

THEMATIC SERIES THE INVISIBLE MAJORITY

This thematic series addresses the gap in awareness, data and knowledge about the relationship between internal displacement, cross-border and return movements.



GOING "HOME" TO DISPLACEMENT

Afghanistan's returnee-IDPs

DECEMBER 2017

Internal displacement in Afghanistan is rising steeply. The number of people who fled their homes to take refuge elsewhere in the country grew from 492,000 in 2012 to well over 1.5 million toward the end of 2016.¹ There were over 650,000 new conflict displacements in the country in 2016 alone. The security situation has deteriorated to such an extent that Afghanistan was reclassified as a country in active conflict in 2017.² For many Afghans, this heightens the risk of continued or new displacement.

The vast majority of Afghanistan's internally displaced people (IDPs) are civilians whose lives have been uprooted by conflict and violence. The survey presented in this case study puts the figure at 99 per cent, a sharp rise on the three-quarters of IDPs surveyed in 2012 who said they had been displaced by conflict, violence or persecution.³

Displaced people in Afghanistan also include refugees and undocumented migrants who return "to war instead of peace."⁴ They are increasingly returned by force. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) reports that about 59,000 refugees were repatriated between January and 1 December 2017, and the UN Migration Agency (IOM) that as many as 474,000 undocumented Afghans returned from Pakistan and Iran between January and November.⁵

This case study looks at the main challenges returnees in situations of internal displacement, known as returnee-IDPs, face in achieving durable solutions and examines how their protection and assistance needs differ from those of other IDPs. Based on quantitative surveys in five of Afghanistan's 34 provinces, the research revealed three key findings:

- Contrary to expectations, many returnee-IDPs try to rebuild their lives in rural rather than urban areas. Over half of the sample of displaced people in rural environments were returnee-IDPs unable to return home, compared with 17 per cent in urban areas. Their location plays a significant role in determining their assistance and protection needs, particularly in terms of registration and access to housing, aid and health services.
- Obstacles to returnee-IDPs' sustainable reintegration often overlap with those of other IDPs. Both groups struggle to secure safe and dignified housing or shelter, and to access documentation, education and other services, and both groups lack the information they need to make well-informed and dignified choices about their future.
- Three-quarters of returnee-IDPs unable to go back to their original homes because of insecurity would choose to try to restart their lives where they have settled by integrating locally, rather than risking a failed return to their place of origin.

Global and regional commitments to address large movements of refugees and migrants need to recognise that returnees and deportees unable to integrate sustainably in their place of origin or elsewhere effectively become IDPs.⁶ This reality demands a more integrated response to durable solutions as a measure to prevent future displacement.

Methodology

Five provinces, 2,580 surveys and 15 focus group discussions

The data presented in this case study is drawn from 2017 research on IDPs' protection needs carried out by Samuel Hall for the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). A large quantitative survey was conducted in Herat, Kabul, Kandahar, Kunduz and Nangarhar provinces, where data was collected in rural, peri-urban and urban areas. Of 2,580 respondents, 1,161 were returnee-IDPs and 1,420 other IDPs. The sample data is neither representative nor random, but combined with focus group discussions with displaced people and other community members, the research captures their narratives, protection needs and experiences.

Gaps in data, or in data coordination?

There is a shortage of reliable data on internal displacement in Afghanistan. Numbers of IDPs are estimates because they are neither nationally representative, nor do they reflect when IDPs may have achieved durable solutions.

There are two structural problems with data collection. First, the lack of access to areas not under government control prevents data collectors from making comprehensive assessments. The fact that many areas of Afghanistan are hard to reach makes monitoring and assessment even more complex, because there is a time-lag between the moment displacement takes place or is observed and its reporting.

Secondly, a lack of coordination between sources means they only present partial snapshots, as IDPs are neither tracked nor monitored. This leads to an overall weakness of the data system in Afghanistan, with a focus on numbers unmatched by analysis.

A STORY FROM KUNDUZ

Our place of origin is called Qala-e-Zaal, my village is called Nazboz. I was born there, we had a farm and livestock. We were living among people of our ethnicity, we worked and we saved while there was peace. Then the revolution happened, we moved around and finally were forced to flee to Pakistan in 1991.

My father made the decision to go. Life there was tough for us until we learned some skills and found work, but then, little by little, things got better. I was working in a sweatshop, my wife was working in an embroidery shop, my two children were studying. We were there for many years. But then the Pakistani police started to harass us, asking for money whenever they saw us at the market. After that we returned to Afghanistan.

We went back to our old house but there was nothing left. It was hard, but we rebuilt our home using the savings we had made in Pakistan. But then the civil war happened, and we left for Iran. We stayed there for eight years.

We finally returned to Afghanistan in 2001 ... We enrolled our children in school, we bought a cow and we were integrating thanks to our relatives. But in 2016 war broke out again in Qala-e-Zaal. The Taliban took control of the district and we were forced to leave yet again. Now we live in a rented house on Turkaman street in Kunduz city.

My younger children think it is their home, but the older ones think their home is somewhere else and that we will return to where we belong. My son is a day labourer and I work at the bazaar. We have access to schools and a clinic, but our rent is very high. For now we are living in peace. Our house is near a police checkpoint so we feel safe here, but the Taliban attacks on the city have increased our tension. The Taliban has many friends in Kunduz.

Everywhere I went, it was with the expectation that there we would be safe and able to live in peace. Now we are very tired.

Anonymous returnee-IDP in Kunduz

Conceptual framework and definitions

Afghanistan's national policy on IDPs largely mirrors the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.⁷ It sets the context for this study by providing the legal definition of an IDP. It states that they are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border".

There is no requirement in terms of distance or time to be considered an IDP. Whether someone flees a short distance to a neighbouring village and stays for a month, or lives in displacement for 20 years at the opposite end of the country, they are considered an IDP based on the cause of their flight and their lack of a durable solution.

Fifty-two per cent of those surveyed by Samuel Hall said they had been displaced in the last five years. The rest have been living in displacement for anything from five to 55 years. Evidence shows that people's needs and vulnerabilities related to their displacement persist over time. They are broadly the same for IDPs living in protracted displacement and those more recently displaced.⁸ In cases of very long-term displacement, people's needs and vulnerabilities become obstacles to durable solutions across generations.

This case study looks specifically at the situation of returnee-IDPs, who usually have been displaced a number of times. There are two ways in which a returnee to Afghanistan may find themselves living in internal displacement as a "returnee-IDP":

- 1. Inability to return to their place of origin or habitual residence:** Conflict and violence may prevent a returnee from going home, leaving them instead to stay with friends or relatives or seek work in an urban area. It may also mean that second or third-generation refugees have no home to return to. The Annotations to the Guiding Principles and Afghanistan's national policy on IDPs are clear that such returnees should be considered IDPs. The national policy's definition of IDPs specifically includes: "Returnees (returning refugees and migrants deported back to Afghanistan) who are unable to settle in their homes and/or places of origin because of insecurity resulting from armed conflict, generalized violence or violations of human rights, landmines or ERW contamination on their land, land disputes or tribal disputes."⁹
- 2. Displacement after return to their place of origin:** A returnee may go back to their home only to be forced to leave again, whether because of conflict, violence, persecution or a disaster.

Most stakeholders interviewed for this project acknowledge that many returnees become internally displaced upon or following their return to Afghanistan. The national policy determines that displacement only ends "when a durable solution has been found for the IDPs so that they no longer have needs specifically related to their displacement and can enjoy the same rights as other Afghans" and that they have "a place to live with security of tenure, access to basic services and livelihood on a par with others who were not displaced".¹⁰

Policy and response

The adoption of the national policy on IDPs in 2014 was a major achievement, and it establishes stakeholders’ roles and responsibilities in the response to internal displacement. Efforts to implement the policy, however, have been limited, particularly in terms of the pursuit of durable solutions.¹¹

There are two main ways in which IDPs in Afghanistan receive assistance. During large displacements, humanitarian organisations are empowered to act unilaterally to provide emergency aid. The most common recourse, however, is for IDPs to register with the Department of Refugees and Repatriation (DoRR) and submit assistance requests via its petition system.

What is the petition system?

DoRR oversees the registration of IDPs in each province. To register and file a claim for assistance, IDPs have to visit a DoRR office in person. An applicant can submit a petition on behalf of his or her family. DoRR consolidates similar petitions and sends them to the pre-screening committee of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), which includes the representatives from the government, the UN system and humanitarian partners. OCHA receives key information about the beneficiary, including their village of origin, their date, reason and place of displacement, and contact details. The committee conducts a rapid assessment to decide whether applicants meet the requirements to receive aid, and if so what their needs are. The goal is to provide assistance to successful applicants within 72 hours of receiving their petition, though it may take longer.

Awareness of the petition system is not widespread among IDPs, and there are significant variations between provinces and groups. Forty-four per cent of respondents in Kunduz said they had submitted a petition, but only eight per cent in Kandahar.

TABLE 1: HAVE YOU EVER SUBMITTED A PETITION TO BE REGISTERED AS AN IDP?

	IDP	Returnee-IDP	All
Herat	8%	13%	10%
Kabul	19%	25%	22%
Kandahar	7%	9%	8%
Kunduz	43%	46%	44%
Nangarhar	15%	29%	20%
Average	19%	22%	21%

TABLE 2. IF YES, WAS YOUR PETITION ACCEPTED?

	IDP	Returnee-IDP	All
Herat	18%	31%	26%
Kabul	54%	45%	50%
Kandahar	0%	24%	14%
Kunduz	44%	59%	49%
Nangarhar	14%	47%	32%
Average	36%	41%	41%

Key informants listed five key obstacles to using the petition system - lack of information on the process, the cost of travelling to DoRR offices, lack of access outside government-controlled areas, lengthy procedures and overly strict screening criteria that disqualify many IDPs.

The extent of the obstacles varies from one province to another. Kandahar, Herat and Nangarhar rank below average for the submission and acceptance of petitions, but the system appears to work better for IDPs in Kunduz and Kabul, and for returnee-IDPs in Kunduz, Kabul and Nangarhar. Provinces such as Nangarhar with larger numbers of returnee-IDPs are more efficient at registering and accepting their petitions than those such as Kandahar, where there are fewer.

These differences also relate to varying access to DoRR offices in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Twenty-six per cent of urban IDPs have submitted a petition, compared with 21 per cent in peri-urban areas and 17 per cent in rural areas. In other words, the closer IDPs are to cities and their local DoRR offices, the more likely they are to know about the petition system and to be able to afford to register. The qualitative research also shows that distance and inability to pay for transport to DoRR offices mean that many are excluded. The same pattern is seen in acceptance rates. Forty-eight per cent of urban IDPs have their claims accepted, compared with 40 per cent of peri-urban IDPs and 29 per cent of less visible rural IDPs.

Although returnee-IDPs make up the majority of the rural sample in this survey, they are more likely to be successful with their petitions than IDPs. Across all locations they appear more determined to access the system and subsequently more likely to receive a positive response. Returnee-IDPs in Kunduz had the highest acceptance rates at 59 per cent, and the difference between returnee-IDPs and IDPs was also particularly striking in Nangarhar and Herat.

As such, returnee-IDPs’ choice of location matters. The research also finds that it plays a large part in determining their protection issues more broadly.

Main challenges and reintegration needs

“IDPs exist on the margins of society, unable to meet their basic needs for food, water, sanitation, housing, health care or education”

Afghanistan’s national policy on IDPs

Many surveyed households experience repeated displacement. Of the returnee-IDPs interviewed, 72 per cent of their households had been displaced twice, once into exile and again back to Afghanistan, 27 per cent three times and one per cent four times or more. Contrary to expectations, many of the returnee-IDPs surveyed were trying to rebuild their lives in rural rather than urban areas. They make up more than half of the rural, but only 17 per cent of the urban sample.

Returnee-IDPs initially receive more aid than other IDPs upon their return, but the likelihood of their continuing to benefit from aid drops as they settle in rural areas. Development assistance such as business grants, job placements and training is sparse outside Kabul, and the distribution of humanitarian aid also varies greatly between provinces. Shelter and housing support, for example, is relatively limited in Kandahar and Kunduz, and medical support in Kandahar and Nangarhar.

The fact that many surveyed returnee-IDPs were located in rural settings accounts for part of the differences between their needs and those of other IDPs.

A comparison between Samuel Hall’s latest study and its predecessor in 2012 shows that across the samples as a whole, respondents main priorities and needs are unchanged - decent land, housing and shelter, access to food and water, and employment and skills.

Access to land, housing and shelter

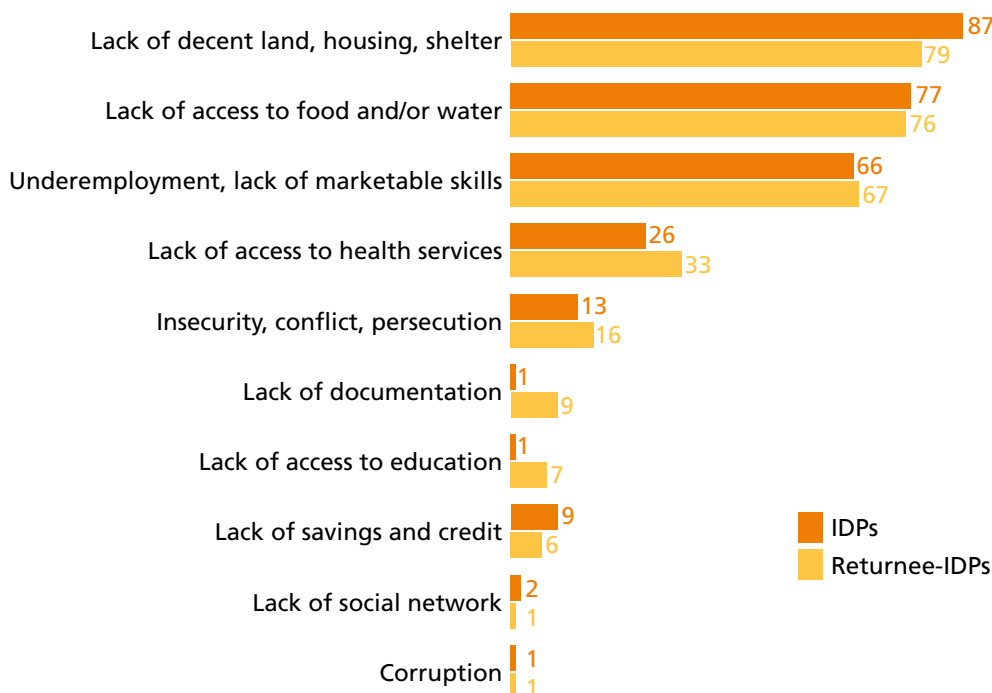
Returnee-IDPs are more likely to have access to better shelter. Seventy-nine per cent ranked access to decent land, housing and shelter as one of their three main needs, compared with 87 per cent of IDPs. This is likely because, in the context of this survey, a high percentage of returnee-IDPs were located in rural areas. People who settle in urban and peri-urban areas are more likely to live in temporary shelters, shacks, tents or camp-like settings. Forty-three per cent of those in urban and peri-urban areas live in cramped and temporary conditions, compared with 35 per cent of rural IDPs. Overcrowded living spaces and restrictions on freedom movement heighten the vulnerability of women and children to issues such domestic violence.¹²

Housing may vary by region, but 63 per cent of all respondents rated their housing conditions as either poor or very poor, and 27 per cent as average. Only 10 per cent rated them as good or very good. The figures for those who consider that they live in poor or very poor conditions are similar for IDPs and returnee-IDPs, at 65 and 60 per cent respectively. Returnee-IDPs are more likely to live in permanent structures, but 60 per cent said they did not have electricity in their homes.

Poor quality shelter may lead to other concerns, including illness and injury. “During the winter, houses fall down because it is very wet,” said one community leader in Chaman-e-Babrak. “Children are dying during the winter and summer. This past winter 21 people died, children and old people. In the summer months, the heat affects people because houses do not have a real ceiling. Either they are open or they have plastic on top, which makes it very hot.”

Focus group discussions with returnee-IDPs suggest that their lack of knowledge of local standards makes them more likely to be paying disproportionately high rents. Those returning from Pakistan with assets and savings tend to spend them

FIGURE 1: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING RANK AMONG YOUR THREE MAIN CHALLENGES?



on rent. Understanding the impact of displacement on the housing market, and of the housing market on protection, is an important and necessary step in designing appropriate urban planning policies.

TABLE 3: DO YOU HAVE A DEED RECORDED ANYWHERE?

	Yes, in my current place of residence	Yes, in my place of origin
Returnee-IDPs	15%	5%
IDPs	7%	12%

People’s lack of land, property or assets in their places of origin is a major obstacle to their return. Across the sample as a whole, only 27 per cent of respondents said they still owned land or other assets there, and even for them tenure security is still likely to be an issue. Given that title deeds and other property documents are relatively rare in Afghanistan, it is likely they would find it difficult if not impossible to reassert ownership over their assets. Returnee-IDPs are more likely to have lost their deeds in their places of origin, but also more likely to hold them for property in their current area of residence.

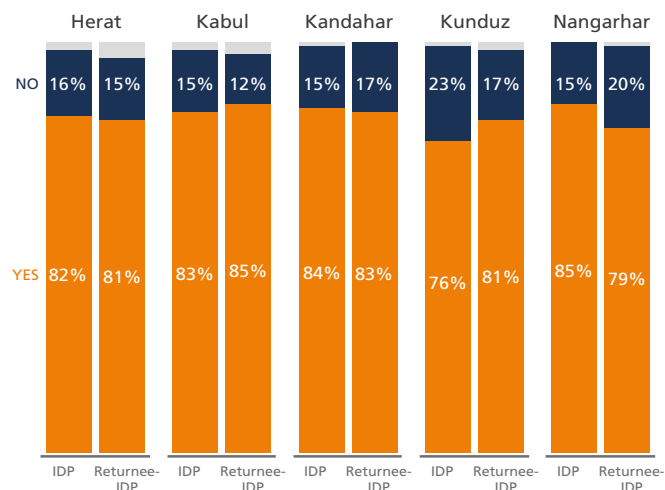
Economic security

IDPs’ economic and job profiles have changed as a result of their displacement. Fifty-eight per cent of respondents said they had worked in the agricultural sector before their displacement, but only four per cent since. They are now employed across different sectors, many engaged in unhealthy activities such as plastic or rubbish collection. Afghanistan’s IDPs will need safer and more reliable employment if they are to lift themselves out of poverty.

As a result of disruption to their livelihoods, 82 per cent of respondents said their households were in significant debt and faced not being able to make their repayments. More

than three-quarters of both IDPs and returnee-IDPs said their households currently hold more debt than they spend in a month. The figures were higher among women than men, at 87 and 77 per cent respectively.

FIGURE 2: DOES YOUR HOUSEHOLD CURRENTLY HOLD MORE DEBT THAN IT SPENDS IN ONE MONTH?



IDPs spend an average of 77 per cent of their monthly income on food, regardless of how long or how often they have been displaced. The figure is similar across the sample for returnee-IDPs, with the exception of those in Kandahar, who spend 69 per cent. This likely to be because of the food-based assistance they receive as part of their return package when they come back from Pakistan.

Many struggling households engage in negative coping strategies, some of which have worrying implications for child protection. Child labour is particularly prevalent among urban IDPs, 21 per cent of whom said they had children under 14 working. The figure drops to 17 per cent for peri-urban IDPs and 15 for rural IDPs. It is of most concern in Kabul city, where the figure is 26 per cent. Higher levels of economic activity in the capital both attracts IDPs and, along with the higher cost of living there, generates child labour.



Shukor and his family live in one of Kabul’s many uphill and informal settlements. His sons work with him each day after school. Photo: Preethi Nallu, Samuel Hall

“Our children are not going to school because their families need them to work. Most of the children’s fathers are ill and even can’t stand on their feet. I am a widow, I have no husband. I have to send my children to work to provide money for expenses. The time which they spend in school we need them to work and provide something for the family. If they don’t find another job, they will clean people’s houses or sweep their streets, but they earn some money. Not only us but all parents wish their children had a better standing in society, but our ambitions are ruined.”

Female returnee-IDP, Nangarhar province¹³

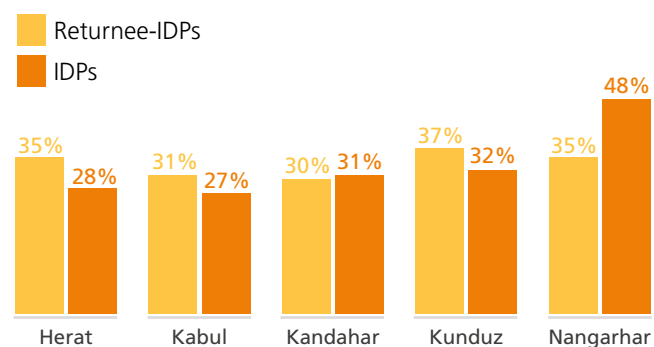
Despite the relative concentration of child labour in urban areas, slightly more returnee-IDPs were found to rely on it than other IDPs, at 18 and 16 per cent respectively. This is not statistically significant, but the prevalence of child labour among returnee-IDPs is correlated by data from a market assessment conducted for NRC in Jalalabad.¹⁴ The study showed that indebtedness contributes to both bonded and child labour. Interviews with employers confirmed this trend. One in four said they employed children under 15 either full or part time, mainly in the manufacturing, repair and construction sectors.

Poverty and associated reliance on child labour impede children’s education. Child marriage is also reported. Seven per cent of returnee-IDPs said they had married off one of their children under the age of 16, a figure that is in line with that for IDPs and the national average.

Documentation and access to services

Across all of the surveyed households, 70 per cent of family members do not have any form of documentation, which makes it difficult for them to access assistance and services.¹⁵ When asked about the implications, 26 per cent identified problems in accessing education, 12 per cent employment and 12 per cent health services. Thirteen per cent said it restricted their movement, and 12 per cent that it meant they were harassed by authorities.

FIGURE 3: AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS WITH IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS



Displaced people face particular challenges in accessing education. Limited access to documentation makes it more likely that children will be out of school, and returnee-IDPs in

Herat, Kabul, and Kunduz are disproportionately affected in this sense. Many noted it as one of their three main concerns. Fifty-five per cent of surveyed households in Kabul said their children were out of school, and 35 percent in Kandahar. Returnee-IDPs’ children surveyed generally had less access to schools than others.

Other factors that impede displaced children’s schooling include new arrivals not knowing where the nearest facilities are, inability to afford fees and fear of sending children out to school in unfamiliar areas. In some cases the factors combine. Mothers in the Nawabad area of Herat said their children were unable to enrol in school without a *tazkera*, the main identity document in Afghanistan, but even if they had one they would not be able to afford the fees. Obstacles to education are most acute in Nangarhar, Kabul and Herat, and least in Kunduz.

“Our children are free to roam the streets every day. They do not go to school because we do not have any kind of records of their schooling, so they are not enrolled in the education system.”

A returnee-IDP living in Dashte Barchi, Kabul city

Lack of documentation also impedes displaced people’s access to healthcare, an issue that 33 per cent of returnee-IDPs and 26 per cent of IDPs ranked as one of their three main concerns. Returnee-IDPs in Kabul were most concerned about access to healthcare, and those in Kunduz the least.

Relations between IDPs, returnee-IDPs and their hosts

The qualitative data reveals misconceptions about IDPs in protracted situations and returnees from Pakistan. The latter often feel discriminated against by those who stayed in Afghanistan during the country’s waves of conflict. “They told us ‘you are Pakistanis, you don’t deserve to receive aid’,” said one male returnee-IDP in Herat province.¹⁶ Returnees feel judged for their lifestyle, the fact that they speak differently or because they have joined the ranks of other displaced people on their return.

Tensions are most common with other IDPs, rather than with the host communities, based largely on IDPs’ misconception that returnee-IDPs are better off and receive more aid. As the research shows, however, they face very similar vulnerabilities.

“They told us to go to the province we belong to, or to Herat city or Maslakh camp. They said we were free to go wherever we liked, but they did not assign us a place. So we came to Maslakh because we had nowhere else to go to. When we got here, the residents didn’t allow us to put our belongings anywhere. They told the government that we were strangers from Pakistan and that they didn’t know us. They even said that we were ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), Taliban. The next day the counter-terrorism police came and asked us for our ID cards. Then they finally let us set up our tents. After two months, we asked the government for housing and water. They said they couldn’t help us ... We are now three or four families together in one house. We have not received anything from organisations or from the aid that reached the camp. We were told it was not for us.” Male returnee-IDP in Herat province¹⁷

Looking to the future

The situation in Afghanistan poses unique and significant obstacles to the achievement of durable solutions. Conflict renders many areas unsafe to return to, and lack of information about other parts of the country may discourage people from moving there. Most often, however, they are simply unable to afford to move again, leaving them with few options other than to try to establish a long-term home in their current place of residence, often under difficult conditions.

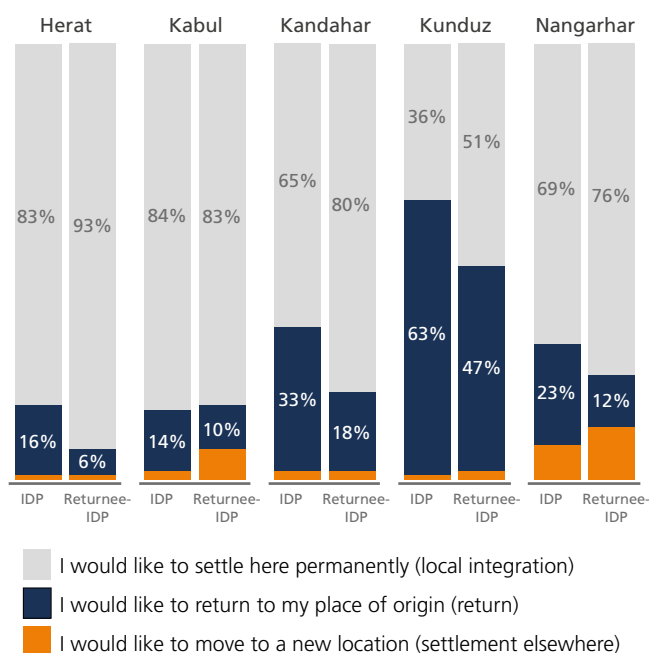
IDPs’ needs have changed little if at all since 2012, and returnee-IDPs face similar challenges. Some aspects of their situations have improved, but their most important reintegration needs remain the same: safety and security from conflict and violence, housing and shelter, and decent jobs. They identify these issues as the primary factors guiding their decisions about durable solutions, but they lack the information they need to make well-informed and dignified choices about their future. They also struggle to secure adequate food and water and access documentation, education and other services.

The rural settings that many of the surveyed returnee-IDPs have chosen may increase the likelihood of their securing decent housing or shelter and tenure security, but this should not be overstated. Only 15 per cent of the returnee-IDPs have title deeds for their current residence and less than 40 per cent have electricity in their homes, a reality that can prove fatal for the young, old and infirm during the harsh winter months. There is also less access to registration for aid and government support in rural areas.

Internal displacement in Afghanistan is often preceded by previous displacement or cross-border movement. A life of repeated flight heightens people’s vulnerabilities and creates economic, social and psychological fatigue.

When asked which durable solution they would prefer, returnee-IDPs are less likely than other IDPs to opt for return to their place or origin. Three-quarters want to integrate locally. Their time in exile, the experience of returning to ongoing conflict and precariousness, and the limited prospects they have of being able to reclaim their original land and property makes them less willing and able to uproot their families again.

FIGURE 5: STATED PREFERENCE FOR SETTLEMENT OPTION



	Three primary factors in decision-making	Missing Information
Security	23%	19%
Job opportunities	22%	17%
Access to housing and/or land	17%	15%
Access to education	13%	14%
Access to food and/or water	9%	10%
Access to healthcare	8%	8%
Access to justice	3%	7%
Access to documentation	3%	6%
Family/friends/social networks	1%	1%
Access to legal migration options	0%	1%

The IDPs and returnee-IDPs interviewed for this research want to achieve durable solutions to their displacement, but many do not see them within reach. They may find their own short-term ways of getting by, but these often include negative coping strategies such as reduced food intake or reliance on child labour, which have the potential to extend poverty and cycles of vulnerability across generations.

Insecurity is the main obstacle to achieving durable solutions. Conflict is escalating and causing further displacement, whether among people living in Afghanistan or those coming back from abroad to a country at war. The fact that areas beyond government control are difficult or impossible to access severely limits data collection, coordination and responses. A strategy to improve responses in insecure areas is needed. Without it many more vulnerable Afghans will become part of a vast but hidden population experiencing extreme infringement of their rights.

Most IDPs and returnee-IDPs have little or no knowledge of their rights under the Afghan constitution and the national policy on IDPs, which means they are unable to exercise them in their pursuit of durable solutions. A conversation on rights is needed, as is the coordination of aid and development planning for a collective rights-based outcome.

Global and regional commitments to address large movements of refugees and migrants also need to recognise that returnees and deportees unable to integrate sustainably in their place of origin or elsewhere effectively become IDPs. This reality demands a more integrated response to durable solutions as a measure to prevent future displacement. Returning refugees who continue to face needs related to displacement and barriers to their rights should be included in planning and policy for internal displacement. Importantly, the risk of new displacement needs to be fully understood and included in policies that seek to manage and support refugee and migrant movements.

NOTES

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16. Focus group discussion with male returnee-IDPs in Maslakh camp, Injil district, Herat province.
17. Focus group discussion with male returnee-IDPs in Maslakh camp, Injil district, Herat province.

Cover photo: An internally displaced child in a community based school in the Behsud District of Nangarhar province, just outside the provincial capital, Jalalabad, Afghanistan. The school caters for internally displaced children, most of whom have returned from Pakistan after years as refugees.

Credit: Andrew Quilty/Oculli for NRC, November 2014

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