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Continued risk of forced eviction due to complex land rights and tenure (in)security

OVERVIEW

Since the Taliban's return to power in August 2021, there have been reports of forced eviction resulting in displacement in ten provinces of Afghanistan. Current incidents of forced eviction in the country have been linked to rogue Taliban commanders or fighters evicting people or to the Interim Taliban Authority (ITA) dismantling informal settlements, redistributing housing in formal settlements, or reallocating land distributed under previous governments (EUAA 08/2022; UN SC 28/01/2022; NRC 30/06/2022; HRW accessed 22/12/2022; AI 15/08/2022). Many of these forced eviction events target minority communities and people from all ethnic groups associated with the former government. In some cases, the Taliban have ordered for the overturning of some cases of forced eviction (ABC 16/10/2021).

Forced eviction is broadly defined as “the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection” (OHCHR accessed 19/10/2022). For this analysis, reported evictions which appear not to provide the alternatives required by national and international law are considered forced eviction.

Forced evictions constitute “gross violations of a range of internationally recognized human rights, including the human rights to adequate housing, food, water, health, education, work, security of the person, freedom from cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, and freedom of movement” (OHCHR accessed 22/01/2023). Forced evictions are often linked to the absence of legally secure tenure, an essential element of the right to adequate housing and shelter, and have similar consequences to arbitrary displacement, which can include population transfers and mass expulsions.

People who experience forced eviction are often disconnected from their communities and humanitarian aid, do not have the means to earn a living, and struggle to access legal or other remedies. Forced evictions intensify existing inequalities; aggravate social conflict and segregation; and invariably affect the poorest, most socially and economically vulnerable, and most marginalised sectors of society.

As at January 2023, events or threats of forced eviction were reported in ten provinces, many of which targeted IDPs in informal and semi-permanent settlements, ethnic minorities, families of the former government, or families of resistance fighters. That said, people living in formal settlements have also experienced forced eviction (CNN 15/09/2021). Taliban authorities have denied some reports of forced eviction or have insisted that some are necessary, with the rationale that people are illegally occupying public land or as the resolution of a land dispute. The Taliban government is also pushing for IDPs living in informal settlements to return to their areas of origin and for the informal settlements to be dismantled, a policy that the previous government also championed, but many of these IDPs no longer have homes in their villages of origin and will struggle to find work and survive. The Norwegian Refugee Council's camp management team in Afghanistan confirmed that close to 20,000 people were forcefully evicted in December 2022 alone (Conversation with NRC 15/12/2022).

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PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

This report explores the international frameworks to which Afghanistan is signatory and that pertain to forced eviction, as well as the current Afghan legal framework to address forced eviction. Although the ITA has not been recognised by the international community, by virtue of the principle of the continuity of state, they are required to uphold the laws and systems of the previous government.

This report also provides a snapshot of reported events or threats of forced eviction since the Taliban returned to power and explores the correlation between other discriminatory norms that groups facing forced eviction experience.

METHODOLOGY

The report is based on:

- a secondary data review of more than 25 published and unpublished reports on historical and current discussions around the issue of forced eviction
- conversations with 11 humanitarian experts on housing, land, and property (HLP) and on Afghanistan
- two joint analysis meetings with key responders to discuss and validate the information collected.

LIMITATIONS

The question of land ownership and land rights in Afghanistan is complex, and related conflicts can go back decades. All relevant issues cannot be addressed in a short scoping paper seeking to understand forced evictions and Afghanistan's legal obligations in the current climate. Where possible, this report differentiates between different settlement types.

Humanitarian protection services have reported difficulties in data collection and case management because of continuing restrictions and interference from the Taliban government, notably on the engagement of female staff, the Mahram requirement, and access to female community members. These operational constraints and challenges affect the level of protection data that can be collected and used in understanding the protection implications of forced eviction.

As ACAPS relies on secondary information, the lack of reliable data on the impact of forced eviction and the number of informal settlements in the country is a limitation. Available information is qualitative, which provides nuance to the issue but makes it difficult to compare and aggregate numbers at the country level.

KEY FINDINGS

Shortcomings of the legal framework

- Despite Afghanistan having ratified a number of international conventions, treaties, and optional protocols, the Taliban government's position towards them is not clear (OHCHR accessed 19/10/2022). By virtue of the principle of the continuity of the State, the UN and the international community consider the Taliban as "a primary duty-bearer in view of Afghanistan's legal obligations under international treaties" (RULAC accessed 19/10/2022; OHCHR 01/07/2022) despite ongoing refusal to recognise the ITA.
- The formal legal system remains unclear following the Taliban's return to power in August 2021, but the Taliban government has not denounced the *National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons* (2013). This policy acknowledges that forced evictions constitute a gross violation of a range of internationally recognised human rights. In annex 4 of the policy, it also sets out clear safeguards to ensure effective protection before, during, and after an eviction, if the eviction is justified.
- There is a lack of clarity around which laws apply in eviction cases, including around judicial processes and decision-making.
- The existing legal framework for forced eviction does not address all the challenges that affected people face, resulting in a lack of protection from arbitrary displacement, forced eviction, and restrictions on freedom of movement (Government of Afghanistan 23/11/2013).
- Initial reports indicate that in recent cases of forced eviction, many standards in the *National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons* were not adhered to.

Communities who face heightened risks of forced eviction

- Events or threats of forced eviction have been reported in at least ten of 34 provinces across Afghanistan since the Taliban returned to power. Forced eviction is not new to Afghanistan and has been a frequent practice by past governments, rulers, strongmen, and warlords.
- Forced eviction is more likely to occur in urban centres or strategic locations for development projects that are currently occupied by informal settlements and informal



semi-permanent settlements (Conversation with expert 17/12/2022). Those without tenure rights, including nomadic communities, are at the highest risk of forced eviction.

- Minority groups, members of the former government, and groups suspected of or with history of opposing the Taliban appear to be a current target for forced eviction.

Other factors compounding the negative impacts of forced eviction

- Even before eviction, IDPs living in informal settlements are very vulnerable to economic shocks and do not have the resources to rely on when experiencing forced eviction. According to REACH's Informal Settlements Monitoring conducted in December 2020, most households (51% of respondents) living in temporary IDP settlements relied on unskilled daily labour for income (REACH 19/02/2022).
- Some IDPs pay rent and both the COVID-19 pandemic and the economic crisis following the Taliban's return to power have severely diminished their ability to make payments, resulting in further risk of forced eviction.
- Forced evictions in Afghanistan can be linked to a policy that considers refugee returns as the preferred durable solution, justifying forced evictions as a mean to facilitate returns. Forced returns put families at risk of livelihood precariousness, exposure to extreme weather conditions, discrimination, physical threats, and other physical risks, such as exposure to unexploded ordnance (NRC 15/12/2022).
- This is a lack of durable solutions for people experiencing forced eviction, especially IDPs residing in informal settlements. Programme-planning for returnees, including forced returnees, is not always effectively coordinated between authorities, NGOs, and the communities that people are returning to (Conversation with expert 27/11/2022).
- Forced evictions create new humanitarian needs, disrupt access to goods and services, and potentially interrupt humanitarian programmes.

CONTEXT

Understanding forced eviction in Afghanistan requires an understanding of the current humanitarian context, including displacement dynamics and how that interacts with historical dynamics around land ownership, allocation, reform, and any resulting disputes from such.

Since the Taliban's return to power on 15 August 2021, Afghanistan has been experiencing one of the world's most acute humanitarian crises. The economy is collapsing, 70% of families are unable to meet their basic needs, and the unemployment rate is expected to reach 40% in 2023 – a threefold increase from 2021 (ICG 06/12/2021; IFRC 17/06/2022). More

Afghans are taking on debt and sending their children to work to meet basic food, water, and healthcare requirements (IDMC 08/2022).

Mobility (both voluntary and forced) has been an important survival strategy for Afghans over the past four decades of conflict, poverty, and climate change (MPI 29/06/2022; BPB 23/01/2019). Afghanistan has experienced one of the world's largest refugee displacements and assisted refugee returns which has affected nearly every province (IDMC 08/2022).

Decades of drought, political instability, and economic collapse have triggered massive displacement, with 5.7 million IDPs currently recorded in Afghanistan (IDMC 08/2022). Displaced Afghans have sought safety and survival in enclaves around bigger cities that, over time, have grown into slum-like settlements. A 2015 report by the Norwegian Refugee Council estimated that 70% of the urban population in major cities in Afghanistan (Herat, Jalalabad, Kabul, Kandahar) lived in informal settlements, often with limited tenure security and a heightened risk of eviction (NRC/IDMC 26/03/2015). Residents of these informal settlements can access humanitarian aid (BPD 23/01/2019).

Since the Taliban's return to power, displacement trends have changed, and conflict-associated displacement has decreased to almost zero, with an associated rise in IDP and refugee returns (around three million in 2021) (IDMC 08/2022). In 2022, the Taliban government accelerated the pace of the return of families displaced by conflict and natural disasters using a combination of pressure and forced eviction (GiHA 20/12/2022).

The ITA's rationale for some of these forced evictions is linked to the complexities around land ownership, including unclear boundaries, landlessness, and the joint usage of pasture lands. Successive governments used land to further politics by rewarding allies and disempowering rivals. This practice has seen land allocated to different parties over time, which, combined with land grabbing by strongmen during war, increasing population pressure given rapid population growth, and climate change reducing arable land, has made land a contested and scarce resource that is subject to conflict between and within communities (USIP 06/2015; AAN 22/12/2022). The ITA has also claimed government land for their own purposes and to further economic development, as have previous governments, using existing legislation to back up their claims.

Although Afghanistan's legal framework had attempted to address this, the previous Afghan government was unwilling or unable to resolve the issue of different kinds of land ownership. This burdened customary mechanisms with the resolution of land conflict, with the task of sorting through the different laws governing land ownership – both formal and informal – and preventing conflict escalation. That said, such a resolution would often settle land disputes only temporarily, with limited to no redress for communities against illegal eviction by the government and pro-government strongmen (AREU 04/2009; Pain 2013). Currently, communities struggle to contest evictions by the ITA or by individual Taliban commanders.



Like previous governments, the ITA has also recently weighed in on land conflicts, currently in favour of Pashtun communities trying to reclaim land taken away from them over the past two decades, such as that of the Kuchi nomads and local residents in northeastern Takhar. They may continue to do so again, and the process of IDPs returning to their areas of origin could kick off more land disputes (AAN 22/12/2022).

In light of the above, conflicting claims to land ownership, land disputes, coexisting land ownership laws (both formal and informal), and unaddressed tenure insecurity are both a cause and a result of displacement (USIP 06/2015; AAN 22/12/2022). **The evictions that result from attempts to assert authority over or reclaim ownership of land can be considered forced**, as they often do not meet international standards on eviction. This was also the case under the previous government. As Afghanistan currently lacks a comprehensive and clear legal framework to respond to issues of forced eviction, these will likely remain largely unaddressed, and without rectification, a growing number of people will be at risk of forced eviction or face livelihood, protection, and security needs as a result of forced eviction.

LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

International legal frameworks on forced evictions or displacement

As the de facto authority, even in the absence of international recognition, the ITA is responsible for fulfilling the obligations of the various international treaties to which Afghanistan is signatory. The ITA is required to adhere to and maintain these frameworks, which include provisions for protection against forced eviction and requirements in the case of necessary eviction. The Taliban have acknowledged that most human rights norms are compatible with their understanding of Shari'a, and they remain committed to Afghanistan's international obligations (OHCHR 09/09/2022).

The following instruments have all been signed or ratified by Afghanistan and oblige their signatories to refrain from, and protect against, forced eviction from home or land:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (article 11, paragraph 1).
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (articles 17, 23, and 27).
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 27, paragraph 3).
- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (article 14, paragraph 2h).
- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (article 5e).

- Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) (article 17)

These instruments are complemented by the Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement and Guidelines for the Implementation of the Right to Adequate Housing.

According to international law, evictions should only take place in exceptional circumstances, such as to reclaim public land, restore the land rights of legitimate private landowners, or following the non-payment of rent (HLP task force 11/12/2022).

International standards on eviction maintain that it is necessary to:

- ensure that the eviction is absolutely necessary
- provide information to the people who will be evicted about the reasons and engage them in proper consultation, providing them with reasonable notice and agreed-upon adequate compensation
- have officials present during eviction, with the people carrying out the eviction identifying themselves
- ensure that eviction takes place at a safe time and that the use of force is avoided as much as possible
- ensure that people are not left homeless after eviction, that they do not live in inadequate housing, and that housing at a relocation site is adequate.

National legal framework on displacement and forced evictions

Afghanistan's legal framework has evolved and improved over the years, but its implementation remains difficult. While eviction is allowed by Afghan law, people being evicted are required to have their due process rights respected both before and after the eviction. They are also entitled to compensation (NRC 2011). Land rights in Afghanistan are governed by four legal regimes: customary law, civil law, religious law, and statutory law (AREU 31/03/2003).

Afghanistan's national legal system is based on the Afghan constitution, which was adopted in January 2004 (Constitute Project 27/04/2022). It draws from customary, statutory, and Shari'a law; the constitution recognises Shari'a as a source of law itself (ICJ 02/07/2003). International law is also incorporated into the national legal framework. Land acquisition in Afghanistan is governed under the 2000 Law on Land Expropriation, which notes that any land expropriated for public purposes must include prior and fair compensation. The law also lays out a notice period of three months and notes that those whose land is being expropriated must be compensated for the loss of their crops (WB 12/06/2007). These legal frameworks do not, however, specify how much is considered adequate compensation.



The Law of Adverse Possession complicates matters, as it states that if someone occupies land for a period of time (15 years), then the original owners can lose possession of their land. This is especially complex given the country's history of displacement and the resolution of different land claims by successive governments (ALEP 2015).

In 2013, the Afghan Government adopted the National Policy on Internal Displacement that incorporated the HLP task force's guidelines for mitigating harm and suffering in situations of forced eviction. It contains provisions related to forced evictions and security of tenure, recognises the growth of informal settlements, and recognises IDP rights under the Afghan constitution to settle anywhere in the country. The policy also recognises the right of IDPs and refugee returnees to adequate housing in urban areas. It acknowledges that national, provincial, district, and municipal authorities are responsible for ensuring that IDPs and other residents of informal settlements are not subject to or threatened with forced eviction (NRC/IDMC 11/02/2014).

Since their return to power, the Taliban have established a Commission to Prevent Land Grabbing and Identify Seized Land within the Ministry of Justice. The purpose of this commission is to investigate land grabbing under the previous government and to prevent future land grabbing. While the purpose of such a commission is necessary, there is a risk that efforts to address issues related to land grabbing under the previous government may result in the forced eviction of people who bought land in good faith without the knowledge that it had been appropriated and sold illegally (Tolo News 30/10/2022, 25/11/2022, and 09/02/2023).

Historically, and despite improvements in the legal framework regarding forced evictions, an absence of clear legal standards on eviction remained (and remains until today) and the requirement for consultation was disregarded even under the previous government. There also has been (and remains) a lack of effective legal remedies and compensation for those facing forced eviction, and successive authorities have failed to put in place acceptable relocation options to prevent homelessness (NRC/IDMC 11/02/2014).

The following legal documents related to forced displacement have been adopted by Afghanistan:

- Presidential Decree 104: on Land Distribution for Housing to Eligible Returnees and IDPs (6 December 2005).
- National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons (25 November 2013)
- Comprehensive Voluntary Repatriation and Reintegration Policy (August 2015).
- Policy Framework for Returnees and IDPs (1 March 2017).

CURRENT REASONS FOR FORCED EVICTION

Insecurity of tenure in Afghanistan is widespread and historic. A 2003 study by the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit found that the four key drivers of insecurity of tenure are: inequitable relations regarding access to and rights over land and water at the community level; multiple unresolved interests over the same plot of land; the failure to develop land ownership norms; and an active disorder that sustains land tenure insecurity (AREU 31/03/2003).

These four key drivers are behind the varied reasons for current forced eviction. In urban areas such as Kabul and Herat, where semi-permanent informal settlements with dense IDP populations are located in central areas, the demand for development projects is high, increasing the risk of eviction (Conversation with Expert 08/11/2022). Reportedly, the main reason for relocating residents of informal settlements in Kabul is to free up high-value land for urban infrastructure and development (Conversation with Expert 08/11/2022).

The Taliban government's decision to **close temporary informal settlements** has meant many people living in these settlements have no choice but to relocate as a result of the demolition of their homes and/or closure of roads and access ways (NRC 30/06/2022). **Short eviction notices coupled with lack of compensation, reparation, or reasonable alternative housing, implies that the relocations are essentially forced evictions. The Taliban government has also justified forced evictions** saying the land on which these settlements have been established is needed for future development projects (Conversation with expert 18/12/2022).

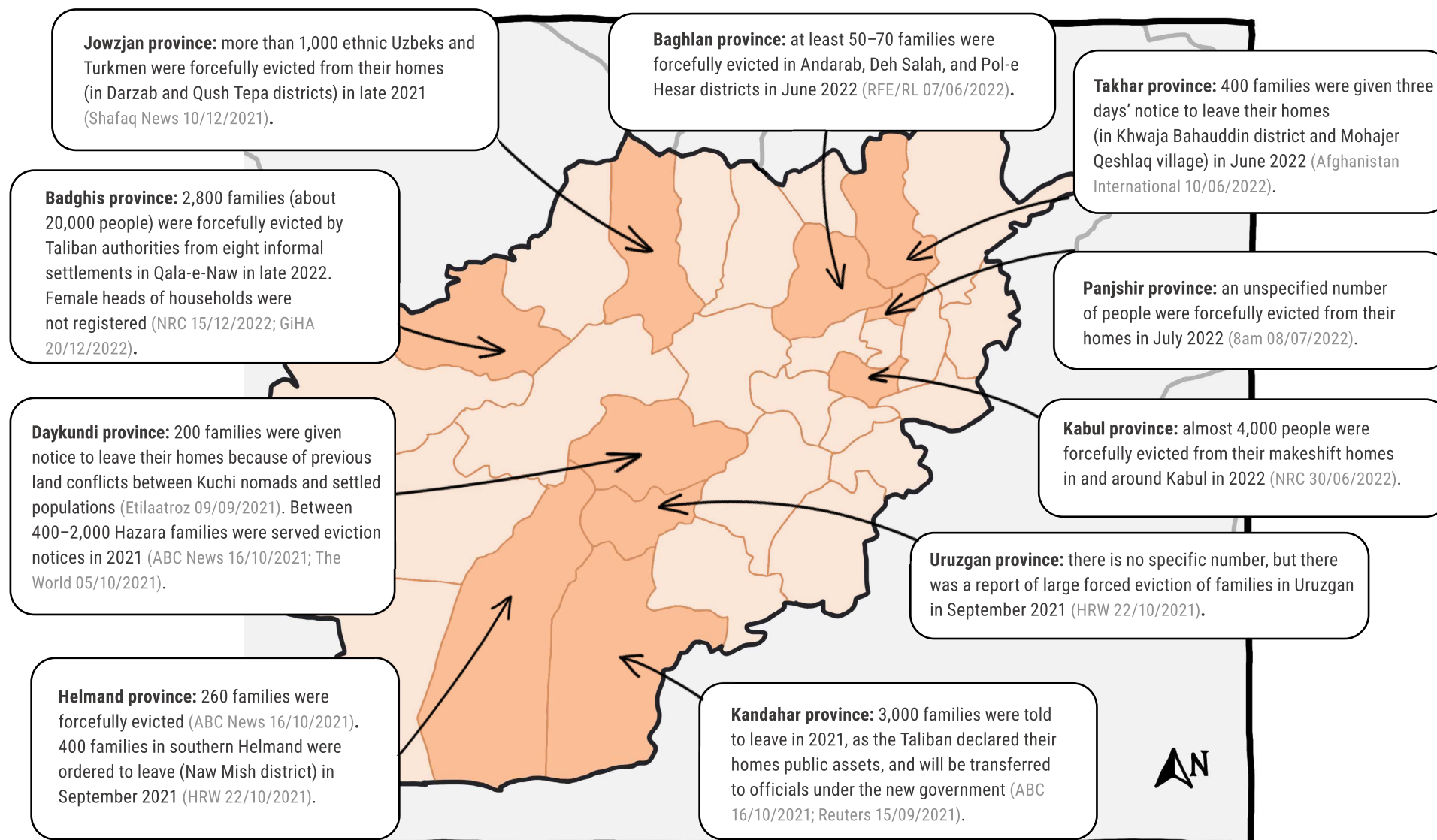
Prior to August 2021, many IDPs living in informal settlements or host communities paid rent. The combination of COVID-19 and the economic crisis following the Taliban's return to power resulted in many households being **unable to pay rent** (NRC 15/07/2021). In some cases, this has resulted in evictions occurring in coordination with Taliban authorities or with the support of armed groups, and without legal recourse of support for those experiencing eviction.

The Taliban have a history of using forced eviction **as a form of collective punishment against** families of people who are suspected of supporting resistance groups (such as the National Resistance Front) or the Islamic State – Khorasan Province and burning down their homes (ICG 12/08/2022). The ITA has continued such practices, holding families and relatives responsible for the actions of some.

Forced eviction has also occurred **where people reside on disputed land**. This, along with the establishment of the Commission to Prevent Land Grabbing and Identify Seized Land, suggests that the ITA is weighing in on land conflicts and attempting to apply justice as they perceive it.

PEOPLE CURRENTLY FACING OR AT RISK OF FORCED EVICTION

Systematically collected and verified data on forced eviction is not publicly available. Reports on forced eviction are sourced from NGOs, UN agencies, and media outlets. This makes it difficult to verify or contradict the claim that up to 500,000 people face possible homelessness (NRC 30/06/2022). In some cases, the ITA have called eviction notices 'fake' or 'propaganda' or have denied that eviction notices have been issued and said they will investigate the issue (ABC News 16/10/2021; Afghanistan International 10/06/2022). In other cases, eviction notices have been retracted entirely (HRW 22/10/2021).



Note: The map below shows reported incidents and/or threats of forced eviction across Afghanistan, noting that some of these are contested or have been retracted.



Without affordable housing options, families living in informal settlements (on private or public land, usually without permission or recognised land deeds) are at risk of eviction. These include women, children (including unaccompanied and separated children), older people, people with disabilities or specific needs, and minority ethnic or religious groups, such as the Hazara and Tajiks.

All people residing in informal settlements are exposed to substandard living conditions and the constant fear of forced eviction. As most people living in informal settlements are IDPs, a forced eviction will constitute their second or third (or more) incident of displacement. Authorities do not recognise the right of most IDPs to choose their place of settlement and continue to consider urban IDPs a temporary phenomenon. That said, evidence shows that many IDPs do not wish to leave their current towns and cities of residence, rendering the government's preference that IDPs return to their original homes unsuitable (Conversation with expert 27/11/2022).

Experts with whom ACAPS spoke said that forced evictions are occurring in areas where there is suspicion of resistance against the Taliban or where resistance activities may be taking place, indicating that forced evictions may be used as collective punishment. This type of eviction also tends to happen in areas with a large presence of ethnic minorities. As a result, people living on disputed land in Balkh, Daykundi, Faryab, Helmand, Kandahar, and Kunduz provinces in homes bought from or given by the previous government are more at risk of forced eviction (Conversations with expert 27/11/2022).

People without strong community ties, from social backgrounds without community leadership, or in areas where leadership does not have sway with the Taliban, are less likely to have someone advocate the contesting of forced eviction on their behalf. Most experts with whom ACAPS spoke said that a household's risk of forced eviction would often go to community leaders, who would negotiate with the authorities to delay their eviction. That said, no one has reported community leaders being able to revoke eviction decisions.

PROTECTION CONCERNS AND RISKS

Previously displaced families currently experiencing or being threatened with forced eviction are in a precarious condition, as they live in a limbo of sorts without any security of tenure. Families who have been forcefully evicted from their homes on land that is not an informal or semi-permanent settlement struggle to rebuild their lives given the short eviction notices, lack of adequate compensation, and lack of legal recourse.

Families experiencing forced eviction, many of whom were already struggling to survive before the eviction, face difficulties starting a new life with little or no possessions, little support, and no recourse (Conversation with expert 27/11/2022). They have few options for where to resettle because of the limited availability of land and the risk of another forced eviction. If they move to another informal settlement, they risk rejection from the families already settled there and face renewed threats of eviction.

A lack of adequate compensation makes rebuilding their lives more difficult for all families experiencing forced eviction, as they must bear the economic cost of displacement once again. Women and female-headed households comprise most of the people living in informal settlements (GiHA 20/12/2022). Not only do women have fewer prospects for work, but recent restrictions on women and girls, including the Mahram requirement, make it harder for them to earn an income and support their families (ACAPS 13/12/2022). Women are also more likely to be evicted, as women in Afghanistan have historically low rates of home or land ownership (GiHA 20/12/2022).

Although prevalence of disability is high in Afghanistan (41.4% of all households have an adult with any functional difficulty), how forced evictions affect people with disabilities and families with one member living with disabilities is poorly reflected in current literature (Disability Data Initiative accessed 13/02/2023). As forced evictions can affect access to healthcare and as they interrupt livelihoods (and often more money is required for appropriate care), it can be reasonably assumed that households with one member living with a disability will face additional difficulties when experiencing forced eviction.

Humanitarian assistance is the primary or secondary source of income for one-quarter of female-headed households in the western region, where women could access humanitarian assistance through community networks. Forced eviction and the Mahram requirement will make it harder for women to rebuild these networks and access assistance, as well as information about assistance, which often circulates among men (GiHA 20/12/2022). There were reports that in Badghis, the Taliban refused to register female-headed households in their list of evicted population, resulting in concerns that women will be excluded from government assistance (NRC 15/12/2022; GiHA 20/12/2022).



Forced evictions worsen existing vulnerabilities; marginalisation, discrimination, and social exclusion are common experiences, particularly for IDPs who belong to minority groups or who have lost community protection (Conversation with expert 06/11/2022). Forced eviction also intensifies inequality, social conflict, and segregation and invariably affects the poorest, most socially and economically vulnerable, and most marginalised sectors of society (Conversation with expert 18/12/2022). In Afghanistan, forced evictions often result in people experiencing multiple displacements because many of those being evicted are IDPs (Conversation with expert 18/12/2022). Protracted and multiple displacements bring a range of stressors and contribute to poor mental health outcomes, especially for those being forced to return to a place they had fled to avoid persecution or violence and where they experienced trauma.

Forced evictions (and threats of forced eviction) are often accompanied by systematic intimidation, harassment, and violence (Conversation with expert 06/11/2022). Those who are forcibly evicted often do not receive proper notice, consultation, or the offer of an adequate alternative. They also very rarely have access to effective remedies and often struggle to find a new location wherein to rebuild their lives.

IDPs experiencing forced eviction report that a lack of civil documentation means that they are denied assistance, including packages for returnees. Many IDPs cannot obtain a Tazkera (the Afghan identity card) because the document is only issued to people in their area of origin (a legacy policy of the previous Afghan government), and insecurity or financial barriers prevent most families from returning (Conversation with expert 18/12/2022).

Other protection concerns include:

- physical and psychological violence and abuse
- the interruption of vital life-saving services (health, especially for people living with chronic diseases and certain profiles of disability)
- risks related to gender-based violence
- risks related to child protection
- increased risk of exposure to explosive remnants of war and unexploded ordnance in locations of origin because of a lack of up-to-date geographic knowledge
- HLP issues and the lack of tenure security, such as disputed land ownership and lost or misplaced HLP documentation
- arbitrary detention and ill treatment.

At the time of writing, most of the experts who spoke with ACAPS said current conditions were not conducive to the large-scale returns of forcefully evicted people. People experiencing forced eviction need improved transitional and permanent shelters that offer protection,

privacy, and dignity over longer periods of time, as well as access to humanitarian services and sustainable livelihood opportunities. They need to be provided with long-term solutions according to their preferences, including reintegration and resettlement in a community of their preference. That said, preferred solutions may be difficult given that land is scarce and contested, and any efforts by humanitarians working on HLP to address these issues need to include a conflict sensitivity approach.