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REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
(RLDS)

***THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT - INDUCED
URBAN RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES ON
RELOCATED HOUSEHOLDS:***

The Case of Sheraton Addis Hotel Project, Addis Ababa



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JUNE, 2000

**THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED
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The Case of Sheraton Addis Hotel Project, Addis Ababa**

**A Thesis Presented to the School of Graduate Studies,
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BY
NEBIYU BAYE

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ABSTRACT

The central part of Addis Ababa is characterized by the predominance of unplanned neighborhoods and slums. These inner city areas are predominantly occupied by low income households since most of the economic and public activities are located in the inner city that provides a multitude of formal and informal income earning opportunities. Since May 1991 the country has been introduced to a free market economic system and this new policy environment resulted in the private real estate developers becoming involved in urban development activities. At present more than 400 project proposals have been submitted to the Local Government requiring inner city land to redevelop for other purposes in accordance with the 1984 Master Plan. As a result, a substantial number of inner city residents have been displaced and more are expected to be displaced in the near future. Therefore this thesis examines the consequences of such urban development on the livelihood of the inner city slum dwellers taking a case study of the Sheraton Addis Hotel Project.

The sample size consisted of 86 relocated households (12%) drawn from a total population of 718. The sample households were selected randomly and proportionally from the housing units stratified into different housing types.

The findings of the study indicated that the resettlement scheme has resulted in providing decent housing units among which 99% of the households were highly satisfied. It was also identified that there was a significant improvement in toilet, and kitchen facilities. However, the public facilities and the infrastructure provided in the new site lagged far behind. The study demonstrated that the resettlement scheme has resulted in a dramatic increase in the unemployment rate from 1.2 percent in the previous settlement to 11.1 percent in the new site. Among the factors that brought about this change lack of potential clients and markets was the major one. In addition to this the study revealed that the partial resettlement scheme led to problems in social integration manifested in the breakup of former neighborhood ties. The locational preference of the relocatees was raised and it was identified that their preference depends upon the type of employment and location of working place. Hence among those who were involved in temporary and casual work 73 percent preferred to live in the inner city. Among those who were permanent full-time workers only 50 percent would prefer to go back to the inner city. The disadvantages of moving from the inner city were the increase in transport costs, disruption of former neighborhood ties and the reduction of monthly income of some household heads. The study also demonstrated that the majority of the households have remained in the resettlement area by overcoming the problems resulting from the resettlement scheme.

Chapter One

I. Introduction

At present many cities of developing countries are characterized by large areas of unplanned settlement and inner city slums. In most of such nations the majority of the city residents are very poor and live in special districts, which are not scattered randomly in a city (Friedmann, 1968: 3). The housing of these people can be considered below "standard".

Addis Ababa, being one of the cities of a developing nation, manifests this problem. According to UNCHS Global Report (1987) the inner city slums accommodate as much as 85% of Addis Ababa's population.

Looking back to the history of the city, Addis Ababa emerged as an urban center without significant planning intervention. This resulted in the formation of unplanned areas particularly in the inner city, with inadequate infrastructure networks and with sub-standard building structures.

As in the case of most Third World cities, the inner city of Addis Ababa has a significant residential function. This is due to the fact that many low-income households prefer centrally located housing where the opportunities of earning a living are promising. In addition to the residential function, the slum areas of the inner city also have a non-residential function. Many small-scale economic activities take place in these areas where a central location is highly beneficial due to the proximity to clients. Most of these inner city slums are located on lands, which are highly suitable for urban development programs that have a high potential economic return.

The under-utilization of these prime lands can only be avoided by conversion to new uses. To do this most developing countries adopt intervention programs such as urban renewal and inner city redevelopment schemes. Both strategies are processes in which the deteriorated and outdated buildings are restored, renovated and improved in order to meet the present needs or are destroyed to make way for new complexes.. As Wilson (1966) puts it, urban renewal and redevelopment programs physically take things and turn them before our eyes, to new uses. Homes are bulldozed and new structures rise. The citizens, both those who benefit and those who suffer see their local government at work in visible and tangible ways.

Since the early 1990's Addis Ababa, with the changing socioeconomic and political development, is facing similar trends of urban development. The city attracts a number of local and foreign investors to participate in and benefit from these development activities.

These private investors have strong interests in changing the existing land and building use to the one that provides a higher return. Besides it is believed that this sector has a high potential to contribute significantly toward the development of the city if it is utilized properly.

In the meantime the Addis Ababa City Government has allowed investors to negotiate and relocate slum residents and develop the land for their businesses in accordance with the 1984 Master Plan. The first investor that took this initiative was AL-TAD Private Company currently known as MIDROC Ethiopia to construct a five star hotel. At the initial stage of this project, the developer relocated around 2,000

inner city inhabitants from their dwellings to *Kotebe* area, located about 10 kilometer east of the inner city.

Since it is impossible to carry out this type of activity aimed for development without displacement of the poor, such transformations disrupt the communities that live in the central urban area. Therefore, the main focus of this research is to analyze the impact of these kind of urban developments on the relocated households.

The nature of the problem, the objectives of the study and the research methodology used in this study are discussed in this chapter. Chapter Two focuses on a review of related literature whereas Chapter Three provides some highlights about the conceptual framework of this study. The origin and development of Addis Ababa, the limitations in inner city redevelopment of the city, and the legal issues related to eviction are discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five briefly describes about the resettlement process. The socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the relocated households are discussed in Chapter Six. Under this Chapter the characteristics of the new housing, the provided public facilities and infrastructure, and the impact of the resettlement scheme on social organizations, employment situations and financial conditions will be examined. The locational preference of the relocatees and their residential stability are also analyzed in this Chapter. Finally the paper ends up with conclusions and recommendations.

1.1 Background to the Problem

As stated earlier the central part of Addis Ababa is characterized by the predominance of unplanned neighborhoods and slums. This situation is highly linked with the historical formation of the city. The late feudal social structure served as a model for modern urban development. For instance, according to Shack (1973) the demographic plans of the urban capitals in Ethiopia were laid out according to the military, economic, and social resources necessary for effective functioning of the imperial system, at the apex of which stood the royal emperors whose authority was “divinely inspired”. The traditional system of authority, social ranking and occupational castes and land holding were factors that contributed to shaping the non-western indigenous urban development.

Emperor Menilik and Etege Taytu, the founders of Addis Ababa, allocated all lands around the Old Palace to their warlords and aristocrats. These higher officials and dignitaries with their huge armies settled around the Palace, which in turn led into the formation of different ‘*Sefers*’. In due course of time more and more newcomers become attached to these ‘*Sefers*’. This resulted in increasing and altering the size and shapes of settlements. This trend of settlement marked the first land use pattern of the city and the consequence of this pattern resulted in the surrounding the Imperial Palace with “veritable slums”(Mulugeta Abera, 1994:626).

This feature also continued to exist in the subsequent three decades without any planning intervention and without undergoing a process of change based on regulated plans that foresaw the development of cities conceived in the modern

manner. It was only after the Fascist occupation that in 1936 "elaborate master plans" were prepared by notable engineers and architects of whom the first was Le Corbusier.

The master plan that was prepared by the Italians was based on the principle of racial and economic segregation. This planning did not pass without leaving some important traces and has resulted in the formation of old planned neighborhoods such as *Casa Incese* and *Addis Ketema* (Bahru Zewde, 1986).

After the Italian defeat British (1956 and 1959), French (1965) and Hungarian (1975) experts participated in the preparation of the city's master plan among which was Sir Patrick Abercrombie. In spite of all these attempts, the master plans by in large remained as paperwork and resulted in "confused and uncoordinated development of the city" (Mulugeta Abera, 1994:627).

The occupation of vast urban lands in the hands of a few landlords and aristocrats, prior to 1975, prevented the middle class from having access to urban land. This situation led the majority of moderate-income groups to shelter themselves in as "...the predominance of renters and the construction of low standard rental houses by land lords." (Mulugeta Abera, 1994: 627).

Proclamation No. 47/1975 put an end to the renters situation in the whole nation. Extra houses were nationalized and this Proclamation prohibited the involvement of the private sector in shelter development. This made the Socialist Government play the sole role in housing market. This situation resulted in extreme housing shortages at all income levels.

The Proclamation also guaranteed permanent tenancy with a significantly reduced rent for the then renters. Solomon (1985) argues that even the reduced post-revolutionary rental rates are quite high for a substantial number of households. Anyhow this created a conducive condition for the urban poor to stay in the same house for more than two decades. This situation, in turn, was an obstacle to the development of non-residential activities in the central part of the city and the inner city continued to be the residence of the urban poor.

The occupants of the nationalized houses did not have the right to change and modify the housing unit. This situation resulted in the land that was used as residential units at a time of nationalization continuing under the same function regardless of the changing trends of urban development.

Though residences dominates the existing land use, many households that are found in the inner city serve a dual purpose, i.e., as a residential unit and as a commercial unit. This is manifested by the fact that there is a high concentration of small kiosks, snack bars and other small scale business enterprises.

After the fall of the Marxist regime in May 1991, the country was introduced to a free market economy system that encourages the participation of indigenous and foreign investors in the development activity. According to the new economic policy of urban land and housing, the new government ensured that:

- the state will retain ownership of urban land
- the state will issue and enforce regulations, create favorable conditions to promote integrated urban development, and

- The state will issue regulations to protect the rights of both landowners and tenants.

Based on these conditions of free market economy, government ownership of land and shortage of urban land supply, the Federal Government introduced the lease holding of urban land in 1993 (Gutama Bullo, 1994:487).

Due to this new policy environment private real estate developers began to be involved in urban development activities. At present, more than 400 project proposals have been submitted to the Lease Office of the Addis Ababa City Government requiring inner city land to redevelop for other purposes in accordance to the 1984 Master Plan.

At present low-income households predominantly occupy the inner city of Addis Ababa due to the fact that there is a better opportunity of earning a living in centrally located housing for low income households than in peripherally located housing. This is because, most of the economic and public activities are located in the inner city and these open a multitude of formal and informal income earning opportunities.

In addition, the inner city plays a major role in the overall urban system of the city. Major governmental and private offices and commercial centers are all located in this area. The presence of these institutions inside the inner city creates a fertile ground for the emergence of both formal and informal business sectors. Due to this the area became a battlefield of interest between various economic agents and social groups.

Hence, the markets pressure, which is in favor of the commercial sector, resulted in the poor being displaced to the urban fringes. A high demand of inner city land for

commercial purposes and other related factors increased pressure on the low-income occupiers of inner-city housing. This condition made displacement of the poor to the periphery an inevitable consequence.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The inner city, being a dynamic entity, is under constant pressure due to its specific locational advantage. This situation raised the need for continued land use adjustment in order to accommodate the growing and changing demand for centrally located land. The growing demand for space in the inner city resulted in pressure on the urban poor. They usually face a real risk of "involuntary removal" (UNCHS, 1992:7). According to the same source the extent to which there is a risk of urban poor being removed depends on the following factors:

- The demand for inner city development
- Government policy regarding land development and responsibility for housing the poor
- The nature and scale of inner city redevelopment program
- Participation of the urban poor in the decision making process regarding their housing situation.

These factors are closely interrelated and their impacts on the specific situation determine the position of the urban poor in the inner city.

In the process of inner city redevelopment the issues concerning the urban poor are the most fundamental ones. In most instances the urban poor live under very harsh economic conditions and these conditions are manifested in the form of high

unemployment and disguised unemployment or under employment. These urban poor who live in the inner city have limited access to the modern sector of the economy.

As many international experiences have proven, in the process of urban redevelopment it is always the urban poor that are affected. During this process the loss of dwellings and assets and the uprooting from an existing pattern of making a living carry a high probability for further impoverishment of the poor. Even though the economic effects of the urban growth have a positive effect for the majority of the urban inhabitants, serious negative effects will occur for a much smaller group (Cernea, 1992: 22).

According to the same source the relocation of households and economic units deprives those affected either of the living unit, or employment, or a combination of these losses. The most significant problem that is associated with urban displacement is not the loss of housing, but the loss of employment and site-related income source.

In the case of Addis Ababa, the central city is under constant pressure due to its specific locational advantage. However as was discussed in the previous section, low standard dwelling units serving inferior services form the majority of the central city. The under-utilization of this prime land is due to the past command economic system that arrested urban development.

Looking at the present situation of the inner city of Addis Ababa, the probability of being displaced due to redevelopment is very high. Due to the introduction of the Lease Regulation No.3/1994, around 400 local developers have submitted requests to the Lease Office for conversion of built-up areas used by the urban poor as residences which are expected to be converted to other profitable uses. As a result, a

substantial number of inner city residents have been displaced and more are expected to be displaced in the near future. In the meantime, land clearance and displacement continues with very little knowledge about the impact of these processes, especially on low-income residents.

As mentioned earlier, MIDROC Ethiopia was the first promoter to redevelop the inner city of Addis Ababa by relocating around 4,500 inhabitants to the less developed peripheral area of the city. Since this kind of city development trend is likely to continue in the future, therefore, it is a high time to assess and evaluate the consequences of such urban development on the livelihood of the poor inner city slum dwellers.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

As observed from other countries experience (example: Brazil, India, Mali) usually displaced households complain that the scheme of relocation results in them being moved to areas with inadequate social services, inadequate infrastructure and higher probabilities of being unemployed.

Taking this into consideration, the general objective of this study is to assess the impact of development-induced resettlement scheme on the relocated urban households in Addis Ababa.

More specifically the objectives of the study are as follows:

- To examine how the resettlement scheme was planned, organized, and implemented.

- To appraise the social, economic, and demographic characteristics of the resettled households.
- To examine the consequence and impact of the resettlement scheme on the relocated households with special emphasis on their housing conditions, social organizations and employment and financial situations.
- To assess and evaluate the residential satisfaction of the relocatees regarding the provided housing unit, the social life in the neighborhood, and utilities and services provided at the new site.
- To search for the major reasons in selecting the locational preference of the relocatees.
- To recommend ways and means of improving future resettlement schemes.

1.4 Significance and Rationale of the Study

In order to analyze the impact of relocation on the urban poor, the research uses a set of randomly selected samples. Since the main objective of the research is to find out the impact of resettlement from the inner city to the periphery, the Sheraton Addis Project that resettled more than 700 households to *Kotebe* area is an ideal case for detailed study. The main reasons for this selection are:

- It has been more than two years since the resettlers have been living in the new site and this suggests that the displaced families reached the consolidation period and this could be an appropriate time to assess the impact of the resettlement program.

- The resettlement program took place in inner city where the majorities are *kebele* house dwellers. This implies that the resettlers living condition can be taken as a model for most parts of the inner city dwellers that will face relocation in the near future due to planned development. Therefore this study will give an indication as to what the impact of relocation could be for other potential displaced communities.

In addition to these, studying the impact of development-induced resettlement scheme on the urban relocated households' helps us to identify the positive and negative outcomes. Hence the finding of the study will be important for the following institutions:

- The Addis Ababa City Government, particularly the Works and Urban Development Bureau and the Lease Office. Both institutions can use the results for their future action related to relocation.
- The research findings will help the private developers that are engaged in the inner city redevelopment activity.
- NGOs who are involved in inner city rehabilitation activities including slum upgrading can use the outcome of this research for their future action programs.
- The findings of the research can initiate other scholars to carry out further studies.

1.5 Hypotheses

In order to achieve the objectives of the study mentioned above the following hypotheses were formulated.

Hypothesis One

The resettlement scheme has resulted in provision of improved housing units.

Hypothesis Two

The resettlement scheme has lacked provision of improved social and urban services, community and neighborhood formation for the relocatees.

Hypothesis Three

The resettlement scheme has also lacked provision of employment opportunities for the self employed in the new site.

Hypothesis Four

The satisfaction of the relocated families from the inner city to the well-planed neighborhood in the periphery is not only a function of provision of improved housing units. It is also a function of improved social and urban services, improved community and neighborhood formation, and employment opportunities provided at the new site

1.6 Research Methodology

In order to achieve the objectives of the study both primary and secondly data have been used. The primary data were obtained through a questionnaire survey. The questionnaire was meant to be completed by individual relocated household heads and the survey was carried out during the four weekends of February 2000. The weekends were chosen since it was expected that the respondents are likely to be at home. If the household head was not available any adult member of the household could be a respondent.

For the purpose of filling in the questionnaires two university students and four high school graduates were employed and were given the necessary orientation before they began the survey. During the survey, the writer assisted the data collection in order to supervise and assist their activities.

Primary data on the resettled households were obtained by conducting a detailed household survey. The instruments that were used included the questionnaire and formal and informal discussions and interviews with the affected population. The conventional structured questionnaire survey covered 86 households which is believed to be representative of the relocated families.

Qualitative research methods were also conducted. This includes informal discussions with individuals, community leaders, "*Kebele*" leaders, and groups of relocated families. These informal discussions enabled the researcher to provide valuable information for understanding the impact of the relocation program.

As reported by MIDROC Ethiopia, the total number of resettled households was 718. In order to have a reasonable sample size of the relocated households, it was decided to take 12% of the housing units, which consequently, consisted of 86 households.

To represent the population being studied, a stratified sampling method was employed. The initial stratification involved the classification of the total housing units depending on the site of resettlement (Table 1).

Table 1. Classification of housing unit by site of resettlement.

Sites	Frequency	Sample size
Site A	394	47
Site B	324	39
Total	718	86

In the next stage the size of the sample was proportionally determined according to the allocated plot size and built up areas of the dwelling units (Table 2).

Table 2: distribution of the size of the sample

Sites	Housing Typologies						
Site A	T ₁	T ₂	T ₃	T _{4A} T _{4B}	T _{4C}	T _{4D}	Total
	39	4	1	1	1	1	47
Site B	P ₁	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄	P ₅	P ₆₋₈	
	10	10	2	1	1	3	
	P ₉	P ₁₀	P ₁₁	P ₁₂	P ₁₃	P ₁₄₋₁₅	
	3	2	2	2	1	1	39

Thus, in the selection of households to fill in the questionnaire, the housing units were drawn by random sampling procedure on the basis of their house number.

The collected data, i.e., both quantitative and qualitative, were organized in the forms of tables and arranged in such a way that the research will identify the effects of significant variables and their correlation with the satisfaction of living condition of the displaced households. In order to understand the differential response to the relocation scheme, the questionnaire includes the following variables: age, sex, educational level, occupation, income, family size, etc (see Appendices 2).

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Such a study that evaluate the resettlement scheme in principle needs to include the characteristics and attitude of each household members towards the relocation scheme. However, this would not be true due to methodological difficulty in summarizing and analyzing the characteristics of each and every member of a family. Therefore, similar to many other researches of this kind, the study restricts itself mainly to the consideration of household heads.

In addition to this a few household heads also appeared to be suspicious in answering questions related to income, occupation, and about the resettlement scheme.

1.9 Definition of Local and Technical Terms

Housing unit _ any building which is used to serve a single family or household for residential purpose.

Dwelling unit _ the same as housing unit

Household _ persons who dwell in the same housing unit and have common arrangements for meals.

Slum _ a highly congested residential neighborhood in a given city that is predominantly comprised of substandard dwellings and is occupied mainly by persons that belong to the lowest income stratum.

Kebele _ the lowest administrative unit in the urban areas of Ethiopia.

Woreda _ an urban administration unit which is made of a number of *kebeles*.

Neighborhood _ a small recognizable sub unit of a city comprising the immediate surrounding of a housing unit.

Relocation-the movement of households to a new housing environment with in a city.

Project -affected persons _ Persons affected by land acquisition, relocation, or loss of income associated with change in land use due to the project.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This part of the thesis will briefly discuss the evolution and trends of urban resettlement schemes in the past few decades. It will also assess the causes and rationale for such development-induced urban resettlement. The specific characteristics of resettlement in urban area and debates for and against development projects that cause displacement are also discussed. This chapter also summarizes findings of previous studies on development-induced urban resettlement.

2.1 An Overview of the Evolution and Trends of Development-Induced Resettlement Schemes in Urban Areas.

In many developing countries the displacement and relocation of slum dwellers and squatter settlers of low income groups had been and continues to be a widespread practice (UNCHS, 1991). Usually slum clearance operations have been undertaken through public sector authorities. The main reasons given for such activity is primarily to benefit the poor “by providing improved housing conditions”.

The reason for decision to relocate the inner city communities may vary from place to place depending on the scale and purpose of the relocation scheme. Among the factors that cause the relocation, the major ones are:

- The attitude of the politicians and decision-makers toward the urban poor. Usually they consider the slum-dwellers as a danger to public health and an eye sore in the inner city.

- Inner city slum dwellers usually occupy economically valuable land and relocation schemes may result in clearing the land for more rewarding urban development such as rental offices and business centers.
- Slum dwellers may be located on the sites where construction of infrastructure facilities would take place (UNCHS, 1991: 12).

Usually, economic growth and the demand of inner city space by the private sectors have resulted in forcing out the slum dwellers. This situation, according to Cernea (1993:17), was given less weight by public sector authorities and line agencies.

In the last four decades, however, the justification and rationale for undertaking slum relocations have changed frequently being influenced by the changing approach to housing problems.

By analyzing a vast number of relocation schemes and their various approaches, UNCHS (1991) has traced and described the changing rationale for urban displacement and resettlement. The study indicated that the first trend, which prevailed from the 1940s to the 1960s, had a negative attitude toward the slum dwellers. During that period governments considered slum areas as illegal settlements and as eyesores for the larger community. Hence settlements were cleared with bulldozers and their inhabitants were ejected without any right to compensation. The governments' argument for their actions was that such "brutal means to evict the slum dwellers" might build up "psychological barriers" against the permanent flow of impoverished people from the rural areas. For them forced eviction would reduce the pull factor of the urban areas.

At that time, the need for inner city land was not the driving force. Instead the main reason for the evictions was the "illegal status" and the negative attitudes toward the slum settlement largely resulting from aesthetic considerations. This attitude was in accordance with the dominant development strategy during those decades. In this strategy, which was based on the *laissez faire* approach, i.e, the government was not given a major role in housing provision.

Yet, in a few countries (for example in Venezuela, during the period 1950-54) relocation agencies offered alternative housing consisting of high-rise, high-density rental estates (Cernea, 1993:17).

To summarize, in the first trend large-scale relocations were clearly the outcome of government policy toward low-income housing. Later the *laissez faire* approach was gradually abandoned and the method of pure displacement given up.

The second trend of relocation that was developed during the 1960s was implemented through government action. During that period when evictions were carried out, provisions for relocatees were made. Here the government began to give a hand to the poor by providing alternative shelter.

The justification for the policy of relocation during that period was that the centrally located slum areas blocked the desired changes in the planning of the city and their inhabitants were "stigmatized as outcasts". Their removal was taken as a "beautification" of the city.

The other justification for the policy of relocation was that inner city slum problems were considered as structurally unsolvable, and relocation to the new areas was considered necessary.

In a number of countries (e.g. in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia) the relocation of inner city slum dwellers served as an instrument for the decentralization of urban growth. Housing estates were constructed for the relocatees both in the city and in satellite towns. These satellite towns were supposed to be "self-sufficient and self-contained" regarding service provision and employment.

In practice, however, the majority of these kinds of large-scale relocation programs had failed resulting in relocatees leaving the new settlements and returning to the inner cities. The major reasons for their failure were that the resettlement sites were located at a large distance from the inner city causing a budget constraint due to the rise of transport costs. Beside this there were limited employment opportunities for the relocatees in the new sites and the provided housing units were beyond the affordable level of most of the relocatees.

The above mentioned problem of the majority of resettlement schemes lied in the facts that the programs were not designed to address the need of the relocatees. Rather the programs were conceived by the public agencies without the participation of the relocatees so that the relocation schemes were solutions given by the authorities that was best for the relocatees.

During the 1970s and 1980s a major shift in the justification for relocation came into being. The sudden growth of Third World cities made inner city lands scarce and pushed up land prices. This situation caused urban development-induced relocations.

At the same period the problem of inner city slums was perceived not only as a housing problem but also as a much broader urban problem. It also became apparent that living in inner city slums formed a rational response of the poor to their low

incomes and the employment opportunities provided in the central areas. Moreover the impact of large-scale resettlement schemes became visible and there was a gradual recognition of the adverse effect of the programs on the relocatees.

The prevalence of these situations in some instances, resulted in abandoning the policy of total relocation in favor of slum upgrading, with only partial relocation in order to lower population densities.

The advantages of upgrading over relocation are that: -

- it preserves the exiting economic systems and opportunities for the urban poor
- it preserves a low cost housing system at the advantageous location, thus enabling the inhabitants to retain the maximum disposable income, and lastly
- it enables the community ties to continue (Martin, 1983:53).

For those relocated, it has also been recognized that besides physical infrastructure, social infrastructure and employment opportunities should be provided on the new sites. And also during this same period, orthodox-housing policies that emphasized public sector interventions in providing finished housing units for the poor urban families came under question. The prevalence of the governments' inability to solve the housing problem through rapid development of low-cost housing estate made the "government not to be in the business of building houses" (Baros, 1983: 151).

During the early 1970s numerous empirical studies documented the positive aspect of the "owner managed popular housing sector" in housing a large number of low and middle- income families. This housing activity not only "solved" an

unaddressed housing problem, but also had a substantial macro- economic impact on the various informal sector activities associated with housing (Baros, 1983: 152).

To summarize, the trend of development-induced resettlement scheme is moving away from very large-scale programs that had a negative social impact to the smaller scale and more sensitive relocation programs. In addition to this the decision and management aspect is also moving from a rigid top-down approach to a more flexible approach where the relocatees, community based organization (C.B.Os), N.G.Os and the private sector can participate.

However, it should be noted that the trend of development-induced resettlement schemes in one or another country may not exactly fit this periodization due to the variation in time when such problems were confronted and in the resources that different governments were prepared to allocate.

2.2 The Causes and Rationale for Development-Induced Urban Resettlement

Urban population displacement is usually triggered by the following categories of general causes:

- 1) **Natural cause**- these include earthquakes, floods, land slides etc.
- 2) **Political event**-these include wars, revolutions, and other forms of political and ethnic turmoil
- 3) **Planned development**, particularly major alteration in land-use through financially induced change programs (Cernea, 1989:89).

Development-induced urban displacement, which is the main concern of the thesis, is usually caused due to:

- Disorderly growth and consequent reordering of urban space,
- Urban renewal - that is, the improvement of highly deteriorated sanitation and environmental conditions. The unprecedented urban population growth of most Third World cities has resulted in handicapping the municipalities in providing adequate services such as waste disposal and sewerage. This condition lead to the deterioration of the environment and relocation became inevitable in order to make room for infrastructure facilities, health facilities and others in densely inhabited slum areas (Cernea, 1993:16).
- Urban population displacement is also caused by the need to introduce new infrastructure equipment and new services such as water supplies and sewerage systems and road widening.
- Urban economic growth where industrial manufacturing and service activities that benefit from the economics of agglomeration increased largely causing relocation to provide urban space for new economic ancillary activities, transportation corridors and other infrastructure development caused by economic growth and population agglomeration.
- Specific social and poverty alleviation policies. Such kind of social policies aimed at poverty alleviation and quality of life improvement would sometimes require the relocation of some slum residents (Mejia, 1995:150).
- Non urban programs - include certain non-urban development projects that encroach on existing urban settlements resulting in partial relocation (e.g. new

reservoirs, that extended far beyond the dams and threaten to submerge existing towns) (Cernea, 1993:16).

Though these causes seem different, they share common features, particularly in terms of the displacement consequences and of response of the relocatees. However the major differences between the natural causes and political event in terms of development-induced displacement is that the latter are deliberately induced through planned intended change (Cernea, 1989:89).

Induced development refers to development stimulated by government to accelerate growth and change. Such activity usually involves an “explicit normative dimension” i.e. the projects are supposed to benefit the “people” or are carried out for more “ill defined and impersonal goals such as economic development” (Bartolome, 1993:110)

The “political and economic conflicts” embedded in such development-induced resettlement results from the fact that certain national or regional interest “cut across” the interest of smaller groups. The national or regional interests usually prevail when confronting politically weak segments of the population, especially the poor (Cernea, 1991: 191).

2.3 Key Social Actors

In real situations the roles and responsibilities of actors, that are involved in urban displacement and resettlement are highly related to the scope of relocation project, the decision making and implementation model adopted, and the arrangements to mobilize the resources required (UNCHS, 1991). Usually there are

three main actors that are involved and play a major role in inner city redevelopment. These are the private sector, the public sector, and the low-income inner city residents.

The private sector, including the industrial and commercial sector, needs a highly central location largely for reasons of accessibility. This sector is mainly concerned in the inner city for using the space either for developing it for profit or for business.

On the other hand, the public sector needs central areas for the location of its buildings, for urban corridor (roads), for transport terminals and so on. The government, being the planner and the manager of the city, is also expected to "balance the various needs and priorities of different actors" (UNCHS, 1991:12). Hence the residential stability of the urban poor is determined by the government policy, next to market forces. This includes the attitude of the government on protection of the poor, specially related to housing policy.

The third group includes the inner city residents. For them the inner city provides access to income-generating opportunities where the informal economic activities take place in these neighborhoods due to the proximity of clients and places to obtain the necessary raw material. In addition to this due to high population density and a concentration of various public and private firms a multitude of formal and informal income generating activities are available for the inner city slum residents (UNCHS, 1991: 5).

These three actors usually have very conflicting land demands in the inner city, especially the modern commercial sector vis-a-vis the interest of the low-income

residents. In order to accommodate the growing and changing demands of these sectors, there resulted a need for continuous adjustment of the land use of the inner city.

A crucial issue to meet these growing and changing demands eventually results in a rise in the land price of the central area. This situation makes the process of change of use a politically sensitive issue between the potential developers, who may be private sector or public sector, the existing users, who are often low income groups and the government in its regulatory role.

2.4 Development-Induced Resettlement at a Global Level.

Usually “development”, whether spontaneous or induced, causes a positive contribution to the national well being and at the same time brings a negative impact on the smaller groups. Hence development can never be completely devoid of such contradiction and conflicts (Cernea, 1991:191).

Development-induced displacement began to catch the attention of scholars and researchers in the late 1980s. This is due to the fact that at that period involuntary population displacement and resettlement were widespread and frequent enough to be addressed (Cernea, 1991:189).

In India, for instance, researchers found out that in the last decades approximately 20 million people had been displaced and involuntarily resettled due to the country's development programs (Fernadesas, 1991as cited in Cernea, 1994).

In order to assess and quantify the losses caused by development-induced displacement, several indicators may be used. These indicators include the number of displaced people, the number of people who lose their houses, or house plots, employment losses, and so forth. Among such indicators, the number of displaced people is significant not only in itself but also as a proxy for other indicators (Cernea, 1991:192).

During the 1990s about 10,000,000 people are displaced annually worldwide by dam construction, urban development, highways and roads improvements. This amounts to some 90-100 million people displaced during the last decade, which is much more than the total number of the refugees from wars and natural disasters (Cernea, 1996: 3). Though it is difficult to find out the exact number of people displaced due to development on a global scale, some figures are available from urban projects that receive international financing, particularly from the World Bank.

Actually urban projects that are financed by the World Bank are a small fraction of the total investment in urban development carried out in most developing countries. For instance during the 1980s, each year the developing countries have invested more than US\$100 billion, whereas the annual average Bank financing during that same period was US\$154 billion (Cernea, 1993:22).

According to the same source, a good number of World Bank-financed urban projects have displaced some people from their homes and jobs. These projects have "improved" the lives of many urban residents by providing improved urban transportation, drinking water supply and health care. The number of people displaced due to the above mentioned projects ranges from 2,000 people in Karachi special

urban development- Pakistan to 50,000 people in an urban development project in Bangladesh.

2.5 Specific Characteristics of Resettlement in Urban Areas.

Development-induced displacement and resettlement in urban areas differ from the rural areas in a number of ways. According to Mejia (1999:152) some of the specific features of resettlement in urban contexts are as follows:

- Since land in urban areas is scarce and highly priced, it is increasingly difficult to find affordable land for resettlement in urban areas and this condition resulted in the resettlement in peripheral zones creating high socio-cultural costs and disruption of social and economic activities.
- Urban communities exhibit a high capacity for self-managing and adaptation since most of the inhabitants have a previous settlement experience in relocating themselves unlike the rural population.
- The relocation and rehousing of the population has undeniable political significance since these projects indirectly regulate the occupation of urban land, allocate access to public services, create new economic opportunities for commercial business and increases land values and influence low- income housing.
- Many officials consider slum residents as “third-class citizen” and regard consultation and participation with them as worthless. However, dislocating them

involuntarily disrupts an entire life style and social networks established among the slum resident.

- Urban displacement and resettlement needs administrative and institutional mechanisms that are by themselves very complex. Urban projects usually result in changing land use, building codes, public services etc. These issues that are related to resettlement often complicate decision making and planning and implementation of resettlement programs.
- Urban resettlements have a huge impact on the relocatees that have no “legal” land title. These sections of the slum residents account for the vast majority of the affected population in most Third World cities.
- Lastly the ratio of affected people per unit of expropriated land is very high, sometimes going up to several hundred people per hectare (Cernea, 1993:22).

2.6 Debates For and Against Development Projects that Cause Displacement.

As has been discussed in the earlier part of the paper, when projects displace people, it is the poor and the marginalized groups that bear the “brunt”. On the other hand, the better off have the highest capacity to adjust to the changes caused by the settlement (Mathur, 1995:20).

Due to this fact there are many critics of such development projects that promote the interest and well being of the affluent at the expense of the poor. For them this kind of development projects that cause disruption in the lives of displaced reflect the

interests and power of a minority elite. It is a model of development in which there is no consideration for the poor and marginalized groups. This situation made most of the development projects favor the rich by making them richer and the poor poorer. Obviously this view is an extreme one.

On the other hand, other critics argue that development is not under-taken to provide opportunities for a single portion of the population. Instead the objective of development projects is to promote wider national interests for the betterment of the whole society.

The development programs that provide energy for the industries, irrigation for cultivated lands, and wider roads in "closed down towns" are "indisputably" necessary. These kinds of projects "improve" the lives of the larger majority and develop both the local and the national economies (Cernea, 1996: 2).

They also accept that the key problem with projects requiring resettlement is that the costs are "unequally shared". Those who bear the cost may not be those who enjoy the benefits of the development, and those who enjoy the benefits of such development may not be those who bear the costs.

They went further claiming that the problems associated with projects that cause involuntary displacement have been exacerbated by faulty implementation of resettlement program and the inadequate training of personnel (DIDI, 1995: 1).

There is also one underlying fact that there is no way of avoiding some social disruption caused by development projects. Arguing for this, Cernea (1991: 191) underlined that development projects have both positive and negative impacts on certain groups of the society. Hence the solution lies in mitigating the adverse impacts

on the relocatees by taking and considering past resettlement experiences and acting "prudently". Development cannot, therefore be delayed simply because it involves some social cost (Mathur, 1995:22).

To conclude projects that cause displacement create both "winners" and "losers". It is, therefore, a matter of balancing these gains of one group with the losses of others by reducing the human costs in order to make the resettlement as painless as possible.

2.7 Previous Studies on Development-Induced Urban Resettlement

Development projects, both in urban and rural areas, that resulted in dislocating certain portions of the population can take a variety of forms including construction of hydro power dams, establishment of industrial estates, building ports, urban expansion, inner city development, high way construction and so forth.

Many of these projects have often had adverse effects on the relocated people and these consequences were clearly documented by various scholars. Among those projects that caused compulsory population relocation, dam related projects and the reservoirs that they form is "undoubtedly" the most commonly studied form of development caused displacement (Guggenheim *et al*, 1993:1).

For instance, in Africa studies of the consequences of dam related projects were carried out by Colson (1971) on Kariba dam, Zambezi River in Zambia and Zimbabwe, Mburuqu (1994) on Kimbabere Hydroelectric Project in Kenya, Adu-

Areyee (1993) on Akosombo and Kpong project in Ghana, Cernea (1993) on World Bank-financed dam projects.

On the contrary urban involuntary displacement remains relatively unstudied (Cernea, 1995: Bartolomi, 1993). According to Cernea (1993:15) the study and analysis of urban displacement and relocation began in the 1960s. Mostly, they dealt with forced relocation in industrialized nations. For instance Greer (1965) dealt with urban relocation in North America that was primarily caused by slum clearance. Also Friedman (1968) and Welson (1973) bring to light the record and the controversy of urban renewal projects that cause urban displacement and relocation. Such studies, combined with political pressure, influenced and improved the U.S legal regulations on property expropriation and compensatory payment (Cernea, 1993: 15).

When we look for such studies carried out in developing countries little has been done which by itself is not enough to influence domestic policies, legal frameworks or actual projects (Cernea, 1993:15).

In spite of its increasing occurrence, development-induced urban relocation has rarely been studied over the last two decades and it has remained "out side the reach of research" (Cernea, 1993:15). Therefore it is high time to look in depth into this phenomenon for both policy and practical purposes.

2.7.1. Studies in Ethiopia

In the historical development of Ethiopia, spontaneous settlement has played a critical role. For instance the northward migration of pastorals who settled in the highlands in the past and the southward expansion of the central state, especially

during the Era of Emperor Menilek II (1889-1913) represents the key process in the "genesis" of the present Ethiopia (Adane Mekonen, 1988:6).

Organized settlement, on the other hand, has a much more recent origin. For instance prior to the 1974 revolution such kind of resettlement schemes were carried out in a spontaneous and unplanned manner. These schemes were carried out as a result of individual initiative without being coordinated (Alula Pankhurst, 1990:121). These resettlement schemes were limited in scope and purpose and affected a relatively small number of people. These programs were focused on reducing the number of the "urban poor" by dislocating them to rural areas (Jemal Muhammed, 1996: 2).

In the country's First Five-Year Plan (1957-1961) resettlement was mentioned as a passing remark. But in the subsequent years commercial farms and similar state interventions have caused population displacement. For instance in 1972 the cotton irrigation farming in Awash River displaced some 20,000 people (Getachew 1996 as cited in Feleke, 1999:2).

In the 1980s resettlement programs begun as a result of the devastating famine of 1984. In response to this the then socialist government declared its intention to move the affected communities that live in the northern part of the country to the southwestern part. In due time more than half a million people were resettled in the settlement area to "put an end to future recurrence of famine" (Adane Mekonen, 1988:12).

Although much has been written on resettlement in rural areas of Ethiopia (see for example Mesfin Woldemariam, 1984; Clarke, 1986; Dessalegn Rahamato, 1987,

1988; Eshetu Chole *et al*, 1988; Fasil Gebrekiros, 1984) what happens when people living in cities are displaced by development activities remains a relatively unstudied topic.

Murad Hussien made an attempt in 1997. His paper directly examines the relocation project of Woreda 28 Kebele 04. The resettlement scheme was based on the clearance of slum areas in *Filwoha*. The cleared site was required for development of Sheraton Hotel.

The study was aimed at measuring the relocated residents' attitude to their new houses compared with their previous dwelling units. It also discussed the relocation scheme's achievement and shortcomings as well as the relocatees' current status.

The shortcomings of this study, which was supposed to be covered by this paper, are the following. First, the sampling technique used didn't actually represent the relocated population. For instance the technique did not take into consideration the existing housing stratification of the relocatees. The relocatees were given 8 types of dwelling units each containing various numbers of housing units ranging from 324 units of one type to 1 housing unit of another type. This situation creates the highest probability of being omitted for those housing units that have a small number of units. In order to overcome this situation, this study employs a stratified sampling technique.

Secondly, the study didn't have a mechanism of knowing whether the interviewed household head is a real relocatee from the inner city or a private renter. This situation provided incorrect information regarding the relocation scheme.

Lastly, the study focused mainly on the physical impact of the relocation scheme giving much emphasis to the housing conditions and the availability of physical infrastructures. It gave little room for the social consequences of the relocation scheme, such as its impact on household income, its impact on the employment situation, coping mechanisms during the consolidation period and so forth.

Tarkegne Assefa (1998) also raised the issue of an inner city redevelopment scheme that was carried out in Addis Ababa. In addition to the information of evaluation reports of NGOs that are involved in urban upgrading program, the study also used students' senior paper as a data. The paper tried to indicate the economic implication of improving slum areas and implied that upgrading is the most practicable alternative for improving the housing condition of the urban poor, and to prevent further depletion of infrastructure facilities in the inner city.

In discussing the implication of urban relocation, the study used the data from Murad (1997). Due to this situation, the study did not address the points raised in the earlier part of this section.

Asnakew (1998) discussed the issue of urban resettlement as a means of upgrading slum areas in Addis Ababa. For this purpose, the study was based on a case study of the relocated households of *Woreda 28 Kebele 04*. The paper assessed the 'stumbling blocks' that the resettlement scheme to achieve its "goal".

The study emphasized the driving and restraining forces of upgrading of slum area through relocation. In carrying out this task the paper used the "force field analysis" method to determine the feasibility of the relocation scheme before going into action.

The study also specifically addresses the role of each actor and proposed the structural integration of these actors in carrying out relocation program. It specifically address the responsibilities of the government, the community representative, the developers and "would be affected" communities.

The paper used a random sample of 100 households of Woreda 28 Kebele 04. The sampling technique did not follow a systematic way to represent the relocated population, since the random sampling technique that was used, would overemphasise or under emphasise the population characteristics of the relocatees.

On top of this the main concern of the study is the issue of lowering the density in the inner part of Addis Ababa. It focuses on the physical aspects of the relocation scheme, i.e., on housing and infrastructure and gives less emphasis on the social consequence of the resettlement program.

The above mentioned shortcomings are addressed by this thesis.

The study carried out by Feleke (1999) raised the impact of urban "development" on the surrounding peasant community by taking a case study of Yeka Taffo Peasant Association. This thesis closely examined the consequence of the displacement and the risk of impoverishment that are being caused by the imposition of Ayat Real Estate Development Project on the lives of people who had been evicted from their rural lands and houses.

While Feleke's (1999) thesis thoroughly discussed the impact of development-induced displacement on the rural community, this thesis does assess the impact of this same phenomenon on the urban community.

To summarize, the above mentioned studies are predominantly concerned with the physical consequence of the resettlement program giving less room for the social aspect of the scheme. However, no permanent wall can be erected between the physical and the social consequences, and this thesis tries to give an emphasis to the social consequence of the resettlement program, which are, in my opinion, given less coverage by the above mentioned studies.

Having seen this aspects, the next part will briefly discuss about the conceptual framework of the thesis.

Chapter Three

Conceptual Framework

In this chapter Cernea's concept of impoverishment will be discussed. Following this the concept of benefit sharing at a project level will be assessed. The final part will give some highlights regarding the concept of residential satisfaction.

3.1 The Concept of Impoverishment

As mentioned in earlier section 2.7, different studies that are carried out on development-induced resettlement schemes indicated that this kind of program causes a profound and sudden shock both on the displaced people and on the existing social organization. Such projects that displace people involuntarily give rise to severe economic, social and environmental problems.

In such cases production systems are dismantled, productivity assets and income sources are lost. People are also relocated to environments where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competitions for scarce resources are weakened. Kin groups are dispersed, social networks are fragmented, and if unchecked this can lead to a loss of self-respect and cultural identity. Lastly, traditional authority and the potential for mutual helps are diminished (WB OD 4:30). These consequences vary depending on the local circumstances, the extent of loss of income generating activities and so forth (Cernea, 1999: 195).

Out of the various experiences from different projects that were carried out in a number of countries, two dominant models have emerged to understand and explain

the underpinnings of development-induced displacement (Feleke, 1999:15). These models are the Scudder-Colson's Five Stage Model of the Resettlement Process (Colson, 1971), and Cernea's Impoverishment Risk Model of Resettlement (Cernea, 1991: 195).

Michael Cernea's theoretical model has involved over two decades of analysis, monitoring and evaluation of involuntary resettlement. Displacement-induced impoverishment takes many forms including unemployment, homelessness, landlessness, deprivation of human rights, and so forth.

Cernea's impoverishment model has identified the impoverishment process caused by forced displacement along the following eight main dimension. These are landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property, and social disarticulation (Cernea, 1991:196, Cernea, 1999:17). According to this model a great deal of improvement can be obtained by focusing on the eight processes in order to bring the impoverishing tendencies into potential "reconstruction" and enrichment.

The integration of both impoverishment risk analysis and its recovery analysis give the "strength" and "methodological nobility" of this model (Mahaparta, 1999:199).

The following part will briefly discuss the most relevant risks that occur in urban resettlement since these risks happen with varying intensity in different contexts depending on the nature and size of the project.

3.1.1 Homelessness

A "home" is far more than a mere house, it "enshrines" and "enriches" life. The loss of a family dwelling is tantamount to the loss of cultural space, which reduce identity and "ultimately, overlays economic loss" with cultural impoverishment (Mahapatra, 1999:204). Cernea (1999:17) also identified homelessness as loss of housing and it is usually temporary for the majority of relocatees. When homelessness is considered in a broader cultural sense, it is also "placelessness", loss of a group's cultural space and identity (Dowing 1994 as cited in Cernea, 1999:17),

Loss of housing may be only temporary for many relocatees, but for some homelessness remains a chronic condition. If resettlement policies do not explicitly provide improvement in housing conditions, or if compensation for demolished shelters is paid at "assessed value" rather than "replacement value" the risk of homelessness increase (Cernea, 1996:12).

For instance in the Douala Urban Resettlement (Cameroon) the study found out that over 2,000 relocated households were hindered from setting up new permanent houses; only 5 percent received loans to pay for assigned house plots (Cernea, 1996:12). In the other cases, when the relocatees cannot meet the time and labor cost involved in rebuilding a house, they are forced to move into "temporary" shelters. For example, in Kukadi-Krishna irrigation sub project, in Maharashtra, India, 59 percent of the relocatees found living in temporary shelters 10-15 years after their relocation (Joseph, 1996 as cited in Cernea, 1996:13).

In this case study, however, the relocated families were given a pre built dwelling units according to their previous tenure arrangements. In the previous settlement, most of the relocatees had been living in a shanty dwelling and the resettlement scheme transferred them to a decent housing. This indicates that the hazard of homelessness was avoided through timely preparation.

3.1.2 Joblessness

Loss of employment by wage earners due to forced displacement is a "fundamental risk" (Mahapatra, 1999:203). Loss of employment and wage occur more in urban areas, but it also affects rural people, depriving landless laborers, service workers, artisans, and small business owners (Cernea, 1999:17).

Yet creating new jobs is difficult and requires substantial investment. Unemployment or under employment among resettlers often endures long after physical relocation has been completed (Cernea, 1996:10).

For those people whose livelihoods depends on job, joblessness due to displacement causes lasting painful economic effects. Cernea (1996) explains that the employed landless many lose in three ways; in urban areas, they lose jobs in industry and services, or other job opportunities, in rural areas they loose access to work on land owned by others and the use of resources under common property regime.

For instance in Orissa, Talcher, the study carried out by Pandoy (1996) as cited in Cernea (1996) revealed that there was an increase in unemployment from 9% to 43.6%. It was also documented that there was a reduction in levels of earning of between 50-80%. Joblessness among resettlers may not be perceived immediately

since in the short run they may receive employment in project related jobs. Nonetheless this employment was not sustainable because the employment opportunities created by the new construction temporarily absorbs some resettlers, but severely drops toward the end of the project. For instance in Yangzhou Thermal Power Plant Project, China, the displaced farmers were converted to wage employment in new "town-ship enterprises." Yet these new enterprises have registered a high failure rate and this made the resettlers lose both their land and their new job (Cernea, 1996:11).

Again in this case study, the resettlement scheme has resulted in increasing the level of unemployment from 1.2 percent in the previous settlement to about 11 percent. Although some of the relocated household heads get chance of employment in the project, many of them stayed there for less than 12 months.

Therefore, giving sustained jobs for the relocatees is an essential aspect for future resettlement schemes.

3.1.3 Social Disarticulation

The forced displacement of population, either partially or fully, results in dismantling of structures of social organization and loss of mutual help network (Cernea, 1999: 18). This kind of community dispersal tears apart existing communities and structures of social organization, interpersonal ties, and the enveloping social fabrics. Although this loss of social capital is harder to quantify, it impoverishes and disempowers the affected communities (Cernea, 1999:18).

The loss of spatial based patterns of self-organization, social interaction is a net loss of valuable "social capital" (Cernea, 1996:17). This loss is bigger in projects that relocated the affected communities in a dispersed manner.

Cernea (1996) claims that various field studies have documented that social disarticulation deprives displaced people of "social goods" such as mutual help and assistance, labor exchanges, caring for children and informal credit. Sowel (1996) as cited in Cernea (1996) also stressed that resettlement is much beyond "simply the financial cost" in that among the heaviest cost of all are the breakup of personal ties and familiar surroundings to face new economic and social uncertainties in a new land.

In this study, the findings indicate that former neighborhood ties had been reported to be discounted due to the partial resettlement of the communities. It is also identified that 61 percent of the relocated household heads had lost former neighborhood ties. This has happened, as stated by the relocatess, due to the fact that the relocatees were given dwelling units by ballot system.

Cernea's impoverishment risk and reconstruction model gives not only the risks, but also the means and ways to "positively re-establish" those affected. For instance the risk of landlessness could be avoided by land reestablishment; homelessness through sound shelter programs, joblessness by creating employment for the displaced communities; and social disarticulation can be mitigated by community reconstruction.

It should also be clear that the above mentioned impoverishment risks affect the relocated people "differentially", in that some groups are hurt more than others.

For instance Agnihotri (1996) as cited in Cernea (1996) identified that there was a clear discrimination against women in compensation criteria. Hence entitlement to land compensation for unmarried individuals is set at Orrisa at age 18 for men and age 30 for women. Also children, as an age category, are subjected to particularly 'perverse' consequence. Mahapatra (1999) suggested that relocation often interrupts schooling and some children never return to school.

In this case study, however, the relocatees were compensated only for their dwelling units. In fact the affected communities were transferred to the newly built housing. This was carried out based on their housing tenure type and there was not any discrimination concerning the relocation arrangement. In addition to this, the study has identified that there were no children who dropped out from school.

To summarize, the loss of a housing unit and physical assets caused by forced displacement, and the uprooting from an existing pattern of making a living, carry a high impoverishment risk for those affected directly (Cernea, 1993: 22; Cernea, 1999: 21). According to Cernea (1999: 22) the displacement of a household and an attached economic unit such as workshops, commercial shops, and others, deprives those affected either of housing, or of employment, or of access to their customers, or to a combination of these losses.

What makes it very difficult for urban relocatees is not the loss of housing, but the loss of employment or of site-related income opportunities. Also the disruption of social and cultural ties resulted in deep effects. In forced relocation, unlike voluntary displacement, all who happen to be on the required site for redevelopment have to move regardless of whether or not they are unable to do so or able to readjust; the

children and the old, the healthy and the sick, the self-employed and the unemployed, whole families or incomplete families, and so forth.

Having said this about the concept of impoverishment the following part will briefly discuss the concept of benefit sharing at a project - level.

3.2 The Concept of Benefit Sharing at Project- Level

In most settlement schemes one of the major problems is finding financial resources to reestablish the income flow that the displaced people had prior to resettlement. This is due to the facts that initial project budget tends to provide little more than compensation payment for land acquisition and the design of rehabilitation packages are not linked to the benefits and resources generated by the main project (Wicklin, 1999:233).

In order to overcome such kind of financial constraints on resettlement program projects have to be deliberately designed so as to make the relocated people receive some of the benefits generated by the project that displaced them. This means that in addition to allocating resources for the purpose of resettlement and reconstruction from the beginning, the benefits generated by the project should also be designed to provide resources for resettlers (Wicklin, 1999: 233).

The idea of sharing project benefits has an implication regarding equity. Wicklin (1999) argues that giving up one's home and land is much more than an economic translation; it has "profound social, and psychological ramifications". Therefore it is only equitable that they "should" share in the benefits of the project that displaced them.

Wicklin (1999), by reviewing a large number of projects implemented between 1987 and 1997, found out that lack of benefits from the project resulted in creating resistance and opposition to the projects.

Thus since the 1980s the concept of sharing project benefits with relocatees started to be formulated explicitly and normatively. Hence the World Bank took the initiatives in encouraging governments to use benefit sharing as a strategy for mobilizing financial resources for resettlers in order to improve resettlement performance.

Usually, development projects create several kinds of benefits that can be directed to the displaced community. For example if the project was an urban upgrading project aimed at providing new housing as one of its core outputs, and settlers were given priority for this new housing, then the settlers share directly the project benefit. Similarly, if an irrigation dam displaced a certain part of the community and if they would receive water from the reservoir or from the irrigation canal, they are directly sharing the project benefits. Also, benefits of urban development projects, such as infrastructure projects include improved road transportation, health services, and so on. In addition to this they provide employment, either permanent or temporary, and also provide housing or serviced plots so that the settlers improve their housing quality.

The benefit generally valued by most settlers is wage employment, which gives a sustained income for the relocatees. Even temporary employment by the project can provide an income during the transition period and also gives skills and experience (Wicklin, 1999: 243).

Several projects have given employment priority to displaced people. For instance, according to Wicklin (1999) in the Sichuan Power Transmission Project (in China) jobs were deliberately allocated to the displacees. The employment was secured both during the construction phase and after the project was complete. The Second Red Soils Area Development Project, again in China, offered one permanent job per household in the construction and operation of the agroprocessing enterprise acquiring their land.

Projects that require preparation of relocation sites also allocate that work to the displaced people. This kind of arrangement has double benefits. The first benefit is paying wages to the displaced people during the vulnerable period in the settlement process, and secondly it helps to ensure that preparation at the new site reflects the preference of the settlers.

Many urban projects are also providing new housing that is part of the project. In Tunisia, for example, the Third Urban Development Project provided 1,600 serviced plots out of which 600 plots were allocated for those households that have been displaced to reduce overcrowding or as a result of necessary demolition in the project area.

In this case study it was identified that only 22 percent of the relocated households heads were given employment opportunities in the project. Among those employed about 37 percent stayed in the job for less than 12 months. The majorities (78%) of the household heads were not involved in getting employment opportunities. This is due to the problem in the project design where the concept of benefit sharing had not been considered at the outset.

To summarize, resettlement schemes should include the idea of benefit sharing from the outset of the program. This will reduce the negative effects of the relocation process, since projects that combine benefit-sharing hold the greatest promise for restoring and improving settlers' living standards. As benefit sharing gives tangible benefits to settlers, they would gain an interest in the project and the "adversarial relationship" would be transformed into one of mutual benefit (Wicklin, 199; 251).

3.3 The Concept of Housing Satisfaction

It is an accepted fact that shelter provision is about man striving for a better future. Different people feel the happiness it brings in different ways. For instance Aristotle is credited by Doxidas as having said that happiness and safety are the main aims of human settlement (Mambogunje *et al*, 1978).

The ultimate happiness of the total man (in terms of his physical body, mind and soul) is measured based on the interplay of man and his environment, which is a dynamic balance, a balance which he can reach without endangering the happiness of others (Mambogunje *et. al*, 1978). In this sense the goal of human settlement is the welfare of all human beings, where the housing needs of every one is satisfied without affecting man-nature relationship and the legitimate interest of other people.

A wide range of factors among which social norms and environmental factors such as climate are the major ones that determine the form of shelter. In the physical sense shelter acts as an "intermediary" between man and nature and in the social sense between man and society. It symbolizes prestige and status in most societies.

It also gives the individual identity in society, reflecting not only his personality but also his technological, economic and social status (Mambogunje *et. al*, 1978).

The basic issue which arises in the definition of housing is whether the term refers only to the physical shell i.e., protection from climatic risks, provision of space for sleeping, food preparation, etc, or whether it is a combination of both internal and external facilities including access to work place, transportation, school, health service and so forth (Glaser 1985 as cited in Shewanesehe Fisseha, 1994:33).

Based on this point Shewanesehe (1994; 33) concluded that the meaning of housing refers to different things for different individuals since everyone interprets it according to his own personal life experience.

The issue involved in housing - whether it is for low, medium or higher income group, is more than shelter (Onibokun, 1974; 189). The habitability of a house, whether it is intended for low, middle or high-income groups, is influenced not only by the engineering elements but also by social, cultural and other elements in the entire societal-environmental system. Hence habitability of a house varies according to the surrounding circumstances (Onboker, 1974:189).

The study of housing satisfaction has attracted a number of scholars. For instance Griffin- Wulff *et. al* (1980) have used the degree of residential satisfaction in determining the propensity to move or stay in certain settlements. Their study was in Costa Rica. In the analysis, Griffin-Wulff *et al* (1980) use the concept of residential satisfaction as the critical intervening variable in the decision to move or stay in an area. According to this model, those people who are highly satisfied with their residential environment tend to stay, while those who are dissatisfied are likely to

move. At the same time, the levels of residential satisfaction depend on individual characteristics, the characteristics of housing unit, the community structure and the social bonds that link the household with the community.

Onibokeen (1974), on the other hand, stated that the habitability of the dwelling unit varies according to the surrounding circumstances and added that the residential satisfaction of human beings cannot be absolute and hence he used the term "relative satisfaction" of the residents. Focusing on this issue, he developed a research method of assessing peoples' residential satisfaction in three Canadian cities of Kitchener, Guelph and Galt- a regional cluster of Midwestern Ontario.

The habitability of a housing unit, according to Onibokeen (1974: 190) is portrayed as a human concept, which involves four interacting "sub-systems" - the tenant sub-system, the dwelling subsystem, the environment sub-system and management sub-system.

The "dwelling sub-system" includes the quality of the internal space, the household facilities, the privacy within the dwelling, and so forth. The "environment sub-system", on the other hand, includes the availability and nearness of the social services including health center, education center, cultural center and the surrounding neighborhood.

The "management sub-system" includes the rules and regulations that are set up by the concerned administrative body regarding either the administration of the housing unit, or the housing project as a whole and the other components of the community of which the units and the projects are part or the combination of both. The "management subsystem" has an influence on the degree of satisfaction of the

inhabitants. The way the management responds to necessary repairs, the manner in which rent is collected, facilities provided for the residents regarding their household garbage, the rules which forbid the tenants from making certain modifications are some of the attributes of residential satisfaction from the "management subsystem". Lastly the "tenant subsystem" is the central focus of the concept since it is the recipient of all the feed backs from the other three subsystems.

The study showed that most of the negative attributes to residential satisfaction were inter related. For instance the complaints about the location of the market place in relation to the location of the housing unit were related to the inadequency and inefficiency of public transportation.

In Ethiopia, the Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office (AAMPPO) made a study regarding housing satisfaction in Addis Ababa, in 1984. The study attempted to identify the main causes of housing dissatisfaction of the city's residents. The study found out that lack of physical infrastructure such as drainage and sanitary, lack of water supply, garbage collection, lack of schools and health facilities were identified to be the main causes of residential dissatisfaction.

Shewanesh Fisseha (1994) has also made a study on the residential satisfaction of government housing occupants in Addis Ababa. The study identified the optimum combination of predictors with the highest possible level of explanation of residential satisfaction. Thus household size, number of rooms, distance between home and work place, feelings of aural privacy and feelings of privacy are associated with residential satisfaction.

To summarize the residential satisfaction of the tenants is influenced by not only the available housing unit, but also by the services attached to the dwelling unit, the setting or the surrounding neighborhood, the available social centers, and the social bonds with in the residential community.

In this study the level of satisfaction of the relocated household heads regarding the provided housing unit, social services and community locations, and the utilities and services provided has been assessed. The research used a comparison method between the two settlements in order to measure the level of satisfaction of the household heads from the above-mentioned issues. Hence concerning the housing system almost all relocated households heads were satisfied with the toilet, kitchen and the construction material of the new dwelling units when compared to the previous settlement. However, regarding the available social services and community locations about 90 percent were highly dissatisfied. Again concerning the physical utilities and services, the research also identified that 75 percent of the relocated household heads were not satisfied. This situation reveals that the resettlement scheme gave consideration only to the housing unit leaving aside the social and physical facilities needed by the affected communities.

To summarize, this part of the thesis discussed the issues and concepts that are raised in this study to analyze the consequence of the resettlement scheme. Regarding the impoverishment risks of the resettlement program it was identified that the relocatees are expected to face impoverishment risks, which by themselves occur with varying intensity depending on the nature and size of the project. The concept of benefit sharing at a project level also identified that development projects create

several kinds of benefits that can be used by the relocatees. It was also mentioned that projects that combine benefit sharing give the greatest promise for restoring and improving the living standards of the relocatees.

The last section has discussed the concept of residential satisfaction. In the study it was identified that the residential satisfaction of the occupants is influenced by a number of factors other than the dwelling unit itself. These factors include the available services attached to the housing unit, the surrounding neighborhood, and the social and physical infrastructure available within the neighborhood.

Having seen this aspects, the next part will briefly discuss about the origin and development of Addis Ababa, the limitation in inner city development and the legal aspects of eviction.

Chapter Four

Origin and Development of Addis Ababa

Before the establishment of Addis Ababa as a seat of the state, *Entoto* was first considered to be the center of administration. This town, like any other Ethiopian administration center, was established as a traditional Ethiopian army camp. Hence during that period only the Palace and the church of Saint Mary and Saint Raguel were permanent buildings (Pankhurst, 1961: 105).

The establishment of the new settlement on an elevated position (2800 meter above sea level) had a negative effect in that it shortly brought the necessity once again to move the camp to another lower, warmer and more fertile land in the south, which in this case happened to be Addis Ababa then known as *Finfine* (present day Arat Kilo and the surrounding area).

According to Pankhurst (1961) both Emperor Menilik and Itege Taytu were soon attracted ever further south to the hot springs of *Filwoha* area close to the present day Ghion Hotel. It was in 1886/ 87 that Taitu left *Entoto* and accommodated herself in her *llfegn* (reception house) above the hot spring. After that there started to “agglomerate” various huts around the vicinity. From this onwards, these simple huts began to evolve facing various local interventions to more “complex spatial articulations” (Amare Dawit et.al.1986).

Following this the Emperor transferred his camp and this attracted his lords to settle around him. According to the feudal system of that time, the king had virtually all

power over the land and its citizen. With respect to this, Emperor Menilik II allocated land to higher personalities of the state, churches and clergymen and foreign legations in accordance with strict feudal land use structure.

The original settlement pattern of Addis Ababa was derived from feudal tradition of settlement lay out, particularly from northern part of Ethiopia. This pattern of traditional settlement was the expression of traditional power hierarchy where the king builds his residence on a hilltop. The vertical positioning shows his honor and his social position. The traditional military chiefs, on the other hand, built their residence on the available hills keeping their respective positions in relation to the Palace and the position of their residence with respect to the Palace (i.e. left, right, front or back) represents their position of defending the king (Dandena Tuffa, 1995:17). In this traditional settlement pattern the "solitary living arrangement, the traditional system of authority, social ranking and occupational castes, owner ship of land, etc are manifested in the vertical and horizontal hierarchy" (Teferi Kifle, 1986 as cited in Dandena 1995:17).

The important dignitaries and officials such as *Rases* and *Dejazmatches*, were allotted portions of land around the Royal Palace to build their own houses. The higher chiefs in turn gave plots of land to their followers to construct their dwelling units around their respective chiefs.

The land that was given to the chiefs is termed as a "*sefer*" (neighborhood). These "*sefers*" were usually called by the name of chiefs (e.g. *Ras Hailu sefer*, *Dejazmach Wube sefer*) or by the name of the parish church (e.g. *Kirkos*, *Lideta*) or by the dominant tribe who reside in the "*sefer*" (e.g. *Dorze sefer*, *Gojam Berenda*) or

by the main activity of the people (eg. *Serategnoch sefer* (workers quarter), Temengayaz sefer (rifle men's quarter) (Wubshet Berhanu ,1989:21, Daniel Tesfaye, 1991:11).

The growth and development of these *sefers* were semi autonomous where the chief is responsible to the king and there was no administrative hierarchy among the *sefers*. The common meeting places for these *sefers* were the *Ghibi* (Place compound), the church and the Arada market place. These *sefers* also had a "satellite type" of relation to the *Gibe* (Dandena, 1995:20).

As the nobility occupied the hilltop, only the slopes were left for the workers which are difficult to climb up even by cars. (Bahru Zewde, 1986). Typical examples are *Eri Bekentu Sefer* and *Saratagna Sefer* (Woreda 2 Kebele 12).

In the 1890s, particularly after the remarkable victory of Adowa (1896), the Emperor intensified the construction work at the *Gibi* (Palace compound) which was the more organized *sefer* in the new settlement. It consisted of several buildings including Royal residence, courts, dining halls, churches and workshops. Due to this concentration of functions, the Royal compound became the main "administrative, judicial and recreational center" of the whole settlement (Wubshet Berhanu, 1989:22).

Wylde (1905) in 1890 noted that the Palace and the surrounding land (the present site where Sheraton Hotel is constructed) were occasionally crowded with soldiers of many provincial rulers who come to pay their homage to the Emperor. These soldiers constructed temporary tents until the time of the departure of their lords to their provinces. When these soldiers went back the land around the palace became an open space interspersed with houses of the guards and the palace

workers. But gradually the lands around the place became areas of permanent settlement.

Except for the buildings in the Place compound, residences of chiefs and buildings in legation compounds, most of the residences of the people were traditional thatched huts and tents. At that period, according to Wylde (1901:143) there were few works of utility and the whole settlement seemed as if it had been built in a hurry and would be left in a hurry.

During this time there was also a huge inflow of population resulting in intensifying the utilization of wood for cooking in addition to the extensive construction of traditional housing. This created a shortage of wood supply. In order to overcome this problem Menilik II in 1904 gave orders for replanting trees and also imported 4 or 5 types of eucalyptus trees from Australia (Pankhurst, 1961:112). The introduction of the eucalyptus tree avoid the threat to the permanency of Addis Ababa and radically changed the image of the city making it "a town of eucalyptus trees" (Wubshet, 1989:24).

For the following two decades the city begun to develop and most of the nobility started build more durable stone houses. However, according to Solomon Gebre, (1994:280), until the *Awaj* of 1907 there was no legislation with regard to urban land holding. This *Awaj* (Proclamation) legalized the privatization of urban land and for the first time it gave the right to purchase and own land for both Ethiopians and foreigners, for whom the emperor gave permission.

The first meaningful growth in the settlement pattern of Addis Ababa was observed after the introduction of the railway line from Djibouti (1917-1929). This was

due to the increased commercial linkage to the outside world and it was the only point of entry to the city of imported goods (Tekeste Ahedrom, 1986:4).

In the early years of the 20th century important structures were being erected among which the Bank of Abyssinia (in 1907) the Etege Hotel (1907), Menilik II School (1908), Menilik II Hospital (1919) and the state printing press (in 1911) were some worth mentioning. In addition a large number of private buildings were constructed out of which 15,000 were round "*chicka*" (mud) houses, 2,000 tents and 200 European style houses of permanent construction (Dejene Habtemariam, 1986:4).

An important factor that accelerated the construction of many new buildings during this period was the introduction of modern materials. Toward the end of 1909 a municipal administration was set up in Addis Ababa as an attempt to meet the demand for urban services and facilities for the increasing urban population.

In the following decade, Addis Ababa experienced much modernized life mainly in education, health and administrative services. Thus the administration of the city was divided into ten zones and reorganized to cope with the increasing complexity of development of the city (Bahru Zewde, 1986:12).

With the coming of Emperor Haileselassie I to power, the city further developed public facilities like schools and hospitals among which Teferi Mekonen School and Ras Desta Hospital were some worth mentioning. Again during this time the private occupation of urban land was further consolidated. According to Solomon Gebre (1994) in both Constitution of 1931, chapter 8 article 74 to 76 and the Constitution of 1955 article 44 entrusted the government to respect the right of all Ethiopians, to keep

the land they privately owned. However it also stated that the Government was given the right to dispossess private owners for the construction of structures that were meant to serve the public.

It was 40 years after the battle of Adowa (1896) that the Fascist Italy once again tried and succeeds in invading Ethiopia. Thus Addis Ababa was occupied on May 1936 leaving the majority part of the city being destroyed due to the outbreak of mass violence. This was due to the outbreak of mass violence that left several people dead and large number of building burnt down (Dandena, 1995: 33). The next part will discuss the important developments of Addis Ababa during this period.

4.1 Addis Ababa during the Fascist Occupation

During the Italian Fascist occupation of Ethiopia (1936-1941) the authorities considered the idea of moving the capital to the low lands and nearer the sea. But this idea was not accepted by Mussolini, the head of the fascist government, and a "grandiose plan" to change the settlement pattern of Addis Ababa was worked out in 1939 (Bahru Zewde, 1986:14).

Richard Pankhurst (1986:23-26) has described chronologically the master plan proposals of various professionals for Addis Ababa. According to his study the architects who were commissioned by Mussolini to prepare "the general master plan" were Marcello Piacentini, Archur Bianchi, Enrico Del Debbio and Giuseppe Vaccaro in addition to Le Corbusier and Guidi-Valle. The proposed plans of these professionals were basically different in the character of the architecture and the general structure of

the city (Dandena Tuffa, 1995:35). These characteristics are due to the proposed imposition of new planning concepts on the existing old settlement.

Out of these proposals we have two notable plans that were prepared during the five-year occupation. The first sketch was prepared by Le Corbuiser, a Swiss - French national, who at the invitation of Mussolini prepared a guideline for a master plan of Addis Ababa in 1936. His plan shows his idea of a city as "an instrument of work, command center and seat of government" which serves the needs of constructing large office buildings and modern dwellings for the colonial masters (CIPIA, 1992 as cited in Dandena, 1995).

The shortcomings of his proposal, according to Dandena (1995:40), were first that the plan did not take into account the topography of the city, second, that the residential sector was designed with square grids of street patterns irrespective of the land configuration and the existing streams. Third, the four articulated regional roads were designed geometrically where their direction of movement did not fit into the then constructed five regional highways. Lastly his work did not take into account the existing structure of the city.

The second notable proposed master plan was prepared by Guidi and Valle in the summer 1936 which was approved by Grazziani, governor and viceroy of Italian East Africa, on October of the same year (CIPIA, 1992 as cited in Dandena, 1995). Its model of rigid segregation between the native and the Europeans characterizes the main concept of the plan, which was an integral part of their racial and discriminatory policy. By this "Piano Regolatore" (town planning) Addis Ababa was divided into two settlement zones, namely the native quarter and the Italian quarter.

Ethiopians, who had settled and lived there for more than 50 years, in areas now reserved for Italians. Hence the Italians between 1937 and 1940, according to Pankhurst (1986), passed an expropriation order against 480 proprietors with 953 houses in 1937, 1,239 proprietors with 1,407 houses in 1938, 1,418 proprietors with 1,629 houses in 1939 and 1,290 proprietors with 1,420 houses in 1940, i.e. a total in four years of 4,427 proprietors with 5,409 houses

By the middle of 1937, according to Poggiali (as cited in Pankhurst, 1986), "more than 10,000 blacks, almost a ninth of the colored population" had been evicted from their houses to the new quarter created for them which is now called *Addis Ketema*. By the autumn of the following year no less than 20,000 natives were again forced to leave their previous homes and settled in the new quarter.

In addition to this, a further decree was issued in 1938 for the expropriation "for reasons of public health" of native housing that were near to the Italian houses. Thus between 1938 and 1939 specific pieces of land were expropriated causing 528 families to be evicted.

For the relocatees several hundred-model *tukuls*, each costing around 11,000 lire, were constructed. These *tukuls* were beyond the means of most relocatees and it was later decided that expropriated persons should be allowed to build their own thatched huts and were allotted plots of land and a subsidy of 400 lire for the construction of the huts (Pankhurst, 1986:38).

One of the major evictions was carried out on the area known as *Ras Mekonen Sefer*, which is now a day called Casanchis, Menaharia, from areas around No. 6

Police Station and the adjacent land. These areas were cleared from *tuckules* of "natives" in order to make dwelling areas for upper class Italians.

The type of buildings built over this area were characterized by elaborate apartment blocks illustrating attempts of adapting Roman architecture to the tropical climate. The same type of construction also took place in the southern part of the city for the low cost Italian working class dwelling area known as the *Institute delle Case Economiche e Popolare*.

Richard Pankhurst (1986:39) argued that the creation of the native quarter was by no means complete, for the Italian plans envisaged many thousand more evictions. However, the fascist collapse brought an end to such plans.

To summarize the Italian had forwarded a master plan for Addis Ababa that was based on racial segregation. The implementation of this plan had to begin with the eviction of Ethiopians who had settled in the area now reserved for the "colonial masters". Due to this a huge number of "natives" were resettled in the western part of the city known as *Addis Ketema*. Even if the plan had not been completed due to the fall of the fascist order, it had resulted in dislocating many urban dwellers of that time.

According to Berlan (as cited in Bahiru, 1986) only 20 percent of the plan had been realized by 1941. Some of the important traces that still remains are the south ward shift of the business center. The foreign ministry, the National Palace and the E.C.A building are three "somewhat faint echoes "of Italians intentions to move the political center to the south. Above all the most significant is the creation of *Mercatto* and the surrounding Ethiopians settlements (Bahru Zewde, 1986:14).

4.2 Post Italian Development

The liberation of the country and return of the Emperor from exile followed the fascist Italian defeat. During this period the restored government of Ethiopia passed one important decree which is commonly known as the Land Restoration and Compensation Proclamation of 1942. This decree stated that all the lands confiscated by the Italians should be returned to the original owners.

The proclamation further stated that if the government of Italy had constructed roads, buildings and other physical structure that could be essential for the well being of the society, it should not be returned to the owner. In such case the Imperial Government would give compensation for the claimants.

Sultan Jemal (1994) documented a good example for this compensation arrangement. It was the case of two-land owners whose land was confiscated by the Italians in *Addis Ketema*. Their claim involved land on which nothing was constructed as well as areas on which shops and markets were constructed. It was said that the total area that was confiscated was 123,131 m², out of which about 58,461m² were used for outdoor markets and shops.

After thorough investigation of the case, the Land Board, which was known as *Ye-rist Asmelash comite*, decided two things: First, the lands, which were not used for markets and shops, should be given back to the owners. Second, for the land on which markets and shops were constructed, the municipality should pay equivalent compensation.

Also residents, who were forced out from their *sefers* that were assigned to the Italians, had their properties returned. In this case the claimant would bring their witnesses to testify that the specific land belonged to him and he would get his land. In such cases for instance in *Sarategna Sefer* almost all people returned to the *sefer* and there were hardly any newcomers because the land was distributed according to previous ownership (Daniel Tesfaye, 1991:37).

In the mean time Ethiopia being the only sovereign country in Africa, gave Addis Ababa symbolic importance and it is with this impression that the Emperor became ambitious to build a beautiful city. To fulfill his aspirations for the city, Emperor Haile Selassie I commissioned Sir Patrik Abercrombie, who was a British architect-town planner, to prepare a master plan for Addis Ababa.

The master plan of Abercrombie focused on keeping the traffic routes away from the residence area. In order to achieve this he proposed ring roads and radial streets to avoid traffic congestion in the central part of the town. Abercrombie also proposed a land use plan that envisaged the development of satellite towns around Addis Ababa (Tekeste Ahdrom, 1986:251).

However, this master plan was left at a level of general guidelines and lacked detailed plans. This condition created great difficulties in implementing the plan. Hence, three years later another British planning consultants team called Bolton Hennessy and Partners were commissioned to revise Abercrombie's master plan (Dandena, 1995: 60).

Bolton Hennessy and partners kept the idea of neighborhood development developed by Abercrombie. The team also proposed four new satellite towns in *Repi*,

Gefferssa, Kaliti, and Kotebe which are located at a distance 10 to 20 kilo meters (Tekeste Ahdrom, 1986:256). The locations of these satellite towns along the side of the regional roads have two objectives. The first is to facilitate the development of satellite towns due to the existing infrastructure and secondly it also helps to prevent the city center being crossed by fast band heavy regional traffic (Dandena, 1995:61)

The development of these four satellite towns were fostered by the establishment of various industries: namely a metal factory at *Kotebe*, brick factories at *Gefersa*, soap factory (Roll) at *Repi* and floor mills at *Kaliti*.

Again in 1965 this master plan was abandoned due to the problem of implementation and French team led by Luis De Marien proposed a new master plan for Addis Ababa. The proposal of this team had "simple layout" with strong "monumental character". But to achieve this, it needed large reorganization of the existing city. A good example could be the Churchill Road, an axial street that runs between Municipality and railway station, that create visual linkage between the two land marks (Tekeste Ahdrom, 1986:256).

To summarize, in the post Italian period various professionals have proposed master plans for Addis Ababa. The proposal of Abercrombie was focused on integrating the segregated city development created by the Italians by the neighborhood unit that has an "original impression of the early *sefers*" development of Addis Ababa.

Later Bolton Hennessy and partners tried to refine the work of Abercrombie. The team proposed four satellite towns around Addis Ababa in order to prevent the city center being crossed by heavy regional traffic. The difficulties of their proposal for

implementation led to another study by the French team, led by Luis De Marien. The proposal of the French team had a monumental character and requires considerable reorganization of the city.

During this period (1950s and 1960s) there was also a construction boom in Addis Ababa (Dejene H.Mariam 1986:256). Along the major roads modern office and residential apartments were built and behind them single story residential houses with wood and mud were also constructed. Hence the city landscape exhibits the juxtaposition of modern towers and low and single stored residential buildings.

In 1974 a popular uprising turned into a revolution and the military Junta called "*Derg*" took power. This new government followed a communist line of political system creating a turning point in the social, economic and political life of the country.

The next part will briefly discuss the development of Addis Ababa during the *Derg*' period (1974-1991).

4.3 The 'Derg' Period (1974-1991)

One of the drastic changes brought by the military junta was the nationalization of urban land and extra houses by Proclamation No. 47, 1975. This proclamation brought a radical change in the development of Addis Ababa. It abolished the private ownership of land and made land "freely accessible" for those who need to construct their houses. In this proclamation the maximum plot size for residential use was limited to 500m² which resulted in creating low-density residential neighborhoods. Residential neighborhoods that are located near to Bole international Airport are a good example.

Even if urban land was given "free of charge", Addis Ababa did not grow even as it had done earlier (Dandena Tuffa, 1995:68). According to the same source, the major reasons were:-

- The political unrest during the first five year (1974-1979)
 - The nationalization of extra houses that totally hindered the construction of houses for rent, and
 - The control of immigration to cities through the registration of people's movement
- Thus the city's growth rate was lowered to 3.4%.

During the early times of the revolution there was a need for the preparation of a master plan that reflected the city's new future. Thus Prof. C.K. Polonyi of Hungary was assigned to review the master plan of L. De Marien. The master plan proposed by Polonyi for the first time attempted to define the urban-rural linkage and the role of the growth poles in relation to the capital city (Tekeste Ahdrom, 1986:256). The proposal also extends the city along the Addis- Nazareth line encompassing the town with in 100 kilo meter (east of Addis Ababa) in order to make the city self sufficient with agricultural and industrial product (Dandena, 1995: 69).

The other proposal by Polonyi was the development of central areas in Addis Ababa, particularly *Meskel* Square. This square has a length 500m and was designed to have seats for more than 100,000 people. It was intended for military parades and was named "*Abiot* (Revolution)' Square".

However, the overall development of the city continued to be guided by the Master plan proposed by De Marien and the "discrepancy" between the paper work,

In this Master Plan, for action planning purpose, three main zones were identified with in the existing city. These are core area, semi-central zone, and fringe zone. With in the core area mostly renewal projects would be implemented using high rise building typologies. To carry out this four different types of interventions with in the existing city have been identified.

These interventions are **technological up grading** (for projects that are concerned with only improvement of roads, drainage system, street lighting, etc.) **assisted upgrading** (implemented in *kebeles* where 40 to 50 percent of houses are to be demolished) **urban renewal** (implemented where houses to be demolished are more than 70 percent) and **localized urban renewal** (implemented when projects have the same nature as urban renewal but reduced in size and cover only part of a *kebele*).

According to AAMPPO (1986: 7) the kind of intervention to be implemented in different parts of the city is chosen on the basis of the following factors.

- Percentage of households to be demolished,
- Percentage of households with foundation but requiring major maintenance work'
- Percentage of households with difficult access to communal toilets and shower facilities, and
- Percentage of households owned by *kebele*.

Given the present condition of the core area, urban up grading and renewal can be considered as an important component of the housing program.

Looking at the implementation of this master plan, it took 8 years to approve it due to the bureaucratic system established by the former government. Despite the

approval problem, the master plan was in use during the eight-year period for the implementation of housing projects, particularly for cooperative housing development (Dandena, 1995:79).

4.4 Addis Ababa Since 1991

After the fall of the socialist government in May 1991, the newly established Transitional Government decided to adopt a market oriented land and housing development system i.e., lease system. Following the issuance of the national lease system in 1993 (Proclamation Number 107, 1993) the Regional States began to devise means for implementing the urban land lease holding system. Accordingly, the Addis Ababa City Government, under Proclamation No. 3,1994 established a lease holding system.

Hence, due to the establishment of the regional government, it resulted in the areas out of the city border being governed by Oromiya Regional State. Thus the concept of metropolitan development was dropped and the "core city" development was approved by the City Council eight years after its preparation.

4.5 Limitations in Inner City Redevelopment of Addis Ababa

The process of developing the inner city is not a simple exercise that can be accomplished without any problem. As stated earlier the inner city is a battlefield of conflicting interest among the main actors. For instance, low-income families prefer to remain in the inner city due to the fact that the central location provides them with a

multitude of employment opportunities. On the other hand, the public sector looks for space in the inner city for its accessibility and good location for business, and for the same reason the government is interested in the development of inner city to generate an income by providing the land for potential users.

In order to integrate the different interest of the actors that are involved in the process of redevelopment of the inner city urban renewal policy is the most crucial element. At present Addis Ababa City Administration does not have a policy that is comprehensive and specific regarding the role and responsibilities of different actors that are involved in the urban development process.

Lack of such policies will have a negative impact on the development of the city. The private sector that is willing to participate in this process may face a problem in identifying what is required from it, with whom to communicate, and what support and guarantee can be given from the local government.

In relation to this the local government also faces a problem in facilitating and coordinating urban development activities. The Lease Office, that is responsible for the provision of urban land for developers, doesn't have any guide lines that are workable for built-up areas and this resulted in inability to give quick responses to real estate developers. Lack of clearly set policies also has an effect on the financial agencies participation. This situation made the public sector to be the sole actor in providing infrastructure and affordable housing unit for "Keble house" renters that will be affected by the project.

The non-existence of defined policy also has an effect on the resettlement procedure. Due to this resettlement activities in the city are usually carried out

subjectively rather than based on principles. For instance, in the case of the Sheraton Addis Project, those households who live in *Kebele* houses affected by the project were given a pre built housing unit in *Kotebe* area. With in the same city those households that are affected by the Ring Road Project were not resettled. Rather, they were given only *birr* 1,200 to rent a house for one year as compensation. As Cernea (1993) indicated cash compensation is a procedure favored by many municipalities, and is rationalized by hand core economist as a fair way of handling displacement. In reality many researchers have indicated that leaving those displaced at the mercy of the market force is "recipe for melting away their cash compensation" and making them homeless. From these two projects, it is easy to discern that lack of policy resulted in the affected households to be treated as unequal citizen.

The other limitation is the institutional set up. According to Ayalew (1997) the Lease Office and Urban Development and Worlds Bureau are not capable of carrying out the inner city redevelopment activities. He mentioned that both institutions, in addition to their task of providing inner city land for potential user, are involved in many responsibilities that are beyond their capacities. Therefore, it is very difficult for the institution to bear such a huge task with the current organizational frameworks.

4.6 The Legal Aspect of Eviction

Eviction or expropriation involves the "lawful" taking by the government of privately owned immovable properties for public purpose against payment of compensation commensurate with the value of the expropriated property (Tamirat Delelegne, 1997:57).

According to the same source this power had been exercised by the previous governments and now by the Federal Government of Ethiopia. Actually expropriation proceedings have been carefully defined by the Civil Code Proclamation, 1960. In this Code public purpose and commensurable compensation were the two central issues.

The Civil Code clearly states that the government may expropriate private property only where such act is needed to serve the public purpose. For Instance the construction of infrastructures such as roads, hospitals schools, are meant to serve the public. Tamirat (1997) argues that there are some projects that are less clear, as mentioned above, but many are considered as a project with the public purpose. To make his point clear he mentioned the example of the construction of the assemble hall of the Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.A.). In this project the government had a stake in the project and in the long run the public is likely to benefit from the project. He also mentioned the expropriation in the Sheraton Addis Project. According to his finding the expropriation could have been successfully challenged in the court since the project was not designed to serve public purpose, instead it was designed to generate profit for the promoter of the project.

Leaving this contestable idea at this stage (since the purpose of the research is to assess the consequence of the resettlement scheme) let us see what happens once the government proposes projects serving "public" purpose. In this case the owner of the selected site will have to give up his immovable property against the payment of commensurable compensation. This compensation proceeding includes that the government must pay compensation for all developments on the expropriated plot of land and substituted the land over which the expropriated person has a user

right (Tamirat, 1997:98). Here the compensation is assumed to be equal to the actual damage suffered by the owner. In this case the exact amount of the compensation is to be determined by the agreement between the government and the expropriated person that has a user right. When either of these parties were not satisfied with the compensation, they can appeal to the court.

In this case study, it was identified that the expropriation and the resettlement were carried out smoothly and fairly.

To summarize, the compensation arrangement should not only include the physical damages caused by expropriation but also other factors should be taken into consideration. One of such factors is the social impact of the expropriation proceeding since the expropriation proceedings could create some serious inconvenience to the owner such as schooling of children or one's own work. Hence the amount of compensation should take into account the social problems that the dislocated person could overcome.

Having seen these aspects, the next part deals with the relocation process.

Chapter Five

Description of the Relocation Process

This part of the thesis attempts to examine the organization of the relocation process, and the roles and responses of the actors involved. It also assesses the compensation arrangements and how the affected communities were shifted to the new site. But before proceeding to that, it is important to consider the project agreement.

On June 23, 1993 (Sene 14, 1985 E.C) the project agreement was signed between the then Region 14 Administration (present day Addis Ababa City Government) and the then ALTAD private Limited Company (currently known as MIDROC Ethiopia).

The basic issues of the agreement were that the local government agreed to provide land covering an area of 76,000m² for the construction of a "five star hotel". The selected site for the project was located in the central part of the city near the Old Palace in *Woreda 14 Kebele 25*. This area was one of the highly dense neighborhoods in the city. According to the land use proposal of the 1984 Master plan, this area was reserved for governmental organizations such as ministries, government agencies, etc. Hence, this site was given to the promoter by violating the master plan proposal.

The promoter of the project, on the other hand, agreed either to pay compensation for the would-be affected communities or to relocate them by constructing dwelling units. According to the signed agreement the company agreed

to resettle the relocatees in *Woreda 28 Kebele 04* near to the "new diplomatic neighborhood." The land allocated for the resettlement site covers an area of 160,000m² and its locational requirement was based on the 1984 Master Plan.

The site selected for the resettlement was located about 10 kilometers east from the city center (see Appendices2). From the project agreement it was observed that, even if the project agreement dealt with the physical structure of the housing, it did not accommodate the criteria for site selection based upon the communities working place, the availability of social facilities like schools and health which were neglected. Hence the site selection criteria for the scheme were insignificant.

Even if it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it can be noted that there was no detailed plan prepared to show the future development and integration of the resettlement area with the overall land use plan of the *Kotebe* district at the time of the selection of the site.

Anyhow, after the decision to relocate had been reached, the steps taken were the planning and designing period (including announcing of the scheme) and the actual removal and resettlement period, i.e., the implementation phases.

Now let us briefly consider the announcement of the relocation program.

5.1 Announcement of the Program

Once the decision to relocate has been taken, the announcement of the scheme to the would-be affected community by the leading actors is usually the next step. Relocation decisions have been communicated to the relocatees in different ways. For example is Pune, India (1983) the people of seven squatter settlements

heard about the relocation scheme through the newspaper. In other cases (in Madras, 1988) the would be affected people were informed through sending notices which informed them that the land they occupied was required for other purposes and it was proposed to offer them an alternative location. The case in Valle Juelo, Colombia (1988) showed another way in that the affected communities were informed about the resettlement scheme on a personal basis in order to obtain approval for the relocation plan.

Given different experiences the study attempts to consider how the relocation scheme was announced to the relocatees. Out of the total relocated household heads, the majority (92.5 %) claimed that they were informed about the relocation scheme formally through the *kebele* officials. According to the relocates the formal announcement of the program, as described by the relocatees, made them prepare both physically and psychologically for the resettlement scheme. In addition to this formal announcement, almost half of the *kebele* houses were demolished in the form of slum clearance in the year 1981/82 (1974/75 Ethiopian Calendar) by the then Ministry of Urban Development and Housing. During this process the relocatees were transferred to resettle at *Bihere-Tsige* and *Kolfe*. This situation had also made the present relocatees expected there turn to be evicted.

When asked about what their reaction was when asked to move from their previous settlement about 54 percent of them agreed to resettle in the new site. The remaining 46 percent objected to the idea of moving to the new site and claimed that they were forced to leave their former dwelling units.

The study further assessed whether there was a relation between the employment type of the household head in their response to the idea of moving from their previous settlement. Thus among those household heads who were self employed about 61 percent claimed that they objected when asked to move from their previous housing units. On the other hand, among those household heads employed in private firms and in government organizations 70 percent agreed to move to the new site.

It was also observed that 67 percent of those household heads that used their dwelling units both for residence and commercial purpose objected to move and forced to leave their previous housing unit. This is speculated to happen due to the fact that the inner city provides a multitude of income and employment opportunities for those household heads that had an attached commercial unit with their residence and the self employed respectively.

The study also identified that about 60 percent of the relocated household heads argued that they had been given the time and the means to express their problems and priorities regarding the relocation scheme in *kebele* meetings. On top of this, 82.5 percent of the relocated household heads claimed that even if it was limited, the local government used their community based organizations (CBO), i.e. their *idir*, in representing their priorities and problems.

5.1.1 The Actors Involved

The roles and responsibilities of the actors that are involved in the relocation scheme are related to the scope, the decision making and the implementation model

adapted in the relocation scheme. The main actors that are usually involved in the resettlement schemes are the public sector and the communities affected.

The actors that were involved in this case study were mainly the Addis Ababa City Government, which is a local government and MIDROC company, which is a private sector agency. Both the promoter of the project and the Works and Urban Development Bureau of the Addis Ababa City Government were the most active actors in undertaking the land acquisition and clearance of the inner city land. The affected communities, on the other hand, had hardly been organized and mobilized to participated in the above-mentioned activities. This is shown in the fact that out of the total relocated households only 33 percent declared that they participate in the planning and implementation of the relocation scheme. They also stressed that their role was limited to commenting on the plans of the proposed housing typologies.

Even if it was limited, the beginning of community participation as a starting point implies that the affected communities were considered as a valuable source of idea in the process of the resettlement scheme. When such participation is encouraged, it can make the relocated households become active actors in the resettlement scheme and can result in minimizing social costs.

5.1.2. Organization of the Process

The relocation program consisted of procedures that included a preliminary study of the affected communities. According to the agreement, the investor undertook the preliminary study. At this point, it should be noted that the study did not contain the socioeconomic as well as demographic characteristics of the affected

communities. Rather the study includes only registration of all houses according to their respective house number, detailed description about the type of houses including its tenure type, construction material, number of rooms, floor area, and finally the cost estimation of each house. In fact the project agreement was rather narrow in scope and neglected the most essential factors of planning, namely social and economic conditions of the affected communities.

The resettlement program on the other hand, covered the process from planning and selection of the new site to the actual transfer of the affected population to the relocation site.

One of the major problems in resettlement programs is the completion of the development of the resettlement area before the arrival of the relocatees. The failure to do so, as documented in UNCHS (1991), causes many difficulties for the relocatees. For instance in Dhaka, in 1975, the lack of infrastructure in the resettlement area upon the arrival of the relocatees resulted in major health problem. Again in Dakshinpuri in Delhi India, a major gap existed between the planned facilities and those actually provided for the relocatees upon their arrival. There even after six months the basic facilities, such as water, were still lacking, causing a number of people to die due to stomach infections.

In this study an attempt was made to assess the opinion of the relocated households regarding to development of the resettlement area. Thus out of the total relocated household heads surveyed about 89 percent feel that they were required to evacuate when the resettlement site was ready.

This finding identified that the scheduling of the engineering works on the one hand, and the resettlement activity on the other hand, were planned in a coordinated manner to lessen the suffering of the affected communities.

5.1.3 Compensation Arrangement

Before proceeding to the process of the compensation arrangement, the resettlement program first identified which occupants of the affected communities were eligible for resettlement. In this case study, the eligibility criteria were related to the status on tenure arrangement within the prevailing legal framework.

To lessen the injuries caused by the relocation program, compensation arrangements were envisaged in this scheme. This compensation arrangement was highly dependent upon the concern for the population affected by the relocation and on their legal status.

According to the UNCHS (1991) there exist a wide variety of compensation arrangements among which the major ones are: -

- Financial arrangement to cover the investment made in the house or land that has been left behind,
- Arrangements to compensate for the problems caused by being resettled in a place away from the original living environment, and
- Arrangement to compensate for the loss of income due to relocation.

In the case of the Sheraton Addis Hotel Project, compensation was paid only to those households who had a private property certificate and permitted erected

structures and they were provided a plot of land that is equivalent to their previous plot size with a complete built residence. The rest, i.e., both who used to live in *kebele* houses and in Rental House Administration's houses, were given a complete built residence according to the floor area of their previous housing unit.

Hence dwelling units that had a floor area ranging from 0 to 45.6m² were provided with a new housing unit that has a built up area of 45m² that consists of one living room, one bedroom, a pit latrine and one kitchen.

Housing units that covered a floor area from 45.6m² up to 52.3m² were given a dwelling unit that covered an area of 57.3m² that contains one living room, two bedrooms with a pit latrine, and a kitchen.

The remaining households that had a built up area of between 52.3m² and 73 m² were given a housing unit that covers an area of 73m². The new dwelling unit consists of one living room with two bedrooms, a kitchen with store, and a pit latrine.

5.1.4 The Shift of the Affected Community

Actually dismantling of communities from their place of living and resettling them in a new site far from their previous neighborhoods have been emotional affairs. In many case studies, as reviewed by UNCHS (1991), people had only very limited time to prepare to move after they received the notice about their eviction to the new site. For instance in Maroko Ilado, Nigeria (1992) the inhabitants were given a notice of only a few days before the state undertook their eviction. In the case of the resettlement that took place in Manila, Philippines, the communities had not been informed about the resettlement scheme and were surprised by the eviction team.

Regarding whether the relocatees of Sheraton Addis Hotel project were given enough time to prepare themselves for the removal, the study found out that out of the total relocated household heads, the majority (82.5%) stated that they were given ample time to be ready for the eviction and resettlement in the new site. The study also identified that about 82.5 percent of the relocated household heads had seen the newly provided housing unit before they were evacuated from their previous dwellings. These household heads also claimed that they were given the dwelling units using a ballot system. In addition to this the affected communities were transported with their belongings to the new site by trucks provided to them by the promoter of the project.

This situation indicates that the relocation scheme had given attention to the affected community and, as described by the relocatees, this made the transfer to the new site less stressful and painful. The study further identified that about 27 percent of the relocated household heads had the means to construct their own dwelling units if they were given their own plot. It was also revealed that 82 percent of the relocatees would be very satisfied if they were given their own home. The remaining 18 percent claimed that it would not have any effect concerning their satisfaction. The above mentioned findings indicates that special arrangement should be included for those household heads who have a means to built their own dwellings.

Having seen how the resettlement program had been organized and implemented, the next part will give some highlight about the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the relocated communities.

5.2 The Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of the Relocated households

The study and analysis of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of relocatees will help to answer an essential question regarding which sections of the urban population lived in the inner city and were forced to resettle in peripheral area due to "urban development". Moreover, the degree of the impacts of the relocation scheme and the residential satisfaction and stability of the relocated households are directly influenced by the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of each relocated household. Hence this section attempts to highlight some of the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the dislocated households.

5.2.1 Age Structure

Among the total sample of household heads considered in this study, about 62 percent fall in the age group of above 40 years (Table 3). This situation indicates that the majority of household heads are in a stable age where the tendency to move to other area to live is less appreciated when compared to the younger age group.

Table 3: Age structure of the sample household heads

Age group	Frequency	Percent
below 30 years	8	9.3
31-39 years	19	22.1
40-49 years	22	25.6
50-59	10	11.6
60 and above	19	18.6
not available	11	12.8
Total	86	100

The study has also identified that about 89 percent of the relocated households had been living in the previous settlement for more than ten years (Table 4). Of these household heads 30 percent of them were born and lived all their lives in the place from where they were evicted.

When the age of the household heads were correlated with the period they had been living in the previous locality, it is found out that among those household heads aged between 30 and 50 about 83 percent had lived there for more than ten years.

The above mentioned fact indicates that the relocatees had spent most of their lives in the inner city. Hence the relocation scheme has resulted in forcing the inhabitants out from the already developed settlement where neighborhood ties had been very strong. It is believed that the adaptation to the new resettlement site would, therefore, be a very difficult experience for them.

Table 4. Period of living in the previous settlement

Period	Frequency	Percent
less than 2 years	8	9.9
between 2 and 10 years	1	1.2
greater than 10 year	48	59.3
all their lives	24	29.6
Total	81	100

5.2.2 Marital Status

Considering the marital status of the relocated households 52 percent were found to be married at the time of the survey (Table 5). This situation reveals that marriage, which is related to family formation and increase in family size, is expected to have an implication on the residential satisfaction of the relocated households.

The table also indicates that the proportion of single (unmarried) household heads in the total sample was found to be less than 10 percent. The widowed and the divorced together account 38 percent of the total sample.

Table 5: Marital status of the household heads

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Single	8	9.9
Married	42	51.9
Divorce	13	16.0
Widowed	18	22.0
Total	81	100

The survey also identified that about 51 percent of the relocatees were female-headed (Table 6).

Table 6: Sex of the household head

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	40	49.38
Female	41	50.62
Total	81	100

5.2.3 Household Size

When the family size of the relocated households is examined, it is found out that 73 percent have a family size ranging between 4 and 9 (Table 7). Those households who have a family size up to 3 constitute about 20 percent, while the rest of the households who have a household size greater than 10 accounts for less than 8 percent.

On the basis of the sample household survey, the average size of the families in the new settlement is 6.4 persons.

Table 7: Distribution of family size of the relocated households

household size	frequency	per cent
1-3	16	19.8
4-6	38	46.9
7-9	21	25.9
10 and above	6	7.4
Total	81	100

In the previous settlement, those households who had a family size up of to 6 persons constituted about 60 percent. In the sample household survey, it was found out that the average family size in the previous settlement was 6.6 persons. This indicates that the average family size has shown a slight reduction between the two settlements and this had an implication regarding crowdedness in terms of persons per room. This will be discussed in detail in section 5.3.3.

5.2.4 Employment Situation

With regard to the employment situation of the relocated household heads, the study identified that 95 percent of the sample household heads were employed in the previous settlement (Table 8). Unemployed and retired household heads constitutes the remaining 5 percent. It is also witnessed that among the unemployed household heads about 78 percent were female-headed.

The Table also portrays that the number of unemployed households increased from 1.2 percent in the previous settlement to about 11 percent in the new site. This situation reveals that the relocation scheme has brought a significant

change in the employment status of the relocatees. The impact and implication of this situation will be discussed later in section 5.6.

Table 8: Employment status of the relocated household heads

Employment status	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous Settlement	New Settlement	Previous Settlement	New Settlement
Employed	77	67	95.1	82.7
Unemployed	1	9	1.2	11.1
Retired	3	5	3.7	6.2
Total	81	81	100	100

In the previous settlement, among the employed household heads 42 percent were self-employed (Table 9). The study further identified that among the self-employed the female-headed households constitute 74.3 percent. However in the new settlement the number of self-employed household heads has showed a decline. This is believed to be due to the fact that the new site offers limited opportunities in creating potential clients for their market.

The study further brought forth that in the previous settlement about 86 percent of the employed household heads were permanent full time worker. The casual and temporary workers together accounts for the remaining 14 percent. This situation has almost stayed the same in the new settlement. Hence this implies that the relocation scheme did not result in causing a change in the employment condition of the employed household heads.

The relocated households were also asked whether they have a secondary occupation or not. Among the total sample household heads about 9 percent used to

earn an income from secondary occupations in the old settlement, while the remaining 91 percent had not been involved in secondary occupations.

In the new settlement, the above-mentioned finding remained almost the same. This illustrates that the relocation scheme did not bring a significant impact on those households who earn an income from secondary occupation.

Table 9: Employment type of the relocated household heads

Employment type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Self employed	35	30	43.8	39.0
Private firm	15	15	18.8	19.5
Government organization	26	24	32.5	31.2
Daily laborer	2	1	2.5	1.3
Retired	2	5	2.5	9.0
Total	81	81	100	100

The study further identified that among those relocatees who had secondary occupation the female headed households constituted about 83 percent and 75 percent in the old and new settlements respectively.

This may happen due to the fact that the opportunities of being involved in secondary occupation for the female headed households were not highly dependent upon the location of the settlement since most of them were involved in domestic works such as washing clothes and making "*Injera*".

5.2.5 Income

When the monthly income of the relocated household heads from principal occupation was assessed, the survey indicated that about 63 percent earn a monthly income of less than 347 *birr* (Table 10). Among this category, those households who earn a monthly income less than 230 *birr* accounts 44 percent.

The above mentioned situation indicates that the majority of the relocated households were poor and it is a rational decision for them to live in the inner city where the cost of living is much lower as compared to the peripheral areas.

The table below portrays that those households who earn more than 600 *birr* per month constitute about 19 percent in the new settlement and it was 21 percent in the previous settlement.

Table 10: Income distribution of household heads

Monthly Income (in <i>birr</i>)	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous Settlement.	New Settlement	Previous Settlement	New Settlement
less than 105	3	20	3.8	25.0
106-230	30	16	36.3	18.8
231-347	16	15	20.0	18.8
348-420	4	7	5.0	8.8
421-600	11	8	13.8	10.0
more than 600	17	15	21.3	18.8
Total	81	81	100	100

The study also identified that among those households who earn a monthly income less of than 105 *birr* in the new settlement the majority (65%) were female

headed households (Table 11). Again the female-headed households constitute only 26.6 percent out of those household heads who earn more than 600 *birr* per month

Table 11: Income distribution of household heads by sex (in the new settlement)

Monthly income (in birr)						
Sex	less than 105	106-230	231-347	348-420	420-600	More than 600
Female	13	8	7	6	3	4
Male	7	8	8	1	5	11
Total	20	16	15	7	8	15

Among the total household surveyed about 38 percent have shown a change in income between the two settlements. When the employment situation of the household heads was analyzed, it was found out that 62 percent were self-employed. Again it was identified that this decline in income is shown much more in those households who earn a monthly income of less than *birr* 230. This decline in income is attributed to many factors among which lack of clients and limited market for the self employed constitute 43.8 percent and retirement from government and/or private organizations accounts for 18.8 percent.

Furthermore the study has identified the distribution of changes in income along the employment type of the relocated household heads. As a result out of those household heads that were self-employed 60 percent showed a decline in income. Again among the reasons mentioned for this change in income 66.6 percent is attributed to lack of client and market in the new settlement.

This illustrates that the income of relocated household heads has declined as a result of the relocation scheme.

The study also tried to see whether any support was given to the relocatees with the aim of improving their incomes. Like the cases mentioned in section 3.2 some of the members of the relocated household families were offered employment opportunities in the project. However, of the total sample households only 22.2 percent were employed in the project while the majority, i.e., 77.8 percent did not get such an opportunity. Moreover, among the households who obtained employment in the project about 37 percent stayed employed for less than 12 months.

In the study it is also identified that the employment opportunities in the project were not given to the affected community under specified criteria. Instead, the '*kebele*' officials, who were responsible for registering the daily laborers among the relocatees, exercised their power to benefit their close friends and relatives. Thus it is clear that the majority of the affected communities were marginalized in getting benefits from the project.

5.2.6 Educational Status

Regarding the educational status of the relocated household heads, the survey has identified that about 41 percent of them cannot read and write at all (Table 12). Among those who cannot read and write, female-headed households constituted 63.6 percent. It was also identified that 15 percent of the total household heads have

attained a post-secondary level education. Among this category 12 percent of the total households have graduated from higher education institutes.

Table 12. Educational status of the relocation household heads

level of education	Frequency	Percent
Can not read and write	33	40.7
Primary school	19	23.5
Secondary school	17	21.0
Vocational school	2	2.5
University graduate	10	12.3
Total	81	100

Having considered the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the relocated household heads, the following part will discuss the consequences of the resettlement scheme regarding the provided housing unit and utilities attached to it.

5.3 Characteristics of the New Housing

During the preparation of the resettlement site, the size and scale of activities to be undertaken is determined by what is envisaged in the plan in terms of housing and facilities to be provided for the relocatees. Regarding housing and infrastructure, UNCHS (1991) identified a range of options for the housing and infrastructure service provided on the scheme.

Simply transferring the people to the new settlement site without any shelter provision or tenure security represents one of the options. On the other end lies the option of provision of a completed public housing estate.

In the case of Sheraton Addis Hotel project the affected communities, as indicated in section 5.1.4, were given a finished housing unit that covers an equal amount of built up area as the previous housing unit.

Regarding the provided housing unit the following part will discuss the tenure type, construction materials, number of rooms, utilities attached to the housing units and other related aspects.

5.3.1 Tenure Type

According to the sample household survey, the collected data indicated that about 70 percent of the dwelling units were *kebele* owned (Table 13). The privately owned housing units constituted about 24 percent. The study further identified that the female headed households constituted about 47 percent and 62 percent of the *kebele* owned dwelling units and privately owned dwelling units respectively.

Table 13: Household tenure type

Tenure type	Frequency	Percent
Private owned	21	24.4
<i>Kebele</i> owned	60	69.8
RHA owned	-	-
Private renter	5	5.8
Total	86	100

In the new settlement private renters (i.e., those households who rent the entire dwelling unit from the relocated households) account for about 6 percent. This has an implication regarding the residential stability of the relocated households. This will be discussed in detail in section 5.8.

In the resettlement scheme the relocated households remain with the same rights as in the former dwelling. "*Debal*" (co-residents) are also treated with the same rights as in the former dwelling, i.e., a '*debal*' in the former house will remain as a '*debal*' in the newly provided dwelling unit. Even if this aspect of the relocation scheme gave the principal owners or principal renters' rights to occupancy on the same basis, the '*debal*' legal right as a citizen to occupy a house in the new settlement was undermined.

The monthly rent each household pays to the *kebele* administration ranged from *birr* 2.50 to more than 40 *birr* (Table 14). Those households who paid a monthly rent of less than 10 *birr* constituted about 63 percent. The study also identified that there was no change in the monthly rent the relocatees paid between the two settlements.

Table 14 Distribution of housing units by monthly rent

Monthly rent (in <i>birr</i>)	Frequency	Percent
Less than 10	39	62.9
11-20	8	12.9
21-40	8	12.9
More than 40	7	11.3
Total	60	100

The study also reveals that there was a shift in the level of satisfaction between the two settlements regarding the monthly rent they pay. Thus in the previous settlement those household heads who were highly satisfied constituted only 17.4 percent where as in the new settlement it rose to 50 percent.

5.3.2 Construction Material

When the construction material of the housing units is considered, wood and mud ('chika') wall is found to be the dominant wall construction material of the previous housing units (Table 15). In the new settlement, however, most of the dwelling units were constructed from hollow concrete blocks.

The Table illustrates that 95 percent of the relocated households lived in housing units constructed from wood and mud in the previous settlement. The average life spans of these dwelling units is only 20 to 30 years and most of them had passed the limited life span and were in need of serious repair. In the new settlement, however, all of the households reside in dwelling units constructed from more durable materials.

The outcome of the relocation scheme, regarding the provided housing unit, is positive for the relocatees since the move to the resettlement site was seen by the relocatees as an opportunity to live in new houses of permanent structure.

Table 15: Building materials used

Building material type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Wood and mud	77	-	95.1	-
Hollow concrete blocks	3	81	3.7	100
Brick	-	-	-	-
Stone	1	-	1.2	-
Total	81	81	100	100

The study further identified that, in the previous settlement about 80 percent of the relocated household heads were dissatisfied regarding the construction material of their dwellings. However, in the new settlement, all the relocated household heads stated that they were highly satisfied concerning the construction material of their newly provided housing units. Hence the relocation scheme can be considered as transferring slum communities from the shanty-housing unit to improved ones.

5.3.3 Number of Rooms

When the number of rooms (excluding kitchen and toilet) in each housing unit is considered, it was found out that about 52 percent of the relocated households lived in housing units that had only 2 rooms in the previous settlement (Table 16). In the new settlement, 48 percent of the relocated households reside in dwelling units that have rooms ranging between 3 and 5.

Table 16. Distribution of housing unit by number of rooms

Number of rooms	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
1	7	-	8.6	-
2	35	33	43.2	40.7
3	22	29	27.2	35.8
4	5	4	6.2	4.9
5	5	6	6.2	7.4
Greater than 5	7	9	8.7	11.2
Total	81	81	100	100

The above table reveals that in the previous settlement the majority (79%) of the relocated households lived in housing units that had less than 3 rooms. Among this group about 9 percent lived in a single room dwelling unit.

The research also identified that there was not a significant change between the two settlements regarding the distribution of the dwelling unit vis-à-vis the family size of the relocatees. For instance in both settlements out of those households whose family size is between 4 and 6 about 74 percent lived in dwelling unit that have rooms ranging between 1 and 3.

NUPI (1998) identified that international experience has shown that the provision of adequate space per person needs to be responsive to both "physical" as well as "psychological satisfaction" of the inhabitants. A minimum of 25m² with a minimum internal height of 2.27meter should be provided per family of 5 persons. Hence according to this context, the minimum habitable housing unit required by the average household size of five people (husband and wife, three other family members) should be able to accommodate at least three beds, a multipurpose living and dining area that can also be used for other socioeconomic and cultural activities.

In the relocation scheme, however, the provided housing unit may not always have the required size to accommodate the families. Regarding this aspect, the relocated households were asked to comment on the dwelling units offered to them.

Of the total households surveyed about 60 percent stated that the housing unit provided is enough to accommodate the family, whereas the remaining 40 percent did not consider the dwelling unit to have the required built-up area for the family.

When these groups were asked what kind of room they wished to add, 22 percent of them need an extra bedroom while the rest (78%) want to have an additional bed room with a more spacious living room. With respect to this about 62 percent of the relocated households constructed an additional room without a construction permit from the *Woreda* 28 Urban Development and Works Bureau.

When the family size of these households was assessed, it was found out that about 72 percent have a family size between 4 and 9. Among those household heads whose family size in between 1 and 3 about 50 percent constructed an additional room. But among those households, whose family size is more than ten, almost all of them built an additional room.

Among those who built an additional room, the majority (73.6%) used the room for kitchen while about 8 percent of them used it for shops. Those households who built both a shop and a kitchen constitute about 11.3 percent.

Those households, who built a kitchen in their plot, converted the provided kitchen into a bedroom. Again this situation proves the fact that the provided housing unit did not take into account the family size. Instead the dwelling units were allocated based on the built up area of the former dwelling unit only.

5.3.4 Utilities Attached to the Housing Units

One of the most important determinants of the adequacy of any housing unit is the degree of availability of housing services namely water, electricity, kitchen and toilet.

Water

Looking at the source of drinking water, almost 100 percent of the surveyed households in both settlements use pipe water. In the previous settlement almost 38 percent of the households purchased piped water (Table 17). Those households who had a private tap in the former settlement constituted 38 percent while the remaining 24 percent used a shared tap.

Table 17, Source of drinking water

Type of source	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Private tap	31	81	38.3	100
shared tap	19	-	23.5	-
Purchased	31	-	38.3	-
Total	81	81	100	100

Those households who used a shared tap were asked to mention the problems they faced in their previous settlement. Among the problems mentioned the major ones were time wastage due to distance and spend several days having no water because the pipes were frequently out of use and took several days to be repaired. In the new settlement, on the contrary, each household has its own water tap in their compound.

This condition implies that the relocation scheme has avoided the inconvenience to the inhabitants regarding water supply. The provision of a private tap for each household in the new settlement, therefore, has a great significance in

promoting health, sanitation and general comfort of the relocatees regarding water supply.

Electricity

When the availability of electricity is considered, in both settlements almost 100 percent of the surveyed households used electricity as a source of light. In the previous settlement about 46 percent of the households used a common meter while the remaining 54 percent had their own meter (Table 18). However, in the new settlement all the relocated households have their own meter.

The main complaints of those households who used common meters were disputes and quarrels among users about payment, since the amount of electricity used by each household cannot be easily known.

Table 18: Type of electric connection

Connection type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Own meter	44	81	54.4	100
Common meter	37	-	45.7	-
Total	81	81	100	100

One of the outcomes of the relocation scheme regarding the supply of electricity is that it avoids quarrels and disputes among the neighbors regarding payment of electricity bills.

Kitchen

Concerning the availability of kitchens in the housing units, the findings of the study showed that about 52 percent of the household units in the previous settlement had shared kitchen (Table 19). The rest (42%) used private kitchens for cooking.

Table 19 Availability of kitchen

Availability type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Private	42	81	51.9	100
Shared	34	-	42.0	-
Open air	-	-	-	-
none	5	-	6.2	-
Total	81	81	100	100

As indicated in the table, 5 percent of the sample households in the previous settlement did not have any kitchen facility. The study also identified that in the previous settlement 72.6 percent of the household heads were dissatisfied regarding the available kitchen facilities. However, in the new settlement 94 percent were satisfied. This is due to the fact that all the relocated households became owners of a private kitchen in the new settlement.

Toilets

The toilet facility, which is the most indispensable facility for dwelling units, has a great significance from the sanitary and health point of view. In the former settlement about 5 percent of the dwelling units had no means of human waste disposal and,

therefore, disposed waste wherever it seemed convenient to them (Table 20). The majority households, i.e., 65.4 percent, on the other hand, used shared pit latrines.

Table 20: Availability of toilet facilities

Type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Private	24	81	29.6	100
Shared	53	-	65.4	-
none	4	-	4.9	-
Total	81	81	100	100

Those households who used shared pit latrines had many complaints. Among the complaints mentioned, keeping the communal latrine clean, its filling frequently, and the crowding in use and waiting for one's turn, especially in the morning, were the major complaints cited by the majority of households (96%).

The levels of satisfaction of the relocated households concerning the toilet facilities in both settlements were also examined. According to the findings of the study, about 75 percent of the relocated household heads were dissatisfied with the available toilet facilities in the previous settlement. However, in the new settlement, , almost all of them are satisfied out of which 92 percent are highly satisfied.

This happens due to the fact that in the new settlement the relocation scheme has provided each household with a private toilet and avoided the above mentioned complaints. In addition to this, the relocation scheme has also resulted in creating a healthy environment for the dwellers.

5.4 Public Facilities and Infrastructure

The provision of public services and infrastructure in the new settlement area, when compared to the previous settlement lagged far behind due to the fact that the new settlement is located in a less developed area. For instance the nearest public hospital (Menilk II) is located 5 km from the resettlement site whereas it was around 500 meters (Zweditu Memorial) away from the previous settlement (Table 21).

At the same time educational facilities, such as kindergarten and elementary schools were located at a radius of 500 meters in the previous settlement. These institutions, in the new settlement, are located between 1.5 and 2 km away from the neighborhood.

Table 21: Distribution of the nearest public facilities (in kilometer)

Public facility	Previous settlement	New settlement
Clinic	0.5	5.0
Health center	0.5	5.0
Hospital	0.56	5.0
Kindergarten	0.5	1.5
Junior high school	0.5	1.5
Senior high school	0.8	1.5
Market place	0.5	1.5
Recreation place	0.5	1.5

The research also found out that in the previous settlement almost all the relocated household heads were satisfied with the availability of both educational and health facilities. Contrary to this, in the new settlement about 98 percent were dissatisfied out of whom 89 percent were highly dissatisfied regarding the health

facilities. Concerning the location educational facilities almost all were dissatisfied out of which 84 percent were highly dissatisfied.

This is believed to happen due to the fact that both the health and education facilities were not located in a nearby area. Hence the relocation scheme has resulted in hindering the easy access of the relocated families to both education and health services.

The relocation scheme is also expected to bring a change in the students' enrollment condition. Usually the students are expected to change school due to the transfer to a new residential area. The change in school by itself, is a difficult and time-consuming process.

According to the finding of the study, out of the total relocated households that have children attending school, about 31 percent continued in their former school while the majority, i.e., 68.7 percent of them joined the nearby school (Table 22).

It is, usually, assumed that in situations when parents do not always see the value of education and where children are encouraged to work at an early age due to economic reasons, the relocation process is expected to intensify this problem. This is reflected in situations when the students that used to attend formal education in previous settlement discontinue their education due to financial constraint of the family in the new settlement.

Regarding this issue, the study identified that there were no children who dropped out from school. In fact for the relocated households, the promoter of the project constructed ten additional classrooms for the nearby existing school and paid

a one-year school fee for the student and provided them transportation until they finished the academic year during the resettlement year.

Table 22 students' enrollment condition in new settlement

Enrollment condition	Frequency	Percent
Continued in their former school	21	31.3
Joined the nearby school	46	68.7
Discontinued	-	-

When the means of transportation for school children is considered, it was found out that about 96 percent of them walked to their school in the previous settlement. This is due to the fact that almost all schools were located at walking distance from their neighborhood.

In the new settlement, on the contrary, the schools were located at an average distance of 1.5 km and this situation forced many students to use public transport. Thus out of the total students that attend school almost half of them use the available city bus service. This situation has resulted in creating a stress on the financial position of the relocated households.

In the resettlement area, the promoter had constructed seven building units to provide services for the affected communities. These buildings were intended to be used for *kebele* administration, shops, flour mill, cafeteria, clinic and kindergarten. Yet none of these buildings have started to provide service to the community due to bureaucratic problems.

Regarding marketing facilities 85 percent of the relocated household heads claim that there was a nearby market place in their former area and it took them only 15 minutes to reach there. They also stressed that the markets were a cheap source of supplies of food items and other related goods. When the relocated households were asked how frequently they went to the nearby market place about three-fourth of them responded that they went shopping in these markets more than three times a week.

Moreover out of the total relocated households surveyed, about 23 percent were involved in earning an income in these market places. Among these the female-headed households constitutes 61.1 percent. It is also identified about 21 percent of the relocated household family members were involved in these markets to earn an income. These households sell home made food stuffs such as "*injera*", "*tella*", and cereals; vegetables and other food items.

In the new settlement, however, there is only one nearby market place near to '*Gurd Shola*' that takes place twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays. It is located at a distance of almost 1.5 kilometers from the neighborhood. Due to its remoteness and periodic nature the relocated households visit this market place only once or twice per week.

Also the number of households that are involved in near by market activities dropped from 23 percent in the previous settlement to only 1.2 percent in the new settlement. This indicates that the relocation scheme has resulted in reducing the income for those households who earn an income from involvement in the nearby market activities.

Having seen the public facilities and the infrastructure provided in the new site, the next part will assess the impact of the resettlement scheme on the social organization and on the employment and financial situations of the relocatees.

5.5 Impact on Social Organization

The urban resettlement scheme, when seen from the socioeconomic point of view, causes a considerable upheaval for the affected families. Due to the relocation process, relocated households, with their families find themselves in a dependant position faced with the task of reestablishing a livelihood in a new site with minimum opportunities. This situation of 'helplessness' is even aggravated when former neighborhood ties are broken due to the resettlement scheme.

In relation to this, the study identified that one of the consequences of the relocation scheme is the break up of former neighborhood ties that existed in the former settlement. In this research an attempt was made to assess the impact of the relocation scheme on social organization.

From the total sample household heads surveyed 75 percent claim that they were familiar with their new neighbors, while about 3 percent of them claimed that they did not have any relations with their neighbors at all. The rest, 22 percent confirmed that they have only limited social articulation with their neighbors.

When the relocated households were asked about whether the previous neighborhood ties continued in the new settlement or not, about 61 percent of the relocatees claimed that the relocation scheme brought about the breakup of former

neighborhood ties. This has happened due to the fact that the relocatees were given dwelling units by ballot system. This resulted in bringing relocatees from different blocks together and led to tensions between the affected communities.

Lack of such neighborhood ties in the new settlement is expected to have social consequences. When asked about this almost 70 percent of the relocated households claimed that they did not face any social problem while the remaining 30 percent stressed that the disintegration of the neighborhood ties created a lack of mutual help and social security. They further admitted that the former neighborhood ties provided them with psychological security, i.e. a sense of being secure in cases of both the occasions of joy and festivity and woe and mourning.

The study also identified that in the previous settlement all the relocated households were involved in social interaction in the previous settlement. These social interactions were manifested in that the affected communities were involved in social organizations, namely *idir* (funeral association), *ekub* (rotating credit association), and *mahiber* (Saints' Day association).

This partial resettlement scheme in addition to its involuntary nature led to a serious problem of adaptation and social integration in the new site. This has also affected the interaction and mutual support of the community by splitting members of the social organizations. Due to this partial resettlement the relocated communities were forced to establish new social organization. These social organizations include new '*idir*' and *mahiber*.

The establishment of the new '*idir*' had incurred an additional cost for the affected communities. This is due to the fact that the relocatees had to contribute some amount of money in order to buy a new tent, benches, dishes and cups.

Table 23: distribution of households involved in social organizations

Type of organization	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
<i>Idir</i>	50	44	62.5	51.2
<i>Ekub</i>	1	6	1.3	7.0
<i>Mahiber</i>	2	2	2.5	2.5
Both <i>idir</i> and <i>mahiber</i>	27	20	33.8	23.3
Not involved	-	9	-	10.7

Among the social organizations, the majority of the relocated households (61.1 percent) are members of the newly formed '*idir*' (Table 23). Those households who were involved both in '*idir*' and '*mahiber*' constituted around 28 percent.

In the new settlement, however, the number of households that are involved in these social organizations had declined almost by 10 percent. Among these relocatees who were not involved in any social interaction in the new settlement, the female headed households constituted 75 percent. The major reasons for this situation, as cited by the relocatees, were loss of former neighborhood relations, coupled with little money the relocatees have to be devoted to social activities.

One of the positive consequences of the resettlement scheme regarding the social organizations was shown in that those households who were involved in "*ekub*" has increased from 1.3 percent in the previous settlement to 7.0 percent in the new

site. This increment is assumed to happen in order to overcome the financial problem caused by the relocation's scheme.

To sum up, the resettlement scheme has brought about the breakup of former neighborhood ties. This situation made the relocatees miss the helping hand of their neighbors in times of woe and happiness. The scheme had also made the affected communities, form new '*idir*'. The establishment of this new '*idir*' had incurred an additional cost up on the relocatees.

From these situation it is clear that the relocation scheme did not give consideration to help or facilitate the social re-establishment of the affected communities.

5.5 The Impact on Employment and Financial Situation

In this study as assessment was made to consider the impact of the resettlement scheme on the relocated households regarding the way in which the lives of the affected communities were influenced or changed.

As indicated in section 5.2.4 the number of unemployed households has increased in the new settlement. This situation reveals that the relocation scheme has brought a change in the employment status of the relocates.

This finding is contrary to that of Asnakew's (1998). His finding indicates that unemployment rate has slightly declined from 2.5% in the old settlement to 2.3% in the new site. But this is found to be untrue. Rather unemployment has increased from 1.2% in the previous settlement to about 11.1% in the new site. Among the major

factors that brought this change in employment status, lack of potential clients and market accounts for 73 percent. The remaining 27 percent were due to the safety net program and demobilization of ex-soldiers.

Regarding transport services for those employed the promoter of the project had been providing the relocatees with transportation services twice a day with a very small fee (0.25 *birr*) per trips. In the morning the provided bus took the relocatees from the new settlement to their previous neighborhood (near Filwoha area). From there the relocatees commute to their respective work places by their own means. Late in the afternoon, (5:30 p.m.) the bus collected them near their former settlement and took them back to their new neighborhood. This transport service stopped after the assignment of a city bus near and along the resettlement area.

Concerning the means of transportation of the household heads in the previous settlement, the majority (82.7%) walked to their work place (Table 24). The time it took them to reach to work place was less than 30 minutes. This is due to the fact that their work place was located near to their residence. However, in the new settlement almost 80 percent of the relocatees use public transport to go to their work place.

Table 24: Means of transportation of household heads

Type	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Walking	67	6	82.7	7.4
Bus	7	64	8.6	79.0
Taxi	6	10	7.1	12.3
Service	1	1	1.1	1.1
Private car	-	-	-	-
Total	81	81	100	100

The prevalence of a higher proportion of city bus users is expected due to the fact that the new site is located in the outskirts of the city whereas the employment sites of the major users are located in the relatively central parts of the city. In addition to this it was also a rational decision to use city buses which demand relatively lower cost of transportation for longer journeys.

Table 25: Commuting time to work place

Time range	Frequency		percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
less than 30 minutes	75	9	82.7	12.5
Between 30 minutes	1	23	1.2	31.9
Greater than one hour	1	40	1.2	50.0
not available	4	9	1.5	5.6
Total	81	81	100	100

A change in daily cost of transportation between the previous settlement and the new settlement has been observed. For instance the majority (97.5%) of the relocated household heads used to spend less than 2 *birr* per day for transportation in the old settlement (Table 27).

Table 26: Daily transport cost of the households (in birr)

Cost range	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
0-2	79	23	97.5	28.4
2.01-5	2	35	2.5	43.8
Greater than 5	-	22	-	27.8
Total	81	81	100	100

In the new settlement, however, 43.2 percent of the sample households spend between 2 and 5 *birr* per day. The remaining 27.8 percent spend more than 5 *birr* per day. This indicated that the relocation scheme has resulted in incurring an additional cost for the poor relocated households.

When the relocated households were asked about their opinion regarding the available transport, about 58 percent claimed that the available transport is adequate for the demand. The remaining 42 percent complained that the available public transport is not sufficient for the relocated families.

Again considering the available transportation, about 15 percent of them considered it to be good. Those who consider the public transport to be bad account for about 42 percent. Among the main complaints of these groups, congestion, high expense and time consuming were the major ones. These complaints account for about 38 percent.

To summarize, the higher transport cost appears to cause a serious deterioration in the financial situation of the relocatees. In addition to this rise in transport costs, benefits are assumed to be foregone (Incurred losses in income) by the time spent in commuting to the work place

The study also identified that the relocation scheme has caused an increase in expenditures due to a price change in the market for basic items and commodities. This happens due to the fact that in the new settlement only a few shops are available and the resulting lack of competition leads to highly increased prices as compared with the prices in the previous settlement. The increment in price is attributed to the

additional transport cost in bringing the commodities from the inner city (i.e. Merkato) to the new settlement.

The relocation scheme was also expected to have an impact on income-generating activities. But this was not the case. The study revealed that out of the total households surveyed about 21 percent had on site opportunities in income-generating activities in the previous settlement. The remaining 78.8 percent did not have any income generating opportunities related to the location of their dwelling unit. Those household heads who had on-site opportunities for income generating activities utilized its potential by accommodating income generating activities such as small kiosk '*tella*' selling and other commercial activities in their plots.

According to the findings of this study, the above-mentioned trend continued in the new site. For instance among the surveyed households, those housing units who have on-site opportunities in income-generating activities account for 20 percent. As in the case of the former settlement, those households who have on site opportunities in income-generating activities take advantage of these by accommodating income-generating activities in their newly provided residential plots.

The research also revealed that the number of those households who used their housing unit both for commercial and residence increased from 14.8 percent in the previous settlement to about 24 percent in the new settlement. Most of these households sell *tella* (local drink), '*Injera*' or have small Kiosks. This situation further indicates that the relocatees take the possibilities of earning an income from commercial activities due to lack of such service giving facilities in the new area.

Hence from this situation it is clear that the relocation scheme did not close the possibility of utilizing on-site opportunities in income generating activities.

The study also revealed that the number of those household heads who rented part of their houses has doubled in the new settlement (Table 27) .In the previous settlement among those households who rented part of their dwelling 62.5 percent had a family size up to 6 persons whereas 12.5 percent were constituted by those households who had a family size of more than ten persons. It was also revealed that 63 percent of these household heads were dissatisfied regarding both the floor size and number of rooms the dwelling units had in the previous settlement.

Table 27: Distribution of households who rented part of their dwelling unit

	Frequency		Percent	
	Previous settlement	New settlement	Previous settlement	New settlement
Those who rented part of the dwelling	8	17	9.9	21.0
Those who did not rent part of their dwelling	73	64	90.1	79.0
Total	81	81	100	100

In the study it is also identified that all of these household heads were employed where the majorities (75%) earn a monthly income less than *birr* 230. The survey also revealed that about 63 percent of these households accommodated income-generating activities in their plot in the former site.

The above mentioned findings indicate that the relocated families used renting part of their dwelling unit as a means to increase their income regardless of their dissatisfaction concerning the floor area and number of rooms.

As shown in table 27, the number of household heads that rented part of their housing units has increased from 9.9 percent in the previous settlement to 21 percent in the new site. Out of these, the female headed households constituted 86.4 percent.

The family size of these household heads was also assessed. According to the survey 82.3 percent has a household size of between 1 and 6. It was also observed that out of the total households who rented part of their dwelling units 82 percent were employed and the rest (18%) were unemployed. It was also identified that 35.3 percent of these household heads earn a monthly income of less than 105 *birr*. Those household heads that earn between 106 and 347 *birr* constituted 47 percent.

The monthly income these households collect from rent ranges between 50 and 150 *birr* per month. Those households who earn up to 75 *birr* per month from rent constituted about 11 percent. The rest, 29 percent, earn between 75 and 150 per month. It was also indicated that about 70 percent of these household heads were satisfied with the floor size of the newly provided housing unit.

The above mentioned findings reveals that the relocated households used renting part of their dwelling as a coping mechanism to overcome the financial deterioration they faced due to the resettlement scheme.

5.7 Locational Preference of the Relocates

As indicated in section 2.5 the resettlement sites in many schemes were located in remote areas varying from a couple to several tens of kilometers from the inner city. When the relocated households were asked about their locational preference between the old settlement and the new site, out of the total sample

households 55 percent stressed that they still would have preferred to live in the inner city. The major reasons cited by them were that:

- The inner city provides them with better employment opportunities
- The area had a potential for street vending and for small businesses mainly 'kiosks' and selling local drinks and establishing 'tella bet'.
- The area was near to most social services: the hospital was right there (Zewditu Memorial Hospital) schools were also available at a walking distance (Tikur Anbessa School, Menilik II school, Shimeles Habte School all are secondary) as well as a number of junior secondary and elementary schools.
- The relocated households also claim that in the former site the neighborhood ties were already developed and this situation created a sense of being secure.
- In the inner city the working place for the majority of households were at walking distance but in the new settlement it takes them more than 30 minutes to commute by public transport. This incurred additional costs to the family.

There were also a number of relocated household heads that did not share the above-mentioned preference. These groups constitute 46 percent and prefer the new settlement.

The major reasons mentioned by them were:

- In the former site the housing condition had deteriorated and the resettlement scheme has provided them with decent housing.
- In the inner city, the neighborhood was not suitable for raising children and the new site enabled the parents to control their kids.

The study further attempted to establish whether there is a relationship between the locational preference of the household heads with respect to their age, sex, income of the households head, the time they lived in the inner city, the level of satisfaction regarding the provided housing unit, site-related benefits and public service provided.

When we consider the age composition of those households who prefer to live in the inner city, all of the household heads below 30 years of age would have preferred to go back to the inner city. Again from the total household heads whose age is between 30 and 40 years about 58 percent would prefer to go back to their previous locality. But out of those household heads aged between 40 and 50 years, 55 percent choose to live in the new settlement. On the other hand among those household heads aged between 50 and 60 about 60 percent of them would prefer to go back to the inner city.

This situation indicates that the need to go or stay in the new settlement is not directly related to the age of the household heads.

The study tried to check whether there is a relation between sex and location preference of the relocatees. According to the finding of the research, among those household heads that preferred to stay in the new site, almost half of them were female headed households. The same is true for those categories that preferred to go back to the inner city.

Hence this situation reveals that the preference to go or stay in the new site is not highly related to the sex of the household heads.

The study also tried to see if there is a relation between the time the relocatees lived in the previous locality in their preference to live in the inner city. Out of the total household heads that lived in the previous locality for more than ten years about 64 percent preferred to move back to the inner city. On the other hand, among these households who lived in the former settlement for about two years 63 percent choose to live in the new settlement. Contrary to this, out of those household heads who were born and lived all their lives in the inner city 55 percent prefer to live in the new settlement.

This situation indicates that there is no strong relationship between the time the relocatees lived in their previous settlement in their selection of their preference between the two settlements.

The study also hypothesized that those household heads that were satisfied with the provided housing unit would prefer to stay in the new settlement. But this was not the case. For instance, out of the total household heads that were satisfied with the floor size of the newly provided dwelling unit about 60 percent of them would prefer to go back to their previous locality. Again concerning the number of rooms in a dwelling unit, among these household heads who were satisfied, 63 percent of them would prefer to move back to the inner city.

This indicates that the locational preference of the relocated household heads has little to do with their level of satisfaction regarding the provided housing unit.

The research also tried to check whether the income of the household head had any role in its locational preference. Regarding this, it was assumed that the better off household heads would tend to prefer to live in the resettlement area where the

provided housing units are decent as compared to the previous dwelling units. But this is found to be untrue in this study. For instance among those household heads that earn between 400 and 600 *birr* about 63 percent prefer to live in the inner city. The same is true for those household heads that earn a monthly income of less than *birr* 105.

The locational preference of the relocated households was also assessed vis-à-vis the employment type of the relocated households. Among the employee of government organizations, about 62 percent would prefer to move back to the inner city. This is assumed to be due to the fact that most offices of the government organization were located in the inner city. Hence the working places were located in a walking distance from their previous settlement. Contrary to this out of the self employed household heads about 55 percent chose to live in the new settlement.

This finding suggests that the preference of the relocated household heads to live in the new settlement depend up on the type of employment and location of the working place.

When the employment condition of those households who would prefer to move back to the inner city was checked, the study identified that out of the total household whose employment condition were temporary and casual, about 73 percent would prefer to live in the inner city. Of those household heads, whose employment condition is permanent full time, only 50 percent would like to go back to the inner city. This situation indicates that for those household heads that depends on temporary and casual work it is assumed that the inner city provides a better employment opportunity.

The research also assumed that those household heads that accommodate an income generating activities in their plot in the previous settlement would tend to prefer the former site. Accordingly among those household heads who earn an income by accommodating income generating activities in their compound 65 percent would prefer to go back to the inner city. The same is true for those household heads who had family members involved in the near by market activities. Out of these household heads 65 percent would prefer to move back to the inner city.

To summarize, it is easily discern that the selection of the locational preference of the relocates between the two settlements was highly related to employment type and condition of the relocatees and to the site related income opportunities. Hence for selection of the resettlement site a strong emphasis should be given to not only to the provision of adequate housing but also to the employment type and condition of the relocatees and also site related opportunities should be seriously considered..

Having considered these issues the next part will discuss the residential stability of the relocated communities.

5.8 Residential Stability of the Relocated Households

The problems and difficulties caused by the relocation program for the relocatees and the time of adaptation to the changing circumstances have strong implications regarding the residential stableness of the relocated communities.

To cope with such problems, most relocatees, as described in UNCHS (1991:40), use a method known as "double foothold", i.e., they live both in the inner

city and in the resettlement site. Other relocatees find that their standard of living decreases dramatically due to the rise in transport costs, paying rent and construction loans and credits. Eventually many of them can no longer bear the social and economic costs caused by the relocation scheme and see no choice other than leaving the resettlement area and returning to the inner city.

In a number of cases for example in Manila, Philippines out of the 46,186 families relocated, at least 36 percent left the area after a period of unsuccessful adaptation. In some cases when the relocated households abandoned the scheme, they simply left behind everything and returned. In other cases the relocatees rented their dwelling unit to the better off and left the new settlement.

In this study an attempt was made to consider the residential stability of the affected communities. Out of the total relocated households about 6 percent left the resettlement site by renting the whole dwelling unit to other people.

The researcher tried to trace those household heads that left the new settlement but was unable to find any. This happens due to the reluctance of the new renters to cooperate by giving the address of the relocatees. This situation handicapped the research from assessing the underlying reasons for leaving the resettlement area.

To wind up, the residential stability of the relocated household heads in the new settlement appears so far to be good. This is indicated in that almost 94 percent of the relocated household heads remained in the resettlement site by facing and overcoming the problems caused by the relocation scheme.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

Much of the concern of this research has been to assess the consequences of an urban development-induced resettlement scheme on the relocated household heads. More specifically the study has been searching for the answers of the following major questions.

- What are the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the relocated households?
- How was the resettlement scheme organized and implemented?
- What were the consequences of the resettlement scheme regarding the provided housing unit when compared to their previous dwelling units?
- What was the impact of the resettlement scheme on both the employment and financial situation of the relocated household heads and also on the social organization?
- The study also assessed the locational preference of the relocated household heads and the residential stability of the relocatees.

The most important findings drawn from this study are presented below.

The resettlement program consisted of procedures that included the preliminary study of the affected communities. This study was concerned only with registration of all houses according to their respective house number, detailed description about its

tenure type, construction material, number of rooms, floor area and finally the cost estimation of each houses. The study did not include the socioeconomic as well as demographic characteristics of the affected communities. The study also revealed that the announcements of the resettlement program to the relocatees were made formally through their *kebele*. This formal announcement of the scheme enabled the affected communities to prepare both physically and psychologically for the resettlement. It is also identified that about 60 percent of the relocated household heads stated that they were given the time and means to express their problems and priorities regarding the resettlement scheme.

On top of this, the relocated household heads were transferred to the new location when the resettlement site was ready. This indicated that both the engineering works and the resettlement activities were planned in coordinated manner. Here it should be noted that the planning of the scheme covered only the preparation of the new site and the removal of the affected communities. It did not cover a realistically long time period for consolidation of housing and the development of income generation activities.

In addition to that, the criteria for the selection of the settlement site did not accommodate the communities working place, and the availability of social facilities such as schools and health centers. The study also indicated that only 33 percent of the relocated household heads had participated in the planning and implementation of the relocation scheme. This shows that the communities' participation was limited.

With regard to the housing units provided almost all (99%) of the relocated household heads were highly satisfied concerning the construction material of the

newly provided dwelling units. It was also revealed that the relocation scheme could be considered as a means of transferring slum communities from the shanty housing units to modest one.

It was also identified that there was no a significant change between the two settlements regarding the distribution of the number of rooms in a dwelling vis-à-vis the family size of the relocatees. Thus the average number of person per room has remained almost the same. Again this study revealed that the provided housing units did not take into account the family size of the relocates.

Further more, the housing prototypes did not solve the needs and demands of the relocatees. With respect to this 63 percent of the relocated household heads constructed an additional room without construction permit. Hence 78 percent wished for an extra bedroom and more spacious living room.

The study has observed that the resettlement scheme gave the principal owners or principal renters rights to occupancy on the same basis, but the '*debal*' (co-residents) legal right as citizens to occupy a house in the new settlement was undermined.

Concerning the utilities attached to the housing unit, the study identified that there was a great improvement in toilet facilities, kitchen facilitates water supply and electricity connection. However, the public facilities and infrastructure provided in the new site lagged far behind since the resettlement site is located in the outskirts of the city. Due to this 98 percent of relocatees were highly dissatisfied with the available health and education facilities.

Regarding the marketing facilities 85 percent of the relocated household heads were satisfied with the available market services in the previous settlement and about 23 percent were involved and earned an income in these market places. Nonetheless, in the new settlement there is only one periodic market that is located about 1.5 kilometers away. The number of relocated households that are involved in this market declined from 23 percent to only 1.2 percent. Hence the scheme has resulted in reducing the income of those households who earn an income from these activities.

The study also found out that the relocation scheme has had an impact on employment and financial situation of the relocatees. Thus the unemployment rate has increased from 1.2 percent in the previous settlement to 11.1 percent in the new site. Among the factors that brought forth this change, lack of potential clients and markets are the major one. Regarding the means of transportation of the household heads, in the previous settlement about 83 percent walked to their respective work place since the work places was located near to their residence. In the new settlement, however, almost 89 percent of the relocatees use public transport to go to their work place. This situation has resulted in bringing a change in daily transport costs of the relocated households between the two settlements.

It is also identified that the resettlement scheme has caused an increase in expenditure due to a price change in the market in basic items and commodities.

Similarly the change in income is proved to be much higher among self-employed household heads (which are dominated by female-headed households).

It was also expected that the resettlement scheme would have an impact up on income generating activities. But the research reveals that in both settlement those

households who had on site opportunity for income generating activities utilized its potential by accommodating an income generating activates such as 'kiosks' and 'tella bet'.

The study also recognized that the number of those household heads who rent part of their houses has doubled in the new settlement. The monthly rent they collect ranges between 50 and 150 *birr* per month. This indicates that the relocated families used renting part of their dwelling unit as a means to increase their income.

In the study it is found out that about 22 percent of the relocated household heads were given employment opportunities in the project. Among those employed about 37 percent stayed in the job for less than 12 months. The majorities (78%) were not involved in getting employment opportunities since the concept of benefit sharing had not been considered at the outset.

The study also identified that the partial resettlement scheme leads to a serious problem in adaptation and social integration. Due to this partial resettlement the relocated communities were forced to establish new social organization that includes new '*idir*' and '*mahiber*'. It is also identified that the resettlement scheme has brought the break up of former neighborhood ties. This is due to the fact that the relocatees were given dwelling units by ballot system. This resulted in bringing relocatees from different blocks together and led to tensions between the affected communities.

This made the relocatees to miss the mutual help and assistance rendered by their neighbors in times of both festive and woe. It is also observed that the resettlement scheme did not have any consideration to facilitate the social re-establishment of the affected communities. The break up of neighborhood ties in the

new settlement also made the relocatees to feel less safe. This is may be due to the fact that former *kebele* administration of the relocatees in not transferred to the new site.

One of the positive consequences of the resettlement scheme regarding the social organization is that the number of those household heads who are involved in *ekub* has risen from 1.3 percent in the previous settlement to 7.0 percent in the new site. This increment is assumed to have happened in order to overcome the financial problems caused by the relocation scheme.

The research has assessed the locational preference of the relocated household heads. The result reveals that 55 percent prefer to live in the inner city since the inner city provides good employment opportunities and better social service such as education and health. On the other hand, 45 percent prefer to stay in the new settlement due to the fact that the housing conditions in the former settlement were deteriorated and the resettlement scheme has provided them with decent housing.

The research has tried to establish whether there is a relationship between the locations preference of the relocatees with respect to their age, sex, income of the household head, the time that they had lived in the inner city, the level of satisfaction regarding the provided housing unit, site related benefits, and public service provided.

Among these variables, the study revealed that a strong relation exists between the employment type and condition of the relocatees and the benefit they gain from site related opportunities. Hence the casual and temporary workers would prefer going back to the inner city. The same is true for employees of both government institutions and private organizations. It is also identified that those households who

earn an income from site related opportunities in the previous settlement would prefer to go back to the inner city. Therefore, this implies that in selection of resettlement sites priorities should be given to the employment type, and condition of the relocatees and to those households who earn an income from site related opportunities.

While assessing the residential stability of the affected communities it is found out that the majority of the relocated households remained in the resettlement site by overcoming the problems caused by the relocation program.

To sum up, the resettlement scheme has provided the relocatees with decent housing. The common disadvantages of moving from the previous settlements were the increase in transport cost, disruption of former neighborhood ties and the reduction of monthly income of some household heads.

The finding of this study indicates some policy measures that need to be taken in urban resettlement scheme. The summary of this recommendation will be presented in the preceding part.

6.2 Recommendations

From the above-mentioned summary of the finding of this research, the following recommendations are drawn.

1. The arbitrary change in master plan and urban renewal interventions with out a clear policy toward the would-be affected residents and their social and economic activities should be seriously considered.
2. In the resettlement planning process, the preliminary study of the affected communities should include not only the physical condition of the housing unit but also a census of all affected persons and their assets, and a survey of the socio-economic conditions of the affected communities.
3. In the resettlement scheme high consideration should be given to the provision of adequate physical as well as social infrastructure in the new sites.
4. The resettlement scheme should accommodate programs that are targeted to help those household heads (particularly female headed households) that were involved and earn an income from near by market activities.
5. The concept of sharing project benefits with the relocatees has to be considered at the outset of the resettlement scheme since the use of benefit sharing as a strategy for mobilizing financial resources would improve both the resettlement's performance and the income of the relocatees.
6. If possible, partial resettlement schemes should be avoided since it leads to serious problem in adaptation and social integration.

7. The assigning of dwelling units by ballot system should be avoided since it results in bringing relocatees from different blocks together and may led to tension between the affected communities. It also results in the break up of former neighborhood ties and made the relocatees miss the mutual help and assistance from their neighbors.
8. Mechanisms should be devised for the relocateess in order to earn an income by renting part of their dwelling units. This may include allowing the relocatees to construct additional rooms according to the building standard recommended by the Works and Urban Development Bureau.
9. To promote the residential satisfaction of the relocatees, the dwelling units provided should adopt standards that are realistic and flexible based on both the physical aspect and on the socioeconomic background of the relocatees.
10. Since the a change in income due to the resettlement scheme was much higher in self-employed household heads, which are dominated by female headed households, special program should be included in the resettlement scheme in order to rehabilitate these households.
11. The resettlement schemes should respect the legal right of the '*debal*' (co-residents) right as a citizen to occupy a house in the new settlement.
12. In order to prepare the future relocatees both physically and psychologically the intended resettlement schemes should be announced to them formally through their *kebeles*.
13. The experience of this study noted that the role played by the community was very limited. Hence families to be relocated should be able to express their problems

and priorities and contribute to planning and design of the resettlement scheme. In addition to this more efforts should be spent in increasing through dialogue between local government, private sector and the local communities. Hence active community participation is recommended in the total process i.e. before, during and after the resettlement scheme.

14. It is important that the government does not try to do the whole job itself as it normally has neither the personal nor the experience. In addition to this it is not appropriate that public agencies undertake all tasks themselves since urban development is a result of inputs and contribution of different actors with different interests. Due to this fact an approach that takes into account the interests and objectives of all the actors involved would be more efficient. Hence this study suggests, 'co-development' approach. This approach seeks the involvement of the concerned parties making use of development consultants as an intermediary actor to support the planning and implementation process. These consultants should be multi-disciplinary groups of professionals committed to support the improvement of the living conditions of the relocatees.
15. Instead of using *kebele* officials as a sole representative of the community, leaders of the community based organizations (CBOs) should also be used as the line of communication between the would-be affected communities and the officials that resettle them. To be effective the CBOs must be recognized and supported by the local government.
16. The selection of the resettlement site for the affected communities should need to relate housing arrangements to employment opportunities. In other words, the

principal planning requirement for the selection of the site should be location of sufficient commercial and industrial areas that provides employment opportunities for the affected communities.

17. The plan of the resettlement scheme should cover not only the preparation of the new site and the removal to it but also it should cover a realistically long time period for the consolidation period.
18. In the resettlement site construction permit should be allowed for the relocatees to expand the provided dwelling unit according to the building standard.
19. Even if the housing conditions are satisfactory in the new settlement, efficient transport is basic for the relocated families since their links with inner-city facilities need good transport service.
20. The relocated communities should be compensated for the negative economic consequence caused by the resettlement scheme. The main reason for the relocation is the economic benefit gained in the sites occupied formerly by the relocatees. Hence the relocated households should be compensated not only for their residence, but also for the personal losses caused by these kind of benefit.

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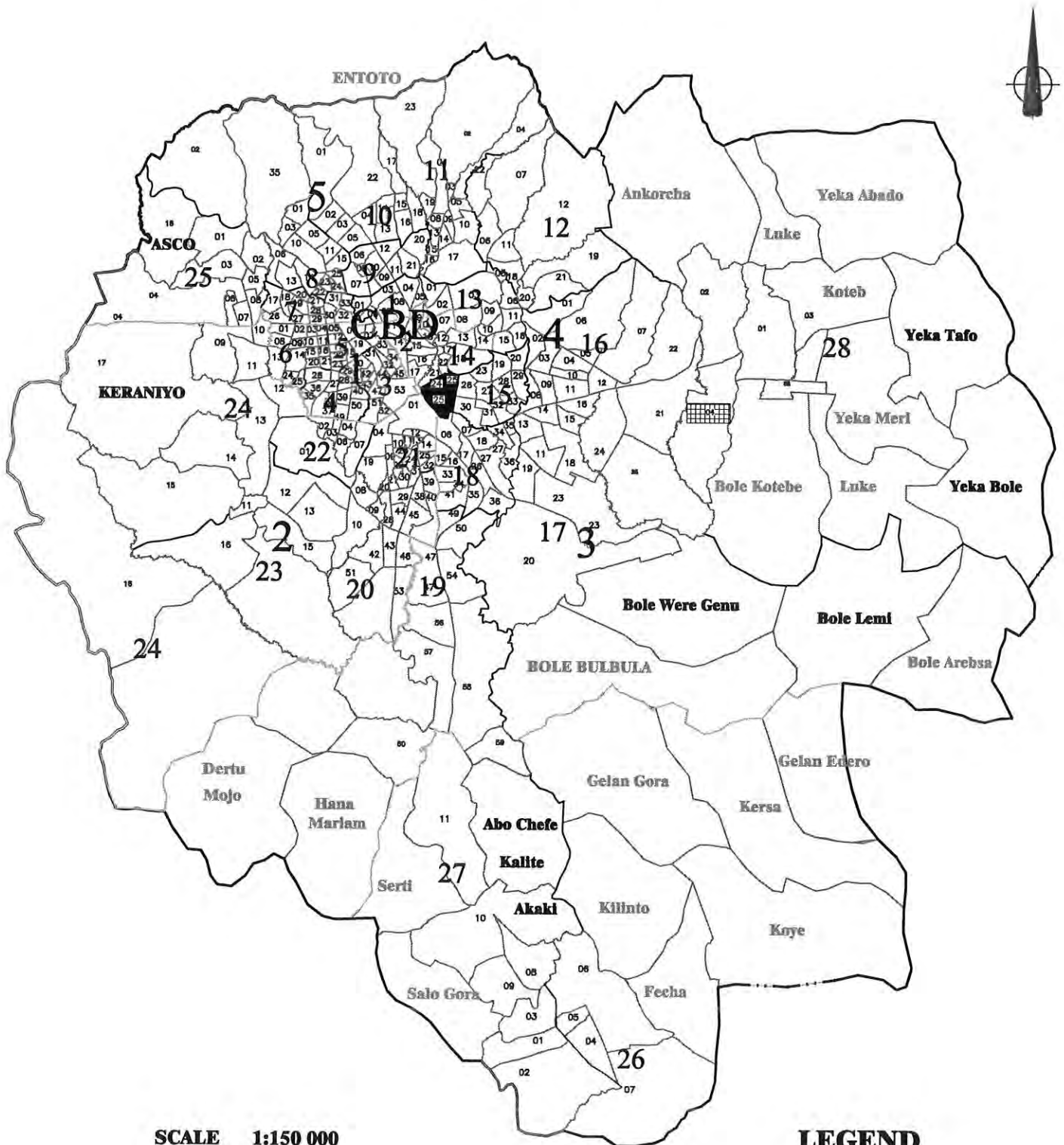
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ANNEX

ADDIS ABABA CITY MAP



SCALE 1:150 000

LEGEND

-  Location of Previous Settlement
-  Location of New Settlement

Appendices 2

Questionnaire for Household Survey

Sample No _____

Name of interviewer _____

Part 1. Household Characteristics

- 1) Household tenure type _____
0 . Privately owned 1 . Kebele owned 2 . RHA owned
3 . Subtenant 4 . Private renter 5 . Rent free
6 . Other _____
- 2) Sex of household head
0. Female 1. Male
- 3) Age of HH head

- 4) Marital Status
0. Single 1. Married 2. Divorced 3. Widowed
- 5) Educational status
0. No formal education 1. Primary school
2. Secondary school 3. Vocational school graduate
4. University graduate and above.
- 6) Household Size
Previous Settlement _____
New Settlement _____
- 7) How long had you been living in the previous locality?
0. Up to 2 years 1. Between 2 and 10 years
2. Greater than 10 years 3. All your life
- 8) Why did you choose the previous settlement as your place of living?
.....
.....
- 9) How long have you been living in the new settlement?
0. Up to 2 years 1. Between 2 and 5 years
2. Greater than 5 years
- 10) Student enrolment condition (in the new settlement)
0. Continued in their formal school 1. Joined the near by school
2. Discontinued their education 3. Other _____
- 11) Means of transportation for school children

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Walking		
Bus		
Taxi		
Other		

Part II. Income and Occupation

1. Employment status of household head

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Employed		
Unemployed		

2. If there is a change in employment status between the two settlements, please describe the reason _____

3. If employed, indicate the type of employment

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Self employed		
Employee of private firm		
Employee of gov't organization		
Daily laborer		
Unpaid family worker		

4. If there is a change of employment type, please state the reason _____

5. Employment condition

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement.</i>
Permanent full time		
Permanent part time		
Temporary		
Casual		

If other, specify _____

6. If there is a change in employment condition, please state the reason _____

7. Monthly income of the HH head from principle occupation (in birr)

	<i>Previous settlement.</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
<105		
106_230		
231_347		
348_420		
421_600		
>600		

8. If there is a change in monthly income of HH head please state the reason _____

9. Do you have a secondary occupation?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

10. Means of Transportation for HH head

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement.</i>
Walking		
Bus		
Taxi		
Private car		
Other		

11. How much time does it take you to reach your work place?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Less than 30 Minutes		
Between 30		

minutes and 1 hr.		
More than 1 hr.		

12. Daily transport cost of the family

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
0-2 birr		
2.01- 5 birr		
More than 5 birr		

13. Did you feel that the available transport is enough for the demand?

0. No 1. Yes

14. How did you consider the available transportation?

0. Good 1. Fair 2. Bad

15. If bad, what in your complaints?

0. Congestion 1. High expense 2. Time consuming

16. Was there any member of your family that was employed in the Sheraton Project?

0. No 1. Yes

17. If yes, for how long?

0. Less than six months 1. 6-12 months
2. More than one year 3. Up to present

Part III. Housing Condition

1. Building materials used

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Wood & mud		
Hollow concrete block		
Brick		
Stone		
other		

2. Number of rooms (Excluding Kitchen and toilet)

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
More than 5		

3. Purpose of the housing unit

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Residence only		
Residence and commercial		

4. Availability of Kitchen

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Private		
Shared		
Open air		
none		

5. Problem faced while using shared kitchen _____

6. Availability of toilet

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Private		
Shared		
none		

7. Problem faced while using shared toilet _____

8. Availability of water

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Private tap		
Shared tap		
purchased		

9. Problem faced while using shared tap _____

10. Availability of electricity

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

11. If yes, type of connection

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Own meter		
Communal meter		

12. Problems faced while using common meter _____

13. Waste disposal method

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Municipal dust bin		
Own dust bin		
Open air dumping		
River		

14. How much rent do you pay for month? (*birr*)

Previous settlement. *New settlement*

15. Have you rented part of your house?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

16. If yes how much do you earn per month from rent? (New settlement) in *birr*

17. Is the provided housing size enough to accommodate the family?

0. No 1. Yes

18. If your housing size is not enough for you, what kind of room would you wish to add?

0. Bed room 1. Separate kitchen 2. More open space
3. Living room 4. Other_

19. Is there any additional rooms you construct after receiving the house?

0. No 1.Yes

20. If yes, for what purpose? _____

21. Are you satisfied with the layout and design of the housing unit?

0. No 1.Yes

22. If no, please state your reason

0. Monotonous lay out. 1.Other

23. Did you have any on-site opportunities in income generating activities?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

24. Did you accommodate an income generating activities in your plot?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

Part IV. Public Facilities

1. Availability of public service

Previous settlement. *New settlement*
1.Yes 2.No 1.Yes 2.No

Clinic
Health center
Hospital
Kindergarten
Elementary school
Junior school
Secondary School
Market Place
Recreation place.

2. How frequently did go to marketplaces (weekly)?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
One up to three times		
More than three times		

3. Is there a nearby market place in your neighborhood?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

5. How much time did it take to reach to the near by market place?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Less than 15 min.		
15-30 min.		
31-one hour		
More than one hour		

6. Did you earn an income in these activities?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

7. Is there any member of your family that is involved in these markets?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

8. Is there a price change in the market for the basic items in the new site?

0. No 1. Yes

9. Did you face the market value, i.e., market proximity in the price of commodities?

0. No 1. Yes

Part V. Social Organizations

1. How familiar are you with your neighbor?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Familiar		
Only say hello		
No relation at all		

2. Did previous neighborhood ties continue in the new settlement?

0. No 1. Yes

3. If not, please describe the loss and gains

Loss _____

Gains _____

4. Have you been involved in any social interaction in the neighborhood?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
Yes		
No		

5. If yes, in what organization?

	<i>Previous settlement</i>	<i>New settlement</i>
<i>Edir</i>		
<i>Ekub</i>		
<i>Mahiber I</i>		
Other (specify)		

6. If involved in the old settlement and not in the new settlement, please state your reason

Part VI. Relocation Scheme

1. How were you informed about the relocation scheme?

0. Formally through the *kebele* 1. Informed through informal channel
2. Other-----

2) What was your reaction when you were asked to move from your previous housing unit?
0 Agreed without objection 1. First objected but finally convinced to accept
2. Objected & forced to leave

3) Did you participate in the planning & implementation of the relocation scheme?
1. Yes 0. No

4) If yes, please describe your role

5) If you are given the opportunity, would you like to move back to the inner city?
1. Yes 0. No

6) If Yes, please state your reason

7) If no, please state your reason

8. When you were evicted, did you know the location of the alternative-housing unit allotted to you?

1. Yes 0. No

10) If yes, how did you know?

11) If you were given your own site, do you have the means to construct your own home?
1. Yes 0. No.

12) What will be your response if you are provided a loan to construct your own home?
0 I will be very delighted 1. It will make no difference
2. I am not in a position to pay the loan.

13) Did you feel that you were required to evacuate when the resettlement site was ready?
1. Yes 0. No

14. Did you get enough time to prepare your self for the removal?
1. Yes 0. no

15. Have you been given the time and means to express your problems and priorities regarding the relocation scheme?
1. Yes 0. No

16. If yes, in what manner?

1. In social gathering such as idir.

1. Yes

0. No

1. yes

0. No

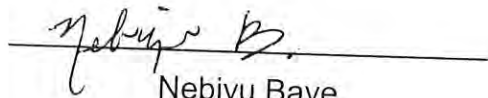
Please describe your level of satisfaction regarding the following issues.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Declaration

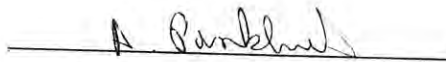
I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any university and that all sorts of materials used for these thesis have been dully acknowledged



Nebiyu Baye

May 19,2000

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a
University advisor.



Alula Pankhurst (PhD)