlin & Satterthwaite 2013; Montgomery 2009; Unger & Riley 2007).*	*Some social groups are physiologically more vulnerable to disease (mainly in relation to age and disability/some forms of illness (HIV etc.). However it is important to emphasise as per the work on social models of disability, that much of what has been presented as biological/ natural vulnerability is in fact the result of social vulnerability.* *Children, especially girls, are more susceptible to illness than adults when exposed to disasters and climate impacts due to their lower immunity, higher metabolisms, developing cognition, limited ability to avoid hazards, etc. (Bartlett 2008).*

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Urban Crises and Humanitarian Responses: A Literature Review

Crises, such as disasters, forced migration, conflict and violence are occurring in urban areas with increasing frequency and intensity. The impacts of climate change may increase crises in future. However, humanitarian actors are finding that responding to crises in urban areas presents a new set of challenges. This includes a need for different ways of working than those previously established for humanitarian response in rural areas. This literature review looks at the current evidence-base on humanitarian response and development in urban areas, drawn from published academic literature and humanitarian agency reports.

The review is structured around four main themes: complex and diverse communities; infrastructure systems; markets; and local governance structures and capacities. Its purpose is to identify key knowledge and evidence gaps and areas where further research is needed to inform more contextually appropriate and inclusive approaches to urban humanitarian response. Key knowledge and evidence gaps include the need to better understand urban systems such as urban markets, infrastructure, institutional systems and social relations in urban contexts, local recovery processes, and the experiences and perceptions of local humanitarian actors, including local governments, non-governmental organisations and affected people. Particular attention is also paid to the impacts (direct and indirect) that both crises and humanitarian interventions have on urban areas over-time.

The review concludes by outlining a research agenda for supporting evidence-based humanitarian action in urban settings, including the need to: create platforms for local actors to engage in humanitarian debates, learning and research; create more robust evidence by triangulating different types of information from multiple actors and affected people; increase understanding of urban contextual issues and conditions; broaden learning of the humanitarian community to other fields, including urban development and human settlements; and expand research timeframes to encompass longitudinal studies and offer platforms for coordination for research across humanitarian agencies.

The Development Planning Unit, University College London (UCL), is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning, management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning, management and design, especially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition. For more information, see website: http:// www.bartlett.ucl. ac.uk/dpu

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