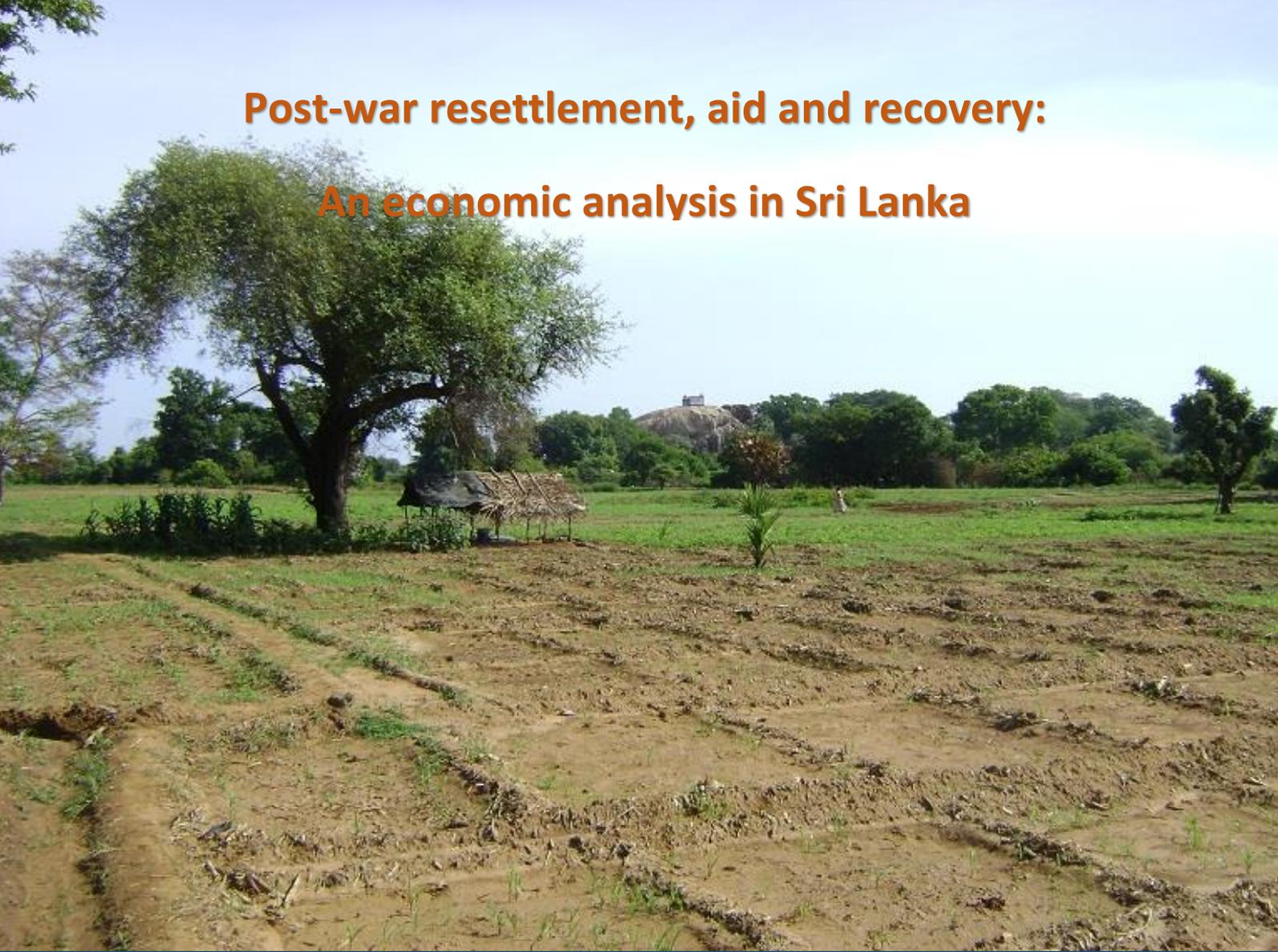


# Post-war resettlement, aid and recovery: An economic analysis in Sri Lanka



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Front cover photograph: *Farming preparation in Verugal* by Danesh Jayatilaka (2012).

**Post-war resettlement, aid and recovery:  
An economic analysis in Sri Lanka**

Danesh Jayatilaka

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## **Post-war resettlement, aid and recovery:**

### **An economic analysis in Sri Lanka**

#### **Abstract**

Since the end of Sri Lanka's conflict in 2009 the state had been making efforts to return and resettle the hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Resettling and reconstructing the lives of the war-affected people such as IDPs is particularly challenging, and questions on assistance have cut across concepts, disciplines, approaches, and lenses for analysis. This working paper comprises findings from a doctoral research on the economic recovery of internally displaced persons resettled in the east of the country. The researcher selected a war-affected village called Kathiraveli, in Vaharai in Batticaloa, whose occupants had received extensive housing and livelihood donor aid due to their displacement in 2006 and resettlement in 2007.

A series of quantitative and qualitative surveys were conducted in 2011 to measure the income recovery levels of the aid recipients. The main research question was "what is the impact of housing and livelihood assistance on the economic recovery of IDPs who had been resettled?" Sub-questions looked at the role played by five livelihood capitals, the relationships they have among each other and external processes, and the distribution of impoverishment risks, with recovery defined as being above or having caught up with previous income levels, while taking inflation into account. The theoretical framework for the study was drawn from the DfID Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) and the Impoverishment Risks and Livelihoods Reconstruction (IRLR) model. An augmented Sustainable Resettlement Framework was used for the analysis at the individual and household levels where interviews, case studies, graphical outputs, and regressions, along with the researchers own three months of lived experience was triangulated.

The findings from the mixed methods suggested that there was no significant or positive relationship between housing assistance and income recovery. Results indicated that livelihoods aid, especially material assistance and microfinance, instead of trainings and cash, directly supported the recovery and economic sustainability of the resettled people in the given backdrop, in spite of the fraction of resources allocated for the sector. The regressions in particular showed significant relationships between livelihoods assistance and income

recovery along with other factors like the sex and health of the aid recipient. The findings said those who received larger housing packages sometimes ended up poorer, in the long term, compared to those who received more modest housing grants, and it was better to provide owner-driven houses rather than donor-driven houses. These implied the resources allocated among housing and livelihoods needed reviewing to increase aid effectiveness. While shedding light on the dynamic role of capabilities and livelihoods assets, and their intersections with aid, the study magnified the relevance of happiness alongside income recovery after resettlement.

## **1. Introduction**

Political economists such as Duffield (2008) have spoken of ‘new wars’ that have come up since the cold war ended. These asymmetric wars, led mostly by non-state actors, have their roots in issues covering, among others, governance and ethnic, political, and economic marginalization. The violence that erupts cause destruction of economic infrastructure, lost production, forgone investments, and redirect essential resources for military and other emergency purposes (Bastian, 2018; Venugopal, 2011; Uyangoda, 2010; Bandarage, 2009; De Mel, 2007; Collier, 2006). Resettling and reconstructing the lives of the effected people such as internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees etc. has been particularly challenging (Lakshman and Rajan, 2019; Jayatilaka et al, 2018; Collyer et al, 2017; Perera-Mubarak, 2014; Brun and Lund, 2008, 2003a; Muggah 2008). Questions such as ‘how’, ‘what’, ‘why’ have been daunting and have cut across concepts, disciplines, actors, approaches, and lenses for analysis (Perera-Mubarak, 2012; Ferris, 2011; Dona, 2011; Lyons, 2009; Chambers, 2007; Van Hear and Senanayake, 2006; Brun, 2003a; Jacobsen and Landau, 2003; Quarantelli, 1998). This paper looks at selected findings of a doctoral research conducted on the economic recovery of displaced people who had been resettled after the conflict in the east of Sri Lanka. The researcher selected a war-affected village that had received extensive housing and livelihoods donor aid, and conducted a series of quantitative and qualitative surveys to measure the recovery levels of the members. The main research question was “what is the impact of housing and livelihoods assistance on the economic recovery of former IDPs who had been resettled?” The study looked particularly at the assistance and the other influencing factors that played a role in the recovery process. Aid for post-conflict IDPs is especially challenging due to the violent and multifaceted nature of their losses. Due to this reason support needs to be planned carefully where they address the risks, vulnerabilities and

capacities of the people, with a view towards sustainable economic recovery (Jayatilaka and Amirthalingam, 2015; Amirthalingam and Lakshman, 2015, 2012, 2010, 2009; Chambers, 2014; Kulatunge and Lakshman, 2013, Korf, 2004; Korf and Silva, 2003).

## **2. Literature review**

Amartya Sen (1989) highlighted the significance of freedom as a prerequisite for the capabilities and functioning of individuals. The *Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement* states the rights of IDPs to seek freely opportunities for employment and to participate in economic activities (UNOCHA, 1999). Deng (1999) provided the clearest definition of what constitutes displacement and there is sufficient accord on the protection and assistance requirements of an IDP (UNOCHA, 2003; Gomez, 2002; UNOHCHR, 2000; UNOCHA, 1999) with external aid becoming the triggering of burden sharing and the arrival of humanitarian and development actors to fill in gaps (Ferris, 2011; Hyndman, 2011) and in most cases to ‘build back’, or ‘build better’, so the ‘man-made’ disaster events do not repeat again (Duffield, 2008, 2001; Lyons, 2009; Waugh and Smith, 2006; Abeygunawardena et al., 2006; Jayasuriya et al., 2006). While the projects have gone on, and vast amounts of resources had been invested in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and North America, where communities have received assistance for housing, livelihoods etc. (Gunatilaka and Vithanagama, 2018; Kodikara, 2018; Gunasekara et al, 2016; Kelegama 2010a, 2010b; Ashmore et al., 2008), researchers have generally been apprehensive of the planning and success measures of these exercises (Hilhorst, 2018; Collyer et al, 2017; Herath et al, 2017; Lakshman et al, 2016; Vithanagama et al, 2015; Romeshun, 2014; Brun and Lund, 2009; Muggah, 2008; Hammond, 2008; Kibreab, 2003; Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

Research on resettlement and recovery had been inadequate and Stiglitz (1998) was known to have said ‘What we know and what we don’t know about resettlement is narrow, and only a fraction of the economic knowledge necessary to inform us’. Still, those such as Cernea, Chambers, Nelson, Scudder, and Colson have contributed volumes on the causes and consequences of voluntary and involuntary resettlement, particularly in development-induced displacement or DID (Tefera, 2009; Cernea and McDowell, 2000; Chambers, 1995; Schuh, 1993; Lipton, 1992) later known as development-forced displacement and resettlement (DFDR). These works favoured mostly the social content of resettlement and was dominated by qualitative techniques (Dona et al., 2011; Chambers, 1995), whereas Cernea’s

Impoverishment Risks and Livelihoods Reconstruction (IRLR) framework became particularly progressive as it looked at both the social and economic sides of the process of movement, from displacement to relocation and recovery, and produced a tool that helped explain, diagnose, and predict developments for guiding policy and planning eight key risk sectors (Muggah, 2003; Muggah, 2000). While circumventing drawbacks on traditional assessments, the model provided a chance to quantify the quantum of aid required for income generation and mapped the economic recovery trajectory in terms of assets replacements in the form of assistance (Amirthalingam and Lakshman, 2008; Cernea, 1997).

The study of conflict-induced displacement (CID) resettlement is yet to reach this level of precision where interventions are based mostly on humanitarian and emergency imperatives, with the aim of saving lives (UNHCR, 2010; Jayatilaka, 2009; Jayatilaka and Muggah, 2003). There are substantial amounts of semi-competing qualitative type Principles and IASC Guidelines, Frameworks, and institution-based ‘best ways’ emanating out of UNHCR, UNDP, Brookings etc. for conflict displacement, referring to Durable Solutions, Early Recovery, or When Displacement Ends and so on (Maier, 2010; Entwisle, 2010; Cohen and Bradley, 2010; IASC, 2007; Mooney and Martin, 2007; Mooney, 2003). Displacement is known to consist of a series of events taking place in multiple dimensions, and in their continuum towards normalcy and development, victims go via numerous classifications which fall into return, resettlement, recovery, reintegration, rehabilitation etc., all of which affect levels of entitlements, obligations and their very state of identity (Brun and Lund, 2008; Lyons, 2009; Cornwall, 2010; Quarantelli, 1998). In Sri Lanka for example there have been numerous categories of IDPs, who were in different levels of helplessness (or benefiting), who perceived the concept of ‘home’ and ‘belonging’ differently, and responded in different ways (Lakshman, 2017; Brun and Fabos, 2015; Gunasekara et al, 2015; Perera-Mubarak, 2013; Jaspars and O’Callaghan, 2010; Brun 2009, 2003a, 2003b; Ruwanpura, 2009). The complexity in analysis for these asymmetrical, overlapping, and transitory transformations in forced migration settings meant that the nuances in themselves have bearings on which analytical approaches and lenses are usable (Jayatilaka, 2015; VanHear and Senanayake, 2006; Dona et al., 2011; Jayatilaka and Muggah, 2003).

The understanding of ‘Recovery’ itself had also been rather vague with academics and agencies advancing various interpretations of the end goal (Maier, 2010). These include people rebuilding their communities and livelihoods, or attempts to bring the situation to a

level of acceptability, or in par with before (Maier, 2010; Brun and Lund, 2008; Quarantelli, 1998). Or as the UNDP says, connect critical points of multi-sectoral transition between humanitarian and developmental work using Early Recovery discourse, and the abundance of other guidelines and standards provided by the World Bank, UNHCR, and other specialized agencies or their joint outputs (Jha, 2009; UNHCR, 2011; Goovaerts et al., 2005; SPHERE, 2004). And then there are broad measurements by way of subjective wellbeing that take into consideration demographics and material conditions that cover income, wealth, and consumption (OECD 2013) or even broader ones such as quality of life that address the full range of factors that influences ‘what we value in living’. While beneficiary consultation and partnerships is a norm in many-a-place, to identify these central needs, and part of standard policy and programming, and techniques such as ‘owner-driven’ and co-financing are available for housing programmes, and there is an abundance of participatory methods in livelihoods promotion, whether these activities truly empower and produce meaningful outcomes is questionable (Gunasekara et al, 2016, 2015; Vithanagama et al, 2015; Miranda, 2010; Brun and Lund, 2009). In fact according to Hyndman (2011) and Freire (2010) certain forms of aid and how they are packaged can trigger, maintain, or exacerbate disastrous effects on previous social existence patterns, spiralling people down new vulnerability pathways (Godamunne and Kumarasiri, 2010; Kuruppu and Ganepola, 2005; Jing, 1997).

The sustainability of the ‘solutions’ and ultimate happiness has been fleeting and Hammond (2008) observed disturbing data on the worsening of livelihoods conditions by communities who underwent planned resettlements in Ethiopia due to lack of ‘manoeuvring space’ or ‘freedom’ for livelihoods. Similarly in Zimbabwe while state sponsored and spontaneous resettlers both faced similar problems, the second group dealt with their risks differently, as their livelihoods profiles were far more diversified (Chimhowu and Hulme, 2006), as was in Eritrea where there was greater degrees of happiness among self-settlers than those in state-sponsored reintegration sites, which were far more restrictive in activity terms, in spite of the latter having received more assistance from the government (Kibreab, 2003). These suggested self-settled communities combined a diversity of income-generating and assets-reorganizing activities, which were of their choosing, and generally ‘chose better’, and happiness manifested when the material and non-material ‘home’ and other aspects of subjective and objective wellbeing came together (Weeratunge et al, 2014, 2010; Brun and Lund, 2008; Van Hoorn, 2007; van Horen, 2002; Frey and Stutzer, 2001). Naturally how people organized and reorganized their income ‘mixes’, freely and by their own choice,

epitomized their true functioning, whether it is at optimum or at a lesser level (Weeratunge, 2010; Korf, 2004; Sen, 1989, 1987). Understanding happiness in particular can shed light on how people make choices and utility functions. It is also a known fact that people have different motivations for their actions and reflections, most of it based on their individual, household-level and community-wise experiences (Te Lintelo et al, 2017; Weeratunge et al, 2014; Collyer, 2011; Collyer et al., 2009; Gough and McGregor, 2007; Frey and Stutzer, 2001).

Attempts were made to cross-reference displacement types (i.e. CID, DID), or even extend the DID focused IRLR model to include CID or combine the CID and DID quantitative and qualitative lenses, so as to draw better lessons in policy and practice (Jayatilaka et al, 2018; Hyndman, 2011; Amirthalingam and Lakshman, 2008; Brun and Lund, 2008; Muggah, 2003). These mixing did provide richer data and allowed others to realize their merits but still lacked the breadth to capture the dynamic nature of livelihoods processes and how people overcame vulnerabilities in different settings. Vulnerability and its multi-causality in fact has played a crucial role in livelihoods especially in the protection context (Sabina Alkire, 2011; Jaspars and O’Callaghan, 2010b), requiring a high degree of contextual understanding, on who is vulnerable and the deprivations (Hilhorst, 2018, 2004; Chambers, 2007, 1995; Jayatilaka and Muggah, 2004; Narbeth S. and McLean, 2003, Sen, 1992). Researchers have tested the Department for International Development (DfID) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) in conflict settings to ascertain livelihoods recovery (Gunatilaka and Vithanagama, 2018; Jaspars and O’Callaghan, 2010a; Amirthalingam and Lakshman, 2009; Korf, 2004; Korf and Silva, 2003). With origins on capabilities and entitlements (Sen, 1989, 1987, 1986) and Chambers and Conway’s livelihoods descriptions (1992), the model reemphasised the multi-sided nature of poverty and underscored the pursuit of outcomes through partnerships, and sustainability, on a framework of freedom to function.

While not the first of its kind, as UNDP, CARE, Oxfam etc. had derivatives of the same application, the DfID tool was considered particularly dynamic. Jacobsen (2002) was critical of it nevertheless stating it was useful mostly in peaceful and stable environments, but not in conflict locations where people pursued livelihoods in different and more extreme ways. On this basis, the SLF was adopted for complex emergency situations, incorporating aspects such as vulnerability, power relations, and political assets (Jaspars and O’Callaghan, 2010). This encouraged practitioners to move beyond material analysis to aspects such as ethnicity or

political identity and the risks people took to survive impoverishment and cope with the intimidation and losses (Jaspars and O’Callaghan, 2010; de Satgé, 2004). Korf (2004, 2003) in particular empirically identified how individuals chose internal and external coping strategies, with flexibility and trade-offs among livelihoods capabilities and assets (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005; de Satgé, 2004). Where Jaspers (2010) had identified strategies such as avoidance, containment, and confrontation, in ‘what people do’ for surviving, Korf demonstrated the complex paths households were using to cope and maximize their circumstance in the challenging environments. He was able to show that unrelated communities, cutting across ethnic groups, occupations, and geographic locations, used differentiated approaches for managing risk and household economics, and accessing external support, after carefully understanding their situations. Nevertheless, Korf himself admitted that the DfID model was used extensively for qualitative analysis and hence confined itself to some limitations (2004).

Amirthalingam and Lakshman (2010, 2009), using mixed methods, provided quantified examples of how human capital interacted with other livelihoods assets, including those that are non-economic, and how individuals had ‘weathered’ displacement differently depending on the type of their asset and the occupation of the holder. The enrichment addressed a number of original drawbacks in relation to generalization, risk focus, and accounting the capabilities and resiliences of the people. In fact the SLF had supplemented intricate data on inter and intra-asset ‘enabling’ dynamics that were otherwise lost in the more macro compensatory and finance oriented IRLR model, while the latter contributed rich information on the differences in displacement impacts and implications for consummate aid intervention, especially as different types of livelihoods groups responded differently to the displacement situation. Ultimately the richer analysis provided findings that were applicable to forced and involuntary migration settings, specifically resettlement, through a lens of dynamic sustainable livelihoods, taking the research towards integration between multiple disciplines (Cernea, 2000, 1999; Stiglitz, 1998; Chambers, 1995; Sen, 1989). The challenge became not to limit ourselves to the scope of any model but to identify the relevances and value additions each can bring, and use them imaginatively in necessary circumstances.

### **3. The resettlement that took place in Sri Lanka**

Since the end of Sri Lanka's protracted separatist conflict in 2009 the state had been making efforts to return and resettle hundreds of thousands internally-displaced persons (IDPs). With returns, reconstructions, and rehabilitations taking place in the North and East, resettlement was a principle activity of the broader recovery and reconciliation process targeted by the government and international actors. Two separate resettlement programmes occurred in the two affected regions during distinct time periods (commencing on 2007 for the East and 2009 for the North) alongside the normalization of security in the areas.<sup>1</sup> Large 'owner-driven' (OD) housing construction programmes were conducted in the east of the country since 2007, which saw rebuilding shared between occupants and donors. Together with these, 'donor-driven' (DD) programmes were also conducted where agencies provided the population with pre-built houses. These projects, which concluded in 2009, were premised on the assumption that former IDPs were able to generate the resources required, when necessary, for construction from livelihoods support, while drawing on their own skills, occupations, and disposable assets, and continue on to a sustainable living setting.

While the state and donors were able to bring some uniformity to the housing packages, they were unable to apply the same degree of standardization for the livelihoods support interventions, meaning some recipients may have been in a better footing to recover than others. The North East Housing Reconstruction Programme (NEHRP), funded by the World Bank and the European Union with USD 146.57 million for both the Tsunami and the conflict, was the main housing project for the activity and targeted the construction of 50,079 houses. The finances were to be disbursed in proportion to the damage in each of the districts. However, since this covered less than 20% of the total requirement, the donors together with the government agreed the aid would be dispersed to the most vulnerable among the needy population in the districts. The balance was to be addressed, to the greatest extent possible, by other donors and NGOs. While the government and large donors constructed houses using both DD and OD approaches, which had differential values, numerous small- and medium-sized NGOs provided the IDPs with livelihoods assistance such as trainings, cash, material etc. The resettlement was considered generally successful by the government and donors with

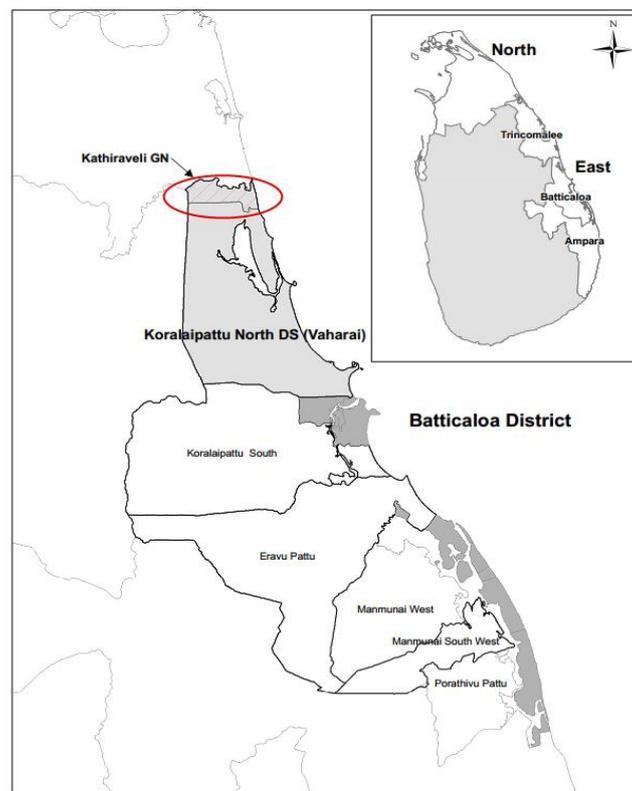
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<sup>1</sup> As the resettlement process evolved, the government released a series of planning documents drawn together with emergency partners. In the East these included the Emergency Assistance Programme for Resettling the Displaced; Plan for Emergency Assistance and Early Recovery for Resettled Areas; and the Post Resettlement Development Plan for the East. The main reconstruction programmes in the East, called 'Nagenahira Navodaya' or Eastern Reawakening, commenced in 2007 and ended in 2009.

the exception of some places where regional environmental woes affected the livelihoods and occupations of the people.

#### 4. Method and data

The main activity for the empirical study in 2011 was a stratified survey to compile quantitative data from a sample at household and member-level in the Kathiraveli village, in Vaharai, Batticaloa district, in the east of Sri Lanka. The particular village was one of the first locations where resettlement was conducted by the government due to conflict-related displacement.<sup>2</sup>



Map 1: Location of Kathiraveli in Batticaloa

The families in Kathiraveli were involved in fishing and agriculture, and other occupations such as animal farming, labour etc., and were the recipients of seven housing aid programmes

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<sup>2</sup> There were six main housing donors in the village implementing seven programmes of different values. They included local and international actors such as NEHRP, UNHabitat, UMCOR, IFAD, KPNDU, and AMC using OD and DD approaches. Notably the NEHRP had different assistance for Tsunami and conflict-affected groups, where a partnering with UNHabitat for a 'top-up' or co-financing scheme made the Tsunami grants more valuable. The livelihoods assistance was provided by organizations such as CARE, GTZ, Oxfam, World Vision, Sarvodaya, Sewalanka, JRS, Ahead, KPNDU, RDPO, Practical action, ESCO, and Arumbahal, alongside UN agencies such as UNDP and UNICEF. The differently valued assistance they provided were broadly classified into seven categories: cash grants; assets; equipment/material; farming animals; training; micro finance; and others.

and a multitude of livelihoods assistance efforts from various actors. The Divisional Secretary and Grama Sevaka village data on the housing composition stated that 54% of the inhabitant 676 families (2523 individuals) had received housing aid. The chosen 124 household sample (546 individuals) based on a stratified random sampling on housing aid, proportionately represented the various donor houses within this group.<sup>3</sup> This exercise was supported by a series of qualitative techniques such as in-depth interviews, case studies, focus groups, and participant observation using ethnography. Besides this, key informant interviews and informal discussions were conducted with government officials, the World Bank, United Nations, non-governmental organizations, academics, and research officers. This mixed methods design allowed the gathering of meaningful information on respondent backgrounds, experiences and aspirations, the housing and livelihoods aid they received, and the economic recovery that had taken place subsequently. The fieldwork took seven months, which included living three months with a resettled family in the village.

The conceptual model for the research did the following:

- Measure the impact housing and livelihoods assistance has on the income recovery of former IDPs
- Assess the influence of five assets and other capital on the various livelihoods outcomes
- Consider the relationship between the various assets/endowments and their utilization with external processes and structures
- Review post-displacement vulnerability and how this is distributed among impoverishment risks at the post-assistance resettlement stage

A combination of the DfID SLF and IRLR model was used to analyse the empirical data. The augmented model called the Sustainable Resettlement Framework (SRF) is below.

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<sup>3</sup> The 124 households received housing assistance that was worth around SLRS. 60 million and livelihoods assistance worth about SLRS. 10 million.

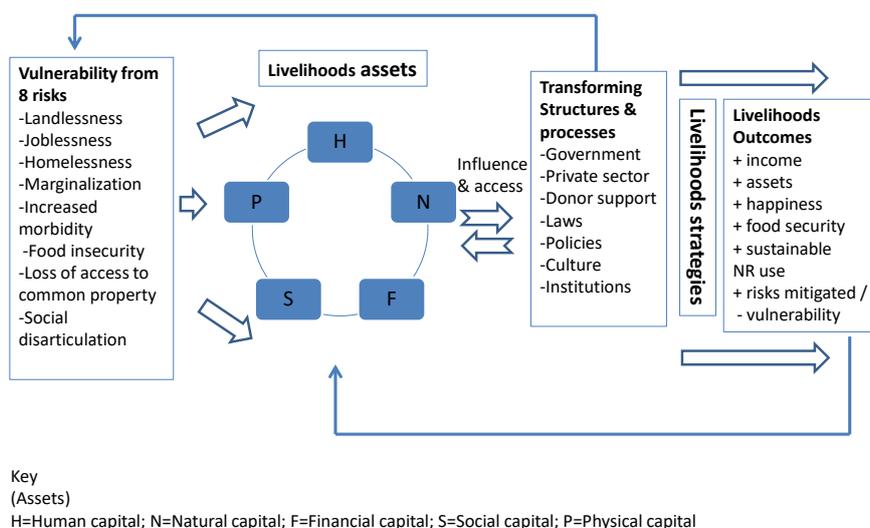


Figure 1: The Sustainable Resettlement Framework (SRF)

As this was primarily a displacement situation the framework used the eight resettlement impoverishment risks from the IRLR at the beginning to situate the vulnerability context. With this, the model makes the assumption that the risks are a result of the change that took place and different individuals and households would face various challenges depending on their new resettled constitution. While the assets pentagon from the SLF remained as it is, the transformation structures have a new element introduced to it called assistance, in the form of donor support. This is vital for the model due to the influence external support has at individual, household, and community level, for providing people the ‘push’ for livelihoods take-off together with the different livelihoods strategies people use, and the distinct outcomes that come out of it. In this light three changes would take place in the outcome section, these would be increased assets, inclusion of greater happiness in wellbeing, and the addition of the eight original risks, now called risks mitigated, which would replace vulnerability, in effect reversing vulnerability in the new context. Given that recovery can be analysed from various disciplinary angles, i.e., income, housing, infrastructure, community, the given analysis benchmarked economic recovery as a catching up process, where the former IDPs had regained their previous income levels and were happy with their current situation. Naturally this implies other factors that come into recovery are not explicitly addressed but are taken into consideration, such as psychosocial aspects in happiness, basic infrastructure to support income generation etc.

Table 1: Summary data of respondents

|                                      | Male-headed | Female-headed | Total |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| <b>Number of Households</b>          | 107         | 17            | 124   |
| <u>HH Size:</u>                      |             |               |       |
| Mean                                 | 4.53        | 3.59          | 4.40  |
| Median                               | 4.00        | 3.00          | 4.00  |
| <u>Female ratio:</u>                 |             |               |       |
| Mean                                 | 49%         | 63%           | 51%   |
| Median                               | 50%         | 60%           | 50%   |
| <u>Adults (over 18 years):</u>       |             |               |       |
| Total count                          | 267         | 30            | 297   |
| Mean                                 | 2.49        | 1.76          | 2.39  |
| Median                               | 2.00        | 2.00          | 2.00  |
|                                      | Male        | Female        | Total |
| <b>Number of individuals</b>         | 272         | 274           | 546   |
| <u>Age distribution:</u>             |             |               |       |
| 1-5                                  | 32          | 31            | 63    |
| 6-18                                 | 102         | 101           | 203   |
| 19-35                                | 79          | 81            | 160   |
| 36-60                                | 52          | 57            | 109   |
| 61 and above                         | 7           | 4             | 11    |
| <u>Education (&gt; 5 years age):</u> |             |               |       |
| Total count                          | 240         | 243           | 483   |
| 0 education                          | 8           | 13            | 21    |
| 1-5                                  | 99          | 99            | 198   |
| 6-10                                 | 90          | 100           | 190   |
| 11                                   | 37          | 23            | 60    |
| 12                                   | 2           | 3             | 5     |
| Diploma or above                     | 4           | 5             | 9     |
| <u>Health:</u>                       |             |               |       |
| Very healthy                         | 234         | 226           | 460   |
| Generally healthy                    | 11          | 28            | 39    |
| Sick but can work                    | 22          | 7             | 29    |
| Very sick but independent            | 5           | 12            | 17    |
| Extremely sick                       | 0           | 1             | 1     |
| Persons employed                     | 129         | 66            | 195   |
| Others                               | 143         | 208           | 351   |

As indicated in the above table there were some interesting features in the data. With the almost even break between males and females in the households, the latter ratio was less in houses headed by females. While the average family size was between 4 and 5 members, male-headed households were generally larger than those that were female-headed. This was also the case with the number of adults and children within this grouping, though the number of children is less prominent than the adults. The ages of individuals in the sample ranged mostly between 6 and 60 years, though the largest groups were the 6-18 and 19-35 brackets, totalling 66% of the group. There were very few who were above 61 years, with males slightly more than females, but generally the age distribution was even between the sexes. Most people had some education as 71% had studied up to either grade 5 or 10, though half of them did stop after 5. While more males had done grades 11, more females seemed to have followed education standards beyond, including diplomas. Still only a small fraction in the village had an education past the 12<sup>th</sup> standard as they accounted for only 2% of the sampled

population. According to the data 86% of the people were very healthy. From the balance who was sick, there were more women than men who exhibited serious ailments. There were twice as many employed males than females when it came to income earning, though this was expected. Those categorized as others were either housewives, children, or not eligible to work due to some reason.

## **5. Findings on income recovery of IDPs**

### **5.1 Case studies**

According to Yin (2009) case studies try to illuminate a decision or set of decisions, why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what results. The below summary case studies describe how four individuals used donor assistance to economically recover, with income, housing, and happiness as outcomes. While the focus is on individual income they include household income as well to make the cases richer. The cases were prepared by looking at the full 124 household sample, which was divided into two groups of high and low aid, which were once again divided into two groups of high and low recovery. After identifying four households that cut across the four combinations, in-depth interviews were conducted with the respondents to gather additional information. The cases are therefore classified as high assistance/high recovery (HH 124); low assistance/low recovery (HH 51); high assistance/low recovery (HH 24); and low assistance/high recovery (HH 62).

Table 2: Case studies summary

| Case/<br>Family   | Previous<br>occupation,<br>monthly income,<br>assets, and<br>housing   | Displacement/<br>vulnerability   | Assets available                                       |  |  | Aid provided   |   | Outcome   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|
|   |  |  | Financial<br>capital                                   | Physical/natural<br>capital                            | Human/social capital   | Housing  | Livelihoods   | Current<br>occupation   | HH monthly income,<br>assets, debts  | Housing  | Happiness  |
| Case 1 –<br>high<br>assistance<br>/high<br>recovery<br>(HH 124) | Housewife,<br>husband is a<br>farmer, Rs. 9000<br>Ind. Income, Rs.<br>21,000 HH<br>income, motor<br>bike and 2 ½ acre<br>paddy land, house<br>worth Rs. 60,000               | House<br>destroyed, one<br>child forcibly<br>recruited by the<br>LTTE, valuables<br>lost, unable to<br>work                    | Rs. 4000 cash,<br>Rs. 120,000<br>jewellery             | Son's motor bike,<br>2 ½ acre paddy<br>land            | Skilled farmer, son<br>government servant,<br>son-in law Gov<br>political organizer for<br>village, family related<br>to village President<br>and GS   | Combined<br>UNHabitat<br>and NEHRP<br>grant worth<br>Rs. 915,000 | Rs. 25,000<br>government<br>grant, Rs. 10,000<br>NGO grant, home<br>gardening training                          | Housewife,<br>husband does<br>river fishing and<br>some farming   | Ind. Income Rs. 9644,<br>HH income Rs. 40,644,<br>son's motor bike and<br>2 ½ acre and, various<br>electronic appliances<br>in the house                       | Large solid<br>house<br>worth Rs.<br>1,500,000<br>with<br>luxuries                           | Very happy<br>with the<br>resettlement   |
| Case 2 –<br>Low<br>assistance<br>/low<br>recovery<br>(HH 51)    | Poosari (Hindu<br>priest), Rs. 4000<br>Ind. Income plus<br>(hand-outs from<br>villagers), Rs.<br>6000 HH income,<br>4 acre paddy land,<br>bicycle, house<br>worth Rs. 50,000 | House<br>destroyed and<br>valuables lost,<br>was able to<br>continue<br>religious<br>services                                  | Rs. 80,000<br>jewellery, no<br>cash                    | Bicycle, 4 acre<br>paddy land on<br>temporary permit   | No specific skills or<br>networks  | No aid   | Rs 25,000<br>government<br>grant, Rs. 10,000<br>NGO grant, Rs.<br>10,000 micro<br>finance loan, set<br>of tools | Poosari, some<br>home gardening   | Ind. Income Rs. 11,600<br>(includes hand-outs<br>from villagers), HH<br>income same, Rs.<br>15,000 loan, 4 acres<br>land on permit, all<br>jewellery mortgaged | Mud house<br>worth Rs.<br>50,000   | Very unhappy<br>with<br>resettlement   |
| Case 3 –<br>High<br>assistance<br>/low<br>recovery<br>(HH 24)   | Owner and<br>manager of small<br>rice mill, Ind,<br>income Rs.<br>11,000, Rs. 24,000<br>HH income, 2 acre<br>paddy land, Rs.<br>75,000 worth<br>house                        | Widow with two<br>young children,<br>house<br>destroyed, rice<br>mill partially<br>damaged,<br>valuables and<br>livestock lost | Rs. 80,000<br>jewellery                                | 2 acre paddy land<br>on temporary<br>permit, rice mill | Skilled in managing a<br>mill, living with<br>parents now and<br>brothers provide<br>help, father skilled in<br>farming and fishing,<br>elder brother who is<br>a senior government<br>servant provides<br>financial support,<br>limited network in<br>village | IFAD grant<br>worth Rs.<br>500,000                               | Rs. 25,000<br>government grant<br>to father   | No specific<br>occupation as<br>rice mill closed –<br>lives off support<br>provided by<br>brother and<br>father | Ind. Income Rs. 8000,<br>HH income Rs. 15,000,<br>Rs. 2000 loan, 2 acres<br>land on permit,<br>mortgaged gold worth<br>Rs. 15,000                              | Solid<br>spacious<br>house<br>worth Rs.<br>500,000 but<br>does not<br>have all<br>facilities | Partially happy<br>with<br>resettlement.<br>Very satisfied<br>with housing<br>but not about<br>livelihoods<br>condition  |
| Case 4 –<br>Low<br>assistance<br>/high<br>recovery<br>(HH 62)   | Farmer, Ind.<br>Income Rs. 8000,<br>Rs. 21,000 HH<br>income, 10 acre<br>land, 30 goats, 25<br>chicken, 35 cows,<br>house worth Rs.<br>75,000                                 | House<br>destroyed,<br>paddy field<br>damaged and<br>many livestock<br>lost  | Rs. 1500 cash,<br>Rs. 160,000<br>jewellery, 35<br>cows | 10 acre<br>agriculture and<br>paddy land               | Skilled in agriculture<br>and animal farming,<br>has network in village  | NEHRP grant<br>worth Rs.<br>325,000                              | Rs. 25,000<br>government<br>grant, bicycle, set<br>of milk cans,<br>seeds                                       | Agriculture and<br>livestock farming  | Ind. Income Rs.<br>12,000, HH income Rs.<br>45,000, 35 cows<br>(recently replenished<br>after loosing more<br>than half to floods), 10<br>acres land           | Solid<br>completed<br>house<br>worth Rs.<br>800,000  | Generally<br>happy with the<br>resettlement<br>but admits local<br>marketing<br>facilities need<br>to be<br>strengthened |

The summaries of the cases presented describe the Sustainable Resettlement Framework (SRF), where displacement causes vulnerability, and with the housing and livelihoods aid, people draw on various capitals like financial, physical, human etc., to strategize and produce a range of outcomes in incomes, assets, and happiness. The important feature was it attempted to identify the main factors affecting livelihoods and showed the relationship between them. The reversal of risks and vulnerability is elucidated by the catching up to previous income conditions or surpassing them. A feature to note here is that those who got high volumes of aid did not necessarily end up being the well off, or vice versa, and there were many internal and external, and material and non-material factors that came into play. Mooted on earlier discussions on assistance, income recovery and dynamism, these cases lay the groundwork for the more rigorous analysis that is to follow.

From the beginning there were differences in the backgrounds of the individuals cited in the cases. The first case (HH 124) was a housewife, whose husband was a fisherman-farmer, she had a relatively large and influential family with members who were also skilled and could earn a mix of incomes from their various capitals. The second case (HH 51) was a Poosari (Hindu priest) who had no specific income earning skills and no real financial, natural, or physical capitals to make use of. The third case (HH 24) was a widow with two young children, who in spite of some wealth and support provided by her family, was unable to promote her livelihood condition beyond a certain point. The last case (HH 62) was a rich farmer, who was skilled and managed to improve his business despite having faced extreme losses and having got limited aid. All four individuals faced relatively the same periods of joblessness and homelessness, or even worse, such as losing children to forcible recruitment, when they had to flee and return to the devastated village, with houses destroyed, stocks, animals, and others assets lost. Being a displaced person also meant they had access limitations to various things and experienced some marginalization and social disarticulation as a group. Still, as time went, people showed resourcefulness in numerous ways, and they have extremely different outcomes in relation to incomes, housing, assets, and levels of happiness.

To understand the outcomes, one has to work backwards to the time the IDPs returned and were provided assistance. Both the individuals in cases 1 and 4 had greater financial resources in their hand, in the form of cash and jewellery, human capital and/or social capital, when returning, which they used immediately while waiting for housing and livelihoods aid.

The capacity to absorb and maximize the assistance is evident among the influential farmer and the rich farmer where they used their extensive skill sets, and those of family members, capitalized on networks, and drew on financial reserves to improve their economic situation. The first farmer received an OD housing grant worth Rs. 915,000, Rs. 35,000 in livelihoods grants, and home gardening training, while the last farmer got a Rs. 325,000 OD grant, Rs. 25,000 in livelihoods cash, and bicycle, milk cans, and seeds, which they both scaled up. The Poosari in case 2, who in fact received the same variety, if more, livelihoods aid, but not housing assistance, only managed limited success because he had none of the livelihoods capitalizing factors and was hardly capable of making use of the tools and micro finance loans provided to him, thus never improving his situation.



Photo 1: A donor house

The ownership of natural assets, such as paddy or agriculture land, or financial capitals like jewellery and cash were also helpful to bounce back. The latter particularly was useful for consumption or purchasing essentials in the short and medium-terms while awaiting donor aid. In traditional Tamil culture, gold was a common form of investment and savings and these examples gave insights to the ‘start-up’ financial planning and security measures they take. Notably both the farmers in cases 1 and 4 who had among them Rs. 120,000 and Rs. 160,000 of jewellery, ended up better off than the others who each had Rs. 80,000 of jewellery and no cash. How people transformed these capitals from one form to another by their own choice is an interesting feature. The first farmer directed the Rs. 25,000 government grant and Rs.10,000 NGO grant into his paddy cultivation alongside the agricultural training. Its noteworthy, that the skilled farmer’s income went up from Rs. 8000

to Rs. 12,000 or Rs. 21,000 to Rs. 45,000 at household level, between displacement and post-resettlement, due to what he did. The poosari's income in turn rose from Rs. 4000 to Rs. 11,600 or Rs. 6000 to Rs. 11,600 at household level, much of it as hand-outs from villagers, and he became heavily in debt. The Poosari continued to undergo a battery of vulnerabilities including marginalization and social disarticulation and was unable to break out of his predicament due to his internal drawbacks and external shortcomings.



Photo 2: Vegetable farming

By relying on his extensive networks, such as the son's contacts and the village Presidents influence to sway some of the institutional structures and processes, the skilled farmer (HH 124) was able to access his lands faster, leverage his farming talents, continue farming without any obstructions, and market the produce profitably. This is clear where the man's income went up, as did his household, as his children subsequently also made use of his network, and the family were able to purchase and enjoy various electronic and luxury assets such as fridges, cookers, televisions, CDs, stereos etc. The rich farmer (HH 62) used a similar measure, where he made up for his limited social network by using significant cash and gold resources to purchase a water pump for his fields, thus overcoming water limitations to his large land acreage, and draw on rotating crop yields through the year increasing his income from Rs. 8000 to Rs. 12,000 or Rs. 21,000 to Rs. 45,000 at household level. He further maximized his herd of milking cows by putting into use the bicycle and equipment donated to him and by reinvesting the profits in both his core businesses and increasing his stock of

cows. By astutely balancing occupations, or his bundle of options, he was eventually able to reinforce them sufficiently and withstand the financial and natural disasters that battered his neighbours. A salient point here is that both these individuals owned their lands, while the other two individuals did not, and had only temporary permits. Ownership itself had implications on raising capital, the willingness to invest, and free and unobstructed access to the property.

The cases exhibit how people respond to different forms of aid and the effects it has on other aspects of their life. The poosari was never given a house by the donors, and quite possibly was not able to pressure officials about it. Local officials said the individual did not participate in consultation meetings so was most likely bypassed in the assessments. The influential farmer secured a very lucrative grant because of the contacts he had and after further additions had a large solid house that was eventually worth Rs. 1,500,000, projecting great wealth, confidence, and status in the village. The house per say did not advance income conditions but he and his wife had the option of diverting the construction savings into livelihoods generation. For example the rich farmer (HH 62) had to contribute Rs. 475,000 to complete his house, whereas the farmer in HH 124 and the widow (HH 24) made a substantial saving. The saving however was only a temporary respite for the widow, where she used it for consumption and none for investment. Her story shows that in spite of strong support from siblings and parents, a deficit in human capital, by way of lack of a spouse, meant she could not scale up on the significant donor aid, or was not interested to function independently, eventually closing down her lucrative rice mill because of her depressed mental condition, where her income dropped from Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 8000 or Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 15,000 at household level. Being a woman in a male-dominated society was a drawback and being single with growing children put her in a particularly hard situation.

Donor housing aid was not a factor for the poosari, and they continued to live in a squalid mud hut at poverty levels with no piped water, toilets, or electricity. The Rs. 100,000 provided later by the Government is insufficient for building a house as the man had neither the confidence nor the means for raising the balance capital. The fact that the widow was happy with her housing and unhappy with her livelihoods situation, while the poosari was unhappy with the entire resettlement, and the first farmer was the opposite, meant happiness and wellbeing was ultimately a combination of separate yet mutually reinforcing factors. The

business-minded farmer who was in fact quite happy with the resettlement highlighted developmental measures to advance people's conditions further, showing neither the house alone nor livelihoods by itself brought about the mental comfort such individuals looked for. The same applied for the housewife, where she and her husband ended up with a nice home and respectable family and were very happy with the resettlement. The aspiration for the 'home' was a complex mix of housing conditions along with livelihoods situations, where eventually the successful individuals reversed or mitigated the original vulnerabilities that arose with displacement. They positioned themselves on a path to a sustainable future. Since this looked at some selected people's capacities and assets, and how they had dynamically interacted with external aid in recovery, let us now look at broader trends in the entire sample.

## **5.2 Quantitative analysis based on graphs**

In Cernea's (1995) model he quantifiably deconstructed the harmful effects of displacement and highlighted the role asset replacement and income generating support had on people regaining economic normalcy. He said disruptions on the way of life cause a drop in income after dislocation, and unless tactfully addressed, those affected will progress at a rate below their pre-displacement level. Based on the quantum of aid, the three scenarios were stagnation, slow growth, or exponential growth, where people reach their original income path. It is important to note officials involved with the resettlement programme said the incomes of the people could have potentially been more if not for the unpredictable environmental and economic factors, that were mostly not built as safeguards in the projects. Since returning inhabitants had to face recurring challenges such as crop diseases, droughts, and floods, annually, and other stresses like reduced fish catch in the sea and drops in labour demand in the area, they were forced to look for work elsewhere.

The panelled pie charts below are useful to graphically study the impact of housing and livelihoods aid on income recovery in the backdrop of the SRF. To conduct the analysis a filter was first used on the entire individual sample to draw out persons who had been employed before resettlement and were also currently employed. This would mean these persons would have to have been above 18 years before displacement and also above 18 now.

This action reduced the 546 sample down to 369. The reason individuals were chosen over households for analysis was due to the larger number and scope offered by the former. In relation to defining recovery within this group, the incomes each person earned before displacement and now were summed up, while adjusting for inflation and the ratio between the two taken (the ‘then’ income was taken as the denominator while the ‘now’ income was the numerator).<sup>4</sup> Due to the fact that only 27.7 percent of the entire group had attained recovery, where people achieved previous income levels or surpassed them, the cut-off value for the ratio was reduced from 1 to 0.7. Those above 0.7 were considered as ‘higher income recovery’ and others below 0.7 were deemed ‘lower income recovery’. It should be noted that the repeat floods and droughts previously mentioned was one of the reasons for this action. The subsequent panelled pie charts were created using the narrow sample of individuals above 18 years, the time difference (2006 income and 2011 income defined as then and now), and type of assistance provided, which were housing and livelihoods, taking into consideration the sample size fluctuated depending on the type of assistance.

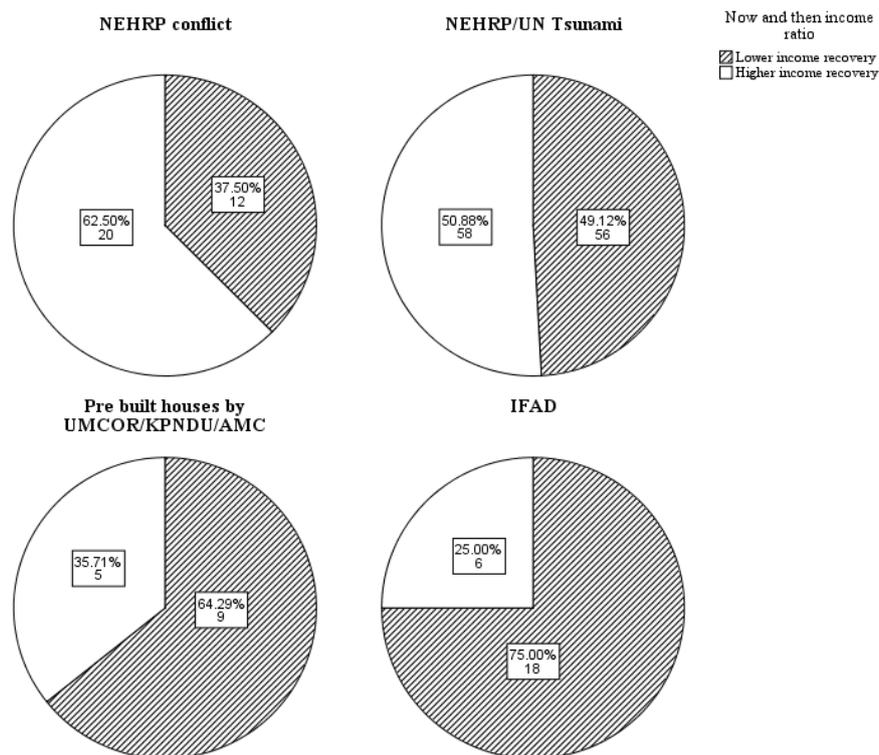


Figure 2: Income recovery with housing assistance

<sup>4</sup> See Table 2, Special Statistical Appendix 2011, Central Bank of Sri Lanka.

The analysis was useful to find the impact housing grants, the OD partially built against DD pre-built, had on recovery.<sup>5</sup> At the outset, it should be understood that the majority of families advanced from previous mud or tin shack huts to solid more spacious houses after their displacement and resettlement, thus addressing homelessness. One could also assume since the families were provided different housing grants, some of the packages more expensive than others, there may be income differences between the recipients at present. This was a feature in the IRLR framework where Cernea attempted to show there were distribution patterns in the costs and benefits of resettlement at individual level. The results from the ground have however been uneven. As indicated in Figure 2 there were more people who had recovered from within the lower value housing grants such as the NEHRP conflict packages against the lucrative NEHRP/UN Tsunami packages, where recipients received almost three times as much funds than the other. This is also evident in the financially greater IFAD OD houses, where there were more poor people living in them, than in NEHRP OD houses. Giving pre-built DD houses in place of OD structures also did not have particular impact on income, and if it did, the aspect was moderated by other factors. A point to note here is that the OD schemes required beneficiaries to contribute their own resources and people did this by way of labour and financial resources, which they could have otherwise used for livelihoods generation, and yet more than 95% of the OD houses were either fully or almost fully completed by 2011.

In relative terms, it is the government-led NEHRP programme, using both high and low value grants, both using OD approaches, which produced the greatest proportions of income recovered people. This seems to argue there are other factors and dynamics at play facilitating recovery. Still it is possible that the best grants could have been given to the most vulnerable people, and housing by itself was insufficient to give them the push required, although, as previously discussed, this has not exactly been the case. There were people who expressed happiness with their houses even while they were not too pleased with their income conditions, and it is known that 'sense of home' go beyond brick and mortar, and belonging and feelings of continuity are important factors. Still, if housing aid effects income recovery

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<sup>5</sup> The OD houses were NEHRP Conflict, NEHRP/UN Tsunami and IFAD. The DD houses were UMCOR, KPNDU and AMC.

was questionable, and there was a need to examine the other elements that stimulate income recovery along with housing assistance.

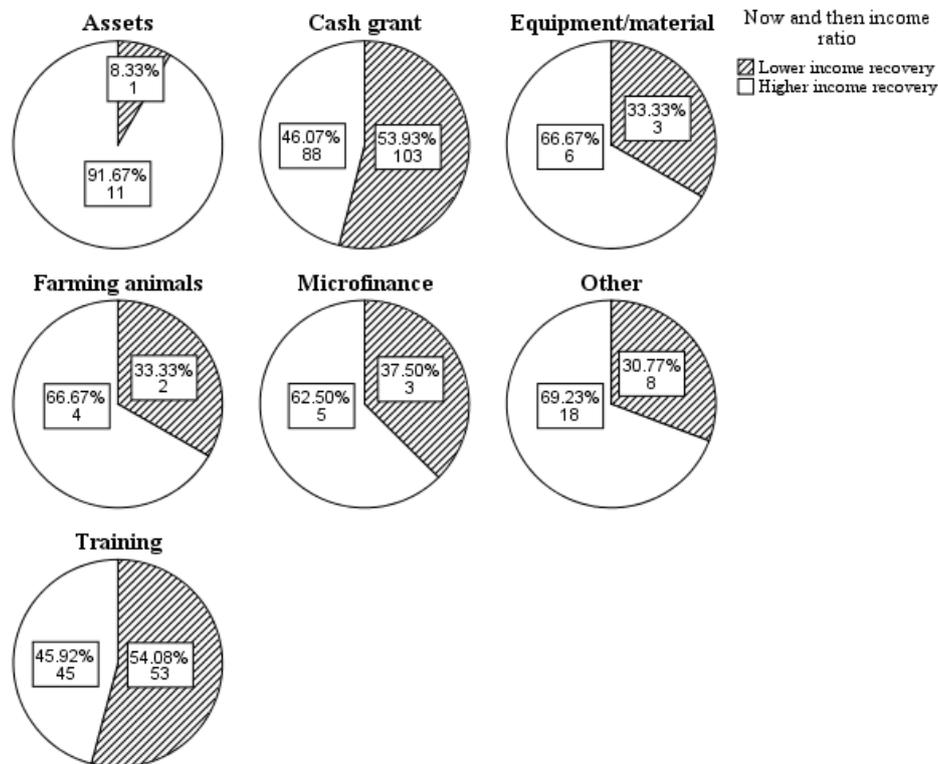


Figure 3: Income recovery with livelihood assistance

The Dfid SLF highlighted how external and internal forces can trigger dynamism in people and Sen had written at length on freedoms and counter freedoms enabling the capabilities of people. There were in total seven types of livelihoods packages given by donors, each with differences in values and volumes, to improve the lives of the former IDPs. The livelihoods assistance programmes were targeted towards strengthening traditional occupations in the village. Figure 3 shows that some forms of assistance were more helpful to income recovery over others. These include assets, equipment/material, farming animals, micro finance, and others such as fertilizer and seeds. Livelihoods assistance types such as cash grants and training had relatively less impact on income recovery. Among all the support it is the assets that had the most bearing on recovery. It is also the type that had the greatest average value. Similarly, training, which had the least value, also had the least effect on income generation. Here, livelihoods assistance differs with housing support, where there is a relationship between support provided and outcomes in resources invested and incomes earned. There are

three other points along with this. First, there are occasions where the inputs and outputs don't necessarily go together, such as the cash grants and other support that gave contrasting results, meaning the type of assistance must match the beneficiary's capabilities, and their ability to freely navigate in the given environment. Second, assets and material assistance lasted and had greater affects over non-material and cash grant type support that people found either irrelevant, had short-term effects, or were used for their immediate consumption needs. Microfinance for example, though having a cash component, helped people utilize their skills and entrepreneurships while investing in cottage and small-scale businesses during the recovery in the post-conflict setting. Third, the counts against proportions meant that greater coverage did not mean people ended up better off, such as in the case of assets and cash grants, where a lesser number of individuals received the former but had much more favourable income results in terms of aid type comparison. However, knowing that beneficiaries were not a homogenous group it would be pertinent to see how specific characteristics such as gender effected recovery due to assistance.



Figure 4: Gender with housing assistance (Received category)

The above Figure 4 indicates that males were more able to recover their income due to housing assistance when compared to women, who received the same assistance. As discussed earlier, the provision of an OD or DD house or the value of the package did not have a particular impact on the income of the person. However, this did have an effect where men were able to finish the constructions sooner, using their own labour, and move onto

livelihoods generation. Women generally had to rely on siblings or neighbours, or hired labour, for the activity, which was challenging. With reference to DD built-houses, as shown in the case study, women, especially single mothers, struggled to be independent in the traditional cultural context of the village, and were either constrained or restricted themselves on the jobs and incomes they were earning. Respondents had mentioned having grown up males in the household was an advantage for the family, both in income terms and ability to cope with shocks. Similarly, homes that had lost their breadwinner or had a person who was sick, especially struggled to make ends meet in spite of the kind of house they were living in.

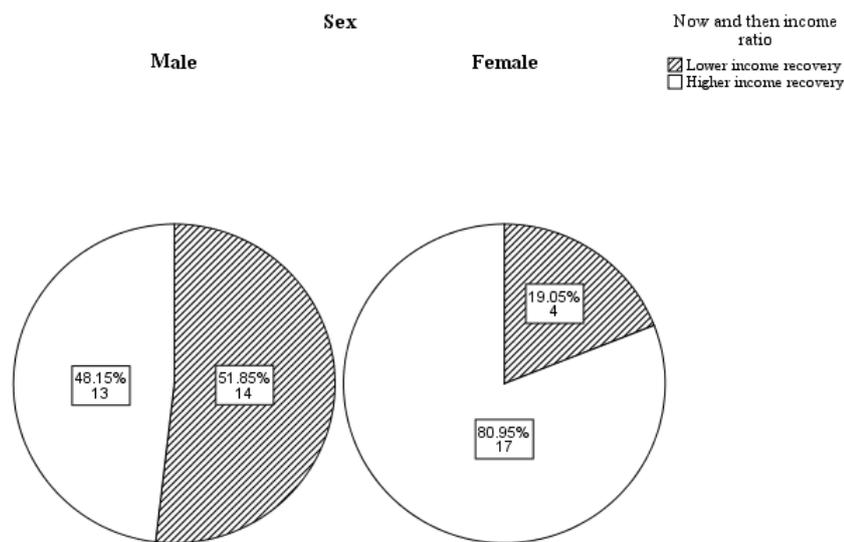


Figure 5: Gender without housing assistance

Due to the broad coverage of the housing programme there were very few individuals who did not receive housing assistance. The above Figure 5 indicates that among those who did not receive support, females had fared better in income recovery. This reaffirms the earlier findings on aid and recovery in terms of housing, that the former had little influence on the latter, that income was due to other dynamics taking place on the ground. Two factors are pertinent here. In the close knit community of the village, women who did not receive housing support sometimes tend to live with their parents or siblings, easing a part of their burdens. Those who do stay in their own house sometimes receive support from neighbours or, if they are single mothers, get benefits from the government or NGO programmes. Males

do not regularly fall into this category and are not perceived as equally vulnerable, even though they may be homeless. Taking into account that even while the numbers were small, we can assume women have a greater chance of recovering their incomes than males in these circumstances.



Figure 6: Gender with livelihoods assistance (Received category)

The main occupations in the village were in areas such as paddy and chena cultivation, home gardening, animal farming, fishing, labour etc., and there were gender differences in the jobs, such as fishing being mainly a male occupation and many women doing home gardening. Individuals and families are known to do ‘bundles’ of income earning and they interchange between occupations during seasons. The high level of livelihood diversity acted as a risk mitigating factor, and to a great length, was a necessity in the local employment environment where steady jobs were not easy to find. Sole occupations also did not provide sufficient income and many found it a must to have more than one income, and the gender differences played a role on this occupations mobility. Therefore as evident in the above Figure 6, since the focus is not on specific occupation types, but on gender as a whole, men and women generally have the same chance to recover their income when they are provided livelihoods assistance, given that the types of assistance are also the same.

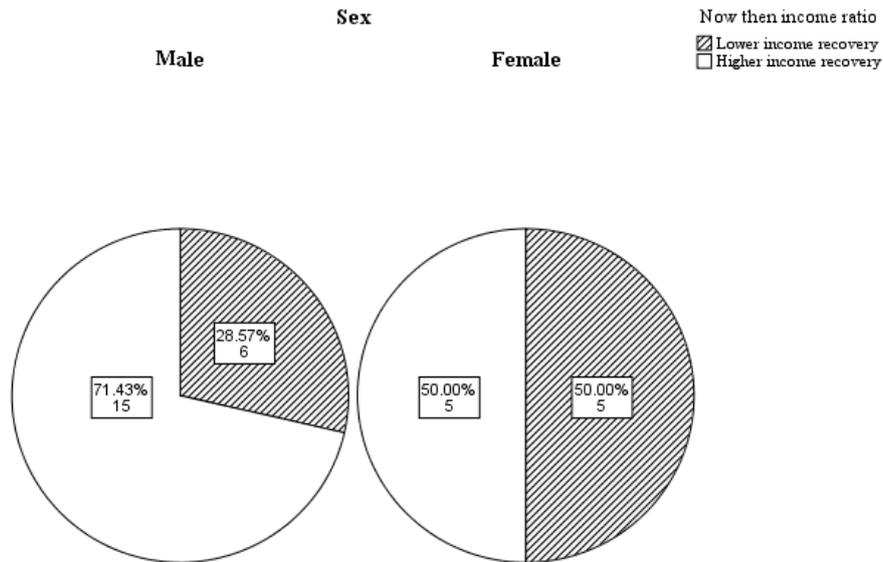


Figure 7: Gender without livelihoods assistance

The above Figure 7 affirms the complexity and gender impacts in livelihoods. There were some nuances on what males and females considered as priorities. Males generally considered livelihoods as a priority and income a key factor, while females regarded caring for their family a priority and homemaking an essential part of it. Such divisions of labour meant woman would usually tend to the children, cook, engage in home gardening etc. and do other unpaid forms of work, while men would seek employment and incomes irrespective of aid. Joblessness was something males could not maintain for long. Further, since not receiving livelihoods aid affected males more, they had a higher chance of regaining former incomes. For females, the impact was largely less, because they at times had the option of relying on their husbands or other males in their family, should they not receive aid. Cultural and security undertones also allowed men to function more independently, exploit a wider range of natural, physical, social, and other assets, and switch occupations when needed.

In view of the results in the panelled pie charts on housing, livelihoods, and gender in relation to aid and income recovery, one can assume that housing aid had limited consequences on the income of the recipient, while livelihoods aid had a bearing on people's incomes. This influence, to a great deal, was still dependent on the type of assistance provided and the characteristics of the recipient, such as gender, though there were many others such as health,

age, education, ownership of assets, social networks etc., making up the livelihoods capitals in the SRF. Importantly, the graphical analysis did not take into consideration that beneficiaries received livelihoods assistance while also receiving housing assistance and vice versa. Hence it's pertinent to see how income recovery was influenced by all these factors together, where income recovery was taken as the dependent variable and the other factors of aid and beneficiary characteristics as independent.

### 5.3 Regression analysis

Income recovery was earlier defined as the ratio between then income and now income. This section uses the same definition to assess recovery in a more rigorous manner using a regression based analysis anchored on the SRF.

The equation below was used for the analysis.

$$\text{Now/then income ratio}_i = f(\beta, \delta W_i, \theta X_i, \rho A_i, \alpha Z_i, \lambda S_i)$$

Where education attainment is denoted by  $\delta W_i$  and the demographic controls covering age, sex, health etc., went as  $\theta X_i$ . Education had 12 standards for schooling years attended and an additional 2 categories for higher education. While tabulating age was recorded in absolute terms and sex was coded as Male = 0 and female = 1. Health was a categorical variable with 5 rankings with 1 being very good and 5 being very poor. Physical Assets were referred to as  $\rho A_i$  and analysed as equal weights and the total number of assets held before was subtracted from the number held now, with plus or minus difference signalling the individual's asset content to support income generation. The data indicated that people had fewer assets now than before and it is possible the negative number was due to asset consolidation that was practised. As the analysis was based solely on a simple count there was no way to ascertain the direction in value or the usefulness in terms of utility.

A simple coding was also used for the Livelihoods Assistance (LAT) and Housing Assistance (HAT), represented as  $\alpha Z_i$  and  $\lambda S_i$  in the regression, where 1 meant assistance was give and 0 stood for otherwise. In livelihoods assistance especially, beneficiaries received a series of income support measures of various types. This binary measure meant the analysis did not

capture the variation of the aid packages. This also was the case for housing assistance where beneficiaries received one of 7 types of grants including 30 households who did not receive any housing aid. The inquiry excluded around half the respondents from the original data set by way of age 18 years (working age) as a cut-off point. Reducing the sample to 280 was done to enhance the focus on income earners and those eligible for employment so their earnings could become the household's economic recovery, which was the basic unit of outcome measurement for analysis. Income was calculated as a total of all the incomes respondents earned prior to displacement and at present.

The three models in Table 3 below were used to see how assistance had affected income recovery after resettlement. The models were: Model 1 – LAT with other influencing determinants such as age, sex, health, education, assets; Model 2 – HAT with the other influencing determinants; and Model 3 – LAT and HAT with the other determinants.

Table 3: Regression analysis on income recovery after resettlement

| Variable                    | <i>Dependent variable: Now/then income ratio of former IDPs</i> |                     |                     |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|
|                             | Model 1(L)  | Model 2(H)          | Model 3(L/H)        |
| <i>LAT</i>                  | 0.426**<br>(0.211)  |                     | 0.444**<br>(0.220)  |
| <i>HAT</i>                  |   | 0.055<br>(0.227)    | -0.070<br>(0.234)   |
| <i>Age</i>                  | 0.001<br>(0.009)  | 0.004<br>(0.009)    | 0.001<br>(0.009)    |
| <i>Sex</i>                  | -0.324*<br>(0.189)  | -0.356*<br>(0.190)  | -0.324*<br>(0.189)  |
| <i>Education</i>            | 0.046<br>(0.032)  | -0.055*<br>(0.032)  | -0.047<br>(0.032)   |
| <i>Health</i>               | -0.212*<br>(0.127)  | -0.228*<br>(0.127)  | -0.213*<br>(0.127)  |
| <i>Now minus then asset</i> | 0.012<br>(0.091)  | -0.020<br>(0.100)   | 0.000<br>(0.099)    |
| <i>cons_</i>                | 1.367***<br>(0.510)   | 1.588***<br>(0.504) | 1.377***<br>(0.512) |
| N                           | 280   | 280                 | 280                 |
| <i>R-sq</i>                 | 0.051   | 0.037               | 0.051               |

In the first Model 1, on the probability of a person recovering his or her income if livelihoods assistance had been provided, only LAT, sex, and health were significant with reference to now/then income, or income recovery. The other influencing factors such as age, education, and assets were insignificant. Livelihoods assistance denoted as LAT was very significant where for every 1 rupee worth of livelihoods assistance the person received, the ratio for income recovery rose by 42 cents. With regards to sex, being a male was advantageous, as a male's ability to recover was 0.32 units more than that of a female. There is a drop of 0.21 units in income ratio when a person's health reduces from the levels 1 to 5. Hence similar to LAT and sex, health had an impact, where it increased or decreased the chances of income recovery. With reference to Model 2, on the probability of a person recovering his or her income if housing assistance had been provided during resettlement, factors such as sex and health were significant to income recovery, and the influence exerted was much in line with the earlier model 1. Being a male was a bonus point and good health implied higher probabilities for recovering income. However, unlike in the earlier model, education had an effect at this point, where it had a negative impact on income recovery by 0.06 units for every additional year of education. This meant, the more educated the person was, the less the probability of recovering his or her income, if housing assistance had been provided. Housing assistance denoted as HAT itself was not significant for income recovery. Further, neither age nor assets had bearing on income recovery for the resettled IDPs. In model 3 where both LAT and HAT, or livelihoods assistance and housing assistance, were brought to measure, LAT, sex, and health were significant, with the significance of livelihoods assistance being considerably high under this scenario during resettlement. Sex and health were once again important features where each exerted a positive or negative control on income earning. Neither housing assistance, age, education or assets were significant in this model.

Overall, the results indicated there was no measurable relationship between housing assistance denoted as HAT and income recovery after resettlement. This is because both the HAT related models 2 and 3 showed there was no significance with regards to the feature. However, this is not the case with livelihoods assistance, referred to as LAT. Both the LAT targeted models 1 and 3 produced results of 5% significance, indicating there is a strong relationship between livelihoods assistance and income recovery. Sex and health were significant across the board, as they were prominent in all 3 models, meaning they were key

factors to be taken into account during resettlement. As mentioned, being a male, rather than a female, was a plus factor in recovery, as was good health, where there was a higher probability these individuals would recover their incomes over others, who received equal aid, and vice versa. Similarly, higher age did not mean there was a greater likelihood of recovery, and education was significant only in reference to housing aid in model 2. This is not entirely surprising, as unless one was given a pre-built DD house, the OD constructions were not always easy, requiring skills such as planning and management, and those who were more educated spent their time on completing the houses at the cost of pursuing their incomes. In statistical terms, there was no relationship between the possession of assets and a person's income, meaning their usage and capitalizing was much more arbitrary than predicted, with no set pattern.

There were a number of limitations when it came to drawing on the SRF. While examining human, natural, and physical capital, others such as financial and social capitals were not taken into consideration in the regression. People used capitals such as savings, borrowings, jewellery etc. mostly to finance the construction of their house, therefore the relationship between financial assets and income recovery was blurred. Social networks were also not measured in the household survey but were explored through the case studies and in-depth interviews which gave a richer picture. With reference to the physical and natural assets, they too could be looked at separately in greater detail in line with the assets typologies. In relation to the features drawn from the IRLR, it was not possible to quantify the vulnerabilities which emerged due to the displacement risks, and they were addressed mostly in qualitative terms. Furthermore, the emphasis was mostly on homelessness and joblessness, even though there were six others risks, namely marginalization, landlessness, increased morbidity, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation, whereas Cernea said 'no single cause explains the full problem people face during displacement'. Korf had said that the original DfID SLF is mostly a qualitative tool and trying to accommodate a qualitative model among quantitative data brings challenges. As this was the first instance it was rigorously tried in combination with a more quantitative tool such as the IRLR, there is room for further improvement.

## 6. Conclusion

The study provides some useful findings for academics and practitioners. For people who are vulnerable due to displacement-related risks such as homelessness, joblessness etc., external assistance remains a primary way to commence the process of vulnerability reversal. Scholars who have studied the subject had urged for new research through broadened lenses and combined methods for exploring solutions. The findings here using the SRF as a theoretical model contributes to this growing pool of knowledge and provided useful information for advancing further academic studies and promoting effective use of resources. Mixed methods in data collection meant slices of the ground reality got collected at a number of important levels. By combining techniques and approaches for triangulation a richer picture of the former IDPs' income recovery in the resettlement setting had emerged. Using the resettlement framework it was possible to rigorously analyse the qualitative and quantitative information and to show that housing and livelihoods aid had bearings on the economic recovery of resettled persons in different ways.

Primarily, housing assistance had no effect on people's income in spite of the significant resources allocated for the sector. This was evident in every one of the analyses and the final regressions where none of the models found housing aid to be significant or even as a positive factor. Contrastingly, livelihoods assistance had a direct influence on the economic recovery of the people, despite the limited resources that were allocated for such assistance. Observations on the field and consistent results affirmed this finding and the regressions in particular provided statistical evidence that there was a significant and positive relationship between livelihoods aid and the income recovery of people. Results also showed that there were key gender differences on how aid played out in the field. The economic impacts were present along gender demarcations in all of the analysis and there was statistical evidence to prove the case that men had an advantage over women.

There were a number of other elements that came into play at the time of aid provision. The gender of the head of the household had implications on the ability to scale up the support, but this was applicable mostly at household level. Furthermore, while financial capitals, such as access to savings and borrowings, had an indirect role on income recovery, this was only on occasions where people had to make contributions to complete their houses, whereas the

capitals could have otherwise potentially been used for livelihoods generation, but then again beneficiaries did not always tend to this practice. Though education had some impact on recovery, this was not particularly beneficial, in a resettlement setting, as even though it may have been useful in housing construction the local employment environment was not always conducive to absorb higher educated people.

Health was a significant feature for income recovery. The regressions affirmed observations made in the field that good health was a direct factor for ‘bouncing back’ and individuals who were healthy were in an advantageous situation. Usually the presence of a sick individual in the household would also have a moderating effect on the income potential, making some persons and their households constitutionally ahead or behind others. In this sense, though the analysis was done at individual level the data and much of the above discussion called for parallel household-level analysis because of the linkages between the evolving capitals and members, and the SRFs composition of drawing on relationships that were in a constant state of motion.

The findings showed the dynamism of the people when it comes to making use of the aid. For policy makers and programmers this becomes particularly useful as difficult choices can be made on where limited resources can be targeted for highest effect. Housing for example, while providing a person a solid shelter and sense of status, had limited direct bearing on if the individual became economically better off, especially in income terms, in the future. Yet it was an easier intervention, quicker to show results and easily measurable. Livelihoods assistance on the other hand, took longer to produce their effects, was far more complex, and was susceptible to the elements. Still, it was livelihoods support that triggered the real recovery of the affected person, catalyzing their potentials and propelling them towards wealth and happiness, and a path of sustainable development.

This may be a time to reassess the weights and emphasis given, in aid terms, to the housing and livelihoods sectors, and possibly strengthen the latter by redirecting resources. Evidence showed the provision of expensive houses over modest houses and built houses over owner-built houses had made little difference on the economic recovery of the person. If any, it was the lowest OD packages that compelled people to focus on livelihoods and get back on their feet. Discussions had been taking place among government officials and donors in Sri Lanka

on reducing the housing packages, to the essential minimum, and redistributing funds to livelihoods and markets and trade facilities, where beneficiaries could propel forward and draw on the external support mechanisms, which was not something they had before, as donors focused exclusively on mega housing and modest livelihoods support. The research findings are highly pertinent to this and something officials could take forward.

Freeing resources from the housing sector and investing them in effective livelihoods interventions such as assets, equipment/material, and microfinance would indeed be a boon to the affected individuals. Case and visual findings showed that these elements had been at the forefront of income recovery and the regressions had made it clear they had strong impacts as standalone livelihoods aid and alongside housing support. Crucially, one should note here the ‘social capitals’ such as networks and contacts that facilitated capitalization of this assistance, and how programming should build this factor into their aid designs. Social negotiations, inclusions, and exclusions and everyday politics were an integral part of the local reality, and it is sometimes these that give one person an advantage over another in the humanitarian ecosystem. Soft interventions such as trainings had limited effect and were something the state and donors should reconsider in future programming.

Then again it is possible the trainings were ineffective due to the weaknesses of the broader support structures and employment opportunities during the recovery time, so should not be totally rejected, and may need to be looked at in the broader picture. Naturally, personal and household capacities and characteristics went a long way on how the person benefitted from livelihoods support. Gender demarcations clearly illustrated men found it easier to recover than women though there were nuances in both the housing and livelihoods sectors, where special circumstances put females ahead of males, and for this reason livelihoods assistance should be strengthened, as well as focused, when targeting women. To a great length these profilings gave hints towards the probable utility of the given aid in the said circumstance, so outcomes could be better managed and predicted by both the recipient and the provider.

The people who were able to reverse the vulnerabilities and the risks they faced, due to displacement and resettlement, did so due to the free and unobstructed performing of those components relevant for their welfare. The external and internal characteristics in the form of aid, processes, and capabilities eventually resulted in these individuals functioning at their

optimum levels or below par, as they consolidated their wellbeing. The transformations occurred in material and non-material terms according to the livelihood strategies people chose and the outcomes that came from it. The findings showed the multi-causal nature of happiness and how housing and livelihoods interplayed in the person's feelings of life satisfaction, in this case with reference to the resettlement. While happiness was not exhaustively looked at in the research it did shed light on the greater relevance of the measure for resettlement.

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