

**HUMANITARIAN &
DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAMME**

CAMPS IN HUMANITARIAN CRISES: Behind the scenes

By Mérick Freedy ALAGBE

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HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS THINK TANK



Major humanitarian crises always trigger massive displacements and spawn refugee camps. These camps, whatever their nature, represent the most striking feature of contemporary humanitarian crises. In 1939 following the Spanish civil war, scores of refugees poured into France to seek protection in the myriad of camps scattered in the southern regions (Argelès-sur-mer; Saint-Cyprien; Rivesaltes; Barcarès etc.). The 1956 Hungarian revolution also led to massive displacement of refugees, who shortly after found shelter in camps in Austria and Yugoslavia. The world witnessed similar scenes in the aftermaths of the Vietnamese war in the 1970s, with hundreds of camps spread in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines to the relief of the hapless Vietnamese asylum seekers... And the practice does not seem to be losing momentum as thousands of camps are still standing across the world, like in Daadab in the Northern Kenya or in Goz Beïda region in Chad etc. Though it might be difficult to trace the inception of the use of camps, it is worth questioning the reasons of their existence. International relations have been marked for centuries by disgraceful and unpleasant events in which camps have served various purposes, at times even far away from humanitarian objectives. Denis Peschanski's research activities show that in less than a decade in France (1938-1946), several contradicting goals had justified the erection of camps¹. On the other hand, it appears that the higher the number of actors involved in the management of camps, the more confusing the objectives turn. For instance, humanitarian actors and political decision makers are sharply at odds on questions about building and managing refugee camps. While humanitarian actors are obsessed with operational efficiency, politicians pursue cynical calculations to gain some advantages in the public opinion.

Our quest in this article is to find out whether, the use of camps in humanitarian crises that seems to enjoy widespread acceptance can truly stand moral, legal and technical scrutiny. In more prosaic terms, do we necessarily need to erect camps, i.e. to arrange an isolated area and then squeeze in people fleeing disasters, to better assist them? Most people regard this as a temporary solution or an emergency measure to deal with a sudden and massive wave of displaced populations. For them, this is a prerequisite for an effective supply of humanitarian assistance to displaced populations. However, the average lifespan of camps around the world belies claims that their ultimate purpose is to cope with emergencies. By the same token, the growing success of assistance programs to refugees and displaced persons living outside camps, provides a compelling evidence that alternatives to camps remain relevant. In short, all this eloquently suggest the rethinking of the current camp-based humanitarian system.

In this article we also aim to unravel the reasons behind the deeply ingrained attachment to camps in our aid practices, often presented as the most effective model of

¹PESCHANSKI Denis, *La France des camps. L'internement (1938-46)*, Paris, 2002, Gallimard, Coll. La suite des temps, 560 p

hosting displaced persons. Lastly, we seek to understand the risks for humanitarian actors in contributing to the physical construction and the management of these facilities. These questions are all the more urgent that there is a growing clamor for change among beneficiaries, as revealed by some statistics and studies². It might be time to review some parts of the humanitarian mechanics.

THE DEFINITION OF HUMANITARIAN CAMP

Broadly speaking, we see a refugee camp as an enclosed space, arranged according to some predefined standards and objectives in order to host a particular category of population. Spontaneous camps are less structured, badly designed with flimsy materials, and their anarchy illustrates the improvised nature of the construction. Beyond these generalities, the type of population sheltered and the ultimate aim of the camp will help identify its very nature. Thus one can easily distinguish a military barrack from a holiday camping or a refugee camp, or any other facilities hosting people. The typology of camps is very broad and may stretch to infinity depending on the functions assigned to each site. In the long journey of our human societies — strewn with tragedies — camps of all nature have been used. Genocides and pogroms revealed death camps; migration crises gave rise to detention camps; epidemiological threats gave birth to lazarettos etc. Referring to this dazzling diversity, C. Rodier wrote in a brilliant article : “It can be open or closed centers, public or private, legal or illegal, designed to accommodate asylum seekers, undocumented migrants or foreigners on the verge of being expelled, or awaiting decision which will allow them whether to cross a border”³ [our translation]. M. Agier in a remarkable book, proposes a classification into four categories, distinguishing between refugee camps; IDP camps; administrative detention centers and self-established camps⁴. We deal in this article with what is commonly called “humanitarian camp” to understand its meaning. These camps refer to the accommodation of people in distress, affected by a humanitarian crisis. The UNHCR proposes a more complete typology by presenting six types of accommodation for refugees⁵. First, there are *planned and managed camps*, which are the most prevalent among camps under the UNHCR’s mandate. They are built in compliance with internationally recognized standards and are easy to manage. Then, the *self-settled camps*. They hardly meet international standards as they are built in haste. Third, the *collective centers*, which house much less population according to figures available over

² The UNHCR in its 2014 annual report, mentioned the startlingly noticeable case of Syrian refugees in Turkey. At the end of 2014, only 15% of all registered Syrian refugees in Turkey chose life in the camps. The remaining 85% settled for individual residences or lodgings with host families outside. In contrast, two years earlier these figures were almost reversed. See UNHCR, *Statistical Year Book 2014, Chapter 5 “Demographic and Location data”, P.66*

³ RODIER Claire, «Les camps d’étrangers, nouvel outil de la politique migratoire de l’Europe», *Mouvements*, décembre 2003/5, N°30

⁴ AGIER Michel, *Un monde de camps*, Paris, La Découverte, 2014, 350p

⁵ UNHCR, *Statistical Year Book 2014*, Op.cit P.65

the last three years. These centers are public or private venues used opportunely in emergency situation to house displaced people. As for *transit camps*, they are temporary places to stay, a step in the journey of their occupants. *Private or individual residences* are apartments, houses or other dwelling places used by local populations which can be afforded by more affluent refugees or displaced persons or those sheltered by host families. Lastly, there is a category called "*unknown*" which refers to places where refugees are housed but for which the UNHCR has no available and accurate information.

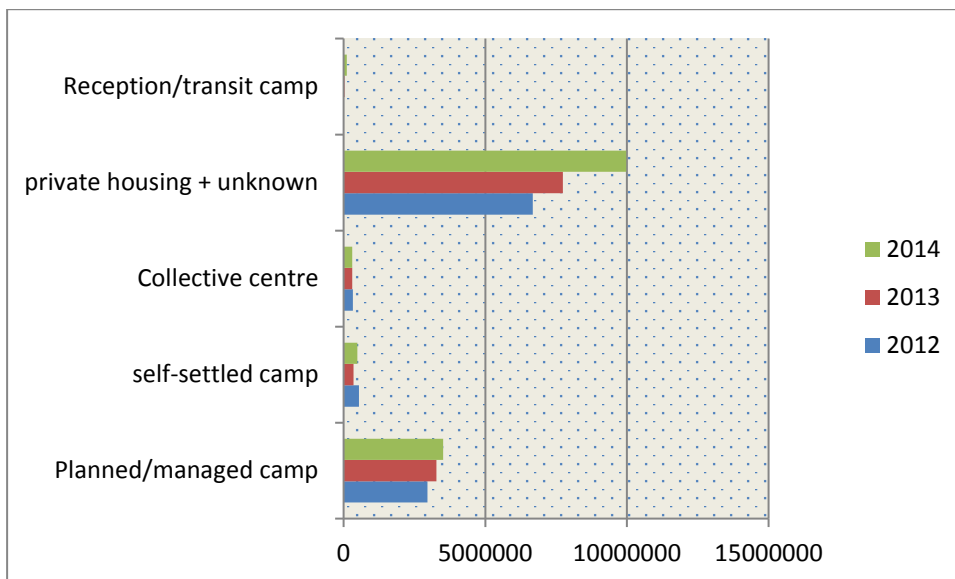
The UNHCR plays a key role in the whole system. The organization founded in 1950 to initially address the problems of refugees in Europe after World War II, has seen its scope and responsibilities expand to the rest of the world in the post-colonial turmoil. As a result of this, an additional protocol had been adopted in New York in 1967 to encompass new elements as the international context evolved rapidly. Meanwhile, the profile of the people under its mandate has evolved as well, and in addition to refugees many categories such as internally displaced persons, stateless persons, returnees and asylum seekers appeared. The UNHCR remains to this day the linchpin of the entire humanitarian system of protection and defense of refugees' rights. It is the interface between on the one hand, States and intergovernmental organizations and on the other, civil society actors and assisted populations. The UNHCR has been awarded the responsibility for coordinating assistance to refugees and to promote compliance with international conventions that protect their rights. In practice, the organization has forged a strong partnership with a number of humanitarian organizations that provide direct assistance to its beneficiaries by contributing to the various sectors under the overall supervision of the UNHCR. In its effort to find a lasting solution to the plight of displaced populations, the UNHCR is promoting three ways: 1) settlement in the host country; 2) voluntary repatriation and 3) resettlement in a third country. But one step is unavoidable and stands as a prerequisite for these durable solutions, i.e. the emergency assistance phase. For this, one of the most common solutions to date is the encampment, as evidenced by the myriad of camps observed throughout the world⁶. But problems associated with forced displacement nowadays revive the debate on this model of hosting and pose a real challenge to the UN institution.

THE GROWING REJECTION OF CAMPS

The resort to camps has long been and still is a systematic response to humanitarian crises entailing massive displacements. However, data and information gathered over the last three years reveal that beneficiaries have shown a lukewarm acceptance of this

⁶It is very difficult to find official data on the total number of camps around the world. But various sources indicated 460 identified refugee camps and about 1,500 IDPs camps in 2014. See "Les Camps, l'autre destination des migrants" CNRS Le Journal, 28/11/2014, <https://lejournel.cnrs.fr/articles/les-camps-lautre-destination-des-migrants>

model of accommodation (see chart below). The number of displaced persons reluctant to join camps has maintained its upward trend for many years and even soared since 2012⁷. From the classification proposed by the UNHCR, two categories escape all forms of confinement. These categories refer to people who have settled for a life outside mainstream camps. They are divided into two groups, including those who resort to individual or private dwellings and those belonging to the category called "unknown" as specified by the UNHCR. Out of 14,385,300 refugees registered in 2014 for example, they accounted for roughly 69%, clearly bringing into disrepute the belief that camps provide optimum living conditions to displaced persons.



Source: UNHCR, *Statistical Year Book, Demographic and Location data, 2014, P.66*

A similar trend has been observed for several years with IDPs. In 2010, the UNHCR had under its responsibility 14.7 million IDPs of which 52% were living outside camps⁸. Though socio-cultural closeness or national ties may explain the rapid integration of IDPs into host communities, the fact remains that ending up in a camp represents a painful abdication of dignity to many of them. The UNHCR is striving to adapt its assistance programs to this inexorable evolution by crafting strategies accordingly⁹. This new orientation leans on the irrefutable evidence that refugees who resort to camps are the most desperate and have nowhere to turn. The UN refugee organization also acknowledged that the most defining feature of a refugee camp is “typically some degree of limitation on the rights and freedoms of refugees and their ability to make meaningful choices about their lives”¹⁰.

⁷ In Sub-Saharan Africa, planned camps amounted to 70% in 2012. In 2014, that figure fell to 60%. Source : UNHCR, *Statistical Year Book 2014, Op.cit P.66*

⁸ DAVIES Anne, “IDPs in Host families and host communities : Assistance for hosting arrangements”, *UNHCR/Division of International Protection*, April 2012, P.4

⁹ UNHCR, *Policy on alternatives to camps*, Geneva, 22nd July 2014

¹⁰ UNHCR, *Ibid.* P4

The large preference refugee population show for accommodations other than camps, is now an undeniable fact. Results of field research and anthropological reflections on camps demonstrate how much these places highlight flaws deeply entrenched in our modern human societies. To many analysts, camps embody rejection, exclusion, excommunication which are rife in our modern capitalistic societies. In extremely caustic words, Alain REY referred to camps as “dump sites” or “human resources waste recycling centers”¹¹. Michel Agier castigated them as “extra-territorial places” and pointed out that camps are part of a global mechanism for managing the “undesirables”¹². Elizabeth DUNN in a scathing remark, mentioned this: “*Cast into a permanently temporary state, in city-sized camps offering little hope of economic self-sufficiency, displaced people live in situations of imposed and institutionalized hopelessness*”¹³. She went on saying that refugees’ desperate attempt to reach Europe is more about staying alive than fighting for a better future.

However, despite such chilling descriptions and blistering criticisms, camps are still flourishing across the world and remain the first resort for aid agencies and governments when it comes to accommodate refugees. The number of humanitarian organizations specialized in camp management has been constantly on the rise over the last 40 years. Positions of *camp manager* are the most coveted on job websites and face onslaught of applications. Institutional funds have almost never dried up even though they fluctuated at times due to grim international economic environment. The unshakable fondness for camps compels us to explore the international legal frame to find out whether there are legal obligations or constraints related to technical assistance, which impose the use of camps. We will try to understand the reasons behind this firmly entrenched practice in humanitarian settings while even the usual argument of emergency, despite sounding relevant in some instances, does not withstand close scrutiny. We already stressed above that the overwhelming majority of camps in the world do not fit the criteria of emergency as shows their lifespan¹⁴. So, how can we justify the existence of these camps?

¹¹ REY Alain, « Vivre en camps, vivre les camps », *Le Huffington Post*, December 16, 2015

http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/alain-rey/vivre-en-camps-vivre-les-camps_b_8817532.html

¹² See Michel Agier, *Managing the undesirables: Refugee camps and Humanitarian Government*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2011, P.5

¹³ Elizabeth DUNN, “The failure of Refugee Camps”, *Boston Review*, September 28, 2015. Read article on

<https://bostonreview.net/editors-picks-world/elizabeth-dunn-failure-refugee-camps>

¹⁴ According to the information network of the UNOCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), the average stay in a refugee camp is 12 years. Source : IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks), *Refugee Shelter for the Future*, Johannesburg, August 5th, 2013,

<http://www.irinnews.org/feature/2013/08/05/refugee-shelter-future>

THE HUMANITARIAN CAMP: AN ELUSIVE FOUNDATION

A thorough analysis of international instruments organizing the treatment of refugees and displaced persons, does not reveal any evidence, whatsoever, of a legal basis to the systematic use of camps by actors implementing assistance in humanitarian crises. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol do not legally compel any state to build a confinement space to host refugees on their soil. Instead, it is enshrined in the Convention that refugees are granted the right to settle wherever they deem fit. The article 26 mentioned that each State shall accord refugees “*the right to choose their place of residence and to move freely within its territory*”¹⁵. The only exceptions that stand out from international texts concern the very specific case of security threat¹⁶. The European Convention on Human Rights provides in Article 5, for conditions of restriction on liberty, which can nowise be used to the detriment of refugees. In the same text, the Article 14 prohibits any differential treatment between individuals stating that the rights “*shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status*”¹⁷. This implies that a refugee, an asylum seeker or a displaced person, should all enjoy the same treatment and on equal footing to any other individual regardless their status and consequently, cannot be subject to isolation or confinement in hosting countries.

Regional texts that organize the specific case of internal displaced persons, such as the Kampala Convention are in line with that principle. According to the Kampala Convention, “*States parties shall guarantee the freedom of movement and choice of residence of internally displaced persons, except where restrictions on such movement and residence are necessary, justified and proportionate to the requirements of ensuring security for internally displaced persons or maintaining public security, public order and public health*”¹⁸. We conclude that, from a merely legal point of view, there is no explicit provision in international texts that urges aid workers and state officials to use camps in humanitarian contexts. Therefore, what other reason might still be underpinning the practice?

As for humanitarian actors, operational constraints have long been put forward as excuse to pander to the widespread inclination for the use of camps. Once again, this

¹⁵Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Art.26/ Adopted on 28 July 1951 by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons.

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx>

¹⁶ See OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, Art.II, paragraph 6, Addis Ababa 10th September 1969.

¹⁷ European Convention on Human Rights, Article 5 & 14 / European Court of Human Rights / Council of Europe
<http://www.echr.coe.int/pages/home.aspx?p=basictexts>

¹⁸ African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, Art 9 (F), Kampala, Republic of Uganda, 23rd October 2009.

argument appears pretty feeble to convince reasonably. Actually the rationale brandished by humanitarian actors is built on two pillars: First, the constraints surrounding an emergency response and second, the logistics challenges. For them, these two dimensions of any large scale assistance impose the use of camps. Indeed, arguments based on emergency responses present a powerful advantage. Let us imagine a sudden onslaught of refugees flowing into a country by thousands, in the wake of a major humanitarian disaster. The first couple of days following this massive arrival require an emergency solution since these refugees need housing, food, medical care and other essential services. The short occurrence of the catastrophe does not allow any planning for dispatching appropriately refugees in suitable residences, nor to place them in alternative housings in local communities. Therefore, cramming them into flimsy camps¹⁹ or at best in planned structures becomes an inevitable first step in the process of assisting them.

Unfortunately, this logical demonstration, consistent in appearance, begins to crack when it is confronted with reality. The average lifespan of camps under the UNHCR's responsibility across the world is 11.7 years²⁰. When we disaggregate the data to focus on some particular sites, it appears that the average life of camps in countries hosting at least 2 million people within the UNHCR's mandate, is 20 years²¹. Beside this, there are some extreme examples like the Palestinian refugees whose camps have over 50 years of existence, even impelling the United Nations to create an agency exclusively dedicated to their administration²². In the same vein, the striking situation of the Sahrawi refugees who have been living in jam-packed camps for more than four decades, masterly discredits the emergency-based argument humanitarian actors blithely brandish. A string of similar examples can be raised about many other sites where camps have been standing for years, like daadab in Kenya (24 years); Shimelba in Ethiopia and Djabal in Chad (12 years each), to name a few. All these camps feature in the most shocking way precarious life, overcrowding, and squalor which constitute the daily reality of displaced people. It clearly emerges from all this that emergency cannot justify the use of camps. In a report published in 2012, MSF came to the despairing conclusion: "It is clear that the current paradigm of the camps is not working, and that alternatives need to be found"²³.

¹⁹ Under such circumstances, spontaneous camps prevail as temporary solution.

²⁰ Data collected from the DPSM (Division of Program Support and Management) and the FICSS (Field Information and Coordination Support Section), UNHCR, June 2, 2016.

²¹ The most familiar examples are Pakistan (Jalozaï camp), Iraq (Achraf camp), Lebanon etc

²² The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) has been created by the resolution 302 (IV) of the United Nations General Assembly, on December 1949. Unlike the UNHCR, the organization is exclusively dedicated to addressing Palestinian refugees' needs.

²³ MSF Report, Dadaab: Shadows of lives, Geneva, June 2012, P.5 accessible on

<http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/news-stories/briefing-document/dadaab-shadows-lives>

The other scapegoat commonly used by humanitarian actors to accommodate to the assistance model based on camps, lies in logistic stakes. The idea being that humanitarian assistance and its logistic management are more efficient when people are assembled on a one single site²⁴. In the Camp Management Manual, several passages displayed eulogistic descriptions of the functions assigned to camps, like shows this excerpt: *“For those who have lost property, lived through traumatic events, and are suddenly stranded or displaced outside the safeguards of their own homes and communities, camps can offer a safe haven in which to receive medical treatment, food, shelter, and other basic services”*²⁵. It went on saying that camps *“...offer temporary provision of protection and assistance, in order to meet the basic human rights of displaced populations”*²⁶. These statements suggest that camps offer not only an acceptable and protective living environment to those in need, but it also preserves their dignity while ensuring effective humanitarian assistance. The reality sharply belies this claim. Many programs deliver humanitarian assistance to displaced populations living outside camps, with a remarkable success. They use sophisticated identification methods to target beneficiaries and design the assistance to meet their needs. Specific support is also provided to host communities who generously agree to share their scant resources with refugees or displaced persons, after having offered them housing. These actions cover a wide range of activities spanning from Cash Transfer to in-kind goods distribution. They help rehabilitate infrastructure and shore up local economy while restoring beneficiaries’ dignity²⁷.

TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE SOLUTION

The 20th century provides valuable ingredients for grasping the rationale — though more often concealed than explicitly expressed — behind the use of camps. Some academic research showed that camps took root in the practice of military barracks, whose ultimate purpose is to hem armed men in closed areas²⁸. Indeed, military barracks aim to maintain discipline and order among armed men, which require their grouping in a compound to prevent any disruption within civilian populations. Yann Calbérac through his research, finds a link between camps and the idea that bred the creation of townships in South Africa, and highlights the obsession political authorities

²⁴ See LALIBERTE Danièle, « Crises humanitaires, santé des réfugiés et des déplacés : un cadre analytique », *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, Vol.23 – N°3, 2007, PP 85-96, § 16. Or DUSENGE Virginie & SIBOMANA René, *Auto-organisation des réfugiés dans les camps à l’Est du Zaïre 1994-1996*, Presse Universitaire de Namur, 2004 ; P.17.

²⁵ IOM, NRC and UNHCR, Camp Management Toolkit 2015, P.14

²⁶ Op.cit, Camp Management Toolkit, p.14

²⁷ Read DAVIES Anne, IDPs in Host families and host communities : Assistance for hosting arrangements, Op.cit

²⁸ CLOCHARD Olivier, GASTAUT Yvan & SCHOR Ralph «Les camps d’étrangers depuis 1938 : continuité et adaptations» *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, Vol 20, N°2, 2004, PP 57-87

have with mass control in using these confinement methods²⁹. The reality on the ground seems to give weight to these findings. If truth be told, with regard to the string of restrictions (on movements, activities, choice of governance etc.) that are the bane of displaced people living in camps, they are reasons for subscribing to the thesis stressing a repressive approach to camps by those in charge. It is crystal clear that officials in hosting territories are more concerned by security aspects than humanitarian needs of displaced people. To this end, camps are mostly kept far away from urban areas of paramount importance. This security-based approach overrides any other consideration, and often remains the only drive for decision in assistance policies. The average duration of camps as mentioned above corroborates the fact that camps are not built to meet emergency needs, nor to protect desperate displaced persons. Camps are rather built to keep its dwellers at bay since the latter are perceived as a threat to public tranquility and a burden for national resources. Other justifications are merely deceitful tactics to silence human conscience, which is indispensable for the implementation of this appalling policy.

The overall system in place for camps management displays an amazing complementary role between governments and aid workers, although the latter constantly strive to distance themselves from politics. The decision to set up refugee camps, as well as the one about their location, size and duration is political and represent an act of sovereignty, accruing exclusively to governments, while aid delivery and daily management of those camps are entrusted to aid organizations. Humanitarian actors then run a considerable risk by bringing support to these initiatives whose nature is eminently political. Principles and values they stand for, like independence, impartiality and neutrality come under question so long as they endorse these schemes championed by governments. Furthermore, all other consequences resulting from the use of camps are a disgrace for humanitarian actors and call urgently deep reflections.

However, we acknowledge that there is no easy solution. The stakeholders in the humanitarian realm have been hitherto reluctant to propound any genuine alternative³⁰, because they were deterred by the costly effort and tremendous sacrifice it requires. Yet, the fast growing number of crises in the world, make mass displacements and asylum a global problem, hence the need to rapidly explore new ways of coping with the issues. In response to this complex issue, we suggest an idea that may serve as food for thought. Political decision makers should mobilize by a proactive and incentive policy, potential host families or citizens willing to share their residences in times of crisis. A periodically updated list of families or households volunteering to host refugees or displaced persons

²⁹ CALBÉRAC Yann, « L'espace du camp. Une lecture concentrationnaire des townships d'Afrique du Sud », *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines* [En ligne], 1 | 2002, online from May 11 2009. URL : <http://traces.revues.org/4126> ; DOI : 10.4000/traces.4126

³⁰Except the UNHCR that has been playing a leading role in the search of alternatives to camps. Unfortunately little result has come out so far.

in the event of a humanitarian crisis could be established. Special welfare or enticing tax reductions may be granted to these volunteers as part of a national policy, as a reward for hosting refugees. There will be no more camps, but rather ordinary dwelling places where displaced people live in dignity and share their daily life with residents of the country. The other virtue of this proposal is that cultural and language barriers maintained by the isolation of camp life could fade faster. Technical skills will be shared and all the economic and social life could greatly benefit. If such initiatives are adopted at the state level all around the world, the assistance effort would be shared and the weight would not be supported only by a small number of states³¹. Quotas could be attributed to each country according to criteria such as GDP per capita; the number of inhabitants per km² etc.

In any case, it is nevertheless essential to prepare a collective center at least for the first few days after the arrival of displaced people. These spaces will serve as recording and reorientation centers, where displaced people will stay at maximum one week. After identification, registration and the first medical examinations carried out, they can be distributed in the different pre-identified dwelling places. Other experiments also noteworthy are already underway elsewhere. For example, in Germany it has recently been developed an online system of solidarity to provide shelter to Syrian refugees in volunteer foster families³². This program has been very successful; unfortunately, international media spotlights preferred to focus on xenophobic manifestations in the country and acts of violence committed by a small number of refugees. Another example is the integration of Central African refugees in eastern Cameroon³³. The UNHCR assistance program and other humanitarian actors have strongly focused effort on the integration of refugees in local communities relying on cultural ties. Although camps have been used in this part of the country, efforts have focused primarily on finding alternatives.

To implement these ideas, international mobilization is needed. It could be bolstered by an agreement under the auspices of the United Nations, which would commit States in a binding manner. The issue of housing refugees across the world has become worrying enough, at least to the extent of the global warming. Therefore its solution cannot depend only on the goodwill of states. We need a binding resolution. On September 19, the UN General Assembly will host, for the first time in its history, a high-level summit

³¹These measures might solve the problem of high concentration of refugees in just a few countries, which is conducive to demographic imbalance and inter-community feuds. According to the UNHCR, in 2014 four countries (Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon and Iran) hosted 36% of the total number of refugees in the world. Source: *UNHCR Global Trends, Forced Displacement in 2014*, Geneva/Switzerland, 2015, P12.

³²Refugees Welcome, German NGO founded in 2014. For more details, see : <http://www.fluechtlinge-willkommen.de/en/>

³³ BUTEL Angela « Cameroun : Un éclairage différent sur la réponse à la crise des réfugiés » *Revue Migrations Forcées*, <http://www.fmreview.org/fr/detention/butel.html>

specifically dedicated to the issue of forced displacement³⁴. We hope that, finally a concrete resolution will emerge from this meeting in order to resolve the global crisis of forced displacement. ■

³⁴ United Nations Headquarters, United Nations Summit for Refugees and Migrants, September 19, 2016. Follow link : <http://refugeesmigrants.un.org/summit>

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