

Navigating resettlement in the Peruvian Amazon:

Gender inequalities in Nueva Ciudad de Belén

Navegando el
reasentamiento en la
Amazonía peruana:

Desigualdades de género en la
Nueva Ciudad de Belén

Navegando pelo
reassentamento na
Amazônia peruana:

Desigualdades de gênero na Nueva
Ciudad de Belén

Naviguer dans la
réinstallation en Amazonie
péruvienne :

inégalités de genre à Nueva Ciudad
de Belén

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Abstract

This article aims to demonstrate, from a gender and intersectionality perspective, how population resettlement as an urban policy in disaster risk management contexts generates inequalities for a specific group of women. The case of the population resettlement of the New City of Belén, a project executed in urban areas of the Peruvian Amazon, was investigated using a qualitative approach based on interviews and participant observation. The results showed that, within the framework of the urbanization process of the city of Iquitos, characterized by the presence of external actors, the planning of resettlement did not consider the local particularities of the territory and reinforced gender stereotypes regarding the use of space between men and women. This resulted in changes in the routines of resettled individuals, particularly women, who are primarily responsible for caregiving tasks. Finally, it highlights how gender, along with other demographic and socioeconomic dimensions, structures urban resettlement policy, generating unequal experiences within a similarly vulnerable group facing the State.

Keywords: urban planning, Amazon, social inequality, gender

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Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo demostrar, desde una perspectiva de género e interseccionalidad, cómo el reasentamiento poblacional como política urbana en contextos de gestión de riesgos de desastres genera desigualdades en un grupo específico de mujeres. Se investigó el caso del reasentamiento poblacional de la Nueva Ciudad de Belén, un proyecto ejecutado en zonas urbanas de la Amazonía peruana, utilizando un enfoque cualitativo basado en entrevistas y observación participante. Como resultado se encontró que, en el marco del proceso de urbanización de la ciudad de Iquitos, que se ha caracterizado por la presencia de actores externos a la ciudad, la planificación del reasentamiento no consideró las particularidades locales del territorio y reforzó los estereotipos de género respecto al uso del espacio entre hombres y mujeres. Esto resultó en cambios en las rutinas de las personas reasentadas, especialmente en las mujeres, quienes son principalmente responsables de las labores de cuidado. Finalmente, se destaca cómo el género, junto con otras dimensiones demográficas y socioeconómicas, estructura la política urbana del reasentamiento, generando experiencias desiguales en un grupo similarmente vulnerable ante el Estado.

Palabras clave: planificación urbana, Amazonía, desigualdad social, género

Résumé

Cet article vise à démontrer, d'une perspective de genre et d'intersectionnalité, comment le relogement de la population en tant que politique urbaine dans des contextes de gestion des risques de catastrophes génère des inégalités au sein d'un groupe spécifique de femmes. Le cas du relogement de la Nouvelle Ville de Belén, un projet réalisé dans les zones urbaines de l'Amazonie péruvienne, a été étudié en utilisant une approche qualitative basée sur des entretiens et des observations participatives. Les résultats ont montré que, dans le cadre du processus d'urbanisation de la ville d'Iquitos, caractérisé par la présence d'acteurs externes à la ville, le relogement n'a pas pris en compte les particularités locales du territoire et a renforcé les stéréotypes de genre quant à l'usage de l'espace entre hommes et femmes. Cela a entraîné des changements dans les routines des personnes relogées, notamment des femmes, qui sont principalement responsables des tâches de soins. Finalement, il est souligné comment le genre, ainsi que d'autres dimensions démographiques et socio-économiques, structure la politique urbaine de relogement, générant des expériences inégales au sein d'un groupe tout aussi vulnérable face à l'État.

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo demonstrar, a partir de uma perspectiva de gênero e interseccionalidade, como o reassentamento populacional como política urbana em contextos de gestão de riscos de desastres gera desigualdades para um grupo específico de mulheres. O caso do reassentamento populacional da Nova Cidade de Belém, um projeto executado em áreas urbanas da Amazônia peruana, foi investigado utilizando uma abordagem qualitativa baseada em entrevistas e observação participante. Os resultados mostraram que, no âmbito do processo de urbanização da cidade de Iquitos, caracterizado pela presença de atores externos, o planejamento do reassentamento não considerou as particularidades locais do território e reforçou estereótipos de gênero em relação ao uso do espaço entre homens e mulheres. Isso resultou em mudanças nas rotinas das pessoas reassentadas, especialmente nas mulheres, que são principalmente responsáveis pelas tarefas de cuidado. Por fim, destaca-se como o gênero, juntamente com outras dimensões demográficas e socioeconômicas, estrutura a política urbana de reassentamento, gerando experiências desiguais em um grupo igualmente vulnerável diante do Estado.

Palavras-chave: planejamento urbano, Amazônia, desigualdade social, gênero



**Navigating resettlement in the Peruvian Amazon:
Gender inequalities in Nueva Ciudad de Belén**

Mots-clés : planification urbaine, Amazonie, inégalité sociale, genre

Introduction

This article aims to analyze the experiences of women who were part of the population resettlement in 'La Nueva Ciudad de Belén' in Iquitos, located in the Amazon region of Peru. This population was relocated from the Low Zone of Belén (ZBB) due to being exposed to an unmanageable high-risk situation caused by the frequent flooding in the area, which lies on the banks of the Itaya River and is part of the urban core of the city of Iquitos (Belaunde & Vega Centeno, 2007). In this emblematic neighborhood, wooden houses are built on stilts, enabling women to perform their domestic care roles while selling products on the ground floor of their homes. This is made possible due to the strategic location of the houses, which serve as an extension of the iconic Belén market that extends throughout the area.

This situation changed completely with the implementation of the population resettlement project, which involved the construction of a housing complex located 25 kilometers from the city center. This relocation created, in practice, a division between the home and workspaces, affecting the daily mobility of the resettled people. In this context, women's routines were particularly impacted, especially regarding caregiving responsibilities, as they spend the majority of their day in the home. This issue is further exacerbated considering the high demand for family care in the Amazon region, which is particularly elevated due to the region's high fertility rates (INEI, 2024).

In this regard, the objective of this article is to argue, from the theoretical-methodological perspective of intersectionality, how gender intersects with the urban resettlement policy as an organizing and social system that, when combined with other socio-economic dimensions such as age, family composition, and income, results in differentiated and unequal experiences among a group that is homogeneously vulnerable to the State. In this way, the article contributes to the literature in the field of gender and urbanism (Soto Villagrán, 2018) by using the intersectional approach as a tool to analyze how various forms of social stratification intersect and create unique experiences (Crenshaw, 1991), highlighting the particularities of vulnerable groups in the city. Additionally, it underscores the harmful effects of urban policies that fail to consider a gender perspective and, in doing so, contributes to the development of more inclusive cities.

Gender and Intersectionality to Understand Cities and Territories

The institutionalization of gender studies since the 1970s has allowed for questioning and rethinking the assumptions upon which various disciplines are based, including architecture and urbanism. Starting from the definition of gender as "the constitutive element of relationships based on differences that distinguish the sexes and a primary form of power relations" (Scott, 1986, p. 23), the foundations of urban planning in cities have been questioned over the past 40 years, shedding light on the diverse urban experiences, especially of women.

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In the Global North, Massey (1994) presents two important ideas about the relationship between gender and space. On one hand, she highlights that gender relations are not the same across all spaces or places, due to culturally constructed specificities and the power relations unique to each context. On the other hand, she establishes that space-place not only reflects and reproduces gender relations but also enables their transformation.

Contemporaneously, in Barcelona^[1], a movement has emerged that argues urban planning responds to a patriarchal logic. As part of these postulates, the concept of the universal neutral (Muxí, 2020) is questioned, which underpins urban planning and takes the perspective of the middle-class white male (Falú, 2017) as its reference. From this, it becomes clear how urban planning separates the public productive space, typically associated with men, from the private space of the home, associated with women and unpaid caregiving activities.

In the context of Latin America and the Caribbean, these postulates converge with the particular characteristics of the region. From the Brazilian school, Helene and Tavares (2023) question the insertion of urbanization as a technology^[2] conceived from the capitalist cities of the Global North, which was imposed with colonization. According to these authors, this led to the organization of space that resulted in the disruption of the collective in favor of the individual. An example of this is urban technologies such as sanitation and the provision of basic services within homes, like water, which led to the disruption of collective activities, such as going to rivers to collect it.

The Urbanization Device within the Capitalist Society

Moreover, the device of urbanization within the framework of capitalist society relegated unpaid reproductive work to the home space, conceived as a single-family dwelling based on the heteropatriarchal family model, while paid reproductive labor was placed in the space of factories. In this way, according to Helene and Tavares (2023), urbanization appears in Latin American territories as a technology that disregards the needs of those who are not integrated or are precariously integrated into the logic of salaried labor, a group primarily composed of women, racialized people, children, and the elderly.

At the beginning of the 21st century, with the advancement of globalization and multiscale economic processes (Ciccolella, 2011), Latin American cities reflect inequalities that particularly affect women (Falú, 2009). The region has formed center-periphery cities, expressing different types of segregation for their inhabitants; those living in the centers have more resources, better access to services, job opportunities, public space quality, among others, unlike those living in the peripheries or in neighborhoods under consolidation, often self-built and located in risk-exposed areas. According to Falú (2009), this scenario, in cities designed from a patriarchal logic, positions women in a vulnerable condition to exercise their right to the city, as they do not have the same material or symbolic resources as men to appropriate or transform cities based on their desires and interests.

Within this context, gender-based violence presents itself as a significant issue in Latin American cities, where the historically constructed domination of the masculine over the feminine intersects with urban inequalities (Falú, 2009). This is expressed through the conception of public space as masculine, which has led to women being excluded from it, and their intrusion often entails experiences of struggle and violence. In response, women deploy a series of strategies to navigate the city, which limit their experience within it. Despite this, when a woman becomes a victim of violence, she is often blamed for the time of day she is out or the clothes she is wearing, as the cultural internalization of public space as masculine persists.

Violence in cities is presented as a continuum that extends from public spaces to public transportation and reaches into private spaces, creating a widespread sense of insecurity (Falú, 2009; Segovia, 2009). In response, there is a trend toward the privatization of social life, breaking solidarity and respect ties with others and weakening citizenship. This situation particularly affects women, who, upon losing their social networks, become more vulnerable to domestic violence, where they spend the majority of their time due to caregiving responsibilities.

Regarding caregiving and unpaid domestic work, it has been highlighted in the region that these have an urban-territorial dimension in women's lives: they directly impact how women move through the city, their use of space, and their perception of it (Helene & Tavares, 2023; Nieves Rico & Segovia, 2017; Ossul-Vermehren, 2021). Similarly, if the city is conceived from a patriarchal logic that emphasizes male-centered routes between work and home, other facilities, such as those linked to caregiving, are not considered central points from which to organize the territory. In this sense, women must navigate more complex paths within the territory to fulfill these duties, spending more resources such as money, time, and energy.

[1] These are the beginnings of what would later become the collective *Col·lectiu Punt 6*.

[2] Helene and Tavares refer to the notion of technology coined by Milton Santos (2023).

Another important contribution to analyzing the city from a gender perspective in Latin America has been the turn toward mobility studies (Jirón, 2007). This theoretical-methodological approach has allowed for a deeper study of the routes women take. In this line, Jirón's studies have shown that women primarily move by walking and public transport, and their journeys are marked by feelings of insecurity, in line with the exacerbated gender-based violence situation and the caregiving roles they assume. Furthermore, they do not have the same movements or resources for mobility as men, resulting in completely different and unequal experiences.

According to Soto Villagrán, the city as an object of feminist study in Latin America has allowed for progress in three aspects: analyzing the persistent sexual division of labor, which places women in the private and reproductive space and men in the public and productive space; analyzing the different ways of using space and time that express gender differences, resulting in urban goods not being accessible to all and generating territorial inequalities; and making visible the sexist urban planning and management historically constructed while ignoring the experiences and needs of women. However, a systematic body to support the theoretical development of gender in urban studies in the region has not yet been established. Consequently, some challenges remain, such as the inclusion of an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) as a tool to analyze how various forms of social stratification intersect and create unique experiences to problematize the urban exclusion of different urban groups. Additionally, the gender perspective needs to be incorporated into urban planning and design to make the effects of male-oriented designs visible in women's lives and generate more participatory and inclusive design processes (2018).

Methodology

Due to the difficulty of capturing the complexity of people's daily lives, especially after a resettlement process, a qualitative and ethnographic methodological approach was chosen. The research from which the findings presented in this article were derived initially aimed to analyze the daily strategies of five families after the implementation of the resettlement project of the New City of Belén. It was considered that the experience of each individual, in this specific context, is both enabled and constrained by the family nucleus in which they live. The main criterion for selecting each family was to gather individuals with different types of daily experiences in terms of frequented spaces, activities carried out, and mobility experiences. To this end, a typology of five families was created, where the first family spent most of their day in

their home and neighborhood (the place where they were resettled), while the fifth family spent much of their day outside the neighborhood where their house was located.

Upon starting the fieldwork, the primary individuals accessed were the women, as the men spent most of their time outside of their homes, working. A total of 11 semi-structured interviews^[3] were conducted with eight women and three men, with a biographical approach. The interviews aimed to learn about the life history of individuals and the places they lived, from their birth until their current residence, which was the housing complex financed by the Ministry of Housing as part of the resettlement project. Special emphasis was placed on understanding their arrival in the city of Iquitos^[4] and what their daily life was like in the area they inhabited before resettlement: the Low Zone of Belén. In this way, an effort was made to build a timeline of the main milestones in their individual and family trajectories to better understand the broader impact of resettlement on their life stories.

Subsequently, the focus shifted to understanding daily life in the place where the population was resettled: the New City of Belén. To do this, it was especially important to collect information through participant observation at various times. Fieldwork began in 2017 as part of the Amazonian Self-Sustaining Cities^[5] (CASA) project, and later, a stay in the area took place in 2019 to gather the information used for this research. The visits in both years allowed for the establishment of connections with the population and a better understanding of the adaptation process of the families to the new area.

The Urbanization Process of Iquitos

The city of Iquitos is the capital of the Maynas province, which has a population of 479,866 people (INEI, 2018) and an area of 119,859 square kilometers. It is located in the northeastern part of Peru, surrounded by three rivers belonging to the Amazon basin: the Amazon River, the Itaya River, and the Nanay River. This territory belongs to the Lower Jungle region, characterized by flat terrain, which, along with the rainfall conditions, generates periodic flooding processes^[6]. The climate features high tem-

[3] Finally, the interviews combined with participant observation ended up being conversations lasting many hours with the individuals from whom field notes were taken.

[4] Many of the people who lived in the Low Zone of Belén migrated from small towns in the Amazon during the period of commercial expansion in the city of Iquitos.

[5] CASA is a project led by the Architecture and City Research Center (CIAC) at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP), in which the author worked from 2017 to 2019.

[6] Due to the vertical movements of the river caused by rainfall, Iquitos has two seasons: the flooding season and the dry season.



Photo 1. Houses in the Lower Zone of Belén, Iquitos.
Source: Roxana Fiorella Guillen Hurtado (2019).

peratures^[7] typical of a tropical wet forest (Municipalidad Provincial de Maynas, 2011).

The urbanization process of this territory has been driven by the presence of exogenous actors to the Amazonian territory at different periods in Peruvian history up to the present day (Soto, 2021): religious missionaries, the Peruvian Navy^[8], economic actors and merchants, and, finally, the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation^[9] (MVCS). Through their interventions in the city, they have imposed a vision of immobile living that is little connected with nature, in contrast to the ways of living of the local populations (Belaunde and Vega Centeno, 2007), constituting what Helene and Tavares (2023) consider a cultural domination, as the urbanization patterns exported by these actors brought with them ideas about the cultural and social forms that the population should follow. An example of this is the location of the city, situated between three rivers to facilitate the mobility of missionaries and merchants, but not particularly strategic for the indigenous populations, who settled temporarily in various places in line with their way of living, which was linked to the river's seasonal patterns (Belaunde and Vega Centeno, 2007).

In response to the arrival of external actors to the territory, who over the years sought to consolidate a parametric vision of space, the indigenous populations withdrew to the southern part of the emerging village of Iquitos, on the banks of the Itaya River. In doing so, they sought to remain close to the growing centrality, while also staying far enough away to avoid following the order imposed by outsiders. This was the situation when the Peruvian state entered the Amazon territory, through the Peruvian Navy, to build the port of Iquitos^[10] in 1860 and organize the city according to its parameters. Since then, the indigenous population settled in what is now known as the Low Zone of Belén^[11] (ZBB) (Rodríguez, 1994; Ortiz, 2014), a highly important space because it allowed for a way of living connected to the river and nature, which is reflected in the construction of the houses in this area, adapted to coexist with the river^[12] throughout the year (Pretell, 2016), as shown in Photo 1.

Subsequently, throughout the 20th century and into the present day, Belén became a major commercial hub in the Amazon (Rodríguez, 1994; San Román, 1994; Chirif, 2014), due to global economic movements that historically positioned the Amazon region as a source of raw materials such as rubber and oil. These processes, deterritorialized as they were carried out by external actors without considering local dynamics, led to massive migration from

[7] The average annual temperature is 26°C, with the highest temperatures reaching 34°C between October and January, and the lowest around 18° to 20°C in July (Municipalidad Provincial de Maynas, 2011).

[8] Coming from the capital of the country, Lima.

[9] According to the Organic Law of the Executive Power No. 29158, the Ministries are part of the executive power, with their offices located in Lima. Their functions are to establish general guidelines for policies. The authorities responsible for managing these guidelines in the territories are the regional, provincial, and district governments.

[10] The objective of building this port was for it to serve as a living border against the threat of expansion by the Brazilian state.

[11] Throughout the text, the terms Zona Baja de Belén and Belén are used interchangeably.

[12] There are two annual seasons of the river: the flooding season and the dry season, or bajial and tahuampa.

Map 1. Location of the Lower Zone of Belén and the New City of Belén, Iquitos.

Source: Google Earth. Own elaboration (2024).



rural settlements to the city of Iquitos. This migration was led by people who had worked in the extraction of these resources and, once the boom periods ended, settled in Belén, as it was the most accessible and comfortable place for them, allowing them to work within the ecosystem of the market that had settled there (Canziani, 2018).

The Conceived Space of the New City of Belén

The way of inhabiting of the Amazonian populations that have settled in Belén has historically been in tension with the ways of conceiving space by those who have had the power to intervene in its production. Since 1960, proposals for population resettlements have been designed, under the concern of the central government about providing basic services to the population (Pretell, 2016). However, these plans were not implemented until 2014 with the resettlement project for the New City of Belén (NCB). This project, proposed under Law No. 30291^[13] and executed by the Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Sanitation (MVCS)^[14] from the country's capital, recognizes the movements of the Itaya River as floods that expose the population of Belén to a high, unmitigable risk. Therefore, the people must be resettled^[15] in a housing complex designed with a conception of inhabiting

that is different from that of ZBB and which reproduces gender stereotypes regarding the use of space by women and men.

The New City of Belén was conceived as a space where people^[16] would not live in relation to the surrounding nature. Thus, it was proposed to move the population to the 'Varillalito' area in the district of San Juan Bautista, located 25 kilometers from ZBB^[17], which, by public transport, represents a travel time of one and a half hours. This space is located on the border of the Environmental Conservation Area and the Buffer Zone of the Allpahuayo Mishana Natural Reserve (MVCS, 2015, p. 47), and is surrounded by properties corresponding to poultry farms and private rural plots that are not accessible. Additionally, this area is far from the rivers^[18], which represents a rupture with the primary natural element of Belén.

On the other hand, the design of the internal organization of the settlement was implicitly conceived under fixed categories (Massey, 1994) that reproduce a vision of women as immobile and situated on the scale of the home and neighborhood, in contrast to men. In ZBB, the primary economic activity of women was the sale of products in the Belén market or in the gardens located at the bottom of their homes, which also allowed them to fulfill caregiving roles. In contrast, men, in addition to selling at the market, worked in activities such as fishing, transportation (water or land), or construction. This dynamic was modified by the planning of the resettlement project at the scale of housing and the neighborhood.

[13] This resettlement project was executed with a law specifically approved for this project in December 2014. It is worth mentioning that, since 2012, the Population Resettlement Law No. 19869 already existed; however, its regulations had not been approved, meaning that it could not be implemented under this regulation.

[14] Even though according to the Population Resettlement Law No. 19869 these processes must be managed by local governments, the law for this project empowered an external actor to execute the project.

[15] The resettlement project has been controversial, as informally, many people in the area said that the real motive behind the project was to build a large infrastructure project. However, there is no reliable information from credible sources that can confirm this.

[16] Belén is a district in the province of Maynas. Only specific sectors of the Lower Belén Zone, the most affected by annual flooding, would be considered for resettlement, totaling 2,600 families.

[17] The city of Iquitos only has one major regional road: the Iquitos – Nauta highway, which spans 102 kilometers. The project is located at kilometer 25.

[18] The Nanay and Itaya rivers are located 5.5 and 4.5 kilometers away, respectively.



Photo 2. Houses in the New City of Belén, Iquitos.

Source: Own authorship (2017).

For the internal organization of the NCB housing complex, the design of homes was planned to be organized into ten or twelve “super blocks.” Each super block would have a recreational and leisure park in its center, equipped with playgrounds for children, multifunctional sports courts, green areas, and an early education center (MVCS, 2015, p. 67). It was also proposed to build a large park that would house a wholesale market, a shopping center, a civic square, a community center, and primary and secondary educational centers, including a health post and a police station. However, this urban equipment involves activities mainly performed by women, whether as workers in the market or as caregivers, while no workspaces for men were planned, which reveals a planning assumption that they would move outside the NCB, in contrast to women.

Regarding the homes, the construction of 2,590 units of solid materials was planned, with an area of 40 m² and 80 m² for horizontal extensions^[19]. The internal layout was designed with 20 m² for the living-dining-kitchen area and two rooms of 10 m² each. Furthermore, no special design was considered for adapting the external parts of the homes, such as sales areas or gardens. Thus, the homes were too small for extended families, which, on average, consist of six people. This situation primarily impacts the daily lives of women, who spend most of the day at home and have to deal with the loss of commercial space.

After five years of development, and considering the ideas that supported the planning of this project, the lived space of the Nueva Ciudad de Belén turned out to be different from what was proposed to the population. Although the project was not accepted locally in Belén, it was carried out by actors from the central government, surpassing regional particularities and local governments. In this sense, there was limited state capacity to manage the project in the territory, which was reflected in the interruption of construction and the deterioration of infrastructure. By 2019, only one neighborhood

superblock had been completed, with amenities like a plaza, children’s playground, and a football field, built with materials unsuitable for the context, which were already deteriorating and unusable. The school was the only functioning facility, though in temporary prefabricated modules. There was no trace of the medical post or the market, the most awaited facilities by the resettled people, especially women. Moreover, the roads connecting the site to the nearest highway were never paved as promised, complicating accessibility.

The Resettlement Space Lived by Women

The resettlement, as it was materialized, altered the routines of the people who were part of this project by proposing a change from the habitat of the Zona Baja de Belén (ZBB) to the Nueva Ciudad de Belén (NCB). These changes were mainly visible in people’s work, the spaces they frequented daily, and the people they interacted with. However, the changes were not the same for all resettled families, nor for all their members. Within the families, it was the women who had to change their daily routines the most, unlike their male counterparts^[20], as their daily activities are marked by gender roles and caregiving routines, thus spending more time at home. Unlike in the ZBB, the NCB is far from the city’s commercial area, and coupled with the design and lack of management to establish a market, it was difficult for women to establish their own businesses.

An example of this is Leonor^[21], 42 years old. She lives with her husband Mario and their seven children, six of whom are under 17 years old. Leonor has lived her whole life in the Zona Baja de Belén, where she had a small store on the first floor of her house, where she sold products such as meat, fish, and soft drinks. After moving to the

[19] Thus, the lots assigned to each family were 120 m².

[20] Men typically already worked outside the home, although with the resettlement, the travel times and costs increased.

[21] The names of all the interviewees have been changed to maintain confidentiality.

NCB, she also opened a business, but decided to close it because she didn't have many clients. For Leonor, with six children dependent on her and her husband, investing in merchandise and mobility to go buy it represents a risk, especially with no profitability. Additionally, her store in Belén was also a space that allowed her to be in contact with different people, especially neighboring women she had known since childhood. In the NCB, Leonor does domestic tasks and cares for her children, so she spends most of the day at home. Occasionally, she visits her mother, who lives in the same complex, but she misses walking through the market to relax and see her friends. Leonor's house in the NCB is situated at the edge of the housing complex^[22], so there is not much circulation of people; this, along with the fact that her neighbors work in the city center, makes Leonor feel lonely and bored.

Leonor's case demonstrates how the separation between the home space and work, coupled with caregiving roles, has changed the daily routine of women who, like her, used to have stores in their homes in Belén. However, it is important to note that her experience combines various variables such as age, the number of dependent family members and, therefore, the demand for care, family income, and the location of her house within the NCB. Unlike her, other women were able to keep their stores open, although with lower profitability. An example of this is Elena.

Elena is 61 years old and has nine daughters. In the NCB, she lives with her husband Martín, her daughter, her son-in-law (both 23 years old), and her young granddaughters. Elena has a store in her house and sometimes sets up a table on the central avenue of the Nueva Ciudad de Belén to sell perishable and fresh products. She used to work at the Belén market at a higher pace than she does now. With the move, she opted to work from home in the NCB to take care of her granddaughters, who go to school in the temporary modules set up by the Ministry of Education. Elena's daughter and son-in-law work as fishermen at the Belén port, so they are mostly out all day. Elena feels that although work and product demand in the NCB are lower, it does not significantly affect the family income, which is largely supported by her daughter and son-in-law. In this way, Elena can afford to have a store that does not sell every day and share the space with the few people who buy from her, as well as visit the ZBB at least three times a week to buy her products.

This case demonstrates how family income, in relation to the number of dependent family members, can influence the routines of women like Elena. Additionally, this case highlights how gender roles within a family are dis-

tributed according to age, which has a differentiated effect on young women and older adults. Although Elena is older, she is a woman who could have found work at a store in Belén. However, she prioritized her daughter working while she took care of her granddaughters. In this way, the resettlement has led to a reorganization of caregiving roles within families, meaning that, as demonstrated in this case, young women are the ones who move around the city, while adult women spend more time at home in the NCB, with all the implications this has on their daily lives.

Belén and the NCB are separated by 25 kilometers, which translates to a one-and-a-half-hour journey and a cost of about three soles^[23]. Both constitute a barrier that did not exist before the resettlement for accessing different facilities^[24] that people could previously reach by walking or by canoe. The resettled people can afford this to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their income. In this way, those with lower incomes are the ones who spend more time in the Nueva Ciudad de Belén and move less to Belén, while those with higher incomes move more to the center, though mainly to work or buy products to sell in the NCB. However, mobility also depends on the caregiving responsibilities at home, which greatly limits the movements of some women, like Leonor, or leads to the implementation of different strategies within the family to fulfill caregiving duties, as in Elena's case.

Regarding the latter, it is important to note that strategies that allow some women to move involve the feminization of caregiving roles by other women in the family, as in the case of Janina.

Janina is 39 years old and lives with her husband and five children, the oldest being 17 and the youngest six months. The three older children of Janina are from her first husband, who passed away five years ago. Janina's current husband works in the city center at a glass shop where he spends most of his time, while she has a small store in the NCB, which they can sustain thanks to her husband's income. At least three times a week, Janina travels to the Belén market to buy merchandise for her store, but since it takes her at least three hours, she implements two strategies. On one hand, she goes shopping with her 14-year-old daughter so she can take care of the six-month-old baby while Janina shops. On the other hand, she leaves her other two younger children in the care of her 17-year-old daughter, who is also a mother to a baby and studies secondary school in a system that only requires her to attend on Saturdays and Sundays, which is especially convenient for supporting home caregiving du-

[22] Finally, in the project, there was not necessarily an order when locating families in the homes in the NCB.

[23] Approximately 0.70 U.S. dollars.

[24] The port of Belén, the market of Belén, among others in the centrality of Iquitos.

ties. In this way, Janina can do the shopping for her store thanks to the support in caregiving from her daughters.

Janina's case exemplifies how the experience of mobility for women now living in the NCB requires the implementation of strategies to compensate for the time spent away from home and the cost of moving. Some women cannot afford this, like Leonor, while those who can rely on other women in their family to help with caregiving tasks. However, these women are typically those who are closest to a dependent, such as younger adolescent daughters or elderly grandmothers, which directly impacts how they experience the city, contributing to isolation in the home. This is a particular situation in the Amazon, where high fertility rates generate families with an average of six members, creating greater caregiving demands.

Finally, it is important to mention that women who manage to maintain their daily routine by working in Belén, while they can keep the social space it represents, are usually overburdened. They have to fulfill certain roles and domestic duties, albeit fewer, at their homes in the NCB, as well as having a demanding work schedule in Belén, since market or port shifts begin at 4:30 or 5 a.m. This, coupled with the long and exhausting public transportation journeys, leads to physical and emotional exhaustion.

Final Reflections

Population resettlement as an urban policy linked to disaster risk management appears in the Peruvian Amazon as a project driven by external actors to the territory, altering the urban space of those who habitually live in the city of Iquitos. This modification, within the context of historically existing tensions between the way of life of Amazonian populations and gender stereotypes about the use of space between men and women, creates unequal experiences, especially for women.

In this sense, the resettlement of the Nueva Ciudad de Belén (NCB) functions, in practice, as an urban device or technology (Helene and Tavares, 2023) that reproduces cultural and gender domination discourses, and moves female bodies outside of the productive sphere, accentuating the division between public-productive-masculine space and private-reproductive-feminine space. Although this was not the initial intent of the project, this outcome occurred by planning and executing the initiative without considering the historical processes that have shaped inequalities in the Amazonian territory from a gender perspective. Moreover, vertical planning led to the incomplete execution of a public policy with harmful effects on women.

The resettlement of NCB led to a separation between housing and the primary workspace of the population in the Zona Baja de Belén (ZBB): the market-port. This caused both men and women to modify their daily routines within the framework of their family practices. By considering gender analysis from an intersectional perspective (Crenshaw, 1991), and structured with the conditions of the planned space, along with socio-economic and demographic dimensions, it becomes clear how a single urban public policy generates unique, different, and unequal experiences for a group of women who are homogenized as vulnerable by the state.

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Abreviaturas / Acrónimos / Siglas

CASA: Ciudades Auto-Sostenibles Amazónicas

INEI: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática

MVCS: Ministerio de Vivienda, Construcción y Saneamiento del Perú

NCB: Nueva Cuidad de Belén

ZBB: Zona baja de Belén