URBAN RESETTLEMENTS IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Lived Experiences of Housing and Infrastructure between Displacement and Relocation

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CHAPTER 10

RETHINKING URBAN RESETTLEMENT AND DISPLACEMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF "HOME" IN THE INTERRUPTION AND UNCERTAINTY BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Introduction

In the year 2020, and leading into 2021, one cannot think about urban resettlement without considering the dramatic and continually unfolding global, national, and local interruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, projections into the future remain speculative on many levels. This closing chapter reflects on urban resettlement, as presented in the chapters of this book, through the lens of home and un-homing, and brings the pandemic to bear on this discussion. The chapter is based on a review of an evolving and as yet incomplete body of literature. Although the chapters in this book are based in what is referred to as the global South, the literature reviewed in this chapter cuts across global North and South, with cross-cutting challenges and universal conceptualisations of the notion of home and its opposite, un-homing. The review provides insights into the connection between economies, cities, and housing, and tensions in part brought about by powerful actors whose interest are poorly mediated through contemporary governance. This context, which includes impulses for displacement, facilitates thinking through the meaning of housing, dwelling, home, and un-homing. The chapter identifies resonance with the more subjective concepts of home and un-homing within the human right to adequate housing. It then turns to new rationales and impulses for urban resettlement resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic and the un-homing this entails. The chapter makes reference to South Africa, where particular threats of displacement from informal settlements emerged during the declared state of disaster through the national Department of Human Settlements' contested response to the pandemic. The Ministry's approach indirectly involved violation of the prohibition on evictions and more directly

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involved the establishment of temporary relocation areas in order to de-densify informal settlements. This resonates with the pre-COVID-19 cases of urban displacement presented through narratives of lived experiences in this book. With the continued urgency for these parameters to be met, the conclusion to this chapter provides pointers for future research.

Home and Un-homing in the Poorly Mediated Tension Between Economies, Cities, and Housing

Cities are sites of continual change. The introduction to this book refers to "rapid and fundamental urban transformation" and points to processes of destruction and production or creation within this (Beier et al., in this book). McFarlane (2011: 652) emphasises a political dimension in this dialectic when speaking of a "disassembly and reassembly through unequal relations of power and resource". Cities continually adjust to different forms and intensities of productivity and exchange, commodification and accumulation, governed by powerful actors and politically defined parameters, which may be more or less transparent, and which in turn may be resisted and contested (McFarlane, 2011; Bogaert, 2018 citing Massey, 2010).

Cities express a grounded and spatial dimension of the contemporary political economy set out above. In cities of the global South, and depending on their histories also regions of the global North, the "unequal relations of power and resources" (McFarlane, 2011:652) are mapped onto historical dispossession (Potts, 2020). Few states have mediated this inequality effectively. In the new millennium, urban governance, in which actors beyond the state exert considerable influence in their own interest, allows the urban economy to continually relegate the majority of the urban population to spatial and economic margins (Brenner, 2004; Devas, 2004). In these margins, dwelling is modest and often insecure, with uncertainty and threats of disruption shaping everyday life. Livelihoods are meagre, profits are low, and many enterprises are survivalist, only weakly tied into capitalism's perpetual pursuit of growth and therefore of little interest to it. In contrast, powerful actors in cities embed what they deem suitable localities of varying scale into wider national, international (or cross-national), and global economic networks, flows, and ambitions, committing urban space to their expanding pursuits. The rise of financial actors and the associated process of profit making through financial flows to drive growth in the finance sector is captured in the term financialisation (Aalbers, 2008).

Capitalist pursuits and their interests in particular urban locations may result in rapid change in housing systems, as Fernandez and Aalbers (2016) show. These authors reveal a growing trend for housing to be at the centre of the financialisation process and therefore "central to the real-world political economy" (Fernandez and Aalbers, 2016:83). Housing policies, both in the global North and where they exist in the global South, aim to facilitate, or are tied into quests for profit extraction and absorption of excess capital. The construction industry, urban land and its clearance for profitable development, and debt-dependent homeownership models play a key role in this dynamic (Fernandez and Aalbers, 2016; Bogaert, 2018; Rolnik, 2019; Sengupta, 2019). Therefore, a common theme in the chapters of this book is that urban resettlement emanating from housing policy implementation results in displacement from areas of economic potential to peripheral locations and places new economic burdens on the relocated households. In response to or anticipation of resistance from those affected by relocation, citizen buy-in for such policies may be achieved through forms of governmentality, which manipulate individual and collective subjectivities (Bogaert, 2018; Hernández Bertone, de la Vega, and Ciuffolini, in this book).

Against this charged backdrop, cities are host to the most intimate aspects of human life, which are lived out in what is commonly called housing. Housing refers to the physical dwelling units, their production, and their physical arrangement in urban space. Deficits and inadequacies, cost, production processes, financing, and tenure, as well as questions of land that housing occupies, are typically subjects of housing policies. A qualified right to adequate housing enshrined through constitutional provisions or through ratification of international law to which I return below, underpins housing policy in most countries and obliges respective governments to use their available resources towards its progressive realisation. Housing takes up the largest portion of urban space in cities, even where the majority of the housing units are makeshift, sub-standard in size, and/or stacked into tenements or apartment buildings. In an effort to push back against neoliberal directives for cities to facilitate and maximise growth in the urban economy, the United Nations (UN), through the New Urban Agenda adopted in 2016, promotes the realisation of the universal right to adequate housing as part of a city's "social function" (Habitat III, 2016, para 13). The New Urban Agenda also promotes "sustainable urban development programmes with housing and people's needs at the centre" (Habitat III, 2016, para 112).

For people's needs to be taken seriously, the physical shell of housing has to fulfil complex roles of dwelling and home. Beier et al. (in this book) introduce the subjective nature of dwelling by spelling out material or physical, economic, social, and emotional functions that it needs to perform. Dwelling is a highly philosophised concept. Influential though controversial 20th-century German philosopher Martin Heidegger's translators chose this term for the German verb "wohnen", which Heidegger (1954/1971) found inseparable from the continual activity of building. Linguistically Heidegger (1954/1971) explains roots of the term "neighbour" as someone building nearby and understands building of one's dwelling as central to human being. Heidegger (1954/1971) connects "wohnen" with "gewohnt", which means familiar or habitual. This suggests that the verb "inhabit" (which shares roots with "habitual") may have equally applied in the translation. Translators of French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1968/1996) chose the term "inhabit" for Lefebvre's emphasis of occupants' creative involvement in housing. Lefebvre drew on Heidegger, but for Lefebvre the town or city more than the home "expressed and symbolised a person's being and consciousness" (Kofman and Lebas, 1996:7–8). In more recent conceptions, the term "dwelling" is productively employed as verb and noun to consider social and environmental dimensions within and beyond the house, which anchor inhabitants in a relational way, thus connecting them spatially and to non-human dimensions (McFarlane, 2011; Coolen and Meesters, 2012 citing Rapoport, 1990). McFarlane (2011) understands the human as centred and continually re-centred in the analytical concept of dwelling.

Across this book, authors apply the term dwelling as noun, referring to the individual housing unit. However, in the analyses of lived experience in several chapters, the concept of home rather than dwelling or housing comes to the fore. Contrary to what official policy assumes, respondents in informal settlements in Morocco and South Africa referred to their self-constructed dwellings as "home" (Beier, in this book; Moodley and Erwin, in this book). After relocation, respondents in Ethiopia referred to their precarious former dwellings in an historic area as homes (Bridonneau, in this book). In response to this lived experience, Ashnaiy and Berner (in this book) propose the phrase "people-led home" for policy-making, with an implicit wink at Heidegger's notion of dwelling and with reference to Lefebvre's (1986/1996) notion of a right to the city, which incorporates the right to inhabit creatively. Home is understood as complex and multi-scaled, and directly tied to human well-being (Woodhall-Melnick et al., 2017; Alam, McGregor and Huston, 2020). Coolen and Meesters (2012) identify five facets of the notion of home: firstly, the meaning that the physical structure has to inhabitants; secondly, the spatial, locational, or geographical dimension and its meaning; thirdly, the temporal, which may span past generations through to future aspirations; fourthly, social relations; and lastly identity and meaning tied to the process of making one's home. While the latter may be rationally driven by the need for improved levels of comfort, convenience, and security, home-making may also refer to the creative process invoked by the philosophers cited above.

All five facets of home are relevant to inhabitants' experience of urban change. When these facets are denied, households or individuals are un-homed. While finding synonym in displacement, un-homing more deliberately invokes loss related to subjective facets of home. This need not involve destruction and relocation of the housing units. Inhabitants of neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification, in particular through new amenities and the lifestyles these invite, may experience "un-homing" in the sense of feeling alienated or no longer familiar or at home, even when one is not priced out of the housing market entirely (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020 citing Marcuse, 1986). This may be preceded by deliberate stigmatisation of neighbourhoods by real estate actors who work towards conditions of disinvestment as a step to future profit extraction (Kirkness and Tijé-Dra, 2017). Un-homing occurs over time as "slow violence" (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020), also when implementation of redevelopment and rehousing plans are corrupted and delayed (Ferreri, 2020). Thus, un-homing is displacement, *in situ* (not involving relocation) and resisted, but may ultimately entail involuntary mobility, or it is a more sudden moment of disruption through implementation of urban resettlement programmes such as those presented in several chapters of this book. Un-homing may also result from negotiated and compensated resettlement, often framed as voluntary but involving deprivation of all five facets of home (Beier, in this book). Un-homing defines contemporary urban precarity; it forms not only a contrast or counterpoint to, but is also a consequence of, the consumption-driven mobility of the middle class, often the beneficiaries of gentrification and clearance (Ferreri, 2020; Alexandri and Janoschka, 2020). Consumption-driven mobility has also enabled what Alexandri and Janoschka (2020) call "transnational gentrification", facilitated by the recent emergence of platform economies, to which I return below.

This book is framed around the concept of displacement in its close association with intra-urban resettlement (Beier et al., in this book). It therefore juxtaposes the destruction and loss associated with displacement with the potential, productive benefit that relocation may bring. It acknowledges that all relocation entails a component of displacement but that extensive displacement may occur without resettlement or as the result of failed or poorly targeted resettlement (Beier et al., in this book). Elliott-Cooper et al. (2020:504), whose focus is more on gentrification-induced displacement than on planned resettlement, call for the study of the "lived experience of urban displacement", aspects of which this book has begun to address.

Parameters of Home and Un-homing in International Human Rights

The identified facets of home, though found to be universal, have not been translated directly into guiding or binding parameters for housing policy and intervention internationally. Early in the millennium, Fox (2002) noted a distance between the rich interdisciplinary discussion on home on the one hand and housing policy as well as law on the other. However, a closer look at international human rights instruments on adequate housing reveals some important resonance with the facets of home discussed above. Human rights are often dismissed due to the antagonism that rights-based approaches are commonly associated with (Hickey and Mitlin, 2009). However, these instruments are powerful in defining accountability mechanisms and in curtailing housing and home violations.

Already in 1976, the two International Covenants, which operationalised the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, created legal parameters for states' action in relation to people's homes. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Article 11 assures freedom in the choice of one's residence, and Article 17 protects the home from arbitrary interference (UN, 1976a, Article 11, 17). The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights includes "housing" in the right to "an adequate standard of living" and further recognises the right to "continuous improvement of living conditions" (UN, 1976b, Article 11). Aspects of home-making would be included in the conceptualisation of this right. General Comment No. 4 on "The Right to Adequate Housing" (OHCHR, 1991) further operationalises these parameters. The General Comment requires that seven aspects be taken into account. Four of these are framed around pragmatic rather than subjective aspects of housing, ensuring basic comfort and practicality. These are habitability, location, accessibility and availability of infrastructure, services, facilities, and materials. Two support the subjective, temporal dimension of home in allowing for aspirations into the future, creating conditions for home-making and establishment of meaning of the home over time. These are legally established tenure security and affordability.

One further aspect required to be taken into account by the General Comment is cultural adequacy (OHCHR, 1991). The meaning of home and the social relations it facilitates can be incorporated under this aspect, which calls for a balance between cultural identity and the conveniences of modernisation (OHCHR, 1991). This balance is important, as ambitious programmes to relocate low-income households to peripherally located developments are often motivated officially with reference to the need (if not urgency) to improve households' living conditions. But as Dimirli, Ultav and Demirtaş-Milz (2015) show in relation to a case in Turkey, the meaning of improvement may be reduced to modernisation, which ignores socio-spatial needs. Such proclaimed improvements are seldom experienced as such by the target group (Dimirli, Ultav and Demirtaş-Milz, 2015). Relocation and the simultaneous destruction of former homes may deliberately seek to achieve changes in society and destroy traditional identities (Alhuzail, 2018). The temporal facet of "home", which ties identities to the past (Coolen and Meester, 2012), may place a virtual limit on this destruction as the home lives on in memory. However, Bridonneau (in this book) provides vivid insight into ongoing emotional trauma caused by past destruction of homes.

The General Comment further links housing to other human rights with relevance for the meaning a home has to its occupants and for home-making, in particular the right to dignity, freedom of expression, and participation (OHCHR, 1991). It requires that the right to adequate housing be realised "in the shortest possible time in accordance with the maximum of available resources" (OHCHR, 1991, para 14), therefore steering against the "slow violence" and un-homing brought about by project delays. With reference to global analyses of the scale of housing need and the UN's strategies of the early 1990s, General Comment No. 4 recommends that the right to adequate housing be facilitated through "self-help" rather than public construction of housing. This favours home-making and also *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements, which minimises the need for relocation, displacement, or un-homing. In line with this, the UN's New Urban Agenda, though not binding in the way that human rights instruments are, promotes policies that provide "support to incremental housing and self-build schemes, with special attention to slums and informal settlements upgrading programmes", while also preventing "segregation and arbitrary forced evictions and displacements" (Habitat III, 2016, para 107).

A separate General Comment No. 7 (OHCHR, 1997) is dedicated very directly to displacement in its focus on evictions. It includes the right to "adequate alternative housing" for anyone who would otherwise be "rendered homeless" (OHCHR, 1997:S16). When plans to redevelop and rehouse "slum" communities unfold and are underpinned by legitimate reasons such as risks that cannot be mitigated, the right to be adequately rehoused may have to be fought for through the courts. In countries that have ratified or domesticated the 1967 Covenants with their General Comments, courts may refer to the human rights parameters related to adequate housing. The right to be rehoused in proximity to the redeveloped area, or in an equivalent or more suitable location, may involve further struggles, as may the size, quality, and permanence of the relocation units and compensation for the lost investment and amenity. Compensation is often not in accordance with the actual loss, as Jorge and Melo (in this book) and Bridonneau (in this book) show in relation to their studies in Mozambique and Ethiopia. Where unit size and compensation are catered for, as in the case of mass residential redevelopment and verticalisation in Chinese cities, residents accept and may look forward to this change in their lives (Huang et al., 2020). However, monetary compensation, when examined through the lens of home and un-homing, and through the right to adequate housing with all its aspects, falls short in many respects. As Spire and Pilo (in this book) show, compensation should be understood as a form of manipulation or governmentality, a theoretical angle in Hernández Bertone, de la Vega, and Ciuffolini, and Dupont and Gowda's chapters in this book.

Housing and the Economy in the Hold of COVID-19

The human right to adequate housing has been operationalised through its two General Comments since the 1990s and given further practical meaning through globally agreed statements such as the New Urban Agenda's call for urban development programmes to afford housing uttermost importance. Despite this, the COVID-19 pandemic, referred to as such since the World Health Organisation's assessment announced on 11 March 2020 (WHO, 2020), revealed continuing and increasing housing disparities. A basic state measure to slow down the social spread of the disease has been to institute lockdowns and curfews that restrict inhabitants to their housing units to varying degrees. This exposed substantial inequalities in housing conditions and basic service levels, with lockdown unfeasible for many (Sharif and Rajagopal, 2020). Other measures have been to temporarily close borders, disallowing certain industries and economic sectors to function. Economic impacts of the measures to prevent the spread of the virus found governments having to weigh loss of lives against loss of livelihoods and collective economic impacts. European states cautiously reopened their borders after the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic, but in November 2020, most had again resorted to lockdown measures and some had instituted renewed travel restrictions to stem a second wave (BBC, 2020). Asian countries already experienced a second wave mid-2020, and China returned to a lockdown in January 2021 amid a new rise in infections (Vaughan, 2020; Reuters, 2021). Countries in Latin America experienced a second upsurge of infections in November and December 2020 (Phillips, Costa, and Nuño, 2020) and many African countries resorted to new though less-stringent lockdown measures late in December 2020 and in January 2021 in the face of a dramatic second wave (Tsunga, Mazarura, and Heywood, 2021).

On the African continent, data on infection rates have been confounding, with official infection figures remaining among the lowest on the globe (Cullinan, 2020; Harding, 2020; Pettersson, Manley, and Hernandez, 2021). However, the impact of lockdown measures on this continent has been severe due to their insensitivity to the survivalist livelihoods in the informal sector, which cannot be conducted from home, the pandemic therefore exposing "the fragility of cities" (Nzeadibe et al., 2020). Severe forms of lockdown require "people to carry out every part of their daily lives at home" (Kang et al., 2020:301). Indeed, cities had never been expected to function for extended periods with their residents, consumers, learners, actors, and agents conducting their lives and livelihoods as much as possible from individual housing units. With a quarter of urban households globally residing in informal settlements, lockdown measures, especially where these were violently enforced, were inconsiderate of overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions (UN, 2020c). Soon after the declaration of the pandemic, the UN, through its Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, advised that requirements for people to stay at home be accompanied by extensive measures to improve access to water and sanitation, ensure basic income, strengthen community organisations, and allow the informal sector to continue providing essential services where communities depended on these (UN, 2020c). During the second wave, this advice was being heeded unevenly across African countries.

The pandemic emerged at the height of housing market inequality globally. While research on the urban impacts of the pandemic remain speculative (Alexandri and Janoschka, 2020), widespread impoverishment and increased inequality are evident with direct implications for housing demand (Kang et al., 2020). Adding salt to this wound, a slowdown in construction, in which residential construction is the largest sector globally, is affecting the supply chain of formal housing (Kang et al., 2020; MarketsAndMarkets, 2020). The slowdown has been caused by economic disruption at the global level, by disruption in the international supply chains for building materials, suspension of residential building permits in many countries, uncertainty in the face of new regulations, and lockdowns affecting labour (MarketsandMarkets, 2020). Several countries in the global North have complimented COVID-19 stimulus packages with policies to stabilise the housing market. However, Kang et al. (2020:306) argue that beyond these emergency measures, "stronger policy actions are required to avoid a housing affordability catastrophe in the long run". Middle-income countries such as Brazil and South Africa have seen the formation of new informal settlements as a direct result of households being impoverished by the lockdown measures and filtering down the housing ladder (Kumar, 2020; Marron with Berger, 2020).

A further impact on housing has been in the form of temporary restrictions on cross-border travel, also referred to as "deglobalisation" (Kang et al., 2020). It is important to note how prominent particular forms of globalisation had become prior to the pandemic and how these were shaping housing markets and affordability. Economic adjustment in the aftermath of the 2008 subprime crisis involved "transnational gentrification", already introduced above, with heavy reliance on transnational mobilities related to investment in airports and travel-related infrastructure, and to the promotion of tourism, the consumption of space and culture, and platform economies including AirBnB (Alexandri and Janoschka, 2020). State policy encouraged and facilitated this form of accumulation, in which labour became more precarious, and in which landlords in some contexts speculatively targeted the lucrative transnational demand and ignored local need, leading to displacement (Alexandri and Janoschka, 2020). In the face of the pandemic, states could not prevent the consumption of transnational gentrification from being disrupted. Projected repercussions for the global economy are likened to the 2008 global economic crisis in its scale but also in its direct connection to the housing market, and in the long-term effects in reshaping how housing connects into the pursuits of contemporary capitalism (Kang et al., 2020; Alexandri and Janoschka, 2020).

New Impulses for Displacement and Un-homing Resulting From the COVID-19 Pandemic

When statesmen and women across the globe issued COVID-19 disaster or emergency declarations, this was with very little anticipation. In the preceding course of affairs, various eviction orders would have been granted but not as yet carried out and relocation plans linked, for instance, to new housing construction, would have been finalised and awaiting implementation. In refining lockdown measures, most states followed UN guidelines and instituted moratoria on carrying out evictions, whether these had been planned before or during lockdown (UN, 2020a). They also adopted recommended measures to ensure rental and mortgage payments be negotiated where lockdown measures resulted in households losing their income, and to protect households from unsustainable debt (UN, 2020b; Honig, 2020; Kang et al., 2020). Although mere postponement measures have limitations in ensuring justice for victims of the economic fallout of the pandemic and of the preceding trend of growing inequality (Honing, 2020), there was nevertheless a global acknowledgement of the importance of housing and consensus that its occupation should not be disrupted in any way.

South Africa is a country where the state paid lip service to this global consensus, which it incorporated into its disaster regulations (COGTA, 2020). Firstly, it proceeded with evictions and, secondly, it undertook COVID-19 induced relocations as emergency measures. Both involved un-homing. On the eviction front, the South African state permitted an uneven adherence to its emergency regulations. Political leadership, particularly within the Ministry of Human Settlements, Water, and Sanitation, communicated the stay on eviction hand-in-hand with prohibitions on new land occupation and in this way glossed over those losing their foothold as tenants or mortgage holders (Felix, 2020; MHSWS, 2020). The state's assumed legitimacy in clamping down hard on new land occupations, its claims that several occupations it raised to the ground had not existed before the COVID-19 disaster declaration, and its claims that the structures it demolished were unoccupied, did not hold in court, where evidence was presented to the contrary (CLP, 2020; Times Live, 2020). In some cases, the informal settlement communities had secured orders against the state in response to pre-COVID-19 eviction attempts (CLP, 2020). Informal settlement demolitions and evictions took place in Durban, Cape Town, East London, and Johannesburg, the eviction scenario followed by court condemnation repeating itself in different municipal administrations (New Frame, 2020; Phillips, 2020; Xolo, 2020). Households resorting to new occupation of land during the officially declared state of disaster cited unhindered evictions by private landlords, these resulting in their ejection from the private rental market. Human rights organisations responded with calls for a more appropriate interpretation of the lockdown regulations, namely one that prohibited eviction from any residential dwelling, even if erected without authorisation during the state of disaster (CLP, 2020; SERI, 2020a, 2020b).

The second state initiative of un-homing in South Africa arose out of a simplified assumption that unit density in informal settlements correlates with an increased spread of COVID-19. High level advisors of the Minister of Human Settlements had recommended an emergency undertaking to de-densify informal settlements through the rapid establishment of temporary relocation areas for which budgets were to be repurposed (DHS, 2020a). Experts and NGOs, which the Ministry and national Department of Human Settlements involved in a new online COVID-19 Sector Engagement Platform, warned that this costly approach would remove vulnerable households from their social networks. They further pointed to far more life-threatening consequences of food insecurity in informal settlements resulting from the lockdown measures and recommended alternative *in situ* interventions (Afesis Corplan et al., 2020; Huchzermeyer, 2020; Visagie et al. 2020). The discussion over urban density and the pandemic received extensive coverage in the media (Daily Maverkick, 2020; Clark, 2020).

The COVID-19-and-density debate has not been conclusive. Kang et al. (2020) review various studies conducted in the global North, which found no relation between urban density and COVID-19. For the African continent, such a correlation has also not been established (Cullinan, 2020). In September 2020, medical scientists in South Africa reassessed early assumptions that the disease would result in high death rates in tightly populated, low-income areas such as informal settlements (Harding, 2020). New hypotheses emerged suggesting that high population densities in such areas may instead have provided protection (Harding, 2020). However, the high death rates in informal settlements in India and Brazil, the January 2021 surge in cases across Africa, and the emergence of a more rapidly spreading strain of the virus in South Africa in December 2020 added complexity to any attempt to provide explanations and predictions (Harding, 2020; Reuters, 2020).

Reasons why the South African Ministry of Human Settlements, Water, and Sanitation dismissed expert and NGO objections and proceeded with its contested de-densification plan (interchangeably referring to it as decongestion, decanting, and also re-blocking) has not been fully revealed. As implementation unfolded, the Ministry performed regular public relations events and broadcasted messages of a caring state (MHSWS 2020). However, suspicions of corruption led to an Auditor General probe, which found the procurement and implementation process lacking on many fronts (Daniel, 2020; PMG, 2020). This was amidst damming corruption findings on the procurement of COVID-19 personal protective equipment (Businesstech, 2020). In April 2020, the initial de-densification plan involved a total of 7,017 temporary housing units across the country (DHS, 2020b). A month later, the figure planned for the Gauteng Province alone had risen to over 22,000 units, targeting 15 of the province's 775 informal settlements (Gauteng Province Human Settlements, 2020:2). At a fixed price of R64,000 per unit, the cost of this endeavour justified the Auditor General's probe (PMG, 2020).

Deliberate Un-homing During the Pandemic: Temporary Relocation and Home Intrusion

Un-homing has taken complex forms under the COVID-19 lockdown measures. Evictions, even if not carried out illegally as in the case of South Africa, remain a future reality under moratoria, therefore reducing a sense of security and home, violating the temporal facet of home, and inhibiting home-making activities. Removals to temporary relocation areas, as carried out in South Africa, involve literal uprooting from a geographical location and from social relations, and suspension in time, captured in the British term "decanting" (Ferreri, 2020), and associated with the experience of "displacement anxiety" (Watt, 2018). Home-making in temporary relocation areas is limited by controls, restrictions and uncertainty and is overshadowed by the nullification of previous home-making. Added to this is the stress of multiple moves (Watt, 2018; Ferreri, 2020).

The unsuitability of temporary relocation as a COVID-19 response is evident from the poor track record of implementation of this policy tool. Terms such as "decanting area" in the case of Kenyan informal settlement redevelopment (Huchzermeyer, 2011), "holding camps" in the case of the Zimbabwean government's "handling of informality" (Kamete, 2017:78) or "transit camps" (or more recently "temporary relocation areas" or TRAs) in South Africa display a utilitarian approach that has no basis in human need. Kamete (2017:84) refers to "warehousing", when reporting of overcrowding, poor living conditions, surveillance, repression, and curtailment of rights, in addition to the uncertainty about bureaucratic decisions over the future of those residing in Zimbabwe's temporary relocation areas. Kamete (2017) therefore frames these as "spaces of exception". Similarly, Dupont and Gowda (in this book) point to poor conditions, legal precariousness, uncertainty, and surveillance that shape everyday life in a transit camp in Delhi, also invoking the notion of a state of exception. Surveillance and control, as well as seemingly indefinite occupation as the promised permanent housing retreats from the horizon of hope, are recurring themes in the literature on Cape Town's temporary relocation areas (Chance, 2015; Levenson, 2017). As Cirolia (2014) shows, this is an inadequately conceived and executed component of South African housing policy.

Further forms of un-homing related to lockdown involve intrusion and violation of privacy. The more subtle iteration of this involves surveillance and extractive intrusion into private life through smart technologies. This has been deployed in urban management and governance of disease control, but also includes contemporary digital platforms, which many forms of work-from-home rely upon. Most are modelled on monitoring and extraction of data on personal interactions and preferences, which in turn are fed to the market (Zuboff, 2019). Take-it-or-leave-it conveniences related to smart phone apps had already created dependencies prior to the pandemic. Zuboff (2019) opens the seminal book in which she coins the term "surveillance capitalism" with a chapter titled "Home or exile in the digital future", explaining the many disturbing ways that surveillance capitalism violates homes. Under the pandemic, apps became even more indispensable and pervasive in individuals' management of new and changing demands posed by the pandemic. Kang et al. (2020: 310) note that "[i]n the COVID-19 situation, the privacy debate, particularly regarding human tracing, is intensifying due to the massive use of personal mobile location data by data technology-based applications".

A less subtle violation of privacy during the COVID-19 pandemic has involved violent home intrusions by the state in authoritarian interpretations of lockdown regulations, whether in South Africa (Bornman, 2020) or the US (Honig, 2020). Widespread reports of increases in domestic and gender-based violence, in part explained by women's support networks having been severed by lockdowns (Mittal and Singh, 2020), underlines how the notion of home cannot be contained in the walls of a dwelling unit and intrusion can occur from within.

Conclusion

This chapter set itself the task of providing an outlook on the chapters in this book and providing a projection into the future. The COVID-19 pandemic has rendered this future uncertain, with an indefinitely drawn-out moment of disruption, which has direct relevance for the theme of this book. The outlook presented in this chapter has not been able to grapple comprehensively with all the issues, which the rich selection of cases provides, and with all the approaches through which the authors explore, analyse, and reflect on various dimension of everyday life in the context of displacement. The review in this chapter covers how the recent discourse on cities across the global North and global South understands cities and housing shaped by the contemporary political economy. It hones in on the concepts of housing, dwelling, home, and un-homing and shows how subjective facets of home are incorporated in the human right to adequate housing. This has formed a useful basis from which to discuss implications of the COVID-19 pandemic, which reached new intensity, and with it, new levels of uncertainty as the writing for this chapter was concluded. Homes are in the spotlight of responses to the pandemic in a variety of ways and several new triggers have emerged for un-homing.

Any engagement with questions of urban displacement into the future, and its more subjective dimensions captured in the concept of un-homing, will have to take account the indefinite interruption, with its economic, political, and social repercussions. Urban resettlement will remain a theme into the future, and less-disruptive alternatives, including in-situ upgrading, must be promoted with increased urgency. Going forward, it will be necessary to understand and address the reluctance in the take-up of these alternatives. Minimising displacement and un-homing, not only in urban development, relocation, and resettlement processes, must be a policy imperative going forward. The human right to adequate housing has relevance to this endeavour. Examining lived experiences in their diversity and their subjective dimensions, and distilling from this realistically implementable principles that can inform more responsive approaches, is an impulse for future research leading directly out of this book.

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