

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**  
**CENTER FOR REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

***THE LIVELIHOODS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE IN ADDIS ABABA: THE  
CASE OF PEOPLE RELOCATED FROM ARAT KILO AREA***

**BY**

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**JULY, 2011**

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*THE LIVELIHOODS OF DISPLACED PEOPLE IN ADDIS ABABA: THE CASE OF PEOPLE  
RELOCATED FROM ARAT KILO AREA*

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA  
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EAST AFRICA**

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EXAMINER

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## Local Terms

<b>Areke</b>	Local liquor distilled from fermented wheat
<b>Berbere</b>	Dried Pepper, which is usually used to prepare hot sauce
<b>Birr</b>	Ethiopian currency
<b>Gesho</b>	Green plant which is used to make <i>tella</i> and <i>areke</i>
<b>Iddir</b>	Voluntary burial association
<b>Injera</b>	The staple flat bread
<b>Iqub</b>	Local rotating saving group
<b>Kebele</b>	The lowest administrative unit of government
<b>Kollo</b>	Roasted cereals and pluses
<b>Shiro</b>	Grounded peas or chickpeas for making sauce
<b>Teff</b>	Flour from locally grown grain which is used for baking Injera
<b>Tella</b>	A local beer made from barely that fermented with hops.
<b>Wereda</b>	Administrative unit that is one level higher than kebele

## **Abstract**

*The study has discussed the livelihoods of displaced people. The focus of this study was to explore the relocatees' livelihood assets and activities, to look at how relocatees are vulnerable to urban context, to examine the livelihood strategies employed by relocatees to cope up or recover from the undesirable outcomes of displacement and to assess the outcomes of such strategies. In doing this, those people who were relocated to Nifas Silk Lafto were purposefully selected as study community.*

*The study used qualitative research methodology. Relevant data for the study were gathered from the secondary as well as primary sources. The main primary data collection methods were household interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussion and observation. To analyse the livelihoods of displaced people in holistic manner, this research used sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) as a main theoretical and livelihood analytical framework. The SLF is modified and operationalised in a tool that is relevant to this particular study.*

*The study reveals that relocating people from slum area to another location is important in providing good housing quality and neat living environment, in making people less susceptible to poor sanitation induced diseases, enabling people to integrate with other community, reducing women and children burden who were formerly responsible to collect water, and providing children with open space for play. On the other side, the study found insignificant role of local community in decision making process. It also found that a large number of studied community have been directly affected by loss of livelihood activities, traditional institution, social network, education, transport and health service access and financial capability. Due to loss of social cohesion and means of income disruption, the displacees are more likely vulnerable to urban economic shock more than the non-displaced people. There are various livelihood strategies that have been employed by displaced people so as to manage the adverse effects of displacement on their livelihoods. With this regard, the study found that such strategies have both negative and positive impact either in short term or long run on the relocatees, especially on those who have directly involved in this strategy. Finally, the study suggests the importance of participating the community in decision making process, facilitating micro-enterprises, credit service, training and taking in to consideration the availability of school, health centre and bus termini in the new location.*

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Background to the Study**

Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been intervention to slum arena. Most expected slum free urban area: an expectation that generally remained unfulfilled. The theoretical recognition of the multifaceted nature of slum is seldom reflected in the prevailing strategies adopted by most slum reduction programmes. This and other inadequacies have therefore led slum augmentation in the last decades. It is almost certain that slum dwellers increased substantially during the 1990s (UN-Habitat, 2003). The same document revealed that, in 2001, nearly one billion people or 31.6 percent of the world's urban population lived in slum; the majority of them were in the developing regions.

The situation for African countries, where ad hoc and uni-dimensional development is unable to keep pace with the rapid rate of urbanization, is becoming significantly dire. The region tends to highlight the benefits of urban growth, leapfrogging over their painful effects on the people compelled to yield the right of way (Cernea, 1993). Thus, about 72 percent of the urban population of Africa live in slum, while the proportion is 43 percent for Asia and the Pacific and 32 percent for Latin America (Cohen 2005). Moreover, the condition can be worse in Sub Saharan Africa, where, urbanisation has become virtually synonymous with slum growth on one hand (UNFPA, 2007), and slum population almost doubled in 15 years, reaching nearly 200 million in 2005, on the other hand (Sommers, 2010).

Inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status are often required for an area to be considered a slum. As a result, intervention to slum has focussed to address such malevolent display. Such settlements are seen as the urban cancer (Dickenson et.al, 1983) and accordingly the most common reaction to these settlements has been to undertake large slum clearance project (Tsegaye, 1998).

Intervention approaches to slum, therefore, seek to eradicate slums and relocate residents to housing projects on the outskirts of the city or somewhere else. In this view, urban resettlement is too often seen as being about housing and not about economic and social

recovery (Koenig, 2001). However, various literatures (Cernea 1993 & 1996; Ashenafi 2002; UN-Habitat 2003; Perera and Viratkapan 2004; Berhanu 2006; Gebre 2008 Sumka 1987; Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998) indicate the inefficiency and undesirability of non-holistic slum redevelopment-induced displacement. For instance, experiences from countries such as Jakarta, Khartoum and Bangkok revealed that without full and holistic strategy for displaced people, relocation is unviable (Cernea, 1993). The same writer shows that even the rise of slum in Bangkok city as a result of relocation.

Displacement is undesirable development path, because it has seen housing narrowly; the physical dimension by casting the human, social, financial and political aspects aside. It has worried to the aesthetic value of the urban area. On the other side, displacement satisfies the need of the few (Mathur, 1995; Harrison, 1993) at the expense of the great majority. In general, it has been widely agreed that people dislocated from inner cities are likely to lose important locational advantages linked to their survival (Gebre 2008). In addition to being an asset per se, housing location is often a key determinant of other assets, such as human, financial, physical, political and social capital (Turner, 1967; Farrington et al, 2002), which, in turn, has a significant role in determining the capability of the community to resist or recover from external threats on one hand and reducing poverty on the other hand.

The impact of displacement is not only immediately disruptive and painful, it is also fraught with serious long term risks of becoming poorer than before displacement, more vulnerable economically, and disintegrated socially (Cernea, 1996). Furthermore, failure to rebuild their lives and lack of adopting new mechanism of eking out a living turn people to impoverishment (Ephrem, 1998). Moreover, empirical evidence shows that, development project disproportionately affects some segments of displacees. It affects women headed households, children and tenants differently.

Bearing this in mind, John F.C. Turner, who have ample experience on the impacts of relocation, has played a significant role in manifesting the undesirable outcomes of displacement in one hand, and forwarding a possible intervention approaches, on the other hand. Many countries and international organisations have also accepted Turner possible recommendation, i.e. slum upgrading, albeit it has constraints. Similarly, Rondinelli & Cheema (1985) asserted that, it has already become imperative to accept the very idea of the development of a new and unorthodox approach to urban development as the common theme. UN-Habitat (2000) noted that much more will need to be done if cities without slums are to

become a reality. This is not to deny urban development indeed. Instead, if the lives of slum dwellers and urban areas are to improve, development strategy change is needed.

Thus, particularly in the last two decades, there has been a clear recognition of the importance of sustainability in all dimension of urban development in helping to alleviate urban poverty (UN-Habitat, 2002). The social, economic and human assets of urban dwellers have been identified as main strategic prerequisites for the development of sustainable human settlements. It is also one way of breaking the vicious cycle of poverty. Therefore, it is necessarily imperative to employ a holistic intervention manoeuvre that also takes into account social, economic and human assets. Nonetheless, relocation approach either implicitly or explicitly is realized in some countries up until today.

Like other cities of developing countries, in Addis Ababa, where a sub-standard area is much more pronounced, relocation is the on-going approach, though it has invisible effect as it has denied seeing the other dimensions of slum milieu. For instance, a number of people were evicted to build Sheraton Hotel and for *Kasanchis* and *Denbel* project (UN-Habitat 2008). Those people who were recently relocated from Arat Kilo area to another location, where this study has been undertaken, could be also mentioned as other case in point. Thus, there is one-sided development path, focusing on the physical facet regardless of other traits of displaced people. However, as it is discussed above, this path of development is very rarely sufficient to bring sustainable livelihoods.

While by no means suggesting that slum areas in Addis Ababa, where vast majority of the city population, 80 percent, live (Elias, 2008), shall be entirely neglected in the future, it is crucial to devise a cautious and sound relocation strategies.

Therefore, considering the above mentioned problem, the study is intended to investigate the livelihoods of displaced people in Addis Ababa, with particular reference, to displaced people from *Arat Kilo* area to another place of living.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

In Addis Ababa, in addition to city beautification, with the demand of land for various development activities in prime areas is high and the supply is limited, developers (in both public and private sectors) target sites that are slum and underutilized in economic terms. As a result, people from the centre of the city, for instance, Arat Kilo area, moved to distant and

peripheral, places with inadequate access to urban infrastructure and services. They were relocated with no consideration of the social and economic consequences of displacement. This further made their livelihood worse thereby threatening their livelihood activities and various assets, such as, financial, social and human dimensions (Gebre, 2008; Berhanu, 2006).

Displacement does not necessarily have the same effects on different households or even on the different individuals in those households (World Bank, 2004). It has an impact on children differently. Moreover, among the displaced people, sub-tenants, co-resident and women headed households; particularly the livelihood of those engaged in informal sector economy could be greatly affected. This is therefore inconsistent with the suggestion given by the well known urban development partner (UN-Habitat) to bring sustainability in all dimensions of urban development through balanced social, economic and environmental needs of the present and future generation (UN-Habitat, 2002).

Apart from these, the displaced community face a set of source of vulnerability. Due to the fact that relocatees lose their livelihood activity and social network, they are more vulnerable to urban economy and social context than non-displaced people (Westley and Michael 2002) Moreover, due to the insignificant and limited contributions of various organisations to maintain the adverse impacts of displacement, the relocatees' livelihood has got a serious problem. In response to this, they designed livelihood strategies to build asset bases and access to goods and services (Ephreme, 1998). Livelihood outcomes may however lead into either virtuous or vicious cycles.

Although the literature on development induced displacement and resettlement is clear in its focus on natural resource, natural disaster and political induced displacement (Downing, 2002), these are not the only types of projects that can result in displacement. Urban development programs such as slum development, road construction and industrial location, also repeatedly oust communities. Nonetheless, urban displacement still remains a seldom discussed companion of urban growth and renewal in third world countries (Cernea, 1993). Of these, Ethiopia is one, where urban displacement has been under researched. Given that the lionshare of Ethiopian population lives in rural areas, within academia, research on displacement is highly focused on these areas. In the capital city, Addis Ababa, urban redevelopment through slum clearance has been substantially carrying out since 1990s. Too

few researches have been undertaken and identified the adverse effects of displacement, albeit each of them has their own distinct shortcoming; and commonly they have seen the concepts of livelihood narrowly.

Ephreme (1998) and Dinku (2003) studied the adaptive and survival strategies of the displaced people and socio-economic dimension of conflict induced displacement in Addis Ababa, respectively. Thus, unlike the present study which has focused on planned development induced displacement, both are alike in the way that they focused on non-development induced displaced people. Both studies have seen displaced people access to assets and their livelihood strategies. But, they are different from each other in few aspects. The study undertaken by Ephreme is distinct in that it has shown the influences of institution on displaced people's day-to-day activities. On the other side, Dinku has seen the disproportionate impacts of displacement, which was not given place by Ephreme. Nevertheless, they did not perceive livelihood in light of many dimensions. The vulnerability magnitude of relocatees' to urban context and whether the livelihood strategy has led displaced group to vicious or virtuous path of livelihood were entirely neglected in these studies.

Berhanu (2006) investigated impacts of urban redevelopment on the livelihoods of displaced people with the particular reference of *Kasanchis*. The study has seen livelihood from the perspectives of displaced people's access to assets (physical, social, human and financial capital), institution influence and settlement (livelihood) sustainability. However, the extent of vulnerability relates both to the level of external threats to the displaced people's welfare and to their resilience resisting and recovering from these external threats were excluded in this study.

Gebre (2008) studied the impact of resettlement projects on low income household. He specifically focused on public tenants. Impacts of resettlement on displaced people, access to different resources and adaptive strategies were identified by this researcher. However, in this study there are some unanswered questions. What is the impact of displacement on the poorest of poor (e.g. sub-tenants and women headed household)? How displaced people are vulnerable to urban context? What is the outcome of livelihood strategy? What is the influence of institution on displaced people access to assets at new location? In this study, these issues are still remained under question.

Recently, Biruk (2009) researched the impact of urban development projects on the livelihoods of people displaced from *Kasanchis* to peripheral area. The study focused merely on displacedes' access to assets and the differential impacts of relocation. Though the word livelihood was attached to the study title, the concept has hardly been recognized. Similar to Gebre study, the above mentioned questions except the primary one, and the livelihood strategies employed by displaced people were also neglected by Biruk.

In general, the local empirical studies mentioned above have made inadequate attempts to investigate the extent to which displaced groups are vulnerable to urban context, post displacement institutional influences on their access to assets, livelihood strategies and outcome of such strategies. In other words, they did not look into the livelihoods of affected group in holistic manner. However, to address the upset of displaced people effectively, it is crucial to understand their livelihood from different perspectives.

Having the above mentioned scantiness, this study is intended to fill the knowledge gap in the course of investigating the livelihoods of displaced people in Addis Ababa by taking those people who were relocated from *Arat Kilo* area to *Gofa Camp*, *Lafto* and *Jamo 1*. It accentuates the diverse and many sided relocatees' livelihoods, which is pressing concern in Addis Ababa. The study will overcome methodological inadequacy by employing a qualitative approach which allows capturing the relevant variables that most explain the complex and many dimensions of displaced livelihood.

#### **1.4. Research Objectives**

The overall objective of the study is to investigate the livelihoods of displaced people in Addis Ababa city with the particular reference to the people displaced from *Arat Kilo* area to *Gofa Camp*, *Lafto* site and *Jamo 1*. Specifically, the research objectives are:

- ✓ To explore the reason(s) for community displacement from their original place of residence and the displacedes perception of displacement.
- ✓ To assess the availability and accessibility of assets for displaced people at new location in comparison with that of before displacement, and the role of organisations and processes regarding to stabilising relocatees livelihood.

- ✓ To examine the livelihood activities of relocatees, vulnerability of the displaced to urban context compared to their previous area, strategies employed by the relocatees, determinants of strategy and outcomes of such strategies.
- ✓ To assess whether displacement has particular effects on the livelihoods of some members of displaced community.

### **1.5. Research Questions**

1. Why the communities were displaced from their original place of residence to the current location and how they perceived displacement in relation to this reason?
2. What are the livelihood assets that are available and accessible to displaced people?
3. How displacement affects the livelihood activities of the displaced, how are displaced people vulnerable to urban context and what is the roles of various organisations and processes to the livelihoods of this people?
4. What are the livelihood strategies employed by the displaced, what factors determine the strategy and what are the outcomes of these strategies?
5. Does displacement has particular effect on the livelihood of some groups of displaced people?

### **1.6. Significance of the Study**

Various literatures indicate that the locus of poverty has shifted to urban area. Undoubtedly, this is also because of the uni-dimensional urban development path has been executed in developing countries. The phenomena, therefore, suggests to formulate holistic urban development program. Especially, cities like Addis Ababa, where more than two-third of its population lives in slum, urban development program must take into consideration the dwellers social, economic and human assets. However, the reality is that, slums have been perceived narrowly: in terms of no or inadequate sources of city revenue and corrosion part of the city, which should be demolished.

Primarily, this study, therefore could contribute to lessen or stamp out knowledge gap and shed light on the given problem. Thus, it is vital to facilitate and point path of development through which unsustainable development could be tackled. Given the fact that there are

many other slum areas in the city, I argue that the findings from this research may provide lesson as to what could be done in the future, to attain sustainable development. In doing so, the study also shows that the available development intervention to slum areas of the city is not holistic enough to enable effective and sustainable urban development.

To this end, the research paper will serve as reference material for those researchers who want to carry out further study vis-à-vis to the livelihoods of displaced people in urban area.

### **1.7. Scope of the Study**

In the last decade, enormous people have been displaced from different corners of Addis Ababa. However, this paper set out to study the livelihoods of those people who were displaced from *Arat Kilo* area and move to *Gofa Camp*, *Lafto* site and *Jamo 1*. Therefore, relocatees who were dispersed into another location were excluded in this study.

### **1.8 Paper Organisation**

The thesis contains seven chapters. The first chapter is the introductory part that includes the background, problem statement, and limitation of previous local studies, research objectives and questions, importance of the study and scope of the study. The methodology and method used in this study are discussed in chapter two. The reason for the choice of qualitative methodology and its appropriateness to the objectives of this study is discussed in this chapter.

Chapter three deals with the review of literature: some important concepts, such as, livelihood, displacement and slum. Issues about development induced displacement; debate on development induced displacement, outcomes of displacement, previous works and the sustainable livelihood analytical framework for analysing the livelihoods of displaced people are also discussed under this chapter.

Chapter four discusses the general background information of the study area: physical profile, administrative structure and urbanisation, poverty, informal sector, unemployment and slum condition as well as city development approach

Chapter five and six present the analysis of the empirical data in relation to the objectives and research questions. Chapter seven presents conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

#### 2.1. Case Study

Case study is the imperative approach in which a given phenomena can be studied in depth, if the study is done accurately. In short, it is a way of study in depth rather than breadth (Kothari, 2004). The case study places more emphasis on the full analysis of a limited number of cases. If this is so, the case study research is holistic and thick or a more comprehensive explanation of a phenomenon.

In this research, a study is employed to understand the livelihood situation of people displaced from Arat Kilo area. The available studies have emphasised on the social-economic impacts of displacement, echoing the need for investigating the issue in detailed and holistic manner. However, it was difficult to capture the entire displacees as subject of the research because it would be difficult to address the matter under consideration in a comprehensive and holistic manner within short period of time. As this study intends to approach the phenomenon in depth, multiple variables were included in the interview and thus, the available time for work was insufficient to conduct interview with the whole displaced people. On the other hand, the fewer case communities are, the more a work merits the intended in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Gerring, 2007). Therefore, in this study, 34 displaced people were considered as case study participant.

However, I believed that the case people could reflect the livelihood condition of other displaced people because they have similarity in many ways. They lived in the previous area for many years. Similar to other relocatees they used to live in the heart of the city that was labelled as slum, and which is suitable to generate income, is located close to social infrastructure, bus termini and main market area. Moreover, like other relocatees, case communities were also members of social institution and had strong social ties in the previous settlement. For instance, according to the information that was taken from Arada sub-city, nearly 90 percent of communities were members of *iddir* and had social ties in the community in the old location. The same sources also indicate that about 95 percent of the

community did not want to relocate permanently. If this is the case, what has been generated from the case community regarding to the livelihoods of displaced people could reflect the livelihood scenario of other community.

## **2.2. Why Qualitative Research for this Study?**

If in-depth and holistic understanding is requested for a given issue, qualitative approach is more useful (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). If this is the case, under case study the approach happens to be qualitative and not quantitative (Kothari, 2004). Because, as is well known this approach enables to understand the phenomenon in depth. Therefore, in this case, the argument of Kitchin and Tate (2000), which indicates that case studies are qualitative in nature, is true.

For Straus and Corbin (1998), qualitative methodology is a typical research approach that enables to produce findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. In other words, it is a way by which researchers generate raw qualitative data and further manufacture it in non-numerical manifestation. It is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2009). However, quantitative methodology is a means for discovering knowledge by assuming that it is waiting for.

Therefore, qualitative research can refer to research about lives, lived experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings as well as about organizational functioning, social movements, cultural phenomena and interactions between nations (Straus and Corbin, 1998) that barely possible to quantitative approach, because it focuses on generating statistical and measurable facts. In this case, the complex and diverse impacts of displacement on the livelihoods of displaced people should be investigated merely in using qualitative methodology.

Unlike the quantitative approach that views, there is pre-existing world that can be known (Limb and Dwyer, 2001), qualitative research perceives social planet dynamics, subjective and as it is varied with socio- cultural, economic and political aspects of the society. If this is so, qualitative researchers are more likely to confront and come up against the constraints of the everyday social world (Denzin & Lincoln 2000 cited by Gimachew 2006). Therefore, to understand in depth the livelihoods of displaced community by using livelihood analytical frame work which takes in to account the dynamic nature of poverty, voice of poor,

marginalized group (e.g. sub-tenants, co-resident and/or migrants) and every day constraints of displaced people at new location, qualitative approach is essential means.

On the other hand, there are different reasons that tempt researchers to use qualitative methodology, such as, preference or experience of the researchers, the nature of the problem, to explore substantive areas about which little is known to gain novel understanding and to obtain the intricate detail about phenomena (Straus and Corbin, 1998).

Accordingly, for this study the aforesaid three reasons excluding the former one are momentous. Though the philosophical approach which views knowledge as subjective, societal oriented and unstatic primarily pertained to confirm this approach, the nature of the problem which needs to dig out in deep on incident and novel understanding since it has been under researched consequently played in judgment.

As discussed earlier, much is not known as such about the livelihoods of displaced people in holistic way. In this study, therefore, I intended to understand and analyse the livelihoods of displaced people which needs a core of qualitative research to extract varied and complex information and admit the subjective and dynamic nature of the world. Thus, perceptions of relocatees about displacement have been extracted in this study. Moreover, relocatees feeling and knowledge on the impacts of displacement on their various livelihood assets and activities have been extracted. Added to these, the study has embraced their experience to urban context in comparison to the old location, and has extracted how displaced people behave with this context from their point of view. Hence, qualitative approach is the appropriate option owing to it enables to see such phenomenon in-depth and comprehensive way, and begins and ends with the voice and recommendation of the study community.

### **2.3. Why this Problem, Area and Community for Study?**

I have selected Addis Ababa because of dissimilar motives. The slum area is more pronounced in the capital city than other urban areas of the country. As a result, slum development project has been quite undertaken in the city. Hence, development path is directly affecting slum dwellers, leading to livelihood disruption. Moreover, it exposes relocatees to poverty driven and deepens factors even more than the other communities. This, therefore, inspired me to conduct research concomitant to the livelihoods of displaced people even though there are other visible problems in the capital city.

Another issue of concern is the experience from previous research and discussion papers in other countries indicating that in most cases, the people who were displaced ended up by becoming poorer. There is, therefore, a need to study the livelihoods of the people who were affected in this instance in Addis Ababa.

Specifically, I had chosen those relocated from *Arat Kilo area* for various reasons. Firstly, Arat Kilo area, which is located at inner part of the city, is seriously bitten by slum relatively than the other parts of the city. Therefore, I believed that conducting research on the displaced people who used to live at a quite deprived place and a very close distance from main centres of the city could contribute to identify the main livelihood impacts of displacement. Secondly, since displacement had been done recently in this area than that of the other parts of Addis, no studies have been conducted on people relocated from Arat Kilo area to another location.

Moreover, the mini-research that I had done on the participation of the local community in decision making processes of Arat kilo area demolition attracted me to this study. This work showed me that people had no participation in the decision making process and the existing knowledge gap regarding to taking into consideration the livelihood impacts of displacement. In addition, since it enabled me to be familiar with the affected group, I believed that I could find gatekeepers as well as understand in depth about the phenomena.

People from Arat Kilo area were dispersed into various destinations. However, more than half of households were relocated into *Nifas Silk Lafto* sub-city, specifically, *Jamo 1*, *Gofa Comp* and *Lafto* (See Figure 2). According to the information that was taken from Arada sub-city, out of the total 1293 displaced households, about 725 relocated into this sub-city, specifically, at *Jamo 1* (510 households), *Gofa Camp* (143 households) and *Lafto* (72 households). Therefore, the majority of the relocatees of Arat Kilo were moved to this place. Taking this into account, in order to understand the livelihoods of displaced people in depth and in holistic manner in line of the available time, I deliberately selected relocatees of *Nifas Silk Lafto* sub-city as study community.

#### **2.4. Informants: Selection and Procedures**

In qualitative research, the site and participants are mostly selected by researchers purposefully that will best help to understand the problems and research questions (Creswell,

2009). The same idea in different word, Currivan (2004) noted that, in qualitative research selection procedure is a deliberate rather than a random process. Unlike quantitative research which emphasise on sample size, qualitative inquiry distinctly is based on quality and richness of data. As a result, those informants who are relevant to meet the intended objective by giving rich and generous information are selected.

Therefore, since informants appear to have a profound impact on the result, qualitative approach needs due attention than quantitative approach which has pre-conception about end result. Thus, in this study, I deliberately selected those informants who could furnish indispensable and rich data about the livelihood circumstances of the displaced people.

Therefore, in order to get varied and rich data, interviewees were purposefully selected from those relocatees who left the area in advance of the determined cut-off date rather than leaving recently in accordance to or after the deadline. Because, the former relatively know well about the livelihoods of displaced people than the later who have shallow information since they left their place of origin late and lived short at the new location.

In the study site, there are also people who came from other parts of the city. Thus, in order to get the target group, I have utilised snowball sampling. Because, snowball sampling is often needed when the required communities for the study are very difficult to locate and recruit for a study. Snowball refers to using one contact to help to recruit another contact, which in turn can put the researcher in touch with someone else. This process is based on the assumption that a bond or link exists between the initial sample and others in the same target population, allowing a series of referrals to be made within a circle of acquaintance (Berg, 2006 cited by Krishna, 2007). In other term, it is based on initial contacts who are asked for the names and addresses of any other people who might fulfil the sampling requirements (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). In this study, I met initial informant through research assistant who was born and grew up in the previous location. Thus, other informants were communicated via this initial contact.

Therefore, 24 households in Jamo 1 (where there are a substantial number of relocatees), 7 households in Gofa Camp, 4 households in Lafto site, and also for furtherer information 4 authorities in the Arad sub-city, participated throughout this study through a variety of methods.

## **2.5. Types and Sources of Data**

In this study, I utilized both primary and secondary data. The former was collected directly from the respondents, while the latter were generated from different materials that are compiled by other individuals and different organization. Hence, due attention and cross checking of different materials was made to ensure the accuracy and relevance of secondary source. This is because, the data might be devised for other purposes and, there may be exaggeration on the realities for political and other purposes. On the other hand, primary data was extracted by using different tools, because as it has been noted by Strauss & Corbin (1990), every method has its own merits and demerits. However, using different tools could enable to fill their respective gap. Thus, this study has triangulated different tools, such as, structured open-ended interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation.

## **2.6. Semi-Structured Interview**

Undoubtedly, interview is the most commonly and widely used data collecting instrument in qualitative methods. It is the most vital tool by which the interviewers interact with the society and extract depth information about the problem. It can be categorized into structured, semi-structured and unstructured strategies (Crang andCook, 2007; Longhurst, 2003). In the case of structured interview, the researcher asks predetermined questions in a specific order and it is commonly used in quantitative research but it is not uncommon to employ in qualitative techniques to generate background information. Similarly, within semi-structured interview, questions are highly structured or standardized (Kitchin and Tate, 2000), but the researcher and participant/s / set some broad parameters to a discussion (Crang andCook, 2007). Differently, within unstructured form of interview, it is unusual to set predetermined questions. However, researchers may have a guide list at least to remember what they want to raise during interview. In generals, interview allows interviewer to extract rich and detailed information from interviewee(s).

In this study, I employed structured open ended interview. This is because, this tool enables to extract generous information regarding to multifaceted impacts of relocation on livelihoods. Moreover, it reduces interviewer effects and biases because the questions are prepared in advance, but it has demerits since it does not allow too much flexibility for

interviewer (Mikkelsen, 2005). Therefore, it is crucial to develop interview questions carefully in line of study objectives in advance.

In this study, 23 relocatees were interviewed (see Appendix B for their profile). Thus, I prepared formal questions in advance and let informants free to reflect their perceptions, experiences and feelings about their access to assets, their vulnerability to contexts and influences of institutions and processes, and livelihood strategies that they employed to cope up with such adversity. Therefore, though the questions were standardised, informants had a chance to say more and whatever they have about issues.

As it is well recognised, interviewees occasionally like to respond in short and straight forwarded manner even if they were requested to offer quite explanation. Therefore, I have asked probing questions, which according to Berg (2001) provides interviewers with a way to draw out more complete stories from interviewee. To this end, I have received depth response from the subjects, and thus, it played a pivotal role to establish the credibility of statements.

## **2.7. Key Informant Interview**

Key informants have special knowledge on a given topic (Mikkelsen, 2005). In other words, they provide unique information that rarely attainable to generate from other respondents. I also incorporated key informants to extract exceptional and supportive information about the problem. The Kebele and sub-city authorities were taken as key informants. Four authorities were interviewed so as to produce in depth data about participation in decision making process in representing the local community, whether they promote the displaced people to become productive, to enable access to affordable credit, social services and social network at new location. In order to get further and supportive information, they were also asked to mention reason/s for community displacement. Three *iddir* leaders (2 elderly were leaders of *iddir* in the previous location, however not yet, and 1 is from the newly established *iddir*) were also interviewed about the impacts of displacement on *iddir*.

However, the outsiders may not have adequate information about the issues and a sort of exaggeration may be exhibited. As a result, I have crosschecked for the accuracy of the data with what is generated from other sources.

## **2.8. Focus Group Discussion**

A group discussion can be a useful alternative or supplement to one-to-one interviews (Kitchin and Tate, 2000), especially when the participants have different profiles and are interested in discussion. Most commonly, a group discussion consists of a set of three to ten individuals discussing a particular topic under the guidance of a moderator who promotes interaction and directs the conversation.

Taking this into consideration, in order to solidify the information obtained using the above-stated tool, I facilitated group discussion at a place where displaced persons are numerous and agreed to form a group and discuss in detail about the questions that would be given by the interviewer. Since the study community is dispersed into various places in the study site, I was not able to implement group discussion for the entire study communities, because it was difficult to bring people together at one particular site to have such a discussion. Therefore, 9 people were selected for discussion from *Jamo 1* where the relocatees relatively live close to each other, and have shown interest in the request. Hence, the discussion contained various groups, such as, from women-headed households, male-headed households, students and / or children.

To this end, I provided three general points of discussion: the physical merits and demerits of living at the current place of residence compared with the old location; the most vulnerable group and constraints they are facing after displacement. Hence, I and the research assistant took responsibility as moderator and recorder of data, respectively.

## **2.9. Observation**

Observation entails the systematic notion and recording of events, behaviours, and artifacts in a social setting (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). It was employed in this study because it provides the advantage of directness, i.e. it enables the researcher to watch what subjects do and listen to what they say. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000), this directness provides a degree of validity as it concentrates upon what people really do as opposed to what they say they will.

Therefore, I employed observation in this study to view the livelihood activities that have been practiced at or near home, the physical environment, housing structure, size and location, availability and quality of 'on-site' (water, toilet, bathroom, electricity and sewerage) and 'off-site' (feeder road, schools, recreational centre and street light) facilities.

The main purpose of having observation in this study is to ascertain the information given by informants during interview about `physical capital` and environmental vulnerability. Primarily, I asked permission from the dwellers to allow me observe their `on-site` amenities. So, observation along with photographing physical facets has provided sound data.

### **2.10. Data Analysis**

In qualitative research, there is typically no precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins (Mikkelsen, 2005). It is a continual process. The analysis may implicitly commence even during data collection to the explicit part of analysis. In qualitative research description, classification and data connection therefore starts before having a full set data. This will help to make sense of the data being gathered and also guide further data generation (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

In qualitative research, coding is a useful way of organizing data (Mikkelsen, 2005). It is analytical process through which data could be conceptualised, reduced, abstracted and get sensed via categorizing raw data into different group based on the dimensions and characteristics. Based on the coding hint from Straus and Corbin, (1998) and Creswell, (2009), in this study, I categorised raw data into different labels based on pre-determined codes; i.e. vulnerability to economic, social and environmental context, livelihood activity, access to assets, influences of institution and process , livelihood strategy, and successful and unsuccessful outcomes of the strategy. To make further analysis and interpretation the categories were disintegrated to phenomenon and the conditions of such phenomenon have been interpreted. This, therefore, allowed statements that were given by different informants to be organised according to particular categories of themes. Thus, some meaningful responses have been placed in the analysis as quotes.

### **2.11. Validity and Reliability (Result Quality)**

Validity concerns the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Indeed, validity does not carry the same connotation in the qualitative research as it does in quantitative research (Creswell, 2009). However, it does not mean that validity is unimportant factor in qualitative approaches. Instead, it is a vital means which any qualitative researcher should be concerned while conducting study to assure quality. On the other hand, reliability refers to repeatability or consistency of a finding.

However, while consistent findings are quite common in physical sciences, they are much rarer in the social sphere (ibid). Furthermore, result consistency is unthinkable in qualitative study since human beings by nature are unstatic. Ensuring reliability in qualitative research therefore concerns to whether the findings of a study can be trusted (Tatek, 2008) rather than repeated. In this case, reliability in qualitative study is different in concept from quantitative research.

Therefore, both concepts can be replaced with different words, for instance trustworthiness and accuracy. In fact, whichever word given to the concepts, the ultimate issue is quality. Therefore, in this study, result quality has been achieved on the basis of suggestions given by Creswell. To bring quality result I attempted to avoid mistakes during transcription, gave due attention on codes, back some description to the participant to check accuracy, clarify the biases if ever I made throughout the study, spent prolonged time in the field to develop an in depth understanding towards the phenomena. Besides, I crosschecked the responses given in different times by informants to shun inconsistency.

On the other hand, quality is also affected by ethical and intersubjectivity manifestations. Whenever research is conducted the wellbeing of the respondents is a top priority. If not, all of our efforts remain fruitless. Having this in mind, I made reasonable attention to the cultural, economical, social and political dimensions of respondents. As I mentioned it earlier, my previous mini-work enabled me to some extent to learn how the community behaves, which in turn helped me to become careful when I was conducting interview. On the other side, informants were told about the exact purpose of the study in order to circumvent reply exaggeration as well as distortion that could be the case if the researcher would deceive.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. CONCEPT, LITRATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1. Key Concepts

##### 3.1.1. Livelihood and Its Origin

According to Rigg (2007) livelihood involves stronger emphasis on grassroots or marginalised society. Following the dissatisfaction with neo-liberal agenda which creates widespread inequalities among countries in general and people in particular, livelihood perspectives came to the fore. More specifically, the interest in the livelihoods is usually traced back to the 1992 when World Conference on Environment and Development was held and at the same time discussion paper was published by Chambers and Gordon Conway. Since then different but, almost similar definitions of livelihood have been given by different scholars.

The most widely accepted definition about livelihood has been provided by Chamber and Conway, who have ample experiences with developing more people centred methodologies. For them livelihood is defined as the capabilities, assets (both material and social) and activities required for a means of living (Chamber and Conway, 1992). The same concept in different words, Ellis (1999) defines livelihood as the activities, the assets and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household.

Broadly, the concept can incorporate livelihood strategies employed by the community at a time of shock and stress. With this regard, Long (2001) describes livelihood as being made up of practices by which individuals and groups strive to make a living, meet their consumption necessities, cope with adversities and uncertainties, engage with new opportunities, protect existing or pursue new lifestyles and cultural identifications, and fulfil their social obligations.<sup>4</sup> The present study has made an attempt to understand livelihood widely, including vulnerability to context and strategies employed during this difficulty.

##### 3.1.2. Displacement

Conventionally, displacement is often perceived as the dislocation of people merely from their homes and lands by development projects. For instance, according to Sherbinin et al

(2010) the term displacement refers to the movement of population from their place of usual residence to another area. Hence, resettlement action plans have concentrated on physically moving people and supplying them with houses (Hoadley, 2008). In reality, displacement involves not only the physical eviction from a dwelling, but also the expropriation of productive sites and other assets to make an alternative use possible (Downing, 2002). This means, displacement has ended with the disruption of physical, financial, social and human assets of the displaced.

Displacement results from various distinct causes such as natural reasons, political events and planned development program (Cernea, 1993). The kinds of development projects that lead to involuntary displacement are diverse. According to Koenig (2001) these include urban relocation from slum clearance and renovation to the installation of infrastructure for water projects, roads and rails. In almost a similar manner, Cernea (1993) identified that relocation is caused by the need to three major causes of urban displacement: slum development; environmental improvement and urban economic growth. The urban displacement addressed in this paper is the planned type. Having said that, this study will therefore investigate the perceptions of displaced towards displacement in one hand, and reason for their displacement from places of habitual residences, on the other hand.

### **3.1.3. Slum**

The United Nation Expert Group meeting held in Nairobi on October 2002 gave operational definition to slum as an area that combines inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN Habitat, 2003). Slum has also been given different local names such as *barriadas*, *favelas*, *colonial proletarias*, *gecekonduu*, *bustees*, *bidonvilles* and *gourbivilles* in Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Turkey, India, Algeria and Tunisia, respectively (Ibid). Accordingly, in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, slum has local name, “*gedekemu betoch/seferoch*”, meaning that deteriorated houses or settlements (Elias, 2008). On the whole, slums are labelled into two broad types: “slums of hope” and “slums of despair” (Lloyd -Evans and Potter, 1998). The former refers to self-built settlements which have been constructed through a process of improvements and consolidations. While, the latter indicates the dwindling neighbourhoods in which environmental conditions and services are in a process of seemingly inevitable decay, for instance, inner city of Addis Ababa.

### **3.2. Debate on Development Induced Displacement**

The number of people displaced by programs and projects intended to promote national, regional and local development are substantial. The number most commonly cited is approximately 10 million people per year displaced throughout the world: over the last 20 years this would mean that 200 million people had been displaced (Cernea, 2000). The figure is expected to boost in the future as cities will continue to grow substantially. Hence, as a consequence, reordering of city spaces in developing countries is inevitable, and looms large. In this case, urban growth means reordering of city spaces, improved transportation networks, new industrial estates, new water and sewage systems, much better slum free environments (Cernea, 1993). The need for investments in such amenities will increase dramatically, and they will require changes in land use. This, in turn, will entail interurban compulsory relocation processes (Ibid).

Urban compulsory relocation thinking is fundamentally uneven. Different scholars have different insight on development induced displacement. According to Meikle & Walker (1998) the proponents of displacement argue that individuals are expected to sacrifice for the state. Similarly, some argue that the prime land occupied by slum dwellers need to be utilized for economically more productive purposes (Perera & Viratkapan 2004), rather than being occupied by people with low income. This vehicle of development is, therefore, synonym to conventional development path, which is a monoeconomic and growth oriented (Pieterse, 2001).

In this way, development is part of a process where the advantages for the state as a whole have to outweigh the desires of the minority. More often than not, the process of arriving at this decision is not participatory, and results in complaints from the community. It has also been put into question by many: development practitioners, academicians, human right advocates, and even funders, who have extensively documented the losses sustained by those involuntarily displaced and resettled (Koenig, 2001).

The critics of resettlement projects usually argue that relocation creates tremendous negative impacts on communities as well as the micro-economy of the area (Perera & Viratkapan, 2004), and thus reject development induced displacement. Anthony Oliver-Smith in McDowell (1996) says that development-induced displacement is, in many ways, the ultimate expression of a state with its monopoly on the management of violence and ability to exert

ultimate control over the location of people and things within its territory. He adds that, Resettlement imposes forces and conditions on people that may completely transform their lives, evoking profound changes in environment, productive activities, social organisation and interaction, in leadership and political structure, and in worldview and ideology.

The negative experiences from displacement, and the apparent tension between growth or economic development for the nation, on the one hand, and social development or justice for individuals or communities, on the other, are also reflected by Muggah (2003) cited by pius Nambiza (2007). As he put it, development-induced internal displacement also represents, in many cases, a violation of human rights, though the overall advantages for the nation have tended to outweigh the rights and entitlements of the minority.’

Others also argue about the asymmetrical benefits of development- induced displacement. Concomitant to this, Mathur (1995) and Harrison (1993) asserted that, development projects that cause disruption on the lives of the displaced reflect the interests of the rich because the way development has worked over the years make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Therefore, development doubts, such as, what, for whom, how and why have been asked over by many since 1950s. As a result, what constitutes and how development change over time, shaped by critique, debt, experience and evolution (Hawi 2005). Indeed, recent years have witnessed the perception of development in holistic way. Pike, et al (2007) stated development as holistic approach necessarily broader than just the economy and encourages wider and more rounded conception of wellbeing and quality of life.

In other words, development is expected to move beyond the narrow economism of “de-siccated” indicators (Morgan 2004). This connects to the recognition of social, economic, cultural and environmental realm in development objective as well as path. This, in turn, enables to achieve sustainable development, which according to Hirschman (1958) and Storper (1997) , recognises distinctive structural problems and dovetails with local assets and social aspirations to encourage the kinds of locally and regionally grown solution. Therefore, though urban re-development is necessary, to talk only about urban re-development in terms of physical dimension is insufficient.

Here by, although holistic development approach concentrates on people’s choices, others have argued about the complexity of doing so. Because, people have different choices

depending on their ideologies, cultures, norms, traditions, and aspirations (Hawi 2005). On the other hand, according to Gebre (2008), community participation could be manipulated to promote the agenda of certain group's interest. However, this can be tackled by recognising the leading role of state in more holistic, programmatic and systematic forms of local and regional development (Pike, et al 2007). In this view, multidimensional development path through the participation of the local community is needed though the diversity is ultimately cemented by the government.

Other scholars, however, are less compromising and to them, development could be attained through well developed course of action. They argue that development induced displacement can be mitigated by careful planning that specifically target the displaced. In this case, If the displaced are not properly resettled and rehabilitated, it is irrelevant whether the project forcing them off their land is of an *overriding public interest* or not (Pettersson 2002). World Bank experience indicates that:

*„Involuntary resettlement under development projects, if unmitigated, often gives rise to severe economic, social, and environmental risks: production systems are dismantled; people face impoverishment when their productive assets or income sources are lost; people are relocated to environments where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competition for resources greater; community institutions and social networks are weakened, kin groups are dispersed; and cultural identity, traditional authority, and the potential for mutual help are diminished or lost` (World Bank, 2004).*

Therefore, based on this, the Bank has established the following three guidelines, which are essential to mitigate the undesirable outcomes of displacement.

*(a) Involuntary resettlement should be avoided where feasible, or minimized, exploring all viable alternative project designs (b) where it is not feasible to avoid resettlement; resettlement activities should be conceived and executed as sustainable development programmes, providing sufficient investment resources to enable the persons displaced by the project to share in project benefits. Displaced persons should be meaningfully consulted and should have opportunities to participate in planning and implementing resettlement*

*programmes, and (c) displaced persons should be assisted in their efforts to improve their livelihoods and standards of living or at least to restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels or to levels prevailing prior to the beginning of project implementation, whichever is higher (Ibid).*

To summarise, the above argument suggests as development and development path until now has no a universally accepted meaning agreed upon by whole actors, and it is always dynamic, because it depends on personal and collective moral values in different times and places. Having this in mind, this paper attempts to examine displaced people's views on the development caused displacement and their participation in the process as well as whether the process provided them sustainable opportunity to maintain their livelihood.

### **3.3. The Extent of Displacement Outcomes**

Development projects often involve the introduction of direct control by a developer over land previously occupied by another group. Natural resource extraction, urban renewal or development programs, industries, parks, and infrastructure projects (such as highways, bridges, irrigation canals, and dams) all required land, often in large quantity. To do so, the community has often to relocate either from their place of residence or production site.

The result of resettlement should ideally be the restoration of the community to its former socio- economic position (Hoadley, 2008), yet this result is proved to be elusive. For instance, Cernea (1996) and Wood (1994) stated that urban development schemes themselves, the huge clearance- the new developments, relocation and conservation programs devised as remedy for urban plights seem to have raised as many problems as they have seemed to solve. This means, resettlement erodes a community's access to all the elements needed for livelihood-social, human, physical and financial capital. Therefore, displacement of people and communities has been one of the challenges facing the livelihoods of people displaced.

Development induced displacement, therefore, disrupts much economic activity of the displaced. This is primarily because, urban resettlement pays little attention to the economic impact of displacement. This means that, the scheme which stands as one of the largest public housing programmes in the Third World, is basically designed to settle squatter and not as a means for assisting low-income families *per se* (Lloyd -Evans and Potter, 1998). In other

words, Dwyer (1975), Drakakis-Smith (1979) and Yen (1990) argue that a strong motive on the part of government was to free sites occupied by squatters for more lucrative permanent development. Clearly, Mejia (1999) study conducted on World Bank funded projects in Latin America suggests that most current urban resettlement programs were based primarily on housing.

Even though, in developing countries, the role of informal sector in employment and survival especially in the poorer echelons of society is crucial (UN Habitat, 2003), Mejia adds that, among other things, the reliance of poor on the informal economy has not been sufficiently studied or taken into consideration.

As a result, unemployment or underemployment among resettlers often endures long after physical relocation has been completed (Robinson, 2003). This is particularly true in the urban areas of developing regions, where residential and commercial areas often have informal (unauthorized or unlicensed) economic activities. Since these activities often depend on the surrounding environment (Perlman, 1982), displacement of informal enterprises can be therefore disastrous for people deriving their incomes from these enterprises and deprives communities of access to product or services (World Bank, 2004). This is particularly true of women who frequently earn their livelihoods from a number of sources in the informal sector (Hoadley, 2008).

The risk of losing wage employment is, therefore, very high after displacement, since creating new jobs at new location is difficult and requires substantial investment. Many individuals cannot use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location; human capital could be lost or could become inactive or obsolete (Robinson, 2003).

Urban displaced is likely more painful than that of displaced in the rural areas. Economic upheaval among displaced is sometimes mitigated in the rural reception areas by the capacity of local social and economic structures to provide alternative access to land or other productive resources (Black & Sessay 1997; Leach 1992). However, urban reception areas are generally more problematic in this respect (Evans, 2007).

A range of empirical evidences ( to call but a few, Cernea 1993 from Jakarta, Evans 2007 from Senegal, Gebre 2008, Nebiyu, 2000 and Ephreme 1998 from Ethiopia) have shown the depressing effects of displacement on the relocatees economic activity. And also, for recent

Latin American-urban resettlement projects, the proportion of unemployed averaged around 15%; about 25% of the displaced populations were under employed (Mejia, 1999).

As it is widely known, social network plays a significant role in making safe way of life of residents in certain area. According to Mitchell (1995 cited by Ephreme, 1998) network relation enhances the transfer of information among individuals and transfer of materials goods and services among people. Nonetheless, there is also a lot of evidence that reveals the social impacts of displacement and resettlement on the communities. The social and cultural disruptions in neighbourhood ties and kinship networks (Cernea, 1993, 2000), and among the psychological costs-isolation, alienation, anomie and other sign of social disarticulation (Pandey, 1996) are additional to the tangible economic losses.

Cernea further explains the non- questionable costs, such as, the loss of access to mutual help, child care arrangements, exchange and borrowing opportunities, and other informal support systems. Especially, social disarticulation is common when the existing social groups cannot resettle together (Koenig 2001). On the other hand, moving communities in groups will encourage the continued functioning of community mutual-assistance networks, and reduce distress and helplessness (Hoadley, 2008).

Concomitant to this, various studies conducted, for instance, by Gebre (2008) and Ephreme (1998) found out adverse impacts of displacement on social network. Ultimately, urban social network that are often dismantled by relocation in turn leads to serious problems of adaptation and social integration in the new site (UNCHS, 1991). If this is the case, the conclusion given by Koenig, “human beings are not simply individual economic beings, but are parts of social systems that give meaning to their live” could be accepted by many.

In fact, with regard to slum dwellers relocation, displacement has some sort of social benefit for the community. Most of the time, slum area dwellers have been perceived by outsiders as thieves, prostitutes, delinquents, drunkards, drug abused people and criminals. As a result, in many cases, they are marginalised from any social aspects. If this is the case, displacing slum dwellers make them to get safe social integration with the other community. This is the fact that has been indentified in this study. Therefore, displacement may not generally bring social disruptions rather, to some extent, it creates a better social milieu for the relocatees.

The distance between relocation site and previous residence is a critical variable in urban relocation. Short distance often allows people to hold on to prior jobs and maintain social contacts with the original neighbourhood; whereas, when people are relocated to the periphery, unaffordable transportation costs or absence of transportation result in suddenly cutting off the relocatees from their prior income sources and customer base (Cernea, 1993). Moreover, displacing the community from inner city to outskirts impedes their access to various urban amenities such as education and health centre. Therefore, if the new place of residence is far from the previous location, the displaced often exposed to additional transport cost for accessing such facilities ( for more detailed information, see Gebre, 2008).

To overcome the negative effects of displacement, it has been recommended by UN- Habitat that slum development strategies should seek to support the livelihoods of urban poor; by enabling urban informal sector activities to flourish, by linking low-income housing development to income generation and by ensuring easy access to jobs through pro-poor transport services (UN Habitat, 2003). Having this in mind, in the case of the study site, whether this recommendation has been realized has been implicitly investigated.

The other consequence of displacement is manifested on health status of the relocatees. Massive population displacement threatens to cause serious decline in health levels (Robinson, 2003). Displacement results in social stress and psychological trauma. In the same vein, various literatures show that the use of unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increases vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhoea, dysentery, or particularly parasitic and vector-borne diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis.

This, however, is not always true. Relocation may ultimately generate certain benefits, not only losses or unsafe living environment, which has an impact on health status of the relocatees. As it is indicated in this study, displaced people have accessed relatively better water, sewerage systems, toilet, and are less vulnerable to epidemics and various diseases.

Therefore, though there is an increased tendency for these new estates to be located on the urban periphery, away from the main employment opportunities as well as the concentration of urban amenities, on the positive side, however, Lloyd -Evans and Potter (1998) stated that in the resettlement scheme when the state acted as provider in many parts of third world

countries, there were individual housing units more spacious, having their own toilets, water taps and kitchens.

Clearly, experiences of Shanghai, where environmental improvement project had displaced over 15,000 residents from several neighbourhoods shows that there was no worsening of housing conditions. The new apartments were built at standards higher than the houses subject to demolition (Cernea, 1993). In short, relocation may result in gaining security of ownership title over the new house plots, better housing standard for the relocatees and better environmental and social services such as sewage systems, water supply, electricity, simulation, etc.

### **3.4. Previous Studies on Urban Development-Induced Displacement**

Various scholars (Koenig, 2001; Downing, 2002; Perera & Viratkapan, 2004) stated that the effects of resettlement have been documented and studied systematically for at least 30 years. For instance, to mention few, Chambers, 1969; Hansen & Oliver-smith, 1982; Scudder, 1981, are the well known academicians who have done research on the subject of displacement and resettlement. As well, the contribution of Cernea in researching on development induced displacement since 1990s till up today can be mentioned as other case in point. He is internationally renowned activist in the areas of displacement and rehabilitation. However, the role of these studies in guiding displacement effectively has been insignificant. As a result, Koenig (2001) argues that though the available studies on displacement have been instrumental in improving some outcomes, displacement and resettlement continue to be problematic. The same point in deferent words, Downing (2002) stated:

*Although people continue to be relocated, the goal of rehabilitation remains exceedingly difficult to achieve, and the preferred goal of substantial development, where people are better off than they were before resettlement, has seldom been achieved.*

Therefore, paradoxically, resettlement and displacement, which carry great impoverishment risks, go hand-in-hand with development (Hoadley, 2008). This implies that, there are still gaps that need to be studied to decrease impoverishment and reconstitute livelihood

(Koenig, 2001). This means that development induced displacement requires further research.

On the other hand, others argue that the available studies have focused on non-urban development caused displacement. Concomitant to this, Koenig (2001) stressed that, though there are diverse reasons for community displacement, perhaps the best studied examples of development induced displacement and resettlements (DIDR) are dam projects. However, it does not mean that they are the only reasons for development induced displacement. Instead, especially, in the future, it is likely that the numbers of people required to relocate by dams will constitute a diminishing proportion of the displaced, while the proportion required to resettle by other kinds of initiatives, especially urban ones, will increase (Koenig, 2001). Saying this, he adds that, it is an open question whether our understanding of DIDR, drawn disproportionately from the dam experience, is relevant for other types of resettlement, especially urban resettlement. Therefore, in the words of Michael Cernea:

*Relocation of urban populations has happened until now as well, but it can be predicted that involuntary population displacement will become more significant than it has ever been on the third world urban agenda-and requires more attention to policy, institutional, and research concerns (Cernea, 1993).*

Specifically, despite many slum relocation projects have been implemented during the last three decades, studies conducted on some of these projects have focused on the impacts of resettlement on slum dwellers, with a particular focus on socio-economic hardship (Perera & Viratkapan, 2004). In other words, the studies have not been able to look the impacts of displacement from various perspectives. (In the case of Addis Ababa, detail discussion has been made in chapter one). In this view, displacement is in need of research focusing on diverse and many sided outcomes of displacement. This paper therefore presents the holistic findings of displacement consequences, including factors that influence the pre-displacement and post-displacement performance of displacees.

### **3.5. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework for Analysing the Livelihoods of Displaced people**

According to Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones (2002) the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) is thus seen as complementary to more traditional approaches to development. They add that, it

is an approach that aims to put people and households in which they live at the centre of the development process. In this view, the relative problem or well being of the people understood from the point of view of the people themselves. Therefore, unlike the conventional approach which sees any problem from a few-dimension, SLF provides a holistic and cross sectoral approach to problem definition and analysis.

However, though SLF has such benefit, much of the work that has been undertaken to date deal with the rural dimension (Rakodi, 2002). Therefore, SLF as a rural framework has informed many empirical studies indifferent parts of the world (to mention a few, Bebbington 1999, Pain and Lautze 2002, van Dillen 2004, Degefa 2005). Relatively, urban applications of the model have been less numerous, but recent publications highlight its general usefulness for research on cities as well (e.g. Meikle et al. 2001, Rakodi 2002, Köberlein 2003, Mumtaz 2004, Degefa 2010), or stress the necessity to focus on urban livelihoods — especially in an age where urban growth rates all over the world are reaching unprecedented heights and pushing forward what has been called the “urbanisation of poverty” (Sanderson 2002).

On the other side, there has a similar sectoral bias in the SLF with application especially prevalent in the realm of urban poverty. Moreover, applications in the displacement arena have been comparatively rare, and this research has explored the livelihoods of displaced people with the application of SLF as analytical tool.

As is well known, SLF has a number of basic elements. At the centre of the framework are the assets on which households or individuals draw to build their livelihoods. They refer to the tangible and intangible resources over which people are able to access, and have opportunity in practice to use them. However, assets are not always owned by the people who use them—rather, they may have varying extents of access to and control over these assets (Farrington et al, 2002). The capital assets are grouped as of financial, human, social, physical and political capital.

The financial resources available to people include cash, savings, credit, remittances and pension (Scoones, 1998; Rakodi, 2002). They provide the means by which vulnerable and low-income households can spread the cost of more expensive capital investments and can make previously unaffordable capital costs affordable. Specifically, saving (e.g. *iqub*, in the case of Ethiopia) encourages regular interaction and enables strong bonds to be created

(Satterthwaite, 2002). However, this is in addition to its financial importance, especially, at a time of shock and stress. In regard to cash, while cities do offer better opportunities to earn income, it should be noted that not all people have equal access to income or employment (Farrington et al, 2002).

Human capital refers the labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimension. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities, whereas the later refer to the skills, education, ability to work and health status and physical capital of household member important for the successful pursuit of livelihood (see Scoones, 1998; Rakodi, 2002). With this regard, Rakodi (2002) argues that, lack of human capital in the form of skill and education affects the ability to secure a livelihood more directly in urban labour market than in rural areas.

In the context of sustainable livelihood framework, social capital is considered as social resources upon which people draw in their attempt to attain their livelihood objective (Emebet, 2008). According to Moser (1998) and Dersham & Gzirishvili (1998) social capital refers to networks of mutual support that exist within and between households, extended family, and communities, which people can mobilise to access, for example, loans, childcare, food, accommodation and information about employment and opportunities. Broadly, based on its formation, social capital is categorised into informal and formal (see Rakodi, 2003; Emebet, 2008).

Here important is that, for social interaction to be termed 'capital', it must be persistent, giving rise to stocks (for example, of trust or knowledge) on which people can draw (Collier, 1998). In addition to creating trust and ability to work together, even still other things remain constant; some (e.g. Putnam, 1993 cited by Farrington et al, 2002) also argue that, strong social capital can help communities in mobilizing to make demands for services to the state. As a result, the importance of social capital has long been recognized in development.

Physical capital consists of infrastructure and equipment that people own, rent, and use as a means of production. Specifically, it includes transport, secure shelter, adequate water supply, sanitation and drainage, energy, access to information and household good, like jewellery. Infrastructure enables people to use their knowledge and skill appropriately in their effort to attain secure livelihood (Moser, 1996 cited by Emebet, 2008). Thus, productive activities are

not possible without basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and drainage (Ali, 2002), and also lack of transport can have a profound effect on the livelihoods of people (Brown & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). Numerous literatures have confirmed the importance of obtaining a legal and safe house for many other households' asset. For instance, as Moser (1998) and Satterthwaite (2002) point out better quality and more secure housing with good quality infrastructure and services is highly significant in household well being.

One criticism SLF as a holistic approach to development is its failure to explicitly address issues of political capital or power (Farrington et al, 2002). In other words, SLF does not explain or address power and politics. In this case, SLF is synonym to IRR model, which is also neglects political process of displaced. But, political capital, based on access to the political process and decision making, and best seen as 'a gatekeeper asset, permitting or preventing the accumulation of other assets' (Booth et al, 1998). Similarly, as pointed out by Baumann and Sinha (2001), on the basis that the ability to influence political processes which determine decision-making and access is something which men and women can build up and draw on. In this view, political capital plays a significant role even to save from harm other assets. In this study, the political capital of relocatees has been included and thus the framework is modified so as to capture this.

In general, one of the questions of this study is that to ask the availability of financial, human, social, physical and political capital in comparison to the previous location, and how displaced people have accessed such assets.

As Rakodi (2002) argues few household in poor countries are able to support themselves on the basis of a single business activity or full time wage employment. This is may be owing to they generate meagre income from activities they engaged in. In any case, therefore, the risk of relying on a single business is too great. Having said that, a livelihood concept is a realistic recognition of the multiple activities in which households engage to ensure their survival and improve their wellbeing (Ellis, 1998). Therefore, using sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) this study has made attempts to investigate relocatees' livelihood activity in comparison to the former place of living.

The mentioned assets and activities are influenced by the context, which refers to the source of insecurity to which people and their assets are vulnerable. According to livelihood framework, vulnerability can broadly be grouped into sources of vulnerability accruing to the

social context of cities, the nature of the urban economy and the urban environment (for detailed information see also Rakodi, 2002; Farrington et al, 2002). A review of literature on urban livelihood outlines that urban dwellers are relatively quite vulnerable to the existing context in which they live than rural inhabitants. If this is the case, the extent to which relocatees are vulnerable to this kind of urban context has been discussed in this study.

Access to and use of assets as well as livelihood activities are also influenced by policies, organizations/ institution and relationship between individuals and organization (Rakodi, 2002). In addition, various ongoing processes impact on livelihoods. According to Farrington et al, (2002) one key process in cities-particularly quickly growing cities is that urbanization. This is also a phenomenon that has been underscored in this study.

For the purpose of encountering this pressing, the vulnerable people often develop livelihood strategy. Having this, within a livelihood framework people are not viewed as an undifferentiated and passive group but as active agents responding to change (Beall & Konji, 1999). Here, the concept of “strategy” has the advantage of restoring agency to people, rather than regarding them merely as passive victims (Rakodi, 2002). The livelihood strategies that vulnerable employ in order to make a living and to promote their security has been usually categorised into coping and adaptive strategies. However, in the case of this study, preventive strategy is the one that has been taken by some displaced people.

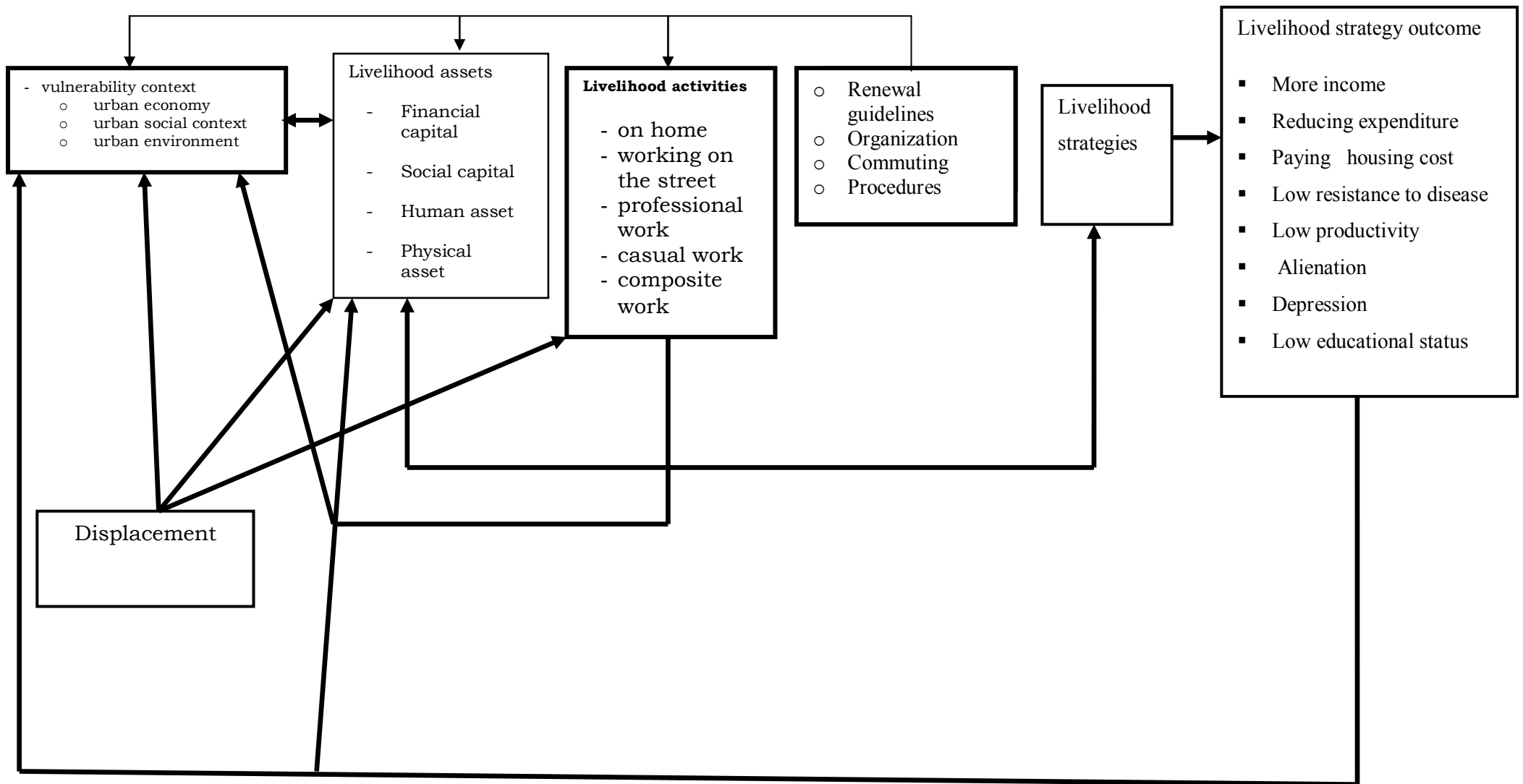
The former designed to respond to shocks in the short term, while the later designed to improve circumstances in long term (Farrington et al, 2002). Both of these strategies have been employed after facing the damage. Differently, preventive strategy is anticipatory, that is proposed as a means for ameliorating the anticipated adverse consequences associated with the change. Thus, the ability of households to avoid or reduce vulnerability and to increase economic productivity depends on asset availability and accessibility, and on their ability to transform those assets into income, food or other basic necessities, by intensifying existing, developing new, or diversifying their strategies (Moser, 1996; 1998 cited by Rakodi, 2002).

One issue of important about SLF is the emphasis on livelihood outcomes, which, consecutively, help to weigh up livelihood sustainability. According to Farrington et al (2002) livelihood outcomes are the results of vulnerable people’s strategies and feed back into the vulnerability context and asset bases, with successful strategies allowing them to build asset

bases as a buffer against shocks and stresses, as opposed to poor livelihood outcomes which deplete asset bases, thereby increasing vulnerability. In this case, livelihood outcomes can be labelled into fruitful and fruitless. Lastly, therefore, a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from adverse effects of existing context and everyday life scenario (see Carney, 1998 in Rakodi, 2002). In this study, SLF is also very important to assess the livelihood strategies employed by displaced people, and outcomes of these strategies.

In general, the (SLF) can centres on ways of understanding the practical realities and priorities of displaced people-what they actually do to make a living, the assets that they are able to draw on and the problems that they face in doing this, strategies developed during difficulty and their livelihood sustainability.

However, the poverty livelihood framework needs some revision before it can be applied to displacement situations, as the way of analysing livelihoods of poor may differ significantly from the livelihoods of displaced people. The same holds for situations of political assets, which is not sufficiently addressed in the original framework. (See Figure 1)



**Figure 1: Displaced People Livelihood Analytical Framework**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF THE STUDY AREA

#### 4.1. An Overview of Addis Ababa Physical Situation

As it is well known, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, was founded in 1887 at the site of Filwoha hot springs by Emperor Menelik II and his wife Empress Taitu, and given the name Addis Ababa, Amharic term equivalent to “new flower”. The city is only 124 years old. It is located almost in the center of Ethiopia (See Figure 2). Astronomically, the city lies between  $8^{\circ} 55'$  &  $9^{\circ} 05'$  North latitude, and  $38^{\circ} 40'$  &  $38^{\circ} 50'$  East longitudes. Addis Ababa has haphazardly planned physical attribution, which even challenges urban re-development program. As a result, the city has shown massive planning changes that have affected its physical and socio-economic dimensions of the dwellers. Especially, the problem of inner city deterioration is receiving a steadily growing attention from urban planners. Hence, sustainability which recognised the interdependence of environmental, economic and social equity, in practice, is remained under question.

In the case of physical expansion, Addis Ababa has experienced an extensive urban sprawling. According to Mekete (1997) in 1920s the area of the city was (33km<sup>2</sup>); in 1990(518km<sup>2</sup>) and in 1994(530.21km<sup>2</sup>). In this case, between 1920s and 1990s the city has grown nearly 16 fold. The spatial distribution of population in the city shows about 98.7% live in urban areas while 1.3% lives in rural (UNCHS-Habitat, 2000). The density of population in urban areas is 7008 per km<sup>2</sup> while it is 121 persons per km<sup>2</sup> in rural areas (Yenoineshet, 2007).

The elevation within the city ranges between 2300 meters at St. Joseph church and 2900 meters above sea level at Entoto area. With this position Addis Ababa ranks the fourth highest capital city in the world (Tsfaye, 1986).

The average monthly temperature ranges between 10<sup>°</sup> in August and 25<sup>°</sup> in May. And also the city obtains annual rainfall of 1200 mms with monthly variations between 8mm in November and 278 mm in August. In this regards, there is a widely responded view among the residents that the rainy seasons in Addis Ababa are considered more a

harmful to them in the previous place of residence than the current location. This is because, previously rain and flood made a way into their home.

#### **4.2. Administrative Structure**

Addis Ababa has shown different administrative organization, even after Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power. Before the 2002 reform, the city was structured into 6 zones, which were further sub-divided into 28 weredas, which were in turn divided into 328 kebeles. After the reform, the administrative structure has been condensed. The previous weredas were renamed and reduced to ten sub-cities. At the same time, the number of kebeles was reduced to 203. Three years later, the number of kebeles were minimised to 99 till July 2010 when they have been again reorganized into 116 weredas. The reshuffle has been made for empowering the sub-cities as well as Kebele level administrations to provide efficient, effective and inclusive municipal services, which in turn decisively help to measure governance quality.

However, despite such low level administration, others have argued that still problems remained in the city governance system. UN-Habitat (2008) argues that capacities are not yet created at the Kebele level, and sub-cities are not empowered to prepare more adequate regulations, as these prerogatives are restricted to the city-administration level. It adds that, comprehensive and well prepared plan, coordination among different government organs, institutional facilities and a tendency of downward accountability are not in place.

#### **4.3. Urbanization Issues**

According to Yenoineshet (2007) Addis Ababa was established with only 50, 000 inhabitants. She further indicates that the city took 90 years to reach a population of 1 million but only 30 years to triple and exceed 3 million. In other words, the city has been growing rapidly since 1970s. Currently, the city population is thought to be more than four million, and increasing at a rate of 8% per annum (Asfaw, 2005). UN-HABITAT estimates that the current population number will continue to rise, reaching 12 million in 2024 (UN-Habitat 2008). Beside natural growth, the migratory movement from rural areas and other urban areas towards the city has a paramount contribution for

the rise of city population. In 1999, surprisingly, 46.9% of city populations were migrants (CSA, 1999). This implies that 54.1% of populations were original resident.

The main reason for high migration to the city is economic reason, searching for jobs, which is, according to studies on those who lived for less than five years, ranked highest with 35.44% (Yenoineshet, 2007). Yenoineshet further notes that, out of which the urban migrants compromise 50.80%, whereas from rural areas shares 49.19%. Therefore, unlike other urban areas, urban-urban migration is significant in Addis Ababa. The figure suggests that the city needs due attention relatively than other urban areas of the country. Especially, it notes for urban planners and policy makers to take into account issues of migration and employment opportunity.

In general, the unprecedented growth rate is seriously outstripping the capacity of the city to provide adequate economic, social, environmental and administrative benefits for the dwellers. As a result, Addis Ababa is attributed by unemployment, underemployment, lack of decent living environment including housing, and social disintegration; especially migrants are often suffered acutely from this context.

#### **4.4. Poverty Situation**

Poverty is one of the many challenges facing Addis Ababa. A significant portion of its population is believed to live in poverty. Goitom (1999) indicated that 51% of the overall population of Addis Ababa were poor in 1976, where as the corresponding figure increased to 56% in 1978. Again the level of poverty has declined to 51% in 1999 (Mokennen 1999; UNCHS-Habitat, 2000). Some authors claim that today, about 70 to 80% of the Addis Ababa population are living at or below subsistence level (UN-Habitat, 2008). From this one can understand that international actors as well as the government have undermined the urbanization of poverty and the scale of the challenges presented by rapid urbanization. This means that the inextricably link of urban poverty with the process of rapid urbanization is overlooked.

The intensity of poverty varies across different sub-cities of Addis Ababa. Poverty is much more pronounced in the oldest parts of the city, of which Arada sub-city is one (Netsanent, 2009). Particularly, as it is widely known, Arat Kilo area is hard hit by poverty.

As it is cited by researchers, in Addis Ababa, poverty has multi-faceted feature. It has been seen in terms of material and non- material aspects. Thus, in addition to low income, lack of decent house, lack of access to various social and economic services like health, education and information, sufficient food, job opportunity, incapable to work and generate income, unable to use resources like labor, having too many children and easily vulnerable to the existing various urban contexts are also at the core of poverty (see also Degefa, 2010; Meron 2005).

#### **4.5. Informal Economic Activity**

It is far from universal agreement on what constitutes an informal sector and what distinguishes it from formal sector. Thus, the definition varies among different countries and even among different organisation within the same country. In Ethiopia, according to CSA (2006) economic activities are categorised into informal or formal based on, the number of workers, keeping book of account that show monthly income statement and balance sheet, and licences.

According to the same source, in the city of Addis Ababa, 21.6 % of people were working in the informal sector. The figure has contradiction to the overwhelming evidence suggesting that a significant portion of urban population in developing countries is engaged in informal sector. For instance, according to UN-Habitat (2003), in many cities of developing countries, the informal sector accounts as much as 60 % of employment of urban population. Similarly, according to Yenoineshet (2007), Addis Ababa accounted for 60 % of the total work force that was engaged in the informal sector.

However, what is commonly cited by several literatures is that higher proportion of females than males are engaged in the informal sector (Hoadley, 2008: CSA, 2006: Desalegn & Aklilu, 2002). Moreover, the literatures affirm that informal sector is part of the urban economy that offers jobs to the mainstream of the population, even though majority of them generate meagre income (UN-Habitat, 2003).

In general, there are several economic activities which are labelled and considered as informal. Street vending, weaving, domestic work, tailoring, shoe-shinning, petty trading, selling food items ( injera and bread), vegetables, charcoal and selling

firewood, commercial sex work, loading and unloading, wood cutting, garbage dumping, construction work and making and selling local drink are the notable informal economic activities that could be indentified in the city of Addis Ababa.

#### **4.6. Unemployment Situation**

There is spatial disparity of unemployment rate in Ethiopia. It is highest in urban areas than the countryside. For instance, CSA survey result reveals that the rate of unemployment in the urban areas of the country was 20.6 percent, while the rural area was only 2.6 percent (CSA, 2006). In addition, a significant difference is found in the prevalence of unemployment rate across the urban spectrum. Unemployment rate is a very serious problem in the capital city. In 1984 census, the unemployment rate was 10 percent and in 1994 this figure rose to 34 percent. Thus, it increased more than double. Almost after a decade, in 2005 unemployment rate was still highest in Addis Ababa following Jijiga town (33.6 and 38.6 percent, respectively) (CSA, 2006). However, this figure given to Addis Ababa is inconsistent with other studies that estimate the unemployment rate of the city to reach about 42 percent (UN-Habitat, 2002; NPO, 2003; AACG, 2006).

There is also a significant gender disparity. Many surveys reveal that unemployment rate is often higher for female than for male. For instance, in 2005, unemployment rate was higher for female (41.1 per cent), whereas only 20.4 percent of male were classified into unemployed in the major urban centres of the country (CSA, 2006).

#### **4.7. Slum Conditions**

About 70% of the urban population of Ethiopia is estimated to live in slum areas (MWUD, 2008). If this is the case, one should not be misled into thinking that low urbanization here meant fewer problems. Available data indicate that nearly 80 percent of Addis Ababa population lives in slum areas. This indicates that most of the sub-cities have a substantial proportion of households bereft of any one of the internationally accepted five key slum indicators (see the criteria in chapter three).

#### **4.8. Addis Ababa City Development Approach; Slum Redevelopment and Displacement Guideline**

In Addis Ababa, although slums constitute the greater portion of the residential areas, the city has not had a comprehensive slum redevelopment policy until the mid of the first decade of 21 century. With this thing in mind, Yenoineshet (2007) argues that the current housing problems are the result of accumulated deficits of policies for several years. However, in 2005 a consolidated urban development policy was formulated (MWUD, 2008). Of the intervention policy, housing development is the pillar one.

The policy envisages not only the provision of decent urban housing to citizen, but also the utilisation of housing as an instrument to promote urban development, create jobs, revitalise the local urban economy through micro and small enterprises (MSE) development, encourage saving and empower urban residents through property ownership and develop the capacity of the domestic construction industry, what makes call the approach Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP). Consequently, for the capital city, IHDP has been renamed to the Grand Addis Ababa Integrated Housing Development Program (GAAIHDP).

Therefore, GAAIHDP strategy links the housing development with slum reduction in order to improve the lives of slum dwellers. The program promotes inclusive residential building development and approaches that minimises displacement. In fact, displacement and relocation is inevitable especially in the inner parts of the city, where there is poorly planned form of settlement that impeded slum redevelopment. On the other hand, to facilitate slum reduction through the housing development, the program promotes mixed settlement of people from different economic backgrounds. However, with regard to *Arat kilo* area, sub-tenants and co-residents who are even the poorest of the poor were not involved in the development program.

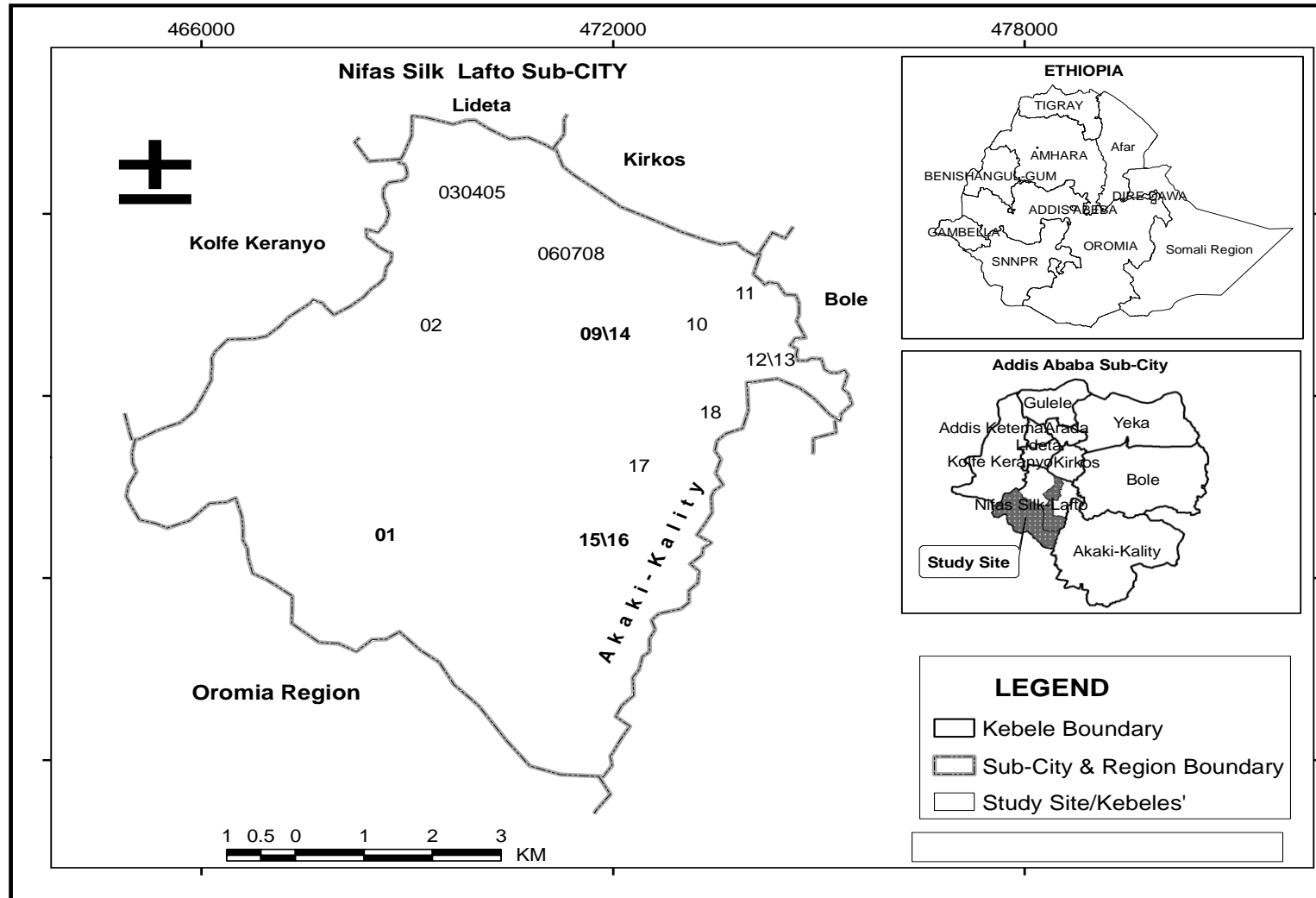
In general, some of the main guidelines for urban renewal have been described hereunder:

*(a) Compensation shall cover the full cost of all socio-economic costs, housing costs (including fence and trees) and the cost of relocation and resettlement (b) displacees shall be entitled to a faire resettlement method by considering their participation, willingness, residency and working places, social and neighbourhood relationship and family livelihoods, displaced*

*people should be relocated in surrounding areas as much as possible (c) if this is not, they shall be resettled in developed areas where the required infrastructure and social facilities are provided better than the previous place of residences, (d) rehabilitation shall be provided for displaced people with a means to improve or at least restore their former living standard, earning capacity and production levels through training, technical support, formation of different productive associations, credit, employment or other means (e) displacees who want to continue to rent and for others shall be provided a rental house at affordable and fair prices, (f) transport compensation for six months is paid to all age groups displacees between 18-55 years, where a resettlement is located five km away from its origin, and (g) business interruption by urban redevelopment should be compensated, cash and working place or/house (ORAAMP 2001 and 2002).*

The guideline is very imperative; it is similar in many ways with the displacement guideline and suggestion given by different researchers and international organization. However, the issue is that whether or not the displacees have been treated in line to this guideline.

**Figure 2: Location of study area**



## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.1. Reasons for Displacement and Relocates Perception about their Previous and New Locations and Displacement

Literatures on displacement state that there are various reasons for community displacement. Causes of displacement can be generally categorised into natural and man-made. Regarding to urban areas, residents are often vulnerable to displacement as a result of man-made factors: infrastructural expansion, industrial location and slum development. This phenomenon is especially pronounced in developing countries, where urbanisation and urban amenities are going in opposite direction.

In the case of this study, the entire informants mentioned similar reasons regarding to causes of displacement. They were relocated to another area to clear and renew the site as it was among one of the old aged centres of the city and has haphazardly developed area. Clearly, they stated the reason as the area was “too old, dirty, overcrowded, lacked facilities such as water and toilet and had poor housing quality”.

In addition, outsiders (Kebele and sub-city authorities) described that the Arat Kilo community was displaced so as to increase the urban quality of the area as it was found adjacent to the parliamentary building and governmental offices. Therefore, the reason can be specifically labelled into slum re-development-induced displacement.

In this study, I found that insiders and outsiders have perceived the original location differently. The outsiders emphasised on the physical dimensions, whereas insiders have seen the former location from various dimensions, including the socio-economic benefits of the area.

Taking the positive side of the former location into account, communities did not want to relocate permanently to another living place. Instead, they wanted to keep the pleasant side of the area through making temporary relocation and improving the unacceptable dimension of the area. The assessment that has been made on Arat kilo people (before relocation) revealed that 94.1 percent of households want to resettle in the public temporary shelters<sup>1</sup>. This implies that the community have been highly

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<sup>1</sup> It has been taken from Arad sub-city urban renewal and land management office.

against to permanent displacement. In this case, their view towards this path of development is consistent with the opponents' of development induced-displacement.

After relocation, the community have seen displacement broadly from different point of view. Displacement for them goes beyond the physical eviction to social, human, financial and economic activity disruption. Therefore, studied community's perception about displacement has a contradiction with the definition given by Sherbinin et al (2010), but it was almost consistent with Downing (2002) perception on displacement, since he has seen displacement in view of physical, financial, social and human assets disruption. Although, various literatures state that displacement is often accompanied with negative consequences, in this study displacees have both negative and positive perception towards displacement (See Box 1).

### **Community Perception about Displacement**

#### **Box1**

##### **Positive Perceptions on Displacement**

- ❖ It enables to find better housing, toilet, water services, and sewerage and drainage system.
- ❖ It minimises vulnerability to poor sanitation induced diseases
- ❖ It enables children to get open space as play ground
- ❖ It makes to become free from car and night club noise.
- ❖ It enables to get free of stigmatisation and verbal abuse

##### **Negative Perceptions on Displacement**

- It brings detachment from habitual environment
- It disturbs the livelihood activities
- It affects household financial capital
- It increases household expenses
- It brings unemployment and underemployment
- It creates burden on single breadwinners
- It brings social network disruption
- It exposes the community into debt
- It results in inaccessibility to education, bus stop and health centre.
- It makes people to become more vulnerable to urban economic shock.

## **5.2. The Livelihood Assets of Displaced People**

This section looks at the availability and accessibility of livelihood assets for displaced people in line of the livelihood analytical frame work that guides to analyse displaced people livelihood assets from different point of view. Therefore, based on the well known category of livelihood assets: financial, social, physical, human and political capital, I have discussed how such assets are available and accessible to relocatees in the new settlement.

### **5.2.1. The Financial Capital of Displaced People**

As discussed in the literature part, financial asset goes beyond household income. Taking this into account, this study discusses the financial capital of displaced people in view of income, saving, remittance, credit, debt and expenditure.

Loss of job, either on-home or off- home, and relatively higher transport cost have been of the challenges facing the relocatees following displacement. This, therefore, has resulted in declining of displaced peoples' income. Similarly, the research conducted by Nebiyu (2000) and Gebere (2008) in Addis Ababa found a decline of households income after relocation.

The findings of this study identified that renting out houses was a means of income for the large number of residents in the former location. They sub-divided houses and rented out to lower income people. Contrary to this, informants stated the difficulty of doing so in the new place of residences. For instances, one informant stated about the current possibility compared to what he experienced in the previous settlement as follows:

*In Arat Kilo, I lived in Kebele house for 32 years. In the last 20 years, I had rented out part of the house and I generated at least 300 birr per a month. Even, I knew someone, among my neighbours, who constructed new rooms in conjunction with the given Kebele house and rented it for the last 10 years. Yet, sub- tenants were prostitutes. For them, we used to rent out one room in 15 birr without bed and blanket, and 30 birr with such fulfilment per a day. This kind of benefit, however, is not possible in the new place of residence because you cannot get client and even if so you are not allowed to sub-divide the house as that of the previous ones.*

The study also found that relocatees' financial capacity has worsened not only due to the direct impacts of displacement, but also displacement indirectly brought financial crises through making them to confront with extra housing expenses. With this regard, the studied community complained that they were relocated to houses which were not totally completed. As a result, they spent a lot of money to finish housing: for paint, door (for dormitory and kitchen room), ceramic in the toilet room and repairing toilet flush and toiletries.

Moreover, in the study site, majority of the displaced people are wallowed in debt. Since displaced people could not afford, the government facilitated the total housing cost to be primarily covered by micro-credit institutions (in their former Kebele) and Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. The former enabled displaced people to pay for down payment of the given dwelling unit. At the same time, the latter enabled displacees to pay for about 80 percent of housing cost. However, it does so after taking the ownership map and plan of these houses as collateral. This means that displaced people are in debt until they repay the total housing cost.

As a result of the above mentioned financial insecurity, relocatees have not been able to save money. According to informants, in the previous location, they used to keep money for emergency expenses, especially to use it when one gets sick. They used to save money in *iddir* and in the form of *iqub*. However, in the new place, they were not in a condition to do so, though they have known the significance of saving. *Previously, I used to save 100 birr per month at iddir. Currently, however, let alone to save, I need, more than 100 birr per every month for my expenses*, a respondent said. This shows the extent to which relocation affects the saving capacity of displaced.

On the other hand, after relocation, majority of informants have received financial support from their children. Especially, remittance from western and mainly from Arabian countries has undeniable contribution in maintaining the livelihoods of this community. Moreover, displaced people who have children outside Ethiopia are safe to pay for housing. One informant whose son is in Canada said that:

*When I was at the previous location, he sent me money irregularly. After I was displaced, however, he has been sending me 80 US dollar per a month, because I told him the difficulty of performing my former activity (local drink making and selling) at new location. By the way, I*

*decided to receive condominium house after he promised me to pay at least 80 percent of cost.*

Nevertheless, in the case of this study, it was known that financial insecurity impairs other assets. Consuming relatively good quality and quantity of foodstuffs has become beyond displaced reach. On the other side, some have not been able to take care of their children, which also led to school dropout. Moreover, displacement disempowered women, who previously had their own means of income, and made them to be dependent upon their husband or children.

### **5.2.2. The Relocateses Social Assets**

A social asset, in this study, was investigated in view of neighbourhood relation and self-help institutions regarding to their respective main function and other significances in the previous location. Hence, investigation was made in comparison to the new location.

A number of researchers and international institutions have arrived at the conclusion that social capital contributes to make livelihoods safe. It is an important source of social security and support. It is vital in confronting vulnerability and in securing social members against difficulties. However, literatures on development induced displacement suggest that displacement has often brought social disintegration. It disrupts social capital of displaced people. If this is the case, social capital has not been given due attention and it remains to be the most neglected one, though researchers agree in the importance of social assets.

In this study, I found that the relocatees have lost their long established social asset that used to help out them at a time of adversity. As is previously described, the relocatees lived for many years at the former settlement and this helped them to know each other well and develop the culture of reciprocity, support and trust between them. However, they lost all these social safety net following their relocation. One informant explained:

*Previously, when I went to Gonder to visit my relatives, my home had been looked after by my neighbours. However, if I want to visit them now, I will not ask neighbours from new location to look after my home because I do not trust them since I do not know who they are.*

In the previous settlement, therefore, they used to support each other in many respects. They had mutuality or reciprocity and support manifested in child care, looking after homes when one goes to somewhere, information exchange, borrowing money, borrowing foodstuff, such as, *injera*, salt, *shiro*, *berbere*, and other home materials. Moreover, those neighbours who had close intimacy had a tendency to call each other in coffee ceremony and during holidays, which in turn, contributed to share life experience and information from each other. *We very rarely exchange greetings, let alone to call each other in times of holidays and coffee ceremony.....which is peculiar to our previous location, one informant noted.*

In a focus group discussion, lack of trust, intimacy and income inequality were identified as profound constraints to establish strong social network in the new settlement. They believed that since inhabitants of this settlement came from different parts of the city with different socio-economic background, it is difficult to establish strong social network similar to that of the previous one within a short period of time.

With regard to traditional institutions, all informants were members of *iddir*, but they rarely participated in *mehaber* and *iqub* in the former area. As it is well known, conventionally, *idir*, *mehaber* and *iqub*, are known to play a significant role in providing burial, religious and saving services, respectively. According to informants, *iddir* was a mandatory self- help institution since it gives financial and social services at a time of death in a family.

Moreover, studied community stressed on vital function of the so- called men-*iddir* because of its significant role in preparing place of burial and accompanying funeral than female- *iddir* that more likely gives home-based services. In the new settlement, however, relocatees do not have access to these services from their former *iddir* due to various reasons. The first reason is that the former female- *iddir* has been totally disseminated due to the relocation of members into dispersed destinations. And even if so, majority did not still establish new *iddir* in the new locations due to financial incapability. In addition, few of them have a plan to return to inner city in order to rent out their new houses to make income and cover the remaining 80 percent of the housing cost.

The other reason for relocatees unable to get a meaningful services from their former male-*iddir*, though the institution has been in the previous location with some members

whose settlement have not been demolished, is the fact that the rule and regulation of institution has limited to give full service, except financial provisions, for those members who are relocated to another sub-city, upon death incidence in the family. However, relocatees more likely need to get burial services rather than financial resource. As a result, in the new settlement, displacees, including those who have a plan to change their place of living, were on the way to establish *men-iddir* by collecting 100 birr in the beginning rather than joining the already established *iddir* of host community because it costs between 800 and 1200 birr, depending on the financial and service capacity of those institutions. With all these things, there were also people who did not take part in the establishment of the new *iddir* because of lack of finance.

Moreover, in the old location, beyond their main objectives, all associations had also created intimacy or strong social bond between members of association. They enabled members to establish a strong closeness that was attributable to *Iddirtegnachin* (members of our *Iddir*), *mehabertegnachin* (members of our *mehaber*) and *Iqubtegnachin* (members of our *Iqub*). This, in turn, served as a path to another support system, kindness and reciprocity. Another study by Ephrem (1998) conducted in Addis Ababa showed that self-help associations such as *idir*, *iqub*, *mehaber* are used as a means to establish a stable pattern of relations between individual members of the associations. Similar to this, according to a number of respondents, in times of adversity; death, sickness and other socio-economic problems, members of these associations supported each other as close family members. However, they found difficulty in accessing such social benefits in the new location. Reaffirming this notion, a man who works as a cashier in government institution said:

*In the end of 2001 (in June), the auditor told me that there was 5000 birr budget deficiency. Even if I did not understand how it happened, I had to pay back which I could not afford. But, the members of iddir and mehaber to which I belonged contributed about 3500 birr. Mind you, we lost this kind of sympathy due to relocation. Really, I do not think that I will find kindness in the new location as it used to be in the previous location.*

On the other hand, one informant, whose father and mother have passed away, described his experience as follows:

*My father who lived in Debre Berihan died in 1998. Hence, people with whom I participated in mehaber and iddir went to there with me. These institutions did not oblige them to do so rather it is because of a brotherhood and sisterhood relation that we developed in these associations. Recently, my mother who also lived in Debre Berihan has passed away. Hence, I went to there alone. When I returned to home even it was my previous neighbours who came and accompanied me, no one was there from new settlement. Even if I have idir in the new place, we do not still develop sense of brotherhood and sisterhood, it takes long time to take resemblance to the previous one, in the former location.*

In short, the pattern showed that displaced people has lost neighbourhood social network and self-help associations with their voluntary and kindness support in time of difficulty. The study by Nabiyu (2000) conducted in Addis Ababa on those people who were relocated to another area for Sheraton project also found that, one of the consequences of the relocation scheme is the breakup of former neighbourhood ties that existed in the former settlement. Therefore, it is crucial to employ other alternatives of urban-redevelopment path that can preserve the role of neighbourhood ties and self-help associations.

### **5.2.3. The Relocates Physical Capital**

The availability of this resource does not indicate that people are able to use it, because people may not use it due to economic and other factors. Having this in mind, in this study the physical capital of displaced people was assessed in terms of its availability and accessibility. Thus, responses from study participants regarding this issue were resembled to prospect.

A significant prospect that has been seen among displaced people is housing. However, they have perceived its quality narrowly in terms of building material, space, security, electricity, water, toilet, kitchen, sanitation and drainage (See Table 1). However, access to transport, education and health services, which are also indicators of good housing quality, were relatively better in the previous location. This study found out that housing location has a significant role in enabling to have access to such assets.

Previously, homes were small and did not keep out wind and rain. Moreover, it was difficult to deal with the cold in the winter and heat in the summer. Students were hardly getting space for studies. There were respondents who indicated that someone from their household, especially children, had infected to cold illness due to the inability of the former houses to shield cold temperature out.

But, nowadays, displaced people have relief of this threat because new houses could keep out cold temperature, wind, rain and heat, and give students comfort for studying. In the new location, during field work, of those I met for interview 16 informants live in three-bed rooms. However, at previous settlement, they were living in two narrow bedrooms. The remaining has two bed rooms, but they used to live in single room houses in the previous location. When I asked them about the current housing situation compared to the previous one, a large number of respondents mentioned that unlike the previous, the new houses adequately accommodate their families. One informant indicated his experiences as follows:

*When my relatives came to my house I was often stressed in thinking about sleeping place. I used to send my children to sleep at my neighbours' houses. I remember the day that I sent my four children to two of my neighbours' house in order to get place of sleeping for four of my relatives who came from dessie to visit me. Now, really I am very happy in this house since my children will not be sent to another houses and I will be free of stress whenever relatives come to my home.*

Regarding to toilet, the new location has provided displaced people with safe toilet. Previously, long queues were inevitable due to users were beyond the capacity of the toilet. *In the previous settlement, one communal toilet was giving service at least to more than 100 people excluding passers who also use this toilet. It was not uncommon to see queue once per a day, particularly in the morning, an aged informant said.* Due to this, there were people who used to fear communicable diseases in the previous place of residence. However, they appreciated the current living place as they have private toilet and get free of queue and transmissible diseases.

In the previous area, women and girls were not safe to use the communal toilet because it afforded little or no privacy since it did not have door that could give them privacy by protecting them from passersby glance (See Figure 3). Moreover, most of them used to

fear to use the toilet at night since it was located far from their home. Differently, respondents reported that the new location gives women and children an opportunity to use toilet freely whenever they want to. A woman responded:

*Previously, at night, I and my little children used to go to the toilet along with my elder son or husband. But now I and my children can use toilet without being accompanied by someone even at mid-night.*

**Figure 3: The former communal toilet with no doors**



**[Source: Author, fieldwork]**

According to informants, water accessibility and affordability was the other constraint in the previous location. Previously, they used to buy water from communal or private water taps for which especially women and children used to walk long distances with heavy load of water. A large number of informants reported that water distribution was also irregular, per three days and/or sometimes per week. As a result, they were in a difficult condition to manage hygiene.

On the other side, respondents stated the reality of long queue around the water taps, which, in turn, often used to contribute to quarrel between users as they contested one

another in order to be first. However, in the new location they all have private taps, even if they are still experiencing irregular distributions. Moreover, those respondents who live on the 4<sup>th</sup> floor reported that they hardly get water even when other dwellers (on the same building) have adequately accessed. But, unlike the previous location where long queue used to limit them to collect and reserve much water, in the new location, they stated that when water comes once, they could fetch and store sufficient amount of water that will be even adequately utilized for many days.

Moreover, as noted above, previously children and female were in a burden to collect water from the source that was located far away from their houses. As a result, there were times that they did not go to school, especially, whenever they faced long queue. In the group discussion, after comparing two places, all participants said: *After we left Arat kilo, travelling long distance and long queue in order to get water are „history“ for us.*

Concerning to water access, the study result is consistent with Nebiyu's (2000) study result which indicates that the relocation scheme has avoided the inconvenience to the inhabitants regarding to water supply. However, this study has contradiction to Berhanu's (2006) study result which indicates that relocatees encountered a serious water problem in most new settlement.

Access to education, health and transport services is the serious problem in the new location. Taking responses given by respondents in to account, the problem can be seen from distance and cost perspective. In the previous location, education, health and transport services were available nearby the residential area.

With regard to education, government, public and private schools were easily accessible (both in terms of distance and cost) in the previous place of residence. In contrary, this opportunity is unattainable in the new location, according to respondents. Especially, relocatees of *Jamo 1* were more likely to suffer from lack of education nearby their residential area. Those children who continued education have to move far away from their place of living. *Previously, five minute was enough to get school. But, now my children are expected to travel about one hour,* one informant said. Concerning to school fee, one informant who is relocated to *Gofa* Camp and whose four children travel to *Kera* for education stated the problem as follows:

*Four of my children have continued their education in the new location; they are Kg2, grade 2, 3 and 9. The one who is KG2 learn in a private school while the remaining three learn in a public school where they all are expected to pay for education. For education I pay 135 birr per a month. Even, this does not include transport cost that I sometimes give them. However, in the previous place I paid nothing for education because they were learning in government schools where education is given without payment, but, now this is not available close to the current place of residence. I do not think that I will continue in this way till they will complete their education.*

Concerning to health service, majority of informants did not test its accessibility because they did not still get ill in the new location. However, they fear that when they get ill, particularly in the case of accidental sickness they might not get health services, because there is no hospital in the new sub-city, and also clinic is located far away from the current place of residences. However, in the previous location they could get both levels of services within a radius of 5km. Moreover, lack of easily accessible transport, especially for *Jamo 1* displaced people may exacerbate the situation.

Similarly, various studies by Berhanu ( 2006), Nebiyu (2000) and Gebre ( 2008) conducted in Addis Ababa in relation to displacement revealed that the relocation of people from inner parts of the city where accessible and affordable facilities are concentrated to the outskirts of the city has resulted in hindering the easy access of relocatees to services such as education and health. This shows that urban redevelopment plan of Addis Ababa city has emphasised on relocating people from slum to another area without taking into account the availability and affordability of services in the new settlement. In this case, the real development is under question.

According to respondents and my observation, different means of transport are available in the new location, but mini-bus and taxi, which is locally called lada, are not available at *Jamo 1* site. Therefore, big buses, like *Anbesa* and medium buses like higer take time to get the maximum number of users. This therefore makes users to delay and, thus limit them to get their destination in needed time.

The other problem is that, in contrary to the former place of living where they easily get bus stop, relocatees have to travel long distance to get bus termini or stop in the new settlement.

High transport cost that displaced people are facing in the new location is additional case in point. According to informants, compared to that of the previous, when they want to move to somewhere, for instance, to Mercato from the new location, they often pay more than triple of what they used to do previously, particularly, the problem is serious for those relocated to *Jamo 1* since it is situated at the outskirts of the city.

**Table 1: Relocatees’ Housing and Toilet Quality Compared to the Previous Place of Residence**

<b>In the previous location</b>	<b>In the new location</b>
<b>Housing</b>	<b>Housing</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constructed from wood and mud</li> <li>• Hardly accommodate families</li> <li>• Placing materials, cooking and sleeping used to take place in the same room</li> <li>• Owned by the Kebele</li> <li>• Communal electricity meter</li> <li>• No bathroom</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Houses are constructed from concrete blocks</li> <li>• Adequately accommodate family size</li> <li>• Bed, material and kitchen rooms are separately available</li> <li>• Privately owned</li> <li>• Private electricity metre</li> <li>• Privately owned bathroom</li> </ul>
<b>Toilet</b>	<b>Toilet</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communal</li> <li>• Pit latrine</li> <li>• Expose users to diseases</li> <li>• It was not safe to use particularly at night</li> <li>• Unconnected to sewerage system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private</li> <li>• With Pour- Flush toilet</li> <li>• Make users less susceptible to disease</li> <li>• Safe to use at any time</li> <li>• Connected to sewerage system</li> </ul>

**Source: Fieldwork**

#### **5.2.4. The Relocateses Human Capital**

Displacement can adversely affect relocatees' human capital (number of individuals and time available to engage in income generating activity). In the case of this study, responses given by respondents were varied.

A substantial number of respondents stated that there was a decline of the number of those household members who were involved in income earning activity since the new place is not suitable to carry out informal activities and due to high transport cost to get work place. On the other side, time available to take part in income earning activity for households has gone down, because, after relocation, only few members of household can spend their time on work. In contrast, some respondents mentioned that the number of labour force in household has increased following relocation. Those people who have been pensioned returned to another income earning activities, such as guard and driver. And also, children either after school hours or by dropping out of school are engaged in livelihood activity.

On the other side, others who have continued in their previous occupation were not able to get there in reasonable time. As a result, these people were exposed to penalty and given word of warning for further action.

In the previous location, informants reported that, it was impossible to get appropriate sleep at night because there were frequent violence, night club noise and quarrel between drunkards and prostitutes. This further affects the ability of residents to work adequately in day times. Considering this problem, respondents asserted that the new location made them to sleep comfortably at night and, thus perform their work successfully in day times.

#### **Box 2**

**A household whose working ability had been affected in the previous location, however improved in the new location**

One household has six members. Of these, four of them used to engage in income earning activity in the former location. Previously, they were not able to sleep at night because there were quarrels and night club disturbances, which were obstacles to get good sleep. As a result, they had not been effective in their work to be carried out in a

*(Contd.)*

day time because they used to sleep either in work place, even in standing, or by returning to home in leaving work aside. Although, household's labour quantity has declined, the new location made those household members who keep their former activity to work adequately.

Children were more vulnerable to this phenomenon. According to respondents, adults relatively used to pay little attention to the frequent violence and quarrel, but the children found it frightening and did not get real sleep rather than simply lying on their beds. As a result, they found difficult to attend schooling, and used to sleep in the class room. This, therefore, affected children performance in education. However, this trend did not continue in the new location, according to informants. One informant whose son is grade 5 said:

*I was called several times in the school and was informed that my son usually sleeps in the class room. After September, he transferred to another school following relocation. I have been here in the last seven months but I have not been informed that in the new school he has experiences of sleeping in the class room.*

Apart from this, education in general, which is the other trait of human capital, has been adversely affected due to relocation. In fact, large proportions of informants have low educational status, which, in turn, limited them to get highly paid formal jobs and made them more vulnerable to the adverse effects of displacement. But, there are people who have graduated from higher education. Of those who have diploma in different professions, some asserted that in the new location they cannot upgrade their educational status because of two major reasons that are connected to displacement. A woman who has diploma in teaching natural science stated such causes as follows:

*I started to attend degree program (in chemistry) every weekend in Arat Kilo University that is located around my previous place of residences. But, I have discontinued it now due to inability to afford education cost since my income has gone down, while expenditure has increased following relocation.*

Displacement has also seriously disrupted children education. There were students who were dropped out of education to support their family. On the other hand, those students who have continued education by going to the previous location were not able to attend

many of the first periods of the class. As a result, students have a fear to get pass mark in these subjects. In group discussion, a boy who is grade eleven at Menelik preparatory school that is located in Arat Kilo stated:

*In the first semester, I scored history, which was given in the first period of every Monday and Friday, 52 out of 100. I do not think that I will get pass mark at the end of the year because I am missing at least one class every week.*

Moreover, some students who walked to school that is located far away from the new place of residence were not able to study after school because they have been tired of walking longer distances. Due to this, they were not sure that whether they will be promoted to the next grade.

Regarding to health, informants showed positive responses. Health conditions in the previous area were poor. Respondents stated that in the old area they were vulnerable to diseases, such as, diarrhoea, malaria, common cold and asthma resulted from various risk factors. However, in the new location, except those who were previously exposed to chronic diseases<sup>2</sup> like asthma that sometimes make them to get ill, the majority found relief from being susceptible to acute disease<sup>3</sup> such as common cold, malaria and diarrhoea which is caused by poor environmental condition.

A substantial number of respondents said that common cold was a common disease in the previous settlement. Particularly, children were at risk to this disease since they were more vulnerable to the risk factors and have low resistance capacity than others. *In the previous location, I was vulnerable to common cold at least once in a month which I have never been infected within six months of stay in the new location*, one informant remarked during focus group discussion. This is for the reason that poor sanitation and frequent contact with the already infected people at communal kitchen, toilet and water tap in the previous settlement. But, in the new location, they were not infected to this

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<sup>2</sup> A chronic disease refers to those diseases which may be long-lasting and even life-long (Gatrell& Elliott, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Acute disease refers to diseases that abruptly, last perhaps for only a few days and then settle, though perhaps developing in to chronic conditions or leading to death(ibid)

disease as of the previous because the risk factors were not serious as they were in the previous location, according to many informants.

Due to the relatively high indoor and outdoor air pollution, people who are infected by asthma had been frequently suffering in the former location. In particular, asthma is relatively more prevalent among women who were profoundly susceptible to risk factors, because, as it is well documented and identified in this study, they were more likely to be engaged in indoor activity which was allergen and allergic to the disease. Nowadays, however, they were not frequently ill of this disease due to less susceptibility to risk factors.

### **5.2.5. Relocates Political Capital**

In this study, political capital has been seen from the point of view of displacedes' participation that could heavily contribute to make displacement effect less risky. Primarily, it is important to note participation widely in terms of local community input in decision making process rather than looking merely their physical presence throughout discussions of different issues.

Targeted informants explained that till they made meeting with the local authorities they did not know about the plan to renew *Arat kilo* area. Similarly, according to key informants/officials, decisions regarding to the renewal of this area was initially made by higher authorities even without including sub-city and Kebele authorities that relatively know well about the livelihoods of the local community and can speak on behalf of beneficiaries.

According to informants, they latter made meeting with Kebele and sub-city officials and had been informed that the government want to renew their place of living (See Figure 4). Hence, participants accepted the plan since the area was too old and unsafe for living, but they underscored to return to their habitual environment after the renewal so that they could maintain their social, human and financial assets as well as economic activities. Hence, officials also ensured this for participants.

However, informants were unsatisfied in their involvement in decision making processes. This is mainly because what had been done was completely different from what they expected regarding to renewal plan. One informant noted that: *we were initially informed that we are temporarily relocated to another living place. At the end*

*of the day, what happened was completely different from what we had been told.* Therefore, their preference to come back to their long-lived environment, social network and means of income, was not accepted. In this case, their participation had not been considered as input in decision making process. However, in the case of discussion, the key issues are not so much about who is included in the decision making processes, rather over what issues they are able to exercise their preferences (Perrons, 2004).

On the other side, informants complained that during meeting only officials and a small numbers of participants were influential during a discussion. Particularly, the discussion was more likely dominated by men than women, though numerically the later overruns the former in assembly, according to women informants.

Moreover, co-residents and sub-tenants were not involved in decision making process. Even, no one talked about them in the meeting. As a result, they were more vulnerable to the adverse consequences of displacement than other displacees who at least received either another Kebele/ condominium houses or compensation.

**Figure 4: Local community discussing about renewal of Arat Kilo area**



[Source: Arada sub city Kebele 07/013 communication affair office]

### **5.3. Displacement and Livelihood Activities**

In addition to the proximity of clients and locations to obtain the necessary raw material, and 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 (UNCHS, 1991). Similarly, in the case of this study, the previous place of residence, around where various private and public firms are situated, was likely appropriate for displaced people to carry out various informal and formal livelihood activities. Especially, the informal sector had played a significant role in absorbing the majority of them despite they had been earning insufficient income. But, in order to enlarge their income, majority were engaged in dissimilar activities in the previous settlement.

However, in the new settlements, informants complained that the locations are not suitable either to keep on their former work or to get new employment opportunities. In order to clarify the discussion, I categorised livelihood activities of displaced people into on-home activities, working on the street, casual works, permanent and professional works and multiple activities. Their details are seen in the subsequent discussions.

#### **5.3.1. On-Home Activity**

There is growing evidence that women are excessively engaged in livelihood activities that are undertaken at home. Making and selling *injera*, *shiro*, *berbere*, *areke* and *tella* are common on-home activities for many women. Accordingly, in the study site, women were predominantly engaged in these livelihood activities in their former place of residence. In the new settlements, however, they either quit or hardly perform such livelihoods at home. Lack of customer and market are of the profound reason for many informants. One informant explains the problem she has experienced at new location as follows:

*In the previous place, other than selling to individuals; I used to supply injera to hotels or restaurants, and I could sell up to 120 injera per day. However, immediately after my arrival here I prepared injera, and I had been selling only 5 injera every day, because, here, the supply is more than the demand since we (Injera makers and sellers) outnumber the users. Because of*

*this, currently I stopped baking and selling injera, and I am doing nothing now.*

On the other hand, in the new location, other informants who were involved in local drink making and selling mentioned absence of permission as a major constraint to perform their former livelihood activities. In the previous location, houses used to serve both for dwelling and business purposes. However, in the new location, except on the first floor (that reserved for commercial purposes), relocatees are not allowed to perform any kind of business activities (that threatens the security of the neighbours) in the dwelling unit. As a result, relocatees have not been able to work local drink making and selling.

On the other side, lack of customer and easily accessible raw materials are the other constraints for those relocatees who have tried the business after renting rooms on the first floor. As a result they were not able to generate satisfactory income. The following two different informants have mentioned the problems they are facing in the new location to engage in local drink making and selling.

*In the previous location, I was engaged in local drink making and selling for 24 years. Yet, I used to sell at least 8 liters of Areke and 40 tasa tella (1 tasa is equivalent to 1 liter) every day, because I had clients even who came from the surrounding neighbourhoods, outside of Arat kilo area. However, in the new settlement, I sell up to 1 liter areke and 10 tasa tella a day, and for this, I would like to thank my former few clients who are relocated here with me.*

With regard to the source of raw material the other respondent said,

*In the previous place of residence, I could easily find raw materials, for instance, I used to buy fuel wood in front of my home, and gesho and malt from Merkato, which was also relatively close to my previous location. In the new place, however, in order to get fuel wood, malt and gesho, I have to go to Mexico and Merkato, which are too far away from the current location. Having this problem and housing rent burden, I cannot make a profit of even 5 Birr a day. This is at least 9 times below the profit that I*

*had been generating in the previous location. As a result, I am going to cease the activity in the near days.*

These constraints have also been reiterated by other informants engaged in another on-home activities. These phenomenon shows that the project did not make any attempt to facilitate displaced people replace or sustain their former livelihood activities. Similarly, the study conducted by Nebiyu (2000) revealed that the relocation scheme has brought a significant loss in the income generation activities of the relocatees. He further mentioned that among the reasons for such loss 66.6 percent were attributed to lack of client and market in the new settlement.

### **5.3.2. Working on the Street**

Working on the street was still recently looked up on only as an obstruction to traffic and to pedestrians. However, with the effort of many organisations, it is now recognised as a general benefit and as a right of people to earn money for their livelihood (Schneider, 2002). In the case of this study, in the previous place of residence, a large number of studied communities were engaged in livelihood activities that are carried out on the street. These are petty trading like, selling candle, egg, *qollo*, *onion*, *potato*, *charcoal*, *salt*, *cabbage* and so on. In the new location, however, the relocatees have been unable to do this livelihood. Lack of marketplace and clients are likely major reasons that limited them to practice these activities.

Informants whose livelihoods previously relied on candle selling, for instance, have lacked market and client in the new settlement and become unable to prolong this activity. Previously, they sold candle nearby many churches (Selasie, Mariam, Gebreal, Bata, Markos, Giorgis, Michael, Abbo and Bealewoled) during respective saint's day throughout a month. Following relocation, this trend has changed due to unavailability of various churches at new location. Affirming this idea, one informant said: *At place of origin, there are a number of churches where I used to sell candle relatively in many days. Differently, at new location there is only one church nearby my residential area.*

In the new location, other informants who also earned livelihood from another petty trading activity have faced market and client scarcity. In the previous settlement, *onion*, *potato*, *charcoal*, *salt*, pepper, flour and *cabbage* retailers had better market and client because the income capacity of majority people does not give them the opportunity to

pay for another market where such commodities are sold in large quantity. In the new location, however, the reverse is true. The majority of host community have financial capacity that enables them to afford for bulky commodities.

On the other hand, some people in the displaced community used to be engaged in selling egg and *qollo* on the street in the former settlement. These are prepared or made ready at home. And then, they were being sold nearby night clubs at night. Hence, their customers were drunkards, who especially want to eat food at mid-night when they feel hungry but difficult to find disclosed restaurants working at this time. In the new place of residence, however, street foodstuff sellers remained jobless due to unavailability of night clubs and customers. One aged woman stated what she used to benefit and has experienced after displacement as follows:

*In the previous location, selling foodstuffs was a main source of livelihood for me, including my children for many years. It enabled me to send my children school besides covering other expenses. However, in the new settlement, I am idle because I could not retain this job. As a result, I and my two young children currently depend upon my eldest son, who lives with us, and works in private institution as a driver.*

Women headed households have been quite vulnerable to the adverse impacts of displacement. Especially, having large number of children, who are on early young age, has aggravated the trouble. This is because these children have been unable to generate income; in addition to the bread winners lost their livelihood activities due to displacement. One bread winner who has five kids stated the problem of losing job as follows:

*My husband died in 1998. In the former location, I used to engage in local drink and injera making and selling. These helped me to feed, clothe and send my children to school. But, now, I cannot do that because I stopped these activities due to lack of customer. I and my children are suffering a lot. Since I have no husband who could be engaged in off-home activities and lend support, the problem is becoming much worse on my family.*

### 5.3.3. Permanent and Professional Work

Displacement did not affect certain displaced group seriously. Those displaced people who had permanent and professional work were better off than that of the other displaced people since they could hold on to their earlier work. This indicates that employment type and educational level determine the magnitude of displacement consequences. However, it does not mean that these groups have not absolutely been affected by displacement. Rather, displacement has adverse effect on their income and time available for work. Job losing is the other consequences of displacement manifested in the study site, particularly among low paid permanent and professional workers. During interview period, I talked to displaced people who are engineers, teachers and secretaries. The engineers have kept on previous work though, after displacement, their income has declined due to extra transport expenses. Differently, some of those informants who worked in the private institution as teachers and secretaries quitted their job, because what they used to earn hardly cover transport costs in their journey to working places. For instance, a woman who has diploma in secretarial science and relocated to *jamo I* stated:

*When I was at Arat Kilo I worked at Bole in one of private institutions. However, after displacement I stopped to work there because the income that I had generated could not afford the transportation cost that I had to pay to go to Bole from the current location.*

This finding is consistent with Gebere's (2008) study result, which indicates that displaced people quit their jobs because of distance and high transport cost to get to their work place.

During data collection period, I also met some people who work in their previous location although they have low remuneration. This is attributable to two major reasons. Those who work in government and public institutions have continued their former job because they are approaching to an age of pension for which they have a great desire. For instance an informant confirms:

*I continued to work as a record officer in government institution that is located close to the former place of residences, even if my salary hardly*

*covers my expense, because I left only two years for retirement. I have to suffer for the coming two years for the sake of securing my pension.*

Others, who have also worked in private organisation, keep going to work till they will find another place near to the new settlement.

#### **5.3.4. Casual Work**

Those displaced people who have skill of working in construction sectors are relatively blessed in the new settlement. At previous location, they were engaged in this activity and have been busy since a number of buildings have been carried out in the city. However, demand for construction workers decline during rainy season. Even if so, at this time, in the former settlement, they were also busy in maintaining and repairing individual houses which were too old and required maintenance.

After they were relocated to *Nefas Silk Lafto*, construction workers continued to involve in their work, even with better income. This is due to a range of constructions are available and the skill is highly demanded in this sub-city, particularly to *Jamo 1*, which lies at the outskirts of the city and where as a result, massive construction is carried out. In the new settlement, however, they still have a fear that they will become idle during rainy season when construction activity rarely take place, and due to unavailability of deteriorated houses that needs to be repaired.

#### **5.3.5. Multiple Livelihood Activities**

In the previous place of residence, engaging in different livelihood activities was a common attribute among majority of displaced people. They had both on-home and off-home livelihood activities. After relocation, however, majority of the people I talked to lost the likelihood to engage in diverse livelihood activities caused by the above mentioned difficulty.

*In the previous place of residence, I had kiosk and worked as a teacher in one private school. However, in the new location, I work only as a teacher in another private school, a woman stated.*

Similarly, another informant (man) explained:

*In the former location, I worked as a guard in selasie church; whereas my wife was engaged in local drink making and selling activity. After relocation, I continue to work there, but my wife has lost her previous job.*

In general, increasing dependence upon others, unemployment and underemployment are the serious problems among majority of respondents due to the direct and indirect impacts of displacement. If this is the case, the result is consistent with Robinson (2003) study, which indicates that unemployment and under employment are problems facing resettlers. Similarly, the research conducted by Fitsum (2007) cited by Gebere (2008) revealed that unemployment rate in the new settlement sites increased by 20 percent.

And also the study undertaken by Nebiyu (2000) found that unemployed households increased from 1.2 percent in the previous settlement to about 11 percent in the new site. Considering this, therefore, I can say that urban redevelopment projects give little attention to the employment opportunity and livelihood activity of people. If this is the case, new and absolute poverty can be observed among the relocatees who were middle income and relatively poor section of the society before relocation, respectively.

#### **5.4. Vulnerability to Urban Context**

##### **5.4.1. How Relocatees are Vulnerable to Urban Social Context?**

As various literatures show, cultural diversity, social fragmentation and income inequality are a typical fact in urban areas than the counterpart, rural area (Farrington et al, 2002). As a result, building up and maintaining social network and inter-household mechanism of trust and collaboration is generally considered difficult in cities. However, this does not necessarily true everywhere. Living together for many years does somewhat provide opportunity so that socio-cultural variations can be accommodated.

In the previous settlement, displaced people lived for many years. According to the information taken from Arada sub-city, 96 per cent of displacees had been in the old location for more than 10 years. On the other side, a large number of this study respondents reported that they lived in the previous location for more than 25 years. This made them to prevail over diversity and establish strong social network and collaboration. According to the information taken from Arada sub-city, 86.4 per cent of communities had strong social ties. One of the manifestations of strong social cohesion

was that people with different ethnic and religious background affiliated to the same *iddir* institution, in the former location.

The other symptom of a strong social tie in the previous location was that people of different ethnic and religious traits visited each other during worse situations: when one get sick and at a time of death incidence.

However, the movement of people in response to urban development creates social disintegration (Moser, 1998). Similarly, in the case of this study, social disintegration and diversity are the prominent consequences of displacement arising in the new location. According to informants, the new location contains a diversity of household types and this resulted in less safer condition to collaboration and integration among neighbourhood. (This has been discussed in detail under social capital). In the new location, there is also income inequality that results weak social ties. Unlike the former place, in the new location, there are many affluent people. According to respondents, social network with this people does not go beyond having participation in the same Iddir. *I fear to borrow Injera from my affluent neighbours because I cannot return the same quality Injera which is made from pure white teff, one informant said.*

On the other hand, as studies on slum area show, poor areas of cities that characterised by slum make inhabitant to have a weak social relation with other community, who live outside of this area. Similarly, this study revealed that even if there was a strong tie among the relocatees in the previous place of residence, on the other side, they had weak ties with the other communities. This is because, they were stigmatised by their former location which was perceived as place of crimes, disturbances, drugs, drunkards and prostitutes. In the former location, dwellers had been pervasively seen as delinquents, and were not trustful to others. This therefore, made inhabitants not to have social network and intimacy with the other communities, and had limited to share livelihood experiences of others. In the new settlement, however, relocatees are joyful being they are free of stigmatisation and they have opportunity to integrate with the other communities and share their livelihood.

Children were at particularly risk to social exclusion in the previous location. In any case, outsiders did not allow their children to intimate with children of Arat kilo. This is because, the other communities perceive children of *Arat Kilo* as thieves and drug addicts/ smokers, according to participants during group discussion. With this regard,

they stated that displacement has increased their social integration with the surrounding community.

In addition, while they were in *Arat Kilo*, children used to be abused verbally by passers or by other outsiders whenever they play on the pavement or go to school or somewhere outside their living place. These verbal abuses were *ye shermuta lej* (son of bitch) and *dikala* (whose father is not known). As a result, they used to consider themselves as inferior or socially isolated section of the city population. However, according to participants, this phenomenon is absent in the new location and this made relocatees comfortable with their new site. *In the new location, no one insults me like before*, I heard from young children during focus group discussion.

### **Box 3**

#### **Informant who used to have less social integration with the other communities in the previous location, but with good social relations in the new settlement.**

A woman who was born and grew up in the previous location, and currently works as a teacher had been stigmatised by outsiders owing to she was from Arat Kilo area. When she was a student, her classmates who used to live outside of Arat Kilo area did not want to make her a friend. She also experienced social exclusion and had not been trusted by outsiders after she became a teacher. However, after relocation she has been able to find safe social integration with the other communities. Hereunder, she narrated how the former area had been perceived by outsiders and what she experienced when she used to live in this area.

*When I was a student I hardly had a friend in the school. When I got one, he/ she gradually denies playing and even to walk with me. When I asked them why they did so they used to tell me that because, I was from Arat Kilo. Let me tell you also what I experienced after I became a teacher. One day, a woman, who was working with me in the same school, talked to her friends about Arat Kilo community saying that they are delinquents, prostitutes and drunkards. I immediately asked her, are you sure that all Arat kilo communities are such a people? Definitely, she said to me. I again confronted her, you are absolutely wrong, for instance, I am from Arat Kilo area where I have lived for more than 30 years, and I know the people well than you do. They all do not appear to be as what you described.*

*(Contd.)*

*I do not think that there are people who completed grade 12 let alone to have diploma, she reiterated.*

*Let me tell you another occasion in which I experienced exclusion. We used to manage iqub with my staff members in which we expected to contribute on a monthly basis, at a time of salary. In every month lottery tickets would be drawn in order to identify the winner who receives the total deposit. Hence, the winner was expected to bring collateral from the members who would be responsible for him till all members get what they have contributed. Accordingly, I, in my turn asked a woman with whom I had worked for 7 years, to be my warranty person but she refused to do so. She, however, welcomed the request of other woman in another moment*

*Thenceforth, I disliked myself for being from Arat kilo area. And then, I concluded that we (dwellers of Arat Kilo) are not trustful to other community. After that, when someone was asking me where I was from, I usually used to tell them lies regarding to my place of residence. So, when I remember this I thank this government for demolishing the area.*

#### **5. 4. 2. The Vulnerability Extent of Displaced People to the Urban Economy**

Cash oriented life is more likely attributable to urban areas than the rural ones where residents have access to free commodities. Urban inhabitants must buy basic necessities (such as food, water, fuel wood and kerosene) and they have to pay more for education, health, transport and others. To do so, urban residents need more cash income than the rural population. In fact, majority of urban residents of developing countries are unable to afford for large quantity of commodities and for other services since they do not have sufficient cash. This is because they are mostly engaged in low return economic activities. If this is the case, displaced people, who have lost social safety net and livelihood activities, are more vulnerable to the challenges of urban economic context.

Retail or petty trade has also a significant role in making the majority of urban residents to get necessities on the basis of their income. However, this is accessible in urban areas that are inhabited by poor people. In the case of this study, a large number of

respondents stated that in the new location there is no petty or retail trade which enables them to get basic items cheaply and on the basis of the purchasing capacity of the relocatees.

In the previous location, displaced people used to manage to pay for frequent smaller quantity purchases because they did not have adequate money that allows them for a larger quantity. Hence, they used to access necessities, such as onion, charcoal, *shiro*, *berbere*, flour and others from retail market that was available closer to their residential area. However, this opportunity has not been available in the new location. *You can buy even one head of onion in Arat Kilo which you cannot do here*, one informant said.

This, together with the other adverse effects of displacement (job losing, income reduction and high expenditure) led displaced people to become more vulnerable to the challenges of urban commercialisation life even than the other section of the community.

In the other sense, commodities are relatively expensive in the new location than the previous one. According to informants, this is due to two major reasons. Firstly, in the new location sellers buy such materials from Merkato that is relatively far from the relocation site and thus transport cost is high. As a result, price of commodities will increase. Hence, this entails extra cost on the final users. The second reason is that traders often bring quality and large size products which can be afforded by middle income and rich section of the population, while it is beyond the paying capacity of relocatees whose incomes has declined due to relocation. One informant who lived in the previous location for 34 years noted: *“Arat kilo is a place where low income people can live”*.

The rise of petroleum price has inimical effect on the livelihoods of displaced people in two ways. According to respondents, it has direct impact on transportation cost, which in turn contributed to the rise of various commodities price. In addition, the augment of transportation charge moreover affects the relocatees who were previously located at the centre of the city where they were relatively expending few for transport to go to downtown, but now exposed to high transport charge when they want to move to inner city from the current location that lies at outskirts of the city.

The vulnerability of relocatees to the challenges of urban commercialisation life is further worsened due to the drastic increase in food prices. More than the other communities, who relatively have access to informal economic activities, retail markets and better social networks; displaced people who lost these opportunities are more at risk to food item price increases. Previously, they used to borrow various things from each other but in the new location, they could not do so. As it is repeatedly noted, this is because, they do not know each other since they came from different part of the city. Even, when there are chances for two relocatees, who came from Arat Kilo, to live on the same building, they do not have a tendency to borrow from each other since they do not have surplus food items for such social deeds.

#### **5.4.3. The Urban Environmental Context of the Relocatees**

In developing countries, majority of urban inhabitants live in cheap, high density and environmentally poor location. The result is that they are frequently vulnerable to significant environmental and health hazards (Wratten, 1995). In other words, they suffer from disease resulting from proximity to toxic and hazardous wastes, lack of clean water and sanitation, air and noise pollution (Satterthwaite, 1997).

In the case of this study, the most important consequence of relocation is that relocatees began to live relatively in safe environment. According to respondents, previously, they were living in poor quality environment, manifested with: lack of clean water, insufficient drainage, poor sanitation, air pollution resulting from fuel wood smoke, poor quality stove and old motor vehicles, and noise pollution resulting from motor vehicles, over lauded music and drunkards since the old location had proximity to main roads and night clubs.

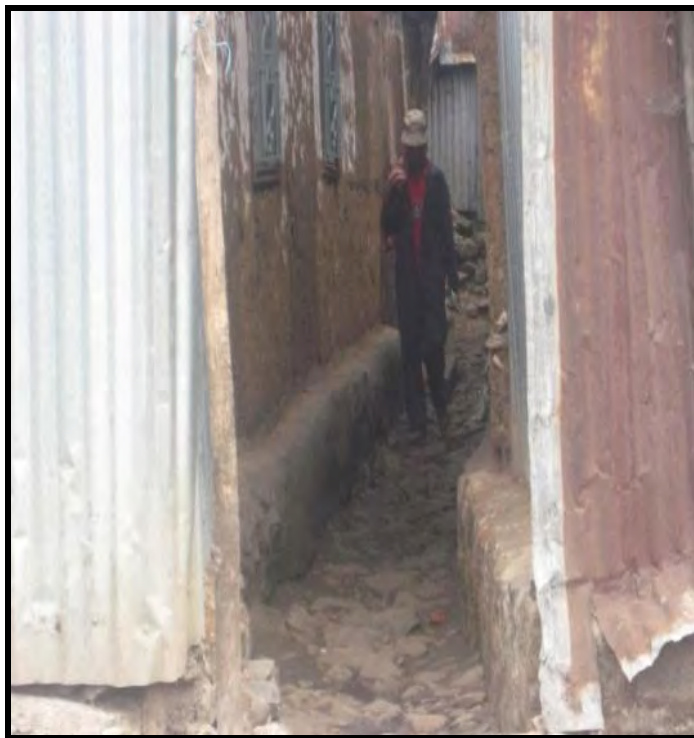
According to a substantial proportion of informants, this poor environment led a number of people to ill-health. However, they are more likely to have relief in the new location, given they are less susceptible to disease resulting from poor quality environment (This has been discussed in detail under physical capital).

In addition, as it is discussed below, informants stated that due to insufficient toilet facilities, sometimes there were people (particularly, children and drunkards) who used to excrete in the surroundings of residential houses, and this has resulted in worsening the quality of living environment. Contrary to this, the current living environment is

free of human excreta as people have access to better toilets and extensive unused land far away from the place of living.

Moreover, previously they were living in congested area where there was poor lit and pathways. As a result, women and children were afraid of going out at night. Besides, two people could hardly pass through the same path at the same time, and thus it was common to wait till someone passes on the way (See Figure 5). But what relocatees have experienced in the new location is completely different from what they used to suffer from the haphazardly planned paths of *Arat Kilo*. The current settlement has well planned passages with adequate light. *In the previous location, I could not easily go to my neighbours "home, especially, located at the back of my home but here I am free to go everywhere*, one informant mentioned.

**Figure 5: Narrow path at *Arat Kilo* that rarely allows two individuals to use it at the same time**



**[Source: from Arada sub-city]**

On the other side, unlike the previous place of residence that limited children opportunities for play, the current living place adequately allows children to have access to safe play fields (See Figure 6). Previously, children were vulnerable to broken

glasses, excreta and car accident at playing fields. However, in the new location, they found open space, which is not occupied by such harmful things.

**Figure 6: Children playing relatively in safer environment at new location, the right is at *Gofa Camp* and the left is at *Lafto***



[Source: Author, fieldwork]

### **5.5. Displacement Guideline, Organisation and Commuting (DGOC)**

DGOCs are significant factors that condition the successfulness of displaced people's livelihood. They have the potential to contribute for the achievement of sustainable development and have the potential to do the opposite. In the case of this study, the issues of DGOCs have been discussed in light of their consequences prior to and subsequent to displacement because what they previously did could also affect the current displaced people livelihoods. These have been examined in the following section.

#### **5.5.1. Displacement Guideline: Implementation and Displacees Awareness**

In the case of urban development induced- displacement, there is a procedure that shows the way that relocation should be carried out. The renewal guideline is written well by considering social, economic, transport, destination distance, community willingness and sustainability. In other words, it is pro-displaced people. If displacement project had been done accordingly, relocatees would not have exposed to livelihood threatening scenarios. (See the detailed guideline principle in chapter four).

As this study identified, the renewal guideline was not implemented and simply remained on paper. *For instance, according to the guideline, transport compensation for six months shall be paid to all age group displacees between 18-55 years, where a resettlement is located five km away from its origin.* But, in the case of this study, this

had not been realised. The displaced people have suffered a lot from high transportation cost. One informant who worked as a janitor at the House of Peoples Representatives stated the adverse effects of high transport cost as follows: *My monthly income has considerably decreased due to high transport cost to get my place of work.* In addition, in group discussion a teenager who is grade 11 remarked: *I currently ceased going to school because my parents told me to do so since they could not afford for my transport cost to go to Menelik preparatory school that is positioned at Arat kilo.*

### **5.5.2. Organisation**

With regard to this, the role of Kebele level government structure, condominium house committee and NGOs in supporting displaced people to cope up with livelihood challenges have been discussed.

#### **5.5.2.1. Kebele Level Authorities**

Respondents complained that Kebele authorities, who have well information on the livelihood conditions of the local community than the higher authorities, have insignificantly contributed to secure the relocatees' livelihood. With regard to previous Kebele, respondents reported that in every moment authorities emphasised to convince the community so as to leave the area rather than looking at alternative paths to sustain their livelihoods. When I asked one Kebele official (from the previous place of displaced people) about the role that they had in the displacement project, he reported that their role was to implement instructions given by higher authorities emphasised on convincing community to accept development-induced displacement and leave the place, and organising people who demolish houses after residents left out.

In addition, according to respondents, they failed to give clearance letters quickly to the relocated people. This afterwards impeded them to get identity cards of their new location, which, in turn, have limited relocatees to have access to social and economic assets, because, without identity card, they are not allowed to become members of the already established socio- economic institutions in the host community.

The interview has unveiled that they were also unable to borrow text books for their children who were enrolled in new school (in the new location) due to lack of identity card of their new place of living that is a precondition to do so. This shows that, in the new location, some procedures have trapped relocatees to access various assets.

Furthermore, in the new location, informants are dissatisfied at Kebele authorities because they have done nothing to promote their livelihood. Even if there were people who lost their jobs as a result of development-induced displacement, Kebele authorities who are also part of government actors have not facilitated employment opportunities for these people. Due to this, some informants have considered themselves as a marginalised group. The following response is given by one informant who felt angry when I asked him to discuss about the phenomenon.

*In the new location, I did not still get any support from Kebele authorities. Even, they have not visited us in the last 8 months, let alone to give us support. I have been left aside; they did not give us any means in which we could improve our life. Should I die for the purpose of development? What if they facilitate employment opportunity for us? They can, but I do not know why they failed to do so!*

#### **5.5.2.2. Condominium House Committee**

Respondents appreciated the services that are given by this committee. The committee facilitated ways in which newcomers coalesce to establish *Iddir*. This organisation has also played a key role in mobilising financial resources to construct fence around residential areas and pay for guards. Moreover, they have considerable role in keeping the surrounding environment safe. On the basis of the rules and regulations agreed upon by residents, the committee has often punished those residents who are unable to act in consonance to the convention. Disposing both solid and liquid wastes outside of the reserved area, noise pollution resulted from lauded music or other similar things are forbidden and entail punishment to the doers. Regarding this, the committee has undeniable contribution to keep the quality of living place, which in turn, also makes relocatees to be less vulnerable to poor sanitation induced diseases.

However, this committee is not without drawbacks. According to the respondents, the committee has had trivial roles in reducing unemployment through organising unemployed people to take part in micro and small business enterprises, which are vehicles of employment. Therefore, the activities carried out by this committee should go beyond addressing specific problems, according to these informants.

### 5.5.2.3. Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Various evidences show the key roles played by NGOs to reduce /alleviate poverty and poverty driven factors. Especially, after a paradigm shift in development path has been witnessed, from top-down development<sup>4</sup> to bottom- up development<sup>5</sup>, NGOs have become parts of development industry or another component in the package (Pieterse, 2001). As a result, they have been recognised by International Organisations, the UN and World Bank.

NGOs mainly work for those people who have been adversely affected by development-induced displacement. This does not necessarily mean that NGOs have dominant roles. Instead, they work together with the government by facilitating development for those people who are not included well in the development package by the state due to financial incapability.

In the case of this study, however, with these all assignments, NGOs have not acted as an enabler or facilitator of displaced people's self development. They did not serve to fill in and give substance to development. As stated throughout this paper, there are symptoms of multidimensional features of poverty among relocated people, such as, unemployment, financial insecurity, lack of access to education and other services, low social capital and vulnerability to the challenges of urban economy. Even, the ones who were previously in middle income section of people have faced these problems. With these all manifestations, NGOs that are considered as key actors in development cooperation have had no role in the case of this development project on which this study has been carried out.

Even there were people who used to get assistance from one local NGO but currently they lost this benefit due to displacement, let alone to have been supported by any more NGOs. A woman whose husband died in 2003 stated:

*Previously, I had been subsidised foodstuffs such as wheat, flour, oil and spaghetti by NGOs for the reason that I have nine fatherless children.*

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<sup>4</sup> State leads development path (Pieterse, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Development path which involves participation of the marginalised and local people, in order to empower and leads them to become self reliant (ibid).

*After displacement, this NGO stopped to do so. However, this is a time when I need too much support because I am unemployed now.*

If this is the case, it is facile generalisation to say that NGOs are key actors in development cooperation. Instead, it is very important to take into account spatio-temporal variations to say something about the role of NGOs.

### **5.5.3. Commuting**

Commuters generally mean that people who live outside the city and drawn to the city for work. Unlike the developed countries where commuters are professionals and skilled workers who choose to live far away from their work, in many of developing countries semi-skilled and unskilled workers, especially rural people who engaged in primary economic activities, come to cities for supplementary work and return to home at night. Therefore, it is wrong to perceive commuter's zone only as a region that is occupied by skilled and professional workers.

Commuting is therefore meant a two way process of people movement, from area that is not part of the built up area of the city to a city for work and again go back to home at night. This may bring opportunities for some and problems for others.

In the case of this study, commuting as a process had an impact on relocatees' livelihoods. According to informants, people from nearby rural area come to the city, where the relocatees live, and have been involved in various livelihood activities that would otherwise is done by displaced people. As a result, those people who lost job due to displacement and who dropped out of school to support their family have hardly taken part in daily works, because it is occupied by commuters who have often worked in low payment since they do not want to go back at home without returns.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE LIVELIHOD STRATEGY OF DISPLACED PEOPLE

#### Introduction

According to respondents, they have employed livelihood strategies to secure their livelihood either in short or long terms. In addition, what makes even this study distinct from the few available studies which have attempted to see strategies developed by displaced people, is that it identified those people who developed preventive strategies. In general, I grouped the livelihood strategies employed by displaced people into different categories: preventive, coping and adaptive strategies. These further can be classified into various categories. These are: securing place of work in the environs of the new place of living in advance, postponing plan, migration, increasing quantity of labour in the household, consumption and expenditure pattern change, fertility control strategy, expenditure reduction, financial source strategy, returning to inner city and maintenance of ties with inner city dwellers.

#### 6.1. Preventive Strategies

##### 6.1.1. Job Securing Strategy

After they have been told that they will be relocated permanently to another living place, there were people who employed preventive strategies in advance, even though it has insufficiently saved their livelihoods. Changing place of work in advance from the previous one to another similar or different organisation, situated near to the new location has been done by some studied people.

*I used to work as a teacher in one private school that is found close to my former home. However, now I work in another private school that is placed near to my new place of residence. I joined this school in the last summer, before I was relocated to Nifas Silk Lafto sub-city. If I had not secured this job in advance, I would not have got place after the coming of massive relocatees. Currently many of my friends who have diploma and certificate in teaching are being without job because the available school couldn't absorb the entire newcomers. So, who knows? I might have been one of them, if I did not get this job in advance.*

### **6.1.2. Plan Oriented Strategy**

There were people who have rescheduled household plans after they heard about their permanent relocation in order to prevent their livelihood from further adverse effects of displacement. For instance, I met an individual who previously planned to have wedding ceremony for his elder daughter, but he postponed his plan to the next year after ensuring his relocation permanently so as to use the money for dawn payment.

On the other hand, there was a case when people aborted foetus thinking the difficulty of child bearing if they will be relocated to another area. This mainly attributed to two major reasons. An informant, a woman, related the reason of abortion with the lack of strong social network after relocation. In her own words, she remarked: *Who look after my child when I go out of home, and my other children also go to school? It is beyond my income capacity to bring caregiver.* Economic factor was also found to be the reason for others to abort foetus. *After relocation I cannot manage these children, let alone to add one more,* a woman said.

## **6.2. Adaptive and Coping Strategy**

### **6.2.1. Migration**

With regards to migration, both international and national migrations have been carried out by displaced people in their attempt to stabilise their livelihoods. In the former case some displaced people sent their children abroad, usually to the Middle East, in order to gain support in the form of remittance. On the other side, other households have sent their children, who are on early young stages for care to their family who are better off and live outside of Addis Ababa.

### **6.2.2. Increasing the Quantity of Labour in Households**

Even if displacement has resulted in the increment of unemployment because many people were subjected to job losing, on the other side, it has forced displaced people to increase the number of household members to take part in income generating activity. According to informants, children after school or dropping out of their school have engaged in various livelihood activities. In the group discussion, participants confirmed this response. Sending children abroad could be also considered as action taken by

displaced people to increase the quantity of labour in the household. There are also few people who are pensioners but reemployed to another income earning activity.

### **6.2.3. Consumption and Expenditure Strategies**

Reducing mealtime, food quality and quantity were profoundly realised by the substantial number of respondents. They stopped buying meat, chicken and various vegetables. Most of them also reduced meal time from four to two meals per day even without having enough food. According to one informant:

*After relocation, in my house, mealtime has been reduced to two times per day. We commonly eat breakfast and lunch together at 5 o'clock (11 a.m.) and also 12 o'clock (6 p.m.) meal is often served both for supper and dinner.*

This is because, firstly, they could not afford to buy foodstuffs after relocation, according to the majority of the respondents. Secondly, according to few of the informants, they changed consumption pattern in order to reduce expenditure to pay housing debt and send children to school. In addition to this, walking rather than catching a bus was also a case in point that some the relocatees have managed to reduce expenditure. Using second hand products, especially clothes and shoes is the other strategy that has been more practiced by relocatees.

### **6.2.4. Spacing and Ceasing Fertility**

Together with some of the above stated mechanisms, fertility oriented action was the other strategy that has been employed by few respondents. When I held interview, there were some people who told me that they have been using birth contraceptive technologies. When I asked them whether they will get birth at some point in the future or not, two women reported that they have done this in order to space fertility, while one woman reported that she decided to cease fertility permanently.

### **6.2.5. Financial Source Strategy**

In addition to getting financial support from their adult children, borrowing was the other financial oriented strategy that was adopted by displaced people to manage the changes in their livelihood circumstances. In fact, they previously received financial support from their children, but the amount of money that has been given to these

people has increased due to the serious problems that they are facing after relocation. On the other hand, there were people who borrowed money from relatives and place of work (those who have worked in government organisation). One informant said: *When I sent my daughter to Beirut, I borrowed 4000 birr from the organisation where I have worked. If God say so, by September, she will send me this money.*

#### **6.2.6. Returning to the Inner Part of the City**

Renting out condominium houses and returning to inner part of the city was a common strategy for few studied people. In this regard, during research period, I found people who rented out their new houses and returned to the centre of the city (see figure 7), who were looking for renters and who have a plan to go back to inner part of the city. They stated lack of job opportunity and difficulty to pay housing debt as major reason.

**Figure 7: A woman who has returned to the inner part of the city and has continued her former livelihood activity**



[Source: Author, fieldwork]

#### **6.2.7. Maintenance of Ties with the Inner City Dwellers**

This is a new social network pattern that has appeared following relocation. The displaced people have established a new kind of tie with those people who live in the heart of the city. As noted above, in the new location, relocatees could not pay for large quantity and quality goods. This has resulted in establishing social network between

relocatees and inner city dwellers, which is manifested in the way that the former send money to the latter to get commodities purchased from the centre of the city and sent back to them. *Anbesa* bus drivers serve as a bridge in this link.

### **6.3. Determinants of Livelihood Strategy**

As noted above, displaced people have employed various strategies to build their livelihood. The quality and type of strategy that they employed is greatly shaped by the circumstances of asset availability and accessibility. Household composition (age, sex and size) factors influence the potential, type and quality of coping mechanisms.

The strength of social relationship that the displaced people previously had with their relatives determines the opportunity to send out their children to them. The strategy again depends on age and gender factors. The displacees have a need to send out those children who are on early ages than late age because they believe that the former is dependent on others, while the latter is engaged in income earning activity to build the households' livelihood.

Differently, foster households have often wanted to receive late young age children in thinking that they will serve them substantially. They have also preferred females to males due to the traditional believe that they are often associated with domestic chores.

With regard to getting loan from place of work, the relationship between borrowers and other members of the organisation influence the former to find collateral, which is a pre-condition to have access to loan service. This again affects displaced people's adaptive strategy. For instance, there were informants who sent children abroad and paid housing down payments after borrowing money from organisations where they have worked, whereas others who have limited closeness with workers were unable to do so due to lack of collateral.

According to informants, family size has also played a significant role in stabilising livelihoods. Those displaced people who have many working age family members have been able to make adequate income. Therefore, a family with a number of workers is less vulnerable and will recover more quickly than a household with only one bread winner (Meikle, 2002).

#### **6.4. The Livelihood Strategy Outcomes**

The livelihood strategies that displaced people employed in order to recover from the adverse impacts of displacement or promote their livelihood may increase vulnerability immediately or in long run (Moser, 1998). The means through which the problems have been solved may lead some/all members of the household to the vicious cycle of livelihoods.

In the case of this study, income enhancement, reducing expenditure, enhancing ability to pay housing costs and/ or in general reducing vulnerability are advantageous outcomes of strategy employed by displaced people. However, though the strategy utilised by displaced people have such desirable effects, in long term and even in short term they may have unforeseen negative livelihood consequences.

Changing consumption pattern has adverse health effects. It makes people, especially children, easily vulnerable to disease because of lower resistance. For instance, child malnutrition had increased (Jespersen, 1990) and infant mortality rates were rising and life expectancy was falling (Potts, 1997) in urban Zambia in 1990s due to inadequate mealtime per day, food quality and quantity consumption. Similarly, in Addis Ababa one study showed that the occurrences of weight loss, illness and declines in educational and work performance in families exposed to food shortages (Yared, 2010).

Walking to work or somewhere else may adversely affect already undernourished people. It reduces people's productive capacity and their effective working days; those reliant on walking waste productive time on travel (Brown& Lloyd-Jones, 2002).

As mentioned above, migration is a livelihood strategy chosen by displaced people. It is not uncommon to see when migration improves the livelihood conditions of migrants, including their family. However, it is also common to see the negative livelihood implication of migration. Those children who have been put in extended family have rarely found emotional support.

*Children separated from their families are exposed to lack of emotional support, love, care and sense of belongingness because these needs are*

*more difficult to meet in relatives than in a family environment* ( Ansell, 2005).

On the other hand, sending women in Middle East can result in poor social and health effects. –Migrants in the Middle East are sometimes confronted with difficult working conditions including physical abuses like beatings, burns; even rape” (Gamburd, 2002) and –face physical, psychological and verbal abuses” ( Esim and Smith, 2004).

In general, according to Gatrell & Elliott (2009) migration, especially to a new country, leads to stress and depression, as a result of alienation and the need to come to terms with new culture.

The other negative consequences of the strategy has related with sending children out, either after school or withdrawing them from school, so as to earn income. Thus, those who have been sent out after school to generate income give more time for work than education. Because of this, they may have poor performance in their education and face difficulties to pass to the next class. Those children who dropped out of school and planned to continue at some point in the future will become below the appropriate grade in school than other students. Others who have not had a plan to return to school remain low literate. This therefore leads them to the vicious cycle of vulnerability.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

#### 7.1. Conclusion

The study found that the studied community relocated to another place of living in order to renew the area since it was too old and deteriorated part of the city. It was also identified that, though the studied community have perceived their previous location in view of its socio-economic advantage and wanted to make temporary relocation to improve the depreciated environment, they were not allowed to do so by those responsible for the project, who failed to take into consideration the social, economic and/or locational advantage of the area. After relocation, the relocatees have perceived displacement in view of positive and negative consequences.

On the issue of livelihood activities, the study identified that displacement led to loss and decline of livelihood activity. Those relocatees who used to engage in various on-home and off-home activities either quite or rarely take part in such activities following their relocation. Lack of customer, market and high transportation cost were major reasons to relocatees' livelihood activity disruption. Hence, labour quantity and time available for work (which are categorised under human capital) have declined in the majority of studied households. Moreover, the livelihoods of those households headed by women and who have many children at their early ages have been seriously affected. It was also identified that those displacees who engaged in high return activity have been insignificantly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of displacement.

The study also found that the relocation of people from slum to the outskirts of the city resulted in the upheaval of neighbourhood social networks and traditional institutions, which prior to relocation, played a significant role in supporting the community at times of adversity. However, the relocation also made relocatees to get free of outsiders stigmatisation. Especially, children, who were highly stigmatised by the surrounding community for they lived in the previous location, have begun to feel safe after relocation.

The study also found that displaced people have been more vulnerable to the urban economic shock. This is because, some quitted their job and others only generate low income. Moreover, expenditure has increased following their relocation. Lack of petty

trade and the drastic food and petroleum price increase combined with social network upheaval are aggravating vulnerability of studied people to the urban cash oriented life.

It was also identified that relocation made displaced people to get secured living environment that is relatively healthy, well planned and enables children to find safe playing environment.

In addition to income interruption, relocation has exposed displacees to extra expenses and debt, and made worse their saving abilities. It was also identified that there were some people in the studied community whose financial source in the form of remittance has increased following their relocation.

Displacement made relocatees to get relatively better housing in terms of size, tenure, construction materials and availability and accessibility of kitchen, toilet and water resources. However, when we see housing quality widely, the study found that due to high cost and remoteness, relocatees have very limited access to transport, education and health services.

On the other side, it is also found out that studied people are happy by their relocation since the new settlement is less likely exposed to night clubs' disturbances, the noise of drunkards and quarrel that used to disturb them not to sleep safely at night, which in turn, was adversely influencing their ability to work and attend their education during day time. The educational status of relocatees was found to be worse. The study found out that there were people who ceased their education to support their family and minimise expenses since their income has declined. Moreover, there were people who have very poor performance in their education since they have inadequately attended and studied classes. In contrary, due to low susceptibility to risk factors, health status of relocatees was found to be impressive following their relocation.

Participation of studied people had been superficial or treated as unimportant by those responsible at meetings. The local community very rarely took part in discussions about the renewal of their former settlement. Even, the discussions held were not inclusive, because sub-tenants and co-residents were excluded at times of meeting.

The study also found that the urban re-development guideline has not been implemented in the case of Arat Kilo renewal project. Studied people did not have awareness about urban development- induced displacement guidelines. Kebele level

government structure, condominium house committee and NGOs played insignificant roles in conditioning the adverse impacts of displacement on displaced people's livelihoods. These all factors, have therefore, aggravated relocatees' problems.

The relocatees have employed various livelihood mechanisms, either to cop up or recover from the adverse impacts of displacement. In this regard, it was found that relocatees' strategies have a strong income enhancement and expenditure reduction orientation. These have been achieved through stopping education, sending children to relatives and abroad, using second hand products, returning to the inner city, walking than using buses and adjusting consumption patterns. However, though such strategies have contributed to maintain relocatees' livelihoods, they can also increase vulnerability and impoverishment instantly or in the long run. This study evidenced the adverse impacts of such strategies on individuals' productivity, health, social and educational assets. If this is the case, therefore, they can fall into sever poverty.

It was also uncovered that asset availability and accessibility, and households' compositions determine the strategies taken by studied people. The presence of a single breadwinner in the family signifies a greater degree of vulnerability in the face of the adverse impacts of displacement than households who have composite breadwinners.

## **7.2. Recommendations**

Taking in to account the study result as well as recommendations given by studied community this section looks at ways in which sustainable urban renewal can be achieved. In my view, at first, it is very important to explore alternative solutions to avoid displacement. If displacement is the only option, I think that the following recommendations could minimise or mitigate displacement trauma.

- Initially, the perception given to slum should be broadened beyond the physical part to recognise the social network, social infrastructure (e.g. education and health) and economic benefits of the area.
- It is essential to involve the local community throughout decision making process of renewal projects. Hence, two major issues are quite indispensable. The first is that the community should be made aware of the renewal guidelines that allow them to participate effectively in a process. The second is that community participation should be inclusive, and should have the ability to

influence decisions, instead of simply involvement at meetings. This is because, as many empirical evidences in China, India and Mali indicate community participation in decision making process enables to identify people that can be mostly vulnerable and identify their interests. In addition, the community gain a sense of ownership of the project and they less likely perceive themselves as victims.

- Governmental NGOs and non-governmental NGOs, private sectors and original settlement and host community *iddir* should be encouraged to take part in urban development-induced displacement. And also Condominium House Committee should expand its role to employment creation through creating networks with government and NGOs.
- Social institutions and access to mutual help, exchange, borrowing opportunities and other informal support, would have had sustainability if the people had been relocated to the same area.
- The distance between school, health services and bus termini, and relocation site need to be critically considered during decision making process.
- Facilitating micro-enterprises and credit services for displaced people (in giving priority to single breadwinner and women headed households) has a considerable role in mitigating/ curtailing unemployment conditions. This is important to enable relocatees to become less likely vulnerable to urban monetised life and to keep themselves from life threatening livelihood strategies.
- The displacement program should facilitate training for relocatees to increase their skill level to help them to get better and stable job.

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# Appendix A

## ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

### Institute of Regional & Local Development Studies (IRLDS)

### Department of Urban Development & Urban Challenges in East

### Africa

#### The Livelihood of Displaced People in Addis Ababa

Before all I would like to thank you in advance for taking the time to respond to my interview. The aim of this interview is to investigate problems related with the livelihood of displaced people. If you decide to help by participating in this study, without your permission all responses will be strictly confidential and nowhere in the study will your identity or your name be made known. Any information provided you will be compiled in a summary data report thus protecting your identity.

#### A. Background Characteristics

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_
2. Current place of residence : Sub- city \_\_\_\_\_ Wereda \_\_\_\_\_
3. Age in years: A. Below 20, B. 20-30, C. 30-40, D.40-50, E. 50-60, F. More than 60
4. Sex: A. male B. female
5. Religion: A. Orthodox B. Muslim...C. Catholic...D. protestant E, others, specify
6. 4. Ethnicity: A. Amhara B. Oromo C. Tigre D. Gurage E. others, specify
7. Level of education: A. never attended B. read and write C. elementary (1-6) D. Junior (7-8) E. high school (9-12) F. College G others, specify
8. 6. Marital status A. Never married, B. Married, C. divorce
9. 7. If you married, what is the size of your household?  
A. 2, B. 3.C.4, D.5, E.6, G Specify, if you have above 6

10. How long did you live at the previous place of residence? A. Below 10 years .B. Between 10-15 C. 15-20 D.25-30 E 30-35 F. if others, specify
11. Who is the breadwinner of your households?  
A. Female, B, Male, C, Composite D, if others, specify

**B. Reasons for displacement and perception of the community to displacement**

1. What do you think are the major reasons for displacement?
2. What is displacement for you?
3. Are you happy with displacement oriented development? If No / Yes why?
4. What else do you think should be done to develop urban area?

**C. Livelihood Activities**

1. What was your major livelihood activity before displacement?
2. Have you currently engaged in work you had before displacement?
3. If No, Why? Where do you work after displacement? How do you see your current work in comparison to the previous one?
4. If yes, how your new location impacts on your work?
5. How do you manage the impacts of displacement on your livelihood activities?
6. What was/is the effects of this adjustment? (Positive & negative?)
7. How do you manage your outside work and your household work? (only for women headed household)
8. Do you think that displacement has quite negative effect on the livelihood activity of Women headed household than male headed household? If Yes, How?
8. Can you tell me how you (these people) strategise the extra burden of displacement on their livelihood activities?
9. What do you think about the outcome of such strategies?

10. What else do you think should be done to ensure sustainable urban development?

**D. Vulnerability to urban context**

1. If you had work before displacement, how does income earning opportunity has changed after displacement?
2. Do you think that the change in your income have influence on your capacity to purchasing basic necessities? If Yes, How?
3. How do you compare your access to retail market both in the new and old location?
4. Do you think that the transportation cost you incur to go somewhere from your current place of living is higher than the previous place of residences?
5. If yes, what impacts does it have on your day to day activities?
6. How do you deal with it to overcome its effect?
7. What is/ are the outcomes of this strategy?
8. Are there changes in the price of food in recent times?
9. If yes, how do you see its impact on your livelihood?
10. What do you do to combat these effects?
11. How do you see the outcomes this mechanism?
12. Is the previous place of residence or new locations more overcrowded? What was/is the effect of living in such areas?
13. How do you perceive sound pollution at new location compared to the previous place of residence? Explain in relation to its effect
14. Which place of residence is free from air pollution? Why?
15. What was/is the effect of living in such areas?

16. How do you perceive quality of living environment at new location compared to the previous place of residence? What was/is the effect of living in such areas?
17. How do you perceive access to health services in the new location comparing to the previous settlement?
18. Which place of residences do you think that appropriate in accessing education? Why?
19. How do you see water resources in the new location comparing to the previous location?
20. What was/ is the impacts of such ways of water collection on your day to day activities?
21. Do you think that relocation has effect on your social safety net? If yes, how?
22. What are the livelihood strategies you employ at a time of difficulty? How do you see the outcome of such strategies?

#### **E. Access and Availability of assets**

##### **Social capital**

1. Had you been borrowing anything with your neighbours in the previous location?
2. If your answer for question number one is yes, why? What kind of things did you use to borrow? What sort of importance did it have on your livelihood?
3. Are you in a position to access such social benefits at the new location? If yes, how do you compare it with the practice in the previous location?
4. If your answer for question number three is no, why? What impacts does it have on your livelihood?
5. Do you think that there are people in your new place of residence that you can trust compared to how it was before relocation? If no, Why?
6. Had you *iddir* in the previous location? If yes, what importance did it have?

7. How about now? If yes, what kind of importance does it have? How do you compare its importance with the previous one?
8. If your answer for question number seven is no, why? How do you explain its impact on your livelihood
9. Had you *mahiber* in the previous location? If yes, what significance did it have?
10. How about now? If yes, what kind of importance does it have? How do you compare its importance with the previous one?
11. If your answer for question number ten is no, why? How do you explain its impact on your livelihood?
12. Had you been taking part in *iqub* in the previous location? If yes, what kind of benefits did it have?
13. How about in your new settlement? If yes, what kind of significance does it have? How do you compare it with the previous one?
14. If your answer for question number thirteen is no, why? How do you elaborate its impact on your livelihood?
15. What are the strategies that you employ to endure with this effect? What are the outcomes of this strategy?

### **Human Capital**

1. Do your children go to school after displacement? If no, Why?
2. If Yes, What do you think the effects of displacement on children's education?
3. How do you view the conveniences of your home for children to study compared to the previous one?
4. How many of your household had engaged in income earning activities before displacement? Has this changed after displacement? If yes, why?
5. Do you think that relocation has effect on your time available for work? If yes, How?

6. Had you ever got sick in the previous settlement? If yes, what were the causes for your illness?
7. Have you ever been ill after displacement? If yes, what were the causes?
8. How do you compare the risk factors of diseases in the new and old settlements?
9. Had your illness impact on your livelihoods? If yes, how?
10. Do you think that your skill or working ability has changed after displacement? If yes, how? Does it have impacts on your livelihoods? If yes, how?
11. How do you manage any adverse effects of displacement?

### **Financial Capital**

1. Did you generate income before displacement? If Yes, Has displacement impacted on such sources of income? If yes, How?
2. How do you compare the expenditures that you are currently incurring with the previous one, before relocation? Explain?
3. Had you been receiving financial support from your relatives or children when you were living in the old settlement?
4. What about after displacement? If yes, how do you compare its amount and frequency with the previous one?
5. Had you been borrowing money in the previous location? If yes, why?
6. How about in the new location? If yes, why? How do you compare the amount of money that you expend to finance your debt in the new and old location?
7. Do you save some money from what you were earning before displacement? If yes, what proportion of your income goes to saving?
8. Does displacement have impact on your saving? If yes, how?
9. If your answer for question number five is yes, does it have an impact on your other assets? If yes, how?

### **Physical Capital**

1. Is there any change in the availability and accessibility of water supply after relocation? If yes, in what way and why?
2. How do you compare the sewerage facilities in the new and old locations?
3. How do you explain the use of toilet in the old location?
4. Is there a change in the use of toilet after relocation? If yes, how?
5. How do you perceive your current housing tenure compared to before displacement? Explain the benefit or constraint of having such kind of housing tenure!
6. Does your present shelter adequately accommodate your household than before displacement? If yes, can you explain the benefit compared to the previous one? If No, can you tell me the problem you are facing?
7. How do you explain the availability and accessibility of transport service in the new and old location?
8. How do you compare the availability and accessibility of education in the new and old locations?
9. How do you compare the availability and accessibility of health service in the previous and new locations?
10. If such facilities are inadequate what are the strategies you employed to overcome it?

### **Political Capital**

1. Did you participate in any decisions making process of displacement? If yes, when, how many times? What was the influence of your presence on decision making procedures?
2. How do influential participation/ lack of it make you feel about displacement?

### **F. Influences of Organisation and Process**

3. What are your relations to the Kebele authorities at new place of residence? Do you go to the local government for any information/ help? If No, Why? If Yes,

How do you perceive the service given by the authorities in comparison to the previous?

4. How do you see the role of the former and current settlement Kebele authorities in helping you to cope up with the adverse impacts of relocation?
5. How do you perceive the role of condominium house committee in maintaining your livelihood? Explain?
6. How aware-are displaced people of their rights and of the guideline of displacement?
7. Are there any outside actors (NGOs, local government and other institution) taking any actions for betterment? If Yes, how? If No, why?
8. Have you faced constraints at new location to join institution such as

*Iddir,*

*Mehaber*

and *iqub*? If yes, would you please explain such constraints?

9. Do you think that commuting affects your livelihood activities than before displacement? If Yes, how?

#### **G. Key informant interview/ for authorities**

1. Why the communities were displaced?
2. How do you define displacement?
3. I think you know well the local community than the higher officials, if so what was your role in decision making processes of displacement?
4. How serious are the problems of displacement in your perception?
5. What measures does your office take to alleviate the problem? Explain
6. Have you made coordination with other sub city and Kebele level authorities especially with that where the community relocated to? If No, why? If yes, can you tell me please in what way you did so?

7. How the displaced have been benefited from this harmony?
8. Have you made discussion regarding to displacees with the leaders of CBO (especially, idir and mehaber) to keep the sustainability of socio-economic benefits of displaced? If yes, How?
9. What sort of socio-economic benefits do displaced derives from this discussion?
10. If No, Why? How this do you think affect such benefits of the displaced?
11. Why sub-tenants were no given any of replacement similar to other displaced people?
12. Do co-residents who used to live with their families have been given replacement? If No, why?
13. Does your office have a plan to facilitate replacement for these marginalised groups of community? If Yes, how? If No, why?

## Appendix B

**Background Characteristics of Interviewees (Only affected people, but not include key informants)**

No	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Family Size	Education	Employment Type	Income/month	Ethnicity	Religion
1	F	48	married	6	Primary	House wife/ husband is guard	535	Amhara	Orthodox
2	F	59	widow	9	Basic	Unemployed/ depend upon son	-	Tigre	Orthodox
3	M	43	married	6	Higher	engineer	2100	Amhara	Orthodox
4	M		married	4	Junior	Factory worker	1100	Oromo	
5	F	36	single	3	Higher	Teacher	1200	Amhara	Orthodox
6	F	54	divorced	11	Basic	Pensioner/ depend up on daughter	320(pens ion)	Tigre	Orthodox
7	M	47	widower	7	Primary	Guard	765	Amhara	Orthodox
8	M	51	married	6	Higher	Teacher	1445	Oromo	Orthodox
9	M	64	married	12	Junior	Pensioner and Guard	1200	Amhara	Orthodox
10	F	58	married	8	Primary	Local drink maker & seller	-	Gurage	Orthodox
11	M	39	married	6	Junior	Carpentry	-	Amhara	Protestant
12	M	43	widower	5	Basic	Pensioner and daily labourer	250(pens ion)	Oromo	Protestant
13	F	38	widow	7	Basic	Unemployed/ depend upon children	-	Amhara	Orthodox
14	M	54	married	6	Basic	Unemployed/ wife is local drink maker & seller	-	Amhara	Muslim
15	M	39	married	5	Primary	Petty trader	3 birr per day	Amhara	Orthodox
16	F	43	widow	7	Junior	cleaner	420	Amhara	Orthodox
17	M	47	married	6	Basic	Unemployed/ wife is pensioner / depend upon children	-	Amhara	Muslim
18	M	53	married	7	secondary	Cashier	1100	Tigre	Orthodox
19	F	46	married	5	Higher	Unemployed/ husband is carpentry	-	Amhara	Orthodox
20	F	49	married	9	Basic	Unemployed/ husband is Tailor	-	Tigre	Orthodox
21	M	56	married	7	Primary	Daily labourer/ wife is cleaner	320( only wife	Amhara	Orthodox
22	M	51	widower	5	Junior	Pensioner/ driver	1200	Amhara	Orthodox
23	M	57	married	7	Higher	Engineer	1800	Amhara	Orthodox

### **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of materials used for the purpose of this thesis have been duly acknowledge.

Declared by:

Confirmed by Advisor

Name: Habtamu Atelaw

Name: Woldeab Teshome(Ph.D)

Sign \_\_\_\_\_

Sign \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_