



CWS

ACCESSING SERVICES IN THE CITY

FINDINGS FROM A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN
REFUGEE-HOST COMMUNITY RELATIONS

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I. INTRODUCTION

According to the estimates of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the percentage of the world's refugees that live in cities has increased over recent decades to the point that, as of 2008, more than half of all refugees lived in cities. Frustrated over being subject to petty bureaucratic controls, unrealistic expectations of self-reliance in rural areas, insecurity, unreliable humanitarian support and uncertain futures, refugees appear to be increasingly opting for the risks of life in the city over the constraints of refugee camps.

Once they arrive in cities, the fate of the “urban refugee” is largely uncertain. Their experience is defined largely by their individual success in negotiating the complex challenges of everyday life. Often settling within the congested, competitive and contested spaces of the urban poor, the ability of refugees to access safety and protection, shelter, livelihoods, health care and education depends on broader networks and relationships. In short, if refugee camps are defined by the deprivation of social agency, creativity and entrepreneurship, life in the urban areas demands these qualities as essential to survival and successful adaptation.

In 2012, CWS undertook a comparative study of urban refugees in four cities located across three countries, with a focus on their interactions and relationships with other urban residents, referred to here as “host communities”.¹ Unlike much of the humanitarian-inspired research that has been conducted to date, this report emphasizes what refugees are able to accomplish in complex urban environments, rather than highlighting barriers, restrictions and absences in their lives. While this should not downplay the risks and discriminations that urban refugees face on a daily basis, through this approach CWS has sought to identify new opportunities for assisting urban refugees, including through activities that build on the relationships that refugees establish with their urban “hosts”.

II. METHODOLOGY

The findings in this report are based on field studies conducted in 2012, which compared the experiences of urban refugees in Yaoundé (Cameroon), Jakarta (Indonesia), and Karachi and Peshawar (Pakistan). The results of the studies suggest that factors that improve refugee-host relationships may also enhance the capacity of urban refugees to access services in the city. Importantly, the results also suggest that the opposite may be true, namely that improved refugee access to services strengthens refugee-host relations. In short, the study's findings suggest a relationship that is mutually reinforcing, as represented in Figure 1 below:

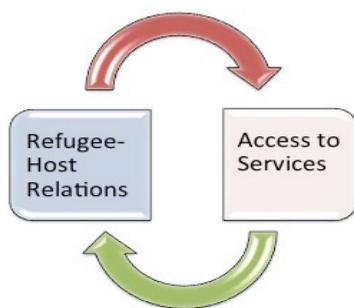


Figure 1: Refugee-Host Relations and Improved Access to Services are Mutually Reinforcing

¹ The use of the term “host communities” is somewhat problematic and controversial and used purely for convenience in the context of this report. Neighboring non-refugee communities living in the poor urban areas that refugees typically move into may comprise a broad range of citizens and non-citizens, with varying residential status and historical claims to belonging. They do not necessarily “host” refugees in any direct sense and may themselves be living under highly unstable circumstances.

The following table shows the major social, economic and institutional variables of the four cities, which informed their selection for this comparative study:

	Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan	
	Yaoundé	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar
City Population	1,817,524	9,607,787	9,339,023	982,816
Refugee Arrival Period	Medium Term	Recent Arrivals	Long Term	Long Term
Signatory to 1951 Convention	Yes	No	No	
Strong UNHCR Presence	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Est. Refugees: National	100,373	1,006	1,702,700	
Est. Asylum-seekers: National	3,298	3,233	1,624	
Est. Refugees: City	10,000	2,000	130,000	N/A
Origin of Refugees	Neighbor/Region	Distant	Neighbor	Border
GDP per Capita, 2011	\$1,271.30	\$3,494.60	\$1,194.30	
GDP Growth (an. %), 2011	3.8	6.5	2.4	

Figure 2: Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of the Four Cities

The study focused primarily on field data that was generated using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This included a survey of 1,218 refugee households, supported by a total of 91 semi-structured interviews conducted across all four cities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with refugees and members of host communities as well as other key-informants that included UNHCR, government officials and other agencies. In addition, 12 focus group discussions were held in total in Cameroon and Indonesia, and information was collected through discussions with relevant stakeholders, including humanitarian agencies that work with urban refugees.

The following table shows the key themes and variables that were explored, and the basis for which these were chosen:

Theme	Variable	Rationale
Arrival and Reception	Refugee Experiences of Arrival and Reception	Experiences of reception shape initial refugee attitudes to host communities, and impact the forms of social and economic capital that refugees are able to draw on to begin to engage in refugee-host relations.
Housing	Monthly Cost of Housing	A housing market based overwhelmingly on rental suggests that monthly cost of housing represents a strong indicator of access to and quality of housing.
	Status of Housing	Differentiating between housing as either "unpaid", "rented" and "owned" considered housing on either side of the rental market – including those who could either not access the rental market, or who had moved into housing ownership.
Livelihood	Sources of Income and Expenditure	The monthly average of selected sources of income provides insight into patterns of economic differentiation and the relative significance of specific income potentials.

Education and Health care	School Attendance Rate	Comparing the number of children of school-going age in the household that are attending school, against those who are not, provides a "snapshot" into variation related to determinants of household access to education.
	School Attendance Patterns	Examining which children attend school provides insight into the factors that affect the integration of education.
	Use of Government & Private Health Services	Increased use of private health services is often associated with greater level of disposable income and personal choice in urban areas.
	Health Care Access Patterns	Patterns of health-seeking behavior may reveal process of refugee integration.
	Main Problems Accessing Health Care	Changing patterns of prioritizing "main problems" with health care may reveal trends related to success in accessing health care.
Family and Community Integration	Patterns of Leisure-Based Interactions	Increased levels of leisure time spent with non-refugees may indicate greater levels of integration,
	Patterns of Participation in Religious Activities	Varying patterns of participation in religious activities may reflect trends related to integration and belonging.
Access to Safety and Protection	Confidence in Local Police Services	Variations in expressions of confidence in police may reflect trends and patterns of differentiation related to refugee protection.
	Perception of Refugee Vulnerability to Crime	Variations in perceptions of refugee vulnerability to crime may reflect patterns of differences in experiences of refugee safety and protection.
	Sources of Assistance	Variations in priorities in seeking assistance may reflect trends related to integration, the structure of refugee communities and perceptions of safety and security.
	Possession of Documentation	The possession and non-possession of key forms of documentation may relate to refugee perceptions of the state, belonging and the future.
Durable Solutions	Preference for Durable Solution	Stated preference for a durable solution may indicate levels of integration, emplacement and perceptions of the future.

Figure 3: Analytical Framework for Qualitative and Quantitative Results

A "mixed methods" approach was adopted to enable researchers to identify and focus on the most appropriate, effective and efficient research techniques for their locations. The research team consciously sought a degree of methodological commonality across cities, to allow for a meaningful comparison of data. This approach was refined through an ongoing exchange of information and insights across study locations, to balance considerations of the more common or generic characteristics of refugee-host relations, on the one hand, and the contextually-specific historical, social, economic and cultural aspects of these relationships, on the other hand. Through this approach, the study grappled with the important policy dilemma of the extent to which a "one-size-fits-all" approach to understanding and responding to urban refugees may account for important local variations.

III. STUDY FINDINGS

The findings of this study highlighted two general observations. First, urban refugees' access to resources and services tended to improve over time: some improvements were associated with more frequent interaction between refugees and hosts. This observation broadens the perspective of much of the existing literature on urban refugees, which highlights the hardships that refugees face at particular moments in time but without considering the fate of individuals and households over the longer term. Importantly, it also revealed varying rates

of improvement over time, implying increasing social and economic stratification within refugee communities over time. It does not suggest, therefore, that improved access to services over time would imply an inevitable closure of any socio-economic gap between all refugees and host communities.

This temporal dimension to refugee access to services supports the current international approach to urban environments as legitimate -- and potentially productive -- spaces for refugees to re-establish their lives and livelihoods. It suggests that urban refugee experiences of ongoing deprivation and suffering are likely to reflect either the effects of restrictive legal and policy regimes for refugee settlement or high levels of local mistrust of refugees, rather than any intrinsic qualities of refugee populations themselves. Refugee successes in overcoming these limitations were enabled partly by expanding social networks and strengthening refugee-host relationships.

A second general observation was that the major problems that refugees experience in accessing services arises from their inability to pay for the costs associated with such services. By expanding social networks and relationships into the local host community, refugee-host relations represented strategies for urban refugees to access the resources necessary to improve their levels of access to services. Significantly, where refugees were particularly desperate, their relations with hosts were more likely to take shape around enduring forms of exploitation and abuse of refugees.

This second finding highlights two key implications of the current dominant approaches to refugees in urban areas:

1. It identifies the importance of providing adequate protection for refugees in urban areas, to “level the playing field” for them to participate more fully in the social and economic aspects of urban life. Enhanced protection and respect for refugee rights reduces the risks of the emergence of refugee-host relations that are structured around exploitation and abuse.
2. It underscores that refugee-host relations are likely to improve in response to broader improvements to community infrastructure, income levels and social services. Broader improvements in community development are likely to reduce the intensity of competition over resources; this competition has a disproportionately negative effect on more vulnerable urban refugees.

In light of these broad observations, the study identified nine specific findings, as well as a range of recommendations that consider how refugee-host relations may be leveraged to improve outcomes for refugees in urban areas. These are summarized below:

Finding 1: A strong protection framework promotes positive refugee-host relations.

Refugees in urban areas were more able to interact productively with the host community if they were confident that their rights, as enshrined in the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention, were protected by the host state. The absence of formal status, or failure to protect international rights associated with such status, either leads to refugee isolation from the local host community or promotes negative relationships based on exploitation, discrimination and abuse.

Finding 2: The socio-economic stresses of arrival undermine refugee-host relations.

Refugee journeys to cities are often harrowing, exhausting and impoverishing. Upon arrival, refugees face immediately the challenges of regularizing their status, and establishing their livelihoods in highly demanding environments. An overview of the socio-economic characteristics of refugee populations suggests that newly-arrived refugees² are at a particularly vulnerable point in their journey, where they establish relations with the host community that will influence their well-being and relative economic success in the city. In some instances, the absence of status means that new arrivals receive neither protection nor assistance from the international community.

² This includes asylum-seekers as well as persons fleeing the effects of conflict that may choose not to formally claim asylum from the host state.

Findings 3: Housing is a major potential source of tension between refugees and hosts.

In contrast to many camp situations, where basic shelter may be provided, refugees that arrive in urban areas are typically faced with the urgent challenge of finding their own accommodation. The process of finding housing often propels urban refugees into new relationships with the host community, through tenant-landlord arrangements. More than two-thirds of refugee respondents to the household survey rented their accommodation, mostly from landlords from within poorer sections of local communities. The difficulties faced by both landlords and tenants in meeting their respective obligations to rental agreements emerged as a common source of tension between refugees and hosts. This had important implications for urban refugees, shaping the quality and cost of housing that they had access to.

Finding 4: Refugee marginalization from the formal economy limits refugee-host relations.

Both qualitative and quantitative results of the study suggest that urban refugees are largely marginalized from the formal urban economy. This is reinforced, to some degree, by humanitarian interventions that sometimes promote refugee activities in the informal economy. Greater levels of refugee participation in formal employment and formal business activities would appear to contribute towards strengthening refugee-host relations.

Finding 5: Competition over access to livelihood opportunities enhances tension between refugees and hosts.

As mentioned above, the intensity of competition over access to economic resources in the urban environment was one of the most significant factors that shaped refugee-host relations. Expanded possibilities for generating incomes enabled refugees to develop social and economic networks that generally reinforced positive refugee-host relations. On the other hand, refugee success in accessing livelihood opportunities also risked fostering resentment by the local host population.

Finding 6: Dependency on direct assistance inhibits refugee-host relations.

The provision of direct assistance to vulnerable refugees is an important and necessary intervention that should remain as a critical option for assisting refugees in urban environments. Assistance may be especially critical in the period immediately following arrival in the city. However, data from our sample suggests that direct assistance makes a relatively small contribution towards total household income of urban refugees, which diminishes over time.

Finding 7: Refugee vulnerability limits positive refugee-host relations.

Vulnerable refugees in urban areas have reduced opportunities to engage productively with the host community in ways that lead to sustained benefits for refugees. They are also more likely to be forced to develop negative refugee-host relations that risk their well-being and economic security. The characteristics of refugee vulnerability in urban areas may be related to a broad range of factors, vary from context to context and change over time. Specific indicators of refugee vulnerability should therefore be revisited periodically.

Finding 8: Improved refugee access to education and health services strengthens refugee-host relations.

Urban refugees' access to health and education services leads was most frequently limited by cost. The significance of cost, as a limiting factor, decreased over time. This suggests that longer-staying urban refugees are more able to accumulate the resources and knowledge necessary to access these services. Greater access to available education and health services led to enhanced opportunities for refugees and hosts to interact and strengthen relations. On the other hand, barriers to refugee education and access to health care reduce such opportunities to strengthen relations.

Finding 9: Refugee-host relations shape urban refugee attitudes to durable solutions.

Refugee-host relations may impact on urban refugee attitudes and access to durable solutions. Results from the study suggests that voluntary repatriation from urban areas may be less viable as a "preferred solution" for refugees in urban areas, compared to camp-based situations. While interest in resettlement was notably

high across all city-sites, limited access to this solution prompted many urban refugees to accept de-facto local integration over time. The social profiles and backgrounds of some urban refugees suggest that increased access to opportunities for regularized migration may promote more durable solutions for them.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the findings described above, the report makes the following recommendations to host governments, donors, UNHCR, and non-government organizations (NGOs):

Recommendations to Host Governments:

The results of the study suggest that host governments can play a critical role in strengthening positive refugee-host relations, mainly by improving their commitments to protecting the rights of refugees. By ensuring that refugees receive adequate protection, host governments enable urban refugees to establish more assertive and equitable relations with the local host community. It also limits the development of relationships that are structured around refugee fear or concern over their situations, which increases the risks of exploitation and abuse of refugees by the local host population. The report highlights the important role that host states can play in enhancing the potential for urban refugee-host relations in the following areas:

- Improve protection of undocumented new-arrivals in urban areas by conducting outreach to local government agencies and law enforcement, and allowing external observation of the registration process.
- Operate on the presumption of validity of asylum claims to ensure non-discrimination in asylum-seekers' access to essential services and protection.
- Recognize the rights of urban refugees to work.
- Focus protection on the right to housing and adequate shelter in urban areas.
- Expand of migration and travel options for urban refugees, including through the acquisition of legitimate travel documentation.

Recommendations to Funding Agencies:

By supporting ongoing research and pilot humanitarian programming initiatives, donors can play an important role in developing the potential for targeted interventions for improving refugee-host relations to lead to improved outcomes for urban refugees. These interventions may not necessarily be limited to developing refugee-host relations exclusively and may be linked to broader initiatives to improve conditions for urban refugees. The results of the study suggest that the areas where donors could focus may include:

- Support for the improvement of reception facilities for urban refugees and provision of basic rights to refugees and asylum-seekers, particularly the right to work.
- Encourage innovative responses to urban refugee housing markets, such as providing landlords incentives to invest in housing infrastructure for refugees, and developing dispute resolution mechanisms for refugee tenants and host landlords.
- Promote of urban refugee access to formal employment, such as through incentives for local industries to hire refugees or monitoring labor practices with regards to refugees.
- Support for more flexible and diverse approaches to durable solutions in urban areas, particularly by engaging urban refugees in planning around potential durable solutions and ensuring their perspectives are reflected in planning outputs.

Recommendations to UNHCR:

As the principal organization with an international mandate to respond to refugee crises across the world, UNHCR often plays a critical role in ensuring that refugees receive adequate protection and assistance in urban areas. By considering their impact on everyday refugee-host relations, as either promoting or undermining these, UNHCR may increase the effectiveness of its operations and limit the risks of unanticipated negative consequences that arise from refugee-host dynamics. Specifically, the results of the study suggest that UNHCR can leverage the potential of refugee-host relations by focusing on the following areas:

- Focus direct assistance on new arrivals and vulnerable refugees, so that they may access resources and services needed to become self-reliant.
- Promote the development of housing markets for refugees, such as by providing bridging support for refugees to meet rental obligations as they establish income sources, and developing minimum standards for urban refugee rental housing.
- Support local hiring of refugees in urban areas, such as through connecting employers with vocational training initiatives and providing information on the procedures for hiring refugees.
- Provide incentives for education and health care providers to be more inclusive of refugee populations.
- Develop a more nuanced understanding of social vulnerability in urban areas, including examination of arrival period, household size and dynamics, education levels, and urban versus rural origin.

Recommendations to Non-Governmental Organizations:

Local and international non-governmental organizations are well-placed to advocate for many of the suggestions outlined above, particularly regarding the relationship between strengthened forms of protection and reductions in risks of negative relations between refugees and their hosts. NGOs are also well placed to foster direct links between refugee and local communities and the development of more locally institutionalized forms of community support for refugees. The study suggests several actions that NGOs can take in this regard:

- Advocate for the rights of urban refugees in reference to those enshrined in the 1951 Convention, with particular attention to non-discrimination toward refugees in accessing essential services, resources and protection.
- Identify ways that refugees and host-community members can both participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of project activities.
- Engage local civic associations (e.g., neighborhood associations, student groups), faith communities, business and labor associations, and philanthropic agencies to increase awareness of refugees' rights and foster mutually supportive actions between refugee and host-community institutions.

Appendix 1: Survey Form (Cameroon Example)

1. Household Number
2. Location (City)
3. Enumerator Name
4. Name of Respondent
5. Date of Interview

SECTION A: GENERAL

A. Biographical Information of Respondent:

6. Gender
7. Age
8. Country of Origin
9. Home Area
10. Occupation Prior to Refuge
11. Arrival Date
12. Legal Status

B. Social Activities:

13. Do you personally participate in any of the following activities on a regular basis?

C. Household Characteristics:

14. This Neighborhood (Name)
15. Are you the head of your household?
16. Household Size
17. Status of Neighbors (Adjacent Houses)
18. Status of Housing

D. Household Expenses and Income

19. Approximately how much does the household pay per month towards the following expenses?
20. Where does the household obtain income to meet the expenses listed above?

E. Marriage

21. Number of current married couples living within household?
22. Of these, number of marriages between refugees and citizens?

F. Access to Education

23. Number of children of school-going age...
24. Main reason for children not attending school
25. Primary responsibility for cost of education
26. Main problem with education in general

G. Access to Health Care

27. Main source of health care
28. Main assistance to meet health care costs
29. Main household health complaint
30. Main problem with health services

H. Protection and Security

31. In general, are refugees comfortable seeking assistance from the local police?
32. Are refugees more vulnerable to crime and abuse than citizens?
33. Do you and your family members have documents to

prove that you are refugees?

34. Is it important for you to keep your documents with you at all times, to prove that you are a refugee?

35. Who do you approach first, if you need assistance related to your security?

SECTION B: CAMEROON

I. Travel History and Arrival: Cameroon

36. After fleeing your home, how many other countries did you pass through before settling in Cameroon?
37. What was the main reason behind your household seeking refuge in Cameroon?
38. What did you do after you first arrived in Cameroon?
39. How significant were the following, in informing the decision for your household to move to Yaoundé?

J. UNHCR and Access to Services: Cameroon

40. Do children of school-going age in your household currently receive support from UNHCR to attend school?
41. Does your household receive support from UNHCR to pay for housing costs?
42. What is the nationality of the person who owns the house that you live in?
43. Are members of your household able to obtain support from UNHCR to pay for costs related to health care?

K. Safety and Protection: Cameroon

44. Do members of your household possess sufficient documentation to access to following services?
45. Has any member of this household been the victim of a crime in Yaoundé in the last 12 months?
46. What was the most recent serious crime experienced by a member of your household?
47. In general, do you (personally) feel safe living in Yaoundé?
48. Which of the following can you rely on for help if your safety or security is threatened?
49. In general, do you personally feel that Cameroonians are happy to accept refugees in Yaoundé?

L. Future Plans:

50. Finally, what do you think is the best solution to your situation as a refugee?

M. Questions for Enumerator

51. Language of Interview
52. Was additional translation used during interview

Appendix 2: Checklist for Funding Agencies when Preparing Requests for Proposals (RFPs) Related to Urban Refugees

1. Does the RFP invite proposals that address the initial reception needs of urban refugees, based on methodologies that contribute to self-reliance?
2. Does the RFP include shelter/housing in its sectoral focus list? If so, does it provide the flexibility to use innovative approaches for improving urban refugees' access to housing rental markets?
3. Does the RFP include livelihoods in its sectoral focus list? If so, does it call for innovative approaches to increasing urban refugees' access to formal employment, including linking protection, community outreach and livelihood activities?
4. Does the RFP include a call for activities that encourage cooperation, interaction, and peaceful coexistence among refugees and host communities, such as joint community development activities, joint management of common infrastructure (e.g., water points) or dispute resolution mechanisms?
5. In settings where the national legal framework is restrictive or does not recognize refugees living in urban areas, does the RFP invite strategic outreach and advocacy activities, including through partnership with local and national organizations?
6. Does the RFP provide opportunities to identify and document the needs and perspectives of urban refugees regarding potential durable solutions, including for the purpose of designing future programs that support these solutions?
7. Does the RFP provide for flexibility in proposing sub-agreements with local or national organizations that could provide specific services or engage local stakeholders in ways that would strengthen refugee-host relations?
8. Does the RFP use standard language, e.g., "urban refugees" or "refugees living in host communities" to indicate that the proposal opportunity is not limited to work with refugees in camp-based settings?
9. Does the RFP invite analysis of projects' potential impacts on host communities and the relationship between urban refugees their hosts, analysis of heterogeneity within a refugee hosting community, or a needs assessment of the urban poor who live among refugees?
10. Does the RFP include an expectation of coordination with development actors and other non-traditional actors (e.g., local civic, faith or business associations) when urban refugee programming is proposed?

Appendix 3: Refugee-Host Relations Checklist for Program Design and Evaluating Proposals

1. Does the proposal identify existing social structures and diversities (e.g., economic, religious, linguistic) within refugee and host communities, and consider how these might affect refugees' access to essential services and protection?
2. Does the proposal identify points of interaction or mutual organizing between refugees and host communities? Funders could request that proposals include a community or institutional mapping to illustrate where, when and how refugees and their hosts are likely to interact.

3. Does the proposal assess the level of awareness of refugees and their rights among the local host community, including relevant public agencies? What steps does it propose to address these, in terms of encouraging a more refugee-friendly “operating environment”?
4. Does the proposal analyze the refugee protection framework and any opportunities or challenges it presents for local integration? How does it propose to make use of opportunities? How does it propose to address challenges? Funders could request this be included in the background section.
5. Does the proposal include ways to measure (quantitatively and/or qualitatively) the potential benefits of refugees living and working in the community to host community members?
6. Does the proposal identify any gaps in protection and assistance to new refugee arrivals that may generate conflict between refugees and hosts? If so, how does it seek to address these?
7. If common property resources (i.e., shared infrastructure or physical assets) are identified, does the proposal include activities to strengthen their management through involvement of both refugees and host community members?
8. Does the proposal analyze potential obstacles for refugees in accessing essential public services, e.g., health care or education? Does it address these obstacles in ways that engage local beneficiaries of these services?
9. Does the proposal identify ways to engage local landlords or community institutions (e.g., neighborhood associations, local government units) in expanding refugees’ access to rental housing or making refugees’ tenancy rights more secure?
10. Does the proposal identify opportunities to partner with local civil society organizations, community-based or faith-based associations, or volunteer networks in providing essential services or protection to urban refugees? Funders could request that this be included as an appendix to the proposal.
11. Does the proposal assess prospects for durable solutions for refugees in urban areas, and consider ways to engage local stakeholders in the identification and implementation of durable solutions?

Appendix 4: Sample Indicators Related to Refugee-Host Relationships for Use in Monitoring and Evaluation

The following are sample indicators related to urban refugee-host relationships that could be included in monitoring and evaluation frameworks.

Protection Framework

1. The national refugee protection framework recognizes the rights of refugees to reside, access essential services and pursue livelihood opportunities in urban areas.
2. The percentage of sampled municipal authorities and law enforcement officials who are able to identify or accurately describe:
 - a. At least one element of their country’s accepted definition of a refugee.
 - b. At least three key commitments of their country’s refugee protection laws or policies.
 - c. The procedures for refugee reception and/or registration.
3. The percentage of sampled host community residents who are able to identify:
 - a. At least one element of their country’s accepted definition of a refugee.
 - b. At least two commitments of their country’s refugee protection laws or policies.

Arrival and Reception

4. Written information on the reception process is available in refugee languages.

5. Interpretation services are available during the reception process as needed.
6. The reception process includes a socio-economic assessment and identifies refugees in need of intensive short-term support, based on established vulnerability criteria.

Shelter and Housing

7. The level of security in tenancy relationships, as measured by changes in:
 - a. The number of forced evictions of refugees.
 - b. The percentage of evictions and rent defaults over time.
8. The extent to which identified landlords make adequate rental housing available to urban refugees, as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of sampled refugee rental housing that meets minimum standards.
 - b. The percentage of sampled refugee tenants who are able to meet their monthly rental payment commitments.
9. The extent to which urban refugees have secure access to shared community infrastructure (e.g., water and sanitation points), as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of user groups that include both refugee and host community participants.
 - b. The percentage of user groups that have guidelines for the use and management of common property which are mutually agreeable to refugee and host community users.

Livelihoods

10. The percentage of sampled host community employers who are able to identify at least two skill-sets (e.g., carpentry, embroidery) among refugees living in their municipality.
11. The percentage of sampled host community employers who are able to describe accurately the procedures for hiring refugees.
12. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who:
 - a. Are able to describe accurately the procedures for receiving permits to conduct business.
 - b. Apply for and receive for business permits.
13. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who are economically self-reliant, as measured by self-reporting of household consumption and income sources.

Education and Health Care

14. The extent to which urban health clinics (including government, private and NGO-managed clinics) are accessible to urban refugees, as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who are able to describe accurately the procedures for accessing local health services.
 - b. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who indicate ability to pay fees for basic and curative health services.
15. The extent to which sampled clinic and school administrators and staff are able to:
 - a. Identify at least at least one element of their country's accepted definition of a refugee
 - b. Identify at least one form of documentation of refugee status.
 - c. Describe accurately the procedures for refugees to access essential services.
16. The percentage of sampled school-age refugee children who are enrolled in schools.
17. The percentage of sampled parents of school-age urban refugee children who:
 - a. Are able to identify procedures for enrolling children in school.
 - b. Indicate the ability to pay for fees associated with enrolling children in schools.

Durable Solutions

18. In locations where durable solutions are being explored, relevant documents (e.g., needs assessment frameworks, strategy documents, implementation plans) identify and incorporate the perspectives of urban refugees.
19. National law and policy governing migration provides mechanisms (e.g., visas, permanent or temporary work permits) for urban refugees to transition to other legally recognized migrant statuses.

Depending on the availability of baseline information, these indicators could be made more specific to planned activities and targeted participants, or indicate expected change over time, e.g.: "100% of beneficiaries are able to accurately describe the procedures for applying for business permits, as indicated by activity post-tests" or "The

percentage of beneficiaries who are economically self-reliant, as measured by self-reported household consumption, increases from 20% to 50% over one year.”

Information for these indicators could be collected through the following approaches:

- Quantitative and/or qualitative surveys (drawing on Appendix 1 and 2 of this report as examples)
- Focus group discussions involving activity participants
- Written stories from project beneficiaries on the most significant changes from their participation
- Desk reviews of relevant laws, policies or procedural documents
- External observation of refugee reception or service intake processes

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The authors remain solely responsible for the content and accuracy of this report.

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