**Resilience through Urban Management of Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Settings:**

**A focus on Housing Interventions in the Case of Iraq**

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**Abstract:**

*This research paper flows out of a doctoral research into approaching urban resilience in post-conflict settings using Iraq as a case study. The literature in this area points out that understanding regulatory frameworks of urban management is important for approaching resilience through sector-specific reconstruction in post-conflict cities, and as a framework within which the enablement of citizens that are building homes within a post-conflict setting can be examined and assessed. Approaching resilience in post-conflict settings in this way, in the case of Iraq in the period after the 2003 war, provides an insight into resilience processes. Fieldwork has revealed that house-owners are using their own adaptive capacity in housing supply to maintain survival and urban growth within urban neighborhoods, in spite of experiencing chronic stresses and acute shocks as a result of the ongoing transition from conflict to peace. Initial data analysis has shown that a reformation of urban management structures in post-conflict Iraq could enable and support alternative key actors in the private and public and the voluntary sectors as partners in urban development. Here, citizens' enablement in a bottom-up approach to reconstruction can offer a back-up capacity in acute times to sustain cities' functioning and competitiveness in urban development and long term resilience.*

**Key Words: Urban Management, Regulatory Frameworks, Post-Conflict, Adaptive Capacity, Urban Resilience.**

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## 1. Introduction:

Urban management is a process that interconnects a wide range of actors and institutions to implement development decisions and sustain city functioning. Baclija (2013: 31-32) noted that the "interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach to urban management, caused confusion with other related terms like 'urban governance' or 'new public management', whereby urban managers use set of indicators to evaluate cities' administrative performance which impact on city performance". Van Dijk (2006: 53-56) defined urban management as the effort to coordinate and integrate public as well as private actions to tackle the major urban issues that the inhabitants are facing to make a more competitive, equitable and sustainable city. More recently, the World Bank (2013) defined 'governance' as the process – by which authority is conferred on rulers to make the rules, and by which those rules are enforced and modified. In order to further emphasize the difference between urban management and urban governance, this doctoral research cites the European Commission (2002: 45) that described good urban governance as "effective (political) decision-making carried out with transparency and participation of key stakeholders, while good urban management is an effective

implementation of operation and development decisions". This research recognises urban management as a pro-active process where cities' administrative authorities interact with key actors in urban development to sustain performance and competitiveness, the goal being to create desirable cities with attractive places that require, as described by ATCM (2015: 1), "coordinated pro-active initiatives designed to ensure urban development". This process is reflected in Figure 1 below.
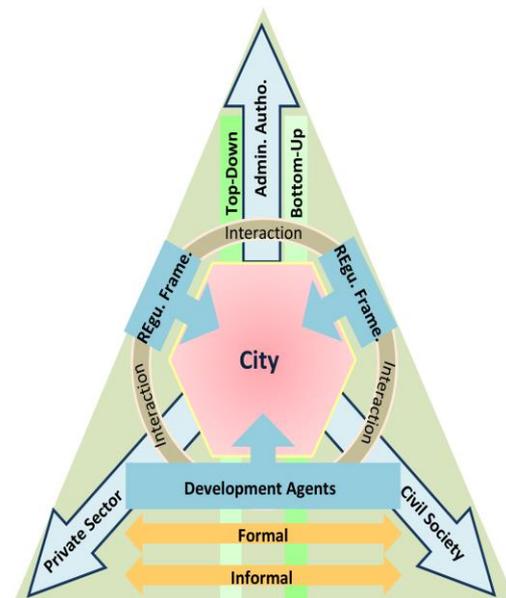


Figure 1: Urban Management (Researcher 2016)

Regulatory frameworks are key to understanding the way urban management operates. Hasan and Mcwillliams (2015: 228) noted that "urban development and urban management are enabled via these regulatory frameworks (formal or informal) which form the urban development mental models in any given context". Writing earlier, UN-HABITAT (2013) addressed the role of regulatory frameworks in stimulating partnerships in urban management with the private business and community sectors to facilitate and enable the broad based participation in decision-making of urban development strategies, policies and programmes. In post-conflict settings, key partnerships in urban management are affected by weak state-civil society relations; Okumu (2013: 200) recognised that "fragile and conflict-affected states face a breakdown in the relationship between the state and society". Building partnerships in post-conflict urban management is therefore promoted through reformations in legal regulatory frameworks that de-centralize administration authorities and urban development agents.

De-centralization is shaped by countries' constitution, laws and legal regulatory frameworks. Van Dijk (2006) argues that de-centralization and good urban governance can create space for urban management to facilitate urban competitiveness. Writing earlier, Velazco (2004: 41) highlights how de-centralization in post-conflict cities allows for the identification of local potentialities, improves co-ordination among development agents and enables civil society participation in urban development. There is therefore a relationship between pro-active urban management in post-conflict cities and effective de-centralization that builds local capacities in administration, finance and planning. Post-conflict cities with sufficient urban management capacities can build inclusive partnerships with the private sector and civil society, the integration with the development agents improves cities' competitiveness for enablement of human scale development, enhancement of state-society relations, addressing the circumstances and needs of local inhabitants in urban development, progressing economic profit and fitting the preferences of a common city vision.

In the context of key actors' integration for post-conflict cities' urban development, the relationships between national and local authorities are important. The form of public-private partnership and the level of civil society inclusion in the urban development process are determined by enacted legal frameworks of top-down, bottom-up and cooperative approaches to urban management.

To assess and evaluate the required capacity for cooperative urban management in developing countries that are at a transitional phase of a post-conflict setting, this paper is examining the transformation occurring in Iraq in terms of the urban management of reconstruction and housing interventions in a post-conflict setting. The post-conflict phase referred to here is the 2003 American invasion of Iraq and the subsequent instability represented by continuum transition from conflict to peace.

This paper aims to discuss the input of post-conflict cooperative urban management on building the capacity for positive urban resilience through enablement and regulation of civil society participation in reconstruction and housing interventions. Analysis focuses on identifying the key actors' roles and influences (local authorities, civil society, and private sector) in Iraq, to provide opportunities of reconfiguring inclusiveness / enablement within regulatory frameworks of de-centralisation for a positive urban resilience in Iraq's post-conflict setting. There will also be a focus on how, during a country's instability and vulnerability to emergent crises; adaptive capacity can emerge, transforming citizens' roles and collective determination claims.

## 2. Post-Conflict Urban Management and Global Spheres of Influence:

The post-conflict settings involve persistent circumstances of instability, post-conflict was defined by Junne and Verkoren (2005) as a "situation in which open warfare has come to an end. Such situations remain tense for years or decades and can easily relapse into large-scale violence. In post-conflict areas, there is an absence of war, but not essentially real peace". More recently, Brown et al. (2011: 4) conceptualised 'post-conflict' as a process that involves the achievement of a range of peace milestones and that 'post-conflict' countries should be seen as "lying along a transition continuum (in which they sometimes move backwards), rather than placed in more or less arbitrary boxes, of being 'in conflict' or 'at peace'". Countries in a post-conflict setting are therefore in a transitional phase that is characterized with vulnerability to emergent crises, on-going stress and sudden shocks.

In order to understand post-conflict countries' instability potential [1] to emergent crises, this paper cites Gaub (2012: 9) that demonstrated a "state's capacity to manage the instability potential plays a decisive role in a country's vulnerability to emergent

crises". Countries' crises such as interstate conflict, large-scale involuntary migration and fiscal crises are globally inter-connected.

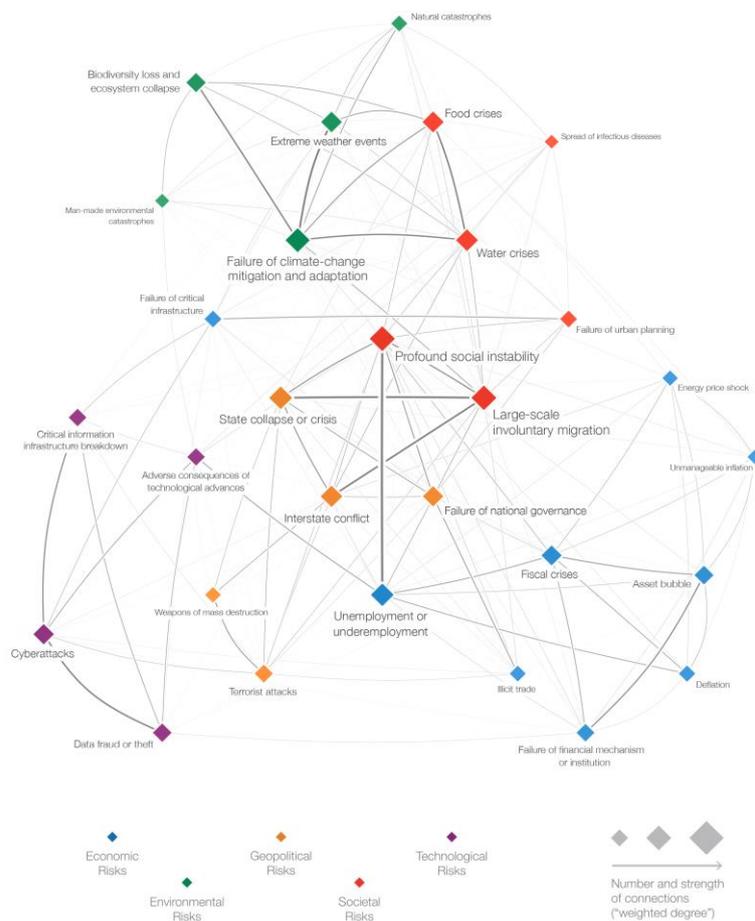This global inter-connection of crises is represented in Figure 2 below.



Figure 2: The Global Risks Interconnection Map 2016 (World Economic Forum: 2016)

Developing countries that lack the capacity to manage critical infrastructure reach instability potential to conflict/fiscal crisis, this trend in urban management combined with the risks of conflict/fiscal crises influx the crisis of migration to developed countries. This global interconnected structure of crises guided the world economic forum (2015) to map the interplay and interconnection of global risks-trends including accelerated risks and cascading effects of rapid and unplanned urbanization in developing countries. The global risks report addressed the availability and quality of infrastructure including housing as a core of many challenges to determine the residents' social inclusion and cities' resilience to environmental, social and economic risks. The report therefore highlighted an urgent need to close the gap in cities' infrastructure that is unable to keep pace with the increased expectations of the growing population in developing countries.

The transcendence in urban management within developing countries therefore contributes towards closing this gap, developing countries at the transitional phase of a post-conflict setting also need to transcend in urban management of critical infrastructure especially housing, as housing shortage excerpts social tensions in developing countries that are growing in population with vulnerability to emergent crises, Murillo and Kayumba (2003) recognised the reflection of housing shortage in Kigali, Rawnda on growing a social gap that was part of the reason for the genocide in the nineties. More recently, Suri (2015) concludes that resolving longstanding grievances in post-conflict development planning that can ultimately become the cause for intractable conflicts is of critical importance, as cities all over the world are bearing the brunt of the outcomes of conflict, taking in refugees and displaced persons that need to be housed, supported and integrated.

Post-conflict cities' capacity for innovation in development planning and good urban management with effective regulatory frameworks is therefore an essential challenge to embed countries' stability and world resilience towards global crises that are inter-connected and cross the spheres of influence.

## 3. Potentials for Urban Resilience through Post-Conflict Urban Management of Reconstruction and Housing:

Urban management in post-conflict settings is growing accustomed to addressing the challenge of regulating urban systems to support the generation of resilience opportunities. According to Ochoa and Duque (2015), urban management structure in Medellin, Columbia was regulated to cooperate with the Rockefeller Foundation in planning and execution of the city urban resilience. The Rockefeller Foundation (2016) defines urban resilience as the capacity of individuals, communities, institutions, businesses, and systems within a city to survive, adapt, and grow no matter what kinds of chronic stresses and acute shocks they experience.

Velazco (2004) proposed that resilience requires local participation in municipal management and the effective coordination among the public and private actors. To further understand this local participation in management, Somerville (2011: 85) argued for the necessity to clearly specify the nature of relationships in power sharing including the space in which the relationships are embedded and the scale(s) on which the interactions between citizens and state take place. The top-down, bottom-up and cooperative approaches to urban management specify the nature and scale of citizens' interaction with the state, for example, Warden (2008) explained the approach to urban management in Iraq from 1969 until 2003 as to represent the top-down distribution of public services to citizens in following for 1969 and 1995 governance laws that took away the ability of local administration authorities and development agents in decision-making of how to spend the budget. While cooperative approach to urban management was implemented in the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil since 1989, Bevir (2011: 408) discussed the pioneered approach of participatory budgeting, where citizens attend at neighbourhood level assemblies to decide on investment priorities and join decision-making bodies that prepare proposals for the city budget, which is also considered by the city legislature.

Writing earlier, Cliffe et al. (2003: 2) argued that cooperative approach to urban management in post-conflict settings implements community-driven reconstruction as a method that forms a common vision and collective actions between citizens and state. The CDR depends on two core elements:

1. Decentralization through the delegation of decision-making and fiscal authority to lower-level institutions.

2. Participation, based in partnership building geared to planning and project implementation.

Delving deeper, Barakat (2004: 2) suggested that participation of citizens in post-conflict reconstruction can be developed through housing interventions [2] in order to enhance communities' capacities and participation. Barakat noted how housing interventions improve institutional resources and informal social relations, increase pride and self-esteem through participatory and stakeholder programming, and enable disaster-affected people to look forward and invest in the future.

Thus, we can conclude, stimulating citizens' local participation in post-conflict reconstruction and housing presents a method/model for integration with the urban management in a transitional phase. Citizens' involvement in housing interventions within a cooperative approach to urban management highlights potentialities for building and developing capacities of urban resilience in post-conflict settings.

Let's now return briefly to the matter of 'resilience'. Resilience through reconstruction of the built environment was defined by Amaratunga and Haigh (2011: 6) as one that includes the following: "to design, develop and manage buildings, spaces and places that have the capacity to resist or change in order to reduce vulnerability, and enable society to continue functioning economically and socially, when subject to a critical situation". More recently, a qualitative examination of Johannesburg, Karachi, Kigali, Managua, Medellín, Mexico City, Nairobi, and São Paolo, guided Davis (2012: 5) to conceptualize resilience in cities with instability situations as individual or communities' capacities to resist "through strategies that help them establish relatively autonomous control over the activities, spaces, and social or economic forces and conditions that comprise their daily lives", in which a positive urban resilience is characterized with strong, cooperative relationships between the state and community, and between different actors including businesses and civil society.

Engaging therefore the concept of resilience within housing interventions in post-conflict settings requires an approach to urban management that regenerates partnerships in reconstruction at transitional phases. Cliffe et al. (2003: 3) demonstrated that "It is through joint shared visioning and decision-making—identifying needs and prioritizing interventions—that the population and the local administration can overcome mistrust emanating from the conflict period (and possibly, from the pre-conflict period) and move

closer together around local recovery and sustainability". More recently, Davis (2012:20) highlights the building of better cities for enhancing the capacities of a positive urban resilience within instability situations starting at a small spatial scale to identify agents of resilience through qualitative measures and indicators, in which development agencies and governments not only re-think of sector-specific approach to development, but also entail an understanding of urban spatial dynamics, urban design principles and urban planning processes.

This is why, an examination of urban management partnerships with citizens' local participation in sector-specific approach to reconstruction provides an opportunity for a positive urban resilience, self-sustainability, regeneration, and urban development in post-conflict settings. That said, the partnership procedure in reconstruction at the transitional phase of post-conflict settings is not a global static practice. This is due to the substantial differences in the settings including the conflict circumstances, institutional structural composition and community capacity.

This paper examines the case of Iraq to present a revelatory knowledge of urban management and resilience in a post-conflict setting, in which there was inaccessibility to inquiry since 1990 due to consequent wars and instability situations. The researcher is guided here by Yin's argument (2009: 47-48) that justifies the "rationale for a single case is where the case represents an *extreme* case or a *unique* case about the experiences of the average person or institution, another rationale for a single-case study is the *revelatory* case. This situation exists when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to social science inquiry".

This paper identifies that the long term inaccessibility to raw data in Iraq has resulted in the following constrains:

- The absence of an assessment of the transformation of Iraqi cities in a post-conflict setting with a transitional phase.

- The absence of an examination of role played by Iraq's civil society, private sector and local authorities in post-conflict reconstruction and the relationship of the former to cooperative urban management and resilience.

This paper therefore presents an opportunity for gathering new data, examining urban management structures and inspecting civil society's readiness to ongoing stresses and sudden shocks in Iraq.

## 4. Urban Management of Reconstruction in Iraq:

Iraq as a case study presents a specific context for post-conflict reconstruction and housing interventions, where vulnerability and structural transformations affect urban management. This implies a need for a critical assessment of post-conflict Iraq's urban management integration with citizens' local participation/action in reconstruction at transitional phases to approach a positive urban resilience.

Ben-Meir (2015) describes Iraq's reluctance to de-centralize decision-making at the local and provincial level as a source for tension and that stability requires short -and long term-strategy in sharing the management power for a positive development and meeting the real needs of the people while at the same time advancing social integration.

Centrality in urban decision-making [3] is historically embedded in Iraq's development planning as the UN-HABITAT already noted (2003: 19-20). Planning for all sectors in Iraq was highly centralised with the Ministry of Planning playing a key role both in the co-ordination of the planning processes and, in consultation with the Ministry of Finance, in the allocation of resources to the respective Ministries responsible for local development portfolios. Physical and sector plans were prepared by the corresponding Ministries and Departments in Baghdad, based on information provided by the respective departments at the Governorate level. Five-year sector plans were normally prepared for the entire country and funding for plan implementation was provided through the annual budget process, which was managed by the Ministry of Finance in Baghdad. The highly centralised nature of the planning process meant that there was only limited involvement of regional and provincial governments and municipalities. Urban planning has always been a top-down process in Iraq and civic and private sector stakeholders were unable to engage with government and local authorities in a constructive and inclusive partnership.

The role of urban management in Iraq post 2003 was described by Tipple (2007), as to represent the interests of higher levels of government down to local level. This top-down approach is a reflection for the Iraqi Republic's Constitution legislated in 2005, in which all municipalities and development agents are under the direct control and management of the Central Government. According to Article 78 of Constitution, the Central Government Cabinet acquires the responsibility for preparing the draft of the general

budget and the final accounting statement and development plans.

Looking at the next tier of government, one finds that the executive authority in Iraq at this level is fulfilled by Central Government Ministries that are represented by local directorates and are therefore not part of the Provincial Council; at the Municipal level, services are directed and carried out by the Governorate. Thus, the separation in between authorities has fragmented inter-communal urban management in Iraq, while municipal councils and local development agents have not been delegated sufficient authorities for the demonstration of a participatory urban management.

Building an understanding of cities' management for effective planning and development requires forming a common city vision. Vision is after all what urban planning is all about. This was emphasised by the Cities Alliance (2006: 7) who argued that it "is important because it aligns stakeholders' energies so that the stakeholders work cooperatively and for the same goals…Successful cities are flexible and adaptive in pursuing their Visions, recognising that traditional, especially rigid, static, or top-down,

planning can be harmful. Many systems in a city are self-organising, yielding positive outcomes if set within appropriate visions and policy frameworks, and prompted by strategic thrusts."

Tipple (2007) also argued that creating this common city vision in Iraq post 2003 required at the time a will for social inclusion that solicits citizens' participation in the present and the future of their cities, to be part of the city's social, cultural and economic life, to feel responsible for the image/form of the city and to receive fair shares of the benefits deriving from city life. Writing earlier, UN-HABITAT (2003: 37) described de-centralisation in Iraq as a key "to transfer urban planning functions to the local level in order to enable local authorities and the wider community to engage in tailor-cut, inclusive, and comprehensive planning". Inclusive urban management of reconstruction in Iraqi cities therefore requires legal regulatory frameworks and urban policies that support an enabling environment for key actors to engage in their own spatial and strategic urban planning and development.

## 5. Urban Development and Housing in Iraq:

Housing interventions are becoming a high priority issue in sector-specific approach to reconstruction at transitional phases in Iraq, as there is acceleration in population growth combined with a shortfall in new residential construction. According to Berger (2012: 7) housing provision is one of Iraq's top development priorities as it is indispensable to tackle the pending challenges of high unmet demand in the housing sector of Iraq, the enablement of accelerated expansion through availability of an appropriate and affordable housing finance is critical.

The United Nations Statistics Division (2015) estimates Iraq's population growth rate at 2.9% with a population in excess of 34 million. The level of urbanisation is estimated at 70 per cent and in the Baghdad metropolitan area alone, the population is close to 6 million. Only 5 per cent of the total population are above 65 years. According to Iraq's Ministry of Construction and Housing (2013), it is estimated that roughly 2,500,000 housing units are needed by 2016 to meet the increasing national housing demand in Iraq. While Ko (2015: 2) estimates annual housing demand in Iraq (starting from 2011) to be equal to 400,000 housing units with yearly increase in demand.

The role of the central government of Iraq (before the 2003 invasion by the US led coalition) in the provision of housing and public infrastructure through large public investment programmes funded by the state was discussed by Tipple (2007). In the 1960s and 1970s, the government used the considerable wealth generated from oil exports for a planned expansion of Iraqi cities and their development. It constructed significant volumes of quality standardised multi-storey public housing (mainly in Baghdad) and even larger quantities of subsidised low-density, serviced residential land and loans with modest interest rates, long-term amortisation periods for households and housing.

According to Iraq's Ministry of Construction and Housing (2005), the government ability in the 1980s and 1990s, to provide new housing, and maintain existing infrastructure was reduced by successive years of wars and sanctions. From 1980–88, 2.5 million dwellings were built, on serviced sites and largely of poor built quality, with an average of 6.5 people per dwelling. Construction declined from 16 million square metres in 1989 to only 348,000 square metres in 1996.

Iraq's centralized land market management at the time was described by PADCO (2006) who noted the direct

control of about 85 per cent of land in Iraq by the national Ministry of Finance, whereas State Properties Directorate manages state-owned land allocation, sale and/or lease. While the private land market, according to UN-HABITAT (2003: 11) relied primarily on the sale of plots formerly allocated to individuals by the Government. The central policy of land management produced prohibitive land prices market beyond the reach of the majority of households, leading to link housing with land provision by the central Government.

Housing mortgages were available through the government's Real Estate Bank; Tipple (2007) described the inequality in public mortgages, loans were allocated to households of high-income middle classes that can meet the repayment terms but not to the majority who are on moderate incomes. According to Iraq's Ministry of Construction and Housing (2005),

the government policy in public mortgages enforced lower than market interest rates, commercial banks that are unable to compete owing to high interest rates constrained the private provision of mortgages and micro-finances loans.

The COSIT (2004) registered the decline in Iraq's housing provision between 1994-2004. Depending on the number of building permits granted by municipalities that has been more than the completions of housing units. The shortfall in housing provision combined with population growth excerpted an increase in the number of people per house in Iraqi cities. The UNDP survey of Iraq's living conditions in 2004 demonstrated the over-crowding in Iraqi cities, in Baghdad particularly; there is over-crowding with a mean of almost 4.5 persons per bedroom and/or multi nuclear-family households. These figures are reflected in Table 1 below.

| City | Number of People per House | Number of Rooms per House | Number of People per Room | Number of Rooms Used for Sleeping | Number of People per Bedroom |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baghdad | 9.43 | 5.09 | 1.96 | 2.55 | 4.44 |
| Mosul | 8.88 | 5.25 | 1.89 | 2.63 | 3.89 |
| Hilla | 7.84 | 4.36 | 1.96 | 2.17 | 4.06 |
| Najaf | 9.30 | 4.91 | 1.99 | 2.51 | 4.02 |
| Nassiriya | 8.67 | 4.08 | 2.24 | 2.66 | 3.54 |
| Basra | 10.02 | 4.73 | 2.18 | 2.93 | 3.52 |
| Total Six Cities | 9.24 | 4.93 | 1.99 | 2.56 | 4.16 |
| Total Urban Iraq | 8.52 | 4.55 | 2.04 | 2.36 | 4.12 |

Table 1: House Size and Occupancy in Iraq 2004 (UNDP et al. 2004 in Tipple 2006)

The Iraqi Government created a National Housing Fund with US$200 million of oil revenues in 2004 to recover housing provision. The funding was allocated for the Housing Commission that builds public housing for middle income households. However, the National Housing Fund was unable to cover housing shortage and track the high level of households' formation in a young population. Housing shortage in Iraq 2006 is represented in Table 2 below.

Berger report (2012) compiled in unison with the UNDP and in consultation with the Iraqi Ministry of Construction and Housing and UN-HABITAT, suggested the incremental development of a housing finance system in reference to Iraqi households' willingness to adapt their housing properties. According to Iraq's Ministry of Construction and Housing (2005) there is a significant willingness among low-income house-owners to take part in improvements and

| Class | Mosul | Sulaimaniya | Baghdad | Hilla | Najaf | Basrah | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low Income | 39883 | 11260 | 90858 | 9462 | 3999 | 4328 | 159790 |
| Middle Income | 42216 | 49595 | 242094 | 20977 | 22536 | 22685 | 400103 |
| Upper Income | 8840 | 26320 | 44324 | 7525 | 9792 | 17717 | 114519 |
| Total | 90939 | 87175 | 377276 | 37964 | 36327 | 44730 | 674412 |

Table 2: Estimated Housing Needs (number of units) by Income Group in Iraq 2006 (PADCO 2006)

The World Bank et al. (2006: 17) described the international compact with Iraq, which committed the Iraqi government in 2005 to delivering basic services to meet the interim 2010 Millennium Development Goals. This commitment focused on restoration of former levels of infrastructure provision and coping with urban growth in Iraqi cities as a priority to improve access to housing up to 90 per cent.

extension activity. A parallel survey of inhabitants of 21 slum areas in 10 cities in six governorates (Baghdad, Wassit, Al Muthana, Diyala, Thi Qar, and Al Anbar) found that (93 per cent) wish to undertake repairs or improvements to the dwelling and (88 per cent) of those are willing to take out a soft loan if one is available. About three-quarters want to add extra rooms or construct an additional floor and (64 per cent) of those are willing to take out a soft loan

if one is available. Furthermore, the experience of small-scale builders in Iraq supported the suggestion of incremental development of housing provision, Padco (2006) demonstrated small-scale builders as the backbone of the housing construction industry in Iraq as they provide flexibility in construction of new housing, extensions and renovations, depending on the particular needs and satisfaction requirements of the clients.

This method/model of adaptive housing interventions in Iraq excerpted a private source of income generation for property owners. Padco (2006) noticed that the Iraqi private rental market consists of secondary dwellings in an owner-occupied structure, provided through small-scale property owners living on the premises. Tipple (2007: 29) demonstrated that encouraging "extensions can provide both increases in house value and reduction in the cost of housing per room at the same time and in the same house as low cost rental rooms and

relatively cheap large dwellings can result within the same process". Furthermore, Tipple focused on development of incremental housing policy in Iraq through enablement of existing low and/middle-income house-owners, sufficient to improve self-sustainability in housing, increase stocks and contribute to profit generation.

Thus, we can argue, stimulating house-owners' adaptive capacity in Iraq's housing interventions presents a method/model for integration in sector-specific reconstruction, to approach a cooperative urban management in a post-conflict setting. The identification of potentialities for a positive urban resilience in post-conflict Iraq at the transitional phase not only requires an inclusive urban management at local level, but also a cooperative approach that enables and regulates house-owners' adaptive housing interventions at neighbourhood level.

## 6. Approaching an Opportunity for Iraq's Post-Conflict Urban Resilience:

The governance structure in Iraq changed dramatically since 2003. Institutional reformation and legal regulatory frameworks are cascading the effect of changes in governance arrangements from the national level to the local level. These changes have influenced urban development and

urban management. To address the effective factors for a sustainable urban development through cooperative urban management in Iraq's post-conflict setting, the key influencing laws and legislations were examined to configure the structural transformation in Iraq's urban management post 2003

and to specify the existing type and approach to the inclusion/exclusion of key actors in reconstruction and housing interventions.

Secondary data analysis involved content analysis of documents relating to policy pre and post the invasion of Iraq in 2003 in following for Yin's position (2009: 49) that justifies the rationale for analysis of a single-case study at two or more different points in time: "The theory of interest would likely specify how certain conditions change over time, and the desired time intervals would presumably reflect the anticipated stages at which the changes should reveal themselves".

An analysis of the temporal scope 1925-2003 traced the initiation of urban management and its transformation since the first recognition of urban management structure in Iraq in 1925 that was formally legislated in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Iraq in 1925. Urban transformations and changes in management and reconstruction were assessed up to the critical point of structural transformation in urban management and reconstruction in Iraq post the 2003 setting.

The analysis of the temporal scope 2003-2015 examined the transformations in the composition of urban management and reconstruction in Iraq's post 2003 setting and how

these relate to the formally legislated Republic of Iraq Constitution in 2005.

The comparisons in between two temporal scopes reinforced the validity of examination and the dependability of key factors in this paper. The textual analysis of secondary data has revealed certain key aspects that the academic literature argues influence urban management and resilience in the post-conflict Iraq and other locations. These key aspects conducted through analysis of key laws, legislations and regulations in Iraq 1925-2015 are:

1. The aspect of approach to urban management: the structure of urban management in Iraq transformed in post 2003 setting. The contextual analysis of constitutions in 1925, 1958, 1964, 1970 and 2005 conducted the reformation of central top-down approach to public services provision into de-concentrated top-down approach to development management, diversification of resources and inclusion of private sector.

2. The aspect of administration capacity: the provincial-local administration authorities preserved the cabinet control of decision-making in urban planning and development. The contextual analysis of administration laws in 1969, 1980, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1995 and 2008 conducted the preservation of financial

dependency of provincial-local administration authorities on the reallocation of collected revenues by the national government, in which the state budget is centrally managed by the cabinet and provincial-local development plans are prepared and implemented by the national ministry of planning.

3. The aspect of inclusion in urban management: the contextual analysis of development planning and investment laws in 1979, 1995 and 2006 conducted the obstacles to private sector enablement in urban development due to the intersection and inter-dependency in fiscal and administration authorities between the cabinet and governorates. The civil society, on the other hand, lacks the inclusion in decision-making of urban planning and development. The only window for citizens' participation are the election of their representatives in the parliament, whom on behalf of them authorize the annual state budget and development plans that are prepared by the cabinet.

The above aspects reflect in the annual state budget of Iraq 2003-2015, in which there are annual records of deviation in implementation of national-local development plans. This delay in services' provision combined with population growth laid a pressure on Iraqi citizens with an on-going stress to self-sustain their urban needs. House-owners are adapting their properties to recover their growing needs in shelter that is correlated to population growth and housing shortage. Housing adaptations in Baghdad Neighborhoods in 2015 are reflected in Figure 3 below.



Figure 3: Housing adaptations in Baghdad Neighbourhoods in 2015 (Researcher: 2015)

This considerable value of adaptive capacity [4] in building is growing significantly to keep pace with the challenge of population urban growth. In following of Rockefeller Foundation recognition of urban resilience (2016), the adaptive capacity of Iraqi householders in housing supply to survive despite experiencing chronic stresses and acute shocks within post-conflict cities presents an opportunity to resilience; but how does post-conflict urban management enable and regulate householders' adaptive housing interventions in Iraq to build the capacities for a positive urban resilience?

The existing literature on post-conflict urban management and reconstruction often focuses on structural factors that stimulate governmental and non-governmental interaction, partnership, resources mobility and multi-disciplinary cooperation.

The literature also argues that there is a critical need to undertake more research in examining the enablement and regulation of community participation in a cooperative urban management through reconstruction in post-conflict settings, and to explore and illuminate the conditions and circumstances in which citizens' involvements and partnership emerge and to consider their potential role in overcoming alienation and developing resilient communities.

Relevant literature arguing community participation in post-conflict reconstruction include (but not limited to) Barakat's discussion in (2004) that recognises housing interventions to stimulate stakeholders' participatory capacities, collective actions and inclusive partnership. Leest et al. focus in (2010) on community demands that is an opportunity to enable participation in development. Amaratunga and Haigh conclusion in (2011) to lay the platform for a more resilient society through programming reconstruction, in which the capacities of the community are identified, valued and used. Felix et al. suggestion in (2013) to pro-act for the development of communities' adaptive capacity through integration in post-disaster housing, including taking advantage of both spontaneous and formal construction, in a sensitive approach to local conditions that focus more on people than on physical aspects of the houses.

Thus, this paper argues that Iraqi householders' adaptive capacity in housing interventions presents an opportunity to enable bottom-up approach to reconstruction, furthermore, citizens' experience in housing self-sufficiency turns challenges in housing into a potential to

integration through building public-private partnership in post-conflict urban management, to sustain city functioning socially and economically, to tackle key urban issues driven by growth while the city is subject to instability and critical situations, and to build the capacity for a positive urban resilience to on-going housing stress in Iraq's post 2003 setting.


## 7. Conclusions and Discussion:

In this paper, urban management is examined as a concept that represents the interaction of administrative authorities with key actors in urban development to sustain cities' performance and competitiveness, pro-active urban management is therefore inter-dependent to effective regulatory frameworks that shape the model of urban development.

De-centralization of governance that authorizes cities' administration structure is of key influence to urban management of post-conflict cities. An enablement of local authorities de-concentrates the powers of management to provide in time and tailor-cut pro-actions in post-conflict cities' development that are undergoing thrusts of instability and waves of sudden-shocks.

Post-conflict, as a transitional phase that persistently maintains peace and conflict situations, witnesses periods of change in effective powers of authority and governance. In this context post-conflict urban management should transcends its capacities to interact with the consistent change in the responsibility of urban development that sustain cities' functioning and competitiveness.

Urban resilience, that helps post-conflict cities to survive, adapt, and grow despite experiencing chronic stresses and acute shocks, is therefore a decisive method in post-conflict urban management that distills alternative key actors in urban development. In which the roles of institutions and citizens with adaptive capacity could interchange in reconstruction to sustain cities' functioning while being subject to critical situations.

Thus, citizens with adaptive capacity in reconstruction of post-conflict cities provide the back-up capacity that sustains urban resilience in the acute times of crises where local authorities are unable to support a responsive urban management of reconstruction. Citizens' capacity to adapt in building is the key instrument to impact post-conflict urban resilience; it generates a bottom-up approach to urban development that should be integrated in public-private partnership in urban

management to collect a common vision of a post-conflict city.

Citizens' adaptive capacity in reconstruction of cities utilize a wide range of indicators, in post-conflict cities, indicators of adaptive capacity in reconstruction depend on the sector/s that is/are of prime necessity to city functioning, of which the institutional structure of urban management and reconstruction is unable to fill the gap in its provision, while citizens on the other hand manage to self-sustain its growth, maintain resilience with on-going stress and sudden shocks, and un-threat future urban development by jeopardizing existing resources.

In the case of Iraqi post-conflict cities, the capacity to adapt in housing supply is a prime indicator to the building of citizens' adaptive capacity in reconstruction. In which houses represents a basic human need in sheltering that its functioning is driven by householders that are essential actors in its existence whether in supply or sustainability.

This is due to the fact that institutional structure of urban management in Iraq's post 2003 conflict is unable to keep pace with the growing needs in housing of a young growing population. The legal regulatory frameworks failed to de-concentrate urban management structure from the national level to the city level. The national structure of urban development, represented by the national Ministry of Planning, provides cities' master plans that are unable to interact with the waves of change in the power of local authorities due to post-conflict instability, therefore national plans of cities' urban development are not meeting the real needs of citizens while they continue growing in urban population.

In this context, Iraqi householders are building adaptive capacity in reconstruction to maintain urban survival and growth within post-conflict cities despite experiencing chronic stresses and acute shocks. There exists a potential for positive urban resilience in Iraqi cities if the adaptive capacity will be correlated to public-private partnership in urban management of development. The focus must be on certain reformations in legal regulatory frameworks of urban management in transitional phases, to include the civil society in bottom-up reconstruction within a financial and legal support, to invest in co-operation in urban management, in which citizens are the back-up capacity for urban resilience that sustain post-conflict cities' performance while institutions are dis-abled in times of critical situations.

Rotimi et al. (2011: 155) address the role of regulatory frameworks that present opportunities of inclusion in reconstruction, through arguing that

inclusion improves recovery of disaster affected community and builds the capacities for resilience to future shocks. Legal regulatory frameworks that include civil society in post-conflict urban management through enablement in bottom-up reconstruction and decision-making of urban plans at city level are therefore of significant influence to positive urban resilience in post-conflict settings.

On the wider framework of influence, an enablement of citizens' adaptive capacity in housing supply of a post-conflict setting creates livable cities that recover shortage of affordable housing, distils urban competitiveness in increasing housing stocks that are suitable to households' financial capacity and improves human-scale development. Seeking to close the gap in growing demand for housing in post-conflict cities contributes to social inclusion, urban settlement and sustainability of urban development in conflict affected cities, which is of critical importance to cities all over the world, to build resilience towards global inter-connected risks of instability.

**Notes:**

1. Gaub (2012) defines instability potential as critical conditions with dynamic catalysts that are animated by triggers. Critical conditions include historical experiences, growth of population and urbanization, distribution of wealth and income, scarcity of resources and unemployment rates. Dynamic catalysts include a narrowing, or closing of political expression, effects of climate change on livelihood, a worsening of the economic situation, erosion of existing management tools. Triggers include natural disasters, an economic shock, death of a leader or mass demonstrations.

2. Barakat (2004) discusses housing interventions as housing reconstruction programmes in the aftermath of natural disaster and/conflict. The interventions are implemented through various approaches and models. Approaches include temporary and transitional housing, housing repair, constructing new housing and settlements, Building-yard and finance facilitation. Models include contractor, self-build and cooperative.

3. Silva (2016) discusses centrality in urban decision-making as a concept in Lusophone African Countries, in which urban planning units at the national tier of central government control comprehensive spatial planning to fulfil the competences of provincial planning departments at the subsequent provincial-local tier, the national planning units prepare spatial development plans and formal guidelines for implementation in a

hierarchal scope national, provincial and municipal.

4. This paper recognises 'adaptive capacity' in following for Manfred Max-Neef et al. focus on creating a needs-based space for local people to define a practice of redevelopment suitable for them. As human scale development shaped by legal regulatory frameworks enables the creation of a space for civil society to participate in urban development. Max-Neef et al. (1987: 12) defined human scale development as follows: "focused and based on the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, on the generation of growing levels of self-reliance, and on the construction of organic articulations of people with nature and technology, of global processes with local activity, of the personal with the social, of planning with autonomy, and of civil society with the state".

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