CASA - *Ciudades Auto-Sostenibles Amazónicas*

Home' as a catalyst for resilience: settlement relocation in the Amazon rainforest.

Literature review & case study analysis

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Introduction

Climate change and disaster are forcing people to leave their homes and land either temporarily or permanently. This is an increasingly widespread global phenomenon. To those whose homes and land are affected, the process often has a strong emotional meaning, deep gender implications, and huge socio-economic repercussions. The reconstruction of a livelihood system in particular proves to be challenging as it involves the need for the development of new social relations, new patterns of co-existence, and alternative income generation sources. Much of the development literature defines housing as not just shelter, yet, preemptive relocations as well as post disaster reconstruction done under urgency tend to focus on physical components and overlook socioeconomic and environmental ones, not only reproducing the same risks but also magnifying them (Jain, et a, 2017[1]).

The present paper explores the above aspects to sustain the research framework of the project *Ciudades Auto-Sostenibles Amazónicas* (CASA) - HOME: Self-Sustainable Cities in the Amazon. Specifically, it articulates notions of multidimensionality and multiscalarity of homes that are central to livelihoods but currently neglected in policy and plans; and wishes to suggest possible ways in which such notions could be incorporated to ensure the long-term sustainability of housing projects. Following the release of the first Peruvian Disaster Risk Management (DRM) Policy in 2011, government-led relocations of flood and disaster-prone communities have been implemented in different cities in Peru. The case of Nuevo Belen in Iquitos, presents unique peculiarities due to the geographical, historical and socio-economic context. Urbanisation is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Amazonas, where the traditional use of the territory is based on multi-sited appropriation (Padoch et a., 2008[2]). Families and individuals move from one shared house/site to another following seasonal flooding. The livelihoods system relies upon intra-settlement mobility that is now threatened by intersecting phenomena and transformations including rapid urban concentration, economic recession, increase flooding risk/exposure and ultimately relocation. The latter in particular fails to capture the socio-spatial complexity of the context as it entails a condition of fixity (immobilisation) that affect both the traditional spatial organisation and the livelihoods system that depends on it. This risk dynamics and the subsequent risk reduction policies are increasingly intersecting also with practices of 'extractivisms', a term loosely used to explain different phenomena such as the financialisation and exploitation of life through the idea of 'extractive operations' (Mezzadra and Gago, 2015[3]) enabled by neoliberal regulations as well as the revision of concessions and contracts for resource exploitation.

The paper is structured in two parts. The first one reviews the literature on planned relocation and resettlement in the context of disaster and climate change. Failure in past experience of state-led relocation is well documented, and much of it is due to failure in addressing relocation as a socio-development programme. The neglected dimensions of relocation are analysed individually with reference to the specific case of Nuevo Belen. As opposed to state-led relocation projects, there exist a number of bottom-up, community-led initiatives that propose alternative, viable solution to relocation. These examples are less visible within the literature on disaster risk and post-disaster reconstruction, although they constitute a useful reference to the case study.

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[1] Jain, G, Singh, C, Coelho, K and Malladi, T (2017) Long-term implications of humanitarian responses: the case of Chennai. IIED Working Paper. IIED, London. http://pubs.iied.org/10840IIED

[2] Padoch, C., E. Brondizio, S. Costa, M. Pinedo-Vasquez, R. R. Sears, and A. Siqueira (2008) Urban forest and rural cities: multi-sited households, consumption patterns, and forest resources in Amazonia. *Ecology and Society* 13(2): 2. http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss2/art2/

[3] Gago, V., & Mezzadra, S. (2015). Para una crítica de las operaciones extractivas del capital : patrón de acumulación y luchas sociales en el tiempo de la financiarización. *Nueva Sociedad*, *255*, 38-52. Retrieved from http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/4091_1.pdf

The second part shifts the focus toward the complexity and challenges of "making home in multiple places", on one side questioning some of the principles and learnings of post disaster housing reconstruction programmes, and on the other side looking on the ground at existing patterns of displacement (following extractivism) and multisited home making as a coping mechanism. Migration and circular mobility between rural and urban areas in the Amazon have produced a unique "rural-urban interface" (Browder, 2002)[4], an "urbanised forest" (Becker, 1996[5]) that dissolves any traditional distinction between rural/urban, public/private and blurs the scale between house and city, calling for a rethinking of a more sustainable, situated and mobile urbanism.

The first part reviews some of the international literature on post disaster housing reconstruction. Despite housing is clearly recognised as a fundamental physical asset within any reconstruction programme, it remains isolated from the broader political, economic or social context; this is mostly due to lack of integration between development and relief. Home should be a core element of just urban development rather than a line in the budget of donors. Capturing all nuanced symbolic, social and gendered aspects of home-making remains the major challenge in any reconstruction and relocation plans. Acknowledging this, the second part embarks on a transdisciplinary review of the multiple meanings of home spanning from sociology, anthropology, geography, forced migration and gender studies. In the Amazon context, home is the site of combined production and household reproductive functions, since living and working are not separate activities for those who inhabit these spaces. The distinction between domestic and open space, as well as rural and urban, are not clear cut and this is reflected in the multisited mode of territorial appropriation. The third part looks at aspects of multiscalarity and multisitedness of home in the Amazon, where the unique patterns of mobility and mixed rural urban use of the territory have produced a unique "rurbanisation" of the territory along rivers and roads. Any plan and relocation plan that fails to capture such aspects of homemaking in the Amazon, will irreparably compromise the local and urban livelihoods system. Reversely, it is precisely the unicity of the Amazon context that offers the opportunity to rethink relocation and resettlement beyond the frame of disaster risk reduction as an urbanism in flux characterised by interconnected mobility and heterogeneity.

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[4] Browder, J.O. 2002. The urban-rural interface: Urbanization and tropical forest cover change. Urban Ecosystems 6: 21.
[5] Becker BK 1996. Undoing myths: the Amazon—an urbanized forest. In: Brazilian perspectives of sustainable development of the Amazon region. Man and the Biosphere series 15 (chap. 4):53- 89. Paris: Unesco.

Contents

1. The multidimensionality of relocation. Self-recovery and livelihoods strategies beyond planning failure

A) Planned relocation and resettlement in the context of disaster and climate change

Disaster and climate change are increasingly challenging the ability of millions of people to sustain livelihoods as the places where they live become uninhabitable. In this context, planned relocation and resettlement are devised as strategies to adapt to localised change. Globally, an increasing number of government are undertaking relocation (Ferris, 2015)[6]. Climate-related resettlements are under way in the Mekong River delta of Vietnam, along the Limpopo River of Mozambique, on the coast of Alaska, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China, and from the Carteret Islands to Bougainville Island in Papua New Guinea (De Sherbinin, 2011)[7]. According to Lopez-Carr (2015)[8] more than a dozen developing countries, including Uganda and Bhutan, have submitted national adaptation plans to the United Nations that involve population resettlement. Peru is one of the first countries in Latin America to implement a policy on relocation. Following the release of a DRM policy in 2011, state-led relocations of disaster prone communities have been implemented in several areas of the country. The case of Nuevo Belen in Iquitos, presents unique peculiarities due to the geographical, historical and socio-economic context. Urbanisation is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Amazonas, where the traditional use of the territory is based on multi-sited appropriation (Padoch et a., 2008). The livelihoods system relies upon intra-settlement mobility, that is now threatened by intersecting transformations, including rapid urban concentration, economic recession, increase flooding risk/exposure and ultimately relocation. The latter in particular fails to capture the socio-spatial complexity of the context as it entails a condition of fixity (immobilisation) that affects both the traditional spatial organisation and the livelihoods system that depends on it.

Relocation is widely promoted by governments as a strategy to reduce the risk of future disasters and to lessen site-specific vulnerabilities such as those inherent in slums located on unstable hillsides and communities in flood-prone regions. Governments globally are persuaded that relocating people by compensating them with new land and new homes in physically safer places is a just solution, yet it is not always the best one as it can introduce new risks or exacerbate existing ones. The movement away from ones' home and land can in fact adversely impact livelihoods and thus create further impoverishment consequent to the loss of job, income and social networks. Scholars increasingly recognise that relocation and resettlement carry with them the same potential negative consequences that disasters and climate-change themselves provoke, leading to consider relocation as the last option, when all other solutions have been discarded. Additionally, relocation seems to be increasingly less viable when taking into consideration the potential scale of the phenomenon. The population that is currently at risk and could potentially be impacted by disaster and climate change is disproportionate compared to available resources. It is estimated that in Peru only more than 21 million people live in conditions of extensive risk and 1% of these are in areas of non mitigable risk, subject to a demand and need for resettlement (Chavez, 2016)[9]. With such numbers, it is clear that

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[6] Ferris, E., (2015) Climate-Induced Resettlement: Environmental Change and the Planned Relocation of Communities. In SAIS Review of International Affairs, Vol. 35, no 1, pp: 109-117.

[7] De Sherbinin, A., et a. (2011) Preparing for population displacement and resettlement associated with large climate change adaptation and mitigation projects. In
Science, vol. 334, pp: 456-7.

[8] López-Carr, D., Marter-Kenyon, J., (2015) Human adaptation: Manage climate-induced resettlement, Nature, available at
http://www.nature.com/news/human-adaptation-manage-climate-induced-resettlement-1.16697 accessed: 19/05/17

[9] Chavez, A. (2016) Regional report, Peru. In Lavell, A., (2017) Colombia, Peru, and Mexico. Closure Report. Reducing Relocation Risk in Urban Areas, Research Project funded by DFID UK.

relocation is not viable for all. Although resettlement in response to disaster and climate impacts is unavoidable in some regions, it cannot be the only solution, and it should be considered alongside alternative options for risk reduction, including bottom-up community based initiatives.

These issues are at the core of the current international debate around climate related relocation and the recent, fast expanding literature on the subject. Most papers that examines such type of relocations are concerned with coastal communities subject to flooding, with case studies located in Alaska, Mozambique, Vietnam, Mongolia and Papua New Guinea. Being a recent field of study and practice, outcomes have not yet been fully analysed and assessed; however, efforts have been made over the last few years to define, reflect upon, document and systematise international experience in urban disaster risk reduction and risk reduction strategies including resettlement.

Ferris provides a definition of planned relocations[10] as 'a process in which persons or groups of persons move or are moved away from their homes, settled in a new location, and provided with the conditions for rebuilding their lives. Planned relocation is carried out under the jurisdiction of the state, takes place within national borders, and is undertaken in order to mitigate risk and impacts related to disasters, including the effects of climate change' (Ferris, 2015:2). De Sherbenin reminds us that relocation is far more complex than the material movement of people from one location to another (2011: 456). Building upon this, Correa (2011)[11] argues that resettlement is a multi-dimensional process that has spatial, social, economic and political implications and involves various sectors and institutions. Accordingly, resettlement should include land compensation, livelihood generation, food security, improved access to health services, transportation to jobs, appropriate housing designs and settlement layouts, proximity of natural habitat, restoration of community centres, and support for community and economic development. Paraphrasing Correa, resettlement should be conceived as a sustainable development program that includes disaster risk reduction. However, the multidimensionality of relocation is often overlooked or underestimated; particularly, social and economic aspects are ignored or not sufficiently prioritised compared to physical aspects such as housing design issues. To date there still exist a persistent tendency to address resettlement as a shelter problem, without an economically feasible reconstruction of productive activities (i.e. jobs and education) and creation of alternative livelihoods with sufficient income generation (Lavell, 2017:18)[12]. Providing physical support such as housing is deemed by governments as a more visible and measurable action, that garners more political mileage than longer more holistic rehabilitation (Jain, et a, 2017).

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[10] Further elaborating on it, Lavell distinguishes between relocation and resettlement, defining the former as the movement of individuals from one location to another with the maintenance of current livelihood schemes, access to services and determined levels of social relation and cohesion; and resettlement as a movement that 'clearly interrupts or seriously modifies the existing livelihood options and the types of access to existing services, and involves a need for consideration of past, or the development of new social relations and patterns of coexistence. This derives from a consideration of the term "settlement" itself which constitutes a condition characterized and defined by the creation of habitat and the generation and consolidation of livelihood options and social relations between members of a new community, made up of extended families, friends and others.' (Lavell, 2017:23)

[11] Correa, E., Ramirez, F., Sanahuja, H., (2011) Populations at Risk of Disaster: A Resettlement Guide. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington

[12] Lavell, A., (2017) Colombia, Peru, and Mexico. Closure Report. Reducing Relocation Risk in Urban Areas, Research Project funded by DFID UK.

B) The multi-dimensions of relocation and resettlement

Failure of past experiences is well documented in literature, although the reasons might vary. Several sources point at the fact that resettlement is often unsuccessful due to the inadequacy of new sites in term of selection as often such land has to be acquired quickly around conflictive or unclear ownership structures (often by Governments) as well as due to lack of participation in the process, excessive bureaucratisation, lack of integration between DRM and planning, social disintegration, inappropriate housing design, layouts, and construction (Jha et al., 2010)[13] that cause either greater impoverishment and/or the abandonment of the new site by the resettled community. The following section analyses in detail the seven dimensions of relocation, their relevance within a relocation plan and process, and the reasons why failing to address them results in a failure in the process.

1. Land

Anthony Oliver-Smith developed perhaps the first formal attempt to systematically survey successes and failures in post-disaster resettlement in 1991, focusing on earthquakes. Oliver-Smith found that the most common reason why resettlement fails is poor choice of site. The reason for poor site choice is often because the site is chosen with factors other than the welfare and development of the population in mind, such as urban rent considerations, growth pressures, the nature of land ownership and the lack of community or municipal land. Land is often designated for a resettlement project because it can be acquired easily and quickly, particularly in the case of government owned or controlled property (1991: 15)[14]. Even when the land is cheap, bringing infrastructure and services to these remote areas may be extremely expensive. Often, the full cost analysis of new sites does not include infrastructure investment and the provision of services, such as public transportation, resulting in increased cost of transport, water and electricity for the dwellers. The lack of infrastructure and service provision couple with the remotedness of the site diminish the opportunity to find job and income, that in turn produce financial stress and indebtedness. As a coping mechanism, the resettled population tend to increase the mobility after resettlement, moving between new and old site where vital resources, established social networks, livelihood opportunities and markets are. Another coping mechanism for relocated families is to engage in land transactions. People start markets of temporary titles and land; subletting and renting are alternative options. In conclusion, unsuitable sites, distant from original ones, and with lack of adequate infrastructure and services lead to loss of livelihoods, sense of community, cultural alienation, poverty and the reactionary abandonment of the new site for the previous one. Furthermore, if the choice of the new land does not take into consideration geographical and climatic factors, it tends to place dwellers at continued risk and expose them to further climate impacts (De Sherbenin, 2011).

> ### Case study Box 1.
> The relocation site of Nuevo Belen is located at the edge of the future expansion of the city of Iquitos, next to the conservation area of Allpahuayo-Mishana, and approximately 25 kilometers from the old site. The choice of the site location was driven by factors related to land value and cost, ownership and size. The land was privately owned and sold to the government for the purpose. It is surrounded by the rainforest, relatively isolated from other settlements, but next to the recently opened road that connects Iquitos and Nauta and constitutes the backbone of potential future urbanisation.

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[13] Jha, A. K., Barenstein, J. D., Phelps, P. M., Pittet, D.& Sena, S. (2010) Safer Homes, Safer Communities: A Handbook for Reconstructing after Natural Disasters ('Reconstruction Handbook')

[14] Oliver-Smith, A.,(1991) Successes and Failures in Post-Disaster Resettlement. In Disasters Volume 15, Issue 1, pp 12-23
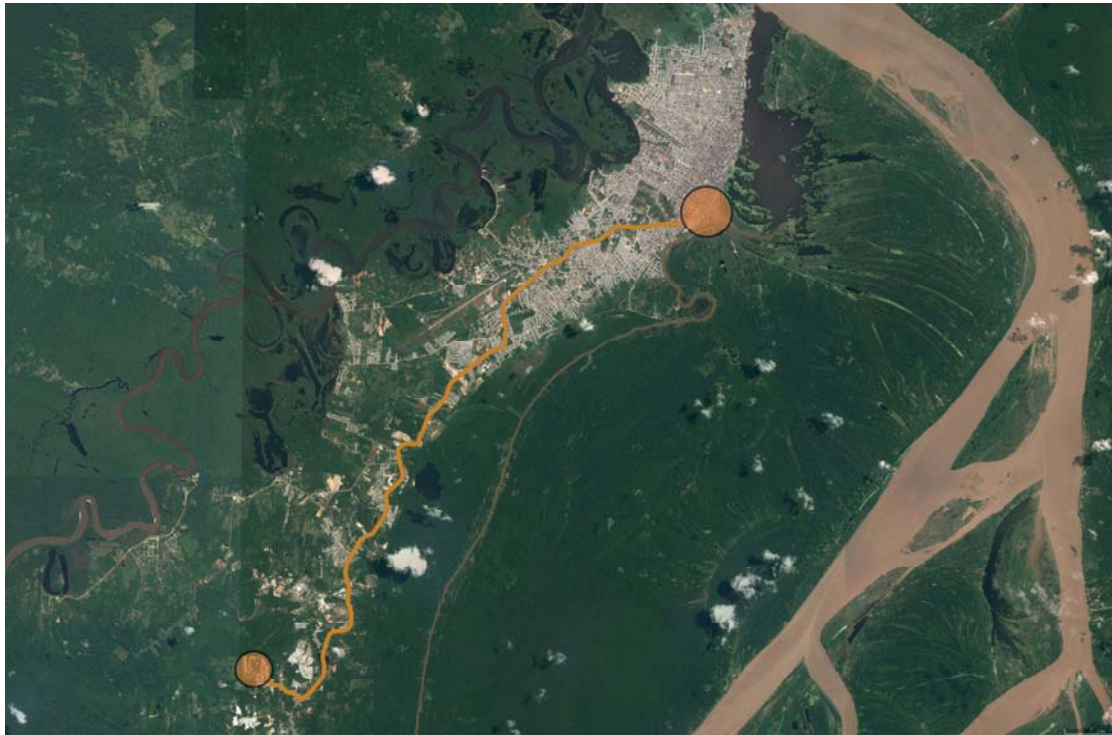
Figure. Site location. Prepared by DPU students, 2017 (base map: Google).
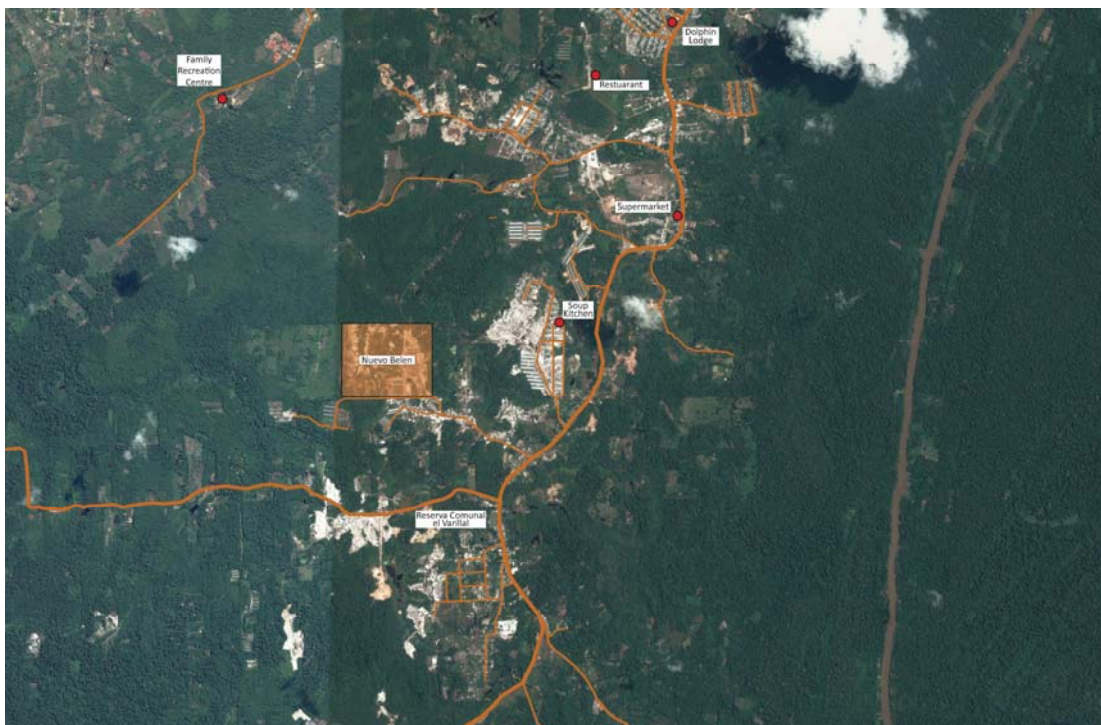
Figure. Road networks and "formal" activities. Prepared by DPU students, 2017 (base map: Google).

The area of 50 hectares do not present access to the rivers (Amazon tributaries called Nanay and Itaya) which constitute one of the main source of income and jobs. This results in high unemployment rates amongst the relocated population after the first year of relocation (approximately 200 families), and a source of discontent amongst those who have not yet been relocated. The cost for infrastructure provision in the area was highly undervalued at the

inception of the project, considering its environmental impact, and the disproportionate maintenance cost. A certain level of mobility between the new and the old site is currently ensured by the practice of house sharing between different families, in spite of the law that forbids to sell the house and the land before five years from the relocation.

2. Participation

Another common reason for the failure of resettlement in the past is when policies and plans depend very little on consultation and engagement with the population to be resettled that results on one side in the lack of understanding of their socially and culturally derived needs and values, and on the other side in inappropriate choices of site locations and housing design. If the needs of the population and the reasons for relocation are not understood and agreed upon amongst community, policy makers, planners and politicians, resettlement "simply fails because people refuse to be relocated, or abandon new sites in favour of migration, or repopulate old sites regardless of danger, largely for the economic advantages which these locations afforded people in their traditional contexts" (Oliver-Smith, 1991: 20)[15]. Correa argues that good solutions and successful processes largely depend on community participation. Resettlement processes should be conducted in a transparent and fully participatory manner allowing affected communities to participate in critical resettlement and implementation decisions (site selection, identification of basic needs, settlement planning, housing design, and implementation). Bringing communities into the decision-making process through residents' associations and any other community organisations is a crucial aspect to restore livelihoods as well as meet immediate needs. Participation aims to reach joint decisions and enable the community collectively to keep pace with and manage unseen factors during the process to increase the consideration on aspirations and needs of the people, the local context and particularly the multiple way space is used, the meaning of the house, and relevance of livelihoods sources. However, the reality is that many past relocations have been conducted within vertical processes where, in the best case, population was informed and persuaded to collaborate, as opposed to being part of the process, and without a say over relevant choices.

Case study Box 2.

The relocation process in Nuevo Belen has so far poorly involved the local community. The plan was prepared and implemented by the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation (Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento, MVCS) as part of the national housing programme "Programa Nuestras Ciudades"[16] and in conformity with the 2011 disaster risk management (DRM) state policy (Regulation to Law 29664[17]). No consultation has been conducted for the choice of the site or the housing layouts that reflects international standards. It is yet to be understood to what extent the local needs have been taken into

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[15] Oliver-Smith's analysis resonates with more recent experience in Haiti following Hurricane Mitch and in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. Disasters still provide a convenient pretext to uproot large numbers of people (Oliver-Smith 1991; 2006) and sites are often chosen without the clear interests of the population in mind. The process of selection generally takes place with inadequate consultation, and this potentially leads to the construction of "ghettos that are far away from where people will need to restore their economic lives" (Alfredo Stein commenting on Hurricane Mitch, cited in IFRC, 2010: 54).

[16] http://www3.vivienda.gob.pe/pnc/index.html

[17] "Peru has adopted disaster risk management (DRM) as a state policy. Within this context, the country needed a legal framework that reflected both national policy on the subject and internationally recognized best practices in risk management. Accordingly, an act establishing the National Disaster Risk Management System (Sistema Nacional de Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres, or SINAGERD) was promulgated in February 2011, followed by publication of its enabling regulations in May of the same year. The system's main objectives, among others, are to identify and reduce hazard-related risks and minimize their effects, prevent the occurrence of new risks, and mobilize resources both for preparedness and for response when disaster strikes. One of the SINAGERD instruments is a financial management strategy". MEF, WB, GFDRR, 2016. Peru: a comprehensive strategy for financial protection against natural disasters. https://www.mef.gob.pe/contenidos/pol_econ/documentos/PeruFinProtectionFL_ENG_low.pdf
Congreso de la República, 2011. Ley que crea el Sistema Nacional de Gestión del Riesgo de Desastres (SINAGERD). Ley Núm. 29664 http://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/156746/Peru_2011_Regulation%20approving%20Law%2029664%20creating%20a%20National%20Disaster%20Risk%20Management%20System%20(SINAGERD).pdf

consideration; however, a relevant report on socio-economic condition in the area has been released in early 2017[18]. A survey on the perception of relocation has been conducted in 2016 for the MVCS[19]. Overall, the relocation process has triggered the fierce opposition of the population and local organisations. The majority of local leaders are currently against the relocation; 70% of the beneficiaries are unwilling to relocate (as of July 2017) although the estimate has not been confirmed by the government[20].

3. Governance

Excessive verticalisation and bureaucratisation of the process, the lack of informational and procedural transparency, the lack of coordination amongst agencies, and the poor harmonisation between national, regional and local authorities are other reasons for dissatisfaction and failure of relocation process. According to Lavell, inter-institutional collaboration is fundamental as is the coordination between national, regional and local levels given the different roles played in planning, study, management and finance. Clearly, real problems exist with such coordination and the opportunities for it to be achieved (2017:18). Resettlements of communities does not happen in a socio-temporal nor a political vacuum, but rather amidst conflicting interests. Past experiences have demonstrated that the process ignites social conflicts and mistrust towards the government, even more when resettlement is not carried out in a participatory and integrated manner (Lavell, 2017:11).

Case study Box 3.

The national, regional and local actors that are involved in the relocation process of Nuevo Belen include the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation (MVCS), the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion, the CENEPRED (Centre for Disaster Risk Reduction), the Loreto Region, the Province of Maynas, and the municipalities of the two districts of Belen and San Juan Bautista. The MVCS is in charge of designing andimplementing, while the Ministry of Economics and Finance is in charge offunding the housing construction (including infrastructure provision – such as water, sanitation and electricity); the municipality of San Juan Bautista is in charge of designing and managing the public spaces. Despite an initial effort in "decentralising" the project, no integration effort was done in the delivery of the different parts of the process; the disarticulation between actors at the different scales was coupled by a failure in building the local capacity to manage the relocation process.

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[18] MVCS.CENCA. 2017. Informe Tercer Producto. Estudio De Evaluación Del Potencial Económico Y Social Del Ámbito De Estudio Y El Área De Influencia De La Nueva Ciudad De Belén

[19] MVCS, 2016. Percepción de la población de la Zona Baja de Belén acerca de la reubicación y del proyecto de la Nueva Ciudad de Belén. Junio 2016. Informe Final elaborado para el Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento (93 pp). Another study, conducted by the Universidad Nacional de la Amazonía Peruana (UNAP), "Percepción socio - ambiental de la población (zona baja de Belén), reubicada en el varillalito. carretera Iquitos - Nauta. km 13.5. distrito de San Juan Bautista. Región Loreto" is available online at
http://repositorio.unapiquitos.edu.pe/handle/UNAP/4366

[20] Videos and article promoting or contesting the relocation plan https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=btF02xgIdtQ&t=39s
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=298&v=WKXa1DSD-T4
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=5&v=c7suKvhS8eg
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=12&v=9DiBTphXriI
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH9gYEY9VYk
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yV_1KFhzptA
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rZ-CyBcyFt4
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hrpga4nGK54
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hbw2N3YQEA4
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SS8me5CIRvA
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSsXca9J8Ek
https://elcomercio.pe/peru/loreto/belen-dividido-quieren-reubicarse-otros-349636
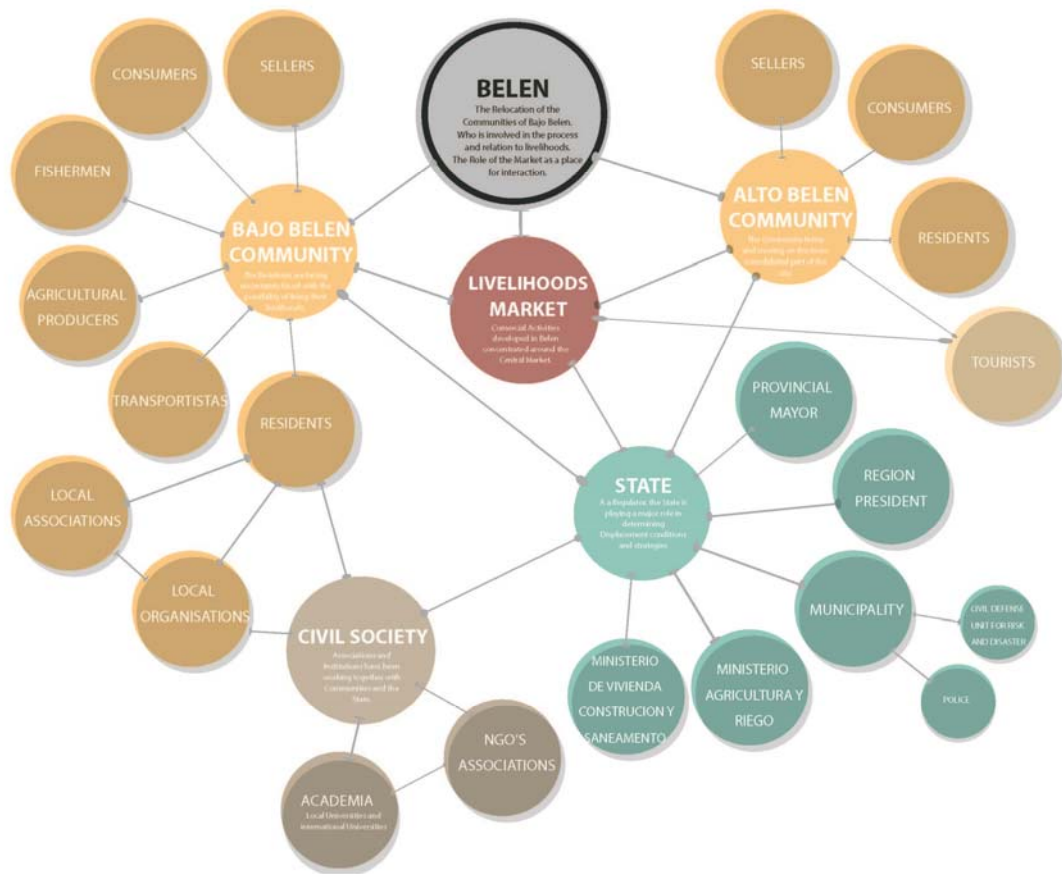
Figure. Actors' diagram. Prepared by DPU students, 2017 (multiple sources).

4. DRM and planning

Another prominent issue is the lack of integration between DRM strategies and policy, urban development planning and land use. Particularly, national DRM policy seem less able to integrate into existing planning frameworks as it is well documented across development and disaster response literature (Rwomire, 2001; Begum, 2015; Yazdani, 2015)[21]. Instead of including resettlement and relocation plans within disaster risk reduction strategies, they should be articulated within social development programmes that include land compensation, livelihood generation, food security, improved access to health services, transportation to jobs, appropriate housing designs and settlement layouts, proximity of natural habitat, restoration of community centres, support for community and economic development, AND disaster risk reduction. Finally, policy on resettlement rather than dictating rigid rules on resettlement schemes, should identify clear sustainable development goals (Lavell, 2017).

Case study Box 4.

The DRM state policy released in 2011 is a national policy that takes in little consideration the specificity and diversity of local contexts, especially the Amazon context. The region of Loreto has a territorial plan that addresses conservation of biodiversity with poor reference to urban issues. The city of Iquitos in turn does not have an Urban Development Plan (PDU) with a clear

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[21] Rwomire, A (2001) Social problems in Africa: new visions, Greenwood Publishing Group.

Begum, H (2015) Improving access to housing for lowincome communities in Dhaka: From rhetoric to reality in community participation

Yazdani, S, Dola, K, Azizi, MM and Yusof, JM (2015) Challenges of coordination in provision of urban infrastructure for new residential areas: the Iranian experience. Environmental Management and Sustainable Development 4(1): 48.

vision and principles for sustainable development. Finally, the three planning levels are not integrated.
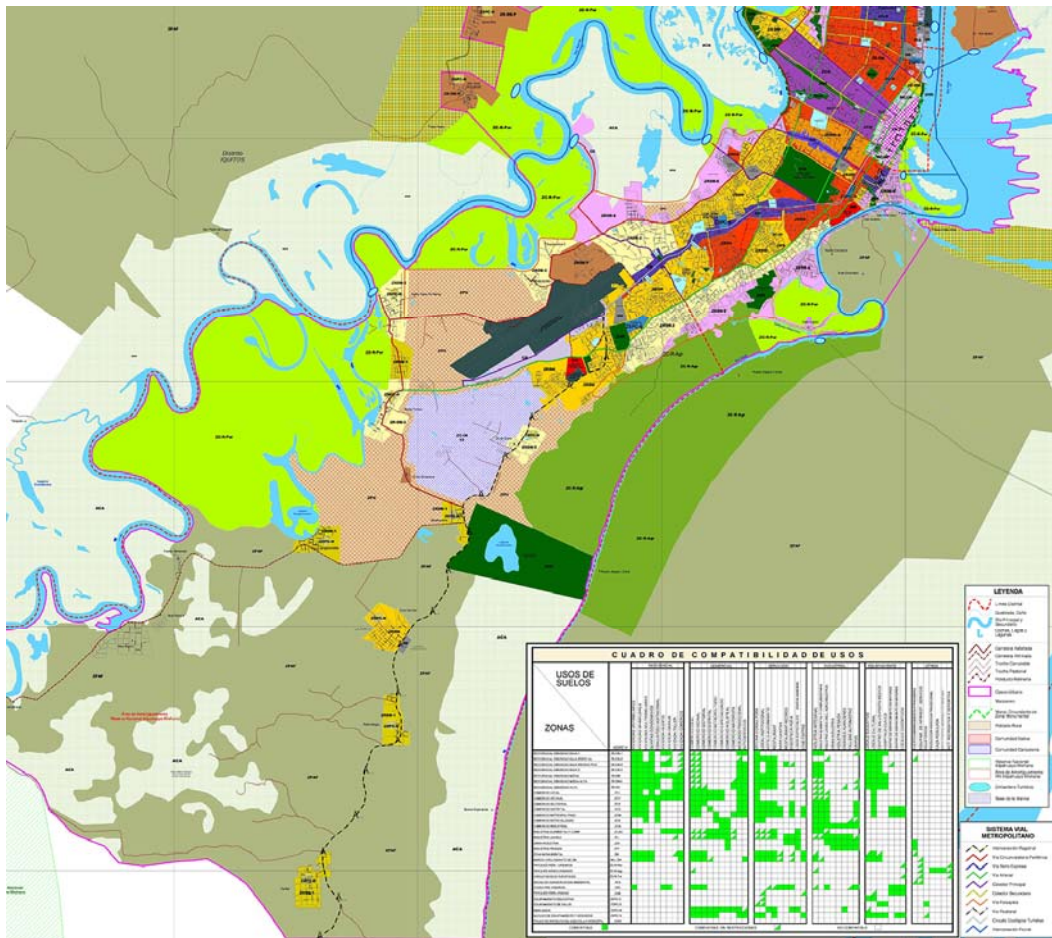
Figure. Land use map (part). "Plano de Desarrollo Urbano Sostenible de la Ciudad de Iquitos" (Source: Province of Maynas)[22]

5. Tenure

Ensuring land tenure security is a central component of the positive outcome of relocation. Failure to provide titling to relocated population not only creates discontent, lack of belonging, and higher probability of abandonment of the site, above all it exposes the population to continued risk (relocation, eviction and impoverishment). Currently debated is also the issue of double titling. People's reaction and perception around resettlement greatly relies upon the possibility to retain the ownership of the previous house, as highlighted by Lavell in the case of Tongabamba in Peru (Lavell, 2017:39). This could ensure the mobility between two sites, the conservation of livelihoods systems and an overall increase in economic assets. Though, allowing double titling is often forbidden by the law as a measure to prevent at-risk areas from being settled again (Correa, 2011). In certain cases, vacated area raise the interest of private investors, often as a consequence of urban growth and land value raise. In no case areas at risk should be object to redevelopment unless there is a clear benefit for the previous residents and the city as a whole.

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[22] http://www.munimaynas.gob.pe/transparenciae/PDU%20Maynas/P03%20-%20Zonificacion%20General%20de%20los%20Usos%20de%20Suelo%20a.pdf
http://www.munimaynas.gob.pe/transparenciae/PDU%20Maynas/P03%20-%20Zonificacion%20General%20de%20los%20Usos%20de%20Suelo%20b.pdf

Figure. Demolition of the house in Bajo Belen. Courtesy CASA team.

Case study Box 5.

The beneficiaries of the houses in the relocation site of Nuevo Belen have to return the title of their house before being given the new one. The old house is demolished, and materials recycled (often transported to the new site and the cost covered). Currently, no plan for the redevelopment of the old site has been made public, although according to rumours the area could be turned into a park to serve a new touristic area of the city[23]. Most of the beneficiaries have tenure and land/house titles. In the event they refuse to hand it over, they cannot be evicted (eviction can only occur in case of construction of new infrastructure). In the event they agree to hand over the title and be relocated, they are under obligation to reside in the new house for five years after the relocation; after that period, they can sell the house and move out.

6. Housing design

Unresponsive housing design and poor construction are often to blame for the rejection or failure of post-disaster resettlement projects, creating non-viable alternatives for the relocated population such as severe livelihood adaptation. The inadequate size and typology of the houses are factors that might induce people to abandon the relocation site shortly after to return to the old site or to find better solutions elsewhere. Housing design that is not appropriate to the climate and geographical context decrease wellbeing of families. Furthermore, badly designed houses imply financial risks, as they impose costs on their occupiers. These costs (for re-arranging, replace materials, re-building, maintaining, etc) are never taken into account within the relocation plans. Bad design and poor construction often results from the combination of three factors: urgency and/or emergency in which the plan is carried out, lack of involvement of local population, poor understanding of the local context and funding availability.

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[23] A project for the expansion of the market of Iquitos started in 2016, as part of a joint programme between the ministry of Porduction (Ministerio de la Producción - PRODUCE) and UNDP. https://info.undp.org/docs/pdc/Documents/PER/PI%20PRODUCE%20FIRMADO.pdf

Figure. Settlement layout and houses built as of December 2017. Prepared by DPU students, 2017 (base map: Google; plan: MVCS).

Case study Box 6.

The housing design in the relocation site of Nuevo Belen follows standards set up by large construction companies that poorly adapt to local context, to dwelling and inhabiting practices, either in terms of construction materials, spatial arrangement and distribution. The size of the plots of land is 120 sq.mt, out of which 40 sq.mt. is for the house, and 80 sq.mt. for the backyard or garden ("huertas"). Houses are too small compared to the local standard (according to local use, houses are shared by multiple families). As of July 2017, residents were proud to be living in houses made of brick and mortar, although they started complaining about thermal insulation and comfort. The construction materials, although comparatively more durable than the materials of the old houses, seems the least apt to the tropical climate. They are inefficient in terms of heath insulation making the houses unhabitable in the hottest periods of the year. The settlement layout shows a rigid division between public and private space, houses and green/open spaces which does not belong to the local tradition of socio-spatial organisation. In particular, the planned parks show reference to an urban culture that is alien to the context of the rainforest. As coping mechanism, relocated families are modifying the space in and around the houses to better adapt to their needs (transforming the house into a shop, and building houses on stilts in the backyards with local materials and better ventilation).

Figure. Extension and changes in the relocation site. July 2017. Photo by Giovanna Astolfo

7. Livelihoods

It is well understood that the movement away from ones' home and land adversely impacts livelihoods and thus create further impoverishment consequent to the loss of job, income and social networks. There is very little evidence (as well as knowledge) of successful livelihoods reconstruction after planned relocation and resettlement. An increased number of researches are generating evidence on the (negative) impact of relocation on livelihoods through novel methodologies that explore spatial dependence of livelihoods systems, in terms of both location and social ties. The disruption of livelihoods subsequent to relocation and resettlement has negative impacts on city prosperity as well, such as increased inequality and conflict (ie post-resettlement relocation, increased informality and poverty). According to international best practice, "displaced persons should be assisted in their efforts to improve their livelihoods and standards of living or at least to restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels or to levels prevailing prior to the beginning of project implementation, whichever is higher." (World Bank, 2001[24]). The policy document – which has normative value only - prescribes studies and surveys on existing livelihoods prior to resettlement and afterwards. Relocated population should at least get back to their existing livelihoods or ideally improve their livelihoods as part of the resettlement plan. Resettlement should not be approached just as compensation but as a development project, and governments would have to demonstrate the they managed to restore livelihoods.

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[24] World Bank OP 4.12: Involuntary Resettlement (2001)

Figure. Supply chain showing an example of traditional product circuit in Bajo Belen. Produced by DPU students, 2017

Case study Box 7.

The CENCA report[25] is a study of the economic and social potential, within the environment/area of influence of the new city of Belen (chapters 3 and 4). It substantially lacks of qualitative study of the livelihoods system, particularly in terms of circulation of goods, knowledge and people and relation with the location. Though, it includes some proposals for the development of economic activities (p 152 onwards) to support the relocation process. Such proposals range from gastronomy projects, textile production, artisanal crafts, creation of "my market in Varillalito" until visions for Nuevo Belen as a cultural city. As of one year after the presentation of the projects, no action has been taken by none of the actors involved in the implementation. The implementation of a single project can hardly achieve the goal of reconstructing the livelihoods systems, as the latter usually relies on a portfolio of different activities.

8. Social Capital

Cernea identified some of the common risks faced by resettled population after displacement in a template called 'Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model'. One of the greater risks consequent to displacement is social disintegration (Cernea, 2001)[26]. Moving to a new location can

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[25] MVCS, CENCA. 2017, Estudio de Evaluacion del potencial economico y social del ambito de estudio y el area de influencia de la nueva ciudad de belen, Informe tercer producto.

[26] Cernea, M., (2001) Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management and Reconstruction: a Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement

break various community links and damage previous community assistance mechanisms - either because some members are relocated and some are not, or simply because some chose not to relocate. According to the author, the break-up of community during and after the relocation process contributes to impoverishment in several ways. At the scale of the family, relocation can contribute to marriage difficulties and family separation resulting from family members leaving (either returning to the old site, or moving between sites) or migrating, thus reducing the economic support to the family. At the scale of the community the reduction of the intra-community solidarity can undermine people's cohesion and the possibility of mobilisation, leading to a process of de-politicisation. It can also result in a loss of access to common property as well as conflicts and competition with hosting communities over scarce resources, such as land, food, fuel, water, and fodder for livestock.

Within the context of post-disaster reconstruction, Mark Pelling (2001)[27] found that the erosion of social capital is a critical risk driver[28]; while Daniel Aldrich (2010)[29] suggests that social capital becomes often the engine for recovery. He points out that social capital is important for three reasons: 1) social ties can serve as informal insurance, providing victims with information, financial help, and physical assistance; 2) organized communities can better mobilize and overcome barriers to collective action; 3) survivors have difficult choices to make following a disaster[30]. Recovery following the Kobe earthquake of 1995 provides a clear lesson about the importance of maintaining social capital in post disaster recovery. According to Nakagawa and Shaw (2004)[31], community volunteers and CBOs played the most important roles at every stage of the disaster response. As in most urban contexts, social capital is based more on social networks than on location, and thus it is important to potentiate the role of pre-existing community bodies rather than creating new ones. CBOs, in particular, were able to mobilize disparate groups, but also to create a critical mass to advocate effectively for sustained government investment in risk reduction. Shaw and Goda (2004)[32] found that the protagonism of civil society bodies in the response, particularly CBOs, engendered an increase in volunteering and enhanced cooperation between local governance and residents' associations. This led to an 'emerging sense of self-governance' and a 'stronger sense of community solidarity'.

> **Case study Box 8.**
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> In the case of the relocation site of Nuevo Belen, it is too early to predict what social tension could arise, given that only 200 families have been relocated to date. Certainly the different spatial layout will not favour the preservation of social ties; and the newly created proximity might favour tensions. The selection of beneficiaries has already affected the community organisation in the old site, creating factions. In particular, the identification of the residents to be relocated was done according to administrative unit criteria and based on a study of the morphing modelling of the river; though this is just 10% of what needs to be relocated and of what is actually at risk of flooding. Furthermore, when the old site of Bajo Belen was declared a "risk area", health services stopped being provided, putting at risk the population and creating a "soft eviction" situation.

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[27] Pelling, M., (2001) Social capital, Sustainability and Natural Hazards in the Caribbean. Research report. University of Liverpool.

[28] The study suggests that "US hegemony and structural adjustment programmes reshaped urban political-economies and stimulated a growth in urban poverty" (Pelling, 2001: 10), leading to large-scale redundancies in Georgetown (Guyana) in the predominantly urban, Afro-Guyanese public sector workforce, making this the most vulnerable social group. The individualistic climate under structural adjustment contributed to corporate tendencies which bred mistrust of CBOs, historically repressed or co-opted, and thus led to increasing social fragmentation. This is a common story, but it is also reflected in city's recovery following disaster.

[29] Aldrich, D.P., (2010) Fixing Recovery: social capital in post-crisis resilience. Department of Political Science Faculty Publications, Paper 3

[30] Moreover, Aldrich (2010) argues that "a social capital deficit may explain why New Orleans as a whole did not witness the vibrant recovery seen in Kobe or Tamil Nadu despite its significant material advantages" (Aldrich, 2010: 4).

[31] Nakagawa, Y., Shaw, R., (2004) Social Capital: A missing link to disaster recovery. In International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters, vol. 22, no 1, pp: 5-34.

[32] Shaw, R., Goda, K., (2004) From disaster to Sustainable civil society: The Kobe experience. In Disasters, vol 28, no 1, pp: 16-40.

Flood Pre-event Situation

Flooding Situation of 24/03/2017

Sewage Discharge

Sanitary Risk Zone by direct discharge of Sewage

Sanitary Risk Zone by Exposure of Pipes

Sanitary Risk Area by Fire

Solid Waste Accumulation Area

Figure. Areas subject to flooding in Iquitos. Prepared by DPU students, 2017 (multiple sources). The map clearly shows that the flooding affect more settlements than those that have been considered for relocation (in red).

9. Time, scale, cost-benefit analysis and post-relocation evaluation

Petz (2015)[33] identifies more factors that have an impact on the success – or perceived success – of a particular relocation effort. Firstly, a longer timeframe allows for better planning and for stronger involvement of affected persons and communities. Anticipatory relocations often also allow affected persons to stay in their homes until the relocation date. Secondly, a number of studies show that planning on a small scale (community or municipality level) has a better chance of success than large scale relocations of hundreds of thousands or even millions of persons. Also, local management proves to be more successful. Thirdly, cost-benefit analysis that are conducted before undertaking relocation processes, should be a helpful tool, although their reliability is questionable, as they rely on economic measures and quantitative data (ie around physical hazards and type of exposure), overlooking qualitative ones, social needs, range of risk they face and overall perception of risk. According to Lavell (2016) cost and benefits analysis are too sporadically conducted, and most of the times only in few cases the decision to resettle is based on disaster risk analysis. Finally, post-relocation evaluation should be conducted in order to understand whether relocation has actually reduced or rather

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[33] Petz, (2015) Planned relocations in the context of natural disasters and climate change, Brookings Institutions.

increased exposure to risk. People should feel at least as well as they were before (although ideally relocation should be a development opportunity). According to De Sherbenin (2011), long-term success can only be determined by follow-up studies with the second and subsequent generations post resettlement. At present there is little statistical evidence that the condition of resettled people improves or worsen over time in the case of climate change induced resettlement.

Conclusion. Even when relocations are well planned, financed and executed, and all above aspects are kept into consideration, there is no guarantee that the affected persons will see such relocations as a success given the multiple socio-economic and cultural issues that come into play, and particularly over time. All dimensions that point to the fact that resettlement should be mostly avoided and considered as last option. According to Lavell (2016)[34], the only way to avoid resettlement is through planning strategies (ie secure land for occupation by urban poor via land banks). When this is not possible, relocation should be conducted in a transparent and fully participatory manner allowing affected communities to participate in critical resettlement and implementation decisions (site selection, identification of basic needs, settlement planning, housing design, and implementation). Most importantly, planning and design should account of the multidimensionality of relocation. In this sense, the process and the decision to relocate cannot solely take into account physical and material aspects (ie housing provision) but should rather encompass socio-economic and political aspects, making provision for services. Relocation should never be presented as a project, but rather as a poverty reduction programme, including employment, income and livelihoods needs. People will always prioritise access to job over reduction of risk of disaster. Relocation, as a form of urbanism and city-making process, should be seen as a sustainable development tool to mobilise and empower people.

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[34] Lavell, 2016, Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Cost and Benefit Analysis, 3/4. Research Porject Reducing Relocation Risk, DPU, Flacso,

C) Resettlement and gender

A number of different studies on post-resettlement impacts focus on gender relations (particularly women) showing that women experience more acute disruptions and hardships as a result of commercial land investments (Behrman et.al., 2011) and disaster induced developments. Relocation - whether related to development or disaster or climate change, whether forced or voluntary - could, and often does, exacerbate existing gender disparities and inequalities.

Welyne's paper focus upon renegotiation of gender roles for displaced households following forced resettlement in Sarawak, Malaysia (development related displacement). While men have migrated to urban areas as a result of the economic problems, wives have been left to deal with multiple roles (reproductive and productive), including making some crucial decisions with regard to resettlement, such as the development of infrastructure, public facilities and school buildings. Although migrating out of the resettlement enables men to seek employment, this is not an option for the women who are left behind with children and old parents. Thus, women struggle and face challenges to provide food and care, yet they are powerless when it comes to making crucial decisions regarding issues for the betterment of their households and surroundings.

Salcedo-La Viña and Notess (2017)[35] reflect on the case of relocation in Tanzania and Mozambique, and particularly on the policy failure in recognising gender dimensions, largely attributed to women's general lack of land rights and secure tenure, and subordinate position in the household and community. Having little or no say in the decision-making processes involved in the land investment, women are unable to seek compensation and replacements for what will be lost, including access to land for household food production and to the commonage from which resources—such as water, fuel wood, fodder, wild fruits and medicinal plants, etc.—are collected for supplemental nutrition or livelihoods. When the community is relocated, as is often the case, in addition to physical and economic dislocation, women suffer from the erosion of community networks—friends, relatives, neighbours—that they rely upon for social support. Their generally restricted mobility and limited exposure outside their communities make it more difficult for them to adjust to new situations and surroundings. If women are to restore their livelihoods and care of their families, they must be fully engaged in the decision-making processes related to the acquisition, including the discussions on compensation and the resettlement of the community. It is important that women get a share of the compensation payments and have continued access to land for housing and food production.

Particularly important for the aim of this review is the issue of land. As noted by ADB (2003)[36] "In many societies, women do not enjoy land and property rights, have lower levels of education than do men, work in the informal sector, experience restricted mobility, and carry responsibilities for meeting basic needs such as water, fuel, and fodder. Hence, economic and social disruption may result in greater hardships for women than for men… Gender issues in resettlement cannot be adequately addressed unless rights and equity concerns are identified, confronted, and tackled". The report suggests several key elements to be considered in relation to gender and resettlement worth to mention here:

1. Ownership of land and housing: Lack of landownership and property rights denies women equal access to compensation. ADB noted that in most projects, compensation, resettlement, and rehabilitation are based on legal ownership of land and property, but the reality is that in many societies, women may not have legal rights to land and property, even though they may have enjoyed usufruct rights, hence, becoming not eligible for compensation and other

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[35] Salcedo-La Viña, C., Notess, L., (2017), Ensuring gender-equity in compensation and resettlement schemes related to commercial land investments in Tanzania and Mozambique, Paper prepared for 2017 World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty, March 2017

[36] ADB, (2003) Gender Checklist Resettlement. Available at: www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/ 28731/gender-checklist-resettlement.pdf Accessed: 19/05/2017

benefits that may be available, Customary law has also to be taken into consideration as for example in many societies in Asia and Pacific women may have use rights over the land and forest, but are rarely allowed to inherit the land they use.

2. Restoration of livelihood and income is equally important to women and men. Women are largely engaged in the informal sector—gathering forest produce, working in the fields, or selling produce. Women's economic activities can be an important source of income for households. Dislocation can result in loss of livelihood, adding to women's economic hardships. Therefore, it is important to enumerate women's economic activities in planning and executing resettlement programs (ADB, 2003).

3. Existing intrahousehold gender disparities may become aggravated. Gender disparities that already exist in society and within the family tend to become aggravated in situations of involuntary displacement, rendering women and children, especially female children, vulnerable. This may manifest itself in greater morbidity or violence or fall in nutritional status. Equity in intrahousehold distribution of resources should not be assumed (ADB, 2003).

Correa, Ramirez and Sanahuja[37] in their *Populations at Risk of Disaster: A Resettlement Guide* (2011) focus on resettlement due to disasters. However, it is framed within the context of a changing climate, which "is likely to exacerbate" natural hazard risks for some communities, and the understanding that these increased risks will translate into increased need for resettlement. As such, much of the guidance provided in this document is also guidance for climate change resettlement. The document promotes a comprehensive approach (i.e. physical, economic, social, ecological and political vulnerability reduction) to resettlement but lacks any specific guidance on gender issues, despite advocating for it making valid the recommendation of ADB (2003) and Jha et al. (2010).

Planned Relocations, Disasters and Climate Change was a background paper for a March 2014 UNHCR-Brookings-Georgetown although with a main focus on cross-border resettlement, it does contains many suggestions that are also relevant to other cases.

Shelter and settlement projects for forcibly displaced populations frequently introduce complex issues of access to land for residential as well as agricultural use. Additionally, disputed property rights are an endemic feature in permanent resettlement sites and especially for returnees. Ownership disputes and the effective restitution of property rights are major constraints in post-conflict return programmes (Zetter, 2005[38]; Fitzpatrick, 2002; Leckie, 2009[39]). The emergence of the rights-based agenda for those displaced in conflicts and natural disasters to repossess and return to their homes is, as noted by Hurwits, Studdard and Williams (2005:8), one of the most important developments in recent peace-building efforts[40]. Even so, restitution processes have often been incomplete, generating additional frustration and grievance for the victims of involuntary displacement. There are significant gender implications here, as Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) put it, because land rights inequitably affect women. The flurry of law-making around property rights for returnees must include gender equal laws for property, other asset and inheritance. Special attention needs to be paid to these

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[37] Correa, E., Ramirez, F., Sanahuja, H., (2011) Populations at Risk of Disaster: A Resettlement Guide. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington

[38] Zetter, R.W., (2005) Land, housing and the reconstruction of the built environment in

[39] Leckie, S., (2009) Climate-related disasters and displacement: Homes for lost homes, lands for lost lands. In Population Dynamics and Climate Change.

[40] In August 2005, United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights endorsed the Principles on Housing and Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons (UN, 2005b). The Principles recognize the right of all refugees and displaced persons to have restored to them any housing, land and/or property of which they were arbitrarily or unlawfully deprived, or to be compensated for any housing, land and/or property that is factually impossible to restore.

questions for female heads of household. Particular issues of equity arise in relation to inheritance[41], property rights and access to family land and homes where the displaced or returning women are widows, divorced or separated (WCRWC, 2006).

But once new gender equal laws are promulgated, as they have been in post-conflict countries like Namibia, Rwanda and Uganda, customary law usually continues to prevail, impeding women's enjoyment of their newly established statutory rights. Thus other reforms are necessary to ensure that develop women's legal literacy and access to justice through the courts and legal professionals. The main impediments women confront are the lack of information about their legal rights, and the lack the capacity and resources to pursue their rights (such as literacy, money, and power within their families).

Enloe emphasizes that the end of a war is crowded with gendered decisions (1993:561), but concerns about post-conflict reconstruction override the promotion of women's equal status and opportunities within a society[42]. The policies and programmes of international funding agencies typically concentrate upon the 4Rs[43] and the reconstruction of physical, political, educational, and economic infrastructures, not people's lives.

While rebuilding infrastructure is crucial, these initiatives must occur in tandem with developing community capacity, and enhancing collective human security (Commission on Human Security, 2003; McKay, 2004; UN, 2002). This is because in the post-conflict period, and indeed in post-disaster situations, communities play key roles in social and cultural reconstruction, and this community support is a crucial vehicle for ensuring and promoting women's human rights and security. Unfortunately, communities are typically low on the priority lists of governments and donors when they are planning reconstruction, having to rely on their own meagre resources to cope with changes wrought by war (McKay and Mazurana, 2004).

For returnee and post-disaster affected populations, despite the heavy incidence of agency and contractor supplied housing and reconstruction, field experience advocates the adoption of self-help approaches alongside technical assistance (Sørensen 1998, Spees, 2004). It is ironic that such an approach needs emphasis, since it merely follows the pre-displacement housebuilding traditions found in many societies where people are used to building their own homes with the help of family and friends, and accustomed to hiring skilled labour to complete technically difficult aspects of the construction. But in such conditions of dramatic social change, self-help technology requires gender-aware policies and process to ensure that women have equality of access to decision-making processes and the practical tasks.

For example, in the case of the earthquake affected Indian state of Maharashtra, during the construction stage, homeowners took on the responsibility of repairing, retrofitting and strengthening their houses, with materials, financial and technical assistance provided by the government. In most villages, these committees consisted of women's self-help groups for whom training and facilitation was externally provided (Barakat, 2003:34)[44]. The adoption of self-help approaches to housing reconstruction has also been widely adopted in the Balkans. Even vulnerable members of the community, including households headed by women, have managed to participate in self-build

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[41] The issue of inheritance is a fundamental issue with regard to how wealth is transferred within a society, and directly relates to the protection of a woman's housing: for wider discussion see COHRE 2005.

[42] Gender relationships in post-war contexts tend to reinforce traditional patterns, rather than new roles that girls and women may have adopted during armed conflict. At community level, at the level of the institutions which distribute resources, and at the level of national policy formulation, women and girls are usually rendered invisible or are, at best, marginalized by being perceived only as leaders and facilitators of cultural and social reconstruction (McKay 2004:20).

[43] Repatriation, rehabilitation, reconstruction and resettlement (UNHCR, 2003).

[44] Barakat, S., (2003) Housing reconstruction after conflict and disaster. Overseas Development Institute

projects by securing help from relatives and friends, thereby increasing women's participation and social benefits (Barakat, 2003:35; Boano, 2004:15; Cukur, Magnusson, Molander, Skotte, 2005). In post-Mitch, Nicaragua, some organisations attempted to include more 'strategic' as well as practical gender needs via consciousness-raising activities. Entry to the projects may have been at a 'practical' level, but this served as a gateway to strengthen training, participation and credit schemes in addition to gender awareness activities (Bradshaw 2001:83).

Experience in Kosovo shows that despite lack of participation in planning, some women from both Albanian and Serbian women's groups were involved in project activities supported through the Kosovo Women Initiative but with marginal results (Kalungu-Banda, 2004; Baker and Haug, 2002). Minervini, in a review of housing reconstruction in Kosovo, found that a gender balance imposed on Village Reconstruction Committees produced fruitful results despite the stable male-dominated Kosovar society (2002:581).

The principal reports and evaluations already cited provide guidelines for enhancing women's participation in the sector. The UNHCR (2005:112) emphasises the need for targeted action and on-going support if effective participation by women is to be mobilised in the development of collective design and spatial strategies. The target of 50% female participation in management and leadership committees is noted. Key here is participation in committees and other management structures with responsibility in two contexts: first, situation analysis in the early stages of identifying needs since even emergency infrastructure and shelter and settlement decisions have long term and developmental implications; second, housing design and settlement layout including provision of/access to infrastructure such as water points, sanitation and food distribution and other core services (IASC 2005:54, UNHCR 2005a:111-112), and public works contracts. Their involvement in these decisions is vital so as not to expose them to additional risks and to maximise convenience. Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004:78) make the same point with regard to post-conflict reconstruction.

Recently, cash transfers and food-for-work infrastructure projects have gained attention in emergency responses (Creti and Jaspars, 2006; Adams and Winahyu, 2006). Examples here are in Gujarat, Sri Lanka and Pakistan (Causton and Saunders, 2006; IRIN, 2005; Save the Children, 2006; Sewalanka Foundation, 2005) and post-tsunami programmes which mobilised those displaced by disaster and encouraged them to return to their villages and paid women and men equal wages (Gore and Patel, 2006:19; Adams, 2006; Adams and Winahyu, 2006) [45].

A key advantage is that, unlike in-kind aid, cash allows households flexibility for participants to decide their spending needs, giving positive results for children through its impacts on nutrition, health and education. It is often a more empowering and dignified form of support: can help generate local market activity and restart livelihoods in addition to the fact that it can give women more decision-making power over resources (Gore and Patel 2006). However, the main challenge is the overt and embedded discrimination against women's participation. Often, (re-)construction programmes constitute so called 'men's work' (Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2004:78) and women may in any case be excluded because of other demands on their time.

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[45] This approach recognises that women tend to use resources differently from men, as they tend to spend more on their children. Empirical studies have shown that the percentage of income that a household spends on children and its allocations of food and medical care vary, based on the proportions of income earned by women and men (Visvanathan *et al.* 1997). Studies have shown that where women retain control over income, there is a greater positive effect on food expenditures and child well-being, compared to men retaining control (Hoddinott and Haddad 1995). These findings suggest that it is critical to target women with cash interventions, if the objective of the project is to improve child nutritional status or food security. If it is impossible to target women in cash interventions, it may be better to distribute food rather than cash, since women are the main contributors to food preparation. In contexts where women cannot participate in cash for work programmes for some reason, men can be paid in food rather than cash to increase the likelihood that the benefits of the programme will reach women and children.

Oxfam experience is relevant here. Post tsunami reconstruction illustrates the importance of targeting women in an equal manner engaging them as a crucial catalyst in mobilizing the whole community in small scale rehabilitation and in cleaning works (Adams and Winahyu, 2006:54-60)[46]. A cash-for-work programme developed by Oxfam in response to devastation caused by the cyclone in Orissa, India, produced similar positive outcomes (Khogali and Takhar, 2001:44-45). These and other field experience stress the importance of challenging the gender division of labour, and prejudices about women's capabilities[47], at both community and household levels.

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[46] In the case of Lamno in Aceh, (Adams and Winahyu 2006:54) the Oxfam programme targeted people living in temporary or semi-permanent structures and local traders operating from small kiosks. People were engaged in productive activities, and were able to stay in their home communities and clean them up. Freedom to spend, save and invest, participants had cash and freedom as to how it was used. Cash was available for purchase of fresh fish, fruit and vegetables, and other food items; cash was also saved (as gold) or invested in small business. Programme managers prioritised the involvement of women in the work, although the lack of attention to addressing constraints to women's participation (child care, for instance) resulted in some women who may have wanted to work being excluded (Adams and Winahyu 2006:57). A similar experience in Chalang in Aceh, focused more on rehabilitation of agricultural land, shows that in terms of payment there was no difference in wages between men and women. In this experience was the first time that women received equal pay. Before the tsunami, it was not easy for women to get employment outside 'traditional' work on the farm, e.g planting, weeding and harvesting. The workers were happy with the higher wages; they also pointed out that the prices had increased since before the tsunami so the higher wages were justified. Moreover, as the work was done in a group it was not so heavy. Efforts were made to enable elderly women to participate as carers for children (Adams and Winahyu 2006:60).

[47] A recent study by the Norwegian Refugee Council (Bermudez et al. 2014) in Afghanistan, Ecuador, Lebanon, Liberia, Palestine (Gaza) and South Sudan has addressed an important evidence gap surrounding women's HLP rights in conflict settings. Although the study is not specifically grounded in urban areas, the crisis affecting these countries have had a strong urban component. The study identified a number of barriers that women face in accessing HLP rights, notably repressive social norms (including those embedded in family, community and justice structures), poverty and destitution, and how these factors are working to perpetuate gender inequalities. Moreover, these inequalities are often exacerbated during displacement, when women – as refugees, IDPs, returnees, members of economically disadvantaged groups, and as members of ethnic and/or religious minorities – face "multiple layers of discrimination" (ibid, p. 10).

In order to respond to many of the HLP are impacting resettlement and relocation, especially on women, it is increasingly argued that policies and implementations need to shift their focus away from providing shelter as a product towards addressing the processes through which people gain access to shelter and recover (Crawford et al., 2010; Davis, 1978, 2011; IASC, 2010; UNHabitat & UNHCR, 2014).

D) Self recovery and livelihoods strategies. What (self)sustainable relocation tell us

There is very little evidence (as well as knowledge) of successful livelihoods reconstruction after planned relocation and resettlement. Most of the literature points out to failures, and scholarship is increasingly persuaded that relocation should be the last option. In this latter case, what are the alternative options? There exist a number of less known recent examples and projects that constitute an alternative to relocation in the context of disaster and risk reduction. Most of them are community-based initiatives for the reconstruction of houses and livelihoods further to disaster impact. The following examples are located in Philippines, Indonesia, Puerto Rico, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Project 1 and 5 consist of a self-recovery project supported by international and national NGOs; project 2 consists of a people-led on-site reconstruction in defiance of initial government relocation policy; project 3 consists of an on-site relocation and upgrading project led by the residents; project 4 is a NGO-supported project to secure land for future climate refugees.

Project Box 1. Typhoon Haiyan shelter recovery project (Philippines)

Typhoon Haiyan, known in the Philippines as Yolanda, hit the islands of central Philippines in November 2013. Out of the total affected, 4 million people were displaced to evacuation centres. The number of damaged houses was over 1 million. Advisors quickly recognised that the affected population had immediately started to reconstruct, and hence NGO's response strategy was adjusted from concentrating on emergency needs to early recovery. CARE Philippines provided livelihood support focusing on community enterprises and women entrepreneurs, with possible extension of shelter support in the form of DRR training, and limited construction for specifically vulnerable households. CARE adopted a Community-led Gender-responsive Beneficiary Selection Process, a multi-sector participatory process which heavily involved consultations with the local government units and the communities. Following the decision to accelerate self-recovery support rather than expand emergency shelter assistance, CARE was able to reallocate some funding from its emergency to self-recovery shelter programmes (although it was unable to re-allocate funding already committed).

http://reliefweb.int/report/philippines/care-philippines-typhoon-haiyan-shelter-recovery-project-evaluation

Project Box 2. Integrated People-Driven Reconstruction (Indonesia)

The tsunami of December 2004 had a massive impact around the Indian Ocean's rim, destroying lives, villages and livelihoods on a massive scale. This project is implemented in fishing communities along the west coast of Banda Aceh, which was one of the worst hit areas being located closest to the epicentre. Survivors in these villages began working immediately after the tsunami to rebuild their ruined settlements, physically, socially and economically. As well as the immediate threats to health and well-being, longer term reconstruction programmes faced additional challenges due to the difficulty in the identification and establishment of land ownership. The tsunami destroyed landmarks that had previously identified plot boundaries, as well as paper records certifying legal possession. Surviving families faced an increased struggle to retain the coastal land that they had previously inhabited due to its commercial value. In defiance of an initial government relocation policy, the people returned to the coast, proposing to make their communities safe by creating protective ecological barriers between sea and village. They established a network to provide strength and support for each other.

Using a pro-poor approach, the NGO Uplink is working with 23 of the villages worst affected by the tsunami to provide 3,500 homes and infrastructure and to increase community cohesion and

reconciliation. Community members are involved at every level, and employed wherever possible. A combination of training and village based loan funds provides increased opportunities to improve long-term livelihood prospects.

https://www.bshf.org/world-habitat-awards/winners-and-finalists/integrated-people-driven-reconstruction/

Project Box 3. Community land trust   (Puerto Rico)

The Martín Peña Channel was once a waterway that ran through the middle of the Puerto Rican capital San Juan. Impoverished squatters settled on the mangrove swamps along its banks, building more than 5,000 informal homes. The water filled with debris and silt, and with no sewer system, it became highly polluted. With nowhere for water to flow, every time it rained the area flooded, creating a dangerous situation for residents. Residents and the government agency (the ENLACE Corporation) established a Community Land Trust or CLT (a model of home ownership that develops and manages affordable housing on behalf of the community. It does this by separating the value of the land and the buildings. Land is held in perpetuity by the community enabling it to remain affordable for local people). The community land trust has enabled the local community to: 1) Legalise the relationship between more than 2,000 families and the land on which their homes stand; 2) Guarantee affordable and safe housing. 3) Resettle people who lived in high-risk areas in a fair and reasonable way. 4) Improve environmental conditions by developing basic infrastructure and dredging the channel. 5) Ensure ownership and management of the area by the community and for the community.

https://www.bshf.org/world-habitat-awards/winners-and-finalists/cano-martin-pena-community-land-trust/

Project Box 4. "New land for lost land, New homes for lost homes".

The Bangladesh HLP Initiative is a complex, multi-year and multi-layered plan designed to empower Bangladesh's displaced communities to realize their HLP rights through a detailed process involving training and capacity building. One of the key areas of intervention concerns the identification of land that could be distributed to climate displaced communities to enable them to re-establish homes on safer land. Among other activities in this regard, in 2012 Displacement Solutions (DS) commissioned an in-depth expert study that tasked the researchers with identifying land resources in the Chittagong area that could realistically be acquired by climate displaced communities. Land parcels have been identified following 'multi-criteria analyses' as a spatial decision support tool, that included road connectivity, proximity to growth centres and social service facilities, elevation and suitability for housing and unlikelihood of erosion. The land parcels were also physically verified to assess their availability, the current status of occupancy and suitability for future human settlements. If certain land parcels are privately owned and not occupied by others, the DS in partnership with Young Power for Social Action (YPSA) may also seek to acquire good sites (through grants and purchase), transform the title into community land trusts, and then begin the complex and long-term task of preparing the land for resettlement and the emergence of new, viable and prosperous new human settlements.

http://displacementsolutions.org/bangladesh-hlp-initiative-updates-and-developments/

Project Box 5. Cyclone Nargis Acca Projects (Myanmar)

In the weeks before the foreign aid organizations were allowed in, the greatest source of help and support to cyclone Nargis victims came from committed groups of Burmese people themselves, and from monks in the networks of local Buddhist temples around the country who gave shelter to people who'd lost their homes, helped provide whatever food and health assistance they could. Local and national NGOs came in to support people's processes channelling funds from regional networks such Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR). The first three Asian Coalition for Community Action

Program (ACCA) projects in Myanmar were implemented by three small, local groups who all first became active in the post-cyclone relief activities and worked in three badly-hit townships. The ACCA projects supported the reconstruction process. Houses built by the people in the traditional way and employing local materials resulted cheaper than any shelter built by NGOs. Besides financial aspects the process of building became a social process, transforming the crisis into opportunity, to get together, get organised and empowered. Thus creating a network of mutual support and learning. The ACCA projects also funded livelihoods reconstruction by the people, through rice and cow banks, and farming cooperatives for landless people. The historical plight of rural land grabbing worsened after the cyclone, resulting in an increase of landlessness; through ACCA a land fund was created to give loans to farmers to prevent them to sell the land (and start the cycle of indebtedness). The fund would give loans to help them increase their productivity and income by planting second crops and decrease their dependence on expensive chemicals by promoting organic farming techniques. And to help families who have already become landless, the fund would give them loans to collectively buy enough land to regain at least a minimal self-sufficiency. So the project is both a preventive and a treatment for landlessness, and it is managed by the village network as a whole.
http://www.achr.net/upload/downloads/file_13122013123249.pdf

Conclusion. Failures in planned relocations seem can be contrasted with the positive enablement of local agency through community-led projects. The latter help to emancipate from developmental aberrations (i.e. seeing people as beneficiaries, and 'victims' who lack agency). As Chandler (2012) puts it, people are active and resourceful agents who can achieve self-transformation. However, embracing the belief that trying to intervene at the macro level is doomed to fail, and pursue community-based projects instead, should not be used as a way to shift the responsibility for dealing with disaster risk reduction or reconstruction away from governments and states onto individual subjects. Similarly, self-recovery as a form of empowerment should not be pursued in order to de-responsabilise states and over-responsabilise subjects. In fact, if problems are too complex and big for states and other actors to deal with, they are similarly big and complex for communities too. In the recently published "Responsibilising through failure and denial. Governmentality as double failure", Joseph (2017) reviews and problematizes a number of resilience-building projects similar to those described in this section. Joseph suggests that the strategy of "helping people to help themselves" should be enacted in an effective way. Particularly, promoting bottom-up interventions should not make states less accountable for supporting the process.

2. Making home in multiple places

A) Planning for relocation. Housing (re)construction

Housing (re)construction after displacement describes a process that is an essential for households and communities to get established, settle and develop (Turner, 1972[48]; Hamdi, 1990[49]; Aldrich and Ranvinder, 1995[50]), comprising a number of broader qualities that link the owner or user and society (Porteous and Smith, 2001[51]; Skotte, 2004[52]). (Re)construction sets out to re-establish lost assets, or even to provide better, more robust accommodation than existed prior to the disaster event. It aims, not just to alleviate an imminent risk, but to restore or improve a disaster affected individual's situation over the long term. Unlike other relief items such as food aid or medicine, housing is a significant, long-term and non-consumable asset, and housing's status as property typically involves more obvious questions of ownership and legal entitlement, which are perhaps less important in other areas of relief. (Barakat, 2003:1)

Nevertheless, despite considerable advances, "the role of housing in reconstruction - as a symbolic, social and physical commodity - remains a major challenge to practitioners, policy makers and donors alike" (Zetter, 1995a:6)[53]. According to Barakat, (2003:1) housing reconstruction should be a more prominent element in post-disaster programming than is currently the case. There is no agency devoted to housing reconstruction, and very few of the major NGOs working in relief would claim to specialise here. Where reconstruction, resettlement and relocation programmes are attempted, the particular challenges that they pose tend to be underestimated; planning is often poor and coordination between agencies difficult. Opportunities to enhance (self) recovery efforts or introduce mitigation measures are usually overlooked, and little or no distinction is made between the provision of physical shelters and the provision of homes. Lack of experience leads to assessments that do not provide the relevant information, and projects are impractical and inappropriate to what beneficiaries need, and to what they want. The urgent need to do something within a short space of time is not conducive to good, sustainable housing plans, nor is the tendency of donors to set short timeframes for the disbursement of emergency funds. Housing interventions are often planned and implemented rapidly, and in isolation from their political, economic or social environment. Local skills, preferences and needs tend to be marginalised for the sake of speed, and little effort is made to document the philosophies, methods, approaches and processes underpinning housing reconstruction and plans. As a result, reconstruction projects are often unsustainable: at best, houses are remodelled by their occupants; at worst, they are simply rejected and abandoned (Skotte, 2003[54]; Barakat, 2003:1).

Housing reconstruction and plans touch on notions of basic human dignity, identity and security. The loss of a home constitutes not just a physical deprivation, but also a loss of dignity, identity, privacy and memory (Porteous and Smith, 2001:10-15). Such loss can cause psychological trauma, it challenges perceptions of cultural identity, disrupts social structures and accepted social behaviour, poses a threat to security, and has a significant negative economic impact. In turn, housing

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[48] Turner, J.F.C., (1972) Housing as a Verb. Freedom to Build. New York: Macmillan.

[49] Hamdi, N., (1990) Housing without houses: participation, flexibility, enablement. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company.

[50] Aldrich, B.C., Ranvinder S., (1995) Housing the urban poor: policy and practice in developing countries. London: Zed Books

[51] Porteous, D., Smith, S., (2001) Domicide: the global destruction of home. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

[52] Skotte, H., (2004) Tents in concrete? Housing the internally displaced in Conference Report House: loss, refuge and belonging. Conference 16-18 September 2004 Trondheim, Norway, p, 3 Available at http://www.fmreview.org/House.pdf.

[53] Zetter, R.W., (1995) Shelter Provision and Settlement Policies for Refugees. A state of the art review. Studies on Emergencies and Disaster Relief, No. 2; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet).

[54] Skotte, H., (2003) Viewpoint: NGOs Rebuild in Bosnia without Planning. Reuters Alertnet. Available at: http://www.alertnet.org/thefacts/reliefresour ces/600083.htm (accessed 11 May 2004).

interventions and related activities can enhance communities' capacities by strengthening their physical, emotional and practical abilities to resist disaster and facilitate reconciliation; improving institutional resources and informal social relations; increasing pride and self-esteem through participatory and stakeholder programming; and enabling disaster-affected people to look forward and invest in the future.

By transferring technology, skills training and contributing to longer-term improvements in building techniques, homes may be made more robust and better able to resist future disasters. Reconstruction initiatives may also have important governance effects. The nature and scale of reconstruction programmes imply institutional and governmental engagement on a potentially significant scale. Procedures and institutional bodies have to be developed to oversee programmes, distribute resources, allocate houses and ensure building codes are implemented (Barakat, 2003:2). Research demonstrates that despite the fact that enormous resources are devoted to post-disaster reconstruction, very few housing programme targeted to low-income families have led to sustainable development (Lizarralde and Davidson, 2001[55]; Davis, 1978[56]).

Lizarralde and Davidson (2001) in their research on reconstruction after natural disasters present a systemic analysis of the reconstruction process and suggest an alternative strategy. According to their perspective, not only "hard aspects" (directly related to building activities), but also "soft aspects" of reconstruction (such as information exchange, education and training) are highlighted. Most frequently used post-disaster reconstruction strategies fall into one of two extreme paradigms: a community-based approach (accompanied by the so-called "enabler" policy and a central program of self-help); and a technology-based approached (accompanied by a "provider" policy). According to their research, the two existing strategies have revealed severe limitations as: 1-considering housing as a problem of "dwelling units"; research demonstrates that the low-cost housing crisis in the Global South is also related to other significant factors like land acquisition, infrastructure supply, illegal land tenure, high prices of materials, lack of access to public transportation, lack of access to the financial system, high interest rates, etc.; 2-the design of the dwelling as an enclosed volume to be inhabited by the family, excluding the importance of open or semi-open spaces for community interaction; 3-the lack of concurrent projects of infrastructure and community services; 4-the inappropriate use of standardization that has led to repetitive rubber-stamp-like projects and the lack of flexibility in the dwelling units to adapt them to the particular needs or desires of the residents; 5-lack of sensitivity in the urban and landscape design (if it exists at all); 6-a clear orientation towards home-ownership, usually underestimating the needs of tenants and the potential for rental housing; 7-the creation of "ghettos" by dramatically separating the poor from the rest of society; 8-extremely high costs of logistics and transportation of materials; 9-little real-life participation of the community in self-help activities and lack of alternatives for families that cannot participate by providing labour force.

Overall, by focusing on lower order deliverables and measurable outputs (i.e. contract completions, costs per housing unit, buildings restored) physical reconstruction projects have frequently failed to address or measure progress towards the "higher order" objectives which they serve such as reintegration, social and civil society development, and economic needs (Zetter, 2005:161). There is no doubt though that the changes in housing and development policy have influenced post-disaster shelter, reconstruction and relocation plans. This is evident in emphasis on participation, resistance

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[55] Lizarralde, G., Davidson, C., (2001) Models of reconstruction project. IF Research Group, University of Montreal. Available at: http://www.grif.umontreal.ca/pages/modelfr ame.html
[56] Davis, I., (1978) Shelter after Disaster. Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press.

to relocation, the encouragement of decentralisation, the promotion of a rights-based approach, and the recognition of shelter and housing as social and economic assets.

Although the humanitarian community has evolved significantly to embrace these concepts, this same community has been almost negligent in engaging with both the housing and development community, both in policy terms and for operational purposes (largely due to unreconciliable difference between relief and development culture). Thinking housing (re)construction as just urban development, instead of emergency relief, implies an indepth understanding of nuanced symbolic, social and gendered aspects of home-making, which is currently so poorly captured in reconstruction and relocation programmes.

B) Home, shifting meanings of home and home constructs. An overview of the literature
"Home-searching is a basic trait of human nature" (Tucker, 1994:186)

"Home is not to be seen as a politically neutral place. It is potentially a site for radical subversive activity" (Hooks, 1990)

"Home is located in space, but it is not necessarily a fixed space…home starts from bringing some space under control" (Douglas, 1991:289)

"Home cannot be simply equated to shelter, house or household" (Mallet, 2004:79)[57]

"Precisely because the home touches so centrally on our personal lives, any attempt to develop a dispassionate social scientific analysis inevitably stimulates emotional and deeply fierce argument and disagreement. The home is a major political background – for feminists, who see it in the crucible of gender domination; for liberals, who identify it with personal autonomy and a challenge to state power; for socialists, who approach it as a challenge to collective life and the ideal of a planned and egalitarian social order" (Saunders and Williams, 1988:91)[58]

"Home is rich territory indeed for understanding the social and the spatial. It's just that we've barely begun to open the door and look inside" (Domosh, 1998:276-281).

The literature review of house and home was developed in order to capture the socio-material and symbolic nature of housing. Home, housing and shelter are essential elements for the wellbeing and development of societies. They have been the focus of a considerable body of research and studies across different disciplines from sociology, anthropology to human geography, architecture and philosophy, feminist literature and more recently studies related to climate change, disaster and disaster risk management. The present literature review wishes to be useful to inform the analysis of shifting perceptions of home in resettled communities. The purpose of this exploration is to uncover the conceptual roots of home and multiple gendered perspective over it.

In both popular and research usage, the term home is often used as a synonym for house and this creates confusion in the literature (Rapoport, 1995:41-42)[59]. As noted by Kemeny (1992:4)[60], the practical and policy-oriented approach to housing has effectively defined housing as a narrow physical term: in terms of dwelling unit or what is sometimes termed "shelter". Furthermore, as Saegert (1985)[61] asserted, home is a more elusive notion than house: "not only is it a place, but it has psychological resonance and social meaning. It is part of the experience of dwelling – something we do, a way of weaving up a life in a particular geographical space".

There is no doubt that home is a multidimensional concept as it is linked to different dimensions of the wellbeing and cultural identities where the physical dwelling is only one aspect (Mallett, 2004; Wardaugh, 1999[62]; Somerville, 1992) and a complex 'asset', a resource of political and economic importance (Boano, 2009[63]; Barakat, 2003:1). In its multidimensionality, home encompasses notion of house and household (i.e. it is broader than both). According to Saunders and Williams, the home is the physical setting "through which basic forms of social relations are constituted and reproduced",

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[57] Mallet, (2004) Understanding Home. In The Sociological Review, pp: 63-89.
[58] Saunders, P., Williams, P., (1988), The Constitution of the Home: Towards a Research
[59] Rapoport, A., (1995) A critical look at the concept 'Home', in Benjamin, D.N.A., Stea, D., eds., The home: Words, interpretations, meanings, and environments. Aldershot: Avebury
[60] Kemeny, J., (1992) Housing and social structure. Towards a sociology of residence. Working paper n. 12. Bristol: SAUS publication. University of Bristol.
[61] Saegert, S., (1985) The role of housing and the experience of dwelling in Altman, I., Werner, C., Home environments. Human Behaviour and environments. Advances in Theory and research. Vol. 8., New York: Plenum Press.
[62] Wardhaugh, J., (1999), The Unaccommodated Woman: Home, Homelessness and Identity.
In Sociological Review, vol. 47, no 1, pp: 91–109.
[63] Boano, C., (2009) Housing anxiety and multiple geographies in post-tsunami Sri Lanka. In Disasters, vol. 33, no 4, pp: 762-785.

therefore home is a 'socio-spatial system' that "represents the fusion of the physical unit or house and the social unit or household" (Mallet, 2004:68). Rapoport (1969:46) similarly argues that home is "a social unit of space".

Although not always house and household/family do coincide, and not necessarily when there is no family, it is just a house. Saunders and Williams argue that other forms of household other than family are relevant to the construction of home, particularly in different stages of life. The household is the interface between individuals and society. Within the same household, gender and age are key aspects that contribute to a variety of perceptions of home; amongst different households though, the parameters are class, tenure, ethnicity, and spatial capital or geographic location (Saunders, 1989[64]; Saunders and Williams, 1988).

The tension between the social definition of households and the physical definition of dwellings or houses has created an underlying ambivalence in housing research. Housing is crudely seen as the study of physical dwelling in terms of production, management and disposition (tenure, building forms, etc.), while housing research involves in study of households (residential mobility, affordability, etc.). Kemeny (1992:15) suggested that 'residence' can be conceived as an interaction between social and spatial dimensions. While the social dimension represents a sort of conceptual moving from households to social structure, the physical dimension represents a conceptual moving from dwelling to the aggregate level of locality. It allows the understanding of homes as nodes located within networks of social relations and at the centre for dynamic interplay with surrounding places.

Meanings of home are diverse and often contradictory. Jackson (1995)[65] writes that home is "always lived as a relationship, a tension...like any word we use to cover a particular field of experience, home always begets its own negation…It might evoke security in one context and seem confining in another" (122). Home is a familiar and comfortable space "where particular relationships are lived", and different rules of engagement apply, and translate into spatial organisations which facilitate or constrain those relations. In this sense the idea of home is related to privacy, intimacy, domesticity and comfort evolving across time and space according to cultural social and historical context. Home is depicted as a place where people can retreat and relax (Moore, 1984)[66], as a private space distinguished from the public realm, as a refuge, removed from public scrutiny and surveillance. Home is a safe enclosed domain (Dovey, 1985)[67] opposed to external space as dangerous and unknown. It can also give a sense of place and belonging in an increasingly alienating world ('privatism'). According to Mallet (2004:71) "the public sphere is associated with work and political engagements, while private realm of the home is typically understood as a space that offers freedom and control and security (Dovey 1985)".

Along the same line, according to Hyndman (2004:1)[68], distinctive understandings of house have one thing in common: "exclusiveness". In one sense, the house may be a physical structure in which one feels a unique sense of belonging, attachment, even sanctuary from the more public world outside – an exclusive private and privatized space. But the house is also exclusive in another sense: it literally excludes certain people or groups from entering, occupying, or possessing. Kallus (2004:341-361)[69],

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[64] Saunders, P., (1989) Space, urbanism, and the created environment, in Held, D., Thompson, J.B., eds., Social theory of modern societies: Anthony Giddens and his critics, New York: Cambridge University Press.
[65] Jackson, M., (1995) At home in the world. Duke University Press
[66] Moore, B., (1984), Privacy: Studies in Social and Cultural History, New York: Sharpe.
[67] Dovey, K., (1985) Home and Homelessness in Altman, I., Werner, C., Home environments. Human Behavior and environments. Advances in Theory and research. Vol. 8, New York: Plenum.
[68] Hyndman, J., (2004) House Matters: Displacement and Sanctuary in a Transnational Context. Paper presented at the NTNU Research Network Conference on Internal Displacement. "House: Loss, refuge and belonging" Trondheim, Norway 16-18 September 2004.
[69] Kallus, R., (2004) The Political Role of the Everyday. In City, vol. 8, no 3, pp: 341-361.

through a discussion of housing and its role in the production of the everyday, develops the notion of the home as a political arena, exposing the space of everyday life as a battlefield where both national and personal struggles take place. Moreover, Blunt (2005)[70] in her postcolonial geographical approach on home, nation and empire, across a range of disciplines and contexts, has focused on the symbolic and material importance of the home in shaping and reproducing the ideologies, everyday practices and material cultures of imperial power, nationalist resistance and diasporic resettlement (Kallus, 2004:342; Hyndman, 2004:4). Rather than seeing the home as a private space that remains separate and distinct from public politics, Blunt (2005) has shown that the home itself is intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world (Harris and Berke, 1997)[71]. As Mallet puts it (63), "birth family-house holds symbolic power…but home is not confined to this place". Duncan and Lambert (2003)[72] describe the complexities and ambiguities of home in relation to emotional geographies, gender and sexuality, housing and identity, transnational homes and communities, and home and empire. They conclude: "As perhaps the most emotive of geographical concepts, inextricable from that of self, family, nation, sense of place, and sense of responsibility towards those who share one's place in the world, home is a concept that demands thorough exploration by cultural geographers" (2003:395).

Home is not only the familiar and comfortable, but also a space of tyranny, oppression and persecution for a significative percentage of women, children, elderly, migrants or refugees, who are subject to forms of control, violence and abuse in the home environment. As a space of belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear, home is invested with meanings, emotions, experiences and relationships that lie at the heart of human life. Geographies of home are both material and symbolic and are located on thresholds between memory and nostalgia for the past and future dreams and fears. Thus, just as place transforms to a symbol, so does home in most of its manifestations (Porteous and Smith, 2001:36), becoming also a "memory machine" (Douglas, 1991:294)[73], a locus for abstract and subjective concepts concerning the structuring of the human attachment to a locus (Norberg-Schulz, 1979)[74].

The idealisation of the idea of home is socially and historically constructed; current notion of home in middle class western society were shaped during the industrialisation and consequent massive change in life. Changing patterns of work particularly have changed the meaning of home shifting from sociability (when work was taking place at home) and 'privatism' (work place located outside the house and home as a retreat). This has also contributed to the marginalisation of women, children and elderly confined in the domestic realm. Work, as well as tenure and status, are at the core of the relation between home and gender. While men view home as a signifier of status, women see it as heaven, or hell. According to most feminist literature, home is a site of oppression and patriarchal domination. Women are socially isolated and cannot get recognition as men do in the outside world. Within the house, men have authority and limited responsibility over its management. The opposite happens to women, who become vulnerable and insecure. Women remain responsible for domestic work in addition to any paid work in or outside the house. The articulation of space within the house particularly reflects gendered relationships (Sparke, 1995; Buckley, 1996). In a more sophisticated analysis of how space is negotiated, it is possible to see that it is the use of a space, or the activity performed in it that reflects stereotypes on gender age and role. See for instance how young people

[70] Blunt, A., (2005) Cultural geography: cultural geographies of home. In Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 29, no. 4, pp: 505-515.

[71] Harris, S., Berke, D., eds., (1997) Architecture of the Everyday, New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

[72] Duncan, J.S., Lambert, D., (2003) Landscapes of home in Duncan, J.S., Johnson, N.C., Schein, R.H., eds., A companion to cultural geography, Oxford: Blackwell.

[73] Douglas, M., (1991) A kind of space, in Mack, A., ed., Home: a place in the world. Special edition of Social Research. New York: New School for Social Research.

[74] Norberg-Schulz, C., (1979) Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture. New York: Rizzoli International.

are expected to leave home at a certain age; if this does not happen, they may encounter isolation and marginalisation.

Shifting meanings of home are related to individual and collective home histories. Changing patterns of work, cultural and economic factors influence the notion of home, and its spatial distribution. The meaning of home increasingly relies on tenure, either in advanced capitalist societies where home ownership becomes a source of status, an 'asset value' – promoted by media within the trinity house-home-family to push economic growth and shift responsibility from state to private sector in declining welfare – as well as in developing countries as a source of personal and familial security. Home generates legitimacy through entitlement (full citizenship rights are often related to fix abode); the opposite generates homelessness.

For Massey, a place or home is constituted by the particular social interactions occurring in a certain location; as it is shaped by those interactions, the identity of a place and home is in constant flux (Massey, 1992)[75]. Also, attributes of home such as privacy, safety and security may be found beyond the house; as well as fear can be found within the house. With Wardaugh, some can feel "homeless at home'. For people on the move, home rather than a fix place is a condition, the experience of being-at home in the world. As Mallet puts it, home becomes a verb rather than a noun. As noted by Brun, (2001:15) identity is separated from place; though refugees have to move from their places of origin, they do not lose their identity and ability to exercise power (Brun, 2001:15). The problems related to de-territorialization are therefore related to re-territorialization: the changing status, power and meaning of territories for the refugees and displaced persons (ÓTuathail, 1998)[76]. Re-territorialization in Malkki's (1995a)[77] understanding means to lose one's territory, and then construct a new community within a new area, like a refugee camp. Her work is useful for understanding how the links between people and places can be de-essentialized. A very good example of an attempt to re-territorialise understandings of space in relation to people on the move is presented in a book edited by Hastrup and Olwig (1997)[78]. The book addresses the role of place in the conceptualization of culture. Here, space is defined as 'practised place' (de Certeau, 1984)[79], where practice is a mobile engagement in itself, and particular places form the spatial grid defining people's memories, imaginations and values (Crang, 2000)[80]. The emergence of the rights of those displaced in conflicts and natural disasters to repossess and return to their homes is, as noted by Hurwits, Studdard and Williams (2005:8), one of the most important developments on HLP (Housing Land and Property) issues in recent peacebuilding efforts. In spite of the increasingly common reference to refugee and IDPs (Internally Displaced People) return in contemporary peace agreements, restitution processes have often been incomplete, generating additional frustration and grievance for the victims of involuntary displacement.

Thus, in spite of a relatively old debate about home, the concept is still an ambiguous term mainly because (Benjamin, 1995:2-3)[81]:

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[75] Massey, D., (1992), 'A Place Called Home?' in (ed.), The Question of 'Home', New Formations Vol. 17, London: Lawrence & Wishart.
[76] ÓTuathail, G., (1998) Political geography III: dealing with Deterritorialization. In Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 22, no 1, pp: 81-93.
[77] Malkki, L. (1995a) Purity and Exile. Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
[78] Hastrup, K., Olwig, K.F., (1997) Introduction, in Hastrup, K., Olwig, K.F., eds., Siting Culture. The Shifting Anthropological Project. London: Routledge.
[79] de Certeau, M., (1984) The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University California Press
[80] Crang, M., (2000) Relics, places and unwritten geographies in the work of Michel de Certeau (1925–86), in Crang, M., Thirft, N., eds., Thinking Space. Routledge, London.
[81] Benjamin, D.N., (1995) The home: words, interpretation, meanings and environments. Avebury: Aldershot.

- Home is essentially dialectic in nature and needs to be understood as a relationship of complementary phenomena, both concrete and abstract, that are dependent on one another's existence;
- As part of this abstract nature, home is a symbol that always needs a rational deconstruction and complete explication of its meaning content;
- As part of built environment and environment-behaviour relationship, home is an expression of values and attitudes with which societies and individuals relate to their surroundings;
- As part of a socio-political context, home is central especially today when displacement force people to escape from disasters.

C) Home and livelihoods in the Amazon: articulating the notion of multisitedness

The contemporary urbanisation of Amazonas is a geopolitical creation, reflecting different global, national and regional interests, and a recent phenomenon. For long time native communities have

been living in sparse, often isolated, settlements. Adapting to the mutable conditions of the river, they created a system based on mobility, economic diversification and 'multi-sited territorial appropriation' (Peluso and Alexiadis, 2016)[82]. Such use and production of space was and still is disarticulated from any single master principle of spatial organization and from usual dichotomies such as rural/urban and public/private (Browdey & Godfrey, 1997)[83]. Starting from the 1960s, extractive activities favoured rural-urban migration. Cities such Iquitos, Tarapoto and Puerto Maldonado in Peru, Leticia in Colombia, Belem and Manaus in Brazil grew immensely in few decades. Rural population moved to the cities, settling along the river, often retaining the traditional spatial organisation. Their survival is now threatened by climate change and flooding risk, coupled with recession and growing unemployment following the recent decline of oil extraction. Exploitation of resources prevented the growth of productive activities offering now little alternative sources of income to the urban population.
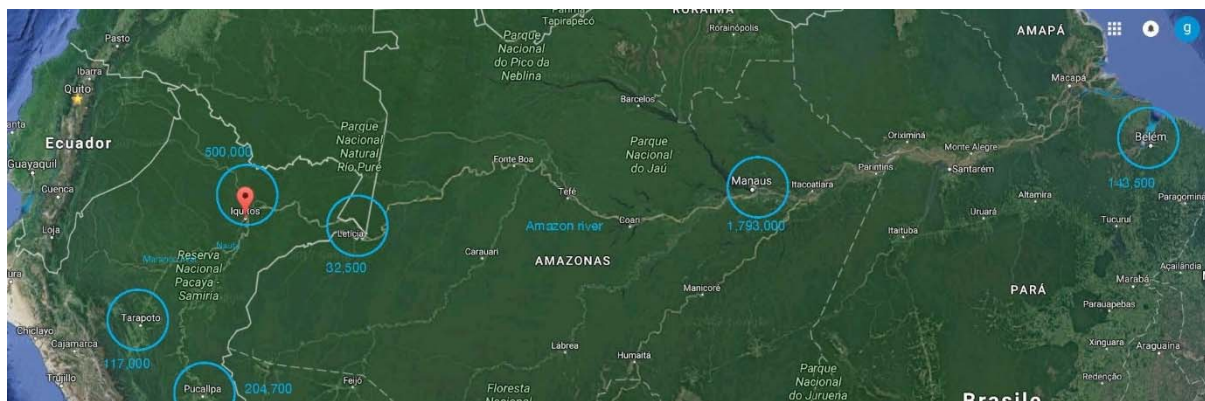

Figure. The Amazon basin with its 10,000 tributaries and the main "ciudades fluviales". Iquitos is the largest continental city that can be reached only via boat or plane. The image shows each city population (sources: national censuses)

According to Browdey & Godfrey, (1997), there is no one single urban or spatio-economic theory sufficiently representative of the phenomenon of fast and contested urbanisation in the rainforest. The authors propose a "pluralistic theory of disarticulated urbanization". The main drivers of such urbanisation include global economy, rural-urban and urban-urban migration, and environmental change (from deforestation by small farmers, dam-building, corporatist and populist mining, and pollution in the shanty towns surrounding the cities). Their theory of disarticulated urbanization rests on evidence of: a) the variety, and contingency of the patterns of development; b) the heterogeneous social space; c) the irregularity of the configuration of settlement systems; d) the disarticulation between urbanization patterns and regional agricultural development and industrialization; e) the strong connection to global economic forces and disconnection within each central state; f) the absence of established dichotomous categories such as rural and urban; g) the environmental change which is increasingly mediated by urban-based interests.

The above captures aspects that are common to all Amazonian cities. According to Becker (2016)[84] today, the Amazon is a region in itself, requiring specific context-based policy and plans for the consolidation of its urban development. As Peluso (2015)[85] suggests, Amazon cities are situated at the margins of neoliberal modernity, revealing historical continuities and cultural trends that are characteristically Amazonian. Their territorial specificities sit at the cross roads of different processes

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[82] Peluso, D. Alexiadis, M., 2016. La urbanización indígena en la Amazonia. Un nuevo contexto de articulación social y territorialGazeta de Antropologia, 32 (1)

[83] Browder, J, Godfrey, B, (1997) Rainforest cities. Urbanization, Development, and Globalization of the Brazilian Amazon. Columbia University Press

[84] Bertha K. Becker (2016) Geopolitics of the Amazon, Area Development and Policy, 1:1, 15-29

[85] Peluso, D, (2015) Circulating between Rural and Urban Communities Multisited Dwellings in Amazonian Frontiers The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology Vol 20, No 1, pp 57-79

of urbanization and spatial distributions originated from indigenous practices, mobilities and extractivities[86]. However, indigenous migrations rarely signify full-time absences or dislocations from communities of origin. Nor do they necessarily entail a permanent moving to towns, but rather, individuals positioning themselves in various degrees as potentially indigenous urbanites, creating a wide series of active links between cities and communities of origin. Indigenous urbanization is understood here to refer to both the increased presence of indigenous peoples in cities as well as the growth of cities due to indigenous populations (Hecht, Morrison, Padoch, 2014).[87]

Rural-urban migration in the Amazonas is a complex process. The generalized view of Amazonia as predominantly rural is outdated: a large part of the rural and indigenous population either lives in or is strongly linked to urban centres, while at the same time urban population rely on livelihoods system that take place both in urban and rural areas. Such complexity is hardly captured by statistics on rural and urban population. In national censuses, rural and urban populations are usually defined by residence in settlements above or below a certain size; agriculture is assumed to be the principal activity of rural populations whereas urban dwellers are thought to engage primarily in industrial production and services. In reality, however, things tend to be far more complex: the boundaries of urban settlements are usually more blurred than portrayed by statistics, and population movement, especially temporary and seasonal migration, is not usually reflected in census figures and can make enumerations of rural and urban populations unreliable. But in particular, a large number of households in urban areas tend to rely on rural resources, and rural populations are increasingly engaged in non-agricultural activities (Tacoli, 1998)[88].

According to the last census (INEI, 2007), the percentage of population living in urban settings in the Peruvian Amazon reaches a relatively high 70%. Such a trend does not signify rural exodus, abandonment or straightforward de-territorialization. On the contrary, residents who are counted as urban keep living in rural areas as well or maintain rural patterns in the urban environment (in terms of consumption and production). A great many newly urban households are "multi-sited," "multi-local," or dispersed, maintaining houses and, commonly, economic activities in rural areas as well as in the city. This is a new regime characterized by high levels of circular mobility, multi-sited and distributed forms of settlement and territoriality (Peluso y Alexiadis, 2016). Dual residence with livelihood activities taking place both in urban and rural context enables economic diversification as a response to limited service infrastructure and employment, as observed by Padoch et a. (2008) comparing circular movements of goods and knowledge between rural and urban areas in settlements in Peru (Pucallpa) and Brazil (Belem)[89].

Instead of relying on urban employment and urban residence only, migrants count on networks that span urban and rural areas for the circulation of goods and knowledge: an "economy of affection" (WinklerPrins and de Souza, 2005)[90]. The term refers to kin-based networks of exchange (Hyden, 1983)[91], sort of invisible organisations where goods, gifts as well as knowledge circulate. It is part of

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[86] The concept of extractivism has recently gained increasing international academic and political interest. From the Latin American experience, these analysts have developed a radical critique of both the phenomenon of extractivism and of the national governments of the region that have promoted it, triggering an influential academic and political debate about extractivism (Acosta, 2013; Gudynas, 2009; Svampa, 2012) This critique encouraged a politicisation of the social and environmental effects of extractivism throughout and across the region, highlighting the irreversible exploitation and destruction of nature and territory, and the predominantly unequal distribution of the economic benefits derived from extractive activities

[87] Hecht, S., Morrison, K., Padoch, C., (2014) The social lives of forests. Past, present, and future of woodland resurgence. University of Chicago Press.

[88] Tacoli, C, 1998, Rural-urban interactions: a guide to literature. Environment and Urbanisation, vol 10, no 1.

[89] For a comprehensive review of the literature on rural–urban movements in poorer countries, see Tacoli, C, 1998, Rural-urban interactions: a guide to literature. Environment and Urbanisation, vol 10, no 1. See also: Kruger 1998, Rudel et al. 2002, Tacoli 2002, Rigg 2003, Dufour and Piperata 2004.

[90] WinklerPrins, A., de Souza, P., (2005), Surviving the City: Urban Home Gardens and the Economy of Affec-tion in the Brazilian Amazon, Journal of Latin American Geography Vol. 4, No. 1, ETHNOECOLOGY pp. 107-126

[91] Hyden, G. 1983. No shortcuts to Porgress: Africa development management in perspective, London: Heinemann

the informal economy in the transitional phase from peasantry to urban producer and consumer. Within these networks, goods have a use value, an exchange value, as well as gift/donation value, as the networks are based on trust, support, reciprocity. Exchanges happen ubiquitously and are part of everyday relations; they mostly happen amongst women and are linked to the intimate knowledge that comes from previous rural life (such as the symbolism behind plants). Economies of affections are powerful mechanisms that enable people to cope under conditions of livelihoods change.

WinklerPrins and de Souza (2005) observe and analyse the level of self-reliance of migrants in the Amazonian region of Parà, Brazil, where urban economic development has not kept pace with the rate of urbanisation, leading to lack of employment and decent housing. To compensate, urban resident grow food in home gardens, a form of urban agriculture where complex networks of informal exchange provision households with products that are critical for urban survival. Home gardens thus become a transitional strategy for self-reliance when moving from rural to urban settings. Home gardens are predominantly women's constructed spaces (as they are mostly managed by women), and they are perceived and lived as if they were part of the house. "Gardens are sites of combined production and household reproductive functions, since living and working are not separate activities for those who inhabit these spaces" (2005:112). The home garden serves as outdoor kitchen, and as a social space; it is a form of domesticated nature.

Scholars have pointed out that rural–urban movements in the Amazon are increasingly impermanent or circular, and multi-sited or dispersed households that continue rural production yet also depend on off-farm, often urban, incomes, are increasingly the norm. As a result, the urban has become an intrinsic part of the rural and viceversa, in what Becker (1996) terms "an urbanised forest" where a clear cut distinction between "rural" and "urban" is probably inescapable for descriptive purposes; however, it often implies a dichotomy which encompasses both spatial and sectoral dimensions. The categorization of people, households, or even communities in the Amazon as rural or urban is almost impossible as rural and urban spaces and peoples are inextricably linked in numerous ways (Wagley 1953, Nugent 1993[92], WinklerPrins 2002,[93] WinklerPrins and de Souza 2005).

It is clear that any interruption of such use of the territory will disrupt the livelihood system. The traditional way of living in the sparse settlements and recently formed urban conglomerates in the (Peruvian) Amazon is put at risk by a number of different intersecting factors. In first place, climate change that alters seasonal inundations, causing flooding, destruction of houses, and decrease of land available for crop. Secondly, the current economic recession following the decline of oil extraction, which is causing rising unemployment across the urban population. Resource exploitation since the 1960s have prevented the development of alternative productive activities. Poor urban communities heavily rely solely on the river and market. Finally, planned relocation themselves, which are, in principle, aimed at improving health, security and wellbeing, threaten the traditional way of living, and socio-spatial organisation by removing people from their sources of livelihoods. If the relocation site does not offer alternative sources of income and the possibility for the creation of new livelihood systems it will certainly result in wider poverty. As a minimum, planned relocation should allow the preservation of a certain degree of mobility between the urban and the rural areas, without aiming at fixating people in one place.

Clearly, Amazonian cities posit great challenges, particularly to those communities affected by economic recession, settled on flood-prone areas and at risk of relocation. It is necessary to think a different urbanisation, flexible, adaptive and temporal, more similar to the tradition of disperse settlement of the native communities. Relocation should be conceptualised as an urbanism in flux characterised by interconnected mobilities and dispersed housing; while open spaces should not be

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[92] Nugent, S, 1993, Amazonian Caboclo society: an essay on invisibility and peasant economy, Providence: Berg publishers
[93] WinklerPrins, AM, 2002, House-lot gardesn in Santarem, Para: linking rural with urban, Urban Ecosystems 6(1/2), 43-65

purely private nor merely public and should be understood as in-between spaces, reproduced through mobility that is constitutive of this urbanity in flux.[94]

Conclusive remarks. Home as a catalyst for resilience

As Oliver-Smith and De Sherbinin (2014)[95] suggest, there appear to be two broad explanations for why resettlement so often goes wrong: "The first is a lack of appropriate inputs such as legal frameworks and policies, funding and care in implementation. The other is that the resettlement process emerges out of the complex interaction of many cultural, social, environmental, economic, institutional and

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[94] Alexiades, M., Peluso, D., (2016) Indigenous urbanization in Amazonia: a new context for social and territorial articulation. In Gazeta de Antropologia, 32(1)

[95] Oliver-Smith, A., De Sherbinin, (2014) Resettlement in the twenty-first century. In Forced Migration review, vol. 45, pp: 24-25.

political factors in ways that are not predictable and that are not amenable to a rational planning approach", in which home and gender intended both as contested social territory are at the centre.

The authors keep suggesting that is mandatory for a successful resettlement the "understanding the role of social institutional processes, such as governance or social networks, in resettles' adaptive strategies" and that is crucial "identifying the socio-culturally specific nature of the impoverishment risks, thus helping to explain why displacement and resettlement so often result in greater impoverishment of affected households" (23) and suggests that "gender, age, class and ethnicity have been clearly identified as key markers of vulnerability. Systemic forms of vulnerability and exposure and their tragic outcomes are frequently linked to unresolved problems of development. Since resettlement should focus on durable solutions, to ensure successful resettlement outcomes resettlement projects must be configured as development projects" (24).

Scholars from different disciplines seem to agree that resilient systems exhibit a high level of diversity, being in terms of groups of species performing different functions, the availability of economic opportunities in a given area, the opinions included in a policy process, the partnerships and relationships within a community, the natural resources on which a community or social system relies. Allowing for diversity within a system helps to ensure against known or unknown risks and decision-making is better informed and more options are available. Allowing a certain degree of social and economic equity is also thought to be characteristic of resilient systems and needs to be taken into account when distributing risks within communities (Bahadur, Ibrahim & Tanner 2010). It concerns the character of empowerment as again significant central element of resilience. Affording appropriate recognition to marginalised and vulnerable groups within urban policy and planning is fundamental to identifying where the need to build resilience is greatest. Both resilience and justice depend on recognising the plurality of types of knowledge and of governance systems used around the world to manage risks (Adger, 2006). In refocusing attention on equity and inequity, urban justice has the potential to provide productive intellectual and policy space for multi-dimensional and multi-scalar exploration of its many meanings, manifestations and implications (Walker & Bulkeley, 2006).

As the resilience debate is getting to its apex encompassing how we respond to a world of rapid change, complexity and unexpected events, but also a shifting relationship between our understanding of human agency, its potential and efficacy, and our aspirations for improving, securing and developing the world we inhabit, not only planning the resilient city at the technological level, but rather integrating all aspects of urban life, including the right of appropriation and adaptation.

To think is to subvert any rigid distribution of classes, place or norms. Such context, dissensual, opens an alternative way of debating the intersections between resilience and resistance towards what Francois Roche[96] called "Reclaim Resi[lience]stance. The stuttering between Resilience (recognition of vitalism as a force of life and innovation) and Resistance ('Creating is resisting') will be the goal…1+1=. An adaptive resilience".

Annex 1. Noted bibliography on climate related planned relocations

What follows is a quick noted bibliography of case studies where populations have been resettled as a pre-emptive or post-impact measure for avoiding disaster and climate related risks. Some of the literature take a 'livelihoods approach'; other look at human rights, and other at notions such as community (Petz, 2015).

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[96] Francois Roche, Reclaim Resi[lience]stance, http://www.new-territories.com/blog/?p=757

In the case of Mozambique, Artur looks at the changes in communities following resettlement; the successes and failures of adaptation highly depend on the cultural and political realms of societal perceptions and the sensitivity of institutions (Artur, 2012). Similarly, Arnall et a., in a comparative study of two post-flood resettlement in rural Mozambique, examine how and why people's livelihoods change as a result of resettlement in the context of natural disasters and also analyse how relocated people perceive such changes. The study demonstrates a movement away from subsistence agriculture towards commercial agriculture and non-agricultural activities. The ability to secure a viable livelihood was a key determinant of whether resettlers remained in their new locations or returned to the river valleys despite the risks posed by floods (2013). In a subsequent paper, Arnall looks again at the case of Mozambique – particularly at forced relocations in the Lower Zambezi River region after major flooding in 2008 – to highlight how relocation is buttressed by a series of wider economic and political interests such a dam construction from which resettled people derive little direct benefit. Importantly, this paper highlights that planned relocations cannot be seen as detached from the historical, political, and economic processes in a country. Further, it notes that elites and international actors might overlook adaptive capacities that local people possess (Arnall, 2014).

Human rights are discussed in two papers related to indigenous communities in Alaska. Bronen's article highlights the legal and bureaucratic difficulties that a community that voluntarily chooses to relocate faces as such a relocation does not fit within common frameworks of risk governance in the United States. Ultimately, the article proposes the development of a relocation policy framework that is based on human rights standards. The article provides important insights into governance issues related to planned relocations. It is particularly striking that this well-organized community, which is planning ahead to stave off future climate-related problems, still faces numerous challenges (Bronen, 2015). Maldonando (2013) discusses case studies of Kivalina in coastal Alaska and Jean Charles island in Louisiana. Following the case studies, the paper looks at some of the legal issues surrounding relocation, followed by a discussion of historical precedents regarding relocation in the United States. Finally, it proposes the use of a human rights approach in dealing with planned relocation as a result of climate change.

Focusing on the notion and role of community in China, Rogers (2006) discusses environmental resettlement in Inner Mongolia, China, highlighting that as of mid-2005, over 700,000 people in western China have been resettled for environmental reasons. The resettlement projects were a response to environmental degradation and were meant to support poverty alleviation. The paper describes the impoverishment risk caused by social disarticulation as experienced by resettled persons in one Inner Mongolian resettlement village. The authors highlight the ambivalent reactions of the populations to the resettlement, noting that resettled persons expressed attachments to both their old homes and their new ones. It further notes that one of the important aspects of the resettlement was the continuity of social networks. Within a large-scale relocation project, this provides an important micro-view of one village of relocated persons. It shows the importance of the community in helping displaced persons adjust to new circumstances. It also demonstrates how relocation (re)shapes a sense of community. In a more recent article (2015) Rogers makes a livelihoods analysis of vulnerability before and after relocation.

Vo Than Danh's paper discusses the Vietnamese Government's Living with Flood program that relocated 200,000 households, or more than 1 million people, living in the permanently flooded areas of the Mekong delta, to more than 1,000 resettlement clusters. It notes that the program was both successful and unsuccessful. The negative aspects of the resettlement project were that the program had problems securing sustained financing and that the resettlement led to degraded livelihood conditions, which caused the incomes of resettled persons to be lower than before. The displaced

persons also criticized the poor quality of the provided infrastructure. Nonetheless, the paper points out that the program was popular with resettled communities as it helped mitigate flooding risks. The document provides an important view of one of the largest planned relocation programs in the world, discussing mostly technical aspects of the relocation (Vo Than Danh, 2011).

Edwards' paper analyses the ongoing relocation efforts of the population of the Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea, which are under threat due to the effects of climate change. It notes that there were already three previous attempts in the last half century to move some part of the population off the islands, all of which were of limited success. After laying out recent resettlement efforts, the paper discusses the previous resettlement attempts. It also analyses the current project in light of Cernea's Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction framework (IRR). The case study gives a detailed overview of the many challenges that a community that is willing to relocate faces, especially given the failure of previous relocation attempts (2013).

Finally, livelihoods as well as human rights are addressed in the World Bank Handbook (Jha et a., 2010) developed to assist policy makers and project managers engaged in large-scale post-disaster reconstruction programs in making decisions about how to reconstruct housing plans and communities after natural disasters. The case studies include the relocations caused by Hurricane Mitch in Honduras in 1998, the Indian Ocean Tsunami in Sri Lanka, India and Aceh in Indonesia in 2004, and the 2008 Typhoon Frank in Iloilo City in the Philippines.

Annex 2. Impacts of relocation on livelihoods. A case study of development-induced relocations in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Relocating communities is fraught with difficulty. In the past 20 years, more than 300 million people have been resettled as a result of conservation, urbanization or development schemes, including dam and road-building, mainly in developing countries. Most moves faced local resistance and were detrimental to livelihoods, health and well-being. Remuneration for lost income, land and jobs rarely compensated for reduced access to resources, fractured social networks and emotional trauma. There is unanimous agreement amongst scholars and researchers that resettlement in most of the cases adversely impact livelihoods and results in further impoverishment (see for instance: Bennet & Mcdowell, 2012, Cernea, 2003). While there is a wealth of literature available on the impacts of development-induced resettlement on livelihoods, resettlement undertaken to support policies targeted at disaster-risk reduction, environmental conservation and climate change adaptation are more recent (De Sherbinin et a., 2011, Lavell et a., 2017) and as a consequence there is less literature documenting and reflecting on resettlement and livelihoods. Although not all scholars agree, according to some (De Sherbinin et a, Oliver-Smith, 2013) it is possible to employ part of the knowledge gained within development and disaster induced resettlement to inform understanding of climate-related resettlement, and it is in this light that the authors have compiled the short below section on relocation and livelihoods in the case of Cambodia following a 3 year action research engagement. "Given the emergence of resettlement as an adaptation response, it is critical to learn from research on development-forced displacement and resettlement….Given the many commonalities between development-related and future climate dis-placement, the body of knowledge accumulated in the literature on DFDR offers lessons. This is vital because the scale of displacement is likely to be much greater than in the past, yet resettlement praxis is only beginning to

benefit from systematic study of past resettlement efforts, let alone application of this knowledge to the peculiarities of climate-related resettlement" (De Sherbenin, 2011:456)

Relocations in Phnom Penh took place from the 1990s to --- officially --- the early 2010s. The process took multiple trajectories. Initially driven by land redevelopment of central areas (development-induced displacement), or following city beautification agendas, communities were evicted from central areas and relocated to the outskirts of the city. Monetary compensation - if any - were consistently inadequate and well below the market value of people's house and/or land. The promise of tenure security was rarely fulfilled. Relocation sites were located in no-man land, poorly urbanised (if not urbanised at all) and/or in risk prone (flooding) areas, with little or no access to basic infrastructure with the consequence that many left and started squatting in even more precarious conditions in the city. Relocation created nothing but wider poverty, disruption of livelihoods, loss of jobs and social networks. Either due to the consequent urban growth (and renewed appetite for land) or to the increased vulnerability of some areas (i.e. consequent to land filling of lakes and water networks), some communities went relocated again or are currently facing relocation again. The process became potentially endless, and relocation got radicalised and structural to the city process.

The impacts of displacement on individuals and families have been particularly severe where people have been relocated far from their previous residences and sources of livelihoods although impact of resettlements varies according to local factors (Khemro and Payne, 2004; Grimsditch & Henderson, 2009; Connell and Grimsditch, 2016; STT, 2014; Connell & Connell, 2014; ACHR, 2004). Other studies on unjust resettlement processes are done by Durand-Lesserve, 2007, Tyskerud and Linsdtrom, 2013). Connell & Grimsditch (2016) argue that resettlement results in further impoverishment also when compensation is in place; furthermore, there is no statistical evidence that the condition of resettled people improves over time. Connell & Connell (2014) look at how resettled people increase their mobility after resettlement, moving between new and old site as a coping mechanism. Most people tend to abandon the relocation site shortly after due to finance stress, increase cost of transport, uncertainty related to their ability to maintain the same income. Montvilaite (2015) analyses how relocated family often engage in land transactions as result of the loss of job after the relocation. People start markets of temporary titles and land transactions to cope with unemployment. More often people do never settle in the resettle areas, they keep the land in case they can re-sell (Montvilaite, 2015; Connell & Grimsditch, 2016). According to STT (2012), the increased distance of the relocation sites resulted in higher cost for electricity and water, while Connell & Connell (2014) highlight that this resulted in family separation and creation of debt. Also, according to Connell and Grimsditch, relocation stress contributes to marriage difficulties, family separations resulting from men leaving or both parents migrating (STT, 2013). Homelessness, indebtedness and social and family disruption increase settler's dependency on NGOs. According to the 2012 UNHR report, living conditions for relocated families after relocation are worse than before. Families do not receive any support from the authority, widening the degree of dependency from aid. Resettlement increase threat of eviction subsequent to relocation due to a number of different factors. Tenure security remain for many an issue, years after relocation. Social integration with neighbouring community is not taken into consideration. Very interestingly, Talocci & Boano (2016) show how resettlement is fundamentally a "process of pacification & de-politicisation", a bio-political tool that undermine people's cohesion and the possibility of mobilisation. Relocated people are turned into bare lives, stripped of any rights. Not too differently, Connell highlights how resettlement tend to split groups and reduce intra-community solidarity. There is less evidence around the impact of resettlement in different social groups. The emergence of gendered dimension and women leading protests is highlighted by STT, 2013, Brickell, 2014,) Finally, it is to be said that in most cases resettlement has been undertaken in violation of basic human rights (options other than relocation have not been

considered; there was no consultation from the people, and no participation in the process; compensation did not happen evenly; some relocation sites did not have basic services nor housing). It is widely acknowledged that resettlement in Phnom Penh has been a failure particularly for having created "big peripheral holes: giant planning and urban design failures" (Talocci and Boano, 2015)

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