# Durable Solutions, Human Rights and the Politics of Mobility: Insights from a Study of Internally Displaced People in Post-Typhoon Haiyan Tacloban City, Philippines

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#### Abstract

This paper scrutinizes the challenges and complexities surrounding durable solutions for internally displaced people (IDPs) in Tacloban City, Philippines, in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan in 2013. A human rights-based survey monitoring resettlement status seven years after the disaster shows significant gaps in human rights fulfilment, revealing uneven access to housing, livelihood, and essential services among displaced people. By adopting the "politics of mobility" framework, the paper recognizes that displacement and resettlement are not solely humanitarian and disaster recovery challenges. Instead, achieving durable solutions in post-disaster displacement requires understanding its development and mobility dimensions. The paper highlights how decisions related to land use, housing, and development, influenced by political and economic interests, impact the achievement of durable solutions to a catastrophic event. This broader perspective offers a comprehensive analysis of the root causes of protracted displacement and the challenges of finding lasting, appropriate, responsive, and adaptive solutions.

**Keywords:** disaster displacement, durable solutions, mobility, human rights

# ทางออกที่ยั่งยืน สิทธิมนุษยชน และการเมือง ของการเคลื่อนไหว: ข้อมูลเชิงลึกจากผู้พลัดถิ่นภายในประเทศ หลังพายุไต้ฝุ่นไห่เยี่ยน เมืองทาคโลบาน ประเทศฟิลิปปินส์

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# บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้พิจารณาความท้าทายและความซับซ้อนในการค้นหาทางออก ที่ยั่งยืน สำหรับประชาชนในเมืองทาคโลบาน ประเทศฟิลิปปินส์ ที่ต้องอพยพ หลังจากเผชิญกับพายุไต้ฝุ่นไห่เยี่ยนในปี พ.ศ. 2556 การสำรวจด้วยกรอบ หลักการสิทธิมนุษยชน เพื่อติดตามสถานะการจัดหาที่อยู่ใหม่ของผู้พลัดถิ่น หลังเหตุการณ์ 7 ปี พบว่าผู้พลัดถิ่นยังประสบปัญหาความไม่เท่าเทียมในการ เข้าถึงที่อยู่อาศัย การดำรงชีพ และบริการสาธารณะที่จำเป็นต่าง ๆ จากการ ประยุกต์ใช้กรอบการวิเคราะห์ "การเมืองของการเคลื่อนไหว" บทความนี้ พบว่า ปัญหาการอพยพและการจัดหาที่อยู่ใหม่ของผู้พลัดถิ่น ไม่ได้เป็นความท้าทาย เพียงด้านมนุษยธรรมและการฟื้นฟูภายหลังภัยพิบัติเท่านั้น การสร้างความยั่งยืน ในการแก้ไขปัญหาหลังเกิดภัยพิบัติ จำเป็นต้องเข้าใจในมิติของการพัฒนาและ การเคลื่อนไหวของชุมชน บทความนี้เน้นให้เห็นว่าการตัดสินใจในการจัดการที่ดิน ที่อยู่อาศัย และการพัฒนาที่มีอิทธิพลจากผลประโยชน์ทางการเมืองและเศรษฐกิจ มีผลต่อการแก้ไขปัญหาที่ยั่งยืนได้อย่างไร แนวคิดนี้จะทำให้การวิเคราะห์ รากเหง้าของการพลัดถิ่นที่ยืดเยื้อและปัญหาของการแก้ไขปัญหาที่เหมาะสม ทันท่วงทีและยืดหยุ่น มีความรอบด้านมากยิ่งขึ้น

คำสำคัญ: การพลัดถิ่นเนื่องจากภัยพิบัติ, แนวทางที่ยั่งยืน, การเคลื่อนไหว, สิทธิมนุษยชน

#### 1. Introduction

Disasters and climate change are shaping human mobility patterns and displacing millions across Asia and the Pacific (IDMC, 2020). In 2020, the second-highest number of new displacements globally occurred in the Philippines, with 4.4 million displaced (IDMC, 2021). While the risk of disaster displacement continues as climate change leads to more frequent and intense extreme weather events (IPCC, 2023), it is critical to investigate how to respect, protect, and fulfil human rights requirements. Solutions must ensure that no one is left behind, while following established international human rights standards and related protection frameworks.

Disaster- and climate-induced displacement takes people away from their homes and livelihoods. Complex factors beyond the occurrence of a disaster or extreme event drive the displacement process. While temporary internal displacement is associated with the aftermath of a major catastrophe, displacement patterns and experiences are also influenced by political decisions made by national and local governments, as well as development policies and projects, access to resources and essential services, land rights, and even disaster recovery plans, or the lack thereof. More evidence is needed to understand how these development drivers interact with disasters and shape the achievement of durable solutions in the long term.

This paper explores the relationships between disasterinduced displacement, human rights, and development in the context of long-term disaster recovery. It focuses on internally displaced people (IDPs), who, according to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, are "Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (UN OHCHR, 1998). Specifically, the research aims to understand how internal displacement triggered by Typhoon Haiyan (known locally as Typhoon Yolanda) has affected the human rights of those displaced and resettled in Tacloban, Philippines, and to understand the longterm disaster recovery and development implications of durable solutions. Our analysis addresses the long-term effects on displaced people's rights to food, water, education, health, livelihoods, aid, housing, security, information, and participation in decision-making processes.

The research assesses the impacts of protracted internal displacement on the quality of life and the human rights of people in select resettlement villages in Tacloban to inform legislative and policy processes related to human rights, development, disaster risk reduction (DRR), long-term disaster recovery, durable solutions, and internal displacement in the Philippines. Specifically, the research was designed to inform the Commission on Human Rights Philippines (CHR) National Inquiry on the Rights of IDPs.

The paper is structured as follows. First, it presents the framework used to analyse internal displacement and durable

solutions, followed by an introduction to the case study background, policy context, as well as our methodological approach. The following section discusses the study's key findings according to the framework adopted. The paper then synthesizes the criteria for determining if durable solutions were achieved as provided for in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, followed by our conclusion and recommendations.

#### 2. Literature review

This section introduces the theoretical frameworks behind the research.

1) Displacement, durable solutions, and development

Increasingly, internal displacement is recognized as not only a humanitarian issue but also a developmental one. A 2021 UNDP submission to the High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement calls for reframing durable solutions as a development challenge, focusing on the role of the state, governance, and prevention (UNDP, 2021). Achieving durable solutions for displaced communities requires leveraging political will and economic interests while integrating development planning and displacement resolution (Hammond, 2021). Sustainable and transformative responses to displacement must go beyond durable solutions programming as an extension of humanitarian assistance for IDPs, which are often short-term with inadequate resources and need to be more inclusive. Instead, embedding durable solutions in broader development planning ensures long-term resilience (Hammond, 2021), and contributes to

protecting human rights. Tackling internal displacement in a manner development-oriented requires participatory and collaborative governance (Hammond, 2021; UNDP, 2021). It also involves seeing mobility as a coping strategy and ensuring that development policies are mobility-friendly (Hammond, 2021). Moreover, a long-term, contextual and continuous approach to resettlement can also enable the pursuit of a better quality of life, as called for by involuntary displacement scholars and proponents of justice as a subject rather than an object in resettlement planning (Otsuki, 2021). This research builds on the above developmental framing of displacement and durable solutions. It situates mobility as a bridge between development and displacement solutions.

# 2) Politics of mobility

To analyse the nature of internal displacement and the state of durable solutions following Typhoon Haiyan, the study draws from the politics of mobility framework (Cresswell, 2010). The politics of mobility provides an analytical lens that goes beyond the physical dimension of mobility and emphasizes the interconnection between the physical movement, its meaning, and the experienced, embodied practice (Cresswell, 2010). Using a mobility approach, the research considers post-disaster displacement and resettlement as an ongoing process that involves the movement of people and families, rather than as a static condition.

The politics of mobility framework consists of six dimensions of mobility across time and space, which we have adapted to reflect the mobility experience of internally displaced people for this study

- i. Experience: differences and feelings while moving;
- ii. Speed: how fast or slow people move;
- iii. Rhythm: everyday characteristics of the move;
- iv. Route: where people move;
- v. Friction: why people stop or slow down;
- vi. Motive force: why people move, e.g., get displaced/resettle/travel.

In addition, elements of a human rights-based approach are integrated into the analysis, specifically unpacking how procedural, substantive rights, equality and non-discrimination, governance, and gender equality play out in these dimensions of 'mobility' and displacement.

Using the mobility framework, the experience of displaced people is understood as socially and politically constructed. State and non-state actors (and dynamics between the two) influence who, how, where, how long, and how people experience displacement, and consequently the development of displaced people. Furthermore, while other accounts of movement take mobility for granted and are more often concerned with the places in which movements occur, the mobility approach recently focuses on the nature of human movement (Cresswell, 2010). Thus, it allows for an analysis of displacement at the scale of the displaced person and human rights at the individual level. Through this perspective, human rights are understood not as a static condition but as dynamic, varying in each dimension of mobility. For this reason, the politics of mobility

is a suitable framework for understanding internal displacement and how durable solutions can be achieved.

A limitation of Cresswell's framework is understanding mobility as a resource and its connotation of agency of the displaced people. In the context of internal displacement, in particular, mobility is somewhat linked to forced, undesired movement, the lack of access to resources, and, in some cases, the lack of agency. However, broken down into six constituent parts, the framework can be adapted to interrogate the experience of internally displaced people while also considering their agency and subjective experiences.

## 3. Case study context

This section provides background information on the case study and its policy context.

# 1) Typhoon Haiyan in Tacloban

The Philippines is among the most disaster-prone countries in the world. In November 2013, Typhoon Haiyan – one of the strongest tropical cyclones on record – passed over the Visayas, killing at least 8,000 people and affecting 16 million more (NDRRMC, 2013). The typhoon displaced over four million people in total. The impacts were devastating in Tacloban City, the economic hub of the Eastern Visayas region (Region VIII). Local government units were initially incapacitated but soon began developing the Tacloban Recovery and Rehabilitation Plan (TRRP) with support from UN-Habitat. The Plan sets out the short, medium, and long-term objectives for recovery and redevelopment of the city. The central component of the Plan

(and other similar recovery policy proposals and development planning documents) was the permanent relocation and resettlement of approximately 40% of the city's population from high-risk downtown coastal areas to relative safety on higher ground in Tacloban North, a rural area 10 miles from downtown. Tens of thousands of new homes needed to be built, and some of said construction efforts were still needed at the time of data collection, eight years after the disaster.

As of August 2020, there were at least 30 housing projects or 'resettlement sites' developed by the Philippines National Housing Authority (NHA) and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Tacloban City and surrounding areas. These sites provide new, permanent housing to disaster-affected populations, including many formerly residing in informal settlements near the coast and downtown Tacloban. However, within some completed housing projects, residents face long-term issues such as securing sustainable livelihoods, access to water, electricity, and other basic services, and community safety (Ensor et al., 2021; Tuhkanen et al., 2018). Further, many farmers in the north whose properties and land were destroyed had attempted to rebuild their houses, but soon after, they were evicted to clear land for the newly constructed resettlement sites (Johnson et al., 2022)

# 2) International and national policy context

The responsibility to respect, protect, and fulfil the human rights requirements of internally displaced people is primarily the role of the State. The State is best placed to play an efficient and effective role in governing and protecting the rights of internally displaced people (Estevez, 2015). Even when displacement may not be directly caused by the State, such as in the case of an extreme event like Typhoon Haiyan, "displacement can be seen as a failure of governance, where the State has been unable or unwilling to uphold the social contract with its citizens and to fulfil its role as duty bearer" (UNDP, 2021)

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Guiding Principles) is one of the key international standards guiding governments' efforts surrounding displacement-related policies. It consists of 30 principles structured around the phases of displacement. Principles 28-30 articulate internally displaced people's rights to durable solutions. Durable solutions are further defined in the Inter-Agency Standing Committee Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons (IASC Framework), which guides states in assisting IDPs through voluntary return to origins, local integration, or resettlement. The eight durable solutions are:

- i. Safety and security;
- ii. Adequate standard of living;
- iii. Access to livelihoods;
- iv. Restoration of housing, land and property;
- v. Access to documentation;
- vi. Family reunification;
- vii. Participation in public affairs; and
- viii. Access to effective remedies and justice.

In the Philippines, responses to displacement are guided by these international humanitarian standards and guidelines. Despite recent efforts, the country has no national policy or law specific to the rights of internally displaced people. In 2013, a comprehensive legislation seeking to protect the rights of internally displaced people and integrate the Guiding Principles into national development planning was drafted and approved by members of Congress. The bill, however, was vetoed in the same year and has since remained pending (R. S. Bermudez et al., 2020)

Several legal frameworks are relevant to human rights and disaster displacement in the Philippines (Quan, 2021). They include the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act 2010 (RA 10121), which recognizes human rights and addresses displacement in various issuances, while focusing on internally displaced mothers. Other frameworks include the National Disaster Risk Management Framework 2011 and the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan 2011-2028, which are human rights-based and tackle displacement issues. In practice, however, without comprehensive IDP legislation, implementing a human rights-based approach to the humanitarian response on the ground in Tacloban has been challenging (R. Bermudez et al., 2018).

# 4. Methodology

This research analyses the experiences of internally displaced people who have resettled approximately 25km from their origin after Typhoon Haiyan hit Tacloban. Research methods include a literature and policy review and a household survey. Research design, data

collection, and analysis were done iteratively to incorporate new knowledge as the research progressed. Primary data collection was conducted by the research team and CHRP IDP monitoring unit on the ground in Tacloban, closely guided and supported by the CCCHP team in Manila and SEI Asia team in Bangkok. The fieldwork was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, so health protocols were followed, and physical interactions with respondents were minimal. We discuss these limitations in section 4.2.

Our methodological approach draws upon the CHRP's ongoing monitoring of the internal displacement in Tacloban and research methods used by SEI's initiative on Transforming Development and Disaster Risk (TDDR), including research conducted post-Haiyan from 2017-2019 (Ensor et al., 2021; Tuhkanen et al., 2018). Findings from this research have been published as a policy brief (Tran & Bermudez, 2022).

# 1) Household survey

Between 11-20 December 2020, a household survey was conducted in four resettlement sites in Tacloban: Pope Francis Village and Villa Diana in New Kawayan (Barangay 101), and Habitat for Humanity Lot 4428 and North Hill Arbour 1 in Santo Niño (Barangay 106) (see locations in Figure 1). Villa Diana and North Hill Arbour 1 were developed by the National Housing Authority (NHA), while the remaining sites were developed by a non-governmental organization (NGO). A total of 800 household visit attempts were made across the four sites, with 311 successful and complete survey responses recorded (response rate: 39%). The two main reasons for

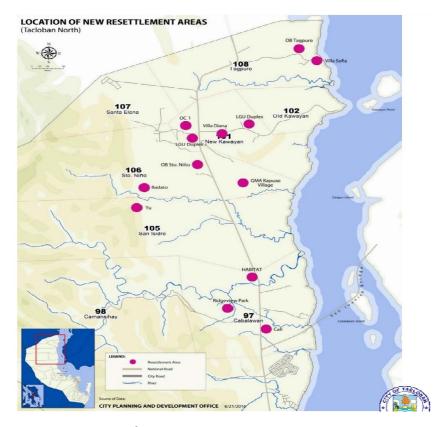
unsuccessful attempts were locked household units (237) and respondents being out for work (184). The breakdown for the 311 successful and complete survey responses is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Number of household survey responses per resettlement site

Resettlement Site [Developer]	Location	No. of Survey Responses	Actual Occupants (as of Aug 2020)	Survey Responses as % of Actual Occupants
Villa Diana [NHA]	New Kawayan (Brgy. 101)	71	359	19.8
North Hill Arbour 1 [NHA]	Santo Niño (Brgy. 106)	125	751	16.6
Pope Francis Village [NGO]	New Kawayan (Brgy. 101)	44	366	12
Habitat for Humanity (Lot 4428) [NGO]	Santo Niño (Brgy. 106)	71	546	13
TOTAL		311	2022	15.4

The survey consists of five sections: general information, personal information, Typhoon Yolanda support, durable solutions, and consultation, participation and decision-making. The survey was conducted predominantly in the Waray-Waray language (with a few conducted in Tagalog and English) and took between 7 and 30 minutes. Information sheets and consent forms were used to inform participants about the study and seek their consent. 4% (13 of 311) of respondents refused to sign the consent form but gave their verbal consent and participated.

Survey analysis is disaggregated by sex, where appropriate, to draw out key differences between the lived experiences of male and female respondents and by resettlement type (i.e. NHA sites and NGO sites) to show the different resettlement realities according to the main provider of the housing – i.e. government or non-government actors.



**Figure 1** Location of resettlement areas in Tacloban North (Tacloban City Planning and Development Office, 2016)

#### 2) Limitations

A household survey was chosen as the main primary data collection approach due to the urgency of the National Inquiry on Internally Displaced People that the research and collaboration aimed to support, as well as the Covid-19 pandemic, which restricted travel and face-to-face engagement. We acknowledge the limits of this approach, particularly the lack of involvement of displaced people in the research design and implementation. The survey tool does not provide nuanced, in-depth insights as a research instrument. Nonetheless, given the context of the work and the need for a timely understanding of the long-term impacts of disaster-induced displacement to inform CHR's work, we see the research method as suitable for capturing an overview of the state of human rights among displaced people in Tacloban, while acknowledging the importance of co-produced knowledge to better understand the displacement and development question.

# 5. Research findings

Our analysis is structured according to the dimensions of Cresswell's (2010) politics of mobility framework: experience, speed, rhythm, route, friction, and force.

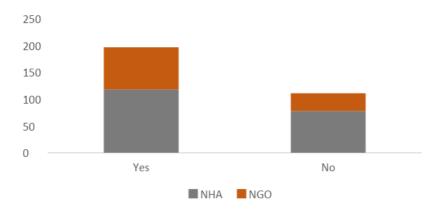
# 1) Experience

Seven years after Typhoon Haiyan, the lived experiences of internally displaced people underscore major gaps in the fulfilment of human rights requirements. The voices of displaced persons were largely excluded from discussions and decision-making on post-

disaster resettlement and livelihoods. Unequal distribution of support and assistance created a perception of unfairness and bias, leading to unmet needs. Substantive rights, including access to housing, livelihood, water, food, healthcare, and education, remain unevenly realised among internally displaced people. Gender disparities further compound these challenges, with women disproportionately bearing the burdens of care and recovery, and distinctions emerging between resettlement sites managed by NHA and NGOs.

1.1) Unfair and unequal access to assistance Regarding the distribution of assistance and resources post-Haiyan, survey respondents shared concerns about fairness. A shared perception of unfairness arises from reports of individuals being unable to receive support, while others exploit connections or benefit from favouritism. Many note that support was only available to "a selected few".

36% found the support process unfair, with a significant difference between NHA- and NGO-housing residents (40% NHA- and 29% NGO-housing residents) (Figure 2). There is a sense of tension, as a resident remarks, "some people are not in the list [for assistance] while others receive double of the support." Notably, NGO-led support is criticised for lacking community coordination, contrasting with more equitable outcomes when community members participate in resource distribution facilitated by the city government.



**Figure 2** Respondents' assessment fairness of post-disaster assistance distribution according to the sponsor of the resettlement housing (N=311)

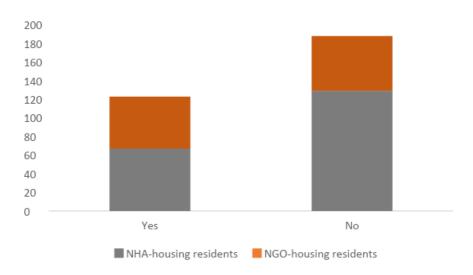
This inequality resonates with existing research on the distribution of disaster relief and recovery following Haiyan in Tacloban, highlighting the need for a human rights-based approach and participation in the process. Affected people did not have access to official communication, their voices were not heard, and information offered was mixed with intimidation from barangay officials and government officials (Yee, 2020). Indeed, when asked how displaced people received information about post-disaster assistance or livelihood opportunities, at least 17% of respondents remarked that they did not receive information or were only informed through informal channels such as word of mouth. Moreover, 58% say they were not consulted about livelihood needs. This brings into question the provision of, and access to information, and the

participation of affected people as rights holders, as well as the transparency and accountability of the state as the duty bearer. The inability of affected people to exert influence over the resettlement discourse hinders transformative outcomes (Ensor et al., 2021).

1.2) Permanent insecurity When it comes to housing conditions post-Haiyan, survey respondents appear rather positive. Close to 90% of the respondents describe their housing situation at the time of the survey as 'permanent' instead of 'temporary'. Comparing their housing now to before Haiyan on a scale of 1 to 5 (with 3 being neutral), the majority choose 4, indicating that their household is better than before. The houses are "better" and "sturdier" than pre-Haiyan homes. For several respondents, the resettlement house is an upgrade, e.g., from a makeshift wooden structure to a decent cement house. For others, it improves hazard safety even though the structure is smaller, down from a two-story to a single-story house. Interviews in other studies, such as Ensor et al. (2021), also present similar findings.

However, a closer look at the survey results reveals that only 40% of respondents have paperwork for their housing unit (Figure 3). Many only have a certificate of acceptance, award, or occupancy, which does not describe property ownership or tenure arrangements. Respondents repeatedly note that they do not have title papers and are unsure when or whether they will. Of the surveyed 311 people, 28 explicitly expressed that they were unsure about their housing status. Even those who have paperwork share feelings of insecurity about housing tenure: "I was told to have to pay after five years",

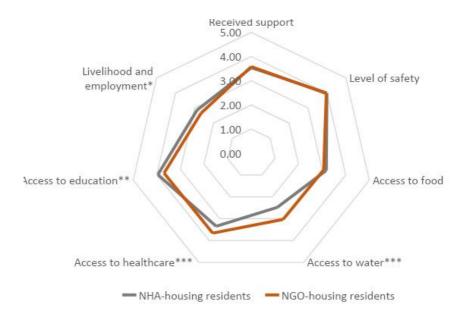
"We don't know yet if we need to pay, but hopefully no payment anymore", "I'm afraid of being forced to leave the house", or "We didn't have a choice". Moreover, residents at NGO resettlement sites are significantly (p<0.05) more likely to have rental or ownership paperwork than NHA-housing residents (40% NHA-housing residents do not have paperwork, compared to 29% for NGO-housing residents).



**Figure 3** Survey respondents having rental or ownership paperwork by settlement type (N=311)

1.3) Living with dignity Most respondents (over 80%) indicate feeling that they are living with dignity. However, those affirming and denying this sentiment harbour concerns about water access, tenure security, and challenges related to work and income.

This is confirmed by respondents' rating of several dimensions of quality of life on a scale of 1 to 5. Overall, safety and education receive the highest average rating (4 and 3.9, respectively), followed by healthcare (3.5) and food (3.1). Access to water (2.7) and livelihood and employment (2.8) garner the lowest ratings. Variations emerge between resettlement types, with NGO-housing residents generally more satisfied with water and healthcare access but facing challenges in education, employment and food access (Figure 4)



**Figure 4** Average rating of substantive rights by settlement type on a 1-5 scale by settlement type. Two tailed t-test indicates statistical significance of the difference (\*p<0.05, \*\*p<0.01, \*\*\*p<0.001)

Compared to housing satisfaction, displaced people's perception of livelihoods after Haiyan paints a more challenging picture. The highest percentage of respondents (40%) report no change in their income and financial situation, while 29% report worsening conditions and 31% report improvement. A resident shares that it took them three years to return to normalcy after the disaster, while a former pier labourer experiences a loss of income from P1,000 to P360. Some respondents note that their income has worsened due to the difficulty of finding work and the lack of stable incomes. Others factor in increased transportation costs due to longer commutes or the loss of supplementary income from renting out a spare room in the original home. The opportunity to run a sari-sari store increases income for some displaced people, for others the only source of income available after losing other jobs. Still, several residents find themselves in a better position financially due to a better job in city hall or as a driver.

Water access emerges as a critical concern, with 50% of respondents rating it as 'bad' or 'very bad'. Sex and settlement type influence perception. Male and NHA-housing residents are more likely to give lower ratings (56% of male and 44% of female respondents, 56% of NHA-housing residents and 38% of NGO-housing residents). Two North Hill Arbor residents remark that water is the 'biggest problem'.

Issues such as inconsistent water supply, the need to buy or fetch water, and concerns about water quality contribute to a complex picture of water insecurity. At least 14% explicitly mention that they do not have a water connection and must buy or fetch

water to their homes. Furthermore, 10% note inconsistencies in water supply, which is only available some days of the week. Whether fetched, bought or taken from water tanks, several residents find their water "murky", "unclean", and unsafe for drinking and cooking. A Villa Diana resident reports experiencing rashes and diarrhea from the water. In addition, participants are also concerned about the cost that water incurs: "Water is bought for PHP 2, a jug for PHP 5. This is expensive, especially when used for doing laundry", and as such, some have to resort to rainwater for laundry and other activities.

In terms of public participation, approximately one out of every five respondents report not having participated or having challenges in participating in decision-making processes at the resettlement sites. Of the respondents, 83% of NGO-housing residents report participating in decision-making activities, compared to 74% of NHA-housing residents. By sex, 86% of female respondents report having participated, compared to 68% of males. When asked whether they have faced challenges in getting their voices heard, 21% of female and 20% of male respondents answered yes.

1.4) Gendered experiences Results from the survey show differences between genders in various aspects. While most houses were destroyed beyond habitability after the typhoon, only 38% of respondents have received compensation (the majority citing compensation from the Emergency Shelter Assistance), and 62% are female. The difference between sexes extends to housing descriptions, paperwork possession, and satisfaction ratings. Compared to male respondents, female respondents are more likely

to report having been consulted about livelihood needs and to find the distribution of disaster relief and assistance fair. While 93% of female respondents describe their housing as permanent and 46% have housing paperwork, only 82% and 31% of male respondents do so, respectively (Figure 5 and Figure 6). Furthermore, more male respondents are unsure of their housing status than female respondents.

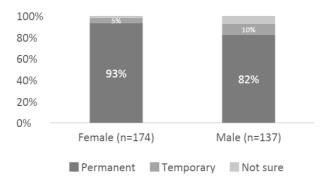


Figure 5 Survey respondents describing housing status

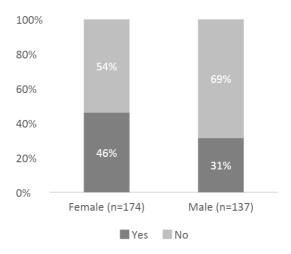


Figure 6 Survey respondents having rental or ownership paperwork

In substantive rights, sex difference is most pronounced in education and healthcare access, where female respondents tend to give higher ratings than male counterparts. They also rate their access to water and employment higher than male respondents, though the difference is not statistically significant (Figure 7)



**Figure 7** Average rating of substantive rights by gender on a 1-5 scale. Two-tailed t-test indicates statistical significance of the difference (\*p<0.05, \*\*\*p<0.0001)

Despite the positive outcomes for female respondents, it is crucial to recognise potential complexities beneath these numbers. Female respondents may experience more favourable outcomes due to their resourcefulness and active pursuit of their rights, challenging stereotypes of women as passive victims. It could also reflect the gendered distribution of labour within the household, as women bear the heavier burden of caring for the family and self-recovery. The focus of relief activities on providing humanitarian services and resources for women may also play a role.

The unequal burden and vulnerabilities faced by women in the context of disaster and displacement, however, should not be overlooked. The post-disaster context puts extra pressure on women's resourcefulness and self-recovery and blurs the care burden and social reproductive labour that women often bear but often go unpaid (Su & Tanyag, 2020; Tanyag, 2018). Women and girls are also disproportionately vulnerable due to unmet sexual and reproductive health needs and rights and increased likelihood of gender-based and sexual violence (Su & Tanyag, 2020; Valerio, 2014). Furthermore, the myth of remittance-driven recovery also pressures women to export their labour and expose them to trafficking (Su & Tanyag, 2020).

## 2) Speed

The experience of displaced people is marked by a pervasive sense of slowness, evident in delayed processes. Of particular concern are the protracted timelines in the distribution of post-disaster assistance, contributing to an average satisfaction rating of 3.6 on a 1-5 scale among residents. The most common reason for dissatisfaction was long queues and waiting, as mentioned by at least 100 out of 311 survey respondents. Some people find the waiting tiring and tedious; others are frustrated because they cannot access relief goods and services even after waiting.

In addition to the support distribution, displaced people also went through prolonged, extended waiting times for resettlement procedures. By 2020, most surveyed residents have lived in their households for four to five years (with an average of 4.2 years). This

means these families settled in their current location around 2016-2017, over three years after the typhoon. Housing construction was delayed due to challenges in land acquisition, resulting in long wait times for residents and poor human rights conditions while in transition/shelters (Yee, 2020). Not all units have been turned over to displaced people at the time of research.

Moreover, the experience of waiting is further influenced by unequal access to information and the need for meaningful participation and communication regarding disaster relief and resettlement. These factors add layers of complexity to the waiting experience of displaced people, underscoring the need for improved communication channels, increased participation, and expedited processes to enhance the overall effectiveness of post-disaster assistance and resettlement initiatives.

# 3) Rhythm

The rhythm of displacement can be characterized by an interplay of both continuity and disruption. The initial impact of the typhoon uproots and disrupts the lives and livelihoods of affected people. A perpetual cycle of adjustment ensues as displaced people transition from bunkhouses to resettlement sites, both of which are far and different from their original homes. These moves introduce shifts and changes in their access to employment, services, and goods, compelling displaced people to navigate evolving landscapes of transitions.

Simultaneously, the displacement and dispossession that followed the typhoon reveal a thread of continuity in the conditions

of vulnerability. Internally displaced people were made vulnerable in the first place because of their precarious housing and livelihood conditions, a result of inadequate urban planning and development in Tacloban. Typhoon Haiyan displacement is a "logical extension" of land insecurity long before the hazard struck. Pre-existing tenure insecurity disincentivizes people from upgrading and fortifying their homes, resulting in home structures that are susceptible to damages (see Curato, 2018). After the disaster, accessing adequate and affordable housing became even more daunting for displaced people (Bradley et al., 2016)

The recovery process further underscores the rhythm of continuity, with affected individuals drawing on pre-existing social and human capital to cope and reconstruct their lives. In this continuum, existing inequalities persist and acquire new layers of significance (Ensor et al., 2021). The vicious cycle perpetuates vulnerabilities, creating a framework where pre-existing disparities are reproduced, amplifying susceptibility to future disruptions. This rhythmic interplay, shaped by both continuity and disruption, highlights the complex and enduring challenges faced by those affected by the typhoon-induced displacement.

# 4) Route

For many displaced people, the route they have embarked on because of displacement is a long one from original homes in downtown Tacloban (e.g. Anibong and also further south, in San Jose), to temporary shelter 'bunkhouses', and to permanent resettlement sites in Tacloban North (approximately 15-20 km from

downtown Tacloban). After relocation, they find everything farther and less accessible. The distance from their new homes to the market, to a health clinic or to work leads to long and time-consuming trips, further complicated by an expensive and inaccessible transportation system. Haiyan-induced displacement thus not only forces people to move to a new home but also changes how they go about their daily lives. For young women affected by the disaster, for instance, the displacement and resettlement involve changes in their access to privacy, personal space, education, and employment (Espina & Canoy, 2019)

#### 5) Friction

The first friction that shapes the nature of displacement and influences the rights of internally displaced people is between the assistance desired by affected people after the disaster and what they received. Following the typhoon, the most common assistance that people received included food, water, shelter, livelihood materials and goods, and cash. However, for many survey respondents, the list did not include all that they found desirable. They wish for more financial and livelihood assistance, including cash and capital for rebuilding livelihood, which appears to have been given more attention in other studied resettlement sites (Ensor et al., 2021; Tuhkanen et al., 2018)

Another source of friction is the location of the resettlement. In response to questions about their housing conditions, respondents note that the resettlement site is "far from the sea". Thanks to the distance away from the water, they appreciate the improved safety

from hazards, such as typhoons and flooding. Yet, it has come at the expense of access to work, healthcare, and food, which tend to be in downtown Tacloban. For example, a resident complains that they now "have to commute just to get to the market". As noted earlier, while people are now safe from water-related hazards, access to opportunities, goods and services, and transportation presents a new vulnerability for their livelihoods.

Friction also arises within the community due to the distribution of disaster relief and the way people perceive safety in the newly resettled community. When asked about safety, respondents note that they may be safe from floods but are unsure about the prevalence of crimes and public safety. Some residents feel comfortable and safe, knowing their neighbours are all from the same barangay. Yet, others feel just the opposite as their neighbours are strangers: "Crimes are inevitable because residents came from different barangays." Their notion of safety depends on familiarity with their immediate neighbourhood, which appears to differ across sites.

These frictions could have been mitigated through a more participatory and human rights-based approach to recovery and resettlement. Examples from more participatory processes show that displaced people can be empowered to raise their voices and claim their rights through mobilising with NGOs and civil society organisations. Examples include people-driven reconstruction initiatives by FRANCESCO or Urban Poor Associates, which strengthened the capacities of internally displaced people as rights

holders. Community members were able to organise and protest against the eviction of coastal communities and secure additional resettlement funding support through dialogues with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) (Yee, 2020). Research has also highlighted how participation in different phases of housing resettlement and development can influence the outcomes, particularly engagement in early planning and construction activities (Opdyke et al., 2019)

#### 6) Force

The central force shaping all dimensions of mobility discussed is the impact of Typhoon Haiyan. The displacement that followed, however, is a product of the interplay of disaster management, land, housing, and development in Tacloban, as well as governance and policy interventions.

For instance, the slow resettlement process, long wait time, and far-flung resettlement sites for internally displaced people result from difficulty in finding available land to house the displaced population. It is further magnified by bureaucratic challenges around procurement and budget constraints, with an adverse impact on the development of resettlement sites. The private sector and the elite corrupt the construction process, leading to inflation in the prices of land and construction materials and services (Arroyo & Åstrand, 2019)

The imposition of a no-build zone, later transformed into a no-dwelling zone along the coastline, introduces an additional layer of land politics that significantly moles the experience of internally displaced people. While the heavy casualties have proven coastal

settlements dangerous and high-risk, the politics behind the designation of the no-dwelling zone received numerous critiques. Justifications for removing the original coastal settlements include, for example, the framing of Haiyan as a climate emergency without considering the needs and rights of affected communities and involving them in the decision-making processes (Curato, 2018; Fitzpatrick & Compton, 2017). Coastal risks were used as a planning rationale to protect people against natural hazards at the expense of a human rights-based approach that attends to the precarious conditions and violation of rights of displaced people during their stay in the bunkhouses (Yee, 2020), and the removal of informal settlements is justified by "bourgeois environmentalism", i.e. elites' perception of orderly and sanitary and environmentally sound living conditions (Curato, 2018; Yee, 2020). It is also the result of a postcolonial approach to state's sovereignty over land use and mobility (Fitzpatrick & Compton, 2017)

Concurrently, the inability of the state to fulfil substantive rights after Haiyan has legal roots. In the aftermath of Yolanda, the government failed to meet the long-term needs of internally displaced people due to a lack of funding and capacity to provide the required support. Yet, the root cause is a lack of legal framework dedicated to the protection of internally displaced people, i.e. "the responsibilities of the government, the rights of IDPs during different stages of displacement, and the role of key agencies are not set out in a single, comprehensive law" (Estevez, 2015). In particular, recovery and rehabilitation are ad hoc in nature due to i) a lack of accountability of those in charge, ii) a lack of fixed budget by law,

causing dependence on inadequate foreign loans, grants and donations, and iii) a lack of benchmarks for the duration of recovery and rehabilitation (Estevez. 2015)

Inequalities result from hierarchies and exclusions that are deeply embedded in everyday life. Even though the Philippines has survived thanks to their "cultures of coping" due to frequent exposure to disasters, that coping culture manifests unevenly, reinforcing existing inequalities through oppressive regimes, shaping "the uneven character of communities' collective recovery" (Curato, 2018). Gender inequality is amplified through the mainstreaming of recovery myths of remittances, self-recovery and bayanihan, which lay the unremunerated burdens of care on women and girls at the expense of their well-being (Su & Tanyag, 2020). Furthermore, the "culturally sanctioned gratitude and severe economic dependence are gendered in that they exacerbate the inability of women and girls to complain against cases of sexual and gender-based violence linked to the large-scale deployment of foreign and national military troops" (Su & Tanyag, 2020)

The context of poverty, informality, and precariousness also complicates the nature of internal displacement. Members of affected households may use multiple coping strategies simultaneously, and the actual mobility patterns following the disaster may be hard to pinpoint with precision (Bradley et al., 2016). Other forces include being the "obliged to be grateful" mentality of Filipinos under the circumstances (Bradley et al., 2016; Yee, 2020), or *utang na loob*, indebtedness to foreign humanitarian assistance (Ong et al., 2015).

#### 6. Discussion

According to the IASC Framework, durable solutions are achieved when displaced people no longer have "assistance and protection needs linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement" (The Brookings Institution - University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, 2010, p. 5). This can be achieved when IDPs return to their origin, integrate locally where they take refuge or resettle elsewhere in the country or internationally.

Seven years after Haiyan, developing and implementing the eight durable solutions criteria set out by the IASC Framework are still ongoing. This section summarises the survey results on the state of six out of the eight durable solutions criteria (the IASC Framework includes criteria on access to documentation and family reunification, which are not included in this study).

# 1) Safety, security and freedom of movement

Whether in Villa Diana, North Hill Arbour, Pope Francis Village or Habitat for Humanity, residents feel safer than before, notably from flood and water-related hazards, since the resettlement sites are no longer near the sea. Residents also enjoy permanent, higher-quality housing, particularly those who used to live in informal, precarious structures before the typhoon. A sense of safety is shared among neighbours from the same barangay who resettle together. Indeed, among the durable solution indicators, participants give safety the highest level of satisfaction. Concerns about crimes and insecurity

persist, however, for those who settle in a new community with people from different barangays.

# 2) Adequate standard of living

Durable solutions have yet to be achieved mainly when it comes to access to basic water and tenure security. While IDPs share that they now live in dignified conditions compared to previous shelter conditions and in permanent housing, many feel they need more security about their land tenure. They also note that access to consistent, safe and affordable water is one of their biggest challenges. Relatively, access to food, education, and health services is perceived to be better and is of lower concern for residents. Differences in access to basic services exist among residents in NHA and NGO sites and between sexes.

# 3) Employment and livelihood

Employment and livelihood are other areas of challenge for durable solutions. Many IDPs find their livelihood and employment worse than before, citing difficulty finding and travelling to a job and not making ends meet. Assessing their livelihood and employment after the typhoon, residents of NHA sites find their conditions significantly better than their NGO counterparts. One of the key factors influencing livelihood opportunities is the remote location of the resettlement site, making it time-consuming and costly for residents to travel around and find jobs and access other goods and services.

# 4) Housing, land and property and Effective remedies

While the survey targets residents of resettlement sites, tenure security remains a concern. Many residents, including former homeowners, are "unsure" about their title and land rights. Others fear having to pay for their housing or being evicted in the future. While most participants' houses suffered from major damages and were inhabitable after the typhoon, less than 40% have been compensated, over 60% of which are female. Participants find the availability and distribution of disaster relief to be unfair and inequitable. Many report not being consulted or allowed to participate in resettlement and recovery planning and decision-making processes.

# 5) Participation in public affairs

While most IDPs share that they have participated in decision-making through meetings with the Homeowner Associations or cluster organisations, there remain challenges for residents to engage with their new communities and have their voices heard. Some people hesitate to share opinions with neighbours who resettle from different barangays, fearing their ideas may "offend" others or lead to conflict. Participation in public affairs is thus constrained by residents' sense of community and social cohesion.

#### 7. Conclusion and recommendations

In employing the politics of mobility as our analytical framework, our study delves into the intricate layers of experiences and human rights of internally displaced people. Their struggle to access durable solutions, crucial for safeguarding their human rights and dignity, extends beyond the immediate relocation and

resettlement processes following disaster-induced displacement. We assert that durable solutions must encompass the everyday mobility of displaced or resettled residents as they navigate livelihood opportunities, water access, market travel, and the resumption of their lives, including meaningful participation in political and social realms at resettlement sites. This perspective goes beyond the conventional understanding that displacement is solely a consequence of natural hazards; it unravels the deep entanglement with political and economic structures, particularly in land use, housing, and development decisions.

Unpacking the speed, route, rhythm, friction, motive, and experience of displaced people's mobility reveals the intricate complexities inherent in achieving durable solutions in a post-disaster context (Mosneaga, 2023; Sherwood et al., 2014). The pursuit of durability encompasses the pace of resettlement, travel routes, political and social frictions, and a multifaceted set of motivations, including the political economy of land and resettlement in Tacloban. This "durability" is inseparable from the broader social, economic, and political development processes that pre-existed Typhoon Haiyan and evolved through the subsequent disaster recovery and development processes. Spatial and land use planning, infrastructure provision, economic and livelihood development, and other developmental aspects determine disaster displacement and durable solutions outcomes.

While efforts like the Tacloban Recovery and Rehabilitation Plan and the Eastern Visayas Regional Development Plan 2017-2022 have integrated the needs of internally displaced people in comprehensive redevelopment approaches, our analysis underscores that a holistic focus on resettlement issues, beyond housing and land provision, is imperative. The challenges internally displaced people face, particularly during events like the COVID-19 pandemic (R. S. Bermudez et al., 2020), highlight the inadequacy of humanitarian responses alone in ensuring the well-being and human rights fulfilment of displaced populations. The politics of mobility framework reinforces the understanding that displacement is a multifaceted phenomenon shaped by political and economic power structures. To comprehensively address the root causes hindering durable solutions, interventions must respond to immediate post-disaster needs and confront the structural inequalities and political-economic interests perpetuating vulnerability among displaced populations.

The recommendations encompass a comprehensive approach to address the multifaceted challenges internally displaced people face in post-Haiyan Tacloban. Integrating displaced people in decision-making processes emerges as a priority, emphasising the need for their active involvement in determining durable solutions and shaping policies. Improving the titling system and land tenure ensures the security of ownership for recipients of permanent housing, while holistic social preparation and community engagement are highlighted for seamless integration. Clear guidelines and feedback mechanisms from local government and regional agencies are crucial for transparent communication and improved living conditions. A review of the Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Law is proposed to incorporate human rights considerations in climate-related disasters, emphasising the

importance of a comprehensive planning roadmap. Finally, the passage of human rights-based legislation is advocated at both national and local levels, aiming to provide a framework for inclusive, participatory, and accountable humanitarian responses to displacements, with a focus on protecting communities from arbitrary displacement.

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