

**Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies**

**The Effects of Urban Displacement in Addis Ababa:
The Case of Displacees in Gurara.**

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*By: Ambaye Ogato
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**The Effects of Urban Displacement in Addis Ababa:
The Case of Displacees in Gurara.**

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Masters of Arts in Social Anthropology.**

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Table of Contents

Title	Page
Acknowledgments	I
List of Tables	II
List of Graphs	III
List of Plates	VI
Acronyms	VII
Abstract	1
Chapter 1: General Background	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	4
1.3. Significance of the Study	5
1.4. Objective of the Study	8
1.4.1. General Objective	8
1.4.2. Specific Objectives	8
1.5. Research Methodology	9
1.6. Literature Review	13
1.7. Theoretical Approach	19
1.7.1. The Scudder- Colson Model	19
1.7.2. Cernea's Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model	21
CHAPTER 2: Addis Ababa and the Study area	24
2.1. The dawn of Addis Ababa as a capital	24
2.2. The Plan of Addis Ababa	27
2.3. A Brief Socio-Economic Description of Addis Ababa	30
2.4. Area and Population	34
2.5. Gurara(the Research Site)	35

CHAPTER 3: Pre- and Early Displacement Experiences.....	38
3.1. Pre-displacement Condition	38
3.2.The Early Periods of the Displacement	
Process	46
3.2.1. Preparation period	47
3.2.2. Resistance	56
3.2.3. Promises and Compensation	57
CHAPTER 4: Effects of the Displacement	61
4.1. The Economic Impacts of Displacement	61
4.2 The Social Impacts of Displacement	68
4.2.1. <i>Provision of Housing and Social Amenities</i>	73
4.2.1.1 <i>Provision of Housing Units</i>	74
4.2.2 <i>Availability of Social Amenities</i>	78
4.2.2.1 <i>Water supply</i>	78
4.2.2.2 <i>Electricity</i>	79
4.2.2.3 <i>Toilet facilities</i>	80
4.2.2.4 <i>Availability of Schools</i>	80
4.2.2.5 <i>Availability of Health centers</i>	80
4.2.2.6 <i>Transportation facility</i>	81
4.3. Differential Impacts of the Displacement	82
4.3.1 <i>Impact on Saving</i>	82
4.3.2 <i>Drop Out from School</i>	82
4.3.3 <i>Dependency</i>	83
4.3.4 <i>Joblessness</i>	85
4.3.5 <i>Delinquency</i>	87
4.3.6 <i>Food Insecurity</i>	88
4.3.7 <i>Morbidity and Mortality</i>	88
4.3.8 <i>Illegal Settlement</i>	89

Chapter 5: Relationship of the displaced people with the host

People in Gurara 90

5.1 Coping Strategies Devised by the Displaced People in Gurara 92

Summary and Conclusion 95

Recommendations 103

References

List of Tables

Tables	Page
Table 1. Amount of rent paid for the previous housing units	40
Table 2. Reasons for choosing the previous place of Residence	41
Table 3. Means of making a living in pre-displacement Settlement	43
Table 4. Reason which made Displacees to Come to Gurara	49
Table 5. Means of transportation for school children in previous settlement	66
Table 6. Means of transportation for school children currently	66
Table 7. Comparison of Daily transportation expense of the households	67
Table 8. Relationship with the Members of a new Iddir in Gurara	72
Table 9. Number of the household members in Gurara	76

List of Graphs

Graphs	Page
Graph 1. First Impression of the IDPs in Gurara	54
Graph 2. Comparative monthly income of the household (in birr)	64

List of plates

- 1 - Partial View of Gurara relocation site
- 2 - Displaced people washing their Clothes in River **Tinsis**
- 3 - Partial view of Illegal settlements
- 4 - Partial view of the construction of School in Gurara
- 5 - Women collecting fire woods from the forest

Acronyms

AAMPPO- Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office.
AA CG - *Addis Ababa City Government*

AAIA - *Addis Ababa Investment Authority*

CSA - *Central Statistics Authority*

ECA - *Economic Commission for Africa*

FGD - *Focus Group Discussion*

HAI - *Help Age International*

IDPs - *Internally Displaced Peoples*

ORAAMP - *Office for Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan.*

SPSS - *Statistical Package for Social Sciences*

UN - *United Nation*

UNCHS - *United Nation Centers for Human Settlement*

Abstract

The capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, has been undergoing different physical and social changes for a long time. It seems that the city is entertaining urban expansion and development in its full swing. While acknowledging the positive changes introduced, the study investigates the unprecedented effects of the displacement process on the lives of many affected people by the urban development initiative. The assessment of the effects is made through qualitative and quantitative research methods. The study reveals that the process of displacement lacked genuine participation on the part of the affected people (settlers and hosts). The verdict of evidences also indicates that what ensued after the relocation process was not an improvement in the life condition of the displaced people.

On the contrary, it was a sharp decline in income, declined access to social services and infrastructural facilities, loss of social ties, and other series of negative effects. The study made use of the Thayer Scudder stage and stress model and the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model of Michael Cernea. While the former model is used to assess the early adaptation stresses experienced by the displaced people, the later is used to explain the impoverishment risks encountered by the affected people.

CHAPTER 1: General Background

1.1 Introduction

The 21st Century may be characterized by a monumental development leading to the expansion of cities and urban centers worldwide. At this juncture, to accommodate the ever growing population, urban development is gaining a momentum and urban centers expand either horizontally and/or vertically (Minas, 2001:16). In developing countries, this rapid urbanization leads to a radical transformation in the structure of cities accompanied by complex social, economic and environmental changes (Rabinovitch, 1998:16). One of the most overlooked legacies, which are often belittled as a side effect of the development process, is population displacement.

Displacement of urban population could be the result of (a) disorderly growth and consequent reordering of urban living space, (b) improvement of highly deteriorated sanitation and environmental conditions, (c) improvement of other urban infrastructural facilities, (d) specific poverty alleviation policies, and (e) the effects of natural disaster (Mejia, 1999:150). Population displacement caused by the above *raison d'être* have been lurking the fallacies of development by impinging on the lives of the poor ironically. The relatively accelerating rhythm of urban development in Ethiopia is triggering the displacement of people from inner cities to peri-urban and to the suburbs.

After 1991, the current Ethiopian government revised the master plan and established a separate office called Office for Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan in charge of urban planning. In one of its documents the Office wrote,

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 controlled development to a more flexible and development oriented planning and management tool (ORAAMP, 2002:64).

Hence, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, is undergoing a fundamental transformation in infrastructural development. Many of the initiatives to develop the city are being taken by the state benevolence and private investors. These initiatives are leaving behind permanent imprints on the physical, social and economic structures of the city and the 'social accounting matrices' of the population. In other words, some of the initiatives are changing the socioeconomic settlement pattern by evicting the poor from the inner city and relocating them to the suburbs and peri-urban areas.

According to different writers, Addis Ababa now constitutes about 60% of the total urban population in the country. This figure is estimated to double within 25-30 years (Araud , 2003 ; Dierig , 1999).On the other hand, different studies have pointed out the very complex socio-economic problems that characterize Addis Ababa since its early inception and the impending problems unless some development interventions could be made to avert the horrendous situation (HAI, 2001: 6; Yasin, 1997).

According to the administration, housing, among many, is a crucial problem that the city dwellers are facing from time to time. In order to mitigate the housing problem, the city administration has planned to construct 50,000 houses in five years [i.e., from 2004 -2009] (AA CG, 2006).

The government, for example, displaced about 358 households from different areas such as **Piassa, Cherkos, Urael, Megenagna** and **Kazanchis**, and relocated them to a place called **Gurara** located at the suburb of Addis Ababa near the French Embassy.

The displacement involved disruption of previously established social and economic networks, employment opportunities, affordable social services, and many other contexts, in which the displaced people interpret their lives and define their goals. Thus, this thesis examines the entire gamut of issues including, preparation for relocation, participation of stakeholders, and compensation. By doing this, the study tries to assess the effects of urban displacement on affected people.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The government of Ethiopia has been making a concerted effort to bring a considerable infrastructural transformation to the capital, Addis Ababa. While acknowledging the positive changes, this study reveals that paradoxically the initiative is bringing unprecedented impact on the lives of many people. The urban development and renewal stride is accompanied by displacement of people from their familiar places to a suburb and a new structure of living.

The displacement process has brought the impoverishment of the displaced people by detaching them from their previous earning activities. Previously they tend to depend on informal economy to earn their livelihood and needed cash to purchase basic necessities for themselves and their dependents. For the poor residents of the city, informal trade activity is the *sine qua non* of economic viability. The relocation of the displacees dissolved their meaningful earning means and left them in serious impoverishment strains. Moreover, the distance from their previous job area and lack of affordable transport or the additional cost incurred for it, has posed a serious problem on the already fragile economic condition of the people.

The displacement has also brought discontinuity in the social networks whereby many meaningful activities of mutual help and cooperation are involved. Moreover, women often bear the brunt of the impoverishment because they find

it more difficult to obtain jobs in the new area; they are receiving lower wages compared to their previous area; and they lack access to credit that they used to get from the informal lending institutions.

In addition, increased house rents in the new area make it more difficult for low-income households to rent a house and engage in petty trade activity. It is also important to note that the relocation of the displaced people led to competition over resources with the hosts and the consequent casual friction between the two.

Despite all these impacts of displacement both on the displaced and the hosts, government policy and social science research remain silent about the plights of the affected people sometimes by fallaciously belittling them as side-effects. Thus, the present research was carried out to understand the effects of displacement in its totality. Furthermore, most researches conducted in Ethiopia so far have the tendency of being eclipsed to rural resettlement and its effects. Hence, this study would help to unveil and surface the salient effects of development-induced displacement in urban areas.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The displacement process involved many risks that affected the lives of the displacees and the hosts. Most impoverishment risks discussed by Michael Cernea are also observed. Moreover, this study brings to light one additional risk that development induced displacement in urban areas entails. This is the prevalence of delinquency. This risk is commonly observed in the study area.

The displacement of the people from the inner city vibes squeezed out the poor urban dwellers to the suburb where their choices of infrastructure, social services and choices to alternative and affordable markets is limited. Moreover, the alienation of many youths from different informal and casual jobs in the new settlement made them to resort to delinquency. In view of these, the study suggests that if displacement is unavoidable, policy makers should equally consider reestablishing the livelihood of the people and should avail them the choices that they used to enjoy in their previous settlements. Besides, the study would be useful to inform policy makers to give serious thought in reestablishing the social and economic positions of the youth. This would help mitigate and curb out the breeding of delinquency.

The findings also show the need to participate the host community in the early process of the relocation in order to facilitate cooperation and integration between the hosts and the displacees. With these view in mind, the study suggests that participation of the hosts would help to minimize or avoid the

conflicts between the hosts and the displacees. Besides, the study points out that participating the hosts in the relocation process would help to mitigate the simmering negative perceptions about the displacees in Gurara. Hence, taking on board the concerns of the hosts would ease the process of integration of the hosts and the displacees in the implementation and post implementation period.

The addition of the risk of delinquency into the model, would strengthen and shows the dynamicity of the existing Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction theoretical model.

Finally, the research would enrich the scanty resources found on salient features of urban displacement and spiral effects on affected people.

1.4. Objective of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

The research examines the effects of urban displacement in Addis Ababa on the displaced people and their hosts, and the adaptation of people in the changing environment.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- To assess the level of participation of individuals, families, groups and communities in the relocation decision.
- To assess the impact of displacement on the income of the displaced.
- To understand the social impact of displacement (For example, loss or gain of social services, social networks, etc.).
- To assess the nature of settler-host relations and interactions in the new area.

1.5. Research Methodology

Different methods are employed to collect relevant data from the field and government offices. The rationale for using different methods is to counter-check the validity and reliability of data through triangulation.

Observation – I lived in Gurara for about forty five days and made frequent field visits for three months to observe the daily activities of displaced people such as patterns of social gathering, and income earning activities. Interactions of the displaced with the hosts and with each other are collected through observation and even participation in some of their activities. I have tried to participate in long queues to fetch water in the evening around 4:00 am to comprehend their situation. By participating in the queues I observed how women and children are overburdened sparing literally no time to rest. Moreover, I have tried to visit the very few existing local bars. This environment enabled me to collect data on different conditions of the displaced people, especially those of the youth. Youth are observed to be continuous and frequent visitors of the bars during the day time. In this sort of environment, I was able to initiate free discussion concerning the nature of the interactions that they have with each other and with their hosts. In addition, I was able to attend funeral ceremonies and post-funeral visitation to comfort the family of the deceased. This provided me first hand valuable information on the different patterns of socio-economic interactions and exchanges among the neighborhood.

In -depth Interviews - Four government officials and people who participated in the displacement process are interviewed to know how the displacement is planned in the initial periods and to know how the agency in charge had prepared to execute the plan. Moreover, some officials were asked to know how the houses were distributed to the displaced people and why they are denied compensation.

Thirty two displaced people have also been interviewed to understand how far they were consulted in every stage of the displacement, their reaction to the relocation initiatives, preparation they had, problems encountered, opportunities seized, etc. The selection of the informants was carried out based on age, wealth, occupational status and gender in order to investigate the varying views the displaced people have had about the entire process of the displacement and the relocation in the new area. Out of the thirty two people interviewed, ten are taken as key informants and continuous follow up was made on them.

Nine hosts are also interviewed to know their attitudes about the relocated people in their area, their awareness about their coming and the impact of the resettlement on their lives.

Focus Group Discussions- Three focus group discussion was made with the male youth groups, female youth groups and adult male groups. Each FGD of both female and male youth group consist five members while the focus group

discussion of the adult males consisted of four members. Attempt to make FGD with female adult groups was made but I failed to bring them together at the same time. The focus group is aimed to know how especially the youth are coping up with the new settlement and how the adults perceived the entire gamut of the displacement process.

Case Studies – Seven case studies are conducted to comprehend the subject under discussion. The selection of the cases was made through different discussion I had with the displaced people. I chose the story of those displacees that could reflect and represent the situation of most affected people by the displacement process. Micro situations of single displaced persons in different age groups are given due emphasis to see income, livelihood and how they perceive themselves in the new area. The situation of these individuals in adapting to the displacement wave is analyzed to enrich the study and comprehend the modus operandi. For ethical reasons all the names used in the study are pseudo names.

Census-To substantiate the data obtained using the above qualitative data collecting tools and to analyze the result side by side, a census of the entire displaced households in Gurara is carried out by developing questionnaire. Although the questionnaires are administered to 358 displaced households, only 302 of them responded. Seven households are reportedly sold their houses and left the area while eight households rented out the house and had left Gurara.

The remaining displaced people did not want to cooperate by filling the questionnaire.

Simple statistical tools using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Scientists) computer software is used to assess and analyze the different impacts of displacement including the income of the displaced persons.

Secondary Materials- Secondary sources such as books, journals, proclamations, theses etc. that deal with issues of displacement are used to enrich the literature.

Data Analysis – The data gathered through the different methods are arranged, organized into patterns, categories and descriptive units. By doing this, the different relationships of indicators are analyzed. For example, the income of the displaced people before the displacement and after displacement is compared by using the software. Moreover, by using the SPSS software I have tried to supplement my qualitative information with the census data I collected at the household level. Hence, all the analysis is based on the qualitative data and statistical figures that I collected. Besides, all the tables that I used to indicate an array of issues are synchronized by using the software and the source of all my graphs and tables is my fieldwork information and data.

1.6. Literature Review

The concept of sustainable development has become very important since the 1970s in shaping development thinking and principles with a view of bringing positive change to people's lives. Sustainable development is explained as a process that entails the concept of economic betterment, greater human dignity, security, justice, and equity (IISD in Feleke, 1999: 12).

However, some development programs and initiatives that were originally intended to improve the lives of people are causing massive displacement every year. This irony of development programs in bringing about infrastructural development and at the same time affecting the lives of millions of people by displacing them from their homes and long established economic activities has significantly contributed to the reluctance of early mainstreaming of displacement issues.

With the above problem and dilemma in mind, research studies on development-induced displacement using anthropological lenses were kept "at the backdoor" and came into the academic avenue only lately by looking into the impacts of large hydropower dam construction projects. Accordingly, David Brokeasha's account of 1962 on Volta Dam relocated / displaced people was perhaps, the first ethnographic account of development induced displacement (Cernea, 1996: 294). Soon after, quite a few ethnographic accounts about displacement issues

stemming from development, which later served as a base for academic debates, came into being (Timberlake 1985 in Kassahun 2001: 17- 18).

The overriding development initiatives in Africa are said to have contributed a lot to the displacement of people. According to Crisp(Crisp in Gebre and Ohta,2005:2-3), "while Africans constitute only 13 % of the global population, around 30 % of the world's refugees and 60% of the worlds Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are to be found in Africa . Moreover, the number of IDPs in Africa is expected to rise due to internal conflicts, natural disasters, implementation of development projects, the establishment of parks or protected areas, and urban development ".

It is also important to note that the growth of urbanization is one of the phenomenal occurrences of the twenty first century. This process is accompanied by the growth of urban population in all corners of the world. According to the World Bank(World Bank, 2000), since the beginning of the twenty first century half of the world's population is considered to be living in areas classified as urban and it is expected to increase by 1.5 billion in 2025. Hence, the speed of urbanization and enormous number of population involved has created various development challenges.

In this regard, Africa is especially experiencing a boost in the number of the population residing in cities. It has the world's highest urbanization rates with an

annual average urban growth of 4.0 percent almost two times faster than Latin America and Asia (UN, 1996). In the continent, 37 percent of the total population lives in cities, and by 2030 the urban population is expected to rise to 53 percent of the total population (Ibid).

One of the major challenges faced in the course of urban growth is the accretion of slum areas. In the cities of developing countries, the rapid population growth, rural- urban migration, and the duality of the economy have given rise to the rapid increase of slum (UNCHS, 1996).

In addition, phenomenal and geometric increase of urban population creates a loophole for cheap and informal settlement with accumulation of slums that damage the image of urban centers. These slum areas are seen as threats to the larger society as the center of concentration of criminals and diseased persons. They are also considered as contagious, for their effects have been apt to spill over into the city as a whole (Scott, 1965).

For example, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 80 % of the houses are found in slum areas. The houses are found in poor condition and are not conducive to lead healthy life (AACG, 2005).

It is also evident that large scale, highly visible infrastructure projects in developing countries are often monuments to powerful interests - a national priority in which the burden is regarded as inevitable and acceptable when

weighed against 'national' or 'public' interest. As a result, according to Scott, (Scott 1995 in McDowell, 1996), "investments for engineering" which mark the passage of a political administration, often take priority over the social area where gains are less spectacular and more polemical.

Moreover, in the developing world, demographic pressure resulting from the high rate of natural growth and massive rural-urban migration, in parallel to insignificant investment in transport and infrastructure in peripheral areas, has led inner city areas to acquire slums. Thus, inner city areas are typified mainly by a high incidence of crowding, dominance of traditional settlements, absence of basic public facilities, physical shabbiness, congestion, environmental degradation, and intensive mixed use of land (Verma, 1990).

Thus, an urban renewal program is part of the urbanization process that tries to give a remedial response to the social, economic and infrastructural problems. It involves a relocation process demanding systematic effort to lay out a suitable physical and social framework for the community by the designation of major land use districts, principal routes of circulation and basic service improvement. However, large-scale relocation of families and individuals by huge renewal or development projects raises a question of social welfare and public policy (Pacione, 2001).

Apparently, as Cernea argues, African governments are struggling to cope with urban growth. The last half century has witnessed a massive rural-urban migration, with a lack of master planning, with haphazardly located and poor infrastructure, bad roads, with squatters and slums, and more environmental problems. The attempt to curb the above-mentioned problems and restructure urban centers would inevitably entail intra-urban displacement (Cernea, in Gebre and Ohta, 2005:212; Houser and Gardner, 1980). For example, to ease the existing urban problems, the Ethiopian government has come up with a policy of encouraging and promoting investments that would encourage Real Estate and other developments. In this regard, for investors who relocate more than 10 households by themselves, the cost of relocation will also be deducted from the lease price and an additional 5% reduction will also be granted (AAIA, Brochure; AAIA Guide, 2005).

It is also stated that within the next six years (2004-2009) only, it will be necessary to construct about 468,668 houses to meet the increasing demand of the Addis Ababa city dwellers. This means that on the average it will be necessary to build more than 78,000 houses annually (AAIA, 2005:30). Thus, one can understand that the execution of such plans would inevitably involve the displacement of people, making urban displacement a potentially explosive issue that needs to be researched.

Furthermore, various experiences reveal that different countries at different times have been venturing in the name of 'urban development' but paradoxically impoverishing the lives of many people. Although these failures have their own excuses, the question remains, however: Is urban development at the service of and in consultation with the displaced and the host people? Hindsight suggests that the displacement process could be theoretically massaged and fiddled with during the design and implementation stages.

Various empirical research studies have been done assessing the impacts of big development projects such as dam constructions, government sponsored agricultural schemes and others. Based on these experiences two dominant models have triumphed to explain the theoretical underpinning of development-induced displacement. These two models would be used as a theoretical tool to investigate the grim seriousness of displacement impoverishment consequences.

downplays the variations of strategies employed by individuals, households and groups in tackling the consequences of displacement and resettlement (Feleke in Pankhurst and Piguet, 2004: 483). In addition, while reviewing the model in the context of state organized resettlement in Ethiopia and state organized villagization in Ethiopia, Pankhurst(1992) and Tadesse(1995) respectively argued that the displacement process does not affect the resettlers in the same fashion and equally. They argued that the displacement has a differential impact at the individual or household level making some to 'gain' and others to 'lose' from the process.

Despite the major criticisms put forward against this theory, the model would be used to analyze the early stage of the displacement process that was characterized by stresses. This is because the displaced people from the different parts of the inner city have passed through serious stresses when displaced from their long cherished place and relocated in Gurara.

Furthermore, besides the nature of the socioeconomic backgrounds of the displaced people in Gurara and the different policy environment with regard to compensation, my study points out that the relative geographical proximity to the displacement site has its own negative repercussion in the lives of the displaced people. In other words, while taking on board the different concerns raised by various authors, my study also tries to see how the proximity of the relocation site has affected the social and economic situation of the people.

1.7.2. Cernea's Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model

This is a very productive (vivacious) model, which this study tries to manipulate in order to assess the effects of urban displacement that are entailed by different development initiatives in Addis Ababa. The model is constructed by taking three concepts as pillars: risks, impoverishment, and reconstruction.

This theory tries to analyze how different development initiatives would cause the impoverishment of many people. In other words, he argues that displacement that is brought about by development projects would deprive people in many ways. It aims to identify the impoverishment risks intrinsic to displacement and the processes necessary for reconstructing the livelihoods of the displaced people. Accordingly, he lists eight risks that displacement could entail unless it is handled properly. These are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and services, and social disarticulation (Cernea, 2000). Apart from pointing the different looming risks, the model also suggests that the model could be used to mitigate the risks and reconstruct the lives of the displacees. The risks could be reversed, in his words by, "Turning the model on its head shows which strategies must be adopted and which directions be taken" (Ibid). Gebre (2003) came up with the idea that the model could be equally relevant to be used as a tool to analyze the situation of the hosts, which Cernea failed to do.

Many of the variables raised by Cernea are relevant in the context of this study. For example, joblessness has been a very vivid reality as displaced people lost their jobs when they are displaced from the inner city where their economic viability is embedded. In other words, the displacement of the people from the inner city and relocating them at the suburb warded off the people from their income earning activities.

Homelessness is also exhibited. The study confirms that, there are many people who reportedly became homeless. In addition, homelessness could be defined according to this study, a worsening of spacing condition whereby many people are crammed in a narrow housing unit. Moreover, loss of economic posture that led to "downward social mobility" led to the economic marginalization. This economic marginalization entailed the social marginalization that ripped off their self image and confidence in the new settlement. In addition, although it needs an additional investigation, the displaced people reported that increased morbidity though not mortality have been experienced due to the lack of clean drinking water in Gurara.

The study also revealed that some households experienced food insecurity as they lost their income. Moreover, the lack of enough preparation in developing the area made the displaced people to lose the basic social services like alternative schools, hospitals, etc, in the new settlement.

Furthermore, the weakening of the different social ties in the area has contributed to social disarticulation of the displace people.

In addition to looking into the variables raised by Cernea, this research tries to investigate the case of the Gurara displaced people and tries to address the gaps of the model by introducing one additional risk of delinquency.

CHAPTER 2: Addis Ababa and the Study area

This chapter tries to highlight briefly the development of Addis Ababa (the study area) which has left its own structural imprint and legacy; it also discusses briefly the social and the economic milieu in which the study is carried out.

2.1. The dawn of Addis Ababa as a capital

The late 19th century and early 20th century mark a distinct break in the history of urban development in Ethiopia. According to Ronald (1976), before the establishment of Addis Ababa in the late 1890s, a small number of towns existed in Ethiopia. Accordingly, a substantial number of them were exogenous centers, and Islamic trading centers providing services for the caravans of slaves, gold, and ivory passing through Ethiopia. Central Ethiopia contributed very little to the foreign trade and as such was little more than an expanse of land over which the caravans passed; the towns were like a resting places along the way. Other towns were residences of the Christian feudal elite.

Moreover, different writers hold the view that urban centers are recent phenomena in modern Ethiopia. In view of that, the pre 20th century Ethiopia was characterized by impermanent settlement with the potential of urban centers. This was due to the recurrent warfare among the regional lords and the changing nature of the military headquarters.

It was in the midway during the historical expansion of Menelik II that Addis Ababa was born. Addis Ababa may be the hallmark of the first human settlement to assume a metropolitan level from scattered settlements in Ethiopia (Bahru, 2002; Pankhurst, 1968).

The historical advent of Addis Ababa is related to emperor Menelik II and his wife Etege Taytu. In 1886 Menelik II, the then monarch of Ethiopia, moved his seat from Ankober, Addis Alem and Entoto to the site of the modern day Addis Ababa (Bahru, 1991).

Different writers hold diverse views as to the motive behind the establishment of the city. The thrust of the argument that put military strategic significance for its concretization is the one which weighs a lot.

Accordingly, the early layouts of the streets, the residence of Menelik's military officials and the palace witness the importance of military considerations during its early periods (Akalou, 1976; Bahru, 2002; Foucher, 1987).

Moreover, Bahru (1991) puts forward the victory of Adwa as a key event that heightened the growth of Addis Ababa to become the permanent capital of Ethiopia. Accordingly, on the one hand it marked the transition from the era of campaigning to that of settled civilian life. Most members of the nobility began to settle in Addis Ababa to build more or less permanent residences. On the other hand, with the increase in the prestige of Emperor Menelik II, foreigners began to

come and settle in the city in increasingly large numbers, making some investments in buildings.

Menelik II also made efforts for the greater use of foreign skills in construction by bringing in professionals from the western world. Impressed by the need to import technicians from abroad, he made an arrangement with the Swiss traders in Aden to procure young European technicians who would be employed as government engineers and instructors to Ethiopian workers (Bahru 1991).

Furthermore, Pankhurst(1961), described the foundation of Addis Ababa as one of the efforts of Menelik II to create a European type of city in a colonial environment. Addis Ababa, he argued, represented an attempt by an African ruler to create something new in his country's history by creating modern institutions in a traditional society.

Be that as it may, one can logically argue that every stage of the development of Addis Ababa had left its imprints and legacies. Moreover, in the face of the diverse explanations given about the early inception and development of the city, a number of questions could be raised – such as: were there plans for the city? What was the socio-economic context of the city? I will try to address these questions very briefly in the next subsection.

2.2. The Plan of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa, although changed much, bears a significant legacy of the past unstructured and unplanned settlement. The legacy of the early spontaneous growth of the city is haunting in the capital despite major changes (Bahru, 1986:43-45).

As Wubishet(2002) puts it, besides the foundation of the city, the other important factor in the development of Addis Ababa is the design of the master plan to guide the formal growth of the capital.

The first master plan was prepared during the Italian occupation. Despite the lack of the enactment of major urban policies, this plan was the first ever attempt at planning. This plan focused on differentiating the settlement areas of the Europeans and the local Ethiopians. Though much was built during the five year occupation of the Italians, only twenty percent of the actual plan was realized (Wubishet, 2002). Moreover, accordingly the attempt to implement this first master plan in 1936 by Architect Le Corbusier during the Italian occupation was not realized.

The second plan was proposed in the same year (1936) by two Italians called Guide and Valle. This plan was meant to bring about Italian domination by the creation of a new neighborhood, new market (Merkato) and business and retail district. The plan was designed to segregate the local people in line with

residence areas, streets and locations of religious centers. Despite its brief tenure and termination after the Italian evacuation, this plan had left vital imprints on the city. (Dejene, 2005:25).

The third plan was prepared after the withdrawal of the Italians. Sir. Patrick Abercrombie, a British citizen, took over the assignment of preparing the master plan for the city. However, although his plan gave marginal detail of road and building layout of the city, it gave a plan to the street network of the city in such a way as to have radial and ring roads intended to channel vehicular traffic outward from the central areas. This plan also took population growth into consideration and came up with a solution of establishing satellite towns.

The lack of correct data on the different factors that would affect the plan and the absence of legislation and an administrative body that would implement it contributed to the failure of its full realization. Moreover, since this plan came after the liberation, political unrest and economic stagnation characterized the time. Due to this reason, most of the constructions that were started by the Italians were left unfinished (Tesfaye et al, 1987).

In 1959, Bolton Hency and his friends were given the responsibility to improve the master plan made by Sir. Patrick Abercrombie.

In 1965, a French team took over the initiative to revise the previous plan. This plan shifted the city centre toward the south. According to this plan, the ring roads of the previous plan were retained but this plan came up with the new idea of creating grand formal avenues with long vistas. Moreover, it attempted to

redevelop the traditional nodes of settlements of the city into a compact centre through a massive redevelopment program. (AACG, 2000).

The Hungarian Planner K. Polony revised the previous master plan of Addis Ababa. Developing a megalopolis over a stretch of one hundred kilometers from Addis Ababa to Nazareth was at the centre of this plan (Tesfaye et al, 1987). Moreover, this plan took into consideration the establishment of self-contained communities and satellite towns too. Since this plan was the development of a metropolis, it required a massive investment and longer time for its realization and its implementation was left at bay (Wubishet, 2002).

The latest master plan is the one made by the Ethiopians and the Italian Technical cooperation in 1984-1986. This plan was meant to serve for twenty years. The scope and content of this plan is much better than its predecessors are. Moreover, the plan is based on the earlier plan by Polony and takes into account the areas neighboring the capital (ORAAMP, 2000:7). Although this plan is well organized in its technical content, it is revised due to its inability to serve as a guide when contextualized with the existing socioeconomic principle (ibid).

As one can argue, the development of the master plan of Addis Ababa has been passing through different metamorphoses through different periods.

It is also obvious that each period has left its own legacy on the structure of the inception of preparing a master plan. Moreover, for quite a long time expatriates

dominated the idea of master planning in Ethiopia and this would inevitably leave its own imprints.

Despite the different initiatives to prepare a master plan, its full implementation has been a distant prospect in Ethiopian history. This was because of the different constraints and instabilities that the country has been experiencing from time to time.

2.3. A Brief Socio-Economic Description of Addis Ababa

It is clear that Addis Ababa has been caught unprepared to accommodate a population which is now believed to be over 3 million. As a result, people are forced to live in conditions that are hardly fit for human beings. The majority of the people live in very poor and extremely over crowded dwelling units which lack minimum sanitary requirements. The city authorities, due to limitation of resources and lack of proper policy to meet the problem, have failed to provide various services such as housing, water supply, electric light and power, waste material disposal mechanisms.(Andargachew, 1992:26).

The significance of the above quotation lies in its capacity to sum up the grim seriousness of urban problems including the squalid and appalling living conditions of many people in Addis Ababa. Moreover, as one could infer from the above section, the lack of well-defined and spontaneous inception and growth of Addis Ababa would inevitably give rise to many socio economic problems.

As was mentioned earlier, the unplanned and spontaneous growth of the city in its early and formative years has invited many illegal settlements that laid foundations for a bleak socioeconomic picture of the city. Albeit the different attempts to mitigate the appalling situations, any casual observer can witness that, the city by far has failed to provide the basic amenities and life sustaining elements for its dwellers. The large majority of the city population has been living in abysmal socioeconomic conditions having no employment opportunities.

For example, according to the 1994 census (CSA, 1995), the official figure shows that the total population of Addis Ababa aged 15-64 was 1,376,848 persons. Out of this category, 63% were economically active and 37% inactive. Out of the total of 863,051 economically active persons, 563,147 were employed, while 299,904 were unemployed. Accordingly, unemployment in Addis Ababa was 35% of the economically active population aged 15-64 (CSA, 1995:5).

Moreover, any observer could comprehend the pervasive state of poverty in Addis Ababa that is noticeable in poor dwellings, slums, and insalubrious neighborhoods, the burgeoning number of beggars coupled with street children and many other dreadful conditions. The understanding of these factors would enable the reader to foresee the future of these poor dwellers vis -a -vis the plan to renew and reconfigure the city through different planning techniques.

Addis Ababa suffers from both food poverty and total poverty. Food poverty represents the inability of the household to buy the necessary amount of food

items to meet the minimum calorie requirement set by the Ethiopian Nutrition and Health Institute. On the other hand, total poverty stands for the inability of a household to meet the minimum requirements of their food and non-food items. In line with this definition 48% and 63 % of the households in Addis Ababa are categorized under food poverty and total poverty respectively (Dejene, 2005:27).

According to the official figures released by the 1994 Addis Ababa population and housing census, there are 380,307 residential housing units in Addis Ababa. The total number of rooms in these housing units is 978,880, which gives an average of 2.1 persons per room (CSA, 1995:7). Moreover, of these residential houses the walls of 82.6 percent are made up of wood and mud, 3.4 percent of stone, 8.5 percent of bricks and hollow blocks and the rest with other materials.

According to the city administration, the housing problem is acute for the 80 percent low-income earners. It is estimated that 60 percent of the housing found in the capital comprises old shanties, of which one fourth are constructed illegally (AAMP, 1993-2003:34). In addition to this, housing is an acute problem and the city administration has mentioned the necessity of constructing about 468,668 houses in the years 2004-2009 to meet the increasing demand of the city dwellers (AAIA, 2005:30).

It is also estimated that 60 percent of the city dwellers could not afford taxi fares and 20 percent of the Addis Ababa dwellers cannot afford bus fares (ibid).

It is obvious that the spontaneous and unplanned growth of the city has contributed to the budding of informal activities that make up the lifeline of the urban poor in Addis Ababa to cope with their backbreaking (survival) problems.

Thus, one can easily comprehend that the deeply ingrained nature of the socio-economic problems partly emanates from the nature of the unplanned inception and spontaneous growth of the city and has created bottlenecks for different development activities in the city.

In spite of the problems, the city administration has been making different attempts to renew the city by relocating and demolishing different long established households and housing units. Hence, it would be very important to investigate the injurious effects on millions of lives that this urban development initiative is bringing. Moreover, understanding the general socio-economic conditions of the city would enable one to have a clear picture of the unprecedented impact that the very initiative of urban development could entail unless it is well planned, and puts these poor people at the heart of the planning activity.

2.4. Area and Population

The city of Addis Ababa is located at 8°5' North to 9° 06' North and 38° 05' eastern longitude lines. The city is located in the central highland of the country from 2000- 2500 meters above sea level and is encircled by the Entoto hills in the North and by farmlands in the west, South and East (AACG, 2005).

The average annual quantity of rain is 1164.6mm while the maximum average annual amount of heat reaches 22.5° centigrade. The average daily temperature is 16.1° centigrade.

According to the Addis Ababa city government, the total area of the city is 540 square kilometers / 54,000 hectares. Out of this, 18,174 square kilometers is a rural region, where the peasants dwell. For example, a recent document of the Addis Ababa City Government Investment Authority estimates the population to be about four million (AACG 2005: 27). Moreover, the same document, referring to the data issued by the Central Statistical Authority in 2001/2002, puts the population of Addis Ababa city at 2,646 Million. Accordingly, 98.8 % live in the centre of the city; the remaining 1.2 % of the population is peasants, living in the suburbs of the city. The same source puts the annual population growth at 3.8%. The gender distribution is 51.6% female and 48.4 % male (AACG, 2005:2).

Thus, one should also understand that Gurara makes up the matrix of the city of Addis Ababa. It has to be clear that the people who are displaced from the

different centers of the city are the people who previously made up the nucleus of the economic activity and most of them lived in their previous areas for quite a long period.

The next section gives a brief description of Gurara, the relocation site

2.5. Gurara(the Research Site)

Gurara is one of the relocation sites for people who are being displaced from different parts of the city. The place is currently found under the Yeka sub city. It is found in the eastern suburb of Addis Ababa about 2.5 kilometers from the French Embassy.

According to an elder who has been living there for about 50 years, the place initially belonged to a native Oromo landlord known as Gurara. Later on, after the historical expansion and settlement of Menelik II in Addis Ababa, the place came under feudal lords. Accordingly, the place was administered by **Tsehafe Tizaz** Wolde Giorgis Wolde Yohanis who was the '**Tsifet Minister**' (or the information minister) during the Imperial regime.

According to my informant who used to be a loyal servant to the aforementioned feudal lord, Gurara used to be farmland in the initial period and then they planted a type of tree called **Lemoza**. During the military government, the place came under government ownership and became idle for a long time, except that it was



Picture 1 Partial view of Girara relocation site

used for grazing. After the demise of the military government in 1991, there were no settlers in the area except some scattered settlements in the surrounding.

Before the construction of the current houses, the place was given to the demobilized soldiers who fought in the war against the Eritrean aggression in 1999 -2000. They used to grow vegetables on the land. However, the soldiers were not successful in growing vegetables and later on, the land was taken by the city administration.

After the take-over of the land by the city administration, 400 low-cost houses were constructed by the Housing Development Bureau and later on taken by its successor the Housing agency. The construction was finished at the end of 2002/2003 and left vacant for some time. The houses that are found in Gurara relocation site are of three types.

The first category is called Row category and has only one room that rests on 22.5 meter square area, and 60.5 meter square area of compound including the room.

The second category is Duplex, which has two rooms built on 23.7 meter square area, of 73.5 square meter area total. This type of housing shares walls with two adjacent houses.

The third category is called Quadraplex and has two rooms that rest on 25.0 square meter area, and 78.8 square meter area of compound including the rooms. The Quadraplex shares walls with four housing units.

It was in this suburb area that nearly 358 households were relocated by being displaced from the different centers of the city mainly from Kazanchis, Megenagna, Piassa, Cherkos.

Chapter 3: Pre- and Early Displacement Experiences

3.1. Pre-displacement Experiences

In order to have a clear picture of the impacts of the displacement a clinical diagnosis of the situation of the displaced people before the outset of the displacement would be not only logical but also indispensable.

Treating the effects of displacement in isolation from the pre displacement situation of these particular displaced people would be epitomized by a flawed, inaccurate and equally uninformative conclusion.

By virtually every measure, whether that of relative income, status, educational opportunity, access to basic social services and housing, the condition of the displaced people was notoriously bad. However, it would be fallacious to describe the entire complex of issues into a single-sided orthodoxy, which opines that pre-displacement areas, mostly slum areas, are unhealthy and short of social and economic viability.

Hence, in order to envisage the whole gamut of issues, the different nature of the displaced people should be described and discussed.

A significant number of people interviewed indicated that they had lived in their previous settlement for quite a long period. For example, 30.8% of 302 household census respondents lived in their previous settlement for 21-30 years,

21.9% for 11-20 years, 15.9 % for 31-40 years, and 4.6% for about 41-50 years in their previous settlement. The respondents emphatically expressed that they had developed a deep emotional attachment to their previous settlement and this close attachment, according to a 58 year old widow, is manifested in close relationship and involvement of the community in different social networks such as Iqub, Iddir and other informal religious associations. In her own words:

I have been living in Kazanchis area since my childhood. I grew up there and it is everything for me. The area in general is my home. I feel I belong there and I wish I would be buried there. Every house in the neighborhood was like my home and every child there was like mine. You see, I am old and I need help. During those good days, I was so dependent on the youth of the village for help in fetching water and shopping. I am now alone everyone is locked in his compound and everyone is busy trying to survive.

The census also indicated that 93.7 % of the households responded that they used to live in a kebele house paying an average of 5.9 Birr per month. Moreover, the minimum and maximum amount of rent paid in the previous Kebele owned houses were zero (for free) Birr and 30 Birr respectively.

Table. 1. Amount of rent paid for the previous housing units

Rent paid	Frequency	Percent
.00	1	.3
1.00	5	1.7
1.50	1	.3
1.75	1	.3
2.00	11	3.6
2.50	9	3.0
2.75	1	.3
3.00	19	6.3
3.50	7	2.3
3.55	1	.3
3.80	1	.3
4.00	24	7.9
4.50	12	4.0
5.00	25	8.3
5.50	3	1.0
5.60	1	.3
6.00	23	7.6
6.50	4	1.3
7.00	22	7.3
7.50	5	1.7
8.00	15	5.0
8.50	2	.7
8.60	1	.3
9.00	13	4.3
9.50	1	.3
10.00	16	5.3
11.00	2	.7
12.00	1	.3
12.50	2	.7
15.00	1	.3
27.00	1	.3
30.00	1	.3
Total	232	76.8
Do not respond	70	23.2
Total	302	100.0

The displaced people chose to live in their previous settlements because of, among the reasons, availability of cheap house rent, inexpensiveness of living costs, proximity to work places, availability of job opportunities and inheritance.

Table 2. Reasons for choosing the previous place of residence.

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Better job opportunities	94	31.1
Cheap house rent	79	26.2
Low Cost of living	69	22.8
Proximity to work place	49	16.2
Inherited house(kebele houses primarily under the parents of current residents)	4	1.3
Others	7	2.3
Total	302	100.0

As can be observed from the above table, most people have chosen their pre-displacement area due to the availability of job opportunities, the availability of cheap houses for rent, the inexpensiveness of living costs and proximity to their work places. Moreover, nearly all interviewees articulately expressed that the original place of residence provided them with different choices to make.

These include availability of food for low prices, availability of public services (schools and health services) and availability of different leisure places for the youth.

It is also evident from the census carried out that 86.1% of the households responded that living costs in the pre-displacement site are cheap; 7.9% have commented that there is no difference between the pre-displacement area and the current site; only 5.6% of the respondents said life in the pre-displacement area is relatively expensive.

These figures inform us and bring to the surface the fact that the majority of the households were able to access their basic needs in an affordable way.

As most interviews also witnessed, living expense in the previous settlement is cheap because the informal markets (the **Gulit**) could provide them with different items of food at relatively cheap and affordable prices. Consequently, even now, most displaced people prefer to go to their previous settlements occasionally in order to purchase different items.

The very fact that they lived in their pre-displacement location at different business centers of the city for a considerable duration of years made the displaced persons engage in different informal business activities. According to many informants, besides their subsistence income, the displaced poor used to subsidize their daily life by getting involved in informal (petty) trade. As one young informant who was displaced from the Megenagna area said, *'... by just standing for some time on the streets you make some money to cover your expenses for lunch and dinner....'*

This is to describe the availability of very simple jobs like carrying bags and getting some money to cover their daily expenses for food.

Availability of job opportunities was also one of the factors that made the displaced people prefer their previous settlement. Most informants used to participate in informal activities in the centre of the town. Some of the activities involved daily labor work, being dealers or "go-betweens", washing and ironing of clothes, working as servants (maids) in people's houses, providing different services for the daily laborers. Moreover, the displaced people used to make money by letting street vendors store their property in their houses in the evening.

Table 3. Means of making a living in pre-displacement settlement.

Means of earning	Frequency	Percent
civil servant	144	47.7
petty trade	78	25.8
work in people's house (maid)	32	10.6
Informal dealer	11	3.6
Other(pension, help from relatives)	37	12.3
Total	302	100.0

As can be evidenced from the above table, considerable numbers of households were highly dependent on the informal economy to make a living. In other words, the pre-displacement settlement provided many informal job opportunities that

served as a life support mechanism for different families. Besides, according to my census and interview most families who are civil servants earn low incomes and support their earning by getting involved in different informal activities at the family level.

It is also important to note that almost all respondents articulately mentioned the close relationships among themselves that they used to have in their pre-displacement area. Accordingly, the different social institutions such as Iqub, Iddir and different informal religious associations were very vibrant and brought the community together. The complex web of social networks, which developed partly through the long duration of stay in the same neighborhood, had been like insurance for many old people who do not have enough income to support their daily needs, and a source of psychological consolation.

The following case of an old person who is 68 and displaced from Piassa, Kebele 14 near Cathedral area illustrates how social networks helped the poor in the pre-displacement area,

As you can see me, I am blind, poor and old. I have lived in Cathedral area (Piassa) for about 40 years. In those all years, I was able to develop good neighbors who always look after my weakness. I have never felt cold, never felt alone, never starved [He showed me a roasted bean put in a jar and told me that that was his food now]. I am telling you in my previous area everyone was my child, I was a father for a community. Although I am blind, the children were my eyes. I used to get food, money from the contribution from the Community through the Iddir. Moreover, I used to rent out one of my rooms for the Iddir to use as a store. The Iddir rented the house from me in order to support my income and they used to pay me like three hundred birr.

Thus, the mounting evidence collected from the interviews and the census witness that, the pre-displacement areas were much better in terms of mutual relationships that served as guarantees to depend on in times of severe crisis.

In addition, according to the information I gathered through focus group discussion with adult males, the long duration of stay at the previous settlement made the residents develop trust and confidence among each other and encouraged the service of 'reciprocity' in times of feast and holidays.

Therefore, generally the pre-displacement settlement areas are viewed by the displaced people as favorable due to the factors mentioned above. Hence, it seems that, any explanation that they give is mostly related by comparing their situation with the previous pre-displacement reality.

It is from this sort of environment that people were displaced in early 2002, and resettled in the suburbs of the city in a place called Gurara.

3.2. The Early Periods of the Displacement Process

In this section, I have attempted to present the early phases of the displacement process. The section tries to give an insight into the inception of the displacement process, how both the agents of displacement and the displaced people are prepared; it also tries to analyze this early process in line with the Scudder-Colson stress model.

After a brief discussion of that, I would attempt to investigate the level of participation of the displaced people and the hosts in the process of their displacement and relocation in the suburb of the city.

In addition, the chapter brings to light the different forms of resistance that characterized the displacement process.

This chapter also tries to bring to the surface the promises that were made to the displaced people in order to lessen their possible resistance and to facilitate the process of displacing them; and it examines the extent of fulfillment of the promises. Finally, I would try to examine the issue of compensation related to this particular displacement process.

3.2.1. Preparation period

In order to meet the objective of developing and revitalizing the city, the city administration has been constructing housing units for the people who are going to be displaced from the different parts of the city.

In line with this objective, the Addis Ababa City government has built about 5858 houses and many other low cost houses, which are under construction in 11 sites in Bole, Yeka, Kolfe Keranyo, Akaki-Kality, and Addis Ketema Subcities. Among these sites one is the Gurara or, as it is sometimes called, the "**Film Maikel**" site which has about 400 housing units. From the 400 houses, the displaced people occupy 358 houses. The rest are given for different civil servants who work in the government structure in different capacities, and are sold to different people.

Although the original objectives of building the housing units in Gurara are obscure and sometimes conflicting, it is not the purpose of this study to investigate them. Nonetheless, the housing units were destined to accommodate the displaced people from the different parts of the city due to the demolition of their houses for construction of infrastructures and the selling of their houses and villages for investors.

The policy guideline spells out the following points concerning preparation. Accordingly, if some area is needed for development reasons, the city administration has the responsibility to inform the would be displacees through

the woreda and Kebele administration. Moreover, the people should repeatedly informed, given explanation, convinced and told the alternatives put forward for them by the government. Based on the explanation given to the would be affected people, the administration would make sure the consent of the majority of the people is taken into consideration and invites the participation of the people.

According to the study, however, despite the different notices being posted about the possible relocation, no serious attempt was made to consult the people and enable participation in every process of the displacement and relocation. The displaced people were not told about the possible opportunities and risks of being displaced and relocated in the suburbs of the city in Gurara.

The results from the census show a discrepancy between the premises of the policy guideline and the reality on the ground. The discrepancy between what is stated in the policy guideline and what happened could be seen in the census by asking how the affected people perceived the rationale of their displacement.

Table 4. Reason which made Displacees to Come to Gurara

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Decision and pressure of Officials	249	82.5
No alternative	29	9.6
Problem with previous house	13	4.3
Unemployment and less income	10	3.3
Do not Respond	1	0.3
Total	302	100.0

As could be observed from the table 82.5 %(249 households) perceived the displacement was made by the decision and pressure of the officials. In other words, the officials utterly failed to convince the displaced people during the time of preparation. This shows that, there was clear discrepancy between what the document states, and what has happened on the ground.

Moreover, the lack of preparation and the arbitrariness of the process are reflected in one of the correspondences between the Addis Ababa Housing Development Project Office and Housing Agency on March 11 2005. The letter recalls that the former office has written a letter to the Housing Agency requesting it to give a housing Unit with two rooms to Ato Belete Mamo for being relocated from the Unity College area in Arada Sub city. It states that the agency has informed that the housing units with two rooms are not available and asks

the agency to give the mentioned person another house with one room in Gurara. As one can observe from the above example, the distribution of the housing units seems to be arbitrary and not based on the need and priority of the person being displaced. In other words, the displacement process and the giving of the replacement houses in Gurara is based on the availability of houses not on the need of the displaced people that considers the members found per household.

Besides, to pick up the threads of the story, according to a knowledgeable informant, the houses at Gurara were built in about 1998 possibly under the auspices of the then Works and Urban Development Bureau and apparently the houses remained vacant and people occupied some of the houses illegally until 2003. According to my informants who have been working in different capacities in the construction and administration of the houses at Gurara, the original objective of the housing units in Gurara was to sell them to civil servants via long term payments at a 'reasonable price'. However, this original plan was not implemented and the site was later on identified and utilized for the accommodation of the displaced people from the different parts of the city.

Hence, it would be difficult to investigate the specific assessments made by the project initiators as to why they selected this specific site for the construction of the housing units. Moreover, how the site originally intended for sale was

adapted for the relocation of the displaced persons would be punctuated by a question mark.

Be that as it may, the decision of using the area and even the construction of the houses did not take on board the consent of the hosts and the people living in its immediate vicinity. As one official puts it, the people who are living in Gurara(the hosts) were not consulted because there was no common interest in the area. Apparently, the relocation site was a playground for children. Moreover, he pointed out that the land, according to the Ethiopian article 40(3), belongs to the state and the government could use it whenever necessary for the good of the public.

Similarly, the people who were going to be displaced did not have a clear knowledge about the issue at hand. For example, people were not consulted in deciding as to how many days are needed for the preparation.

Although most displaced people have mentioned that, the duration for preparation varied from 15 days to 3 months it did not take on board the participation of the displaced people.

The following case as narrated by a 21 year old male illustrates the entire issue:

Case1

... We came from the Megenagna area because our house is demolished when the ring road is constructed. I remember we first heard about our eviction from rumors in the neighborhood and were terribly disturbed. We were disturbed because we have seen and witnessed the lives of our neighbors who had been displaced in the first round going terribly wrong even though they were notified about three months ahead. Our eviction

was a great surprise. During that time I was a vocational student in the ten plus two educational program. The eviction highly affected my education because I could not go to school by always seeing my mother crying and being terribly sad. Moreover, you can imagine how far it is going to be for me to travel this long way. It was just because the school administration was good that I didn't get dismissed. Before we were displaced, my school was in a walking distance, however, now it is a different story. In Gurara either I have to take a taxi, which is unaffordable for me, or I had to walk all the way which tires me and makes me lose interest by the time I get to school....

The first day we heard about our possible eviction from the neighborhood, I still remember the uncertainty and the shock in the family particularly the anguish on my mother's face. Because I have seen and witnessed the eviction of other neighborhood, I was disturbed and felt hopeless when it became our turn. The demolition force escorted by the police presence demolished our home where I was born, and spent my entire life. I wish I could do something....

They brought us here. You see, it looks a deserted village. No movement at all.

You know while we were living in Megenagna, I had a vision to learn and become someone who could help the family, but now let alone concentrating on my education, winning bread is very difficult in this village. How do you expect me to learn and help my families? My parents in our previous settlement never looked to me to get financial assistance. Now they are caught to be in the middle of joblessness and are reduced to be dependents.... Because of the shock in the household, our family is separated and only four of us from the twelve children are living here, the rest are gone elsewhere to try to win their bread.

In addition, the way the original inhabitants of the area [hosts] perceive us upsets me. They see us as troublemakers who came to their village to take over their land. Everywhere we go they spread crazy rumors about us... You lose your well-cherished place unwillingly then you are moved suddenly to a place you are not accepted. It is so painful.... We could have been better, had they [authorities] told us clearly to get prepared. You just do not throw people out and expect them to work every thing for themselves...

Based on the above story and many other similar stories, we can clearly see that there was no informed participation and preparation of the displaced people. Moreover, my informants recall that the kebele had posted a warning letter for

the people warning them to evacuate the area before the demolition force arrived.

In addition, four key informants have pointed out that the season of the displacement was not convenient to transport their belongings as it was mostly a rainy season.

The following case illustrates the above points clearly

Case 2

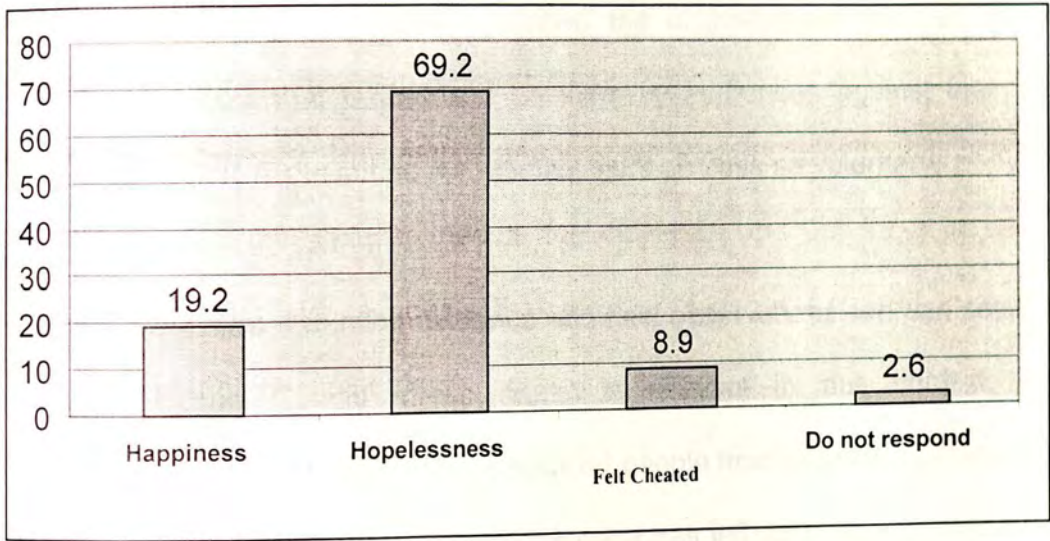
W/ro Fanaye Taye is a widow of 49 years old. She was displaced from the Megenagna area. As she reported, she had a restaurant in Megenagna. She was informed about the displacement two months ahead. However, despite a mere mention of it, she did not participate in the decision and fixing of dates or any other issues. She reported that she was warned by the kebele officials to evacuate. she was forced to move her possessions during the rainy season. Apparently, she faced many problems in transporting her assets. The haste and the pressure from the officials ordering her to leave before the demolition force set in forced her to either sell her possessions at cheap prices or give it to people freely. In addition, despite the urgency of their evacuation the site, which they evacuated, is still vacant. She noted that there was not enough preparation to displace them. In her words, "...Even when you dispose off or dump a soil somewhere, you select and choose places but our case is absolutely different".

In addition, in the census made most people stated that the time given for the displacement was not enough. To be exact, 80.8% said that the time given for preparation was not enough and 18.9 responded by saying that the time given for them for preparation was enough. The thrust of the evidences show that the displaced people are not consulted in major decisions that affected their lives.

Thus, the entire process could be characterized by deficit in putting the displaced people at the centre of every decision.

The lack of informed participation about every process and the decision of relocation made the displaced people feel hopeless and put them in severe stress. The census also suggests that most people have passed through a difficult time in the new settlement.

Figure.1. First Impression of the IDPs in Gurara



The graph illustrates that 69.25% of the 302 households who responded to the questions, have passed through serious stress and felt hopeless in the new settlement. They felt this because they were not well informed about the possible risks and opportunities in the new settlement area. Moreover, 8.9% of the households said that they recognized that they were cheated by the words of the officials when they reached the site and found the situation difficult. It is also

important to note from the census that about 19.2% of the displaced people were happy. This shows that, there were some people who took advantage of the displacement process by getting better housing unit and got economically better off.

Moreover, the lack of informed participation and the lack of enough time for preparation made most displaced people perceive the displacement program as an imposition by the authorities against their will. The census indicates that 78.1% of the displaced people described the displacement process as an involuntary process that is imposed on them by authorities against their will. However, only 20.5% described the displacement process as voluntary.

Based on the above mounting evidence and field observations, we can see that the Scudder and Colson stress model is relevant in this context. The marginalization and sidelining of the displaced people from informed participation in the early stages of the displacement process has left most of them in severe stress and hopelessness. Moreover, the early period of the displacement process was characterized by anxiety and uncertainty as to how to start life in the new settlement.

3.2.2. Resistance

Resistance characterizes the entire displacement program. According to an official, the whole process of displacement met with passive resistance all over the displacement places in the city.

The passive resistances took a form of tearing away the posted notices, refusing to show up and attend on the meeting called by the kebele officials.

The official who was in charge of following up the program noted that, active resistance was not staged during the process of displacement.

Apparently, people could not stage an active resistance - not because they consented to the displacement program and process, but because they recognized that their resistance could make no difference as the decision about their evacuation was already made. They recognized that the idea of changing the decision was impossible and it was a dead end.

Most informants also reported that kebele officials checked active resistance. The officials were able to check the resistance by threatening verbally any person who was involved in resistance to deny clearances from the administration and possibly to exclude them from getting a house in the relocation site.

Besides, almost all the displacement program and the demolitions were accompanied by a significant amount of police force and security.

It is surprising that the school that was started during that time is under construction up to now. Apparently, there is no sign of any construction of health posts.

As far as this study is concerned, no one received compensation from the government. As one official described it, these particular people are not entitled to get any compensation because they were displaced from government houses and the government rented these houses for them a long time ago, by reserving its right to take it any time, if necessary. Moreover, the guideline states that 'if people are displaced from Kebele houses for government projects and investment reasons from their house, they would not be paid compensation for the house. Instead they would be given a replacement house'

Although, the government recognizes that the people have lived in the houses for a very long period by renovating them, nevertheless as a rule no one is allowed to make any renovation to the Kebele houses unless the authority in certain cases gives permits. Hence, according to an official, irrespective of the money that they spend in renovating the house they are not entitled to get any compensation. In this way, the question and any claim of compensation were superseded.

Apart from that, the people were so upset and irritated when they were denied the possibility of taking away the rubble of their homes so that they could reuse it for fencing and other purposes in the new settlement. As most people pointed

out, they had lived in their previous settlement for a very long period, spent a lot of money in renovating the houses, and even constructed new additional houses in their compound as the number of their families increased.

The following case history of a family displaced from a place called 24 in Megenagna illustrates the situation,

Case 3

Ato Tesseema Hamisso is a household head of a family of nine members. He lived in a place called haya arat(24) in Megenagna for 21 years. He recalls that he was given an area of empty land when he first came to that area 21 years ago. As he stated he was able to get a big area of land during that time and constructed a housing unit with 9 rooms in the compound. Moreover, he had constructed shelters for cattle and donkeys which he rears.

He regrets that he didn't have any permit of construction from the kebele despite the huge investment he made in the empty land during the past 21 years.

As he recalls, the kebele administration asked him to pay a rent and after a long period of argument he started to pay a rent of 6 birr including the back payments.

As he described the displacement, they were surprisingly ordered to evacuate their home and their house was announced for a bid for investors. Despite the many constructions he made in his previous compound, he left the area being escorted by the police. The Kebele collected the rubbles from the demolished houses. He said that they were not allowed to take anything with them except their movable properties when they were displaced in 2003.

Hence, we can observe from the above story that the implacable logic denied the people from getting any sort of compensation for the properties that they lost during the displacement time. Moreover, despite the substantial amount of money they spent in renovating the houses, people were even denied to take away the rubbles of their demolished houses, which could have helped them in construction of their fences in Gurara.

The next chapter tries to explore and discuss the different effects of the displacement process on the lives of the different sections of the displaced people. The section assesses the different risks by employing the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model of Michael Cernea.

CHAPTER 4: Effects of the Displacement

The following chapter mainly reflects on two major effects: the economic and social impacts of the displacement process. In analyzing the effects of the displacement, the theory of Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model of Michael Cernea is used and the differential impacts are analyzed. Moreover, the chapter tries to compare and contrast the major infrastructural developments that are set to the displaced people in their new settlements.

4.1. The Economic Impacts of the Displacement

The displacement has entailed the detachment of the people from the different income earning activities. Thus according to most informants, their incomes have virtually receded by the process of the displacement. Out of my ten key informants nine of them have indicated that their incomes have declined drastically while one key informant who is a retiree responded by saying that she could not notice its impact on her income because of the many supports that she gets from her children.

According to the census, 60.6% of the households responded that their income in Gurara has decreased; 26.8% said that there is no change in their income, and only 11.6% said that their income has increased. Hence, this figure signals that

the displacement has set in sudden downward shifts in the incomes of many households.

The decline of household income could be attributed to many factors. One of the major factors, as highlighted at the outset of this discussion, is the detachment of the displaced people from their income earning activities, which were mostly established in their previous settlement. In other words, the informal income earning activity, which was the pillar of their economy and livelihood, is no more with them in Gurara. A significant number of respondents reported that in their previous settlement they were mostly dependent on petty trade activity, worked as daily laborers, worked as household servants, did other casual work, or were engaged in the aforementioned activities sometimes in order to support their income. These and many other informal sectors found in the previous settlement area were providing a panacea for the urban employment problems.

It is interesting to note that out of the 302 households who had responded to the questionnaire, 57% had permanent jobs; 39% did not have permanent jobs; 3% said that they depend either on pensions or on other support from relatives. Hence, one can observe how significant the informal jobs have been in supporting the subsistence income of the displaced people. In contrast, the relocation of people in Gurara has denied different categories of people access to the informal income earning opportunities, which used to bolster their subsistence income.

The following case illustrates how the informal economy has been an insurance to support different families:

Case 4

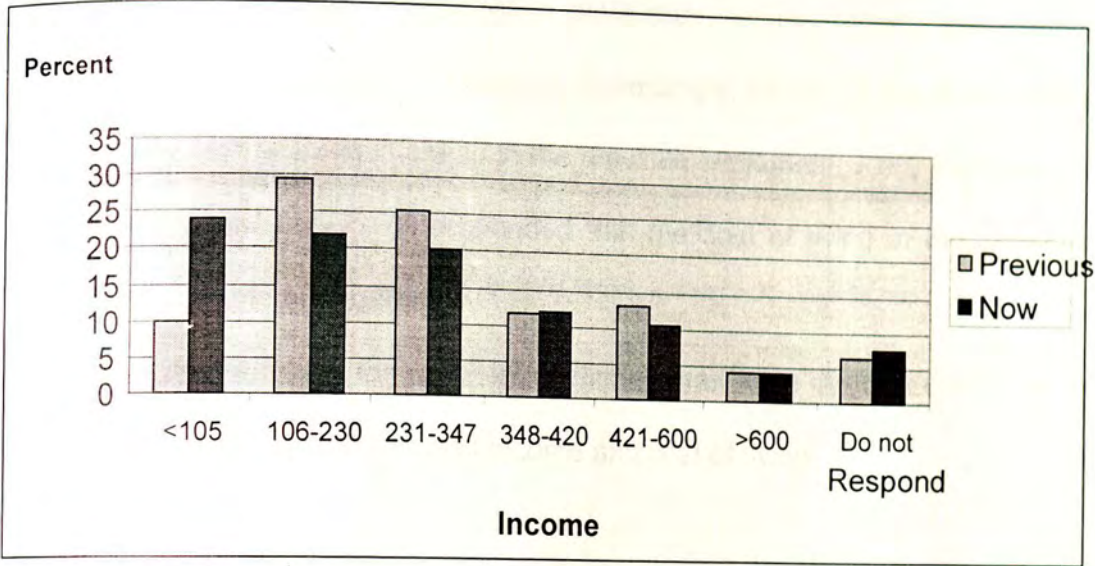
W/ro Mintewab Taye is a 50 year old woman. Before she was displaced she lived for 30 years in Megenagna. There are nine people in her family. Her husband is very old and he is entirely dependent on her. While she was living in Megenagna she used to support the family by being involved in different activities such as petty trade, ironing of clothes, selling bread and enjera and she used to get money by charging street vendors by letting to store their property in the evening. Moreover, she used to earn an additional 150 birr by renting one of her four rooms. She reported that her family was displaced suddenly without prior preparation just one day after the Easter holiday in 2004.

According to her, she used to pay only 5 birr for the house rent but now she is paying 45 birr for a single room.

In Gurara she is trying to sell Tella to support her income but with little reward. She has reported that she became dependent on her relatives' support.

It is evident from the above case study that there is a deepening of income recession that was entailed by the displacement. Furthermore, it is observed in the census, that the income of different categories of people has been affected negatively by the displacement.

Figure 2. Comparative monthly income of the household (in birr)



As it is clearly illustrated in the above graph, reportedly those categories of people who earned an income range between 106-230 birr monthly in their previous settlement area have decreased from 29.5% to 21.9%, the income of those who earned 231-347 birr has decreased from 25.5% to 20.2%.

Moreover, for those who earned an income range between 421-600 birr it has decreased from 13.2% to 10.6% while the percentage of those people who used to earn an income less than 105 birr has surprisingly risen from 9.9% to 23.8%.

Hence, this shows that the displacement has brought about a sharp decline in the income of the displaced people and paved the way for 'downward social mobility'.

Worse still, according to most informants, the cost of living in Gurara is relatively expensive compared to their previous settlement. In this regard, the census result speaks eloquently of the situation. Accordingly, 86.1% of the respondents said that the cost of living is cheap in the previous settlement; 7.9% said there is no difference and only 5.6% responded that the cost of living in the previous settlement is a little expensive.

Hence, we can see how the previous settlement has been of great convenience to the displaced people in terms of income and cost of living.

Besides, according to an interview, the previous settlements could provide the displaced people with different alternatives and choices of foodstuff, goods and services based on the ability of the people to afford them. In other words, the decision of the displaced people of what to eat and not to eat was dictated (determined) by the income that they earn, or they had many preferences to choose from according to their financial capacity. On the contrary, the new settlement denied the IDPs the choices that they had enjoyed in the previous settlement.

The following narration of a 52 year old widow illustrates the above situation,

My name is Tsehay Getu. I used to live in Kazanchis for well over thirty years. While I was living there, I lost my husband and my son. Since then I started to help myself and other two kids by baking **enjera**, washing clothes. Moreover, I never felt at odds financially despite the death of my husband who was the chief breadwinner of the family. You know in kazanchis you could live life as you prefer. If you want to live a relatively fancy life, that is possible. If you want to live a decent life, that is also possible. The different choices provided by the area would suit your preferences and way of life style.... How can you compare a mother with a stepmother? You know a mother provides you with different choices and

leaves you to choose but a stepmother gives you one type and beats you to eat with out your interest. For me kazanchis was like a mother who could provide me with a lot of preferences and choices

The deterioration of income was further scaled up by additional costs that the displacement imposed on the transportation of the displaced people.

The census indicates that due to the additional distance of the new settlement, more households started to spend additional money to send their children to schools unlike their previous settlement. The number of households who use buses to send their children to schools has risen from 7.3% to 64% in Gurara.

Table 5. Means of transportation for school children in previous settlement

Means of Transportation	Frequency	Percent
Walking	248	82.1
Bus	22	7.3
Taxi	3	1.0
Total	273	90.4
Do not respond	29	9.6
Total	302	100.0

Table 6. Means of transportation for school children currently

Means of Transportation	Frequency	Percent
Walking	74	24.5
Bus	195	64.6
Taxi	2	.7
Total	271	89.7
Do not respond	31	10.3
Total	302	100.0

It is also reported in the census that the daily transportation costs of the households has increased significantly putting a serious strain in the income of the households.

The following table obtained from the census indicates the increase of daily additional transportation costs in terms of birr.

Table 7. Comparison of Daily transportation expense of the households

Estimated cost in Birr/day	Previous settlement		Gurara	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0- 1	208	68.9	33	10.9
1 to 2	61	20.2	131	43.4
2-3	13	4.3	56	18.5
greater than 3	6	2.0	69	22.8
Total	288	95.4	289	95.7

In order to support their subsistence income many households used to rent out some rooms from their houses in their previous settlement. However, in Gurara due to its relative distance from the centre of the city and the pronounced problem of availability of drinking water in Gurara, the house renting business is not attractive. The census also indicates that the number of households who used to rent out rooms has fallen from 26.8% to 11.3% in Gurara adding up to the decrease in the income of different households compared to their previous settlement.

Hence, the sudden fall of income of many households has locked the displaced people into serious poverty and powerlessness in their new settlement.

4.2 The Social Impacts of the Displacement

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that the displacement process has brought about a malign effect on the income of the displaced people.

The following section also tries to present the social impacts of the displacement. It should, however, be noted that the social impacts are more or less intertwined with the economic impact that are set by the displacement process. In other words, the social impact could be characterized as a continuum of the various problems that are brought by the grave economic impacts.

The displacement of the people from their previous settlement has wreaked havoc in different social ties of the displaced people.

Despite sharing a similar fate of displacement, the displaced people have shown little convergence in keeping the different social ties and fabrics that existed before. The different social institutions are either dissolved or weakened by the displacement.

Out of the ten key informants, nine of them have expressed serious concern on the lack of cooperation and different reciprocal duties and responsibilities among the displaced people of Gurara. According to them, unlike the situation in their previous settlement, the displacement has loosened the various social ties that had been cherished for so long. This is because, as they explained, most people who are relocated in Gurara spend their day time far away from their village

working and get back to their homes in the evening tired and sparing no or little time for social interactions with the neighborhood.

According to one key informant, who is the leader of the new **Iddir**, the relocated people tend to spend time in their own compound, which is fenced by corrugated iron, having almost no interest on the affairs of their neighbors. This statement is also supported by my long observation of patterns of interaction in Gurara.

Moreover, the relocated people in Gurara are displaced from different parts of the city and most of them do not know each other. In the different interviews and observations that I have made one group of displaced people who came from one area are not as such interested about those displaced people who are displaced from other parts of the city. For example, displaced people who came from Megenagna area are not interested about the displacees who came from Cherkos and often their relationship is characterized by mutual suspicion and looking down on each other.

A very striking observation was made in the event of comforting and consolation of a family after they lost a late member of their family. Surprisingly, despite their long stay in the new settlement area (Gurara), it was observed that the immediate neighborhood left the family of the deceased alone and went away to their own business after staying for a while as strangers.

It is also important to note that the informal networks of mutual help are so weak. This is illustrated in the case of a 60 year old woman who is displaced from Kazanchis area. She narrates her story as follows:

... while I was living in kazanchis since the Imperial regime my relatives were my neighborhood but now they are no more with me. While I was living in Kazanchis I used to pay only 5 birr for a house rent but now I am paying 45 birr. Had my previous good neighbors been with me they could help me in paying it. They used to help me even by giving me flour for my consumption. Sometimes young people like you used to come to my house and wash my clothes and spend time with me. Here I am abandoned and I feel lonely. Almost no one pays a visit here and everyone is locked in his/ her own compounds. It is only me and this house who knows what I have been through. I am counting down my days to die...

It is assumed that the **Iddirs** could serve as a vehicle to establish and maintain good neighborhood relationships among their members, and members are also expected to visit each other at times of peace and trouble. Such interactions would obviously create and develop intimacy, which is entailed by the different sense of responsibility among its members.

Out of the ten key informants, eight of them pointed out that there exist few or no such intimate relationships among the newly established **Iddirs** and their members. Moreover, these informants expressed the idea that the **Iddirs** that are newly established in Gurara are too "mechanical". This is to say that they significantly lack the informal reciprocal obligations and different social responsibilities. The symmetrical relationships that had been developed by very long years of living together are loosened. This could be explained in two aspects.

One possible explanation is that those people whose **Iddirs** survive maintained their links with it are either not members of the new **Iddir** in Gurara or they are overstretched by being a member of both **Iddirs**, and do not have time to establish good relationship with the members of the new **Iddirs**.

In the census conducted, important patterns of membership to the **Iddirs** are observed. About 71.9 %(217 households) households described themselves as being a member of any **Iddir** in Gurara while 22.5 %(68 households) described of not being a member of any **Iddirs** in Gurara.

Besides being a member of a new **Iddir** in the new settlement, 55.0 %(166 households) responded that they also have maintained their membership with their pre-displacement area **Iddir**. Only 34.8 %(105 households) responded that they are no more members of the pre-displacement **Iddir**.

As it could be observed from the above tables' significant number of household are both members of the previous **Iddir** where they are not dissolved and members of the new **Iddir** in Gurara. From this, one could notice how dual membership could overstretch the displaced people financially as well as socially. In other words, dual membership would force the displaced people to spend additional money and time in both **Iddirs**. Moreover, the census indicates that most people described their relationship with the new **Iddir** as weak.

Table 8. Relationship with the members of a new Iddir in Gurara

Type of relationship with the members	Frequency	Percent
Loose relationship	179	59.3
Good and firm relationship	38	12.6
Total	217	71.9
Do not want to respond	85	28.1
Total	302	100.0

As stated in the above table only 12.6% of the household described their relationship to the members of the new **Iddir** as good and firm relations while the majority 59.3% described their relationship as loose and weak.

This evidence shows that membership of the new **Iddir** is characterized as having loose and fragile relationships.

Furthermore the figures from the census reveal that many people discontinued being members of **Iqub**(Money pooling system). The data from the census reveal that 48.7 %(147 households) responded as being involved in **Iqubs** in their previous settlement while 47.4 %(143 household) responded as not being involved in any **Iqubs** in their previous settlement before displacement. In other development, those displaced people who responded as being a member of any **Iqub** in Gurara is 14.9 %(45 household) while displaced people who responded by saying that they are no more members of any **Iqub** has risen to 78.8 %(238 household).

From the above data, we can observe that most people are not members **Iqubs** in the new settlement.

Two main explanations dominate for non-membership in the **Iqub**. One of the explanations is the different financial strain entailed by the displacement process and the second main reason is limited acquaintance and interaction of the displaced people at Gurara. The loosening of the social networks, recession of income and separation from their long cherished neighborhoods led to the social disarticulation whereby the new settlement failed to establish a good and firm relationship among the community.

Generally, the thrust of the various pieces of evidence shows that the displacement process has entailed erosion of social ties. Moreover, the different social organizations have been weakened either by the turbulent economic situations into which they have been plunged or by the dispersal of previous community members into different relocation sites.

4.2.1. Provision of Housing and Social Amenities

The pervasive state of poverty in Addis is manifested by, among many other things, poor quality housing, slums and insalubrious neighborhoods that are mostly the results of the early unplanned development of the city.

As mentioned elsewhere in the study, the Addis Ababa City Government has come up with a solution concentrated on demolishing the shanty houses and providing new housing units as a replacement. In line with these objectives, about 400 houses are "prepared" in Gurara. In these houses, about 358 households who were displaced from different parts of the city are relocated.

4.2.1.1 Provision of Housing

The housing units given to the displaced people in Gurara are categorized into three types. One category of housing unit is called a Row House category whereby a single housing unit has an area of 22.5m^2 and has 60.5m^2 area compound including the area on which the house is built. This house has only one room.

Duplex type is the second category, whereby a single housing unit has an area of 23.7m^2 and which has 73.5m^2 compounds including the area in which the house is built. This category of house has two rooms.

The third category is called the quadraplex type whereby a single housing unit has an area of 25m^2 and 78.8m^2 compounds including the area on which the house is built. This type of house also has two rooms.

Despite the distribution of these houses to the 358 households who were displaced from the different parts of the inner city of Addis, four out of the ten key

informants pointed out that they know people who became homeless due to the displacement process. Similar patterns are observed from the census result.

For example, out of the 302 households who responded to the questionnaire, 46.7% (141 households) have said that they know someone who became homeless due to the displacement; 52.2% reported that they do not know anyone who became homeless.

As they pointed out in the interview these people who became homeless are those who were either dependents on the displaced families or people who do not have any legal status of ownership of the demolished houses.

The policy guideline mentions the following points when displacees are given a replacement-housing unit.

- Families having 1-3 family members should be given a house having one room
- Families having 4-6 family members should be given housing unit with two rooms called quardaplex
- Families having 6 families and above should be given housing unit with two rooms called Duplex

However, close look at the number of household members among the Gurara displacees would reveal that there is no clear way of implementing the above standards.

Moreover, by considering the number of members per households from the table below, it seems that the standard is implacable and shows that, there has not been a proper study made in line with this particular group of people.

Table 9. Number of the household members in Gurara

Members	Frequency	Percent
1.00	10	3.3
2.00	29	9.6
3.00	32	10.6
4.00	64	21.2
5.00	44	14.6
6.00	43	14.2
7.00	24	7.9
8.00	15	5.0
9.00	11	3.6
10.00	4	1.3
11.00	2	.7
12.00	1	.3
15.00	1	.3
Total	280	92.7
Do not respond	22	7.3
Total	302	100.0

According to an interview made with different people, the distribution of persons per household exhibits different pictures. Most respondents reported that the provision of the housing units did not take into consideration the number of the household size. The houses in Gurara have crammed many people in a single room and, hence exhibit one of the component of homelessness.

For this reason, it is observed that the households are constructing additional shelters with corrugated iron in order to ease the problem.

Furthermore, it is important to note that almost all respondents have agreed that the housing units are structurally better compared to their previous homes but do not consider the number of household members.

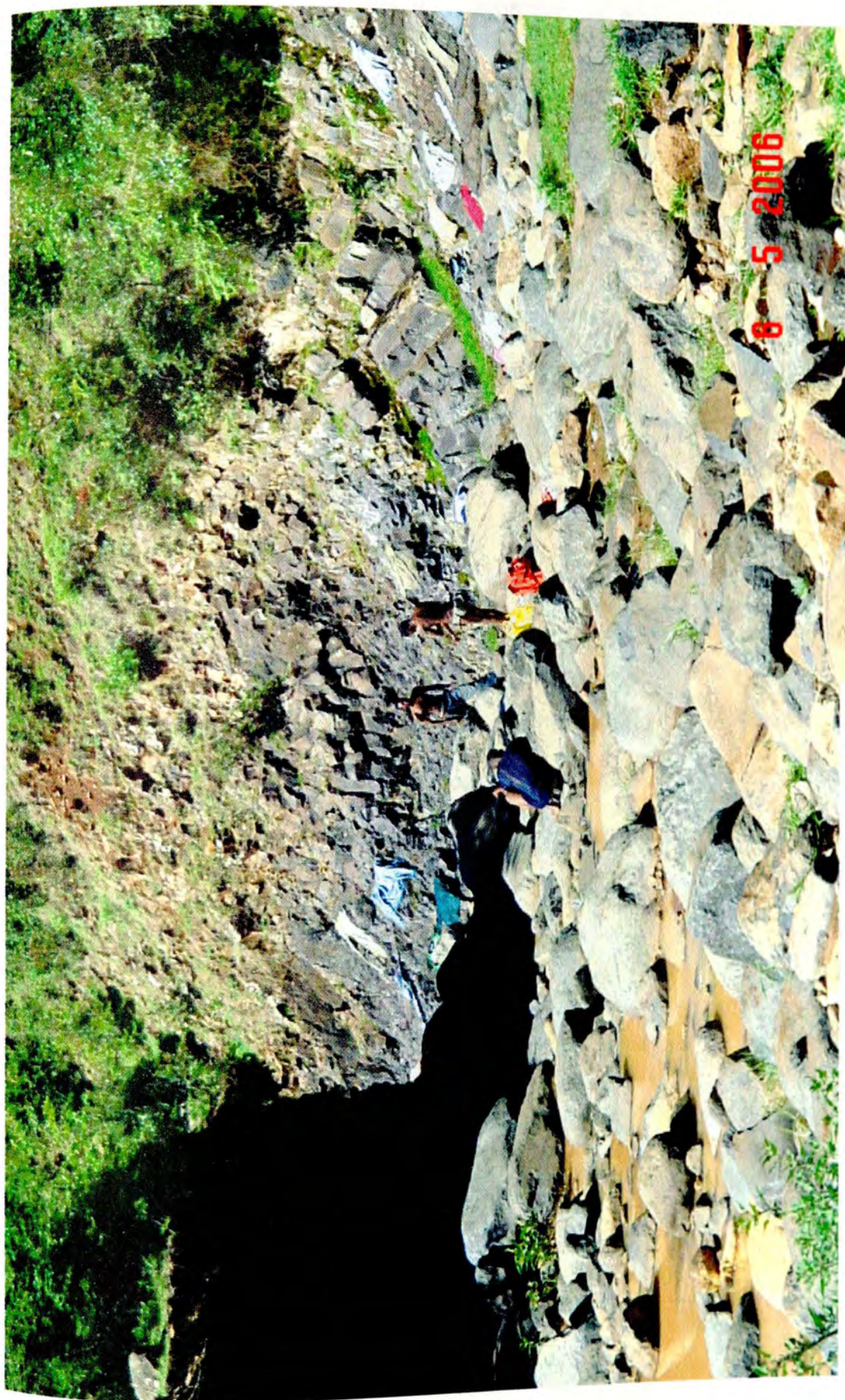
Common to most of the displaced people of Gurara is their characterization of the house rent as unfair and crushing because it did not take into consideration their income and capacity to pay especially after being displaced from their chief income-earning area.

According to the census, the average money in birr that the displaced people used to pay for the kebele while they were in their previous settlement was 5.8623 birr monthly for the different housing units.

However, in the new settlement the displaced people pay a housing rent of 45.07birr, 65.71birr and 64.56 birr for Row, Duplex and Quadruplex category of houses respectively. The increased amount of money has added greatly to their already existing financial problem.

One informant illustrated the 'unfair' house rent they pay by telling me the following story:

Once upon a time there were chicken and guinea fowl (wild fowl) called, 'Kok' (Amharic) who were very close friends. The wild fowl lives in the wild forest trees while the chicken lives with people. While they were living together, they arranged to visit each other's house. As per their agreement, the guinea fowl took the chicken to the forest and showed the chicken her nest on the branches of the trees. After visiting the house of the wild fowl, the chicken returned by being impressed by the freedom the fowl enjoys.



Picture – 2 Displaced people washing their clothes in river Tinsis

The next day the chicken took the wild fowl to her house and wanted to spend a night there. As per their arrangement, the fowl went and saw that the chicken lives inside the hut of the people where there is a non-stop smoke fume throughout the night. When the fowl observed the chicken, tears were coming out of the eyes of the chicken due to the intensity of the smoke. While the fowl was pondering by being surprised by the situation, around 3:00 am in the evening the chicken all of a sudden crew continuously to wake up the owners of the house. At this time, the fowl got surprised and said to the chicken how come you pay a tribute [rent] for this sort of house? After sometime, the morning set in and the guinea fowl went back home.

According to the story, the displaced people despite losing their livelihood means are being asked to pay, according to the informant, an "unfair and back crushing" housing rent compared to their previous settlement area and their capability to pay.

4.2.2 Availability of Social Amenities

It is assumed that one of the objectives of the displacement is to ensure the displaced people the basic social services that they lacked in their previous settlement areas. Bearing this in mind, the following section tries to investigate whether the new settlement has availed the social services that were in short provision in the previous settlement.

4.2.2.1 Water supply

The supplying of water through pipes is recognized as the most effective means of protecting it from pollution. Moreover, the purity of it would be more

guaranteed if the water supply were through pipes. However, all the respondents have reported that there is virtually no supply of pipe water in Gurara.

Hence, every household has to purchase water by going to the Ferensay area or sometimes they have to go to the nearby river of **Tinsis** in order to wash clothes and to use it.

Moreover, two boreholes that are constructed by one Non Governmental Organization (NGO) give an erratic water supply to the people. As I observed during my stay in Gurara whenever the running of the water from these boreholes is 'heralded', hundreds of women would queue around the boreholes. Strikingly, I have observed women making long queues in the evening around 4:00a.m.

This somehow exacerbates the already existing problem of women as being a double burden. In other words, women are caught in by the additional work of fetching water in the cold of the evening besides the domestic chores.

4.2.2.2 Electricity

As far as the new settlements are concerned, all the households have responded positively concerning the supply of electricity. It is, however, worth mentioning that despite the availability of electricity almost all the people use firewood for cooking their food. This is, as my eight key informants expressed, because of the recession of income and the lack of tradition of using electricity for cooking.

4.2.2.3 Toilet

Along with the provision of other major facilities, safe and efficient disposal of human waste is an important facility. According to the study, the displaced people have acknowledged that they are in a much better position compared to their previous settlement. All of my ten key informants and all the FGD participants have described the current facility of toilets to be in much better position when compared with their previous settlements.

4.2.2.4 Schools

It is believed that the availability of schools is very important for the learning / teaching process. However, up to the period of the data collection there were no schools in Gurara constructed for the displaced people. Nevertheless, there is one big unfinished construction, which is said to be the construction of a School in the area. For this reason, the children of the displaced people have either to go to the surrounding schools in Ferensay or go to their previous settlements by mostly incurring additional expenses.

4.2.2.5 Health centers

There is no health centre in Gurara, which is prepared for the displaced people. For this reason, the displaced people go to the only available health post within



Picture 3 Partial view of School construction in Gurara

one-kilometer distance from their village. This health post is found among the host community. Accordingly, this health post gives very simple treatments such as first aid and family planning education. Hence, whenever some serious illness occurs in the family, they have to go to other centers, incurring additional costs of transportation.

4.2.2.6 Transportation

Transport facility is one of the crucial elements that are necessary for the displaced people. It is reported that in the early period of their arrival to Gurara, transportation had been a major concern for them because the road for transportation up to their village was inaccessible and inconvenient for taxi and buses. However, after a while, this problem has been solved and many buses are assigned there. Out of my ten key informants, half of them have said that the available transportation is not sufficient while the rest said that they are satisfied with the available transportation facility. Nevertheless, all have raised concerns that the transportation cost compared with their previous settlement has risen dramatically. Moreover, they recalled the empty promises given to them while they were in their previous settlement that promised them distribution of free transportation fares.

4.3. Differential Impacts of the Displacement

4.3.1 Impact on Saving

The cumulative effect of deterioration of the already subsistence income of the households has a detrimental effect on the savings of the households. The relatively expensive cost of living in Gurara coupled with additional transportation cost overstretched the subsistence income of many households and hence affected their saving negatively.

The census revealed that the number of households that used to save money before displacement has declined from 40.7% to 17.5% in Gurara after the displacement.

Hence, it is evident that the erosion of the income of the displaced people has negatively affected the savings of the displaced people in the new settlement.

4.3.2 Drop Out from School

The displacement has affected the school enrollment of children in different households. According to the study, children have assumed the responsibility of supporting the declining income of the household by getting involved in different

jobs particularly by going to their previous settlement area. This has affected their education negatively and many children are forced to drop out from school.

The census indicates that out of the 302 households 17.2% of the households have reported that there is at least one case of drop out in the household.

The following case of Fikiru Lemma reflects how the displacement forced him to drop out from school in order to support his family.

Case 5

Fikiru Lemma is a 16 year old boy. He was a 7th grade student while living in Piassa area. He recalls that he was a good student in his class while they were living there. Moreover, he used to follow his education properly because his family supported him and his educational expenses. His family used to rent out one of the three rooms they had for the Iddir so that the Iddir could use it as a store. He lost his mother in an accident and his stepmother works as a house cleaner around the Cathedral school. His father, who is old and blind, does nothing but stays home and depends on their support. Fikiru recalls the shock that the displacement has brought about. Due to the rapid recession of income of the family after the displacement, he found it very difficult to continue his education. Therefore, he dropped out from school and decided to help his family by working in Piasssa area as a shoe shiner.

4.3.3 Dependency

The detachment of people from their income earning activities has made them dependents. Old women and mothers are the most affected sections of the community in this regard. My interviews and observation witness that most old woman who was active in informal trade activities in the previous settlement are

now reduced to being dependents on the income earned by their children and their husbands.

According to many informants, they used to subsidize the income of the family either by getting involved in petty trade activities or by renting out some parts of their rooms. Moreover, the previous settlements provided them with many job opportunities such as washing of clothes and ironing, selling local drinks (**Tella**) and many others. However, Gurara has made the above opportunities practically impossible.

In addition, those people who opened a local drink house called "**Korefe**" house are running out of business because the number of visitors is very small.

The sense of powerlessness, dependency and grievance could be illustrated by the following narration of a 50 year old woman,

... This life is not good. We are very much destroyed. We have nothing to earn an income. If you look around and try to work in the village, you will come back with nothing by being tired in vain.

Before let alone to look the support and assistance of people, I used to help people. You know in **Megenagna** [it is her previous settlement] I used to make a lot of money by running a little restaurant and selling different drinks but now as you can see my equipments are piled up doing nothing [she has 2 refrigerators given by soft drink companies].

In my previous area, we had enough money and food. Now you may go to your relatives to get some cereals and always beg money and look for their help. That is how life is now. We better die so that we never see this happen to us again. Young children are left by themselves with their own problems and yet we look for their help. Because there is no job and anywhere to go, they become thieves and troublemakers. Now whether the situation will return to normal, we old people do not know. We still don't know whether this place will be our home.

As soon as she finished her narration she started to talk by herself in a very emotional way as follows: 'can't you see how I am living. Because there is nothing to eat my dog even betrayed me and went back to our previous settlement'.

Such kinds of responses are very frequent and common among the old informants who usually stay around the village in Gurara.

4.3.4 Joblessness

The displacement has brought about joblessness. The new environment could provide virtually no job opportunities. The informal labor markets that used to absorb most of the labor force of the people are left behind and there are no casual work opportunities available in Gurara whatsoever.

Moreover, the relatively far distance from the centre of the city discouraged them from going to the inner city to make money by using their knowledge and expertise in different ways. This is to say the cost benefit analysis of going to their previous settlement and searching for a job in the 'Job lotteries' is not encouraging and rewarding. Due to this, they prefer to stay around the village (Gurara) doing nothing.

The following cases of 60 year old man and an 18 year old young lady respectively who are displaced from Piassa reflect how the displacement incapacitated them by creating joblessness.

Case 6

Ato Tariku Molla is displaced from Piassa. He is 60 years old and has 3 family members. According to him, he lived in Piassa for about 20 years until they were displaced during the rainy season of 2004. While they were living in Piassa his main income was his pension money. Moreover, he used to make money by playing a musical instrument called accordion in different bars in the evening. However, after being displaced from Piassa he could not work in the bars where he used to work because of the distance and insecurity to go all the way back to his home in the evening. He pointed out that relatives are currently subsidizing him financially. He described his joblessness by saying, "After the displacement I became like a blind cat that could sniff a meat but could not get it because she is blind". He said this to describe his inability to work (Play accordion and make money) in Gurara despite his expertise.

Case 7

W/rt Lidia Teshome is a young woman of 21 years. She lives with her mother and two younger brothers. They were displaced from Megenagna. The family used to make money by renting out some rooms from their house, charging street vendors to store their property in their house in the evening etc.

Moreover, she used to work as a waitress in a pastry shop around Haya Hulet which is adjacent to their previous neighborhood. After being displaced, she tried to resume the job for two months by going from Gurara but the transportation cost almost consumed her entire earnings. Moreover, going back home in the evening was very insecure and these factors made her resign from the job.

After resigning, she could not get a similar type of job in Gurara so far and as she reported, she is sitting idle doing nothing.

Similar patterns of joblessness are very common among the youth. The joblessness which has become the hallmark of the displacement has triggered hopelessness and delinquency among the youth.

4.3.5 Delinquency

The dismantling effect of the displacement process has affected the youth negatively. As I observed in my field stay with them in Gurara, hopelessness and delinquency have been characterizing their life.

Those youth who prefer to stay in Gurara are mostly observed either spending their time by drinking "**Tella**" or "**Korefe**" in the neighborhood or chewing chat in the shade of the eucalyptus forest that is found surrounding the village. Out of the nine hosts that I interviewed six of them described the youths of the new village (displaced youth) as delinquent who always make troubles. The informants reported that there are frequent conflicts with the hosts especially in the initial periods of their arrival. However, the stationing of police forces between the two groups, i.e. the displaced people of Gurara and the hosts relatively eased the tension.

According to the different discussions I had with them, one of the major factors that contributed to the delinquency of the youth is the absence of job opportunities in the new settlement. Moreover, since there are no places to spend leisure time the only resort according to them is drinking and chewing chat.

4.3.6 Food Insecurity

Although food security issue involves many measurements like calorie intake, and nutrition, general questions about it in comparing with the previous settlement was posed.

The Census indicates that 39.7% of them have described the post displacement situation to be characterized by food insecurity, 6.6% with food security and 50.7% experiencing no change.

The figures from the census tell us that there are some households who are faced with problems of feeding their households. Moreover, the problem of food security could be ascribed to the denial of choices that the new settlement has introduced.

4.3.7 Morbidity and Mortality

Health problems are reported to be another problem, which is entailed with a problem of water in the new settlement. Five key informants have reported that, the unavailability of clean water has affected the health of their family members especially children. Although, a direct relationship could not be established independently, the informants believe that the problem with water has brought in waterborne diseases like diarrhea. However, no one has referred to experience loss of life in his or her family relating it to the displacement.

4.3.8 Illegal Settlement

The relocation of the displaced people in Gurara has somehow served as a link between the urban centre and the predominantly rural area of Ankorch. According to my observation, different illegal settlements are sprouting in the area along the forest by buying land from the farmers. As I tried to get information through different discussions, the illegal settlements are emerging because those people in the town started to speculate that they would be legalized when the town structure fully stretches its bureaucracies into the area. However, I will leave this issue open for further research so that the link between the relocation site of Gurara and the illegal settlement could be investigated and warranted.



Picture 4 Partial view of illegal settlements

Chapter 5: Relationship of the displaced people with the host people in Gurara

The fact that the IDPs are relocated at the nexus of the suburb of the urban area (Ferensay legasion area) and the predominantly rural area of Ankorchia compels us to investigate the relationship of the displaced people with both groups of people.

According to an interview made with the host community of the urban setting of Ferensay area, most respondents have described themselves as having minimal contacts with the displaced people.

The displaced people frequently visit the hosts in order to purchase drinking water from them. Moreover, limited contacts occur in market or shops although the displaced people tend to buy their items by going to their previous villages.

However, this group of hosts reported that there have been frequent organized group conflicts between the youth from the host community and the youth group of the displaced people. The chief reason for the conflict between the two groups emanates from the competition to secure the limited casual and other jobs in the area.

Accordingly, the hosts consider the newcomers as infringing on them and sharing the limited jobs available for them. Moreover, there has been a wide perception among my informants that most youth of the displaced people are involved in theft activities and so they always watch them in suspicion. This perception

against the IDPs developed from the negative stigma that has developed widely about slum areas, where they used to live previously.

The other array of relationships is with the predominantly rural people of Ankorch. According to an interview with this group, they perceive the displaced people with great suspicion. One informant of 65 years of age said that, " ... we are always suspicious of them and we feel that their hands are unclean [involved in theft] since they are from the centre of the urban area..."

This sort of stigma is very dominant among this particular group of hosts who frequently meet them in the commonly used river called ' **Tinsis**' where they wash their clothes and use it for different purposes.

The census made among the IDPs indicates that 17.9 % of the households have said that their relationship with both hosts is good; 21.2% have said that they have bad relationships and surprisingly 60.9% of the households responded by saying that they do not really know the exact relationship. The explanation given here is that most of the displaced people who responded in such a way do not spend their time in the village and would not be able to describe the relationship as good or bad.

Moreover, 21.5% of the households of the displaced people have said that there exists conflict between the hosts and them and they raised concern for their children being labeled as criminals; 76.5% said that there is no conflict.

The data from the census shows that 11.3 %(34 displaced households) reported that the hosts view them with respect while 24.5 %(74 displaced households) feel that they are being looked down by the host community, and 64.2 %(194 displaced households) could not say anything since they have limited contact.

As could be observed, a substantial amount of the households feel that they are being looked down on by the hosts and the majority do not know what kind of attitude the hosts have about them.

From the above evidence and observation, integration of the hosts and the IDPs seems a 'long way off' from being realized. Moreover, the limited access to jobs in the area adds fuel to the casual conflicts that pop up among the youth.

5.1 Coping Strategies Devised by the Displaced People in Gurara

As we could learn from the previous discussions, the displacement process has brought about many impoverishment risks and problems which were compounded by social and economic disequilibria. Be that as it may, the displaced people have been struggling to readjust to the new area by devising different strategies.

One of the strategies adopted by the displaced people is to go back to different centers of the town by selling the houses given to them. As the issue is very

sensitive, it was very difficult to indicate the exact number of houses that are sold by the IDPs, although I have discovered about seven houses that are being sold by the IDPs. After selling the houses, it is reported that the original owners of the houses went back to different parts of the town where they could realize their economic and social objectives.

Moreover, about eight households have rented out the housing unit fully, and left Gurara to live in some other parts of the town.

Furthermore, according to the census, a significant number of households want to return to their previous settlement. The number of households who want to return to their previous settlement is 209 households (69.2%) and 91 households (30.1%) do not want to return to their previous settlement if they are given the chance. Those people who do not want to return to their previous area are found to enjoy the relatively better housing unit in the new settlement.

The other strategy that is being used to survive is to go to their previous settlements during the daytime to look for a job and come back in the evening to stay in Gurara. Most displaced people adopt this strategy as there is hardly any job that invites them in the new settlement. The very fact of working away from Gurara made the village look as if it is abandoned during the daytime. In other words, there is not much movement in the village during the daytime.

As I observed the patterns, most youths who stay in Gurara spend their time in the local drinking houses such as 'Korefe' and 'Tella' Houses. This is due to the unavailability of jobs in the new settlement.

Moreover, some families have been observed collecting firewood from the neighboring eucalyptus forest. This shows that different families are very desperate about the situation they are in, and are coming up with different coping mechanisms; they need these in order to mitigate the depth of the problem that they have been facing especially after being detached from the different income generating activities in their previous settlement.



Picture 5 Women collecting firewoods from the nearby forest

Summary and Conclusion

It seems that urban expansion and development has been in full swing for quite a long time in Ethiopia. The expansion and development of urban centers is accompanied by rapid urban population growth.

The geometric increase of the urban population stands in stark contrast, however, to the very appalling situation of the infrastructures and social services that are found in the towns and cities.

Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, is one of the fast growing urban centers in Ethiopia. The unplanned and bizarre formative years of Addis Ababa had left its blurred pictures and imprints on the social, economic and infrastructural profile of the city.

The unplanned nature of the growth of Addis Ababa has contributed to the multiplying of loopholes for cheap, informal settlement and slum accretions in different centers of the city. Accordingly, 80 % of the houses in Addis Ababa are found in slum areas. These houses are found in poor condition and are not conducive to health. Moreover, these slum areas are characterized by complex socio-economic problems and exhibit pervasive poverty.

In order to mitigate the existing problems of the city, the government and the city administration authority have been implementing different practical policy measures.

One of the chiefly adopted reforms is displacing people from the inner city areas, which are highly characterized by slums, and relocating the displaced people in

different parts of the city. In line with this objective about 358 households are displaced from different parts of the city and are relocated at the suburb of the city in a place called Gurara, which is located at the nexus of the predominantly rural setting of Ankorchia and the urban area of Ferensay legassion.

According to the findings of the study, the displaced people had lived in their previous settlement for quite a long period where they developed emotional attachments with the area. Moreover, most people described their previous settlement as providing them with cheap house rent possibilities, relatively cheap cost of living, and availability of jobs. In addition, the previous settlement areas were preferred because of their proximity to their working places.

Above all, the previous settlement area, which is often characterized as slum and unhealthy, could provide them with the range of choices to make in terms of prices of food and other items. It could also provide them with a range of choices in quality of goods and services in tune with their financial ability to afford.

It was from that sort of environment that the people who are relocated at Gurara are displaced. The various pieces of evidence obtained from the study paint a hazy picture of the early stages of the displacement process, which is mainly characterized by deficit in putting the people at the centre. The program highly failed to enable the participation of different sections of the displaced people and the host community in every process and decision of the displacement.

Moreover, according to the study, the displacement process was marked by superficial and sometimes spurious preparation.

Similarly, the time given to the displaced people for preparation was inconsistent mostly ranging from 15 days to 3 months.

It is also observed that there were dashes to evacuate the people from the area despite the fact that some of the places that were evacuated and demolished are still vacant and idle. This shows that the process overemphasized on evacuating and demolition of the slum areas instead of enabling the participation of the people and giving them enough time for preparation.

It is also evident that the displacement process was highly resisted by the people. The resistances took different forms such as not showing up for the meetings called by the Kebeles and avoiding the issue at stake. The resistance could not escalate as security forces escorted the demolition process.

The resistances that were put against the scheme were brushed aside by the implementing officials as the deeds of some political agitators. Moreover, there was a clampdown of the simmering resistance to the scheme by threatening those who were involved in the resistance that they would be denied clearances from the Kebeles. In addition, after realizing the already cooked and decided package and the inevitability of their displacement people had to comply with the process in order to get a house in Gurara.

To win the compliance of the people and to silence the resistance, different unofficial promises were made. However, most of the promises were unmet and remained to be a nightmare.

An even more striking feature of this displacement to me is the denial of the affected people the right for compensation. As was highlighted above, most displaced people had been living in their previous settlement for quite a long period. Although the houses that they had been living in are owned by the Kebeles, the people have been spending money from their subsistence income for renovation and expansion of the houses. However, despite their substantial investment in renovation and expansion of the houses where they have been living for quite a long time, no compensation was paid to them. This, according to the findings of the study, was due to the implacable logic, which states that residents of the Kebele houses are not entitled to make any sort of renovation and make any sort of modification of the original structure unless given permission.

After the onset of the displacement, a dramatic change on the social and economic posture of the displaced people is entailed. The social and economic structure of the displaced people, which used to define their life was battered and destabilized. In other words, the displacement weakened the different social organizations and virtually ignored the social and economic dynamics of the pre-displacement and post displacement situation.

The procedures followed to displace the people have proved largely incompatible with the widely accepted objective of development that involves themes such as participation, people -centered development-- in effect denying the displaced people access to choices, services, job opportunities and other viable livelihoods which are indispensable for the decent survival of the poor.

It is also evident that the displacement has brought about a severe blow to the income of the people. Moreover, it has highly affected the old people and women by reducing them to the level of dependency.

Furthermore, the findings bring to the surface that the displaced people in the new settlement (Gurara) are squeezed between paying unusually high rent and getting low income.

The other worrying trend that could be drawn from the study is that the relocation of the displaced people at the suburb without providing them with a viable income earning scheme, and the random distribution of the housing units without considering the number of households per family is setting a new trend in the neighborhoods. The trend is that, in order to accommodate the number of their family, most people are constructing different unplanned houses made out of corrugated iron in their compound. This sort of construction is setting up a crowded and unplanned neighborhood, which could later degenerate into slums. Hence, this in turn would call up for another vicious circle of displacement.

Besides, because of its proximity to the centre and the looming degeneration of the displacement site, it would raise the voracious interest of investors for taking over the land by giving 'compensation' and could make the displaced people a prey for the predatory nature of powerful investors who have the economic power to displace the poor. This could be facilitated by the city's investment policy incentive which states, "...the city government provides additional land lease price reduction for investors who relocate household by themselves in the city redevelopment programs."(AACGIG 20054:24).

The proximity of the site to the urban centre and the fragile economic situation of the IDPs in their new settlement would urge them to sell the houses and go back to different centers of the city. In this case, the displacees sell the 'use right' or sometimes-called 'key' and go to different places.

Moreover, failure to take on board the consent and participation of the hosts during the displacement process has wrought anomalies between the hosts and the displaced in Gurara. This made integration a distant prospect.

Generally, the preceding discussions shed light on different facets of the impacts of the effects of development-induced displacement in urban context.

According to the findings, what ensued after the displacement process was not an improvement in the life condition of the displaced people. On the contrary, it was a sharp decline in income, loosening of social ties, and other series of

negative effects. In other words, while strengthening the position of the wealthy vis-à-vis the poor, it legitimized an existing inequality.

The verdict of the study shows that the Scudder- Colson model variable of stress is valid. As we have tried to see in the early stages, the recruitment and the preparation stages are characterized by orthodoxy of preplanned and already cooked activity that marginalized the displaced people. This sort of sidelining has heightened the level of stress that the displaced people went through in the early stages of the displacement.

Moreover, the impoverishment risk and reconstruction model of Cernea has been very much applicable to the situation. The thrusts of the evidence show that many of the risks are seen.

In addition, this study tries to bring to the surface the fact that the relative proximity of the relocation site has both negative and positive impact for the displaced people. It argues that partly because of the proximity of the relocation site some of the newly established social organizations could not be strengthened and consolidated and happened to be too "mechanical". This is because in places where the pre-displacement social organizations resumed, the displaced people in the new settlement became members of both social organizations (Like Iddirs). Accordingly, since these people are able to resume their ties with their previous Iddirs, they merely pay the different fees and are not as such concerned about the different informal social obligations that are not

prescribed by the bylaws of the Iddirs - unlike their membership to the previous Iddirs which is characterized by high interaction and fluidity.

On the positive perspective, the relative proximity to their previous area has contributed by providing an immediate vacancy for the displaced people when they go in search of jobs although with little reward.

Finally, the study suggests one additional risk to be added to the list of risks in the case of Gurara displacement in particular. This is the risk of delinquency, which is being set up by joblessness and unavailability of leisure places for the youth in Gurara. In other words, joblessness is serving as a cushion in propping up delinquency among the youth.

Recommendations

Blank condemnation of the policy package of the displacement would not suffice to address the problems. Hence, based on the findings, the following points could possibly be taken into consideration:

First, the aspiration for urban development and renewal should be understood as the expression of the poor whereby the people should be in the driving seat. The understanding of this should involve a series of sensitizing (awareness-raising) programs about the displacement, an informed participation of the IDPs and the hosts in every policy formulation and implementation concerning the issue at stake.

Secondly, the displacement process should not be taken as a successful showcase of development; rather it should be understood as a process that would lead to development that is presumably about the people, if handled properly. Hence, the scheme should put the rehabilitation of the livelihoods of the displaced people on its first priority list as an essential and indispensable component. In other words, job creation should get an equal importance in the policy packages -not as an issue to be shrugged off as a remote and distance issue when compared with the problem of housing and infrastructures in the inner city.

Thirdly, Women and old people should be given special emphasis because they happen to be the most vulnerable groups to be affected.

Fourthly, the displacement and relocation process should be well planned in constructing the houses on the felt needs of the people and should consider the number of members per household instead of randomly distributing the housing units. Moreover, the different affordable social services should be set up properly before the arrival of the displaced people.

Finally, the price of the house rent should take into consideration the ability of the displaced people to pay. There has to be a grace period to pay the house rent so that the displaced people in the mean time could gain their economic and social momentum and posture which they lost by the shock waves of the displacement.

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Declaration

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

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