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United Nations  
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of Humanitarian Affairs

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**Fit for the Future Series**  
**Interoperability:  
Humanitarian Action  
in a Shared Space**

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**THINK  
BRIEF**

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## KEY MESSAGES

- Interoperability describes the effort to optimize the response to the needs of affected people by making systems that are very different work better together in a predictable way, based on their respective comparative advantage, without co-opting them and while accommodating different values.
- The humanitarian response environment has changed and expanded tremendously in the past decade: It has become more multipolar and more deregulated. A greater role is now being played by a wider range of more empowered, credible, and capacitated actors, such as affected people, Governments and local actors themselves, militaries, diaspora communities and the private sector. While this means greater capacity to meet the growing needs, it also bears the risk of incoherence, duplication, inefficiencies and fragmentation. We must therefore focus on connecting and working together better.
- By harnessing the comparative advantage and complementarity of different responders, we can optimize our collective efforts from preparedness to emergency response and recovery, and more effectively meet the needs of affected people.
- To strengthen interoperability between different actors engaged in addressing the needs of disaster – or crisis-affected people – humanitarian or other, some major shifts are needed in the way we work: How we assess needs, plan a response and coordinate, how we finance and recruit, how we manage information and share standards and best practices, and how we make connecting and enabling others a centre-piece of the field work of international agencies.
- Interoperability requires the role of the multilateral humanitarian system to shift from **delivering** to **enabling** an effective response. Affected people demand that we meet their needs better, while Governments increasingly want to choose “à la carte” from the national, regional and international tools and coordination services offered by an increasingly diverse set of actors – instead of having heavy structures imposed on them. The role of the multilateral humanitarian system may expand or contract depending on the context. In conflict situations, the multilateral humanitarian system may play a bigger role in leading the response while upholding humanitarian principles.

## INTRODUCTION

### THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATING ENVIRONMENT – A SHARED SPACE

#### Growing needs

The humanitarian landscape is changing more rapidly than ever. 2014 and 2015 will be remembered as years dominated by the response to several large-scale natural disasters, such as in the Philippines and Nepal; ongoing violent conflicts, including those in the Central African Republic, Iraq, South Sudan and Syria; an unprecedented international public-health emergency (Ebola); and the continuation of other crises that cause tremendous suffering.

In 2014, nearly 76 million people received international humanitarian assistance, more than double the number of people targeted 10 years ago. The amount requested through in-

ternational humanitarian appeals increased by 600 per cent, from US\$3.4 billion to \$19.6 billion between 2004 and 2015.<sup>1</sup> Humanitarian requirements are increasing, contributions cannot keep up, conflicts are becoming more protracted,<sup>2</sup> and global challenges, such as climate change, population growth and urbanization, are leading to more vulnerability and exposure to hazards. An increasingly complex global political environment, with the rapid evolution of a multipolar international landscape, makes conflict resolution and preventing or ending violent conflict more difficult. The results are more frequent, intense and protracted humanitarian crises.

<sup>1</sup> Figures based on FTS, retrieved July 2015.

<sup>2</sup> The overwhelming majority (78 per cent) of humanitarian spending from OECD/DAC donors continues to be for protracted emergencies in long- and medium-term recipient countries, prompting new initiatives including multi-year appeals and funding. Source: *Global Humanitarian Assistance Report*, p. 81

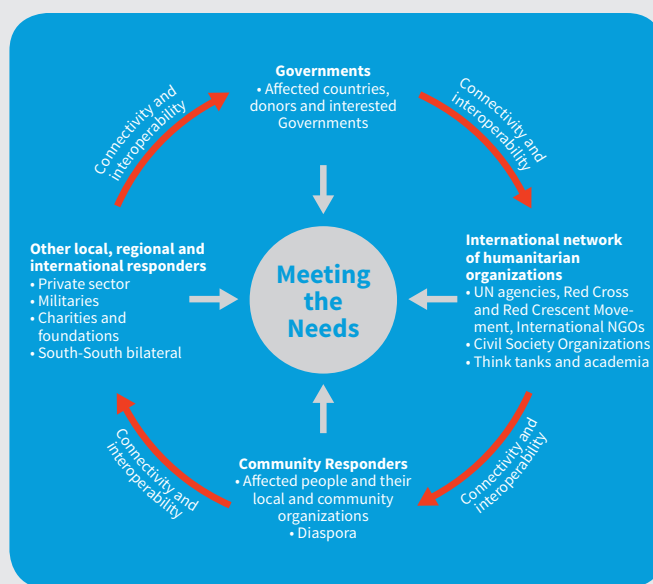
**International humanitarian agencies are being asked to do more for more people and at a greater cost than ever before, compelling them to find new ways of working to ensure that needs are met. But there is also more capacity and diversity in the response to humanitarian crises than ever before.**

### Changing capacities and opportunities

The tripling of the global economy from \$25 trillion to \$75 trillion over the past 20 years has allowed many former aid-recipient Governments to invest in disaster preparedness and response capacity. As a result, more Governments can manage disasters without international assistance.<sup>3</sup> Given the increase in urban-based emergencies, local actors, including local governments and communities, are increasingly leading response efforts as part of a shift towards more decentralized governance and coordination. There is also greater connectivity and bilateral exchange between cities and municipalities.

The emergence of middle-income countries has made the world a more multipolar place, which in turn is changing humanitarian response environments. Countries such as Brazil, China, India, Russia, South Africa and many Gulf States are increasingly investing in humanitarian assistance. As a result, affected countries are receiving more support, either bilaterally or through regional organizations, in addition to support from the multilateral humanitarian system.

The data revolution, greater connectivity and low-cost personal technology have empowered individuals and communities to participate in and communicate differently about humanitarian assistance. Those providing assistance, including communities, have many more options for how to coordinate with other actors, networks and systems. Decisions used to be agreed between the headquarters of different organizations and passed down to the field through policies and protocols. However, social media has taken informa-



tion-sharing and networking between actors on the ground to new levels, without any system at the global level capable of absorbing and directing these flows.

### More actors meeting the needs

There is a growing recognition of the many actors, systems and networks that are involved in meeting the needs of crisis-affected people. They form separate response-and-delivery systems that exist alongside the multilateral humanitarian system. More of these actors recognize the critical need to maximize resources and expertise by connecting with others more systematically and predictably, including through virtual networks.

- **Affected people are first responders**, have sophisticated coping mechanisms and resilience strategies, and they are usually the first to respond within their communities.
- **Governments at national and local levels** have the primary responsibility for their citizens and usually lead the humanitarian response, bringing together multiple actors. Municipalities are playing an increasingly important role in preparedness, response, coordination and early recovery.
- **Local NGOs and faith-based organizations** can use culturally relevant approaches, deliver in areas to which international humanitarian agencies do not have access, and remain after international actors leave.

<sup>3</sup> Between 2003 and 2012, India only requested international humanitarian assistance in 2005 and 2006, and China only in 2008. The investment some countries make into national disaster management at home by far outweighs what they receive in external assistance. India spent an estimated \$ 7 billion and the Philippines an estimated \$2.4 billion between 2009 and 2012, exceeding all international support. Source: *Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2014*, p. 41

\$540 billion

**\$540 billion is the amount of assistance estimated to be provided in form of remittances to developing countries by 2016.<sup>4</sup> This is 27 times the amount of assistance requested through the humanitarian appeals so far in 2015 (\$19.6 billion).**

\$5.8 billion

**\$5.8 billion is the amount contributed by private donors to humanitarian assistance in 2014<sup>5</sup> – more than a quarter of the total \$24.5 billion spent on international humanitarian assistance that year.**

649

**649 is the number of organizations that participated in inter-agency appeals in 2014 – a four-fold increase compared to 169 participating organizations in 2004.**

- **The private sector**, local, regional and international, can add significant value due to its technical knowledge, access to data, and its ability to provide financial support and concentrate on immediate relief and long-term investment.
- **Diaspora communities** play a major role in advocacy and fundraising, and they deploy doctors, nurses and other personnel for relief efforts. For many developing countries, remittances<sup>6</sup> are the largest source of external finance higher than Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).
- **Women's organizations**; community-based organizations and youth groups; national Government institutions, such as ministries of gender, social affairs and gender commissions; and specific private sector organizations are advocates for women. They provide goods, information and services linked to gender-related needs, including those related to gender-based and sexual violence and reproductive health.

4 Development Cooperation Report 2014, OECD, p.123.

5 Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2015

6 Caution should be exerted when using the figures on remittances because they include worldwide remittances and do not, in a clear way, compare with development flows that originate from OECD-DAC countries. For example, according to the World Bank, remittances from DAC countries to developing countries in 2012 totalled \$191 billion, accounting for 20 per cent of their total resource receipts. Secondly, many miscalculations occur when measuring remittances. For example, the earnings of migrant workers can be counted as remittances even if they may be entirely or partially spent in the host country and therefore never sent home.

- **Military Assets**, including foreign military assets, can make unique contributions through activities such as air-lifts, field hospitals and logistics. The militaries of 21 UN Member States were involved in the response to Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013.<sup>7</sup>
- **Regional Organizations** or other regional or bilateral arrangements may be called upon before the multilateral humanitarian system and may sometimes be preferred by host governments from a political standpoint. They can help build and support national capacity in disaster response.

Some of these actors may not describe themselves as “humanitarian” or ascribe to the same principles and values as humanitarians. However, their capacities and comparative advantages are significant, equalling or sometimes even surpassing those of the multilateral humanitarian system.

**Affected people and national governments are demanding that their needs are being met better, which will increasingly involve choosing among the services of different responders. This means there needs to be a better mutual understanding among these various responders—including their motivations, capacities and added value—and complementarity to optimize and maximize our collective response to the growing needs. Interoperability is about creating that complementarity during all phases of response - from preparedness to early recovery - and reducing the need or tendency for substitution with resources from the outside.**

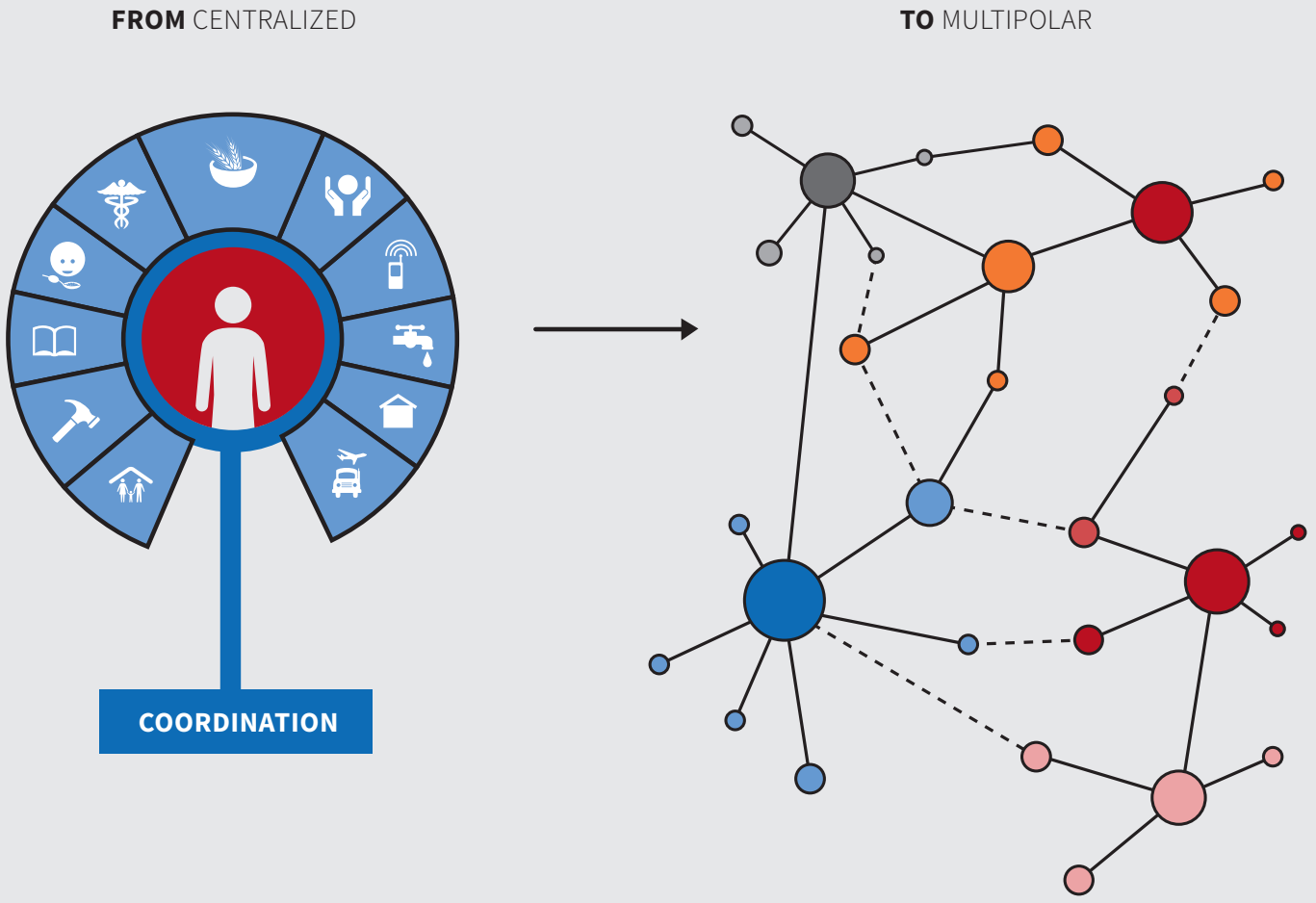


**ABOVE:** Nepalese looking after each other in the aftermath of the 25 April earthquake. A local NGO is feeding members of a community for 15 days, in order for families to recover after the disaster. Credit: OCHA/Oria Fagan

7 World Humanitarian Data and Trends 2014

## GRAPHIC I: The changing humanitarian operating environment

The humanitarian operating environment is changing at a swift pace. It is more dynamic, involves more actors, and it is producing more new challenges and opportunities than ever. The solution is less a fixed way of operating. Instead, a more deregulated space is required, with flexible, nimble and adaptive structures that can communicate with each other and reinforce comparative advantages. The graphic below shows the shift from a centralized humanitarian system to systems networks. These networks need to be interoperable in order to effectively respond within a multipolar response environment.



### Graphic Key

- Affected People
- Government
- Private Sector
- Diaspora
- Regional Organizations, Bilateral Donors, and Foreign Military
- Multilateral Humanitarian System
- Existing Connection
- - - Potential Connection

## WHAT DOES “INTEROPERABILITY” MEAN IN THE HUMANITARIAN CONTEXT?

### Definition

The term “interoperability” is not new. It was first used in information technology to enable information exchange between different systems and networks by ensuring that components conformed to open standards. Since then, the word has been used in communications, medical and legal fields to describe efforts to make different systems compatible. NATO also adopted the term to describe compatibility between different national military systems.

### Interoperability in the humanitarian context is defined by OCHA Policy as follows:

Interoperability describes the effort to optimize the response to the needs of affected people by making systems that are very different work better together in a predictable way, based on their respective comparative advantage, without co-opting them and while accommodating different values.

### Key elements

Below are five key elements that are essential to strengthen interoperability in humanitarian response.

#### Meeting needs at the centre

Addressing affected people’s needs is the central and common motivation of any response effort – whether by international humanitarian agencies, affected Governments, private sector actors or others. All response efforts, collaboration and coordination must be directed at meeting needs. Who meets those needs is secondary. The primary importance is that needs are met. Evaluations should not assess how a single system or actor performed, but rather whether the overall response effort met affected people’s needs.

**RIGHT:** On 16 and 17 October 2014, UNICEF and the Government co-hosted the first Ebola Survivors Conference, in Kenema, one of the epicentres of the Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone. The conference brought together survivors, community leaders, medical staff and aid workers, to discuss how to handle the psychological aftermath of the infection and how they can contribute to stop the outbreak in their communities.

Credit: OCHA / Yasmina Guerda

#### Comparative advantage

If need is at the centre of any effective response, it should also be considered effective to mobilize those actors with the greatest comparative advantage to respond to a particular type of need or group of people in need. Comparative advantage (or added value) in this sense may depend on the context: it may include cost, speed, familiarity and cultural appropriateness, acceptance and trust or expertise and standards.

#### Predictability

In a pre-conceived and interoperable response effort (within a set response framework with clear expected outcomes), those who accept a specific role must do so with predictability for everyone involved. This can be a strategic or coordination role that includes the sharing of standards and good practices, or a delivery role against specific types of needs or to specific groups of people in need. Actors who agree to a specific role must be responsible and accountable for providing the capacities, resources and goods required in a timely fashion.

#### Connectivity

The actions of different actors, networks and systems affect each other and the affected population, whether consciously or unconsciously. Lack of awareness and duplication of efforts risks wasting resources at best and having negative consequences at worst. To optimize response, those meeting the needs of affected people must therefore be encouraged to seek out other actors, understand their motivations, comparative advantage and limitations, and connect with them as appropriate. Ideally, this connectivity would have been achieved through pre-existing national disaster manage-





ment plans or frameworks, or otherwise must be facilitated as a priority focus from the onset of a crisis. Connectivity in this sense also include connections between actors at different levels, ranging from the household to community, local, national, regional and global level.

### Complementarity

Where national and local capacities exist – public, civil society and private - and have a comparative advantage over international humanitarian response, there is a need to build on them, connect with them, and strengthen rather than substitute them by import of external goods, services, programming and coordination architecture. National Governments, the multilateral sector and donors have important

and proactive enabling roles. Municipalities and communities are at the core of any response. They are not passive, do not wait for external assistance, they act, react and respond every day. The efforts of others need complement, scale up and improve what municipalities and communities do, not substitute, replace or duplicate.

**The measure for interoperability is that each actor, system or network provides comparative advantage and adds concrete value in their respective area or responsibility around needs and expected outcomes. This is carried out with predictability of capacities and resources, and within an agreed response framework that builds on existing capacities.**

### Interoperability in Natural Disasters

**In natural disaster settings, interoperability is best achieved through response preparedness planning as well as direct engagement with national Governments.**

In the Asia-Pacific region, a shift is already taking place to coordinate with a wider group of actors and systems and to make crisis risk management systems interoperable. Concrete steps can be taken to effectively manage the interoperability of different responders before a crisis. They are a) understand key immediate needs based on comparable experience, b) map available response capacity to determine key gaps (e.g., from Governments, private sector, military, national and international humanitarian agencies); and c) consult with relevant actors at the regional and global levels on gaps that cannot be addressed in-country.

Interoperability offers a broader view of preparedness that takes into account the need to connect with different actors/systems before a crisis. De-prioritization of preparedness in favour of response limits coordination before a crisis – when it is most effective. Between 1991 and 2010, only 0.5 per cent of the \$3 trillion spent in international aid was used for prevention and preparedness.<sup>8</sup>

8 OCHA, “Saving Lives Today and Tomorrow”, 2014, p. 13

### Interoperability in Conflict

**In conflict settings, the question arises as to how to manage interoperability between actors with many different values and approaches, not only those that ascribe to the humanitarian principles adopted by the multilateral humanitarian system.**

There will likely remain a core set of actors – the UN and the Red Cross Movement, international and national NGOs and many Governments – who subscribe to a set of largely shared humanitarian principles. However, in practice, neutrality remains understood in disparate ways, even within the humanitarian system. Other actors, such as diaspora groups, local populations and religious organizations, may have different values and may not be considered “neutral” from the viewpoint of the humanitarian principles. There will also be a need to understand what interoperability means with reference to key actors, such as national Governments and non-state actors who are parties to the conflict.

**In 2015 and 2016 OCHA will conduct further research and host a number of discussions on how interoperability can be strengthened in practice, based on country examples and with the aim to formulate specific tools and actions.**

## THE MULTILATERAL HUMANITARIAN SYSTEM AS AN “INCUBATOR” FROM DELIVERING TO ENABLING

At the operational level, there is already a practice of connecting with other response-and-delivery systems and making them more interoperable. This includes a range of instruments and guidelines that connect multilateral humanitarian and other capacities and resources. Examples include the United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination (UNDAC) teams or United Nations Civil-Military Coordination. There are also increasing collaborations between UN agencies and international NGOs and the private sector.

However, interoperability – as it is described here – is envisaged to facilitate a more comprehensive way of connecting actors and systems that are meeting needs during (and before) a crisis. Interoperability does not require actors to gather around one center. Instead, it makes different centres correspond to each other, and it implies a level of cooperation that is not necessarily required or present in a coordinated response.

The default role of the multilateral humanitarian system in an interoperable approach should be to enable an environment where self-coordination between different systems has a higher chance of success. The multilateral humanitarian system must therefore identify the right role and connectivity in relation to other networks and systems, and it must expand and contract depending on Government and other capacities.

This will require the role of the multilateral humanitarian system to shift from delivering to enabling, and to evolve from being an implementer of assistance to being a broker, or an “incubator”, of solutions, a repository of good practice and a provider of technical advice.

Governments increasingly want to choose “à la carte” from the national, regional and international tools and coordination services offered by an increasingly diverse set of actors, rather than being served a fixed menu with heavy structures and a large international footprint that competes with local mechanisms. This will require international humanitarian agencies to reorient themselves towards complementing existing capacities, build on them and strengthen them where necessary.

Depending on the context and existing capacities, the role of OCHA and international humanitarian agencies could span a range of roles, from giving sector-specific advice and sharing standards and best practices, to coordinating and creating connections between actors and systems, to playing leadership roles. A post-delivery advisory role could include, for example, advising on what a package of humanitarian assistance should look like rather than providing it; offering concrete and specific information and analysis on needs; and validating responses by others where required. For example, what are the constituent elements of a health kit? What smartphones apps can be offered to affected people to help them navigate a crisis and its responders? In India and China, WFP has already moved towards advising on and validating Government-led initiatives that are reaching millions of people.

*“The role of and space for the multilateral humanitarian system and agencies in an interoperable approach can contract or expand depending on Government and existing in-country capacity. Where Governments are unable or unwilling, we can expand as necessary. We need to go back to what the Charter of the United Nations<sup>9</sup> is about: Bringing together the capacities that exist, not replacing them.”*

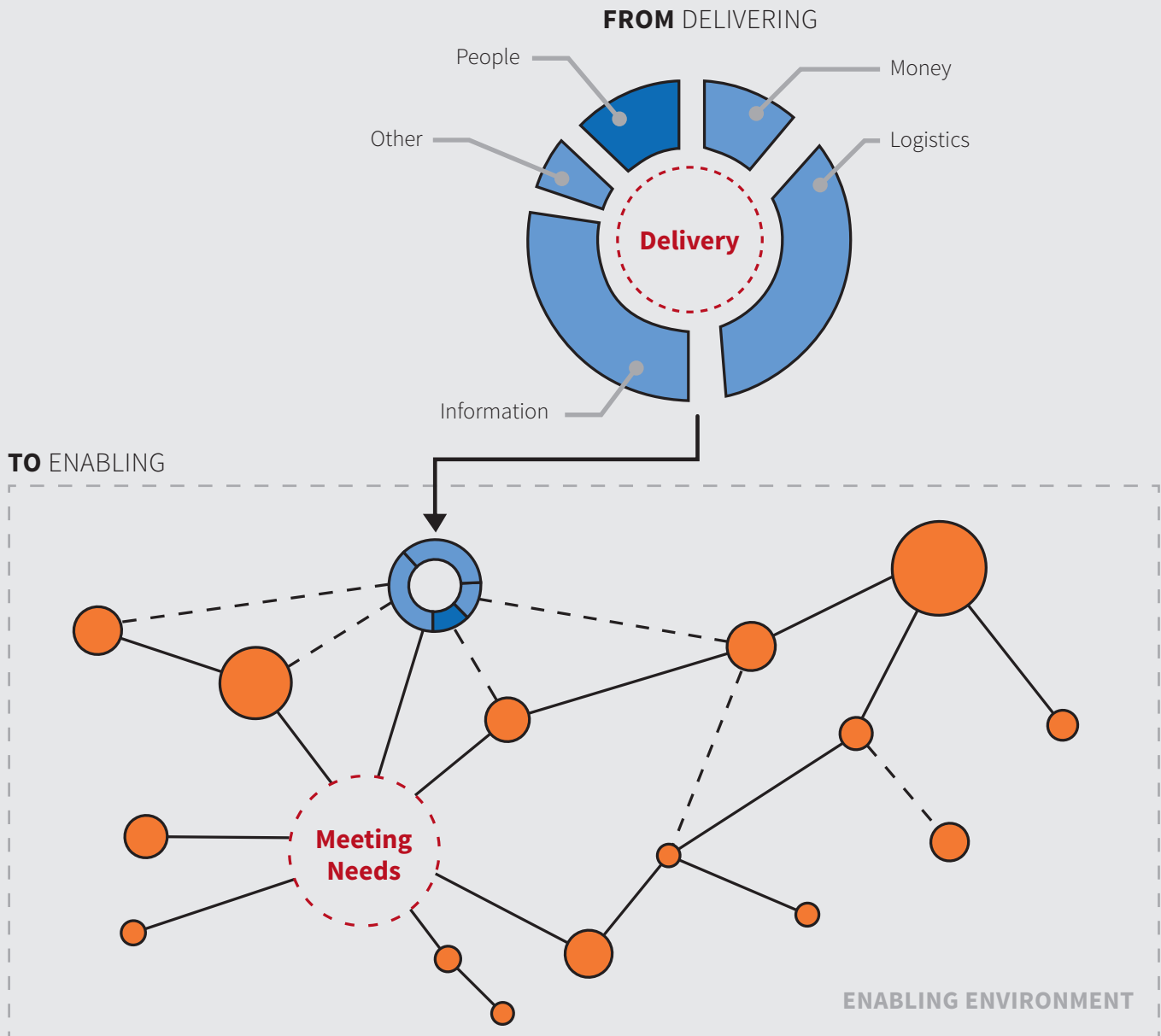
**Hansjoerg Strohmeyer, OCHA**

In many instances, however, the comparative advantage of the multilateral humanitarian system will continue to be adding expertise, speed and volume in the initial phase of a response when Governments may be overwhelmed, and in upholding international norms and principles, particularly during conflict.

<sup>9</sup> “To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character” and “to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.” UN Charter, Chapter 1: Purpose and Principles, Art. 1 (3) (4).

## GRAPHIC II: From delivering to enabling

To effectively meet the needs of affected people, humanitarian response must evolve from delivering assistance to optimizing the overall response through enabling connectivity and maximizing complementarity between actors and systems. This must be aimed at ensuring that the needs of affected people are met by the actor with the most comparative advantage. This can be achieved through capacity mapping, shared analysis, tools and services, and the transfer of knowledge and best practices.



Whereas humanitarian response has traditionally focused on different aspects of assistance delivery (people, logistics, money, information, etc.), the focus should shift towards creating an enabling environment in which different actors can contribute their comparative advantage, connect with and complement each other, in order to meet needs.

## ACHIEVING INTEROPERABILITY

Interoperability is not about creating a new coordination structure. Instead, it aims to prompt thinking about a strategic reorientation of the multilateral humanitarian system as well as other response-and-delivery systems: To seek out other response capacities and identify an approach that all actors can identify and engage with to adapt to the new realities of humanitarian response environments.

**The main question for the multilateral humanitarian system in this effort should be: “How strong does the multilateral coordination centre have to be in light of the capacities that exist on the ground?”** One of the big differences in an interoperable approach is that, rather than deploying a humanitarian crisis “whole of Government” response package –from cluster roll-out to humanitarian response plans to appeals – international humanitarian agencies may provide more sector specific activities and services (in line with their comparative advantages); more advice, inputs, stimulation, lessons learned, best practices and validation; or help bring local responses up to scale.

### What shifts do humanitarian actors need to make?

There are a number of major shifts that need to take place for humanitarian actors to be more interoperable with others. **We need to work differently**, for example, in the areas of coordination, assessments, planning, financing, information and staffing (see figure below). In line with these shifts, tools to foster interoperability are already emerging, such as the Humanitarian Data Exchange, the Digital Humanitarian Network, or the OECD’s Resilience Systems Analysis Framework.

### CHARACTERISTICS OF A CENTRALIZED APPROACH

#### COORDINATION

Coordination meetings are convened by the affected Government or OCHA, involving mainly humanitarian actors, to coordinate assistance based on clusters and agency mandates. Other groups, such as the private sector or the military, are coordinated with bilaterally.

#### ASSESSMENTS

Needs Assessments are coordinated between humanitarian actors. Local and national authorities, civil society and affected communities are encouraged to participate in this process, but the response is designed around targets for each Cluster.

#### PLANNING

Humanitarian Response Plans are prepared by Humanitarian Country Teams to present individual agency projects with the aim to reach targets for each Cluster, and form the basis for resource mobilization.

#### FINANCING

Resource Mobilization is aimed at raising funds primarily for humanitarian actors based on defined Cluster targets.

#### INFORMATION

Data from needs assessments, Government and other sources, such as reporting by Clusters, is analyzed centrally and disseminated to the humanitarian community, including donors.

#### STAFFING

Cluster coordinators manage the international humanitarian response for the Cluster led by their agency and coordinate closely with line ministries and other counterparts.

**1. Look outwards:** Create connections rather than expect others to coordinate

**2. Focus on needs, not mandates:** Assess response capacities to understand who has a comparative advantage to meet needs

**3. Think complementarity first:** Rather than what each entity can do

**4. Plan around outcomes:** Rather than projects, and finance accordingly

**5. Accept that information is not complete unless others complete it:** Seek a more comprehensive understanding of the problem and its solution

**6. Make creating connections core coordination business:** Beyond sectoral and bilateral partnerships

Interoperability requires systems – or parts of different systems – to connect in many different ways. It requires finding the right balance between protocol-structured systems, policies and processes, and adaptive, standards-based networked cooperation. Moreover, barriers to interoperability to be addressed include competition for resources and visibility, competing interests, contestation over humanitarian values, and institutional obstacles.

*The discussion on interoperability is not simply about more coordination, but is going much beyond that, recognizing that we are not at the centre of the universe. There are many other actors – we can influence them but we cannot command them. So we need to figure out ways to bring these different systems together around common values and standards, without necessarily having the kind of control that perhaps was envisaged early on.*

**Robert Piper, United Nations**

## CHARACTERISTICS OF AN INTEROPERABLE APPROACH

### COORDINATION

Coordination should evolve from “all actors sitting in one room” to “coordination of and between different coordination hubs.” Coordination may also be secondary to incubating, facilitating and convening. Multi-actor platforms, networks and marketplaces of capacities – real or virtual – should be established to create connectivity and common knowledge, and share information, analysis and best practices.

### ASSESSMENTS

Pre-/Post-Crisis Capacity and Gap Assessments should be systematically done for priority countries, mapping existing capacities of all actors. Such mapping should be done before a crisis and verified by UNDAC teams at the onset of a crisis. Capacity and gap assessments can be used to identify aspects of a response that can be handed over from (international) humanitarian to better capacitated actors, whether they are local government, civil society, private sector or other actors.

### PLANNING

Planning should be based on who is there – on capacity and gap assessments, include a much broader group of actors who have a comparative advantage to respond to a specific need or group of people in need, and be aligned with existing plans. Ideally, response plans should be designed before a crisis and aim to achieve collective outcomes. They should be aimed at shared risk analysis and management, providing a shared vision for who needs to do what at each layer of society to strengthen peoples’ resilience.

### FINANCING

Humanitarian financing needs to encourage self-responsibilization and enable a response by the actor or system with the most comparative advantage through financing tools and facilities that allow access to funding for other responders, such as local Government, first responders and local civil society organizations.

### INFORMATION

Information and data, including a common and accurate understanding of needs and response capacities are essential to create connectivity and make the right decisions about when to deliver and when to enable a response. Data and information from different sources should be connected, analysed and made available – all based on open-data policies.

### STAFFING

Staff from international humanitarian agencies should be mandated, recruited and trained to be “connectors” rather than just “doers” (sectoral or coordination experts). They should be tasked to seek out other capacities, strengthen their institutions’ understanding of different actors and systems, and transfer knowledge and capacity where required. Staff should be deployed or co-deployed with national, municipal or local response efforts rather than simply as part of an “international response machinery.”

## AFTERWORD

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*Interoperability: Humanitarian Action in a Shared Space* recognizes that humanitarian action needs to shift:

- From operating in centralized humanitarian response environments to adapting to multipolar and deregulated response environments;
- From delivering assistance to enabling, facilitating or “incubating” a response by other actors; and where circumstances permit
- From deploying a “whole of Government” approach to humanitarian crises with processes that are done in isolation from or parallel to the efforts of others, to an interoperable approach that connects actors, systems and networks with each other and harnesses their comparative advantage and complementarity.

The purpose of this Think Brief is to stimulate discussion about the idea of “interoperability” in humanitarian action, and to highlight some of the areas in which humanitarian actors need to **think and work differently** in order to become more interoperable with others, thus optimizing the response to the needs of affected people.

Starting with a workshop on “Interoperability in Humanitarian Action” as part of the 2015 European Forum Alpbach, which will take place in Austria in August 2015, OCHA will convene a series of consultations with representatives from the different groups of responders in 2015 and 2016 in order to refine how interoperability can be strengthened in practice.

## OCHA Policy Publications

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