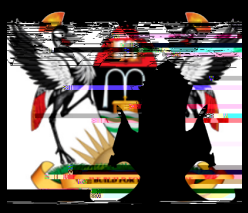
IN URBAN AREAS



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Development
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Executive summary

The aim of this report is to work through methods

on resettlement and to build wider development considerations including social and environmental costs into economic systems of valuing. Its purpose is to *deliver* a *framework*, setting out the evaluation techniques that institutions and government (resettlement implementers) can use in practice in the pre- and post-planning phases of a project.

conceptual level, we found that ‘risks’ and ‘costs’ that respondents were describing were being mediated

‘value’ was a factor in this process and especially so when considering ‘risk as opportunity’. Thus,

‘costs’ and ‘risks’ are related to ‘value’. This insight is extremely useful because ‘value’ is broader than

to think of ‘value’, ‘cost’ and ‘risk’ in many different ways.

analysed in terms of policy options that were

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Introduction

This report examines the social and economic implications of climate risk induced resettlement. It follows a Diagnostic report (WP1) and a Decision-making and implementation report (WP2). The aim of this report (WP3) is to work through methods

on resettlement and to build wider development considerations including social and environmental costs into economic systems of valuing. Its purpose is to *deliver a framework*, setting out the evaluation techniques that institutions and government (resettlement implementers) can use in practice in the pre- and post-planning phases of a project.

in terms of the relationships between risk, cost and value and uses this interpretation to develop a framework for evaluation of techniques for reducing the risks of relocation.

of the previous two reports in order to identify key contextual issues and develop existing results. Within this section, we also summarise the existing

a whole, this section serves as a starting point for the analysis of this stage of the research. We explain the method of analysis in the section that follows

of contextual dynamics, and an elaboration of four different policy options which correspond to the pragmatic range open to policy makers and households. In the concluding section, we draw

for policy makers and households to use in the elaboration of pre- and post-planning phases of reducing relocation risk.

There are two starting points that are important for

emerged in the previous two reports. The second is

Drawing through key points from previous reports

The work package 1 “Diagnostic” and work package 2 “Decision-making and implementation” reports for Uganda brought out a number of key issues that are

assistance from the government. The ultimate reasons for the decision to relocate may vary (threat of loss of life, things getting "unbearable," ability to move somewhere else, etc.), and therefore issues of "tolerable levels of risk" and "land markets" and the relations between these two are key themes that we chose to examine more closely with this project.

- Resettlement and forced evictions are frequently happening as a result of urban development or urban infrastructure projects. Some of these urban infrastructure projects, such as drainage channel

road infrastructure.

- resettlement issues through policy. Under the current approach to resettlement in Uganda, the lead department or ministry of a particular project is usually in charge of the resettlement processes and procedures. These projects are required to prepare a Resettlement Policy Framework (RPF) in line with national and local legal frameworks that regulate land relations in Uganda. Depending on their tenure, people undergoing resettlement are expected to be compensated for their loss (of land, property or access) either in kind or cash. However, these do not appear to be applied consistently, fairly or evenly by local and/or state authorities. Renters and other forms of tenancy are left out of compensation and are often not included in communications about impending evictions. While the need for effective resettlement policies is recognised, in practice, it is constrained by larger land market dynamics and the impacts of uncontrolled urbanisation.

"Diagnostic" report, the Uganda research team chose to focus efforts for work package 2 on understanding the context of relocation and resettlement from the perspective of two case studies of informal

cases were chosen because they are areas affected

have a large-scale drainage infrastructure project planned or implemented. The two settlements have different economic contexts; one is a grain and agricultural processing area (Natete), whereas the other has a stronger service economy (Bwaise). Interviews with households, business and other stakeholders looked at the drivers, the tipping points and limits of tolerable risks that push or enable

interviews interrogated the process of eviction and

to regulate urban development to protect wetlands.

The work package 2 report "Decision-making and implementation" developed some conclusions, which have become highly relevant as we moved into the

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city, neighbourhoods, families and individuals, the environment, the conduct of business and/or livelihoods. This is the normative approach to risk in that it is seen as the "potential for losses". However,

an "opportunity". In this sense, risk-as-opportunity corresponds to a classic economic formula of "the

In this understanding, "risk" is an indicator of the potential for achieving greater gains than would otherwise be achievable and is to be embraced and actively engaged with. People are living, and continue

the negative economic and health impacts from the

areas. Thus the notion of "tipping points" (as when people might decide to move from an area because of

cost" and "risk as opportunity" is disrupted.

- _____The research also revealed that the different notions of risk which drive individuals to make decisions (about where to live, where to open a business, where to build etc.) result in individual decisions; that is, the individual entrepreneur, landholder, informal enterprise or individual household act independently. "Risk-as-cost" and "risk-as-opportunity" relate to individual entities because the different conceptions have to be

if we move toward a more collective understanding of risk, that is we shift the emphasis towards understanding risk in relation to collective assets, then individual actions can be calculated in terms of their

decisions. In this context, for example, the interests of industrial developers (or those who develop in wetland areas) can be weighed against collective costs that those actions cause, like reducing water quality or

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The research revealed that while individuals are making choices/decisions based on the balance of

risk as cost and risk as opportunity, there is still a low capacity to take action on addressing the problems

wetland management and maintenance despite an awareness of the problems and clear understanding of the importance of wetland management for the

of life. The pressures of other collective endeavours such as economic development seem to prevail, despite the understanding of environmental issues.

over ecosystems management because of current international funding mechanisms.

Initial framing of this report

Resettlement or relocation is undertaken both as a pre-emptive and as a corrective action in the context of disasters or disaster risk. The pre-emptive approach is often led by key development agencies (housing or slum boards, city planning authorities) or environment agencies, while the corrective approach falls under the purview of disaster response, reconstruction and rehabilitation agencies (disaster management authorities), both of who still see development and disaster risk reduction in isolation. This view means their priorities are generally limited to either the provision of housing, or using risk as the main lens for decision-making and thus 'moving people out of harm's way'. Countless examples have shown that such an approach to resettlement and relocation interventions often creates other vulnerabilities that are social, economic, environmental and/or political, leaving people and communities worse off than they were to begin with.

Disaster could in fact be understood as an indicator of development that has not taken risk into consideration. It is a condition where vulnerabilities, exposure and lack of capacities to cope with an

intervention must be towards development that is sustainable and, more importantly, transformative such that the existing vulnerabilities and exposures are reduced, thereby improving people's overall quality of life.

and processes are guided by a narrow view of risk that essentially relates to avoiding exposure to

views are determined by the ways DRR is seen and by who enacts its postulates and seeks for results.

analysed from an outcome perspective, the analysis is undertaken on the basis of a far wider ranging series of "risk" conditions, including livelihood conditions, health, social cohesion, employment opportunity, etc. This latter perspective clearly highlights the shortcomings of many resettlement decisions, including the lack of consideration for the above criteria. The contrast between considerations of disaster risk and everyday risk, and the lack of a clear view in resettlement policy and action

Preliminary synthesis of the economic assessment of climate change impacts related to relocation and resettlement

of mitigation, (2) the costs of adaptation and (3) the

associated with the reduction of the anthropogenic forcing of the climate system as a contribution, diminishing future climate change. The second refers to the cost of reducing the impacts of climate change. The third refers to the cost of impacts that can be neither mitigated nor adapted to and that remain after such

as the sum of the costs of adaptation and the cost of residual damage. In this sense, two different economic assessments of the impacts of climate change are typically done. While estimates of damages refer to the total costs of the impacts of climate change, estimates of adaptation refer to only one part of them, as they do not consider the cost of residual damage.

Method employed for this research

The analysis of work package 3 draws on the data set that was generated in work package 2 including

in Bwaise and Natete and nine stakeholder interviews

dataset was enhanced with six additional interviews with stakeholders, undertaken in June 2016, to complement and enrich insights that were developing in the analysis, particularly in relation to the economic analysis of decision-making.

The analysis began from a team workshop held in London in March 2016 where initial frameworks were formulated. From these formulations, the analysis of the Uganda data started from the view that what is important to understand is how stated problems are ultimately related to desired outcomes. Thus, the entry point was to identify three different types of decisions – pre-emptive, post-impact and climate-induced – as direct responses to a problem of "how

economic factors that interact with possible decision-outcomes that could be positive or negative in nature. The interaction occurs in time and space to determine the scale of the outcomes. The desired outcome is

to be "sustainable urban development that takes into

In order to understand different responses, we

analyse the data from the perspectives of individual (household and small enterprise), 'small collectives'

that these different perspectives were necessary was not so much to cover different scales, but to understand different ways in which people come

that do not typically bear any relation to 'scales'. In the event, data analysis of the 'small collective'

a limitation on the outcomes of this research in that we are not able to shed insights on 'small collective'

identify any gaps and/or overlaps between household and small enterprise-level and city-level perspectives.

level is an issue that should be picked up in future research.

In order to frame the coding and analysis of the

understand how different actors from individual,

of relocation. The objectives were derived from two aims. First, to develop an approach that combines different methodological approaches to assessing

more about how different actors value or make

second outcome was to help in understanding how

as compared to voluntary individual and/or small collective relocation. From materials so far gathered, there seems to be inadequate information on the

and costs that the people most affected consider in

to be weak at incorporating and accounting for 'risk-as-opportunity'.

addition, Bwaise has experienced an infrastructural

as the compensated eviction of landowners and

resettlement of people living near the channel. In Natete infrastructural improvements are currently underway (2015-16) and compensated eviction for those affected landowners will begin.

the methods of analysis needed to afford the

more broadly than the dominant ways in order to contextualise resettlement and relocation as one

Practically, we focused the analysis at two levels (household and small enterprise, and city) on

make decisions to relocate or stay? What are the

locating where they do? What shapes their decision-making?

In order to analyse the data in terms of these questions, we coded the transcripts in terms of responses to the following issues.

1) What are the actual stated costs associated

in damage, loss or destruction of assets including social, physical, economic, environmental and political? There are four categories to be

both places

2) What are the actual stated opportunities associated

improvement or enhancement of existing assets or

same in both places

3) What are the coping strategies for managing costs

as outlined above? What are the 'tipping points'

a) Instances of managing with risk as cost/ opportunity

b) Instances of triggers or tipping points

4) How are costs and opportunities translated

livelihood to enterprise, un-manageable to manageable etc.)? What are the processes of

in decisions? How do decision outcomes affect lives

a) How risks change from one category to another (i.e. what is changing)

b) What calculations that people are making

affects decision-making processes? What are the

decision-making and how are they expressed? What are the other processes and events taking place

a) Socio-political relationships and networks that

decision-making

6) What is the existing 'risk-scape', interpreted here as the spatial imagination shaping the social and emotional, collective and individual understandings of risk? How does potentiality inform decision-making?

scape? What are the perceptions of their intended effect?

8) How do understandings of ownership and property rights contribute to the distribution of costs and

the costs and gains the opportunities? This is in

We used thematically coded data relating to the 8 questions to generate answers to the overarching questions outlined above. The aggregated data in relation to the four questions below, were interpreted in the analysis to follow.

Question	Using results from
What are the losses that households incur from	1
What are the opportunities that they gain from living in the area?	2
How do they try to shape the opportunities and	

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This section sets out in conceptual form a means of interpreting the results that emerged from the analysis

respondents were describing were being mediated

was a factor in this process and especially so when considering ‘risk as opportunity’ (see Figure 2 below).

is that ‘costs’ and ‘risks’ are related to ‘value’. This insight is extremely useful because ‘value’ is

opportunity to think of ‘value’, ‘cost’ and ‘risk’ in many different ways.

Natete can have different values for different people. For example, a dwelling is simultaneously a place of

security, an asset, a place to work from, and/or a drain on resources to maintain. These change as people work within the multiple identities that we all have – as parents, sons or daughters, workers, ‘slum dwellers’, tenants and owners, women and men – and over the life course. Many of the respondents spoke about how the meaning of living in Bwaise and Natete had changed from them initially coming as young people to stay with relatives or join husbands or wives, to having children and now being retired.

They also pointed to how the everyday environment can have different values. That is, the location of their activities, the infrastructure that is un/available to use, the activities of others that might pass through

resources or money that constitute the environment.

to explore this fully. This is thus an area that needs further exploration.)

These values also changed over time. They changed because the register of meaning in which they are valued changed (the starkest difference being between how respondents valued their land and

purposes) and changed because people moved them from register to register (land bought became an inheritance for their children). Things and people have value because they are understood within particular registersEaaujETEMC /Span /Lang (it-IT)/MCID263 T

same parcel of land has different values. It is often a matter of power relations as to which register is dominant and which sets of actions ensue. From the perspective of households, we could think of this as involuntary changes in value.

However, value can change because of ‘voluntary’ agreements. For example, a parcel of land can change value because people convert it from a commodity to an inheritance – something that they purchased becomes a gift. In such a case, while the ‘market value’ has not gone away, the value of the land is understood within a different set of norms, expectations, obligations and relationships and affects what can and cannot be done with the land.

How can we ‘see’ value? In broader theoretical terms, the argument is that this becomes possible when the rights to the value are transferred either within or across a register. This is because value is socially constructed. There must be at least one other person that engages in some way with the person holding the rights to the value in order to agree on the value and exchange the rights – even if they agree that the value

However, things we value often have costs associated with their ownership, use, access, maintenance or consumption. These costs can be to secure ownership, use, access or consumption. The costs can be related to maintaining the value of the object,

needs to be maintained or infrastructure that loses its value if it is not adequately be maintained inside the

of renewal and redevelopment have changed the CBD

of the research focused on values, costs, and risks, with the analysis of contextual factors in four different decision-making sub-sets. These sub-sets are understood as both a response to the contextual factors and a way of contributing and forming the contextual factors. This is leading to the conclusion that any framework seeking to understand the costs

situated in the urban processes of which it is a part.

The four sub-sets relate to the policy options that are

areas of the city; the third to people that have moved

infrastructure; and the fourth sub-set relates to an

risk areas and deter future development in such areas.

Sub-set 1. Infrastructural responses: KIIDP project (Bwaise) and KIIDP II (Natete)

upgrading drainage systems to manage storm water

project management unit and all directorates that have a role are coordinated by the implementation

city, the upgrading of Natete-Lubigi channel is one of

to upgrade the primary drainage to the west of the

channel is to be widened, concrete or stone lined for

people to understand the project. With funding from

But as a requirement, co-funding is required from government for the compensation of any affected people.

such as roads. The main objective for the project is the upgrade of drainage systems as part of the

circulation is vital for people to gain money and use money for consumption and partially pay off some of

new mattresses and household goods is common. In Natete seven of the respondents indicated that they

accessibility, uncertainty or fear for children's safety.

products damaged or destroyed (21, 22, 24, 25,

because people cannot access the kiosk where they vend their products (19, 20, 23, 28, 29).

is particularly bad, respondents report health problems including candida, malaria, foot rot, miscarriages, snake-bites, and skin diseases especially in children.

Financial costs	**Opportunity costs**
'Before the primary drainage was constructed…[ ]… property and my important documents' (4)	Raised household property (1) (9)
waters (6)	Raising property up (2) (10) (12)
expensive because it never ends' (6, 35)	Dealing with water entering the house (2) (12) and (11)
Incur expenses of replacing/repairing household property (8)	Time spent protecting children because the 'channel spills water that extends here which is dangerous for the children' (2)
	Putting furnishings on top of the raised bed and
Purchasing culverts to put along drainage channels and act as access points to the house (11)	Putting furnishings on top of the raised bed and
Destruction of household goods, clothes (11)	
Cost of soap to clean dirtied household property and replace damaged property (11, 33, 34, 35)	Constructed a dyke (6)
Damage to household goods and furnishings (12, 30)	
season' (29, 34)	(6)
food' (29)	

most vulnerable to water entering the home.

In Bwaise and Natete household heads were able to provide a long list of the costs associated with

and some of which were more related to economic losses in terms of opportunity costs (see Table 1 below).

It is notable that while it is possible to gain insight

prone settlements provide opportunity or add value to people's lives by asking indirect questions about decision-making processes, responses to direct questions about the opportunities and value of living

to be met with the response 'nothing' (i.e. there is

there) and instead a clear understanding of the costs

be interpreted more as 'invisible enablers' or adaptive necessities than as calculation factors in people's decision-making.

to accept these risks and stay where they are because

the capacity because this house rent costs 50,000 and above the hill houses are at 80,000 or 140,000'.

I have not found people who buy my place. I need about 100 million because this is in the city'. Thus it

but rather that they have few alternatives, or that the health and economic risks are bearable given the

the sense of identity and belonging experienced by

a sense of inescapability; one NSDF leader at Bwaise said 'some have been born here [in Bwaise informal settlement] so there is no escape route'.

Sub-set 3: Individual responses to move from ăsshmrk eview ,F{emwi0 Rexixi-

This sub-set covers two different groups, those that moved autonomously and those that were evicted by the state to make way for infrastructural improvements.[3] In this research, both groups of people share the experience of moving within Bwaise or Natete. That is, the research neither traced nor

respondents tended to be people that held ownership rather than rental claims to land. This is important because it relates to the ways in which people relate and/or calculate the relationships between values-

commitment expressed to the land through tenure.

Clearly, one of the most important differences is the motivation for moving. For those moving autonomously, there were a diversity of reasons that came together – not least the suffering and hardship

eviction, it is more evident that the motivation is directly a result of the eviction order. We begin by considering people that have moved autonomously in both Bwaise and Natete, before addressing those that have been evicted. We look at 'movers' and 'evictees' in Bwaise and Natete in terms of 'risk as opportunity'

risk as opportunity and cost.

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value-risk-costs, then moving location autonomously suggests that either one of the variables has changed dramatically to affect the relationships to the other two variables; or, two or all of the variables changed to precipitate a move.

chosen to move but remain within either Bwaise or Natete respectively suggests that the value of the area was relatively constant. In ways similar to the section above (on households living in Bwaise or Natete),

changes to costs and/or risks. The costs and/or risks of remaining had become too great to bear, even including the additional costs incurred in moving to a new location. We begin by considering changes to costs before changes to risks in each research area.

In Bwaise, the actual costs that respondents were

damaged or destroyed household goods), to opportunity costs and labour time of reducing the

social costs of the family splitting up while new dwellings were constructed in the process of moving.

to changing from ownership to tenancy in order to

smaller house compared to the old one creating small space for my family' (Respondent 16).

For respondents in Natete, the costs were similar and more tragic with one respondent stating that the

survived narrowly after being rushed to hospital'. These respondents noted that other costs included the limitations on children of not being able to go

In terms of risks in Bwaise, the respondents were

likely to continue, if not increase. With some indicating perceived responsibilities for leaving an inheritance

risk of loss is important. Respondents attempted

raising houses and creating barriers in the place they had moved from. Respondent 15 exhausted

'I didn't have the money and therefore there was nothing to do'. For some, the need to reduce the risk meant saving for six years (Respondent 16) or taking a loan to construct a new house (Respondent

to the lack of maintenance of drainage channels or people depositing waste in the channels and thereby

In sum, for respondents that have moved within Bwaise and Natete, they have sought to retain the value of living in such central locations and when the costs became overwhelming in managing the risks, they relocated autonomously. Even if they still appear

on the same scale and the costs can be borne. The outcomes for the respondents that were evicted,

52 expressed a common view that ‘since we hear of

permanent you can do because we live at (sic) fear that any time our houses might be demolished’.

In sum, those respondents in Bwaise that had been evicted or those in Natete facing eviction appeared considerably worse off than they had been prior to the actual eviction/announcement of eviction. We turn now to consider ‘risk as cost’ for both groups in Bwaise and Natete.

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In terms of the risk as cost, there is little doubt that

for losses and are very likely to continue to do so, and increasingly so. However, contexts where ‘risk as opportunity’ appears to override the ‘risk as cost’ should not induce complacency amongst policy makers.

The potential for losses is considerable although managed through raising household property, relocating temporarily, shoring up dwellings on the outside and/or attempting to keep drainage channels working and cleared. It appears that these are the costs that some (poorer) people need to bear in order to afford their children a better opportunity than they had. Thus, costly, risk-prone environments are the price to be paid for some people in order to keep their children healthy, educated and, ultimately, to be able to form a household of their own.

Conclusions: A framework for ewwiwwmrk xli gswxw erh firiĂxw of decisions on resettlement

arbitrator of claims, even though they are complicit in the

above (Figure 3) introduces a different perspective/role for local government as it is not, at least not initially, an issue of

types of value-cost-risk that exist.In practical terms, the suggestion of this framework is that ‘conventional’ cost-

particular insights into how different interventions can be valued. However, it is only one register and it is not necessarily the most important. The recognition of ‘value/s’ as a mediating variable requires acknowledgement of particular relations because for ‘value/s’ to be valuable they need to be recognised as such by more than one party. Values/s emerge both within a context (or ‘layer’) and across ‘layers’. The practical challenge is to identify

intervention and the changing ‘politics of survival’ in

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