ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EFFECTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ADDIS ABABA

A CASE STUDY OF THE BELT HIGHWAY PROJECT

DEJENE TESHOME

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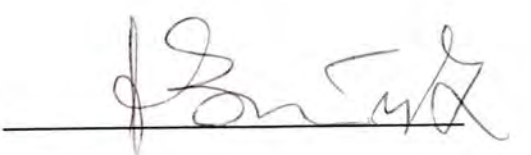 — **SIGNATURE**

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Abstract

This thesis is about socio-economic and cultural effects of urban development project -the belt highway construction- in Addis Ababa. The project is a mega construction project that displaced households and business centers. It had put in place a fascinating highway designed to mitigate traffic congestion in the city core .It was also meant to enhance urban land use at the peri-urban areas.

I selected the topic after going through relevant literature both to avoid duplication and at the same time to get insights from previous works. Accordingly, I had formulated three specific objectives for the thesis. I intended to analyze the project effects on the displaced households especially the poor; to examine the adaptive strategies devised locally to cope up with undesired project effects; and to assess the implications of the project in light of the overall urban development activities in Addis Ababa. The study is a qualitative research in which I used multiple data collection methods. I did not rely on any single data collection technique. Instead, I tried to triangulate one with the other.

The study found out that although the road construction had successfully intercepted significant traffic, it had brought considerable socio-economic and cultural disruptions. The undesired effects were attributed largely to poor project design that had little room for interdisciplinary project planning and local people's participation .Even then , the project affected poor households , persons living with disabilities and old persons more than others. The poor displaced households became easy prey to the undesired effects due to land tenure related factors. Persons living with disabilities and old persons were not in good terms with highway because the overindulgence with engineering precision captured most of the project designers' attention.

The project affected people however, devised certain coping mechanisms with the undesired effects. Adaptive responses vary based on the nature of the effects felt by the people. It rages from open protests against the design of the project to other multiple adaptive responses. The study had also drawn both theoretical and empirical implications of the development project. Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction Model was found to have strong predictive importance to avert the likely negative project effects as well as the corrective measures to reconstruct the lost resource base and disrupted social life of the project affected people. Inline with this theoretical implication , the highway project had practical implications that development is a catchy word that does not necessarily give its compassionate hand to the desperate poor in order to pull them out of poverty. With regard to the spatial configuration of the socio-economic forces in the urban space, the sector model provides only supplementary explanations. Human settlements and urban land use in the city are better understood when historical , political and socio-cultural factors were taken into consideration.

ACRONYM AND DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

ACRONYM

AACG: Addis Ababa City Government

AADIPO: Addis Ababa Development and Improvement Project Office

CSA: Central Statistics Authority

MFA : Ministry of Federal Affairs

MoH: Ministry of Health

ILO: International Labor Organization

ORAAMP: Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan

IRRM: Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction Model

Pact-Ethiopia: An American based Development Enterprise in Ethiopia

PLATES

Plate 1 The Highway and speed limit indication on the road

Plate 2 Pedestrians waiting to cross over the bridge

Plate3 Pedestrians crossing the highway over the bridge

Plate 4 Deviants jumping over the fences of the highway

Plate 5 Oxen being driven to the bridges to cross the highway

Plate 6 Donkeys waiting for trantporting flour from the flourmill

Plate 7 Donkeys transporting flour across the highway

Plat 8 A porter taking items to the other side of the road

Plate 9 Female firewood carriers taking firewood for the sale across the highway

Plate 10: owner of partially demolished house in front of his house

Plate 11 Children of displaced households washing clothes using spring water

Plate 12 – female collecting water from the spring

Plate 13 – The displaced households waiting to collect water from common tape.

Plate 14 Displaced households waiting for water at other location

Plate 15 kitchens of two displaced households at the new locality

List of Maps

1. Addis Ababa 's Latest Land Use Plan
2. Addis Ababa's Road Network

List of Tables

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER ONE

1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background

The question about which communities should be defined as urban and which should not have been contentious among scholars. This is because what is considered as "urban" vary cross-culturally. Three approaches gradually emerged in order to understand this issue. The first is the one that emphasizes demographic variable. The approach considers a relatively large and permanent population concentration in bounded area as an urban area. But the problem with demographic yardstick to the understanding of urban areas is that it has no single and universally acceptable population number. A good example is the changing of population number from 2000 in 1970s to 1000 in 1990s in Ethiopia (Casacchia, 2001:4). The subsequent features resulting from population concentration such as heterogeneity, divisions of labor and diversity in interests are discussed under this approach. The second definition stresses the city's interaction with its hinterland. This approach emphases the role that a city could play as a symbolic center, administrative capital, market places or combination of these functions. In this case, population size in the central place has less significance to define a place as a city or urban. The third approach to the definition looks at how distinctions between urban and rural are made in different languages, cultures and states by using either geographic or demographic attributes (Levinson, 1996:202-203).

As with the definitions, there are different views on the origin of cities. Davis (1969:7) argues for the evolutionary aspects of urban societies. He contends that contemporary urban societies and cities represent new and fundamental step in human social evolution. Gideon Sjoberg (1969:219) on the other hand explains the expansion of cities in size and number, their diffusion into previously non-urbanize and lightly urbanized regions, their disappearance or decline and occasional resurgence throughout history in divergent cultural settings.

According to Sioberg:

> ... Important dimension of city building is the diffusion of urban life into non-urbanized or lightly urbanized regions ... Actually cities as such were invented in at most only a few times and places, in all other situations that complex traits we call urban living has developed via diffusion from one people to another (P.225).

But most professionals in the area assume that cities emerged on gradual process that occurred independently through out the world (Levinson, 1996:204). Many scholars also agree on the idea that cities first emerged around 5000 B.C in Mesopotamia (Ridley, 1971:1).

From the perspective of their origin, Hamada (1969:146-161) identified four political capitals in Africa: the historic, native, colonial and postcolonial capitals. Historic capitals are mainly confined to Arab Africa under which Cairo is categorized. The native or medieval capitals on the other hand are the transitory capitals between the historic (ancient) and the colonial ones. These are less stable administrative and cultural centers that sprang up from Africa. But the colonial capitals soon overrode medieval ones. Colonial capitals were primarily built for colonial administration. African postcolonial capitals largely inherited these colonial capitals with little modifications. Among the cardinal features is their location mostly along the costal areas (see also Greca, 1977:47-52).

Anthropological literature on Ethiopian urban development is scanty. So, it would be logically imperative to use interdisciplinary literature in order to have a glimpse of the urban development in the country over time. The Pre 20th century urbanization in Ethiopia was characterized by political motives. Garrison towns used to be set up over the newly acquired territories so as to serve as centers of control over the newly acquired territories and conquered peoples (Akalou 1976:38).

Neither did Addis Ababa grow out from commercial intentions nor from the convenience of topography that may be considered conducive for the establishment of the city. It could be understood from street lay outs at the beginning, the residence of the Menelik II's military officials and the palace that military consideration played dominant role in Addis Ababa's

establishment (Akalou,1976:.50-51). Foucher (1987), quoted in Feleke (1999:22), held similar position with regard to Addis Ababa. According Foucher, Addis Ababa was established following politico- military activities by Emperor Menelik II. The emperor put the city in place after displacing the Gulale Oromos around the area used to be called Finfine.

Addis Ababa's growth patterns started changing from garrison nature when Europeans began establishing their legations. The Djibouti- Addis Ababa railway construction and improvements in communication had considerable importance in shifting the city from military orientations (Akalou, 1976:51; Shiferaw, 1982).

Foreign urban planning practice was introduced to Addis Ababa during the Italian occupation (1936-41). But post Italian occupation Addis Ababa city planning was commissioned to Architect Abercrombie that he would adapt the principle that he had used for London (Amose, 1962:7).

The city at the moment constitutes about 60% of the total urban population in the country. This figure is estimated to double within 25 to 30 years (Araud, 2003;Dierig;1999). However, different studies have documented the cumbersome and intricate socio-economic problems that could face Addis Ababa unless some development interventions would be made. Many documents produced by the current government do not refute the existence of the problems although they maintain some element of difference on the sources (causes) of the problems. So, the government had made a big stride to approach the problems starting from master plan revision by establishing a separate office for this purpose. The newly established office suggested:

> Within the context of the overall socio-economic and political transformation and the ongoing radical reform program, a paradigm shift in urban planning has been adopted: from a more rigid and control oriented plan to a more flexible and development oriented planning and management tool (ORAAMP, 2002:64).

Among urban development initiatives in Addis Ababa, was then the attempt to boost the transport infrastructure through the Belt Highway Project. The project cost more than 750 million Birr. It is a radical transformation in Addis Ababa's road infrastructure development. But experiences from different countries tell us that the implementation of such mega construction projects need holistic understanding of the society in which the project is being implemented (Colson 1971, Robertson, 1969 Mathur, 1989, Kassahun, 2001). The Addis Ababa belt Highway project is no exception to this fact.

This thesis therefore, deals with the socio-economic and cultural effects of the highway project being viewed from anthropological perspective, the adaptive responses of the project affected people and the theoretical and practical implications of the project effects.

1.2 Literature Review

Research interest in development issues and development induced population displacement had made their way into anthropology lately as compared with the age of the discipline. The reluctances to engage in extensive academic exercise in this area appear to have resulted from the negative conception among most anthropologists towards the idea of development projects. The Anthropologists' concern for the culture they study on the one hand and the likely undesirable effects of development projects on the culture they study on the other are suspected to have delayed many anthropologists from extensive research in the area (Robertson,1984:295). With the above dilemmas in mind, the inception of academic interest from anthropological perspective is closely linked with large hydropower dam construction projects. David Brokeasha's account of 1962 on Volta Dam relocatees was perhaps, the first ethnographic account on development induced population displacement (Cernea, 1996:294). Later on, several monographs were produced concerning development projects and development induced population displacement. It is these monographs that became the basis for theoretical debates in relation to development induced population displacement (Scuddr, 1990, Timberlake1985 in Kassahun 2001:17).

Some scholars broadly categorized development induced population displacement in Ethiopia into four (Piguet, 2004:15). The categories include dam construction projects , agricultural

development projects , national park conservation and the urban expansion projects. Agricultural development projects are experiences during the imperial period that displaced peasants for large scale state and private farms. The hydroelectric power dam construction in Ethiopia too brought population displacement during Imperial times and continue to relocate people in present days(see Kassahun ,2001).Moreover, the intention to create or enclose national parks and implement urban expansion projects inflicted displacement on many people (Taddesse,2004:433;Feleke,2004:479-508). However, , the topic is not yet sufficiently explored using anthropological lenses despite the intricate socio-economic and cultural issues involved in development induced population displacement. This is especially true when it comes to urban development projects. The literature on two models in relation to displacement and another additional model on the nature of urban growth are reviewed below.

1.2.1 The Scudder- Colson Model

Among the early models for understanding resettlement is the scudder-Colson model. The model emphasis the stress brought by resettlement and attempt to set stages that resettlement involves until the communities will comeback to displacement related stress-free life like the pre re-settlement period. The underpinning assumption is that communities undergo the experiences of resettlement in the same organic ways regardless of their socio-economic and cultural background (Scudder-Colson, 1982 in Kassahun, 2001:18).

Nonetheless, scholars challenged the Scudder –Colson model on its universal validity .In addition, the attempt to view society as an organic entity is another gap indicated by researchers. Anthropologists such as Taddesse (1995), Feleke(1999), Kasahun(2001) and many others argue that the model has limited explanatory power for the Ethiopian experience of villagization, periurban population displacement, and population relocation by hydropower dam projects. These studies indicated that all households were not uniformly affected in the process. There had been variation among individuals as well as households in adaptive responses. The Scudder-Colson model fails as well to explain the difference government policies would make in worsening or improving conditions for the people.

Woldeselassie(2004:77) has another important case from his fieldwork in *Metekel* resettlement site. Instead of the stress emphasized and the five stages proposed by Scudder – Colson model , peasants joined the resettlement scheme with joy . In fact, the secrete behind their joy was the false promise given by officials. The promise even led the peasants to sell their properties accumulated over generation. But their joy soon faded away following the disintegration of their social institutions , production systems and adaptive mechanisms. Woldesellasse (2004) called this early phase the first phase that disintegrated the social institutions of resettlers and impoverished their livelihood resources. This first phase is a time when mixing with people from different ethnic , linguistic and religious background created a problem for maintaining pre-settlement functions of social institutions. Moreover, political interference from government cadres had strong impact. After looking for the way out from painful initial phases at resettlement site, resettlers reconstructed their disintegrated social institutions. "The rearticulating of social institutions in turn played central role in the process of resettlers' livelihood adaptation, reducing uncertainties in their daily lives and recovering stable livelihood adaptation of resettellers. Hence, the livelihood adaptation of resttelers' has been facilitated and propelled with the re-articulation of social institution" (Woldeselasse: 2004:89). In general, many scholars expressed their concern over the limited applicability of the model across cultures especially in the Ethiopian experiences.

1.2.2 The Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction Model

The Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction Model (IRRM) tries to analyze how displacement due to development projects impoverishes people. According to Cernea (1995:57-58), displacement deprives the displaced in many ways unless the process is properly handled. Physical distance between relocation site and the previous residence are nonetheless assumed to reduce the undesirable effects or impoverishments. The main idea in this sense is that short distance allows the displaced to hold to their prior jobs and maintain social contact with their original neighbor. However, the relocation sites for a large group of relocates are not available near by the original sites in most cases. This condition pushes the relocation site to the peripheries and makes the relocatees situation severe. The fact that transportation is either

absent or transportation costs are unaffordable suddenly cut off the relocates from their prior sources of income as well as customer base, and hence impoverishes the displaced unless necessary precautions are made.

According to this model, the impoverishment effect by development projects is not limited to tangible economic losses alone. It is manifested in social and cultural disruptions of neighborhood ties and kinship networks. These effects entail non-quantifiable social and economic costs in the form of loss of access to mutual help, child care arrangements and so on. There are about eight potential risks of impoverishment that Cernea warns about while relocating people. The first is the obvious risk of landlessness since development projects usually remove people from their lands. Secondly, joblessness is lose of wage employment that include landless laborers , enterprise or service workers, artisans or small businessmen. The other risk is homelessness. This occurs when and where people lose housing or shelter and when resettlement policies do not provide clear cut guidelines on improvement in the housing condition. Homelessness also occurs when compensation for demolished shelter is paid at value of the shelter during property value assessment instead of the replacement value assessment. Marginalization is another risk which occurs subsequent to lose of economic power. It also happens when there is a drop in social status and downward slide of restteler's self-confidence. Moreover, displacement caused stress; psychological trauma and relocation related illness entail the risk of increased morbidity and mortality. The other three risks are food insecurity, loss of access to common property and finally social disarticulation (Cernea, 1997:32).

Nonetheless, these impoverishment risks may occur partly or all at once. Further more, even within the affected population , certain groups such as children under 18 and women are more prone to the risks mainly in compensation (Ibid).Experiences from India also strengthened the idea that children are more affected not only in compensation but also by the risk of loss of education(Mohapatra,1999:195).

Cernea (1995:60-64) himself wrote a few cases on urban population relation based on the Asian experience. He discussed about three projects namely Jakarta Urban Development, Shangai Environmental Improvement and the Yacyrla Dam Projects. The Jakarta urban development was aimed at upgrading arterial roads, road construction on city's peripheries and improvement of traffic management.

With the Jakarta urban development project came the inevitable demand for land so that roads would be widened and new roads be constructed. Roads were to be widened in areas with high population density. This project was estimated to affect 10,000 households and business. Although the road widening, for instance only demanded a narrow strip of 2 to 4 meters of land along the project affected communities, it affected the dwelling and job of more than 40,000 persons. In fact, all these project-affected people need not be relocated. But even those, who did not undergo relocation, had their house plots or business areas reduced. The poorest inhabitants especially the renters and occupants without formal titles were the most affected groups. Cernea argues in this case that the basic weakness of this urban development project lies at project design phase that there was no well organized resettlement plan for the displaced people (Cernea 1995:61).

The other case by the same author is the Shangai Environmental Improvement Project (Cernea, 1995:62). The aim was to modernize the sewerage system of Shangai. Here again dwelling and other city structures were demolished. The process displaced 15,000 residents. However, unlike the Jakarta project, this project did not negatively affect the displaced due to adequate urban resettlement policy. The third case by Cernea has similar features to the other two except that even when there exists good beginnings intended to minimize the undesirable effects of population displacement, the national economic crisis could hamper successful population relocation of the project displaced people (ibid:65).

McAndrew (1995:151) came up with similar findings after studying the effect of Japanese industrialization on a Philippine community. Middle and upper class professionals based on middle class standards as well as lifestyle primarily designed this project. Hence, the relocates were expected to fit into this standard during the relocation process. But the study by McAndrew found out that the overconfidence of professionals in using middle class standards and lifestyle with little consideration for the needs of the relocation process (McAndraw, 1995:161). Singh (1996:93-119) also discussed the Indian experience of population displacement due to dam construction. Signha's study reveals that the project affected directly the displaced for land acquisition by the project and those affected due to land use patterns as a result of the project. In general, this Indian experience shows the project benefits accrue to the privileged few while others bear the costs. Having seen selected literature on the models in relation to displacement, I will briefly discuss below the model on the socio-economic configuration that contributes and at the same time results from the urban expansion.

1.2.3 The Concentric Zone and Sector Models

Weaver (1972:109) wrote in clear terms , " ...other than contributing to the community study method, now completely absorbed into sociology, anthropology has failed to contribute distinctive anthropological concepts , problems or theoretical framework to urban studies." In similar manner, Mulenbach (1977:4) agrees with the idea suggested above that urban research makes certain demands on the anthropologists in that in order to comprehend the complexity of the city anthropologists adopt an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, I have reviewed interdisciplinary literature of sociology, anthropology and geography in order to comprehend the theoretical implications of the belt highway for urban growth.

The first models which attempts to explain urban growth is the concentric zone model. Burgess attempted to portray the process of city space and human interaction that results in city's expansion. The process, according to Burgess, follows series of functionally differentiated concentric zones (Burgess 1925 in Stewart, 1974:117). The starting point for expansion is the city centre (nucleus) around which the city was first established. The process

and rate of expansion would result in subsequent changes in social organization in addition to its effects on physical growth and business development of the city (Ibid).

The concentric zone model was conceived based on the data obtained from the American city - Chicago- (Jones, 1976:138-140). According to the model, the expansion starts from the center due to competition between business and humans who need the same space for residence. Burgess identified five concentric zones in Chicago. For Burgess, each zone tends to expand invading and succeeding the one on its outer edge. He emphasized that the model is put forward to understand all western cities. Moreover, expansion takes place outward from the central point and the process is accompanied by the pattern of sorting out the population in the city along socio-economic status.

In general, the concentric model argues that population and housing in urban areas vary as one moves from the city center (Schwirian,1977:182). The loop in Chicago was the central business district. Population distribution and all urban land use patterns are organized around this node. The central business district consists, the principal banking and financial institutions , hotels, restaurants ,major retail stores and the important office complex that national and regional offices of major corporations .The next Zone is the zone of transition shifting from low income groups residential to industrial -commercial as the central business district expands. Beyond this zone is the zone of working men's homes which is successively followed by the middle and high economic class residents and commuters. The model suggests that driving in any direction from the city's center to the periphery would progressively lead to high status neighborhood. Hence, the model also calls for the positive relationship between distance from the city center and social status.

However, the concentric zone model has limitations in some respects. The limitations are first identified by Homer Hoyt. Hoyt (1939) quoted in Mabongunie (1968:176-177) suggested an alternative model named the Sector Model after the fieldwork in 142 American cities. He indicated two new elements in his model. These are the causal relationship between land pricing and major transport routes on urban growth. Therefore, when population and

businesses are attracted to the city, they compete for the convenient location especially in the center. Central location is considered extremely valuable since it represents the point of limited aggregated travel to and from other points in the city. Because of this competition, land values at the center rises high that it is only business that can afford to occupy this location (Mabogunje, 1968:177)

The rise in land value or rent gradually spreads from the central business district outward along the major transport routes. The sector model assumes the city growth along particular transport rout would mean similar land use types that the result would be the emergence of the city growth in which various land use types radiate from the central Business District towards the peripheries (Ibid page178)

Concentric zone model is also criticized for less explanatory power to understand the situation in western cities (Jones, 1976:140). The critics target the idea of concentric zone and Hoyt substituted it for the word sector. Hoyt argues that the population distribution and land use patterns is organized more in terms of homogeneous pie-shaped sectors rather than running from the city's hub to the periphery in concentric fashion. For instance, the high income areas of the city tends to be found in one or more major sectors instead of in exclusive concentric zone (Schiwrian,1977:184). Moreover, the sector model suggests change in population distribution and land use patterns in the city is axial rather than concentric. The change is along the main transportation arteries and lines of least resistance for expansion.

Anthropological literature on urban development projects is scanty in general (Cernea 1995:40) and it is even scantier when it comes to the Ethiopian experience. There are a few literatures that employed Cernea's Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model (See for instance, Feleke, 1999; Kasahun, 2001) in the Ethiopian context. They are however, largely written in relation to rural population. Feleke in fact, did his research on the impact of Real Estate Project on the peasants around Addis Ababa. Even then, both did not view development-induced displacement from impoverishment Risk Reconstruction alone. While

Feleke (1999) focused on the impoverishments risks and reconstruction, Kassahun (2001) insisted on the opportunity-threat discourse of development induced population displacement.

Therefore, there is a gray area to be illuminated in the study of urban development projects through the contributions from the findings of this study. Yet, I focused on the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction aspects rather than the opportunity -threat discourse in the case of the belt highway project. This is because the project is a development engagement in the midst of many poor. It needs cautious intervention for the prevention of further impoverishment and to enable the project affected people to reconstruct the lost resource base or any disrupted socio-economic and cultural life. The model has practical relevance when one speaks of development in the city where poverty engulfs many residents.

Moreover, the models in relation to urban expansion and land use are mainly based on cases from western cities. However, although the history and socio-economic and cultural realities of cities in developing countries are different from the western ones, I used sector model and try to analyze the current trend of urban development in the city with emphasis to the belt highway project. The reason for using this model is due to the model's close relationship with transport routes in its analysis of urban expansion and my research topic is on the belt highway. This allowed me to see whether there were new trends of land use and population settlement along the highway. In addition, while the impoverishment risks of the displaced households were analyzed using Cernea's IRRM, their new site of relocation had been in light of the sector model.

1.3 Statements of the Problem

Among recent urban development initiatives in Addis Ababa was the attempt to boost the transport infrastructure through the Belt Highway Project. The project cost more than 750 million Birr. The highway was not only a huge investment in urban development but also a new experience for the country. The process displaced people along the route, and put a new physical structure in the area. In this regard, studies indicate that an estimated ten million people in developing world become victims of a process of involuntary displacement and relocation caused by the new set of development programs every year (Cernea. 1994: v). The development programs are being started each year in urban transportation and dam construction. But displacement entails its own pains on the displaced even though the undesirable effects would be reduced when the project brings tangible benefits to the people displaced by the project.

There has been urban versus rural dilemma on development-induced displacement. Involuntary resettlement is commonly associated with the projects that displace people from rural areas. However, (Cernea, 1995:40) has put it clear that the urban population displacement is an area that has hardly given adequate attention so far both from researchers and decision makers alike. The growing urban populations in developing countries demand space for new industrial estates, commercial centers, communication and road networks etc. The consequences of such growth will be the frequent need to displace and relocate people. Yet, the potential job loss and further impoverishment make urban displacement a potentially explosive issue. Increased resistance to relocation by the affected people in many developing countries has been witnessed in many developing countries (Cernea, 1995:39-43; Mathur, 1995: 3).

Resistance to newly implemented projects may take different forms. It is a common everyday observation in the case of the belt highway project that the non-conformists to the pedestrian rules jump the Addis Ababa Belt Highway several times within a day. This on the other hand, is a potential danger in accelerating traffic accidents. In fact, traffic accidents and fatality rates in Ethiopia are one of the highest in the world. Addis Ababa shares 62% from the total national traffic accident. Estimated annual traffic accident growth rate in the city from the

year 1993 to 1997 had been 31%.Traffic accident was reported to be one of the major causes of deaths for economically productive segment of population. Traffic accident was estimated to constitute 84% of all injuries and death. Moreover, the city loses around 12 million Birr per annum through traffic accidents (ORAAMP, 2002). I personally learned from residents at some areas that police officers physically punish the pedestrian non-conformists in crossing the road.

In addition to this, the project by its nature seems to neglect the physically disabled and the elderly when it comes to crossing the highway. It is hard for the elderly and risky exercise for the physically disabled to cross the road. Porters who used to make their living from carrying luggage found the road an extra cost while earning their living. Moreover, many households sustain their life by the income generated from transporting goods using donkeys while many poor urban households prefer donkey to vehicle due to their cheaper service charges. But the project has put such kind of businesses to assume marginal priority in the city where urban poverty engulfs significant number of population.

Yet, the overall assumption is that the project is part of the current urban development programs in order to mitigate the urban problems outlined by different studies in Addis Ababa. Similar if not the same, development interventions would likely to be carried out both in the capital and other growing cities in the country.

Nevertheless, these kinds of development projects in urban areas need anthropological studies for their socio-economic and cultural effects. Experiences from different countries tell us that this approach could make a difference in making a project more successful. Colson (1971); and Mathur (1989) for instance argue on practical grounds that economic planners, technicians and political leaders often count the engineering cost at the expense of social costs while planning and implementing a project that displaces people or make old adjustments impossible.

Furthermore, transportation ethnography is rarely available and transport in development studies is little appreciated and often considered within social sciences as "technical". Transport planning is usually regarded as sovereign academic area of engineers aided by economists. "For the engineers roads are primarily physical facilities which are constructed to respond to the demand for transportation expressed in terms of actual and projected traffic flows". Engineers mainly focus on traffic demand, technical feasibility and operating and maintenance costs (Simon, 1996:1, Healy, 1977:203).Therefore, this study looks into the basic issues discussed above in relation to Addis Ababa Belt Highway Project.

Meanwhile, the basic research questions of the study include: Why does Addis Ababa need the belt highway project? What was the role of the residents along the highway in project planning and implementation? What positive and /or negative effects did the project bring on the people living along the route? Why do some members of the households along the route violate the pedestrian transit rules? What did the disabled members of the community feel about the project? How do the people cope up with the undesired effects of the projects? And finally, what lesson would we draw from the project for implementing similar projects in the future?

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General objectives

The general objectives of this study are:

- To contribute to the understandings of the socio-economic and cultural effects of the belt highway project in the project area.
- To assess the contributions anthropology could have made in analyzing the project from different angles

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- To analyze the effects of the belt highway project on the lives of the project affected people, especially the poor.
- To examine the coping mechanisms of the project affected households with undesired consequences of the road construction
- To assess the implications of the project in light of the overall urban development activities in Addis Ababa.

1.5 Methods of Data Collection

The study is a qualitative research in which I have used multiple data collection methods.

1.5.1 Secondary Data

Relevant published and unpublished literature was selectively reviewed. Moreover, secondary data on urban development programs especially in developing countries in general and those on Ethiopia in particular were consulted. The literature was a springboard for coining theoretical frameworks and framing statements of the problem

1.5.2 Primary Data

Interviews

Trustworthy informants were interviewed for collecting parts of the primary data. I selected the informants from the displaced households, elders living along the belt highway, physically disabled individuals and concerned individuals from government offices. Tape recorder was used for this purpose depending on the consent of my informants. I relied on filed notes when the informants fail to consent on the use of tape recording. On top of this , I collected primary data using informal discussion on issues that my informants restrained from expressing their views for any reason they felt inconvenience during semi - structured interviews.

Observation

I established and maintained fairly good rapport with the project affected people in their social gatherings. I believe observation helped me gather important data since a wide range of issues could be discussed often informally on these events. Moreover, observation of the day to day interaction of the people along the belt highway, how they feel about the road construction, conformity and non-conformity to the rules and regulations in crossing the road etc. helped enrich the research with valuable data.

Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion was another primary data collection method that was used in this research. The discussion was organized in such a way that it is convenient for discussants to express their views more freely. The researcher took into account the age, gender, educational and economic status of discussants in this regard. In addition to this, pictures were taken during primary data collection in order to enrich the document with primary data.

1.6 Scope and Importance of the Research

1.6 .1 Scope

The geographic area covered by this research was the Belt Highway from General Wingate Secondary School to Ayer Tena Comprehensive Secondary High School. It is called phase I B, from Jimma Road to Ambo Road in the Project Document. The route was selected because it could represent most of the basic issues in the project like the problem of traffic congestion, displacement, the physical structure between neighbors, pedestrian transit rules and non-conformity to these rules, the problems of the physically disabled in using the highway as well as the highway and donkey transportation.

1.6.2 Importance of the Research

Development seems to have become a cliché in Ethiopia. Operationally, the word is understood and used in a sense that it refers to improvements in the living condition of people due to planned human interventions. An attempt to bring these improvement is accomplished through a set of coordinated activities that are implemented within a specific time in order to produce expected results. The project I chose for my thesis is a mega project that

displaced many households and business centers. It has a fascinating engineering design meant to curb traffic congestion in the city center and also enhance urban land use at periurban areas.

However, Mega construction projects like the one I study have their own socio-economic and cultural effects that need to be examined. Therefore, the study will significantly contribute to the understanding of the effects of infrastructure projects on the living condition of the people especially the poor. It also helps greatly to capitalize on the strength of the current project implementation strategy and harness the limitations in the future.

1.7 Field Experience and Organization of the Thesis

My casual exposure to the belt highway project was in the year 2000 when a number of young surveyors flooded my residence area. The surveyors had measured and re-measured the width and the route of the highway amid many of us who wonder what these professionals were doing. They had tools that they manipulated according to their field of study. Gradually, I witnessed houses being demolished with bulldozers and a number of daily laborers operating under the directives of a handful of persons having facial structures of the Fareast people. I was contemplating if someone could understand this huge engineering work using sociological spectacles. I was Sociology B.A graduate by then. So, the fact that I became a student in socio-cultural anthropology activated my earlier aspirations to have closer understanding about this grand development project.

Challenges

I admit that research undertaking is not as comfortable as walking on the red carpet. However, I equally think the challenges one may face while doing a research may be different depending on various factors. In my case, the challenges could be categorized in to two. The first is in relation to anthropological literatures on urbanization and urban development in Ethiopia where as the second one was in relation to fieldwork. Anthropological research works on Ethiopian urbanization is scanty. The department of Sociology and Social Anthropology in the Addis Ababa University itself teaches urban sociology using a manual prepared 30 years ago. This created a gap to synthesis theoretical debates on Ethiopian urbanization and urban development.

The second challenge is the fieldwork itself. The coincidence of the fieldwork with the year of national election had significant implication on my fieldwork. I found it difficult to win the confidence of informants at the beginning. It was challenging to convince them that I am neither a journalist nor party affiliated politician who would abuse their response. Once I won their trust, some informant burst into tears when they explained some undesirable effects that the project / process of project implementation had brought against them. The tears of a woman whose mother was died from blood pressure when her house was demolished and another female household head that had reported to have survived from being a beggar through her neighbors' assistance are unforgettable memories.

Another challenge during the fieldwork was to locate the whereabouts of some displaced persons from *kebele*[*] houses. The difficulty was due to the fact these households received 1,200 birr "compensation" and removed from the area. They were not relocated to a specific site but forced to look for rent rooms somewhere else.

Structuring and restructuring as well as staff turnover in government office had been the other hurdle to my fieldwork. The master plan revision office is no more there. The belt highway project office is liquidated. New "decentralized" administrative set up has been being put in place. These changes stumbled the smooth data collection processes.

Measures Taken

- I used interdisciplinary literature such as those produced by sociologists, geographers, historians and anthropologists in order to overcome shortage of anthropological literature on Ethiopian urbanization and urban development.
- I tried to prove through out the fieldwork period that I was not a kind of man that my informants were suspicious of. I explained to them over and over again that I was simply a student who staggers to pass the rite of passage before graduation.

[*] Kebele is the lowest body in government administrative structure. Kebele owned houses are those which were confiscated from individuals that owned extra houses during nationalization of property under the military rule.

- The difficulty to find those households who were "compensated" only 1,200 birr and removed from the area forced me to use proxy respondents on the process of their displacement.
- The restructuring in government offices was the difficult challenge to deal with. Yet, I managed to obtain fairly good data from Addis Ababa City Road Authority. I also got access to some documents produced by the liquidated offices such as the Addis Ababa Master Plan Revision Office.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter deals with literature review and the research design. This chapter forms a base for the whole subsequent chapters. The second chapter gives some general background about Addis Ababa from its foundation up to recent times. It is believed to give readers a highlight of the changes that the city underwent over time in terms of physical size , and socio-economic and demographic conditions. It is hoped this background helps a reader to have a bird's eye view about the city in which the belt highway was constructed.

The compensation, relocation and the road construction are all discussed under the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the highway project effects. The effects were seen from different angles such as the effects on the displaced, non-displaced, the poor, old persons and persons living with disabilities. Under chapter five, I discussed the adaptive response by the project affected. I also tried to analyze the theoretical and practical implication the project under the same chapter. Finally, I summarized the main points and put some concluding remarks under the sixth chapter.

with furious faces at the children requesting for alms on the other extreme. Addis Ababa is the home for many destitute older people. There were for example over 2,000 destitute old persons counted in one day on the streets of Addis Ababa in 1998 (HAI 2001:6).

Two dimensions of poverty in Addis Ababa may give us a better understanding of what all this paradox is about. They are food poverty and total poverty. Food poverty is a condition in which the income of households is insufficient to purchase the essential amount of food items that provides the minimum calorie requirement set by the Ethiopian Nutrition and Health Institute. The other dimensions, total poverty refers to a condition where by households fail to meet the minimum requirements of their food and non-food items. 48% from the households in Addis Ababa were categorized under food poverty where as 63% of the total households were found to suffer from general poverty (Yasin , 1997: 27). Since we have no fundamental development activities that might have significant impact on the urban poor, the above realities are still with us.

A total of 374,742 housing units were found in Addis Ababa a few years back, out of which 97.2% were non- storied buildings where as 2.7 were in multiple storied buildings. About 40% of the housing units in non- storied were detached while 60% of the housing units in non-storied were attached buildings (CSA, 1999: 219).

The existing housing conditions are poor being evaluated in terms of structural quality, rate of occupancy as well as other amenities for life. 82.3% of the housing units in Addis Ababa had wood and mud walls. About 52.8% of the floor of housing units is earth (mud), which complicates health problems given the weather condition in Addis Ababa (Ibid, p. 227).

Most housing units in Addis Ababa not only fail to meet the standard recommended for construction, but also lack adequate spacing. The highest proportion of the housing units had only one room (30.91) followed by two rooms (28.7%) (Ibid, p-229). Moreover, 24.9% of the housing units did not have toilet facility (ibid, p- 242).

There exists wide gap between the demand for housing and the supply to meet this demand. Scholars estimated the deficit in Addis Ababa at 30,000 housing units in 1997. They projected that over 19,000 households per year require housing in Addis Ababa for the consecutive 10 years (Eyasu, 1999:26). On the other hand, the Ethiopian Government had sought to fill this wide gap through free market oriented approach to residential land and housing development. The land lease proclamation stipulates the right to land for residential buildings will be leased for a maximum period of 99 years. The proclamation however, gives discretion to regional states on setting the maximum and minimum plot size together with fixing the equivalent cost for the plot (Negarit Gazeta, proclamation No 80/1993).

Following the above proclamation, the Addis Ababa city Administration introduced lottery systems for access to plots for housing. Households capable of building standard ground plus one dwelling units are legible for registration and drawing the lots. Winners in the lot systems should deposit 20% of the house construction cost before plot allocation. However, the land delivery system largely neglects the urban majority because the poor can neither afford it nor eligible to obtain loan from banks (Eyasu,. 1999:42). The other problem associated with residential land delivery system is that the rate of plot production is too low. Government offices responsible for availing these plots are very inefficient (Ibid,P. 44). Shewaye succinctly explains the situation. She says "cumbersome plot allocation procedures, archaic land registration as well as non affordable planning standards and building codes are making housing construction beyond the reach of the majority of urban residents."
(Shewaye, 2002: 94).

Earlier studies strengthen the arguments of Shewaye in that they also empirically proved housing and land costs are much higher relative to household incomes. The housing price to income is extremely high. Hence, housing costs stand still well above the level ordinary urban poor would offer (Eyasu, 1999:55).

In relatively most recent development, the weekly Capital carried a headline read "Land Price Goes Through the Roof." Capital reported, "A 250 M^2 plot of land in a residential district around CMS area fetched a surprisingly high pries of 2000 Birr/m^2 at the 45th lease auction of the city Government of Addis Ababa . . . . Participants commented that the city middle class and poor citizens could never afford to build home, if this trend continues" (Capital, May 2-8, 2004:1).

Given the ownership issue has been stumbled by the foregoing and other related pitfalls, the significant number of residents dwell in the rented housing. But Shewaye noted the problem with house rent. There is enormous overcrowding and a serious shortage to meet the growing demand. Besides other social problems, the majority of urban poor are left to bear the burden of higher rents (Shewaye, 2002: 94). In this regard, Kebele owned low cost rent rooms are safehomes for many urban poor residents from privately owned unaffordable rent rooms.

There were 27 health centers, 136 health stations,387 private clinics , 25 hospitals and 2346 hospital beds in Addis Ababa as of December 2004 to cater for the health service needs of the population. About 65 primary and 174 junior secondary schools were reported to be existing as of 1999.The number of secondary schools in the same year was 48 (AACG,2000:10-12). In 2003, there were 343,074 and 120,243 school age population for 1-8 and 9-12 grades respectively. The enrolment of students on the other hand shows, the number of enrollment in grade 1-8 was 489,215 where as enrollment for grade 9-12 was 12,186 students (MOH, 2004:5).

A report by reconnaissance team in 1999 summarizes the situation in Addis Ababa as follows:

> With an average monthly income of less that 36 Euros(40 USD) and unemployment running at 40% the population is poor. Most income derives from retailing and family business .Some 115,000 people work in manufacturing and industry , 50,000 in transport and communication and 45,000 in health , education and social services.17,000 people make a living from farming with cattle raising and market gardening practiced in both the city's rural area and its center. Herds in Addis Ababa are estimated at 60,000 cattle, 30,000 sheep and goats, 5500 donkeys and horse; to these figures should be added 40,000 heads of poultry and 550 beehives (ORAAMP, 2000:15)

2.1.5 Road Transport and Traffic Density

It is worthwhile to clarify on how transport is being viewed before I get into details. I share the view that transport is primarily the movement of people and goods but not vehicles (Sierr, 1995 in Muhammed, 2002:4).The movement is viewed as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. In other words, transport is a means to link together residence and employment, producers and consumers of goods and services.

Multiple factors shape urban transportation. The major ones include topography, the city size, population density, land use patterns and culture. All these factors act together or in isolation to dictate on the type and patterns of urban transport. Written evidences suggest that road construction in Addis Ababa started during its formative years. The construction covered limited area around Saint George church and the palace (Pankhurst, 1968:711). But tremendous changes had occurred since then.

There is no comprehensive data on the exiting urban road type, length, function and quality in Addis Ababa. The total road length in the city is estimated at 1329.51 kms in the year 2000(ORAAMP, 2000:1). Only 29.7 % from the indicted total road length was asphalted in the year 2000. The survey report by Addis Ababa Road Authority in 2002 also shows that only 328.73kms asphalt roads exists in the city. The remaining 960 km was covered by gravel. Furthermore, about 72 % of the total asphalt road had narrow width which was less than 8meters (Muhammed,2002:36) . In any case, the road and road related services in Addis Ababa are poor even by African standards. Roads are assumed to cover 20-25 % of the total built up areas in the cities of developing countries. However, the roads in Addis Ababa are estimated to cover less 2% of the total built up areas.

Contrary to the poor road networks in the city, there is an alarming increase in the number of motor vehicles. There are 118,732 motor vehicles at national level in 2001 from which 29,445 were passengers, 34,811 were dry cargo, 2,306 were liquid cargo and 2,170 are motor bikes(Muhammed,200:16). Addis Ababa shares more than 77% of the total vehicle population concentration in the country (ORAAMP, 2000:3).

Such uneven motor vehicle concentration coupled with limited road network creates traffic congestion. The city roads entertain 9443 taxis, 377 buses, 36,047 salon cars and 19,770 commercial cars at peak hours. Further more, 15,408 fright trucks and 638 motor bikes compete for the same limited road infrastructure. Concentrated economic activities in the city core is another factor that exert great pressure on the roads which lead to the city center(ORAAMP,2000:3). A quick look at the trend of vehicle population over the last five years shows tremendous increment in vehicle population in the country from which Addis Ababa's lion's share is the largest one. The table below indicates the trend over the last five years.

Table 2.2 Increment in Total Vehicle population in the Ethiopia for the year 2000 to 20041

	1992		1993		1994		1995		1996	
	Tota l	A.A	Total	A.A	Total	A.A	Total	A.A	Total	A.A
Cabs rpose	5771	4336	6517	4860	7431	5473	8182	5908	8475	6144
	2559 1	8141	23463	9121	24927	9951	27155	11462	28676	12819
	1703	56	1752	59	1813	59	1870	60	1879	60
gers ng ars	56632	47951	60192	50838	65483	55058	71700	59837	75655	63250
l es(ments)	180	47	188	51	204	57	239	62	370	62
	85877	**60531**	**92112**	**64929**	**99858**	**70598**	**109146**	**77329**	**115055**	**82335**

Source: Compiled from the data base in The Ethiopian Transport and Road Authority, March, 2005

Nonetheless, a great number of population in Addis Ababa are pedestrians.70% of the city's population depend on walking as the most dependable means of movement .This population category is mainly the poor who fail to afford motorized transportation expenses. Each trip takes these pedestrians more than half an hour in most cases. Non motorized animal drawn carts are used to transport goods and passengers especially in the peripheries. Other than an estimated large number of donkeys owned by inhabitants, about 3,172 heads of pack animals enter Addis Ababa each day on market days (AADIPO, 2002:35).

CHAPTER THREE

3. COMPENSATION, RELOCATION AND THE ROAD CONSTRUCTION

I have attempted to discuss the process of the project implementation under this chapter. An insight into this process will help the reader analyze the likely effects from different angles. The chapter has three main sections that together represent the major process of the project implementation. After a brief introduction to the project inception, the first section discusses about compensation made to project affected people and the basis for compensation. The issue of land tenure would be seen under this section. The second section presents the relocation of oustees. The topic entitled the Road Construction is presented under section three .Specific issues like the road design, employment opportunities and the rules and regulations of the road will be discussed under this subsection.

3.1 Background to the Project

It is a mater plan that guides human interaction with the urban land whenever a city has a well articulated master plan. The master plan indicates what to do where on the urban space. Such an experience is a recent development for Addis Ababa. The latest master plan that somehow shaped the city was designed in 1980s.The inception of the idea for the ring road construction and its locations , hence went back to at least the days of this master plan. Although the master plan proposed the ring road 20 years ago and there had been an attempt to revise this master plan accordingly, the belt highway construction and the master plan revision were carried out side by side. This overlap left little room for major modification of the highway from the proposal made in 1980s master plan.

The basic objective of the project was to provide comprehensive road network system to Addis Ababa and eventually reduce traffic congestion inside the core areas. The specific purposes in relation to traffic congestion are to provide for easy traffic circulation within the urban area; to allow smooth traffic flow in the inner city by intercepting traffic at urban boundary and to provide diversion service for highest traffic volume corridors. The other major objective relates to efficient urban land uses at peripheries. In other words, the project has another objective to enhance land use along the route for commercial and different activities. The assumption was that while the highway passes through peri-urban areas ,

it will create favorable conditions resulting from the accessibility created due to the road for efficient utilization of the previously under utilized urban land. With the forgoing points as background to the project, I shall briefly discuss the processes of the project implementation.

3. 2Compensation

The highway passed through settlements area inevitably demolished dwelling units, commercial centers, and related urban infrastructure. So, about 31.6 million Birr project cost went to compensation for the project affected households and government offices that administer the annihilated infrastructure. The indicated amount went to compensation from the total project cost of 750 million Birr (personal interview with the project supervisor).

3. 2.1 Basis

The response of informants to my inquiries on the basis for compensation would fall in two broad categories. The first category was those who said that they were compensated for "*taryia ena girgida*" literally means for a roof and the wall. To this category belong households that own private housing units be it for residence or commercial activities and which the project had demolished. In some cases , there were partially demolished houses whose fences as well as part of the dwelling unit or shop are touched by the road. So, these households were compensated for the fence and the partly affected units.

However, none of my informants expressed satisfaction with the compensation calculations. They did not take part in the estimates. There was no room for discussion with the people since the technical staff in government office did the job themselves. The informants complained that the compensation was based on mere mathematical formulas which did not take into account the current replacement cost.

The second category encompasses households who were legitimate residents in *kebele*[*] owned houses. Compensation to them was both in kind and in cash. The project owner paid 1,200 birr at the beginning to displaced households from *kebele* owned houses. The compensation was intended to enable the displaced to rent rooms at other areas in the city. They were

[*] Kebele is the lowest body in government administrative structure. Kebele owned houses are those which were confiscated from individuals that owned extra houses during nationalization of property under the military rule.

advised to utilize the money for 12 calendar months. The project owner promised them to avail low rent cost kebele houses in the future. Unfortunately, this was a promise difficult to keep on the part of the project owner since the government is being engaged in wide spread replacement of *kebele* houses with new buildings. Compensation in kind was the replacement of their dwelling units for newly constructed ones somewhere else.

3.2.2 Does Land Tenure Make a Difference?

Land tenure has been contentious issue for many years in Ethiopia. The trend over the last three government shows the tendency to make land private property during the Imperial period where as the military rule that toppled the Imperial government collectivized land tenure. Under the current government too, land remains under government control. However, the effect of such land tenure system on the poor and the economically well-off in this particular project was not the same.

Although land is the property of the "Ethiopian people", households who had manage to build their own houses and displaced from these houses had obtained equivalent land size in the form of compensation. But the displaced from *kebele* rent rooms had not got such an opportunity. The displaced from *kebele* rent rooms are largely the poor by local standards. They earn their living from the informal economic activities. They have no permanent employment. Nor does the income they generate sufficient to allow them built their own houses. Therefore, even when land is not a private property , it works more against the poor than the economically well off during compensation to the project displaced people at my study area.

3.3 Relocating the Displaced

3.3.1 Relocating Households

Relocating project affected households took three forms. House ownership status of the project affected people dictated the process to a great extent. Residents in *kebele* houses were simply paid 1,200 birr and advised to look for alternative rooms somewhere else. The project owner worked in collaboration with the lowest administrative body- the *Kebele* administration. This group resisted the action at the beginning. They requested for alternative

low rent rooms rather than the cash before relocation. But there were no readily available rooms for them and their requests were declined. Increased complaint about the relocation process gradually compelled the project owner to think about its approach. Cash compensation for the displaced from the kebele owned room was then substituted for relocation to newly constructed houses. The project owner constructed the houses at the outskirts of the city.

However, the relocated households from the *kebele* owned houses reported that the process was haphazard all the way through. They spoke about the short time given to them to clear from the houses with occasional intimidation to bulldoze their houses . They had to shoulder the responsibility of transporting their items at their own costs. My informants explained about the nature of the substitute houses at the relocation sites as follows. The rooms prepared for them were bricks built and common wall houses. They were neither ceiled nor fenced. The houses had no electricity, water, telephone lines and kitchen at the beginning. It was the relocatees' first duty to fence their rooms. But fencing should be preceded by the approval of a surveyor from the municipality for whose service the relocatees had to pay birr 20 Birr. Electricity service made its way to their rooms after an average six months. However, these people were still working hard to get potable water.

The households who displaced from their private houses were relocated to the nearest vacant land with cash compensation for " *tariya , girgida and atir.*" In terms of distance, these households were relocated to nearest areas as compared to the households displaced from kebele owned houses. But they share common experience with regard to the short time period given to clear out from the area. No transportation costs for household items were paid for these people too.

3.3.2 What about Commercial Centers?

The relocation process of business centers could be seen at two levels based on ownership of the business rooms affected by the project. The project demolished both private business rooms as well as business activities that were running in *kebele* owned rooms. The relocation

process in this case, works differently from the relocation of households. In the case of privately owned demolished business rooms, the project owner agreed to avail equivalent land size and construction costs. There are more than 50 such shops at *kolfe* area alone which were promised to be relocated to the nearest vacant space. The process was supposed to be supported with cash compensation for constructing the rooms. But I learned from my key informants the process did not go beyond mere promises. Although the project owner promised to avail alternative space and cash compensation, there is no practical move since 2000.

Case-1

Ato Abebe Seferu* came to Addis Ababa from Gurage zone twenty five years ago. He is now 35 , married and a father of four children. He lives and ran his formal retail trade within his shop at kolfe when the belt highway project fully demolished his shop. He was promised compensation. But he did not obtain the substitute land and cash compensation so far. He now chairs the committee formed from 53 business persons affected in similar manner. He had visited many government offices for the last five years to make the promised compensation take effect. He also aired his grievance on Radio Fana about the long bureaucracies to materialize the promised compensation. However, he and the business persons whom he represents have not yet obtained the compensation. According to Ato Abebe, "The responsible government officials are afraid of authorizing the compensation although the court had proved we deserve the compensation."

Relocation of business persons working in *kebele* owned rooms was not implemented in similar ways with those operating within their private rooms. Unlike the displaced business persons from their own rooms, there was neither cash compensation nor alternative site provision in order to relocate this group of persons. The promise in fact, was that the business persons would be given alternative *kebele* owned rooms for similar activity. But the promise was not supported by immediate actions since there was no vacant *kebele* owned rooms suitable for business undertakings. This makes the relocation process less smooth in this case. The process involved intimidation and rough measures when the displaced were reluctant to leave these business rooms.

* All names of the informants used in this thesis are pseudo names. This was made with deliberate intention of protecting my informants from possible harassments.

Case- 2

Obbo Chala Legesse is 48 years old, and married. He has an extended family which swells his family size to 14. Obbo Chala earns his living from hotel service he provided in kebele owned rooms. He rented dilapidated rooms 12 years ago hoping the location of the rooms was convenient for his hotel service. He then renovated the rooms. He fenced it with decorated bricks. The Hotel had been the preference for many customers for 10 consecutive years until the highway project forced him to leave the house.

Obbo Challa resisted the relocation of his hotel unless the project owner provides him with equivalent alternatives. The project owner promised the alternatives on the condition that it all depends on the availability of vacant kebele owned houses. But Obbo Challa resisted relocation before alternative rooms are given to him. At this point, a group of young men authorized to demolish the house of persons who resisted relocation came and partly ripped the roof as the first step of warning for total dismantling. Obbo Chala , was then forced to protect his property from thieves staying awake the whole night.

Next day he, together with his family started organizing the items in the hotel for transfer to his residence. However, the kebele officials prohibited him from moving or taking the items except the refrigerators, tables, and chairs. Those properties personally bought by Obbo Chala during renovation like the bricks, doors, windows, carpets etc were considered the property of the kebele . Obbo Chala was not allowed to take them with him.

Obbo Challa submitted his complaints to the City Administration several times. But the final response was " you may go and bid for vacant houses just like any businessman". He stopped further complaints at this point. He reopened his hotel services after 4 months. He was running the business within rented rooms from an individual during my fieldwork. But he still recalls the ugly moments of the relocation.

3.4 The Road Construction

3.4.1 Design works and the Contractor

The belt highway project is part of implementing the master plan. The senior official in the City's Road Authority explained to me from the sketch map in his office that the highway was proposed in 1980s master plan. The recently established and liquidated master plan revision office had hardly modified the highway since construction was taken place side by side with the revision activities by the Master Plan Revision Office. So, a Canadian –Saudi Arabian joint company won the bide to construct the road at the beginning. The Ethiopian Transport Construction Design Enterprise prepared the design for the belt highway. However, the project owner ordered the contractor to stop the road construction at its early phase. The City government terminated the contract with the construction company for the contractor's "incompetence" after embarking on the road construction. The government confiscated the contractor's properties as well.

The government floated international bids for the second time. The bid was for the design works and the road construction. The design prepared by the Ethiopian Transport Construction and Design Enterprise was discarded at this time for the Enterprise' naïve

experience in urban highway designs. So, the British company named Parckman won the design and supervisory works. The company designed the highway by maintaining international urban highway standards. Some improvements from the first design include increased road width from 30 meters to 40 meters. The Chinese Road and Bridge Construction Company on the other hand won the bid to construct the road. The contractor started project implementation in 1998. But there were seasonal breaks due to different reasons. Relocating the project displaced households and clearing utility lines were all done side by side with the road construction. These activities delayed the pace at which the project should have been implemented. The contractor then had been compensated for the extra-time related costs.

3.4.2 Employment

The Chinese company brought not more than 100 expatriate staff. The remaining employees were Ethiopians. The project created employment opportunity mainly to the unemployed and non-professional laborers. I learned from the informant in Addis Ababa City Government Road Authority that more than 1,500 Ethiopians got employment opportunity for consecutive five years. The number of employees however, slightly fluctuates depending on the weather conditions favorable to the road construction.

3.4.3 Rules and Regulations

The rules and regulations in using the highway were largely determined at the stage of design works. The project objectives and the quest to keep international standards in turn dictated the design (engineering) works. One of the major features of the highway is controlled access to the road. It was designed and implemented during construction that access for vehicles and pedestrians to the highway is allowed only at specific points. The intention was to control frequent interference which interrupts fast traffic flows. Therefore, pedestrians are allowed to cross the highway only at Zebra cross on intersection points or using pedestrian bridges. The highway rule strictly prohibits pedestrians from crossing the road other than on these points. The project owner fenced the road with metal bars having about one meter height in order to prohibited arbitrary violation of the pedestrian traffic rules.

Vehicles on the middle highway lane travel at 80 km/h. are expected to keep this speed for efficient utilization of the road. Two frontage lanes are used mainly by taxis and city bus that transport passengers. These vehicles travel at 50 – 60 km/ h on the frontage road. They could enter the highway lane only at certain open sections. Otherwise, a one meter high concrete building along the road protects the vehicles on frontage lane from entering to the highway. However, the vehicles, be it on the highway, or on the frontage could turn to other direction only at intersection points.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE EFFECTS OF THE PROJECT

This chapter analyses the effects of the belt highway project on different groups of people. I have attempted to analyze the socio-economic and cultural effects that are drawn from my fieldwork data. I tried to organize the effects in terms of displacement Vs non-displacement, the poor Vs the relatively better off, the physically disabled Vs non-disabled and the old. The chapter also analyses the effects of the highway on traffic congestion as well as traffic accidents.

4.1 Displacement

The data on the number of displaced households due to the highway project should have been kept either at the *kebele* level or by the project owner. But I did not find reliable figures from both sources.

The displaced from *kebeles* houses at the initial project period were dispersed everywhere with their 1,200 Birr cash compensation. Their dispersion made my effort to learn from their experiences a futile exercise. Those project affected people in similar *keebele* houses later on resisted the cash compensation and most of them eventually provided with substitute dwelling units at the area known as Addis Sefer that boarders with Oromiya Regional State in Western Addis Ababa. They are living intermingled with displaced households from other parts of the city. They all share the common experience at least that the relocatees from other parts of the city too resettled from *kebele* owned houses .The major reason for their relocation was the land on which their *kebele* owned house found had been either sold to investors for commercial activities or the land had been cleared for the building of condominium houses. A few households relocated from *sidits kilo* area when their houses were under threat from seasonal flood. There were more than 500 such households in the relocation area. A senior official in Addis Ababa City Road Authority speculates that at least 120 households were dislocated during the second round project implementation. This period was when Parckman took over the responsibility of design and supervisory works. The speculation does not include the number of previous dislocations that took place before the coming of Parkman

to the scene and on which the Road Authority admitted to have no data. I shall now discuss the effects felt by the households displaced by the belt highway project in the following subsections.

4.1.1 Social Disintegration and Integration to the New Area

The displaced were members of the social networks in anyway before relocation. Of course, it would be unlikely to expect single or uniform types of such networks. The relocatees have different religious affiliations and ethnic background. These factors appear to mold the nature of some social networks. But all had membership whatever type the social network might have been.

From my inquiry into the types of social networks in existence at the previous area and the relocatees' membership status, I understood that some social networks had religious basis like the get-together and observance on some days designated as saints days. This was common practice among Orthodox Christians. Others are non-religious that were formed to meet the socio-economic and psychological needs of the members. These include *iddirs(burial association), equbes(informal saving association), yebetezemed mahiber(kinship based association),* neighborhood coffee ceremony networks. The relocated people had membership at least in one of these networks.

Relocation to the new site had disrupted the pre-relocation social ties. The magnitude as well as the kind of the disruption varies from household to household. Many households sustained their previous membership for example in iddir where as a few had quitted it.

Two basic reasons lie behind why households sustain membership in the pre displacement *iddirs*. Long period membership in the pre displacement *iddir* and absence of such readily established iddir at relocation site could be taken as the first reason. Household joined the *iddirs* long ago had been paying membership related fees. They accumulated their money. They served in labor. They are at the same time, potentially entitled to monetary support up to 2,000 birr up on death although minor differences could exist among *iddirs*. They would

borrow for free the materials used for accommodation when death happens. So, the relocatees preferred not to leave out these pre displacement *iddirs*.

The second reason is distance. This refers to the distance of the relocation site from the previous residence. The farther households moved from pre-displacement community, the more likely they tend to give up their pre displacement membership in *iddirs*. This was evident when I asked displaced people from their private houses. They were relocated to the nearest free urban space. These households told me that their new houses are located within short distance from the previous *iddir* within the same locality. Hence, they still maintain their membership together with fairly good participation.

Only a few households gave up membership so far. They justified the action indicating their less economic capacity to keep up membership at the displacement area. They now joined hands with other relocated households to establish new *iddirs* at the relocated area. Yet, the newly formed *iddirs* are too young both financially and in material resources.

Although the site chosen for relocation is periurban, a few villas and condominium houses are built near by. The project displaced households do not yet established close social interaction with the dwellers of theses villas. The settlers in villas had for example, earlier established *iddirs*. But neither theses nearest host community invited the new comers nor the relocatees requested to forge ties. The project displaced households explained to me that they assume the income statuses of the nearest host community is much higher .As a result of this they dare not even thought about close interaction with these households as well as to join their *iddirs*.

The displaced households from *kebele* owned houses experienced certain difficulties at the new locality. A few challenges apply only to certain households. Others were all inclusive. The first challenge to the settlers in the Orthodox Christian domain is the problem of grave yard. The nearest Orthodox Church is found within a walking distance that takes roughly 30 minutes. The church did not allow Orthodox Christian settlers for grave yard no matter how

they held membership identification card. The households used to pay annual fees to the church at pre displacement locality. When they came to the new site, the church that they had paid annual fees became far from them. They had been paying 12 birr annual membership fee at the previous church. They resorted to the nearest church (Asko Saint Gebriel Church) of the same Coptic Orthodox Christian to overcome the distance problem. However, the church did not consider their previous membership and payments. The church nearest to new locality declined their request arguing that the displaced should avail clearance and support letters from the previous church. The relocated Orthodox Christians are expected to pay 300 birr to lay the corpse in the church compound until then. In fact, one household had already experienced the justified unjust treatment of the church officials when its family member was died.

Other significant limitations at the new area were the absence or poorly available social services and infrastructure. The limitations could partly be attributed to the relocation process itself. I learned from my informants that the highway construction and the relocation of displaced households were implemented side by side. The approach affected the time needed to put in place the necessary social services in the new area.

The difficulty at the new locality began from the very day they entered into the dwelling units. My informants remember that the houses were left with some finishing works. It was their duty , of course , for the capable ones, to complete the unfinished tasks like ceiling, finishing works on the wall, fencing, and constructing the kitchen. "They sent us out from our residence to the wild and dark zone" says a 48 years old married women when I asked her of the available social services and infrastructure. The streets had no electric light for more than eight months. They had to rely on torch. Even during my fieldwork, there were no street lights. My informant told me that absence of street light made difficult mobility in late evening.

The relocated communities had gravel paved access roads at some location. Most of the roads were left unpaved. The periurban nature of the area coupled with poor road infrastructure

effected transportation problems. There were minibus taxis which operate inconsistently. Taxi service was limited to daytime from around 7:30 AM to 7:30PM. The taxis' availability within the indicated time range is unpredictable. Taxis turn back to the city leaving passengers with some distance to be covered on foot. The Addis Ababa City Bus service had not yet extended its services to this area although settlers requested the city bus enterprises for its transportation services.

The City Bus Enterprise declined their requests arguing access road to the new community is too poor to extend the city bus transportation service. The enterprise explained to the settlers that the road is narrow in width. It is not also in good condition for the city bus caters transport service safely and efficiently. The enterprise warned the potential risk of traffic accidents if it would try to start service on the current road infrastructure.

Private clinic and a drug store provide health services to the settlers. My informants told me the clinic is the only health service center in their locality. The settlers expressed their inconvenience with the health service charges at the relocation area. At the previous locality, they sought health service at government run health center nearest to them. The government run health center used to charge them one birr to see a medical person. The private clinic at the current location on the other hand charges them five Birr for the same purpose. "This is not fair," according to my informants.

Similar effects had been witnessed regarding other social services. The households have school children that have to choose from two difficult alternatives- traveling long distance to their previous schools or become school dropouts. Only one junior secondary school (Addis Fana Junior Secondary School) exists at the relocation site. It would be beyond its capacity to admit the children of the new comers. Other than intake limitations, the tuition fee by far exceeds the amount the displaced households used to pay before.

The new locality was under acute shortage of potable water. In deed , it was the most striking field experience on my first day field visits when I observed long queue made of

vessels at three tape water points. Settlers were collecting potable water from three communal tapes located at different sites. The tapes were basically built not with the intention to provide water to the displaced. Instead, the contractor that had built the houses pulled the water lines to the three points for its own construction activities. The dwelling units had no pipe lines at the beginning. Nor did they during fieldwork. In contrast, other privately owned villas in the area have their own water lines. The displaced collect water from the three tapes once every 7 to 10 days.

4.1.2 Post Displacement Interaction with pre-Displacement Community

Post –relocation interaction with pre displacement community has not been totally terminated. The interaction still lingers for most displaced households. A few even managed to maintain their pervious interactions more or less as it was. Two important factors seem to have played important role in this regard. Private house ownership and the distance of new settlement site from the previous one. Households relocated to the nearest site are private house owners. They are few in number. Their small number benefited them a few substitute urban land within a short distance from the displacement area. These households maintain relatively active interaction with pre displacement community.

The displaced from *kebele* owned houses settled at farther distance compared with the displaced from their own private houses. Post-displacement interaction with previous community became very loose for these people. So far, membership in *iddirs* was the major string which kept their interaction alive. The members travel to the previous community once a month to pay membership related fees. On the contrary, their neighbors at previous site rarely visit them in return. A 60 years old woman respond " *Mine wetan belaw. Yehe, zaf yelew woff yelelaw hager*" to my question on whether their previous neighbors visit them. Literally translated is her response: "Why do they visit us. This is a locality far from them with no quality to attract visitors."

Therefore, the distance from the displacement site and the income status of households had strong effects on the displaced's post displacement interaction with the previous community.

4.1.3 Effects on Livelihood

The belt highway affected different households irrespective of their livelihood sources. It disturbed the livelihood of government employees, pensioners, retail traders and informal petty traders. Government employees and pensioners are few in number from the displaced households. Retailers constitutes fairly good number. Many households explained that they used to earn a living from informal petty trade activities.

No project displaced civil servant has reported to have left his/ her job due to project related reasons. The only and major effect they mentioned is increased transportation cost from the new locality. The cost is the cumulative effect of increased distance from the employer organization, the distance from schools for their children and from city core for shopping.

The project's negative effect on retailer shop owners was observed in this study. The displaced retail shop owners reported they would no more continue retail activities since the new sites are not favorable to these activities . A 60 years old man I interviewed told me that he partitioned his dwelling units into residence and retail shop before the project. His seven family members used to depend solely on the income from this retail shop. He is now relocated to the nearest unoccupied space in compensation for his demolished house. With relocation ends his livelihood from the retail shop. He expressed his nostalgia for the pre displacement income which he stated was sufficient to enable his family lead modest life. He ceased the retail activities at his present site due to the inconvenience of the new area for trade. Therefore, he is forced to change his livelihood sources from retail trade to the income from rent room. He has three such rooms at the moment. However, he and his seven family members lived with relatives for a year until the they had managed to built their house.

I could also learned from other displaced households who had relatively well established retail shop and beauty salon. The project negatively affected their livelihood. These activities were their only livelihood sources. The family was female headed. The project demolished

part of their shop and fences at the beginning. They began rebuilding the house and retail shop on the remaining space. But the project demolished the rebuilt house in the second round. It eventually led them to be relocated to other places. This second round measure did not affect the family's livelihood alone. It claimed the life of their mother. Their mother lost conscious when her rebuilt house was totally removed from the area. She became victim of serious blood pressure and passed away after a while. I interviewed my informant in the newly built two story building. They had tried to enable reinstate the interrupted beauty salon business. But the previous customers did not follow them. One of the females in the family that ran the beauty salon business rented room at other places after displacement. Unfortunately, she could not attract customers at the new place. The family is trying to let rooms for office though; they did not easily attract customers. My informant told me that the rooms had been vacant for the last one year. Customers are less interested because the building is located on the either side of the highway where intersection point is relatively far. The informant explained the location created the inconvenience for use of vehicles. Vehicle turning points are not found near by. So, this situation adds fuel and time cost to the customers. Customers are not eager to rent the rooms for this reason. But when customers show interest in the rent rooms, they deduct the fuel and time cost from the rent price.

The project disturbed as well the livelihood of the displaced households that used to largely depend on informal petty trade. Many of these households share certain features in common. They in most cases were displaced from *kebele* owned houses. They have either many school children or children that dropped school for economic reasons. They carried out informal petty trade in front of and inside their houses. They collect and sale firewood, retail charcoal, sell locally made alcoholic drinks, prepare and sell bread , *injera(a meal made from cereals and consumed in many cultures in Ethiopia), kollo(Roasted cereal for human consumption)* etc. The activities are strongly linked with their survival.

I observed and also learned from my informants that relocation marginalized informal petty trade. The informants explained comparatively and understandable manner on how the project affected their livelihood. For some households, petty trade still lingers. For others,

they abandoned it all in all. A 60 years old woman used to depend on financial support from her neighbor and selling locally made alcoholic drink *tella*. Her neighbors were very supportive. It was her neighbors kindness that enabled her start *tella* sells. They provided her with 50 birr non returnable initial capital. The striking feature of their neighborhood relationship was that it crosscuts religious boundaries. The poor widow is an Orthodox Christian where as her neighbors were Muslims by religion. The widow divulged that she could sell 15 to 20 litters per day before displacement. She had many customers there. When I interviewed her at the relocation site, she told me with strong feelings of dissatisfaction of poor market for her *tella*. She showed me an *enseraflocally made liquid vessel containing up to 20 to 25 litters)* from which she failed to finish selling over the last three consecutive days. This amount would have been sold within a day at previous site.

Other households previously in informal petty trade are forced to change their previous activities. The case below would insight why and how the displaced abandoned the informal activities.

Case1

W/ro Alemitu migrated from Gojam to Addis Ababa 30 years ago. She was employed as housemaid for some time. She was married to Obbo Challa Gamachu who was then a security guard in government office. They lived for more than 20 years in kebele owned house until the project displaced them. W/ro Alemitu augmented the family's income from *injera*, bread and *kollo* sells before the highway project. She had been selling these items in front of her house. Her children support her in the sells by taking the *kollo* around alcoholic drink house .She remembers that her family had never faced hunger at that time .They consume at least the items leftover from the sales. She said " *izi yalewu ekek bicha newu*" when I asked her about the continuity of her previous activities. She literally means "Here exists nothing but itch." She used the metaphoric expression to connote declining living conditions at the new locality. She dropped all the informal trade because she couldn't find market for them. Passers by, students, people in alcoholic drink house were her customers before displacement. But W/ro Alemitu does not find the customers at the relocation site. Therefore, she now becomes par time maid servant to claim at least part of her lost income for survival. She totally depends at the moment on this activity and 150 birr pension of her paralyzed husband. I did not hear positive statement from her and her husband in the whole interview session about the current situation compared with the previous one.

4.2 The Non-Displaced and Partly Displaced Project Affected Households

There are non-displaced and partly displaced project affected households who are found along the highway. These households came to the front site when the highway construction removed the houses in front of them. Although the existing households along the road are not displaced

from their residence, many project related effects are evident. I will discuss these effects under this sub topic.

4.2.1 Social Interaction across the Highway

The people at my study area do not strictly fit into the impersonal social relationships assumed to dominate in urban areas. People know each other. They have good interpersonal relationships within limited physical boundary. Different formal and informal social networks exist among these people. The social networks may not be thought to exist if we are in a position to strictly apply the impersonal nature of social interaction in urban areas. The social networks are initiated by the people themselves who know each other fairly well.

People interact on neighborhood basis as well as at larger scale across the road prior to the project. The road was narrow by then. This narrow road formed the basis for upgrading to the highway standard. The narrow road had no access control mechanisms. People freely cross it at any point all along. Therefore, neighborhood interaction was both on either side as well as across the road.

None the less, with the construction of the highway came controlled access to the road. There is no more free entry or cross points both for vehicles and pedestrian. This was among the fundamental principles of the highway. However, I observed and my informants confirmed that the nature of the highway's physical structures has negatively affected the preexisting social interaction. Some households reported to have abandoned involvement in social interaction with households on the either side of the road. Others were forced to make adjustments. The basic effect of the project on preexisting social interaction was evident on membership in iddir and iddir related activities. It was also reflected on marriage ceremonies. Some informants explained they gave up membership in the iddir across the highway since it would become difficult to stay late in the evening at funeral places and come back only through a few pedestrian cross-points.

In addition to the challenges to maintain membership, informants argued that the highway does not really consider socio-cultural realities. Membership in *iddir* entitles a person to tents, chairs, plates etc. to accommodate funeral attendant. The same entitlements remain valid during marriage even though the emotion is sharply contrasting. It is every member's duty to transport these items manually from the store to and from the funeral houses or from houses that organized marriage ceremonies. According to my informants , the project forced them travel long distances for crossing points while transporting these *iddir* items to the funeral marriage houses on the opposite side of the highway.

Grave yards for Muslims and Christians exist on one side of the road at *Kolfe*. Residents on both sides of the highway use these graveyards. *Iddirs* that own cars use these vehicles to take the corpse to the graves. Funeral attendants mostly walk on foot. Funeral associations that do not own vehicles use contract vehicles to take the corpse to the graveyards. Before the highway construction the informants remember that they could easily take the corpse to the graveyards. However, the project introduced controlled access to the road in which both pedestrians and vehicles should be able to cross the road only at certain points. Therefore, funeral attendants should search for the bridges usually located at 1 to 2 kms apart. The vehicles taking the body to the grave yards located on the opposite side of the highway assume the right path to the grave yards only at certain intersection points. The distance between intersection points for vehicles is longer than the distance between the pedestrian bridges. The road is after all a highway even if it is located within the city. The average distance between two intersections is about 2. 5 kms. By implication, a vehicle that starts from the one side of the highway has to travel about 5 kms to reach the opposite side from which it starts. It was this aspect that my informants stressed in relation to the burial process. Some of my informants argued that a dead person's body is respected in their culture; but they reported that they were wondering around in search of the intersection points in order to let the dead lay in peace. They responded with hazy emotion on their face, "*yemote sew enquan mekiber altechalem newu eyalin yalenweu*", to my queries on how the highway affected their social interaction. Literally their response is, "We can't bury even the dead let alone the other forms of social interaction".

4.2.2 The Old and the Road

The age index for old age varies from culture to culture. The age for retirement is 60 years in Ethiopia, which the government assumes that it is the beginning of old age, However, this age index does not apply to even the rural people in Ethiopia for they are less likely to figure their age in members. Physical changes of an individual in a form of failing sight, and /or hearing, changes of hair color in to gray and the social roles expected etc do have greater importance to understand old age among the rural peoples in Ethiopia.

The population of order people is increasing these days. The projection from the 1994 census estimates the existence of 4, 272, 926 old persons in the year 2000 nation wide (HAI 2001:1). Given the poor health and nutrition at rural areas, it would logically be understood that many elderly people are likely to be found in urban centers including Addis Ababa.

There are additional factors identified by another study which have been pull factors for elderly people coming to Addis Ababa.Some research works disclosed that family disintegration due to frequent famine and protracted war eventually lead to the migration of elderly people to Addis Ababa in search of assistance (Tesfu, 1995:11).

Only a few elderly people do have the opportunity to formal employment, hence an entitlement to pension. There are around 412,000 pensioners even at the national level out of the 4.3 million old persons in this country. When conditions permit for elderly people to pension, pensions are often as little as 50 Birr per month, which is not enough to support a single individual let alone the dependents that old persons usually do have under their care (HAI, 2001:5).

Old age in traditional Ethiopian society was much respected status where every individual aspires to reach. No matter how a person was weak physically, the extended family used to take care of an old person until the last breath. Elders do have rich knowledge of economics,

politics and socio- cultural dimensions in the traditional society. But this situation seems to become history.

Many old persons in my study area are pedestrians like the majority of the city's population. I learned from the informants that the project is not in good terms with them. They explained the highway requires them extra energy they don't want to loose when searching for pedestrian bridges. Once they reach at the bridges moving up the stairs is a physical exercise the old persons are not happy with at the moment. The bridges in some areas entertain large number of pedestrians that there are times when it was difficult for the old persons to wait until the crowd is over. The over crowding on the bridge results from the fact that the bridges are about 2 meters wide despite variations in population distribution along the highway. In the case of kolfe alone for instance, the bridges are overpopulated during peak hours especially from 7:30 to 8:30 Am; 11:45 AM to 1:30 PM and 4:00 to 5:30PM. Students, civil servants and businessmen using the bridge during these hours create the overcrowding. Pedestrians cross it turn by turn. The 2 meters width is used by pedestrians moving in both directions. Beggars share the same 2 meters wide bridge for begging.

Old persons usually avoid the overcrowded times unless they have got some specific time bound task to do. They also became victims of peak pocketing on the overcrowded bridges. Some old persons totally abandoned use of the pedestrian bridges. They openly complain about the energy that the bridge demands them as well as the emotional discomfort while they walk on the bridge. As a result they either walk or take taxi to the ground crossing points which overlap with the intersections for vehicles. Yet this alternative costs the old persons their energy and transportation expenses.

4.2.3 The Highway and Disability

Like many concepts in social sciences, what does disability mean and what does it not mean is controversial. The World Health Organization for instance tries to distinguish between impairment, which refers to the absence or defect of biological body mechanisms and disability which means the reduction or loss of those body functions or ability resulting

from impairment(Kuper,1996 : 187). The controversy is due to the social and symbolic construction of the meaning. In this study, I used the term with both biological malfunctioning and the societal ascriptions of its limitations or consequences.

I came across persons living with disabilities along the highway. There are persons who use wheelchairs, crunches, and the blind that uses guiding sticks. These are persons with visually observable body organ malfunctioning. Some persons on the other hand have recovered from their body malfunctions but the society still ascribes disability to them. They are leprosy patient living around ALERT hospital. So, I will discuss the interaction of these people with the highway.

I did not make a survey of the total number of persons living with disabilities along the highway due to limited time. And yet , I was able to find some persons with disabilities. There are persons whose limbs are amputated, persons with paralyzed legs, the blind and leprosy patients in the study area. These persons use additional support items for mobility in most cases from place to place. They had their own story to tell on their daily experiences on the highway.

Case 2.

Murshiga kebede is a 17 years old boy. He lives with his elder brother in the area. Murshiga's lower body part was paralyzed that forced him to use wheelchair for mobility. Despite his disability, Murshiga strives to generate income from petty trade beside the highway. However, he found the highway design difficult for his wheelchair. He has to cross the road everyday since the highway side on which his residence is located does not have good market for the his petty trade items. It is his brother who pushes him with the wheelchairs over the bridge. But Murshiga says," It is really challenging for me to use the bridge."

Case 3.

Aleymayehu completed his grade 8 th education last year. He was assigned to attend the remaining class at Kolfe Comprehensive Secondary School. Alemayehu has serious physical injuries on both of his legs. He uses two crunches for mobility from place to place. This student completed his first semester classes by walking over pedestrian bridge to the school. The bridge has been a big challenge to his mobility from the school. It is very tiresome to use crunches on the bridge. Alemayehu once missed steps while walking up the stairs using the crunches on the bridges. He failed from which he has been sick for two months. He also says, "I have planned to stay at home ,reading the courses and sit for exam. If the School Director will not permit to study at home and sit for the exam , I have decided to drop education this year until I will search for other school next year." Alemyehu argues that the highway and the pedestrian bridges are not convenient for persons living with disabilities.

The other effect of the project is more visible on territorially organized persons living with disabilities as well as persons recovered from disabilities. They are socio-culturally denied their recovered status. The leprosy patients are largely located around ALERT hospital. The major pulling factor around specific area is the specialized services they get from the hospital. The hospital renders specialized services to leprosy patients. When the project demolished parts or all of their residence, many leprosy patients resisted relocation. They contended that their health is closely tied to the hospital. They pinpointed about marginalization they would face to integrate into the people in the relocation site. Hence they remain on the road site around the hospital.

But the construction process highly affected their socio-cultural and economic life. These people did not assume the design works would create physical structure that would seclude them from easy access to the road. The attempt to strictly implement the design works and the effort to keep the slope of the road made houses of these people remain under the hill. This was created by the road construction process. Someone walking on the road could lookdown the roofs of their houses under the hill created by the highway. The informants reported that deviant youth in the community throw stones down on their roofs from the road. Moreover, the informants expressed the problem to take the dead body out of the area. They told me that they use ropes in order to pull up the dead body from resident houses under the highway to the road for taking it to graveyards. No matter how this project affected them, leprosy patient still do not want to be relocated. They explain that they will face ostrascization if they would be relocated somewhere else. The specialized hospital services is another basic reason why they still prefer to stay at the area though they have to do eccentric things like pulling the body up to the road using ropes.

4.2.4 The Poor, the Donkey and the Road

Poverty is obviously a relative term. In this specific case, I used the concept poor to refer to those individuals living on unpredictably low incomes. From this perspective I identified

two categories of poor people that are directly affected in relation to transporting items on the road. The categories at my research area include firewood carriers and porters (both using their human labor and pack animals) .One would observe from a few minutes stroll at my study area that many female firewood carriers staggering under the heavy firewood on their back. Their age would fall between 15 to 50 years. The women wear in most cases filthy patched dresses. They supply the firewood to households who failed to afford electricity expenses for cooking. One can logically understand there are many households in the area which depend highly on firewood.

However, the highway has charged them additional energy .They deliver the firewood to customers through two options. The first option is using the pedestrian bridge. The second option will be the Zebra cross at intersection points. The first option compels them to travel from 600 meters to 1 km to find the bridges. The second option demands them longer travel from 1.5 to 2.5 kms. Both options have their own limitations. Though the bridge reduces the distance to be traveled by the women, it becomes difficult for the women to walk up an down the stairs carrying the heavy load on the back.. I learned from them that it is really tiresome. The women use support walking sticks. They also take rest in the middle the of the bridge in order to endure the tiresome exercise of firewood supply to customers. The women do not prefer the second option since zebra crosses at intersection points are located at farther distance than the bridge.

The challenges that were facing women firewood carriers affected the porter at my research area too. There exist trade activities at some areas along the highway. When customers purchase certain items which they want to take to the opposite side, porters would get the opportunity to make their daily bread. The porters have diversified backgrounds. There are migrants from rural areas. Some were born in Addis Ababa from poor families. A few enroll in the evening primary school education. Many of them had dropped education due to economic reasons. The effects of the project on the porters are similar to the effect it had on women firewood carriers. Perhaps, minor difference could be detected in that some porters

take the items they transport through the closed parts of the highway for pedestrians. The practice exposes them to traffic accidents.

Donkeys were widely used pack animal before the project. They are still in wide use. From my interview with informants, grain mill owners as well as low income families own the donkeys. A person that transports goods by the donkeys may be an employee as well. With the above points in mid, I tried to understand if the project had any effect on their daily routine.

The highway negatively affected the use of pack animals. Donkeys are used to transport mainly floor from floor mills. Beneficiaries prefer the donkey service for this service costs them lower prices. For a quantity that vehicles charge 20 birr, people would get the same service for 5 Birr using the donkeys. On the other hand, the service givers consider the activities their main source of livelihood. Of course, this does not include grain mill owners who own donkeys side by side the grain mill .But for many , goods transportation service using the donkey is their sole livelihood sources. There are household heads that cover all the family's expenses from the income generated using the donkeys. They allot the income for food, clothing, and expenses of educating children. Young donkey drivers are employed by donkey owners .The employees are migrants from Regional States in most cases.

The highway has no sections specifically designed for pack animals. Therefore, pack animals are using the same parts of the road designed for pedestrians. In fact, they some times share frontage lanes with vehicles. The effect the highway has brought on donkey transportation results from the nature of crossing lines. Loaded pack animals need to be driven to the pedestrians bridge or zebra cross at intersection points in order to deliver the goods from one side to the other side of the road.

I learned from the pack animals drivers' that the road lowered the pace at which they would generate daily income. The bridges are not convenient for donkeys. The stairs on the bridges are difficult for the donkeys to travel on. Since humans also use the same bridge , the donkey

drivers have made adjustments of their working time .They told me that they start the job after 9:00 Am when the bridge has relatively less human congestion. The donkey drivers' again stop the job during peak hours when students, employees and market attendants overuse the two meter wide bridge. In addition, the mud brought over to the bridges by users makes it slippery during rainy seasons. The loaded donkeys easily fall on the muddy slippery bridge since the donkey often fail to keep their balance on the muddy stairs. The donkey drivers rarely use the zebra cross at intersection points. The major reason they mention was extra distance.

4.3 Business Centers

More than five organized business associations operate at my study area. Each association has roughly more than 800 members. I discussed widely with the management committee members on the effect of the project on their business activity .I also triangulated the explanations with the individual association members for the accuracy of the data.

Before the project started and still now most of business associations operate retail trade within small size and poorly constructed shops. Most of the members in the association were relocated from *Merkato(the city core)* area when the government banned business activities on the verandas outside shops. The retail activist along the highway does entertain both pedestrian customers and customers with vehicles. When I asked the management committee one of the business associations about the contribution of the highway to their trade activities, they replied " you can't do business being enclosed ; just on the island." My inquiries for further explanation led them to detail analysis on how the project affected and marginally contributed so far to the trade activities. Under normal condition, transport routes accelerate trade activities by creating accessibility. But the informants complained the obstacle that the highway created contrary to this fact.

- **Diversion of Customers**

The effects of the highway on the business have their roots in the project design and become apparent after implementation. The design and implementation had overemphasized engineering precisions .Such overindulgence in engineering aspects contributed to the

negligence of population distribution along the high way. In some areas, the highway has many dwelling units on its sides. In others, trade activities are widespread. Failure to consider this variation resulted in the construction of technically appropriate but economically less viable bridges and intersection points.

My informants convincingly explained to me that the highway diverted customers from their shops. It allows access to the shops only at certain points. The bridges over which pedestrians cross for transaction are located far apart. So, pedestrian customers become less interested to come to the area for transaction which they could get with equivalent price somewhere else. The closer the shop to pedestrian bridges is the better the transaction. Customers usually prefer the shops closer to the bridges for taking transport on the adjacent lane. However, the shops located at farther distance from the bridges hardly attract even the "scarce" customers from across the road.

The informants emphasized the effect is felt more when it comes to their customers who own vehicles. These customers most often ignore transactions from the shops along the highway. They transact only occasionally on their way to other routines. My informants again pinpointed the nature of the road design had great input to this effect. The road requires vehicles to travel more distances to find turn points which allows them to assume the opposite direction. But it costs them fuel and time. In addition, there are limited narrow parking lots on the frontage lane along the highway. In some areas, the lots are leased to individuals that charge customers for parking vehicles .Therefore, customers who own vehicles rarely drive to the intersection points and turn back to buy items from the shops.

The project had effected termination of item exchanges among business persons across the road. There was exchange of goods across the road among shop owners before the project. The shop owners used to bring the goods from other shops across the road when their customers have shown demand for it. However, the shop owners do not undertake this business anymore after the highway project. "Had it not been for the iron law of

engineering", said my informants, " it would have been compelling to be flexible in the distribution of intersection points that facilitate smooth transactions."

Contrary to the forgoing effects, the business associations had planned to build multi-storied buildings around the highway. I asked them why they have to construct these buildings if the highway had already affected their market. They argued that they obtained the land on which they carry out retail trade before the project. The highway did not exist at that time. There was no controlled mobility across the road. The associations at the moment planned to construct multi-story buildings since the master plan demands them to do it. The business persons expressed their concern that unless they would be abide by the government's decision on land use, the land would be taken over by other financially strong business organization. Hence, they planned to construct large market centers besides the highway due to the pressure from the government on urban land use and the assumption that the market centers might attract customers if they would offer competitive price.

4.4 Traffic Density on the Highway

Among the fundamental reasons behind the highway construction was traffic congestion in the city core. In other words, the belt was designed to divert or intercept vehicles especially trucks from entrance to the city center. The highway was intended as well for residents who wish to avoid the congestion in the city during peak hours. Therefore, it would be important to look at the traffic density over the highway.

4.4.1 Heavy Duty Trucks

Large numbers of fright and liquid trucks enter Addis Ababa everyday. They contribute significantly to the traffic congestion in the city before the highway project. The highway now intercepts them from entrance to the city center. Trucks are the most frequently observed vehicles on the belt highway middle lanes. The highway relieves them from the traffic congestion to which the trucks themselves used to contribute. At the moment the road allow them relatively non-interrupted mobility at faster speed.

4.4.2 Public Motor Transport

The Addis Ababa City Bus and taxis constitute the dominant public motor transport service in Addis Ababa. The city government assigns occasionally additional private buses in order to mitigate the shortage of transportation services.

4.4.2.1 The City Bus

The City Bus renders transportation service mainly to the poor who are not able to afford higher taxi service costs. The city bus provides transportation service on 93 different routes. The least cost per trip is 0.25 cents where as the highest is 3.00 birr. Many city buses enter the belt highway everyday at least at some points. But the Bus with service route number 87 caters transportation service all in all on the highway at my study area. It charges 0.50 cents per trip. Other city buses enter the highway at certain points. The bus stop points to load and unload passengers are located inconsistently closer to pedestrian bridges.

The asphalted road becomes convent for easy mobility of the city bus. However, it is sometimes compulsory to drive unnecessarily extra distance simply to find the turning points. For instance, the Bus service route number 59 transports passengers from *Piazza* to woira *Sefer*. The travel from piazza to woira *sefer* is smooth without any need for extra distance to turning points. But when the same bus comes back from *Woira Sefer*, the highway demands it to travel an irrelevant distance of about 5 kms so that it would find the lane to *piazza*. The same holds true for the bus with service route number 90.Fortunately, the City Bus Enterprise did not so far charge customers additional bill for the extra distance.

4.4.2.2 Taxi

Taxis are widely using the highway. Their service had been in existence on the poor condition asphalt road before the project. The drivers remember that the pits on the poor asphalt road together with the rush to make money used to damage the spare parts. But they drive comfortably without worry for the spare parts after the project. The taxis use front lane in order to load and unload passengers. Sometimes, strife with passengers could arise when the drivers enter the middle highway lane leaving the frontage and fail to unload passengers at appropriate place.

Despite its comfort, the project had brought some negative effects on taxi drivers and passengers. The taxis would not turn back when they finished unloading passengers. They drive to intersection points to turn back even if the taxis are without passengers. Further more, the project blocked the pre project free access to some communities. By implication, taxi drivers drive additional distances, and passengers pay additional cost to reach the area. For instance, the transportation cost from Armed Force Hospital to *Keraniyo* Medihanyalem Church was 0.55cents before the project. However, since the highway blocked previous free turning points, the taxis travel about 5 kms additional distance for which passengers are forced to pay extra 0.45 cents. So, passengers in some cases incurred additional transportation cost due to the design that curb free access to the road and subsequently adds distances to be traveled in order to find the right way.

4.4.3 Traffic Accident

The data from Addis Ababa Traffic Police Office shows increased traffic accidents in Addis Ababa overtime. The total recorded traffic accident five years ago was 7293. This figure has been increased to 10,189 after five years in 2004. Corresponding monetary estimate also increased from 11,765,441 Birr to 22,436,120 Birr .Pedestrian victims constitute more than 75 % of the traffic accident on human beings.

There was narrow and poorly asphalted road at my study area before the highway project. Drivers did not drive at faster speed since the poor road condition would not encourage them. The paradox is however, there were few traffic accidents contrary to the poor road conditions.

The highway was assumed to reduce the pre existing accidents especially on pedestrians because it functions under the rules and regulations of controlled access. It has separate lanes for vehicles as well as specific crossing points for pedestrians. Nevertheless, the Traffic Police Officer and other informants in the area confirmed increment in the number of traffic accidents after the project. The police officer noted that from the total traffic accidents within *Kolfe Keraniyo* sub city, the number of accidents on the highway constitute the highest figure. Vehicles from Regional States often committed the largest traffic accident. Some

drivers from the Regional States did not have sufficient awareness about the highway. They usually collided at intersection points. The drivers failed to control the speed when they reach at the intersection points which the drivers from the Regional States had less awareness on their specific locations.

Traffic accidents affecting pedestrians also increased after the project. A 60 years old, male informant, who had been living in the area since 1960 says, "We did never hear accidents now and then before this road." Increased pedestrian traffic accident is occurred because many pedestrians ignored the highway rules. Pedistrians arranged stepping stones to jump over the highway at some locations. But the traffic police collected the stepping stones .The police also patrols to prevent the individuals from jumping over the fences. A person caught by patrol police will be finned 15 birr or 24 hours detention under police custody.

Unfortunately, the measure is believed to increase the risk of traffic accidents rather than alleviating it. Individuals found after jumping parts of the fences rush into the highway in order to escape from being caught by the patrol police. Such attempts had made the individuals easy targets of traffic accidents. The traffic police Office at my study area keeps only the inventory of petty traffic accidents. Death and heavy accidents are beyond its mandate to deal with. These accidents are dealt with by the Addis Ababa Traffic Police Office. However, the City's Traffic Police Office has no separate inventory for accidents on the belt highway alone. Yet, the data from traffic police office at my study area shows tremendous rise in traffic accident over the highway.

4.5 Deviance from Etiquette

The road use is accompanied by certain proscriptive and prescriptive rules. The rules apply to motor vehicles as well as pedestrians. Drivers often violate three rules while on the highway. They fail to keep the speed per the highway rule , they don't maintain certain distance away from the vehicle in front of them ; and they do not always give way to pedestrians at Zebra Cross on intersection points. On the pedestrian side on the other hand, about three acts

of deviance could be identified. These include jumping over the fences instead of using the bridges, stealing the iron bars used for fencing and dumping wastes on the road.

Informants gave similar explanation on why these deviance acts happened. The police officer in the nearest station shared with me his experience. He observed several moments when drivers find it difficult to control their speed at Zebra cross and eventually violate the traffic rule to give priority to pedestrians. The distance between vehicles would be muddled when the front vehicle lowers its speed to save the individuals illegally jumped into their way. In most case however, drivers do not keep distance between their vehicles simply due to less experience of the practice.

Individual pedestrians quite often violate the highway rules. They did it although it would result in punishment. The attempt by the police to halt such violations did not succeed so far. Deviants try to justify the act in terms of easy short cut to the other side of the road. The fact that the bridges are relatively located far apart discouraged individuals from looking for the bridges. Males, females, children, and adults jump over the four fences constructed along the road. Pedestrians arranged stepping stones at some places that would ease the jumps over the fences. Despite the frequently spelled reasons of distances between the bridges, I observed individuals that jump over the fences even at closer distances to the bridges. Occasionally, one can also observe deviant individuals just under the bridges. Individuals that commit deviance at closer distance from bridges are mainly school children and a few adults.

In any case, however, the deviants argue that the bridges are far apart. They calculate the distances between the bridges in terms of the time and energy it costs them. A few deviants expressed the psychological discomfort when they walk on the bridges and looking down the fast moving vehicles.

The other deviant practice was liquid waste discharges on the road. Many houses on the road side do not have sewerage networks to dispose liquid waste. The sieved pits on the road were intended only to protect the road from runoff. But households at some locations discharge

liquid wastes on the road or the sieved pits. The waste is creating bad smell in addition to its effect on the sieved pits on the road.

Anonymous individuals had been stealing the iron bars used for fencing even if households beside the road should have protected it. The project owner tries to prevent further act by deforming the screw tops so that the thieves would not be able to untie the iron bars apart.

4.6 Participation

Participation is now days among those catchy words in development. When it comes to the definition of the concept however, there would emerge the elastic nature of the concept. When a project owner elicits data from project beneficiaries, it would say the local people had participated. Again, when the project owner requests for the community contribution to the cost either in labor or in cash, the statement goes the community had participated in project by contributing these stuff. When the beneficiaries also dictate the project owner on what , how and when to do in their locality , this again is termed as participation. Hence, the concept has an elastic meaning stretching from community involvement in primary data provision to decision making power on the choice of which project to implement , where, how and when to implement it in their locality.

Participation in data provision as well as community contribution are often regarded as passive for the community has limited influence on the project design , implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes. The other extreme, is when the community has decision making power from project design, to implementation, monitoring and evaluation. However, this form is rare opportunity for the communities when the project owner approaches the project in technocratic traditions. The assumption behind technocratic approach is that technicians and professional administrators know better and sufficient about the project than the community in which the project is going to be implemented. Although the approach could exist in all kinds of projects, it has strong foothold among technically over drenched ones such as the construction projects.

The fundamental concern for community participation is basically to inculcate sense of ownership among the community and make the project benefits sustainable. In other words, when the community participates in development projects the process will help identify and include local realities into the project. It also creates a condition in which the community will develop a sense of having a stake in the project and hence, protect the project from incidents that threaten the continuity of the project benefits.

Within the above frameworks, I inquired to understand the process followed concerning the highway project. No informant reported to have participated in any form. The process from project design to implementation pursued technocratic approach. The participation could have been primary data provision on the process of project design , contribution to the project in kind or in cash to the extent possible and if conditions in the country permit, the decision making on whether the project fits into their local realities.

The households around the project had mixed feelings about the whole process. On the one hand, they express their feeling of being neglected when the project had been being implemented within their community. They feel they had a lot to contribute to the project design, implementation, monitoring , evaluation and then after. They said they would have at least informed the designers how the design would affect their social networks. The project owner should have not bulldozed with intimidation the houses of the resistant displaced households. In stead of accepting the new project, household at some areas collected petitions against the project. Certain community associations also continued their complaint against the design works. They went to the extent of requesting the city government to demolish the bridges within their community and let the community construct with their own expense in the way that fits local socio-cultural and economic realties.

On the other hand, the informants did not withhold appreciation to the project on some aspects. After commenting " *ketesera behuala min yebalal? Tiru newu mallet yishalal",* *which means, "What would we say after it is all done. We better say it is good."* They made comparison between the current highway and the previous road situations from different angles. According to my informants, although the processes disturbed their life in many

respects, the highway gave good scenery to the city. The light along the road relieved households from the assault and lootings by thieves in the evening. The previous narrow road did not have street lights all along the road. The highway project introduced powerful street light to the project area. The street lights enabled residents travel along the road in late evening.

Nevertheless, it sounds paradox when street lights that protected the residents from thieves fails to do so when it comes to the property of the project itself. The iron bar fences had been stolen several times. Nobody knows who stole it. Neither resident did prevent the hideous act in front of their houses. That is why the project owner was obliged to deform the screw tops so that the thieves would not be able to untie the interconnected iron bar fences.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. ADAPTIVE RESPONSES AND THEORETICAL IMLICATIONS

Chapter five has two sub sections. The first section deals with the coping strategies of project affected people with the undesired consequences. The adaptive responses are both at individual /household and community levels. The second sub section analyses the theoretical implications of the project. The analysis is made from the different project effects discussed under chapter four.

5.1 Adaptive Responses

The project had brought socio-economic and cultural effects , some positively felt and others adversely felt by the project affected households. The project affected households are of two types- the displaced and the remaining ones at the project area. Both have designed certain adaptive mechanisms to the effects of the project.

5.1.1 The Displaced

The displaced households vary in terms of socio-economic status. There are households that the project displaced from their own houses. Others were displaced from kebele owned rent rooms. Some civil servants exist among the displaced. Others engage in informal petty trade. A few ran formal trade.

5.1.1.1 Adjustments in Time

The displaced from own houses are located relatively nearer to the previous community. They continued involvement in pre displacement social networks. Even then these project affected people have made some adaptive changes. They made time adjustment especially not to stay late in the evening with households hosting social events like funeral, marriage, etc within the pre displacement community. These displaced people have built replacement houses farther from the main road. Absence of transportation service to the new residence and the search for far apart bridges initiated them make time adjustment in their involvement in social networks. The management committees of these social networks forsake them considering the convincing problem of the displaced.

5.1.1.2 Establishment of New institutions

The displaced from kebele owned houses were relocated relatively at farther distance from the previous community. They faced many project related challenges.

These people had taken similar adaptive measures on some respects and different measures on others. For most relocated households, membership in previous iddirs still lingers even if they are not entitled to all the benefits unlike the pre displacement periods. They travel on foot in most cases to settle their membership dues once every month. They also established new mutual self help burial association *(iddir)* at the relocated area. The farther they went away from the previous community the lesser the types of the benefits (entitlements) from the previous *iddirs*. For example, members at previous *iddirs* are not obliged to assist in burials of the *iddir* members at relocated site. Hence, the displaced at the new locality established new similar association to overcome the problem they faced with regard to burial services. .However, they still kept membership in the previous *iddirs* lingering since the new ones lack the capacity to meet the needs of the relocated people.

5.1.1.3 Changes and Modifications of livelihood sources

- ***From Retail Trade to House Rent***

The displaced that used to rely on formal retail trade and service giving activities had made certain adjustments. Some changed their income sources from retail trade to income generation from house rent. Although their relocation area is not far as such from the previous one, the current location does not favor retail trade. So, they overcame the livelihood sources interruption through shifting the source to house rent of the rooms constructed on the land obtained as compensation. A few had managed to construct two story buildings for rent. A few households borrowed additional money from Banks to build the houses. Nevertheless, they are concerned about the seasonal absence of customers .In some cases, the rooms may stay unoccupied for a year.

- ***A shift from petty trader to maid servant***

Except a few civil servants, the displaced from *kebele* owned houses had largely their survival based on informal activities. They retail charcoal, prepare and sell alcoholic drinks, prepare and sell *injera*, bread, *kollo* and the like.

Livelihood modification had been observed among these relocated households. Those who used to subsist on sells of *injera*, bread, and *kollo* had abandoned the activities. The activities have little demand at the new locality. Children of the displaced used to sell the items to passers-by in front of their houses. The children had been selling the items to customers in alcoholic drink houses. But such businesses no more exist at the new locality. They replaced this source of subsistence by becoming part-time maid servants. The subsistence on local alcoholic drink sells still lingers. However, the demand declines at the relocation site. So does the income from its sells. Yet, it keeps life staggering.

5.1.1.4 From Electricity to Firewood

The other notable adaptive response is to the power supply problem on the arrival and then after. The people used candle and lamb during the first 6 to 8 months when power supply did not exist on their arrival. Once the power supply started the late comers to the new locality pulled power line from the households that settled earlier. The late comers were able to get power supply through neighbors cooperation. But increased house rent from an average 4 birr to an average 55 birr per month enlighten settlers to substitute electric power for firewood in cooking their meal.

5.1.1.5 Long Live Spring Water

The people faced acute water shortage at the new locality. They collect potable water from three common tapes once every 7 to 10 days. This is a new experience which they did not face before displacement. The people collect water from springs besides the streams located about an average 1 km far in response to acute water shortage. They use spring and running water from the near by stream in order to overcome the scarcity of water.

On top of this, the people continued pressurizing the city government to provide potable water to the community. The committee formed from the displaced households had submitted complaints to the nearest water and sewerage authority on their current status. But the officials explained to the committee members that their houses had been constructed without the knowledge of Water and Sewerage Authority. The officials went on explaining, "had the project owner consulted their office , it would have been advised not to build dwelling units since there is sever shortage of water in the area." However, the committee continued pressurizing and eventually the city mayor promised them to dig water wells within reasonable distance from each household.

5.1.1.6 Walking Long Distance

With regard to transportation, most of them walk on foot. Walking is being a widely means of transportation both for students and parents. But the distance they cover on foot varies among households or even within the family. For instance, students walk about 30 minutes to the nearest city bus station when they go to schools. Nonetheless, individuals could walk about an hour for single trip when they are going to pay their monthly membership fee to the *iddirs* at pre displacement site.

5.2 The Non-displaced Households

5.2.1 Deviance as Adaptive Response

The non-displaced project affected households reside along the highway. These people started reacting against the project from the beginning. They signed petitions at some location and submitted it to the government. The petition was the request to modify the highway design so that it would consider local socio-economic and cultural conditions. After the city government declined the request, the community sought other coping mechanisms at their disposal.

The first adaptive response was to the social interaction barriers across the highway. The barriers could be seen at two levels. Firstly, at individual level on his/her daily routine and secondly at community level in relation to community based organized forms of interaction. Some individuals respond to the controlled access to the road through deviance. The rule of

controlled access requires pedestrians to use either zebra cross or pedestrian bridges alone while interacting with adjacent households. But many individuals do not conform to the rule. They instead jump over the highway fences in order to reduce the distance they should have walked to the bridges and zebra cross.

However, the mechanisms at community level do not violate the rules. Burial associations that own vehicle took the dead body to graveyards by driving to the intersection points no matter how far the turn points were. Pedestrian association members walk to the burial places over the bridges. In some cases, people took the corpse over the bridge to load on the contract vehicle waiting on the opposite side. They use this method so that they would reduce the cost of vehicle rent when their *iddir* does not own vehicle. The option to transport the body over the bridge reduces the distance to be traveled by the contract vehicle.

The other practice as an adaptive response was liquid waste discharges on the road. Many houses on the road side did not have sewerage networks to dispose liquid waste. The sieved pits on the road were intended only to protect the road from runoff. But households at some locations discharge liquid wastes on the road or the sieved pits. The waste produced bad smell in addition to its effect on the sieved pits on the road.

5.2.2 Hauling the Body with Ropes

People use ropes to pull up the corpse from the road at some areas where the attempt to level the area for road construction closed the previous access routes. In some areas households that the road construction process closed their previous access roads are also cutoff from alternative access roads by small streams. Very narrow lines are currently used for pedestrians' day to day mobility from their homes. Therefore, they have to use ropes for pulling the corpse up to the highway surfaces from where they will load it on vehicle. They tie the coffin with strong ropes and arrange four or more people who would pull the body. While two or more persons pushup the coffin from below, other persons would pull up the body in the coffin. They stand on the side of the highway in order to haul the body up.

5.2. 3 Withdrawals from Time Sensitive Associations

There is a self help association called *yesetoch yerat iddir*(women's dinner service association on incidents of death). Women form the association with the intension to accommodate the funeral attendants with meal. The specific nature of the association is that it functions late in the evening. Women members are expected to serve on this events turn by turn. However, many members dropped down from these self help associations as coping mechanisms to overcome the problem of crossing points across the highway within short distance.

5.2.4 Obedience to Land Use Policies

New building standard are being set for business centers along the highway. I learned form my discussion with informants at the project area that they complied with to the new building standards even if it costs much more than their financial capacity. The informant expressed their fear that the government would strip them off the land and lease it to other capable business organization if they are reluctant to comply with the new standards. Therefore, they have planned to meet the building standards through bank loans as well as their own savings.

5.2.5 Avoidance

Persons living with disability have adopted two difficult coping mechanisms. They either abandon to travel across the highway or seek assistance from other persons. The young petty trader explained that he sought his elder brothers assistance to help him cross over the bridge to his petty trade twice a day. His brother assists him in pushing the wheelchair which otherwise be very difficult for the young boy living with disability. Other persons avoided the bridge or interaction across the highway when possible. But they occasionally cross the road at zebra cross or over the bridges calculating the times when the bridge is less crowded. Old persons have adopted similar mechanism.

5.2.6 Wait and See

The fact that the project diverted trucks from every corner of the city to the highway turned the areas to hectic sound pollution zone. The area is noisy when trucks travel on the road. The sound is much stronger for the households closer to the frontage lanes. Even from these households, those who are located under the piled road sides are facing the worst sound pollution. The attempt to level the area during the road construction process created an impediment to vehicles iterance to these compounds too. Certain business organizations at some areas tried to negotiate for purchase of some of these leftovers from being demolished.

However, the owners prefer to wait and see in case their houses would fetch better income from turning it into business center. The left over at certain areas assume that they are located on the road sides where the effect of controlled access to the highway presumably has less effect on the prospective customers since they are located at intersection points. Hence, they prefer to wait and see future opportunities in spite of the sound pollution released from heavy duty trucks and the problem to drive in and out of their compound at the moment.

5.3 Theoretical Implications

5.3.1 Impoverishment Risk Reconstruction Model

The concern with population displacement among scholars is growing because many development projects that displace people are becoming unavoidable or necessary evils. Development programs that turn arid lands into productive farm lands , those projects that provide energy for growing industries , hospitals as well as schools within residential areas or better roads in clogged downtown are necessary. They are more indisputably necessary when the programs are the priority needs of the people. However, such intervention does not necessarily benefit all uniformly.

The proponent of IRRM , Cerenea(1997:27), viewed development induced displacement as pathology of development. The premises for Cerenea's argument and his subsequent displacement model partly lies in the assumption that unless addressed effectively population displacement impoverishes large number of people at global scale. And this impoverishment constantly adds to the world wide poverty problem. Hence, the understanding of the processes which cause impoverishment under development program and the ways to prevent them is important for mitigating the risks intrinsic to development induced displacement. The IRRM quest to deal with certain specific questions in displacement. The theme of the model revolves around three basic questions in displacement: how does impoverishment through displacement occur, how can impoverishment be prevented from happing and how can the livelihoods of displaced people be reconstructed.

I selected the IRRM on the outset at proposal stage of my study because I was interested to see whether the model has analytical power in understanding the development project affected households in Addis Ababa.

Landlessness has been observed differently for different groups of project affected people at my study area. Land is not a private property under the current Ethiopian Law. But individuals got access to urban land use through application to the municipality requesting land tenure for dwelling rooms construction or for profit making business. The displaced people from land obtained for private house construction did not loose similar entitlements to land. They were given equivalent land size within reasonably closer proximity to the previous site .But the poor that had no capacity in the first place to get access to land tenure system mentioned above became landless. These people had been living in rent rooms. When their rent rooms were demolished there was no way for them to demand for equivalent land size for house construction. They dispersed around with their cash compensation of 1,200 birr. The later oustees from similar houses in fact were provided with houses not land at the outskirt of the city. However, this does not guarantee them both land tenure and house ownership.

The expropriation of land for the highway project had instigated homelessness at least for some period of time .The project implementation and relocation of households were carried out side by side. Here again, the poor that did not own private houses had been the main prey to this risk. Some displaced households from privately owned houses had been living with relatives for a year until they were able to replace their demolished houses on the plot of land obtained in compensation. The displaced households from kebele owned rooms dispersed around with the cash compensation of 1,200 Birr.Other project displaced people from similar rooms were later provided with rent rooms, although failure to settle monthly bills will lead to termination of the use right of the rooms. There has been substantial increase in room rent cost. I learned from informants during fieldwork that some clients were living with room rent debt of two months. But they signed an agreement with the government that failure to pay monthly bills would result in forced dismissal from the rooms. Given the fact that these people stated an average increase in monthly rent of 55 birr is far beyond the burden for them to shoulder, it is likely that many people may be removed from the houses if the government will strictly enforce the agreement with them.

Marginalization in the context of IRRM model is assumed to occur when families lose economic power and go on a downward mobility. It is assumed to happen when middle income farm households become small holders , small shopkeepers and craftsmen downsized and slip below poverty threshold . It also manifests itself in such a form when the coerciveness of displacement tends to depreciate self image. Marginalization manifests itself as well when there is a drop in social status and in psychological downward slid of resettlers' confidence in society and the self , a sense of injustice etc.

From this perspective, elements of marginalization were observed not only among the displaced people but also among the non-displaced project affected people. Cases had been documented during fieldwork that non-displaced project affected women had experienced tragic slip in economic status. The downward mobility was due to the fact that the project expropriated the lion share of her shop but left her uncompensated since the expropriated

rooms belongs to the kebele. A symptom of marginalization was also identified when the informant expressed her abstinence from active participation in locally existing social networks. Households around the area colleted assistance cash and saved or prevented her from family dispersal and begging. Marginalization on non-displaced people living with disability was reported by informants themselves. It was not displacement but the nature of the project design which marginalized them.

Elements of marginalization were evident among the project displaced and relocated households as well .These households maintained some distance from interaction with the nearest host community due to differences in socio-economic status.

However, unlike experiences from other studies, I did not come across serious declines of health among significant number of project affected people. Outbreak of relocation related illness did not occur. Perhaps the climatic condition of the relocation site could have played great role in the absence of commonly cited outbreak such as malaria. Moreover, the unsafe water supply at relocation did not so far inflict great health problems because people boil the spring water before use. They also economize the potable water they collect once seven to ten days from the common tape.

The project affected people especially the displaced revealed that they underwent social stress, insecurity and psychological trauma. They felt that they were outsiders to the project implementation process. In addition, many relocated households were living with debt of house rent at the new locality .This situation had put them under stress since they signed agreements with the government that failure to pay monthly rent will lead to dismissal from the rooms. But such incidents did not lead to serious health problems. Only a few cases reported to experience project related health complications. One such project affected households is a female household head that acquired serious blood pressure when the project demolished twice her house resulting from flaws made by professionals in measuring the width of the highway. I learned from her daughter that her mother passed away from project related acute blood pressure. The other case of comparative importance is

the poor 60 years old women that reported to have acquired blood pressure following displacement and eventual decline in income from informal petty trade and the termination of assistance from neighbors at pre relocation area.

The project affected households are not cereal producers. They are urban residents who rely on different income generating activities to purchase cereals for consumption. Food insecurity would therefore be understood when one looks at the improvements or decline in the income of the project affected people. My fieldwork data suggests that food insecurity had hardly happened among the relocated households from privately owned dwelling units or business centers. Their previous economic base significantly helped them from being food insecure.

The poor relocated people from *kebele* owned houses were however, expressed their view that they faced food insecurity. My informants responded "*ezih yalewu eqeq bicha newu*" to my inquiry on the improvements in the living conditions at relocation area. This response literally translated is "there is nothing here but itch."They used the metaphor to connote poor living condition especially in food consumption. I could be an eye witness in some cases where my informants invited me to their house for interview. They either shared with me their meal or sent their child to purchase a loaf of bread from the nearest shops. Many poor families incurred increased cost for house rent, transportation and health service which negatively affect their ability to purchase cereals. On the contrary, they did not so far able to register equvalnet increase in income.

The oustees at some relocation areas lost access to common property and services. Those relocated households from kebele owned houses specifically lost access to three basic common properties /services. They lost access to previous burial places , access to use of iddir materials and labor as well as the city bus transport service.

Social disarticulation in IRRM context is an assumption that speculates the risk of breaking apart of existing social fabric. The risk of social disarticulation is thought to manifest itself in the dismantling of patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties, informal

networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary association etc. I observed social disarticulation that lies within the above frame works suggested by IRRM. The development induced displacement indeed torn apart the social fabrics.

Neighborhood based informal assistance and interpersonal ties did not sustain after displacement at my study area. The oustees , especially the poor hardly visit their previous neighbors let alone keeping the previous informal neighborhood based assistance ties. I observed social disarticulation whereby the project highly affected mutual self-help burial association. The effect is more apparent on the oustees relocated at the outskirt of the city. Yet, one can detect elements of social disarticulation on the non-displaced project affected people when one looks at the changes in social interaction across the highway.

5.3.2 The Sector Model

The second model used in this study looks into the differential distribution of population and housing in the urban space resulting from the implementation of the project. The model suggests that the gross distribution patterns of the city results from the interplay of socio-economic forces competing over the urban land market. The sector model attempts to view the spatial configuration of the socio-economic forces within a city in terms of sectors rather than concentric fashion as suggested by its preceding model. Therefore, population distribution in the city is organized more in terms of homogenous pie-shaped sectors that run from the city core to the periphery. The expansion /duplication of these sectors is assumed to follow major transport routes.

I had tried to cross-check the ideas suggested by the model with the overall urban development activities in general and that of the highway project in particular. I prefer to include the general urban development activities in Addis Ababa in addition to the highway project because I came across relocated households due to other projects living at the moment within the same area with the highway project displaced people.

Looking back to the basic reasons for the city's foundation and subsequent government policies are essential to understand the spatial configuration of socio-economic forces in

Addis Ababa. Early city layouts organized in terms of *Safars (sectors)* based on military ranks and socio-economic proximity to the emperor. The higher the military rank one posses imply the greater likelihood to reside closer to the emperor's palace located around the city core. It is not the issue or question of only land market alone. Population and housing distribution patterns involved political considerations at this early formative period.

Modern city master plan that guides the spatial configuration of socio-economic activities within the city is a recent history often tried intermittently at the beginning. The current highway project had been implemented in line with the master plan developed in 1980s with some modifications(please , refer to the map on land use according to the current master plan).

An attempt to look at whether new land use patterns emerged along the highway shows there came into being new as well as revamped spatial configuration at my study area. In fact, among the specific project objectives was to promote efficient utilization of urban land at the peripheries through creating transport accessibility . Accordingly, new clusters of buildings having typical foreign design are fairly in good number at two locations along the highway. They are one story and above buildings for economically upper class residence. At other places, the previously existing clusters of small shops are on the process of evolving themselves to multi-story buildings for becoming large market centers similar to the ones in the city core. A tendency in the land value and house rent cost rise had been observed at certain areas along the highway. These features tend to support the sector model over the concentric zone model.

The other theoretical implication to be seen in relation to the urban spatial configuration is relocation site of project displaced people. Even if I observed relatively large vacant spaces closer to the highway at some places, the majority of project displaced people were resettled at the outskirt of the city. Many development project displaced people from the city core were also relocated to this area. The oustees were given substitute rooms at the outskirts

where land value and the building standards cost less as compared with the vacant spaces closer to the highway.

Nonetheless, although the sector model appears applicable to this project in some sense, the spatial distribution of the population, housing and economic activities over the city's space goes beyond the mere free market competition over the urban land between human beings and business. It is embedded in the country's historical, political and socio-economic and cultural development including Addis Ababa from its foundation up to the present.

CHAPTER SIX

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

The question about which community should be defined as urban and which should not have been contentious among scholars. The contentions largely base its root in the fact that the word "urban "is understood differently in different cultures. Scholars suggested three different but incomplete approaches unless used in combinations. Similar arguments exist on the origin of cities. For some cities are emerged on evolutionary manner where as for others emerged at a few places and times that they diffused to non-urbanized societies. But most professionals in the area maintain the assumption that cities emerged on gradual process that took place independently through out the world.

Pre 20th century Urbanization in Ethiopia was characterized by political motives. Garrison towns were used to be set up over the newly acquired territories so that the towns would serve as centers of control over the newly acquired territories and conquered people.(Akalou, 1976:38). The emergence of Addis Ababa followed similar trend at the beginning. Documented evidences made inferences from the early street lay outs the residence of Menelik II's military officials and the palace that militarily strategic consideration played dominant role in the city's establishment .However, Addis Ababa's growth started changing from garrison nature when Europeans began establishing their legations. Moreover, the Djibouti –Addis Ababa railway and improvements in communication had considerable importance that shifted the city from military orientation.

However, other scholars like Tekalign (1995:6, 8,441- 442) broaden the above views based on the historical context of the evolution of the city in which food supply to the city and land tenure systems had important influence. Johnson(1974) shares similar views that accessibility to agricultural produce in different agricultural zones might have dictated the decision to establish Addis Ababa at its current location.

Both views have strong explanatory power for speculating the rationale of the city's establishment at its current location. But one could safely suspect the dwindling significance of militarily strategic considerations at least as modern bureaucracy was introduced to the country. The second view (the food supply and land tenure) may rather sustain its explanatory impetus over this time spectrum.

The city underwent tremendous changes over a century. The changes are in terms of city's physical size, population and socio-economic conditions. Nonetheless, intricate socio-economic problems accompanied the changes. Hence, the city government recently approached the problems "within the context of the overall socio-economic and political transformation and the ongoing radical reform program, a paradigm shift in urban planning has been adopted; from a more rigid and control oriented plan to a more flexible and development oriented planning and management"(ORAAMP,2002:64).

Accordingly, the government approached among others the problem of poor road network and traffic congestion in Addis Ababa through the belt highway project. The project cost about 750 million Birr. This study was initiated by the premises that experiences from other countries show that the implementation of such mega construction projects need holistic insight into the society for curbing undesired project effects and maximizing success. And the Addis Ababa belt highway is no exception to these realities. Specifically , the study was intended to analyze the project effects on the lives of the displaced especially the poor, to examine the adaptive responses of the project affected households to the undesired consequences and to assess the implication of the project in light of the urban development approaches promised by the government in the quotation above.

The basic research questions that had been guiding my study include: why did Addis Ababa need the highway? What was the role of the residents along the highway in project planning and implementation? What positive and/or negative effects does the project bring on the people living along the rout? Why do some people violate highway rules? What do people living with disability in the community feel about the project? How did people cope up with

the undesired project effects? And finally what lesson would we draw from this development project implementation?

As I have discussed under the third chapter , the poor road network , traffic congestion in the city core and presumably underutilized urban space at peripheries inspired the city government to think of the belt highway. The master plan dictated the routes through which the highway passed. Nonetheless, the project had tangible socio-economic and cultural effects on the project affected people.

The project displaced households and business centers as well as utility lines owned by the government in order to clear the land for the road construction. Compensation was not undertaken in similar manner for the poor and the economically better off. Even if land is not a private property under the current laws, those individuals who were able to built private dwelling units or shops were compensated with equivalent land size and cash .The project owner calculated cash compensation based on construction cost rather than replacement cost.

However, the poor that did not own private house hence, displaced from *kebele* owned low rent cost houses were denied the right to substitute land and cash compensation. The project owner arbitrarily paid Birr 1,200 cash compensation to them at the beginning. But this form of compensation encountered strong resistance from the project displaced people. Resistance to nominal cash compensation inspired the project owner to construct relatively low cost rent rooms for relocated people. However, although the second option saved the households from being homeless at least for the time being, it also led to disruption of their socio-economic life.

The relocation process inflicted social disintegration. The oustee's membership in different mutual self-help association and their interaction with previous community is disrupted. On the other hand , the fact that the relocated people felt economic gap between them and the nearest host community discouraged them from forging new social ties with this people.

Furthermore, the location of the relocation site and the uncoordinated attention given to the process exposed the oustees to shortage of social services such as potable water , education , public transport ,public phone, access roads etc. This study also found out that the project induced relocation had negatively affected the livelihood of the people especially the poor that earn their income from informal economic activities. Households that used to subsist on informal petty trade could not generate their livelihood from them at the new locality due the fact the new site did not so far favor such activities. On the other hand, rise in house rent cost from an average 4 birr per month to 55 Birr per month together with transportation expenses to the city eroded the meager income.

Although the displaced from privately owned houses were relocated with compensation to the nearest available vacant space, this study reveals that these group of project affected people had also faced socio-economic disruptions. In addition to the inconsistently short time period between compensation and clearance, displacement brought forced adjustments in their interaction with the previous community. They withdrew from time sensitive mutual self-help association such as dinner service association on the events of death. The project limited the frequency and duration of their involvement in the social events. The project also negatively affected their livelihood. The effect was clearly observed among households who partitioned their houses into retail shop , service catering and dwelling rooms. The space obtained in compensation did not so far favor these business activities at some places.

Other project related effects on the non-displaced or partially displaced people were also evident in this study. The project changed the pattern of social interaction across the highway due to the introduction of controlled access. Controlled access modified or changed the process of taking corpse to the graveyards. Moreover, this study reveals that the project negatively affected the retail business centers along the highway through customer diversion.

However, the highway significantly reduced the traffic congestion on the narrow road before the project at my study area. The powerful street light along the road had relieved the people at my study area from the thieves that used to lurk in dark and attack the

residents before the road construction. In relation to traffic accidents, the study found that there has been tremendous rise of traffic accidents after the project. The steepy slope at some areas, reckless driving on the comfortable highway and pedestrians' failure to observe highway rules had exacerbated the problem.

The issue of community participation was also reflected on the protection of project inputs from being stolen in front of their doors. Many deviant acts against the highway etiquette were attributed to absences of participation.

The people had devised adaptive responses at their disposal to the undesired project effects .They tried to overcome the negative effects on their social networks through time adjustments of participation and establishment of new similar institutions. Change and/or modification of the livelihood sources were the adaptive responses to livelihood disruptions. Furthermore, changes in energy sources from electric power to fuel wood and walking long distances to reduce transport cost were widely employed mechanisms.

The people around the highway used some eccentric coping mechanisms. Deviance against the project rules is one of them. Many people violate or deviate from pedestrian rules and jump over the highway fences. A few households whose way-out to the main road became very narrow or closed haul corpse with ropes in order to load the body on the vehicle.

People living with disabilities and older persons had avoidance of travels across the road as adaptive response whenever possible. However, many business persons had adopted obedience to the new land use (building standards) issued by the government. A few people preferred to wait and see the prospect even if their half demolished houses were found down besides the piled up road side gravel.

6.2 Conclusion

From an attempt to unravel the basic causes for the negative socio-economic and cultural effects, the thesis would conclude that most of the undesired project effects were resulting from negligence at the project design stage. The project design was overindulged with engineering precisions and economic cost analysis. The design gave little consideration for local socio-economic and cultural realties that interdisciplinary lenses including the anthropological one would have magnified. In addition, the community through which the highway passed did not participate in the project. Their participation would have enabled the project owner at least to make certain adjustments on the engineering design works. It could have at least inspired the project technocrats the fact that their design did not consider variation in population distribution along the highway that the uniform 2 meters pedestrian bridge width should be reconsidered. These experts must have been informed that the highway is being implemented in a community that domestic animals mainly sheep, cows, bullocks etc enter the city every day that engineers had to think of these animal in crossing the road. These animals are sharing the pedestrian bridges with human beings at the moment.

This thesis has drawn both theoretical and practical implications from the fieldwork. I tried to view the whole process of the project using IRRM and sector models. I selected IRRM because the highway is a development project undertaken in the midst of many poor in Addis Ababa. The processes need cautious intervention in order to prevent further impoverishment and the reconstruction of the disrupted living conditions in the city where poverty engulfs many people.

The study confirmed greater relevance of the IRRM both to predict the likely project effects as well as the corrective measure in order to reconstruct the lost or disrupted resource base and social life of the affected people. The model does have strong predictive and analytical power of the negative project effects especially on the poor. In line with this theoretical implications, the highway project had practical implications that development is a catchy word that does not necessarily give a hand to the poor and pull them out of poverty. In

this specific project, the huge project budget and the construction easily observed on the ground overshadowed the cost and pains that the poor project affected people had to bear.

The spatial configuration of socio-economic activities in the city however is more understandable using the historical, political and cultural experiences specific to the city than using the sector model alone. From its foundation, the city had differentiated *safar* (having equivalent meaning with sectors) based on social status under imperial Ethiopia. Consequent attempts to modify the city's growth through master plan had not been consistent. Above all, the competition over land between business and people expected under the free market economy does not hold valid in Addis Ababa. Yet, the sector model can be taken as supplementary lens in attempts to understand the spatial configuration of the city. The model appears to get limited supportive evidences from this study in which certain land use patterns emerged along the highway although they were not resulting from the market principles.

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name DEJENE TESHOME Signature _____

Date July 22, 2005

Advisor

Name: Taddesse Berisso, (Ph.D) Signature _____

Date _____

Plate 1: The Highway and speed indication on the road

Plate 2: Pedestrians waiting to cross over the bridge

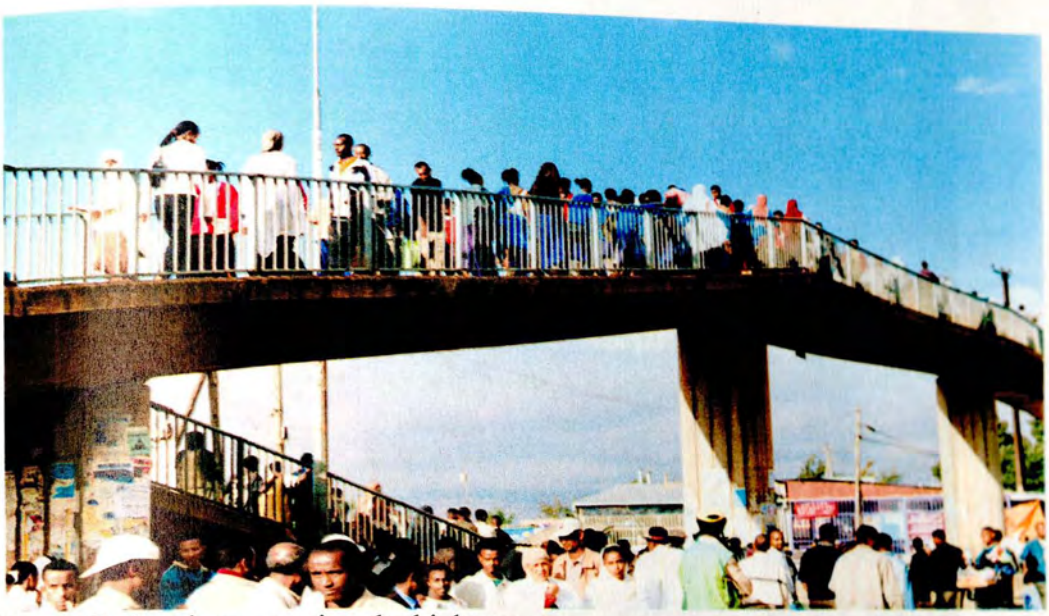

Plate3: Pedestrians crossing the highway

Plate 4.1: Deviants jumping over the fences of the highway

Plate 4.2 Deviants jumping over the fences of the highway

Plate 5: Oxen being driven to cross the highway over the bridge

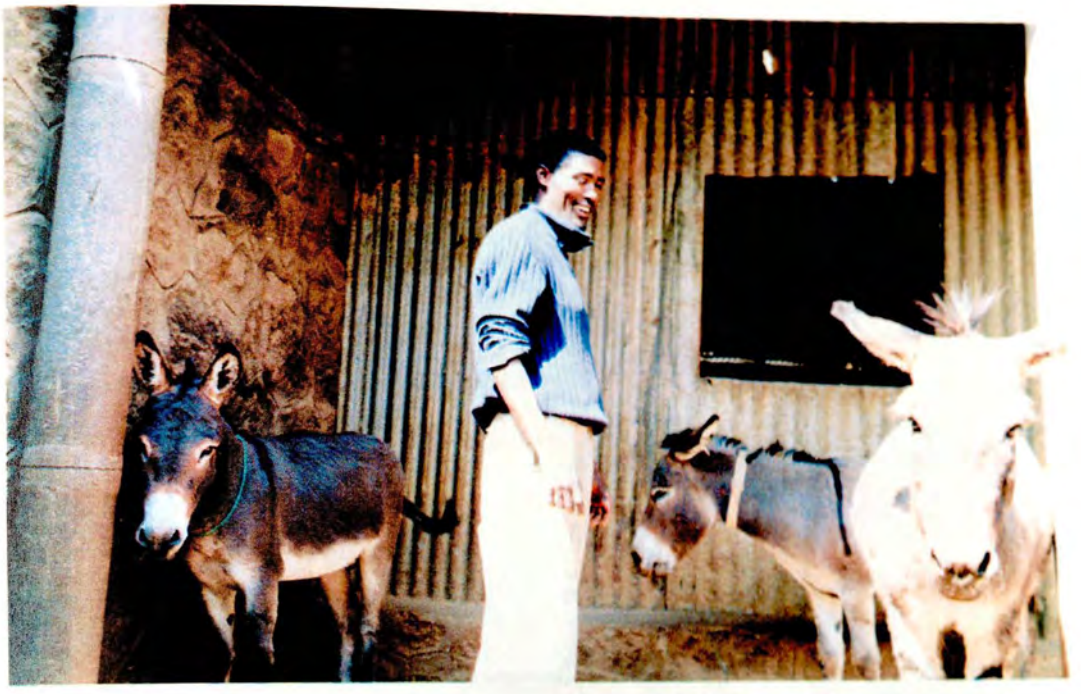

Plate 6: Donkeys waiting for transporting flour from the flourmill

Plate7: Donkeys transporting flour across the highway

Plat 8: A porter taking items to the other side of the road

Plate 9: Female firewood carriers taking firewood for sale across the highway

Plate 10: owner of partially demolished house in front of his house

Plate 11: Children of displaced households washing clothes using spring water

Plate 12: A Female collecting water from the spring at the relocation site

Plate 13 – The displaced households waiting to collect water from common tape.

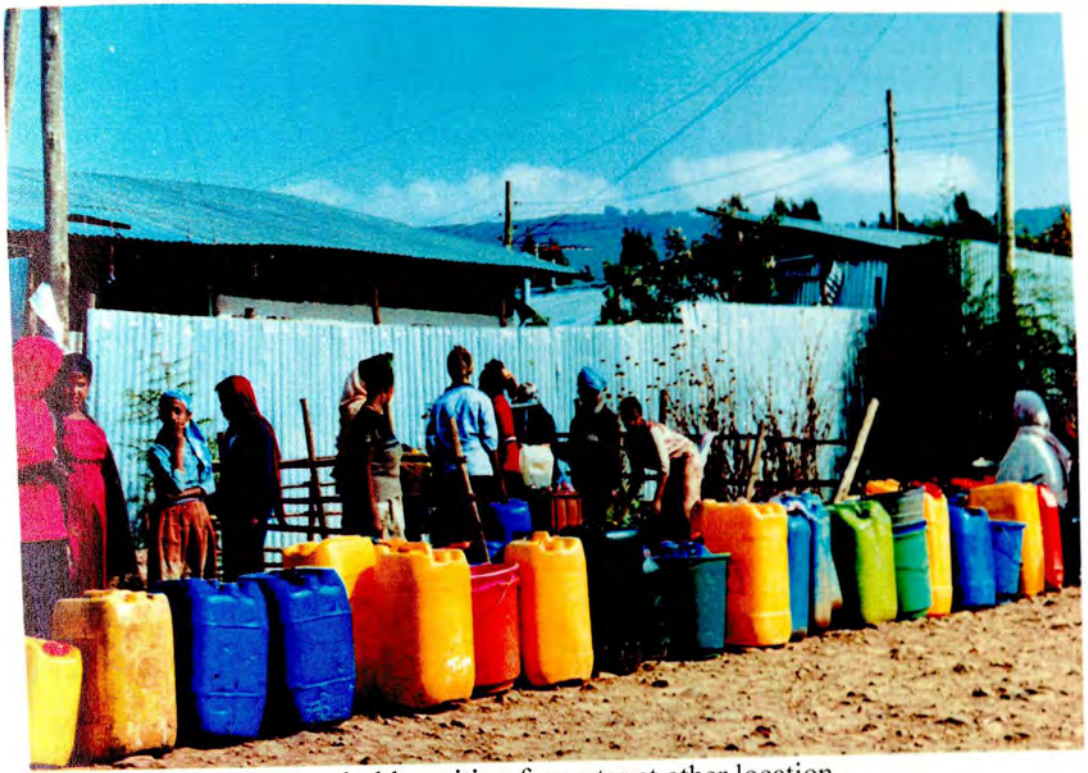

Plate 14 Displaced households waiting for water at other location

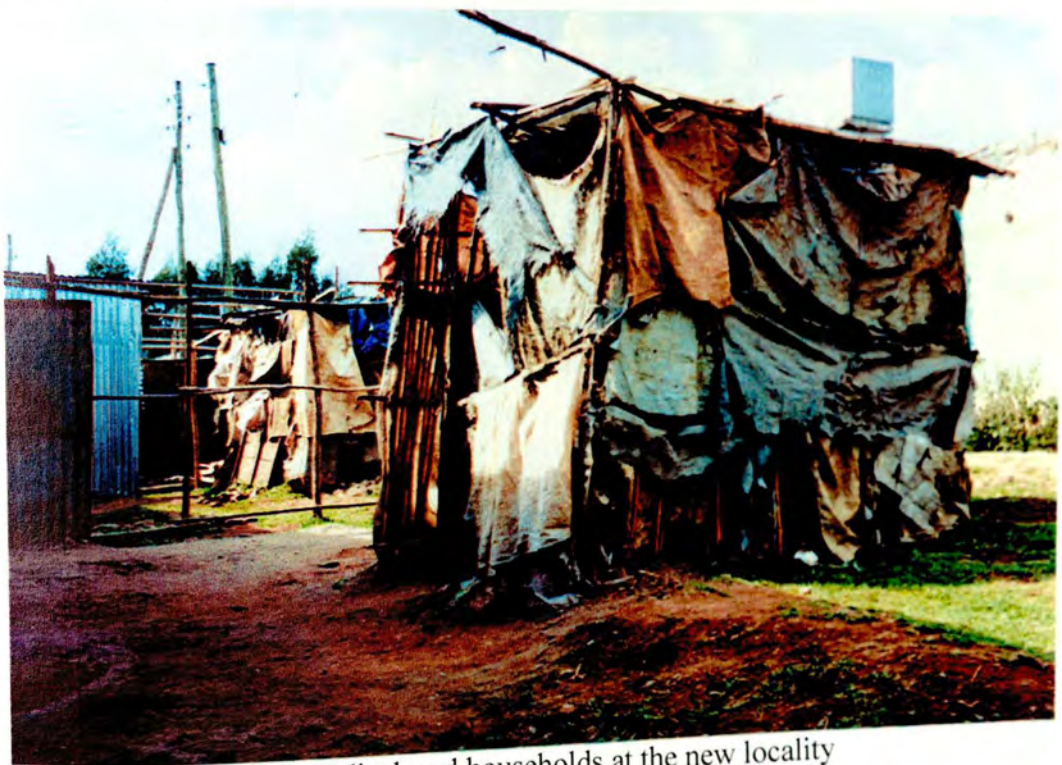

Plate 15: kitchens of two displaced households at the new locality