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Effects of Displacement caused by Light Train in Addis Ababa: The case of Piassa

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Effects of Displacement caused by Light Train in Addis Ababa: The case of Piassa

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Declaration

I the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper citation and due acknowledgement has been made. I do further affirm that this thesis has not been presented or being submitted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or publication, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis.

Yidnekachew Tadesse

Date_____

Certification

I the undersigned certify that the thesis titled: *Visions of Development: Addis Ababa's Light Train and the displaced people from Piassa* which is submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University to award a degree of Master of Arts in **Social Anthropology** is the original work of Yidnekachew Tadesse.

Dr. Magnus Treiber

Date

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Abstract

Development and its induced impacts have been affecting millions of people all over the world for many decades. Even though much has been written and documented about this issue, research regarding development is not abundant focusing on the third world. This is highly attributed to the fact that development, especially urban development, being a recent phenomenon for the continent of Africa and third world countries like Ethiopia. This particular study explores the effects of the recent Light Rail Transit Network Project in Addis Ababa and its effects on the capital's people from various sections emphasizing on the socio-economic aspects of daily life. In this paper high emphasis is given to displaced people with a detail analysis of their daily lives in their relocation site.

This research follows a qualitative approach. The major data collecting techniques employed were interview, observation and informal conversation. In addition the theoretical model used in this paper is Michael Cernea's *Impoverishment risks, risk management and reconstruction: A model of population displacement and resettlement*. Since the aim of the research is presenting the perceptions of informants regarding various issues, several cases of personal accounts are also presented in the analysis. This study describes the pros and cons of the Project in relation to the wider context of the project and the process of the relocation of people displaced from Piassa to Yeka Tafo#2 Condominium site. Though the original intention of the project was assessing both the pros and cons of the project in a balanced manner, the thesis heavily concentrates on describing changes on the lives of informants since finding positive aspects of the project were found to be very little during the field work in comparison with the adverse ones.

This study attempts to understand how lives of people look like after displacement. In addition, this study is also interested in understanding the various things that these people gained or lost after they started living in the relocation site. Furthermore, the other area of interest of this study, to some extent, is to understand the changes in people's businesses particularly found around Megenagna. The personal accounts of employees in construction sites are also included alongside an account of a woman who managed to generate her own business in the construction site.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Figures	vi
Acronyms	vii
Glossary.....	viii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1. Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.2.General and Specific Objectives.....	6
1.2.1. Research Questions.....	6
1.3. Significance of the Study.....	7
1.4. Study Areas.....	7
1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	8
1.6. Ethical Consideration.....	9
1.7. Research Methodology.....	9
1.7.1. Selection of Informants.....	10
1.7.2. Data Collecting Techniques.....	11
1.8. Experiences during Field work.....	14
1.9. Organization of the Theses	15
Chapter Two: Literature Review	17
2.1. Anthropology and Development.....	17

2.2. Development Induced Displacement	21
2.2.1. Positive Development Induced Effects	25
2.2.2. Causes of Displacement	26
2.3. Urban Development and Job Opportunity	28
2.4. Theoretical Framework	29
2.4.1. Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management and Reconstruction:	
A model of Population Displacement and Resettlement	29
2.4.2. Major Impoverishment Risks in Displacement.....	32
2.5. Review of Government Policy.....	34
2.5.1. Urban renewal and Housing development Policy.....	34
2.5.2. Transport Policy Framework of Addis Ababa	35
2.5.2.1. Policy’s Goals and Motivations	35
2.5.2.2. The Transport Policy of Addis Ababa	35
2.6. Compensation Scheme regarding Displaced People.....	36
Chapter Three: Presentation of Research Findings	37
3.1. General Background Information of the Research Areas	37
3.2. The Light Rail Transit Network Project	38
3.3. The Process of Relocating Displacees from Piassa area to YekaTafu	
Condominium Site	44
Chapter Four: Development Induced Socio- Economic Impacts.....	50
4.1. Different Perceptions of Development	50

4.1.1. Development According to Affected Groups	50
4.1.2. Development According to Non-affected People	52
4.2. Infrastructural Development in the Relocation Site.....	53
4.2.1. Supply of Electricity	55
4.2.2. Supply of Water	63
4.2.3. Housing Concerns.....	64
4.3. Effects on Social Networks.....	68
4.4. Effects on Children’s Education and Socialization	70
4.4.1. Transportation.....	72
4.4.2. Unemployment.....	73
Chapter Five: Impacts of the LRTN Project on Businesses	77
5.1. Financial Effects	77
5.1.1. Business	77
5.2. Unemployment.....	80
5.3. Challenges related to Children’s Education.....	82
Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations	84
6.1. Conclusion	84
6.2. Recommendation	88
References.....	90
Appendices.....	95

List of Figures

Figure One: Residents in A.A using the railway for other purposes.....	44
Figure Two: Physical Infrastructure in the Relocation Site.....	48
Figure Three: Infrastructural Conditions of the Condos Inside out.....	54
Figure Four: The Unfinished building where all the displacees, women, used to do baking, cooking...etc.....	57
Figure Five: Communal Kitchen Built by the Women.....	59
Figure Six: The only Latrine in the Relocation Site.....	67

Acronyms

AACAILIC	Addis Ababa City Administration Integral Land Information Center
AACPPO	Addis Ababa City Planning Project Office
AAU	Addis Ababa University
EEPCO	Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERC	Ethiopian Railway Corporation
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FEDB	Federal Economic and Development Bureau
FEPA	Federal Environmental Protection Authority
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
ILO	International Labor Organization
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
LRTN	Light Rail Transit Network
MFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
SCRA	State of California Resources Agency
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program

Glossary

Ambasha- local term for Bread usually baked in the shape of a Pizza

Ato- the Amharic equivalency of the English Mr. used to refer to an adult male.

Birr- Ethiopian Currency

Chat- green plant consumed as a recreational drug in Ethiopia

Idir- voluntary Burial association

Injera- the staple flat bread

Iqub- voluntary community organization of credit and saving

Kebele- the smallest administrative unit in the country (Ethiopia)

Kubet- a dry cattle's manure used as a source of fire

Mahber- local Community Organization

Mehal Arada- commonly used term by relocatees to refer to Piassa

W/ro (Weizero)- a local term used to refer to a married woman

Woreda- administrative unit that is one level higher than kebele

Chapter One

1. Introduction

This research is focused on the development induced socio-economic effects with a special emphasis laid on the Addis Ababa light rail transit network construction. This study addresses both the pros and cons, based on the perception of the people contacted in the field, of this particular project in the capital that are already happening and expected to occur at the time of construction and after the completion of the project.

The study addresses both progressive and adverse effects that the Addis Ababa light rail way project created. The effects are analyzed mainly from the social and economic perspectives. The things observed on the ground during the time of the preliminary study influenced the decision of preference of these two perspectives. But the research was heavily reliant on, when assessing the pros and cons of the project, the perception of the people whom the project directly or indirectly affected and also the perception of those from the government's side to some extent. Some of the major effects observed in the preliminary study include the issue of employment generation, an involuntary displacement and loss of shops and other businesses.

The term 'development' is defined differently in various texts. For instance, development is defined as an ability of being able to achieve a change that is manifested by factors like getting a better education, provision of good health services, existence of various income generating opportunities that imply a higher standard of living with the goal of meeting the basic needs of everyone in an aspiration of a better life. At its lowest level development implies growth or maturation (Hartwick and Peet, 2009:1; Naz, 2006). This point raises one question, a question which relates to the critiques that are forwarded towards development, since when is a development project able to satisfy the needs of everyone? This is a question and a critical point of emphasis that this particular research attempted to address.

The original usage of the term was very different from what is intended to mean when it comes to the idea of development these days. At first the term was used to indicate the natural growth of living things which was termed as 'development from within'. Then after, the concept of development became vernacular which targets at explaining social change (Barnett, 2005).

Though development projects, both in the past and nowadays, aim at ‘bringing’ a better social life for people, the issue or concept of development and its interpretation on the ground has been criticized. It is also argued that from the very beginning Anthropology has struggled with the representation and engagement with other cultures while trying to refrain from the western rationality and design of progress (Marcus and Fischer, 1999).

Escobar (1995) criticizes anthropologists’ involvement in development projects for their uncritical acceptances. He argues that anthropologists accept the blue prints of development projects with no question. Development was also questioned by being regarded as the tool/cover for the manifestation of the western ideology on the ‘third world’ (Arche and Long, 2005:4; Ferguson, 2005; Hobart, 2002). This idea can be strengthened by taking Ferguson’s account from his study in Lesotho in which he states;

“Development institutions generate their own form of discourse, and this course simultaneously constructs Lesotho as a particular kind of object of knowledge, and creates a structure of knowledge around that object. Interventions are then organized on the basis of this structure of knowledge, which, while “failing” on their own terms, nonetheless have regular effects, which include the expansion and entrenchment of bureaucratic state power, side by side with the projection of a representation of economic and social life which denies ‘politics’ and, to the extent that it is successful, suspends its effects” (Ferguson, 1994:xiv-xv).

Cernea argues that development is a complex socio-cultural process in which one needs to study main issues such as patterns of social organization and social actors in order to understand it. Cernea states development is not merely about new technologies or commodities but it is, mainly, rather about people, their institutions and social organizations (Isan and Chiper, 2007). It is why an engagement with critical perspectives on development and the development process is regarded as an important component in the anthropology of development (Grillo and Stirrat, 1997).

According to Yehuwalaeshet (2012), major limitations on the transportation system of Addis Ababa exist. Among the major challenges encountered on daily basis are a high transport cost,

the ever growing mobility needs of the people and the unbalanced situation seen when it comes to the demand of the people and the transport providers available. Furthermore, the problems attached to the transport service in Addis Ababa include the chaotic movement of mini-bus taxis, an environmentally unacceptable emission and, probably the most critical one, its feature of being unsafe and hazardous to life and property of both the users and providers of the transport service.

It is obvious that when projects are designed and implemented on the ground, the ultimate goal of their work is to 'improve' the life of people from perspectives like economy and social welfare. To be specific, road and railway projects are implemented with the intention of contributing to the socio-economic development of a project area in particular and a country in general.

Like that of any development project, this light rail way project has major crosscutting themes that are attributed to both beneficiary and adverse effects, as afore mentioned earlier, observed during a preliminary study and also as strengthened by the perception and reports of informants from the field research. According to the Federal Environmental Protection Authority (2004), the ongoing project has its own potential effects. For instance possible economic effects such as an increase in job opportunity and employment and more ways of income generation for the local people (women were also observed providing food and beverages to the blue collars in the project areas) could be mentioned. Socially, adversely, people were displaced from their houses and lost their shops in the study areas where the problems they face were investigated in the field. The aforementioned effects are not the only ones discussed in this paper but rather other effects of the project are included in the coming chapters.

These potential outcomes were studied on the field to show these are actual impacts that are happening or on the verge of emerging than just being potential outcomes. Furthermore, another outcome of this particular project is related to the changes concerning the involuntarily displaced people from Piassa. In addition to the previously mentioned issues, this research came up with the assessment of the pros and cons which this light railway construction resulted.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Addis Ababa is one of the ten largest cities in the sub-Saharan Africa with an annual growth rate of 3.8% that is undergoing a major transformation as evidenced by the development of road networks, schools, healthcare institutions, hotels, condominiums, real estates, banks, shopping centers, and many other businesses (UN habitat, 2005; Gebre, 2008:53). Even though the overall effects of development to urban residents are positive such as an overall urban development, better infrastructural access and job opportunity and capacity building for individuals...etc., there are also adverse socio-economic effects in which some sections of the urban population always face during or after a development intervention takes place (Cernea, 1993). Among these problems, which are addressed further in this study, are an involuntary displacement, loss of jobs, social disarticulation and marginalization (ibid).

An average of 4 million trips is generated daily making the city the transport center of the country. In Addis Ababa, the transport service provided is insufficient to the public. As clearly observed on the ground, it is at a level where it cannot meet the mobility needs of residents.¹ Taking these needs under consideration, the Ethiopian government is on the verge of beginning a light rail transportation system in the city which created some development induced effects both to the larger and few sections of the urban population as mentioned earlier.

According to a demographic projection made in the 1990s, mainly due to the rural-to-urban population migration, mega and mid-sized cities will register the largest absolute population expansion. As a result of the high population number and pressure observed in cities like Addis Ababa, a major problem such as an involuntary displacement is an inevitable thing that residents encounter whenever a development project takes place. For instance, during times when an involuntary displacement and migration occur, the people who have been displaced might have to readjust themselves to a relatively new kind of lifestyle depending on the new place they have been located to (FEPA, 2004).

The other component in which potential beneficial and adverse impacts are observed is the sector of economy. To start off with the potential benefits, firstly, residents of the city are expected to get a better access to market and working places especially from the perspective of

¹ <http://www.utip.org>

saving time (UN habitat, 2008). The other benefit could be an increase in the city's overall development and generation of high employment opportunities during the time of construction and may be after it is completed if the concerned parties give emphasis on the matter of capacity building. Adversely, local residents whom the project mainly touches face some problems like the loss of houses or businesses since the area in which they reside gets cleared for the construction purpose.

Due to the slower rate of urbanization or urban development in most African countries, particularly regarding urban displacement, until very recently, the probability of finding abundant materials concerning urban development was/is still low (Anduamlak, 2009:45). But though researches regarding development induced displacement in Africa are low, those which are already done canvassed various interesting issues well (Gebre, 2008; Habtamu, 2011; Anduamlak, 2009 and Tesfa, 2014). This research, besides assessing the lives of the displaced people from Piassa, will bring a new addition to such types of researches regarding development induced effects by assessing the lives of merchants around Megenagna area to some extent. Furthermore, most researches done focusing on development induced impacts commonly focus their research on one side, i.e. emphasizing only on either the benefits or adverse effects of a certain project. But unlike these kinds of researches, this research attempted to address both the pros and cons of the project, based on perceptions of the people, from a balanced stand point as much as possible. Both the positive and adverse effects of the light rail way project are addressed in the data analysis part of the paper. Furthermore most researches concerning development tend to be quantitative accounts opposite to this research which is qualitative and well descriptive.

This research will help as an input to the existing shortage of literatures since it studied both the beneficiary and adverse effects that this light rail transit network's project already resulted. Even though this research was planned to address the pros and cons of the project, major emphasis was given to people who have been displaced from Piassa who now live in Yeka Tafo #2 condominium and those, to some extent, whose businesses got affected located around the second research site, Megenagna.

1.2. General and Specific Objectives

The general objective of the research was to assess and understand the socio-economic impacts that the Addis Ababa light rail construction has resulted and generated by specifically focusing on two areas of one selected Sub-City, Yeka Sub-City.

Aiming at assessing and understanding various issues related to the LRTN project (such as the reason and process of displacement and relocation), the specific objectives were categorized into four. The first specific objective was about assessing and understanding the pros (e.g. employment opportunity and capacity building) of the project by relying on the perception of the people contacted during the field research. The second specific objective was also about assessing and understanding the cons (Social disarticulation, high income decline, unemployment...etc.) of the project on people. These effects were analyzed by research done on the displaced people in Yeka Tafo and some people from the business community around Megenagna. The third specific objective was related to understanding the LRTN project from a wider perspective so as to give readers, for instance, a know how about a development project which is new to today's residents of the capital in particular and even the country in general. This third specific objective deals with mainly documenting the main points regarding the projects progress from its start to the end in 2015. Assessing the views and perceptions of some officials from some government bodies about the overall LRTN project and its effects in particular and also development in general, i.e. to some extent, was the fourth specific objective of this study.

1.2.1. Research Questions

1. Why the people from Piassa were displaced and how the relocation process was like?
2. How displacement affects relocatees socially and financially?
3. How development interventions affect business communities?
4. How affected and non-affected people perceive and interpret development?

5. How the government is undertaking infrastructural development and how it is dealing with issue related to groups affected by the intervention?

1.3. Significance of the Study

As stated earlier in the aforementioned couple of pages, this is an anthropological study and assessment of the socio-economic impacts induced by the light railway construction in Addis Ababa. Unlike some researches that tend to generalize quantitatively using either a small or large sample, this study intends to give readers a better opportunity of understanding what lies on the ground from both the displaced people and others' own perspective and experiences. By doing so I believe that this study will help other researchers and concerning parties including the government and NGOs that work targeting development induced socio-economic impacts get a better insiders' view about the issue at hand. This study, since it focused on development, will also help policy makers to be able to fill gaps in the future especially when it comes to displacement and related compensation schemes.

1.4. Study Areas

The study areas where the study was conducted are found in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. The major sites for the research include;

Yeka-Tafo, a place found in the eastern part of Addis Ababa which is found under Yeka Sub-City. This is a place in which people who were displaced from Piassa reside in. The relocation site in which this study was conducted is found in Yeka-Tafo #2 condominium site, Yeka Tafo area.

The second research site is Megenagna which is found under Yeka Sub-city where people's businesses have been found to be affected due to the development intervention. It is also a place where major construction works for the Light rail transit network took place. In this place the targeted groups of people were merchants whose business got affected, blue collar employees in the construction site and self-employed women who sell food and beverages to these workers in the construction site.

1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study fundamentally concerned itself with assessing and understanding the socio-economic effects induced by the development project in line with the experiences of people who got affected. Readers, again, have to bear in mind that this study also assessed and included the beneficiary effects that this particular project has brought or expected to bring from the individual level to the community as a whole. The assessment heavily relied on the perception of the people whom the project directly or indirectly touches.

This research mainly employed purposive sampling and also included several individuals and families. Since it is a qualitative research, it would not be possible to generalize, since only about 34 people were contacted for an interview, the findings beyond the sample to the larger population of Addis Ababa or the selected Sub-cities. This study mainly concerned itself with assessing the lives of people who got displaced from Piassa, Dejach Wube sefer, and who are currently living in a condominium known as Yeka Tafo #2. The study also assessed the lives of some people mainly, around Megenagna, from the perspective of business and employment.

The first limitation encountered in conducting this research was gaining acceptance among my informants during the early stages of the field work. At first, some, especially employees in the project area and the displaced people, refused to talk and disclose any information to me because they felt that it was dangerous for them to talk to a stranger about some sensitive issues whom they know for not more than two weeks. But the longer we had discussions and informal conversations again and again, the more they started to trust me. Two people in particular thought I was a “spy” of the government with a fake student ID. These people, though they showed their willingness for an interview at last, took a copy of my student and resident IDs and my support letter from AAU incase if I am not who I said I am.

The second limitation which was tough and challenging was the lack of finance. There was no money given to the researcher in conducting this study. Besides other reasons, this is one of the main reasons why I chose Yeka Tafo as the major research site because it was relatively close to my locale than the other sites in which some displaced people live. It was a remote possibility for the researcher to visit displaced people living in places like Jammo Site which is

a place very far from my locale and financially unthinkable to make proper visits which an appropriate field research requires.

1.6. Ethical Consideration

Briefing everything regarding the research was the very first thing done before any interview or informal conversation was made with informants. For the main targets, i.e. the displaced people, it was explained to them that the research's focus on them is assessing their life in the relocation site in comparison with what they have had back in Piassa. For those around Megenagna, they were briefed that the information required from them is only regarding their private businesses and their job in the LRTN project. It was also explained to them that they have the right to withdraw from participation in the study or refuse or omit to answer to the questions that they feel uncomfortable answering. Participants were also informed that their names will be kept anonymous if they do not want to be made public. Almost all informants, especially the displaced people, wanted their names not to be mentioned in this paper so all the names in this paper are pseudonyms.

Officials in Arada and Yeka Sub-Cities alongside officials under Woredas of these Sub-Cities were approached through a formal letter of cooperation obtained from the department of Social Anthropology.

1.7. Research Methodology

This research put both primary and secondary sources into use. The collection of the primary data were employed mainly in the form of an interview (unstructured and semi-structured), observation and case study of selected participants. Informal conversation was also among the data collection methods. Data from secondary sources were also gathered from books, articles, BA and MA theses, booklets, annual reports, the internet and finally unpublished materials.

The research methodology which was particularly employed for the research was the qualitative one. This method was selected mainly due to the intention of helping both the researcher and readers grasp meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics and descriptions of various things well (Berg, 2001:3). In addition, according to Mack, McQueen, Guest,

Woodsong and Namey (2005), a qualitative research methodology enables a researcher to provide a detailed and illustrated description of the experience of people in relation to the issues that a research raises.

1.7.1. Selection of Informants

The target populations of the study were people who got displaced from Dejach Wube sefer, Piassa, who are living in Yeka Tafo #2 condominium site and people around Megenagna area who are/were employees in the LRTN project and the merchants whose business got affected ever since the construction started. From the overall informants, the displaced people living in Yeka Tafo took the larger portion since, as previously mentioned, a heavy emphasis was given to these people throughout this entire research.

Since the lives and daily experiences of these and also the other, i.e., those from the second research site, is explained in case studies, key informants were selected using some criteria such as age, sex and most importantly, especially for the displaced, the duration by which they lived in the relocation site given the situation of that site which is discussed thoroughly in the coming chapters. There are nine key informants in this study among which eight are from the overall informants and one government official.

For this research the sampling techniques that were used to locate and recruit informants were largely purposive with an additional employing of convenience and network (snowball) sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was used to recruit participants for the purposes of interview, observation and case study. The purposive sampling was employed mainly to locate or recruit people who were/are directly affected by the project and those who spent most of their time in the project areas. Government officials in Sub-City and Woreda level were also among people who were selected purposely according to their attachment with the specific project alongside the displacement and compensation scheme. I used purposive sampling because the research required participants who were willing to be studied and be part of it in order to tell their life stories and experiences based on their own interest (Kothari, 2004). In addition, few people affected by the project and also employees in the construction site were selected by a convenience sampling on some incidences explained in chapter four.

Convenience sampling is the method of selecting the nearest available individual as an informant on the field (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). Furthermore participants, i.e. especially the displaced people, who possess certain characteristics were selected and asked to refer others with similar characteristics. By characteristics it is to refer to things like an individual being a displacee, a merchant, employee in the project...etc. (Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtler, 2006). A total of 34 people were part of this study.

1.7.2. Data Collecting Techniques

Interview

Relevant data were gathered by employing the unstructured and semi-structured interviews along with informal conversations (interviews). It can be said that an interview is a major and vastly employed technique when it comes to several qualitative researches. In this study, interview was employed as a major data collecting technique. It was employed in order to get a better understanding of people's (informants) lives and their perception of the notion of development from their own perspective. A total of 34 people were interviewed. The key informants include 5 from the displaced people in Yeka Tafo, 1 official from Arada Sub-City, 1 merchant from Megenagna, an employee in a construction site and a self-employed woman contacted around Megenagna area.

Unstructured Interview

The unstructured interview was selected because this kind of interview helps a researcher to generate questions while he/she is interacting with a respondent, according to Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979, as cited in Berg (2001:70). The main goal behind conducting such interview is to let interviewees open up more and express what they feel about the issues raised while interacting with a researcher (Bernard, 2006:211). Furthermore, this kind of interview will allow respondents not to limit or give a single answer but also to connect that answer with other matters of relevance which will help the researcher to gather more data (Marvasti, 2004).

Semi-structured Interview

This kind of interview is best when interviewing people where a researcher has no/little chance to meet them again (Bernard, 2006). For instance, during the course of this particular study it was hard to meet some people repeatedly such as those from government offices, high profile personnel from the project areas...etc. Bernard explains this kind of situation as “semi-structured interviewing works very well in projects where you are dealing with high-level bureaucrats and elite members of community, people who are accustomed to efficient use of their time” (Pp.212). This particular research have not necessarily dealt with those who are high level bureaucrats or elites of community, but, for sure, contacts were made with some people who might/did not have a lot of time to be available for interviews rather than just one interview. Guiding questions were prepared based on the objectives of this study.

The intensity of contact made with informants in this study varies to some extent due to some factors. For instance there were three people, from the displaced category, who were too busy to be found at their homes unless it is Sunday. So, this factor made the conversation and contact with these informants a little limited though they answered the questions I have raised during our interview session. The informants were interviewed at different times and places. For instance I interviewed the displaced people in Yeka Tafo condominium site mostly in their homes. I interviewed few of them in other places, at the same site, such as in their communal ‘kitchen’.

When it comes to the people in the second research site, Megenagna, I interviewed all in their work places. My interview with the male merchants was usually during the time of the day where they chew *Chat*. The female merchants were willing to be interviewed at any time of the day in their shops. The employees on the project area were mostly conducted during their lunch break and sometimes during work for a little conversation. The duration of the interviews made with each informant varies and ranges from 37 minutes up to an hour and a half depending on the nature of the issues raised and the interest of the informants. A voice recorder was used during all interview sessions including those with government officials. This really helped me in focusing and giving attention to informants and what they say and not to miss answers forwarded by informants since it is hard to replicate the same by trying to take a note

of everything what they say. In addition to all the data from the interviewees, a lot of pictures were also captured so as to support the field findings visually.

But there were some instances where I refrained from doing so because there were some incidences that would include informants in the picture like a queue for the communal toilet. In this particular event, for instance, informants in Yeka Tafo, told me not to take any picture since they found it risky.

Informal Conversation

Another method of data collection employed for this research was an informal conversation. This method is useful, according to Bernard (2006:211), “at the beginning of participant observation fieldwork, when the researcher is settling in. It is also used throughout ethnographic fieldwork to build greater rapport and to uncover new topics of interest that might have been overlooked”. Relying on the various types of information and interests of my informants, informal conversation was used at different times and places. For instance, some people from Yeka Tafo, among whom few became key informants later on, were very much interested to talk about their experiences when I am with them anywhere between the blocks during the preliminary stages of my field work. The informal conversations took place almost everywhere that goes from a plastic tent used as a cooking place to government offices.

Observation

According to Kothari (2004:96), retaining the observation method during a field research has some advantages. First, “the information obtained under this method relates to what is currently happening; it is not complicated by either the past behavior or future intentions or attitudes”. Secondly “this method is independent of respondents’ willingness to respond and as such is relatively less demanding of active cooperation on the part of respondents as happens to be the case in the interview or the questionnaire method. This method is particularly suitable in studies which deal with subjects (i.e., respondents) who are not capable of giving verbal reports of their feelings for one reason or another” (ibid).

The living conditions of my informants, i.e. the displaced people living in Yeka Tafo, were visited. Observation was also done during my visits to the construction areas of the LRTN project and shops. During my visits to some of the merchants, I did not participate in any activity because it was against my principle to chew *Chat* or smoke cigarette though I was offered plenty of times repeatedly during the courses of my face to face interviews with them. The very first and also intentional field visit and observation of the research sites was made on January 17, 2015.

In Yeka Tafo 2, for instance, I was able to spend four to five days a week. I have observed some things starting from the infrastructural development of the site up to how people, especially the women, “struggle” in every routine of their daily lives due to the lack of some necessary things like electricity, water, garbage disposals...etc. Further and detail analysis is presented in chapter four.

Frequent visitation was also made to Megenagna because it was only within a short driving distance away from my residence and it is also a place where I pass by very often if not daily.

1.8. Experiences during Fieldwork

At the start and also throughout the fieldwork some people were seen to be active and very willing to participate and be part of the research while some tend to be passive especially during times when I raise a sensitive issue regarding each informant’s situation. The attitude of the former ones was very helpful because they were very eager to tell their frustrations and excitements out loud. Their active participation and sheer willingness was manifested when at times they rose different interesting and unheard issues outside of what I had in mind and in the guiding questions. From all the informants, the displaced people, almost all, were very willing to share their experiences regarding their life from the perspectives of pre and post displacement.

Some of the interviewees were very protective towards disclosing some information which they felt was too ‘risky’ of telling to a person they ‘barely’ knew. Ato Tadios could be a good example in relation to this issue. He is among the displaced people from Piassa who are now living in the assigned condominium houses located in Yeka Tafo 2 area. During my interview

with him he told me he is not comfortable talking about issues like compensation, the way the displaced got their homes,...etc. as a result I was forced to ask only the remaining ‘safe’ questions to my informant.

1.9. Organization of the Thesis

This paper is organized into five chapters. The first chapter includes introduction, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, research methodology and ethical consideration.

Literature review is the second chapter consisting different sub-chapters including debates in anthropology and development, definition of development, development induced displacement, effects of development induced displacement, causes of displacement, urban development in relation to job opportunity, the Addis Ababa Light Transit Network Project, and theoretical framework which highly focuses on development induced displacement and related risks.

The third chapter includes three main sub-chapters. The first part is about a general background introduction of the research areas with a main emphasis on the major one, Yeka Tafo #2 condominium site. In the next part of this chapter, the wider contexts of the Addis Ababa Light Rail network project (LRTN) will be discussed as set in the objective section in chapter one. This part starts with giving a historical glimpse on how the rail way transportation was started going back to the early twentieth century.

Then this part continues by discussing how the current government is undertaking this particular project. In general, a general data about the project with an addition of cases are presented in this part. The next sub-topic in this chapter discusses the process of the displacement of people from Dejach Wube Sefer, Piassa to the relocation site known as Yeka Tafo #2. Important points will be discussed, relying on the perceptions of informants, regarding points that were reported by informants and also government officials that were experienced at the time of displacement up to relocation.

In the fourth chapter, the lived experiences of informants, as a result of the LRTN project, will be analyzed from a socio-economic point of view. The entire portion of this chapter deals with

analyzing the socio-economic effects which displacement, as a result of the project, created on the people who got displaced from Piassa and relocated to Yeka Tafo #2 condominium site.

The fifth chapter, to some extent, deals with presenting the findings regarding merchants located around Megegnagna area who are also affected by the project's intervention on their businesses. Then a final concluding remark and recommendations are given on chapter six.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. Anthropology and Development

In anthropology, concerning development, there is a heated debate which is going for over 50 years now between the mainstream and development anthropologists in relation to the relevance of the practical applicability of the ideas of development anthropology and the engagement of anthropologists in development projects and interventions. The former ones argue that the task and responsibility of anthropologists should be studying a certain society and publish about them. In addition, they believe development destroys cultures and indigenous knowledge since it is accepted without any critical engagement by the development anthropologists. Major scholars who are proponents of this argument include Escobar, Sachs, Hobart and Ferguson (Pierre and Sardan, 2005). For instance, Escobar is a scholar who advocates “the needed liberation of anthropology from the space mapped by the development encounter” (Escobar, 1995:17). Contrarily, development anthropologists such as Norman Long contested that various anthropological practical endeavors are the best places for contributing well fermented anthropological insights, engage and immerse in the society being studied and coming up with a solution which, if there is, an obstacle in the daily routines of the society being studied (Pierre and Sardan, 2005). The practical applicability of anthropological theories and insights, as an applied subfield, was a remote possibility until the 1980s. Anthropologists on the two extremes had the tendency to rate each other’s works as irrelevant (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005: 140; Grillo and Stirrat, 1997).

As an aspiring anthropologist with a little experience, it is very hard for me to think that the very best place to test the validity of anthropological insights is in classrooms or wherever it might be without going out on a field. How could one possibly check the effectiveness or side effect of a drug without laboratory experimentation? Academic anthropologists of the past used to believe that the main task of anthropologists should be studying, writing and publishing a certain literature about a specific group of people. But this is no different, in my opinion, than being a journalist, not a reporter, of these days if there is a heavy reliance on the publication

and reports of others opposed to one's own immersion and engagement with a study and the target population.

The other debate among anthropologists is about the discourse of development and its application in the anthropological arenas. It is stated that "in the development universe, there is a wide gap between discourses and practices: what is said about a development project when it is a matter of conception, establishment, formatting, shaping, financing, or justifying the project has little in common with the project itself as it exists in practice, once it gets into the hands of the people to whom it is destined" (Pierre and Sardan, 2005: 4).

In the history of development anthropology, or anthropology per se, the term development has been used to mean various things. For instance, the evolutionists of the nineteenth century had used the term development when they discuss about the transition of "primitive" people to a "better" or "modern" stage. Then after a while, mainly in the post-world war two era, development had been given almost the same meaning, but in different words, as it was manifested in the inaugural speech of the then US president Harry Truman in 1949 which goes as:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. The old imperialism exploitation for foreign profit has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing (Quoted after Sachs, 2010:1).

The above speech of the then President naming those countries or regions different other than the US as "underdeveloped", clearly shows how development is defined from the westerners' and "developed" point of view. This point is strengthened by Hobart (1993), as cited in Grillo and Stirrat (1997:3), in which he argues that both the definition of development and the cures or remedies to underdevelopment are defined and provided from the perspective of the westerners' world ordering system of the time.

The belief behind development is like the shadow of modernity which is measured and interpreted according to the western world's progress in various aspects such as science and technology, industry...etc., (Hartwick and Peet, 2009). Fairhead (2000), as cited in Pierre and Sardan (2005:6), has a belief, which is shared with the likes of Hobart and Ferguson, in which he takes development as a process with hidden agendas of 'decivilisation', 'depoliticisation', and 'depossession'. Furthermore, the discourse of development was regarded as means of deploying the western ideology and an indirect mechanism of controlling the third world from the cultural, social and economic dimensions which are key factors in making up the identity of a certain people (Escobar, 1995:9).

Some scholars took it too far, in my opinion too far, to the 'island' of 'pessimism', while criticizing the idea of development in general. One scholar who was very negative about the idea of development is Sachs; he states:

The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crimes, have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work. Moreover, the historical conditions which catapulted the idea into prominence have vanished: development has become outdated. But, above all, the hopes and desires which made the idea fly are now exhausted: development has grown obsolete (Sachs, 2010: xv).

Later on Sachs made one interesting argument in which he states that people of the world are going in a single track following the paths or footsteps of those who are 'developed' and leading the path to development. This makes sense both to his and the others' critique towards development saying it is a process of the westernization of the world where people, i.e., the 'less developed', lose and forget their own customs, values, norms...etc., meanwhile, through time, following the westerners' style of living and interpretation of the world around them (ibid).

The ideas of social and cultural changes were interlinked with development after the demise of colonization. Anthropologists at that particular time start giving emphasis on the aforementioned ideas especially the term “Social Change” was used interchangeably with “development” (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005:145). Likewise, in a UN paper cited in Sachs (2010:9), an interesting and much meaningful, at the same time somewhat suspicious, statement was made about the development/underdevelopment in relation to the third world. According to that paper development is not only about growth but also it is about change, a change which is either or both quantitative and qualitative in the social, cultural and economic dimensions of the daily routines of the people and countries of the third world.

The thing which is interesting about the definition of development given above is that it advocates the main aim of development should be the improvement in peoples’ quality of life. In the early 1970s a study was conducted by the ILO in which it was found that only employment and an economic growth could not be guarantees for the betterment of the lives of many poor people in the world. It turns out, according to the study; the primary objective of any development intervention should be the satisfaction of the basic needs since employment by itself could not be a guarantee for the attainment of these needs, i.e., needs like shelter which was one of the target areas of this particular research (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009). The other thing which is doubtful is that, in my opinion, why a cultural or social change is necessary in order for a poor country to achieve a ‘better’ cultural, social and economic progress, which is, without a doubt, a replica of the developed world’s ideology.

Anthropology’s relation with development took a turn in the 1970s by criticizing and rejecting two ideas that were inherited from anthropologists of the past, i.e., those prior to the 1970s. The first is related to the rejection of the idea of the 19th century evolutionists who used to argue that the world is an array of individual societies who move through history independently of others. Secondly, the idea that was put under a question mark by critics of that time was the fact that “development” is not a real deal which can bring various positive changes to the “less developed” but rather it was just, according to the critiques, a means of the expansion of the capitalist mode of production to many parts of the world mainly to the third world (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005:146).

The emergence of development anthropology as a discipline is attributed to several factors. It mainly emerged in the 1970s following the neo-Marxist critique targeting underdevelopment. According to the neo-Marxists, a European style of living and capitalism are the major causes for underdevelopment. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, they are among the critiques who argued that the true aim of “development” is not changing the lives of the poor for the better but instead it was merely for the expansion of the Capitalist economic system. The other factor is related to the loss of employment opportunities for anthropologists in the academic circle somehow pushed them to work in different development projects which in turn enabled them to be engaged in the practical development world (Barnard and Spencer, 2002).

In the past, anthropologists used to emphasize and conduct their field researches on people who were located in the third world that were isolated, marginalized, small and rural. But, nowadays, the focus and interest of anthropologists has become wide where many studies about issues such as urban life, development interventions in cities, the links between local perception and interpretation of development versus the global one...etc., are being made (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005:149). Ferguson elaborates, or somewhat argues against, the previous point by stating that though it is claimed that anthropologists made a shift from sticking to a mere study of the poor, isolated, marginalized...etc., still, they, even when conducting researches in the “developed world”, their tendency or interest of their research heavily relies on the poor, isolated and the marginalized. This is why, according to Ferguson, graduates of the discipline find it really hard to find jobs in a less traditional anthropological sites since gaining a recognition and acceptance for their works was very tough (ibid.:108).

2.2. Development Induced Displacement

When various states carryout a number of development projects like that of infrastructural ones, usually, the displacement of people from their homes and also the loss of business shops are common things observed all around the world. For instance, according to a study made in 1993, the sectors of urban infrastructure, water supply and transportation were responsible for the displacement of people all over the world between the years 1986-1993. In general the causes or categories of development induced displacement include: water supply (dams,

reservoirs, irrigation); urban infrastructure; transportation (roads, highways, canals); energy (mining, power plants, oil exploration and extraction, pipelines); agriculture expansion; parks and forest reserves; and population redistribution schemes.²

Besides displacing people development projects always have an impact when it comes to changing the structure of towns or cities. Traditionally, major infrastructure systems (water, electricity, sewerage and telecommunications) and the “bulk elements” (water treatment works, power sub-stations, reservoir dams, etc.) have structured cities spatially, although their direct impact is less obvious than that of transport (UN HABITAT, 2012: 21).

Displacement is not only about the physical removal of people from their living areas but it is also the removal of people or part of a community from an economic, cultural and social setting. As previously mentioned, displacement mostly occurs because of development projects such as dams, mines, roads, irrigation and water supply systems, ports, pipelines, urban infrastructure, and special economic zones. The social structure of various communities is usually distorted by displacement which in turn will make the displaced vulnerable to several problems and impoverishments. In addition, marginalized communities, rural farmers and slum dwellers alike have faced such devastation around the world at increasing rates.³

Cernea (1996:1515) argues “True development is undoubtedly beneficial to very many people. But development changes the status quo and such change usually entails social disruptions and undesirable consequences for some population segments.” As mentioned in the previous pages, people from various parts of the world get displaced due to development interventions. We can see the table below as an example.

² <http://www.idp-key-resources.org>

³ <http://www.mtnforum.org>

Table 1: Number of People Affected by Major Dam Projects

Dam	Country	No of People
Akosombo	Ghana	84,000
Aswan High Dam	Egypt	100,000
Danjiangkou	China	383,000
Ilisu	Turkey	350,000
Kainji	Nigeria	50,000
Kossou	Cote d'Ivoire	85,000
Sobradinho	Brazil	65,000
Srisaïlam	India	100,000

Source: Cernea (1996) and Grabska and Mehta (2008)

In the 1990s and the preceding years dams were the major causes for the displacement of people all over the world. But due to the growth and expansion of urbanization, especially in the developed countries, urban infrastructure has become the number one cause for the displacement of people in the world. Though the rate of urbanization is a bit slow in third world countries, still, people, largely the poor and powerless, get displaced as a result of urban development interventions.

The above table shows only the number of people affected by major dam projects in the world. But the number of people who got displaced from some countries like India and China is staggering. For instance, between the years 1950-1880, more than twenty million people have been displaced as a result of development interventions in India. In another very populous country in Asia, China, about forty five million people have been displaced in a 50 years' time due to development interventions made by the government (Cernea, 2003).

Besides development interventions, as many as 25 million people have been displaced by wars in some 40 countries (12 to 13 million in Africa, 5 to 6 million in Asia, 3 million in Europe, and 2 to 3 million in the Americas) and a similar or even greater number were displaced by natural disasters and development projects (Weiss and Korn, 2006:1). For instance, in Burma,

between the years 1999-2008, about 1 million people have been estimated to be internally displaced due to various conflicts, human rights violations and repressive government measures.⁴

There are some major indicators that can show and quantify the losses that displaced people encounter due to development. Among these major indicators are the number of people who are displaced from their homes, the number of people who lost all or some parts of their productive assets, employment losses, environmental losses, and costs of moving...etc. (Gebre, 2008). The major adverse effect that forced displacement incurs on people is the extrication of social organizations and livelihood patterns that people used to have in their previous/original neighborhoods. When explaining this situation, Cernea (1996:1517) states

“When people are forcibly moved, production systems are dismantled, long established residential communities and settlements are disorganized, while kinship groups and family systems are often scattered. Life sustaining informal social networks that provide mutual help are rendered non-functional. Trade linkages between producers and their customer base are interrupted, and local labor markets are disrupted. Formal and informal associations, and self-organized services, are wiped out by the sudden scattering of their membership.”

These adverse effects of population displacement are usually intensified by two major factors that are:- (1) an inadequate planning in relation to displacement and its execution in line with the relocation of the displaced and, (2) the absence of a strategy for redressing the problems which resettlement creates. It is obvious that the displacement of people whenever there is a development project is an inevitable and predictable thing. But the problem is related to the fact that many concerning bodies usually underestimate its effects which often indirectly result some impoverishing effects on the displaced (Cernea, 1996).

⁴ <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk>

2.2.1. Positive Development Induced Effects

One expected outcome of the Addis Ababa light rail project is ensuring sustainable development. Since it is designed to operate electrically it will not have any associated side effects that are environmentally unfriendly. The project, besides providing transportation, is also targeted to achieve a green development which is believed to be a key factor in harmonizing the city's development plan with nature. In addition, the country, Ethiopia, is undertaking other mega projects like the construction of the 'grand renaissance' dam to achieve such objectives (Yehuwaeshet, 2012).

The other major positive effect of development projects is the provision of job opportunities to many citizens. Also, and most importantly, building the capacity of workers involved in them. Besides generating income for many employees, the transfer of technology and knowledge is a big deal for a country like Ethiopia (ibid). In addition, according to the FEPA (2004), people, i.e., people who do not directly involve in the projects as employees, will generate revenues by undertaking activities like providing food and beverages in the work place for employees and also by other activities such as renting houses for non-resident workers. Furthermore, well-developed and efficient intra and Inter-urban transportation systems and infrastructures will facilitate the movement of people, goods and services throughout the region and are important in providing linkages in all sectors of life. A better access to market places and other social services will be created when a good infrastructural development in general and transportation system in particular is available. The other major benefit in relation to the development of infrastructures like that of the LRTN in Addis Ababa is that people can have a better access and preference to several means of transportation and also they, especially the middle and lower class society, can be benefited well since the fares of mass transportation systems like the previously mentioned one usually take the economic situation of the city's residents into consideration (UN habitat, 2008:113).

2.2.2. Causes of Displacement

Cernea (1993) discusses major causes of sudden displacement in general and urban displacement in particular. According to him sudden displacements mainly occur due to three main reasons. These are natural causes, political events and planned development programs. Most of the time, a forced or an involuntary displacement occurs due to several development interventions. The major causes of development induced displacements include the need to build infrastructure for new industries, irrigation, and power generation...etc. (Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

The number of people displaced from their residential and working areas only between the years 1990 and 2000 is between 90 and 100 million. The number of displaced people as a result of development interventions has been so high at times in the 21st century. For instance, in India, about 20 million people have been displaced due to infrastructural development projects only in 40 years' time (ibid).

To make the issue of displacement specific and also to relate it with this research, we can see two major causes of displacement in urban areas such as Addis Ababa. Urban economic growth is a potential factor observed all around the world being the reason for residents' displacement. The urban economic growth in many countries is usually manifested through undertaking projects like the construction of new industrial estates and transportation corridors or systems like that of the LRT. The other reason, somewhat similar with the previous one, is attributed to the displacement of city residents due to project interventions that rely on environmental improvements. Such types of projects might include improvements on things like drinking water and energy, waste disposal and sanitation...etc. since these kinds of projects usually affect some areas of residence, displacement, either temporary or permanent, is an inevitable thing to so as to accomplish structural and infrastructural improvements in urban areas. Other potential causes of urban displacement include slum upgrading and non-urban programs which infringe upon existing urban settlements (Cernea, 1993).

One of the main things usually mentioned whenever the issue of urban development gets raised is the development projects in relation to the transportation infrastructure which is also the target area for this particular research. From 1980 to 1986, for example, World Bank-assisted projects in transportation, water and urban development accounted for 33 percent of all projects involving involuntary resettlement in Africa; from 1987 to 1995, the proportion grew to 57 percent (Robinson, 2003:18-19). For instance, outside of Africa, in the Dominican Republic, between 1986 and 1992, at the height of the nation's urban renewal campaign, about 30,000 families in Santo Domingo were evicted from their homes (ibid). It is estimated by the World Bank that development projects on urban infrastructure and transportation are responsible for the displacement of over 6 million, 60 percent of the overall development induced displacement, people worldwide each year.⁵

In addition it is really worth noting that it was during the 2004/05-2009/10 phase of the Ethiopian GTP that, for the first time, the possibility of coming up with a new system of public transportation taken to consideration to tackle the transport challenges of the capital's residents. It was also during this period where the city's council of road safety got established with aims such as lowering the traffic related death rate, awareness raising, ensuring and controlling road safety...etc. As a result, for instance, the number of deaths that are caused by traffic accidents decreased from 104 in 2004/05 to 52 per 10,000 accidents at the end of the plan year (MFED, 2010). Even though the transportation infrastructure is showing progress as set in the country's GTP, still, there are some challenges in relation to the transportation situation in the capital, Addis Ababa. According to the Ministry of Transport (2011:1), there are some major transport problems that both the mass and the environment encounter on daily basis such as;

- Poor access to work place, education, health and other services due to lack of public transport service
- Continuous increases in transport fair especially for low income groups
- Increasing air and noise pollution

⁵ <http://www.alnap.org>

As it is seen in various studies and also as it is clearly visible on the ground, the capital, Addis Ababa, has an inadequate service provision in relation to the transport sector given some factors such as the incompatibility between limited number of private mini-buses and public buses and the increasing demand due to the ever growing number of population of the city. Besides the gap between the public transport demand and supply, the standard of the service is also low. For instance, old neighborhoods that are far from main roads are not well served by the public transport (ibid).

These are some reasons why the government is making an effort and undertaking the construction of the LRT to realize a technology transfer in mass transport and also meet the mobility needs of the mass. Furthermore, providing comfortable, safe, dependable, efficient, equitable transport service for the city of Addis Ababa is a condition to accelerate the development of the city, and make a competent city on regional, continental and international levels (ibid.:17).

2.3. Urban Development and Job Opportunity

There is a notion called transit oriented development (TOD) which entails or holds the fact that the restructuring of urban areas for the purpose of maximizing access to public transport through concentrating mixed use nodes around public transport stops or stations (train station, metro station, bus stop...etc. (UN HABITAT, 2012)).According to the Ethiopian GTP, during the 2004/05-2009/10, it was planned to construct 396,000 new houses, establish 10,000 small urban-based enterprises, and create job opportunities for 200,000 urban city dwellers. By the end of the PASDEP period 213,000 houses had been built in various regions and city administrations. In addition as a result of the housing development program, 4,306 small construction enterprises were established, while 176,000 permanent and temporary jobs were created (MFED, 2010:15).

One of the strategies set on the GTP in relation to creating job opportunities while constructing the rail network in the city was to let some domestic small and medium metal manufacturing and engineering industries to produce some raw materials such as sleepers, locomotives and rail spare parts. The other aims set as strategic directions were mobilizing and building local

capacity targeting the provision of services as well as human resources and strengthening the ties with foreign actors.

In addition while explaining one of the GTP's targets for the rail way transport sector, it was stated as “ construction of 34 km of light railway network along two corridors (from East to West and North to South) providing the capital city Addis Ababa with a mass transit system. This initiative will involve 40-50 companies working on design and construction of network and more than 20 manufacturing companies producing spare parts and providing metal engineering and electro-mechanical services” (ibid.:70).

2.4. Theoretical Framework

Different texts exist in relation to explaining the development induced socio-economic impacts. But there is a scarcity of theoretical frameworks or models which explain development induced socio-economic effects. As a result, I have chosen one theoretical model which I think suits best to my research. This theoretical model *Impoverishment risks, risk management and reconstruction: A model of population displacement and resettlement* has been developed by Michael Cernea.⁶ It is worth noting that the researcher will not be bound only to the orientations of this model.

2.4.1. Impoverishment Risks, Risk management and Reconstruction: A model of Population Displacement and Resettlement

This model states that “forced displacement results from the need to build infrastructure for new industries, irrigation, transportation highways, power generation, or for urban developments such as hospitals, schools and airports. Such programs are indisputably needed. They improve many people's lives, provide employment and supply better services. But the involuntary displacements caused by such programs also create major impositions on some population segments” (Cernea and McDowell, 2000:12).

⁶ <http://www.communityminning.org>

In addition, Cernea, in this elaborative model emphasize on the involuntary displacement but touches the impacts that development projects induce from various perspectives.⁷ According to Cernea, forced displacement is not just an issue of leaving a certain geographical location, but also it creates a social exclusion for the people getting displaced. When further explaining about this issue, he states that “forced displacement cumulates physical exclusion from a geographic territory with economic and social exclusion out of a set of functioning social networks. The concept of exclusion adds to the understanding of impoverishment” (ibid). This model offers both the necessary frame work to establish the eight risk categories induced to populations that have been displaced due to development projects, and the ways to counter them by programmed reconstruction.

The main aims of this model are related to explaining the problems people face during an involuntary displacement and coming up with a theoretical tool capable of guiding policy, planning and actual development programs to offset the adverse effect which displaced people face. The origin of this model is both empirical and theoretical in which its primary version was applied on more than 200 projects worldwide which were carried out by the World Bank between the years 1993-1994. One important feature of the IRR model is that it focuses on both the economic and social contents of both the displacement and the re-establishment processes. It is stated that “the model’s dual emphasis, on risks to be prevented and on reconstruction strategies to be implemented, facilitates its operational use as a guide for action” (Cernea, 2000: 3662).

This model was chosen, additionally to the prior reasons given, because it also has two major functions, predictive and diagnostic (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). Another function, i.e., research function, will be added and explained below.

The predictive function helps a researcher to predict some likely problems, which are conceptualized under the eight major impoverishment risks, which might be hidden in a project. The predictions are, according to Cernea, in fact, early warnings of major socio-economic problems that are likely to occur.

⁷ <http://www.responsiblemines.org>

The practical utility of this function is that it enables both the planners and the would-be displacees to transparently recognize the risks in advance, search for alternatives to avoid displacement, and/or respond with mitigatory measures, bargaining strategies, and coping approaches or mechanisms (Cernea, 2000:3663). According to Cernea, when a development intervention is undertaken it is very helpful to the bodies concerned to give a prior notice about the overall project and what would probably be going to happen to them. If people as individuals or as a community are informed about their future, they will have time to do whatever is necessary to prepare themselves for what awaits them after the development project's effect upon them such as the problem of displacement and relocation. For instance, when people get informed about their possible future by a governing body, they will make some changes or adjustments like searching for a school which is good and near to their relocation site so as to avoid risks associated with it for a whole academic year. But the most important thing is the availability of infrastructural development in relocation sites (Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

The second function of the IRR model is the diagnostic one. The diagnostic function mainly helps to assess the intensity of the problems in a given context as high, moderate or low. According to Cernea, it reveals various issues to policy officials, who decide on triggering displacements, and to the affected populations who incur the consequences, the socio-economic hazards and possible outcomes of the impending displacements. The specific risk assessment (diagnosis) supplies advance information and recommendations crucial for project preparation and planning of counter-risk measures (Cernea, 2000:3663).

When discussing about the research function, Cernea states “For social researchers, the IRR model provides conceptual scaffolding for conducting and organizing their theory led fieldwork. The model stimulates the generation of hypotheses about relations between key variables in both displacement and relocation. It facilitates the exploration of mutual linkages of and the reciprocal reinforcement on weakening effects between related risks. The research utility of the model comes from its ability to guide data collection in the field and coherently aggregate disparate empirical findings along the model's key variables. It also makes possible comparisons of responses to risks across cultures, countries, and time periods” (ibid). This

model, as explained in the previous pages, holds and also raises various issues and risks that are mainly associated with displacement and relocation.

For instance, the eight major risks provided by Cernea could be potential starting points for the identification of a research problem for a researcher who is interested in working on the issues of displacement and resettlement. The role of this function is not limited to researchers only but also it gives policy makers and development planners to be able to identify various risks associated with their work through conducting a research prior to the starting of their planned development intervention.

This model explains eight major risks that usually happen due to development induced displacement. They are: (1) Landlessness, (2) Joblessness (3) Homelessness (4) Marginalization (5) Food insecurity (6) Increased morbidity (7) Loss of access to common property (8) Social disarticulation.

2.4.2. Major Impoverishment Risks in Displacement

Cernea, (1993), explains some of the risks associated with displacement. Below are some of the major risks associated with development induced urban displacement. In addition, these impoverishment risks are things observed/reported during the contacts made with informants at the preliminary stages of the research. Furthermore, the reason behind highlighting these issues is due to the fact that these are among the major socio-economic issues which this research was focused on.

Joblessness: The displacement of economic units (workshops, commercial shops, small producers' units and others) will make people lose their jobs whether they are owners or employees. In addition, according to Gebre (2008), when people are displaced and get relocated to a far area, they usually quit their jobs due to the distance to their work place and the high transport cost to get there.

Homelessness: Even though the loss of shelter is kind of a temporary thing for many displaced people, for few it is a reality and for some the issue of the worse housing standard than their previous houses is an enduring situation (see also Cernea and McDowell, 2000:25).

Social Disarticulation: When a development induced displacement occurs, people will get dismantled from the social fabric that exists in the place from which they get displaced from. According to Cernea (ibid), “the loss of reciprocity networks directly worsens the corollaries of poverty, powerlessness, dependency and vulnerability.”

Furthermore, when poor people get displaced, in Ethiopia for instance, their membership in community organizations such as *idir* (funeral associations), *iqub* (saving/credit groups), and *mahber* (religious groupings) will be in danger. As a result many struggle to keep, few also quit, their attachment with these institutions for reasons such as a strong sense of attachment to the old villages, high entrance fee in the new sites, and lack of knowledge of new neighbors (Gebre, 2008:67-68). In some sites, due to the economic status of dwellers, entrance fees to such social organizations tend to be high to some new comers such as those poor displaced people from Piassa. New relocation sites might sometimes be dominated by middle or high class people making it harder for poor people to engage themselves socially through such organizations which require weekly or monthly fees, unaffordable by poor people, in addition to the entrance money. The main reason is that people usually tend to make the payment scale in such organizations depending on the economic status of majority of people in their area. This is why poor people find it difficult to mingle with others who have higher economic status than them.

The above three risks, along with other socio economic effects created by the LRTN project, will be the center of analysis while presenting the research findings. For instance, the issue of social disarticulation can be, for sure, attributed to the people displaced from Piassa area. To add more, other effects such as joblessness or income decline could also be related to the people around Megenegna which is the other area of study in this research. The above statements are not written out of bold guesses but rather are the results of the early preliminary studies of this research.

2.5. Review of Government Policy

2.5.1. Urban renewal and Housing development Policy

According to MWUD (2008) as cited in Habtamu (2011:41), a consolidated urban development policy was formulated making housing development a major priority. The policy envisages not only the provision of decent urban housing to citizens, but also the utilization of housing as an instrument to promote urban development, create jobs, revitalize the local urban economy through micro and small enterprises (MSE) development, encourage saving and empower urban residents through property ownership and develop the capacity of the domestic construction industry, what makes call the approach Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP). The IHDP (condominium houses) which started in 2004 in Addis Ababa is the pioneer of all programs and having an aim to provide low-cost housing for middle and low-income people and at the same time to create job opportunities. The inability of the market to deliver low-cost housing at the required quantity and price was the main motive for the commencement of the program. The IHDP is designed to narrow the backlog of 367,000 units through the construction of 50,000 low-cost houses each year (Haregewoin 2007 cited in Tesfa, 2014: 16). IHDP was later renamed to the Grand Addis Ababa Integrated Housing Development Program (GAAIHDP). The GAAIHDP strategy links the housing development with slum reduction in order to improve the lives of slum dwellers. The program promotes inclusive residential building development and approaches that minimize displacement.

The involvement of government in cost effective housing development is considered as one alternative to create access for middle and low-income households. Under state led housing development three alternative housing provisions are designed considering dwellers' income level. Government is subsidizing this program through accessing land free from the lease. The 10/90 program is developed to address the very low-income households that the former program (20/80) condominium did not benefit due to difficulty to cover the 20% down payment. Beneficiaries are expected to save 10% within 2 years and the remaining 90% credit is covered by government, which would be paid back in 20 years. The 40/60 saving house is the 3rd alternative new housing programs which aimed to provide houses for the middle class that the real estate or other programs could not address. 10 % of the IHDP or as recently

referred as the GAAIHDP is reserved for displaced households due to development-induced programs (Tesfa, 2014: 15-16).

2.5.2. Transport Policy Framework of Addis Ababa

2.5.2.1. Policy's Goals and Motivations

According to the ministry of Transport (2011:14), coming up with the policy was necessitated due to factors such as:

- ❖ Enabling the transport service of the city assist the national effort to reduce poverty and accelerate development programs.
- ❖ Realizing infrastructure and transport service based on development in the city based on accessibility and mobility of the urban population and ensures that different institutions and stakeholders play key role in a coordinated and cooperative spirit.
- ❖ Integrating the city's Land-use and transport plan.
- ❖ Provide efficient, coordinated and improved transport service.

the enhancement of the city's status as an international seat by introducing seamless traffic flow alongside enabling the transportation sector to provide for the socio-economic development, good governance to improve the livelihood of the society and adapting the environmental protection of the city were among the major objectives set in the transport policy frame work of the Addis Ababa (ibid.:16).

2.5.2.2. The Transport Policy of Addis Ababa

In order to accomplish the provision of transportation needs such as safety, comfort, dependability, efficiency and reliability, the transport minister of Addis Ababa (2011: 18) has outlined eleven key policy issues and implementation strategies. Among these policy issues, the major ones are:

- ❖ Integration of land use and transport plan.
- ❖ Expansion of transport infrastructure.

- ❖ Enhance transport service provision.
- ❖ Focus on social issues.
- ❖ Capacity building and coordination of transport service providing institutions.

One of the major strategies set in order to meet the above mentioned needs and policy issues was the development of mass transport service through putting the Light rail transit and electric power driven buses into use (ibid).

2.6. Compensation Scheme regarding Displaced People

According to the AAIC (2014), people, soon to be displaced, will get a replacement house based on the guideline set by the concerning body, the Addis Ababa housing development bureau. This guideline is that which state families will get a replacement house based on their size. Regarding supports for people after they get displaced or through the process of relocation, the document describes three major things. These are:

- ❖ Making the displaced people get any assistance from various groups such as Micro and Small scale Enterprises.
- ❖ Provision of money for their social losses and psychological effects (6000 ETB).
- ❖ Assistance of money for covering their moving costs to the relocation sites (5000 ETB).

Though the financial assistance for displaced people is a total of 11,000 birr, the amount increases to around 16,000 when people get displaced in a hurry, i.e. mostly only in four weeks, like that of the displaced people from Piassa.

Chapter Three

Presentation of Research Findings

3.1. General Background Information of the Research Areas

The hundred and twenty four years old city, Addis Ababa, lies between 80° 05' & 90° 05' North latitude, and 38° 40' & 38° 50' East longitudes. This is a city located almost in the center of the country with an elevation ranging between 2300 meters at St. Joseph church, Kality, and 2900 meters above sea level at Entoto area making the city one of the highest Capital cities in the world in terms of altitude (Habtamu, 2011). According to Dierig (1999) cited in Gebre (2008:56), the lowest and the highest annual average temperatures of the city are 9.89°C and 24.64°C respectively whereas the annual average rainfall is 1178 mm.

During the Derg regime (1974-1991), the Addis Ababa city administrative structure was organized into three levels of structure consisting of six Ketena (zones), twenty eight Kefitegna (Higher) and three hundred and four Kebeles. From 1991 up to the reform in 2002, the city was structured into 6 zones, which were further sub-divided into 28 Weredas, which again were divided into 304 Kebeles (Habtamu, 2011). In 2003, the administrative divisions were changed again and restructured into ten Sub-Cities literally “town divisions” administrations and the number of Kebeles was reduced from 304 to 99 Kebeles (AACAILIC, 2013: 6). From these sub-cities, Arada sub-city, the sub city where the target population of this study got displaced from, is known to be filled with poverty stricken population and places (Habtamu, 2011). Asfaw (2005) cited in Habtamu (2011) states that the total population of the city is around four million with an 8% increase per annum. The areas targeted in this particular research are located in Yeka Sub-City. This Sub-City is found in the North Eastern part of Addis Ababa. In a recent estimation, the total population of Yeka Sub-City is about 346,484. The total area of the Sub-City is 82.30 km square where about 4210 people live per 1 square km (FEDB, 2010).

Meheret (1991:1) as cited in Gebre (2008:57) states that “Addis Ababa is a fast growing urban centre that is beset with problems afflicting most cities in the developing world, including

extensive poverty, joblessness, inadequate housing, severe overcrowding/congestion and undeveloped physical infrastructure.”

3.2. The LRTN Project

It was in 1917, during the reign of Emperor Menilik, that the first ever train service was provided to the people of Addis Ababa. The rail way was stretched from the Capital, Addis Ababa, up to the neighboring country Djibouti Vis-à-vis Dire Dawa. The idea of connecting the capital of Ethiopia to the neighboring countries, especially Djibouti, was apprehended by the late Emperor’s advisor from Switzerland, Alfred Ilg. Rails, from Dire Dawa to Addis Ababa, started to be laid in May, 1912, after the rail way was completely done and stretched between Djibouti and Dire Dawa in 1904. The construction work took three years and in 1915 the line reached Akaki, a small town 23 kilo Meters from Addis Ababa. Then after the project got completed and the line reached the Capital, the first trains arrived in it in 1917. After this, the capital, Addis Ababa, experienced major effects like an increase in its economic activities and a huge growth of population.⁸

It is then almost a century later in which the city is undertaking the relatively more modern Light Rail Transit network project in its history of transport infrastructure, i.e. under the rule of the EPRDF. Starting this project in the capital was not an easy task to the current government. As it is explained in chapter two, one of the main targets set by the city’s administration was the development of the LRT network system so as to strengthen the transport infrastructure. According to the AACPPO (2012), the Addis Ababa LRT network and the national railway system are governed and controlled by the Ethiopian railway corporation (ERC) which was established by the federal government in 2008. This company is responsible for the development of the railway systems. The LRTN technology was chosen after a study was conducted in 2007 by a private consultant called G. Menckhoff. His study mainly focused on three major factors that are the implementation strategies, operating costs and the institutional set-up.

⁸<http://www.everythingharar.com/publication/> The Franco-Ethiopian Railway and its history- Pankhurst_Pdf.

During the preliminary stages of the project, two major challenges had to be faced in order to start the construction on the ground. The first challenge was gaining the public's belief since it is a new thing for the city, many residents were somewhat doubtful towards its success. The second challenge, probably the major one for the government, was attaining money since the feasibility of the project was very doubtful for many including those with the potential of financial aid either in an organization or a country level.

After the above challenges have been met by the government, the construction got started around September 2013. The construction brought some challenges to the residents of the city. These challenges include the blockage of major roads that really became an obstacle for the transportation service and also businesses of many. In addition, due to the limited alternatives regarding roads, a heavy commotion along the pedestrian pathways is another challenge to the city's residents which is observed daily until all the roads are cleared. The rail way will cover about 34.25 Kms in both routes, i.e. from North to South and East to West. It was in 2009 that consultants from Hong Kong commencing a Chinese railway company completed a study on the identification and defining of the routes. Two routes were defined;

- On the East-West axis(from Ayat to Tor Hailoch)
- On the North-South axis(from Menelik II square to Kality)

From the above routes, two segments were/are prioritized: Megenagna/Ayat (7 kms) and Mesquel/Kality (8 kms). According to the AACPPPO (2012:13) "the LRT will have 10 main hubs (Ayat, Megenagna, La Gare,Lideta, Tor Hailoch, Menilik Square, Mercato, Gotera, Dama Hotel, and Kality) out of a total of 32 stations. The hubs will be close to important public areas or service centers, such as the stadium, university, hospitals, CBD, markets and shopping malls. They will also provide important connections with other modes of transport such as BRT (Bus Rapid Transit), taxis, minibuses etc."

The rail way gage is standard, 14.35 Centi meters wide, in which it fits any train there is. The trains are expected to go 70 km/h and give service to about 60,000 people at a time in the four corners of the city. There are 41 trains available which will give the transportation service to Addis's people after the construction is completed around the end of April 2015. For these trains there are 20 substations already built for the purpose of supplying power for the trains.

On the North-South axis (from Kality to Abuna Petros Square) there are 9 and, on the East-West axis (from Tor Hailoch to Ayat Square) there are 14 crossroads available for cars to make turns. When it comes to pedestrian crossroads there are 27 on the ground, and 9 on bridges at the four corners of the city. There is a complaint among the city's residents about the small number of the crossroads especially among pedestrians. But, according to officials under the duty of the construction of the rail ways, it is stated that they were forced to decrease the number of the crossroads and increase the gap between one another due to one major factor. The reason behind this is that if the gap between two crossroads is small it will make and force the trains to go in a slow speed below the originally intended one, i.e. 70 km/h. The average distance between two crossroads is 600 meters. There are 37 assigned areas by which people would sit and wait for the trains to get service.

This project has some prospects set to be fulfilled in the future. The first one is creating a permanent job opportunity and building the capacity of employees. Capacity building means building abilities, relationships and values that will enable organizations, groups and individuals to improve their performance and achieve their development objectives. It also means enhancing people's technical ability and willingness to play new developmental roles and adapt to new demands and situations (UNEP, 2002:11). The issue of job opportunity seems, though its temporary, to have a huge impact on many people's lives ever since the construction got started. From the beginning of the construction in 2013, job opportunity has been created for more than 5000 people, most in the blue collar category. This finding resembles a research result made targeting the belt high way project in Addis Ababa in which the author explained that "the Chinese company brought not more than 100 expatriate staff. The remaining employees were Ethiopians. The project created employment opportunity mainly to unemployed and non-professional laborers. I learned from the informant from Addis Ababa city government road authority that more than 1,500 Ethiopians got employment opportunity for consecutive five years" (Dejene, 2005: 36).

During my field work, I had the chance to talk to some employees working in the East-West axis, around Megenagna, to talk about their job in this project and the benefits they attained out of their job in it. Matios Chamiso is one of the navvies, also one of my key informants I met working under the Megenagna construction site. He is a 26 years old man originally from

southern part of Ethiopia, Wolayita. He has been living in Addis Ababa for about three and a half years now. It has been almost about a year since he started working in this project. He is amongst the 5000 people who got a job opportunity in the LRTN project. Matios explains the benefits he got from the moment he started working in the project. Before he got his job in this project, he spent about eight months unemployed. According to him, those eight months were the ‘hardest ever’ for him and also were the months by which he well ‘understood’ the struggles and hardships that the poor face in every aspect. According to Matios, the one and the only reason which made him stay in Addis Ababa is the job he got in the project. Financial independence is the key thing he attained ever since he was employed in the project. As a result, he says, he was able to help himself, his mother and two younger brothers back in his home town.

He mentioned that his mother is too poor to do some things by herself both for her and his younger brothers in Wolayita. But thanks to his job in the project, he managed to send from about 800-1200 birr per month to his family. As a result, he says, his financial aid to his family made one of his brothers to be a full time student in an elementary school back home. Prior to Matios’s financial aid, his brother was only going to school for only three days a week, only in the morning. He was learning like that because it was a must to help his mother with some chores necessary for their daily life. But, according to Matios, things are changing in his family due to his financial aid from here.

Matios is not the only employee whom I have talked to during my field visits in the construction site. Three other employees, Biniam, Fasil and Sintayehu, also had the willingness to share their experiences apropos their jobs in the LRTN project. Their experiences are almost similar with that of Matios’s but they, including Matios himself, disclosed one interesting thing after we interacted with each other for several days. Even though all of them are thankful for their chances to work and have an income as a result of this project, they reported they are “frustrated” with something. Amidst an informal conversation with them, one of them, Fasil, explained this case and stated:

We work for seven days a week and about eleven hours a day. We do not even have a day off during holidays. But what frustrates us the most is the difference in our payment when it is given by our people and the Chinese.

When our people make our payments, they always give us a well and satisfying Salary. But when the Chinese pay our salary, they sometimes give us half of what the Ethiopians pay us. We still cannot figure out why our salary varies when we do the same type of work each month.

The construction of the LRT network system is also another source of income for some women. These are the women who provide or sell food and beverages for the workers in the construction sites. I observed that there are usually about two to three women in a particular construction site undertaking such activities. In the site which I have focused on, Megenagna, there are two women who get their income from selling *Ambasha*, Tea and Coffee to the workers in that site.

These Women usually get very busy in the morning and afternoon. Some might ask and wonder that how could one survive just by selling coffee and *Ambasha* usually two times a day for “poor” employees in a construction site. But Abonesh Girma, one of my key informants, has an answer in which she explains about her business and states:

I always begin my day by buying plenty of Ambasha from retailers very early in the morning around 11:30 p.m. local time. After that I will go back to my home and make some Tea which I believe would be enough for my customers in the morning. The employees, since they start working around 7:00, most of them eat their breakfast here. When it comes to coffee, everybody, regardless of their status in this site, buy from me. All in all, this construction turned out the best for me ever since the beginning. My former job was washing people's cloths and I used to get about 1500 birr per month from it. But now for the past two years my income got doubled from the previous one. I once even made 4500 per month last year. After I became financially stable, I got the ability to do some things that I couldn't before. For instance, I got out of my sister's house and became independent, my son started learning in a school where most of middle class families' kids go to ...etc.

This is consistent with FEPA's (2004) report stating revenue generation as a result of development projects is not only left to those involved in it as employees. But rather, other

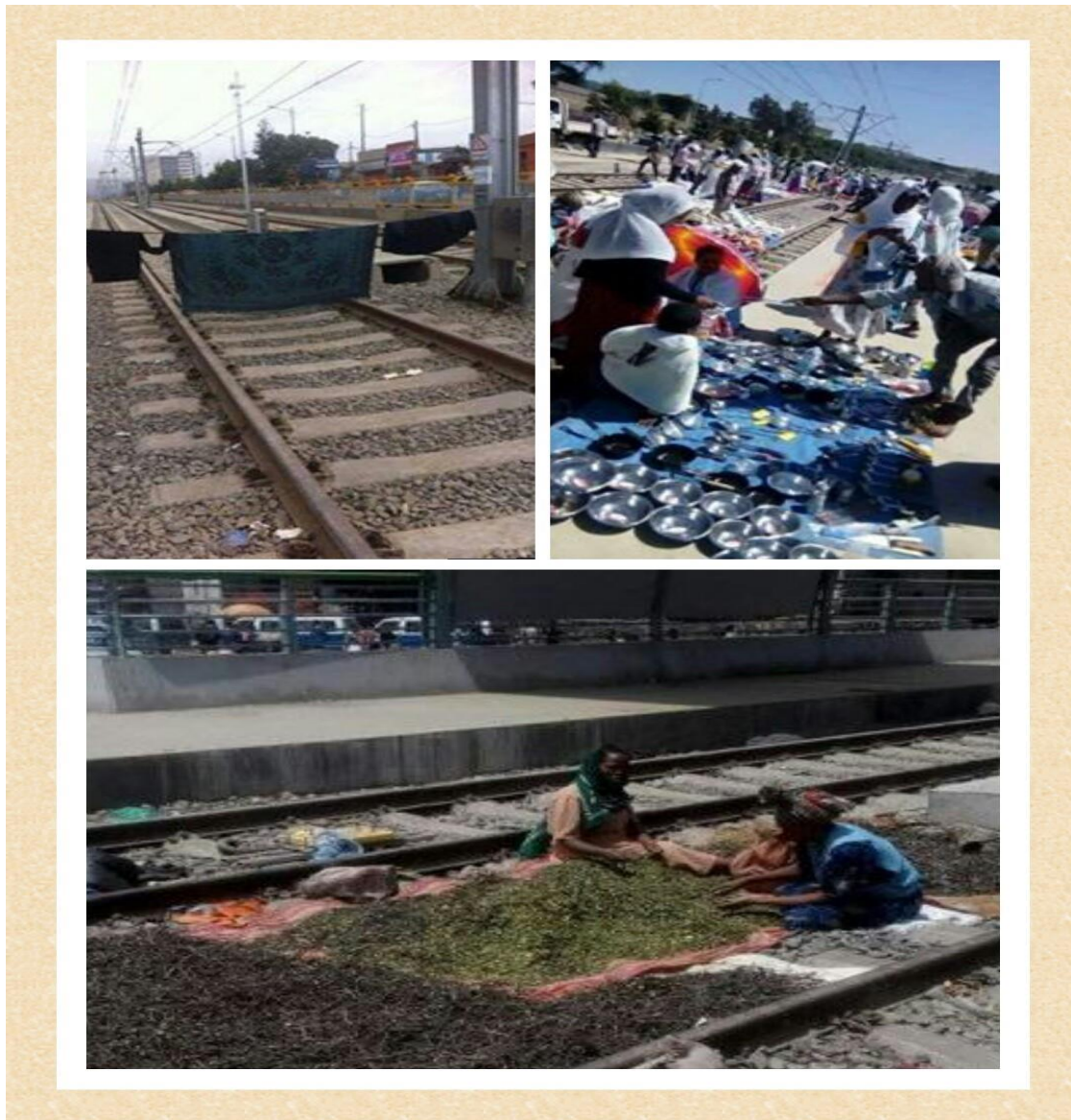
people can generate their own income by undertaking activities or businesses like selling food and beverages to employees and also renting houses for nonresident workers. In general, as observed by the researcher, the construction or the design seems to take the old and disabled into consideration regarding its accessibility at ease. Almost always, as observed, the trains go to a test run on the North-South route, i.e. from Meskel-Square to Kality. The first official and televised test run was held on February 1, 2015.

According to the Ethiopian Railways Corporation there are five major prospects planned to be accomplished during and after the end of the construction. The first and probably the obvious one, is resolving the transportation problems observed in the city. Building the capacity and experiences of workers in each site and status is also set as a goal in this corporation.

Thirdly, the issue of environmental friendliness is a major thing to look forward to in this project since the Trains are designed to be electrically driven and be environmentally friendly as much as possible. In addition, due to the nature of the trains, there will be no cost to be budgeted for petroleum which will in turn minimize the foreign currency issue well. Finally, the other prospect set, is, since the trains are expected to be used by people from the middle and lower class, a more connection between people from such social classes is another thing expected to be seen after service provision starts. Though the government sets all these goals and is attempting to accomplish them, regarding this particular project, as seen on the ground, some sections of the society do not seem to be well appreciative of its efforts as seen in the picture below. By this it is to mean that some people were observed using the rail way for other purposes such as a market place which is such unacceptable and inappropriate thing to do.⁹

⁹ The Data about the wider context of LRTN project is used by transcribing a TV Program transmitted on 17/02/15 on EBC 3. This option was taken because it was very difficult to find officials from ERC for a face to face interview.

Picture One: Residents in Addis Ababa using the rail way for other inappropriate purposes
(04/03/15....11/03/15)



Source: Author

3.3. The Process of relocating Displaces from Piassa area to Yeka Tafo Condominium Site

Originally, according to Ato Tariku Haile, an official and a key informant from Arada Sub-city, Woreda 5, the land that was intended to be used for the construction of the railway was

exactly about 11.6 hectares of land. In this area, the houses where people reside are categorized under three depending on ownership. These are private houses, houses owned and rented by the government that are commonly referred to as 'Kebele Betoach' and thirdly the houses that are rented and managed by the Agency for rental houses. At first the above mentioned area, i.e. the 11.5 hectares of land, was intended to be used for building a power station and a terminal for the trains. From the 11.6 hectares of the land, 8 hectares of it was planned to be used for the project and the rest, 3.6 hectares, for the purpose of re-developing the area. In the initial stages of the project, the first things built at this area were a power station and a terminal. Prior to the construction of these things, data were collected about the area. Accordingly, it was found that, from all the residences in that area, there were about 117 private houses, 62 Agency houses and 581 'kebele houses'. Since the original plan was to use the area in which all these 761 houses located on, it indirectly shows that the original plan of the city administration was to evict all these people living under the roofs of all 761 targeted houses.

In Piassa, the specific target area by which the project largely touches is known as 'Dejach Wube Sefer'. As previously mentioned, the main reason by which this area was selected was to undertake the task of constructing a power station and a terminal. The need to build and expand urban infrastructure is one of the major causes of development induced displacements (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). This area is also planned to be redeveloped, since, currently, it has the looks of a slum area than that of a view of a hub of the capital. In general, the sub-Cities that are targeted by the City's Administration office to be redeveloped in the near future are four. They are Arada, Kirkos, Addis Ketema and Lideta Sub-Cities. It was starting from January, 2006 E.C. in which houses at this particular area got started being demolished. In the very first stage, about seven private, seven agency rented and forty nine Kebele houses were demolished.

According to Ato Tariku who is also responsible for the compensation scheme in relation to 'displacees of development', compensation is given after each and every material found in a soon to be demolished house, 'worthy of even a dime', is calculated. The things that are usually taken under consideration while figuring out and calculating a proper compensation include doors, windows, electric lines, size of a house...etc. For displaced people the government offers three alternatives regarding relocation areas/houses. These three preferences are an empty land alongside the compensation money (for people who lost their private

houses), an alternate house (works for all displacees) and a relocation site (usually for those displaced from Kebele houses and are assigned to Condominiums). When people choose an alternate land, the government gives some money which is intended to cover the costs of a house rent since it is believed that building a new house might take up to a full year. This rent money is given in addition to the money given as a compensation for the lost house/s. But for people who choose an alternate house, there is no money to be given to cover the costs of house rent. From Woreda 5, there are only 49 families who got displaced out of the 581 kebele houses. These 49 kebele houses were demolished from Dejach Wube sefer.

When it comes to people who will choose a Condominium house, according to the responsible official regarding such issues, they will be given a chance to choose their site and the type of condo they want, i.e. depending on the size of their family. Then they will be ordered to sign a deal so as to cover the costs of their ‘new’ condominium houses. The finishing works of the condos are left for the displacees too. For this reason the government gives 15,900 birr as a transport and psychological compensation to the displacees but also so as to cover the costs of house rent while they undertake the finishing works of their ‘new’ houses by themselves. In an informal conversation made with a Kebele official in Woreda 5, Ato Girma Seboka, regarding the above issue, he states:

This is a major mistake by the government. How could you order very poor people to cover the expenses necessary for the finishing of a Condo? This is the main reason why the people are very frustrated and always come to complain. It is also another reason why the relocation process is slower contrarily to the planned pace.

Informants’ experiences regarding the issue of covering the expenses necessary for the finishing works of their assigned condos is discussed with a case in chapter four under the sub topic ‘housing concerns’.

The condominium houses available for choice start from a studio to a three bedroom house. At first the plan was to give these houses based on a displacee’s family size. But, after some time, the issue of money took precedence over the former factor since some people with a large family size might not be able to afford the rent a three or two bedroom house. According to my

key informant from Arada Sub-City, Ato Tariku, families whose number is not more than three are only allowed to choose a 1 bedroom house. Those whose family's size ranges from 3-5 are allowed to choose a two bedroom house and finally people with a family size of 5-7 are granted with the right to choose a 3 bedroom house.

This information does not seem to go along with what my informants reported when asked whether they were given the chance to choose the type of condo they want and its location depending on the size of their families. One informant called W/ro Kelemework Yitagesu, a relocatee living in Yeka Tafo, stated her experience on this issue as follows:

When I was living in Piassa, I used to live in a house with three bedrooms. Though it was a Kebele house it was fine for my family given our size. But after our displacement, I did not get the chance to choose a condo depending on my family's size. They gave me, as you saw, a condo with only one bedroom. Imagine what the conditions would be like when five people live in a house with only one bedroom....

Gebre (2008:69) also reported that “the guide line for allocation of houses for dislocatees, which they were told would take family size into account, was not followed”. This is also reported by Tesfa (2014) in which he stated that though the government first promised to give houses for displacees depending on their family sizes, this promise was not accomplished in which most displacees with large families were forced to take a studio house for living without their consent.

Informants in the relocation site also reported the same while also expressing their ‘frustration’ over the fact that the government leaving the finishing works of the assigned condos to be done by them. On January 17, 2015, in my very first visit to the research and also the relocation site, I observed condominium houses built in a row of blocks with no water, no electricity, no doors, and no windows and pathways with in the blocks. There is no wonder why the people got very ‘frustrated’ while receiving the condominium site in this type of condition.

Picture Two: How the Physical Infrastructure looks in the relocation site
(17/01/15....04/03/15)



Source: Author

If a person chooses a house as compensation, he/she will not receive additional money from the government, except the money for their lost house, because it is regarded that it will not take any time for a person to move from one house to another.

In 2014, according to an official in Arada Sub-City, Ato Tariku, a law has been revised and implemented which benefits displacees because it states that individuals/ families who lost their homes and get displaced should get additional money which is referred to as a ‘transportation and psychological compensation’. The psychological cost is attributed to the

people's loss of their social ties and community organizations such as *Idir*, *Iqub*...etc. as a result of displacement.

The transportation compensation is given with the intention of covering the costs while people move their assets from their original place to their relocation sites. The money which is believed to be enough as a psychological and transport compensation is 11,000 birr. But for the first group of people, those from 49 Kebele houses, the money given reached 15,900 birr, since, according to the official, these people were not granted with enough time for preparation prior to their displacement. The average time given for displacees, as reported by those relocated in Yeka Tafo, was a month.

The overall process of clearing up areas and displacement of people began by informing the people in Woreda 05 about the overall project and its effect on them in an assembly held on September 03, 2013 in Hager Fikr Theatre. According to my key informant from Arada Sub-City office, Ato Tariku Haile, who attended the assembly, the people were 'shocked' and 'furious' at first because they said it would have been a lot better if they were informed about it a lot sooner than in September, because they would have had the chance and time to adjust some things in their lives such as finding new schools for their kids that are nearby to their relocation sites...etc. According to him, finally, the people accepted the notion that this 'development is beneficial for all'. Even though the whole people, i.e. those residing on the targeted 11.6 hectares of land, were told they will be relocated to new areas in four months' time, only 63 households, out of 760, were relocated to new areas starting from the end of January, 2014. The rest are still living in Dejach Wube sefer and its surroundings.

Though the first group of people left their houses in a hurry, the standard time set as a preparation period for displacees is about 90 days. The reason why the rest, except the 63 households already displaced, are still living in the originally targeted area is mainly due to a new plan made by the Addis Ababa railways corporation. The corporation made new plans of extending the construction work to other areas like Afincho Ber and Sidist Kilo which makes the originally targeted area no longer necessary.

Chapter Four

Development Induced Socio-economic Effects

4.1. Different Perceptions of Development

The notion of development is perceived and understood differently, like that of the anthropologists, starting from the evolutionists up to those in our time, among all sections of the society such as people in Addis Ababa. As understood from my encounters with several people during my field work, the understanding of the notion and benefits of development greatly differs, especially, when it comes to people who got affected by interventions of development projects and those who did not in any way possible. These perceptions towards the notion of development can be categorized in to two. Some people ‘understand’ or take development as if it is the opportunity of sharing, as put by Harry Truman, the scientific advancements and industrial progresses of the developed to bring improvements to the less fortunate and underdeveloped nations.as mentioned in the literature review. On the other way round, there are some people who perceive development as a hokum which is nothing but a delusion and a false hope with a very remote possibility of bringing positive change for the poor (Sachs, 2010).

4.1.1. Development According to Affected Groups

The thing which was troubling my mind when I was on the preliminary stages of meeting the people ‘affected’ by the LRTN project, i.e. the displaced, the merchants and few navvies, was the possibility of them not being able and also uninterested to talk and share their experiences since the issue is somewhat, to use their own words, ‘sensitive’ and ‘risky’. But during the day where I was meeting and introducing myself to those who got affected by the development intervention, their reaction was much uncalled for on my behalf. In reverse to what I feared, i.e. denial of willingness, there were some people who were very eager to share their feelings and experiences towards the notion of development in general and the LRTN project in particular.

I have had plenty of informal conversations with several people concerning the previously mentioned issues. As I was wondering around and meeting people in the main research site around Yeka Tafo, I saw a woman baking *Injera* in a semi-finished building around 2:30 in the afternoon. I approached her, exchanged greetings and made a little introductory remark about myself and my research. Then my next question to W/ro Amsale Seyoum was if she was a displacee from Piassa area due to the Addis Ababa LRTN development project and she replied:

Yes I am a displacee from Dejach Wube Sefer but don't you think it is a little bit harsh to refer to us as people who got displaced due to development? What is the relevance of development if it always affects the poor? I understand the place where we used to reside in might be very necessary for the construction purpose but look at this site, even half of its construction is not properly completed yet. To be honest it is hard for me to call such a thing development. The rail way or the trains are not more important than the people.

As one could possibly perceive from the above statement, development is judged either positively or negatively based on the effects it brought up on people either on an individual level or a community as a whole. As pointed by the informant above, a mutual perception also shared by other displaced people too, development projects usually have the tendency to affect the poor and the powerless especially in the third world. This idea is compatible with that of Michael Cernea's argument as presented in the literature review. According to him, even though the benefit of development is positive to a larger portion of a population in a certain country, there is always some section of it, usually the poor and the powerless, to pay the price and be sacrificed for the successful completion of development projects (Cernea, 1996:1515).

One of my key informants, Ato Yilma Mersha, agrees with the above woman's idea while stating his perception of development projects as:

Look son, I am a man who has been seeing a lot during my long life in Addis Ababa. I absolutely know that for a one thing to be achieved another thing usually gets sacrificed and this time it is our turn and I have no problem with that idea. But when you look at the conditions we live in now, they are worse than they used to be while we were living in Piassa. A development is not a

true development if governments cannot give displaced people like us at least what they used to have or enjoy prior to relocation. Unless otherwise, it forces me to perceive development not as a means of change or prosperity but rather as a political tool if governments do not care about the poor.

The above remark by the informant is consistent with an idea in the literature review which states development is not only about growth but also it is about change, a change which is either or both quantitative and qualitative in the social, cultural and economic dimensions of the daily routines of the people (Sachs, 2010).

4.1.2. Development According to Non-Affected People

The main reason behind writing about how development is perceived among people is the fact that an impact induced by a certain project can shape or influence one's own perception towards the notion and overall agenda of development. The above case can be an evidence for this argument.

Like that of the affected people, I also had several conversations with people who are not affected by the LRTN project in any way possible yet. When it is said 'people who are not affected in any way possible', it is to mean that those who are not facing any challenges in an individual level. For this case I chose the views of government officials who are not affected by the project and also are, in some way or another, different in their perception of the overall development project and its intervention. The idea or perception of the officials contacted is almost the same regarding this specific issue. Ato Tariku from Arada Sub-city office stated his perception shortly about the project in particular and development in general and he stated this is:

A good sign in which the government is now taking things serious and really focusing on the country's development to eradicate poverty.

But one Kebele official from Arada sub-city has a relatively different perception or idea than the above stated one. He is the man stated in chapter three regarding the housing concerns of

the new relocation site in Yeka Tafo. Ato Girma explains his perception of the notion of development relying on this particular LRTN project as follows:

You and I have met in this office for few days now. What did you observe from the people coming in my office? The way they dress, their complaints and overall approach obviously show they are very poor and frustrated with the way their issue is being handled. Have you heard anybody saying they are happy with the overall displacement and the conditions in their relocation sites? Never! It is simply because these people are not being treated the way they were supposed to be treated. I am showing all this compassion because I was born and raised in this area and I cannot deny the truth just because I am working for the government. But I have to admit too, there is a huge commitment and devotion from the government on this particular project but because of few negligent and corrupt individuals in a Sub-city, Woreda and Kebele level, the displaced people lives gone from bad to worse. Development is undoubtedly a necessary thing for any country but it would even make more sense and change if the needs of the poor are not left by pretending to be unnoticed by governments.

From the above different views and perceptions towards development, it is fairly possible to say that the major factor by which people usually judge development either as good or bad relies on the effect it brought up on them either positively or adversely.

4.2. Infrastructural Development in the Relocation Site

According to Gebre (2008) when displacement takes place due to a development intervention or any other reason, basic physical infrastructures that are undoubtedly beneficial in every one's routine activities have to be met in a relocation site. Among those mentioned, electricity, water supply, sanitation and road network are the major ones. Yeka Tafo #2 condominium site, as previously mentioned, is the major research area of this study targeting the people displaced from Dejach Wube Sefer, Piassa. As it is clearly stated by the official in chapter three, Ato Girma, things seem like as if the government bodies who were supposed to address such issues

such as the officials from Sub-City house management offices and those from EEPKO gave large portion of their attention to relocating the displacedes than working on some infrastructural works which anyone who lives in a condominium site, or anywhere else, might necessarily need on a daily basis. Starting from my first day on this site throughout all my field work, I observed that this site lacks the necessary physical infrastructural development works beginning from the quality of the houses, roads, provision of electricity and water, garbage disposals...etc.

Picture 3: Infrastructural Conditions of the Condos inside out (03/03/15, 15/03/15)



Source: Author

This finding is consistent with Tesfa's (2014:24) finding in which he reported "The city government has advocated that the development program would provide descent houses

including all basic services. This finding reveals that basic services and infrastructures were not fulfilled in the condominium houses”. Generally, site has an important influence in all development activities in urban areas. Usually, when people gets displaced from inner places to an outskirts of cities like Addis Ababa, for instance, their probability of attaining major prerequisites important for their lives decreases. These include infrastructure and service provision, economic activities and employment opportunities (Berhanu, 2006).

4.2.1. Supply of Electricity

According to a recent study focusing on the electricity access gap in the world, it is estimated that more than one fifth, i.e. about 1.5 billion, of the world population lacked access to electricity in 2008. Among these people, more than 85 percent of them live in sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia (Crousillat, Hamilton and Antmann, 2010). In the literature review, it has been attempted to include points regarding transportation policy and aim of Ethiopia for the GTP period. In that document, other issues such as the provision of various services to the public are also set as a plan and discussed. According to the Ethiopian GTP (MFED, 2010:71), the Ethiopian government explained its agenda concerning the production and provision of electricity and stated:

During the GTP period, the gap between the demand for and supply of electricity will be minimized. Per capita consumption of electricity of households is expected to increase during the GTP period. Moreover it is planned to produce sufficient electricity for export.....the regulatory framework will be effectively enforced.

When I first went to the condominium site in Yeka Tafo, I visited two condominium ‘villages’ each separated by an asphalt road connecting Ayat with Tafo. During that time, I observed that one of the two sites, i.e. the one located in front of the blocks in which the displaced live in, had no provision of electricity, water, many unfinished condos and roads...etc.

These two conglomerates of condos facing each other, as I observed, had almost similar features regarding the development of physical infrastructure around mid-January, 2015. But through time, I observed some major changes in only one of the two sites where the

development of the physical infrastructure was facilitated unlike the other site which was in the same condition as this one some time ago. At this time, around the beginning days of March, at the condos facing the displacees', things like electricity and water were already provided. But, across the road, for the condos of the displacees, unfortunately, according to my informants and my observation, most things remained the same or undone except the provision of water for some households. Informants in Yeka Tafo reported that the absence of electricity in the relocation site was the main reason why they rented a house and lived for months just after they got displaced from Dejach Wube sefer, Piassa. Informants say that the government promised them that it will provide and finish the installation of electricity within two months' time after their displacement.

According to both the displaced people and the official from Arada Sub-City, Ato Tariku, the initial agreement between the people and the concerned body was the displaced people will live in a rental house they get anywhere in the city for two months until the government finishes the necessary infrastructural provisions, mainly electricity, within these two months in their relocation site, Yeka Tafo. But nothing has been done, as I observed up to the end of my field work, regarding electricity and other things such as pathways, garbage disposals ...etc.

For the displaced people in Yeka Tafo, the government's plan in the GTP does not seem to be anywhere near implementation in their site since they do not have access to electricity ever since they started living in the relocation site. Even though the government requested, according to informants, only two months so as to work on the provision of things like electricity in the relocation site, back in August, i.e. the time where most of the displacement took place, still, nothing has been done or provided for about nine months regarding electricity for the people. This finding is consistent with another research made on displacees from Casainchis in which it is stated "data from FGD and key informants showed that all resettlement sites were without electricity for many months and displacees suffered in many ways" (Berhanu, 2006:99).

As the above findings indicate, this is why it is argued by some scholars that there is a wide gap between discourses and practices when it comes to development. What is planned regarding a certain project on paper becomes, usually, different with its actual implementation on the ground. What is intended to be implemented to a targeted population during a

development intervention usually is not the same when practice is undertaken on the actual field (Pierre and Sardan, 2005).

The lack of electricity for the displaced people is very ‘challenging’ on various perspectives while undertaking their daily routine activities. For instance, according to several informants, they used to bake *Injera* and Bread using electric stoves when they were living in Piassa. But, after they started living in the relocation site, they execute these tasks in an unfinished building by using a traditional stove made out of clay while using wood as a fire source. But, after a while in February, their access to that building got denied by some Kebele officials and their site’s manager. The reason that these people gave to the displaced ones was that this building was going to be rented, after finishing it, to some people who requested to use it as an office.

Picture 4: The unfinished building where all the displacees used to do baking, cooking...etc.

(04/03/15)



Source: Author

As a result after the displacedes got denied of the access to the above building seen in the picture, they built their own small kitchen in front of one household using plastic and wood by their bare hands. This result is consistent with Dejene's (2005) finding in which he stated that people who got displaced due to the Addis Ababa belt high way project lived without any access to electricity in their relocation site. According to his finding, these people lived their first six to eight months without electricity which forced them to cook their daily meals using firewood in a communal kitchen they built by themselves.

One of my key informants, W/ro Lemlem Degefa, explains her/their 'struggle' caused by the absence of electricity in their relocation site as follows:

It has been over four months since me and my family started living here. When we got here there was no electricity and water. After filing several complaints, we managed to get access to water but, still, there is no electricity for over four months now. As a result, we face many challenges in our everyday activities. For instance, we used to bake Injera using electric stoves when we were living in Piassa. But now, as you saw, we are baking injera and cooking our everyday meal in the unfinished building I have shown you the last time we met. But ten days ago they told us not to use that building any more so that left us no choice but to build our own kitchen using plastic and some wood.

These women, i.e. all my informants who use the newly built kitchen for cooking, also reported that since only one kitchen is not enough to go along with their number and demand to access whenever necessary, they tried to build three more kitchens but were ordered not to do so by the Kebele officials and their building' manager.

Picture 5: Communal Kitchen built by the Women (08/03/15)



Source: Author

This issue is not limited to the things as explained by the informant above. One weekend, Sunday, I went to the relocation site in Yeka Tafo to make my visit and contact some people as usual. I arrived there forty minutes earlier prior to my pre-scheduled meeting with one informant. Because of that, since I did not want to go straight to that person's house, I started wondering around the site to check if there is something new. As I was doing that, one thing caught my attention. A woman, probably in her late thirties, was baking *injera* in the kitchen made out of plastic and wood. Given the situation, I approached her, introduced myself and we started talking on few matters. Her name is Sisaynesh Ayele. We agreed to meet for a formal interview on another day but I asked her if she has experienced things due to the absence of electricity in their area. I disclosed some of the things that my previously mentioned informant

told me so as to let her know others are also sharing their lived experiences and make her feel a bit free to talk. Then she told me that what my previous informant told me is true but not all and stated:

That is not all. There are also some problems we face daily due to the absence of private kitchen in our homes which is also a result of the absence of electricity in this site. In addition to what you heard from the women you mentioned, carrying the dough for baking Injera down the stairs and then taking back the Injera up three or four flights of stairs by itself is such a tough task for us women. The other major problem is that it is very hard to easily access the fire woods we use for cooking. In addition to its inaccessibility at ease, its price is also expensive. Every four days, we purchase and carry woods from a far area, an area where most farmers live. But most of all, I am very tired of buying candles each day since they are expensive for an unemployed single mother like me.

Most of my informants told me that they repeatedly went to the concerning government body, EEPCO, seeking for a solution regarding their problem apropos the absence of electricity in their relocation site. According to them, the response they got from officials in the head office of the EEPCO was “very shocking”. They reported that after they filed several complaints to the corporation’s officials, not through phone but in person, one day they received a “threat” that things could get “ugly” if they went back to the head office again to file a complaint. They also reported that they have been asked for “gas money” by some employees of the corporation so as they, employees, could go to the relocation site and see the ‘problem’. Cernea (1996) argues that though problems regarding displacement are expected things, one of the major reasons that intensifies them on relocatees is the negligence and lack of proper attention observed on the concerning bodies from the government side.

All, since there is no electricity in all households/condos, informants in the relocation site also stated that due to the absence of electricity they are forced to spend up to 80 birr per month, on average, just to recharge their phones and other electronic materials. The thing which is I found bizarre is that I observed that they get such services from the condominium site located in front of them just across the road.

This clearly shows that, as explained previously, there is a huge managerial drawback in the displacees' site since the two sites were in the same condition around January, 2015. Informants in the relocation site stated that workers from the EEPCO always visit their site twice a week but nothing has ever changed. Similarly, no visible progress on the ground has been observed by the researcher too, until the end of the field research, regarding electricity. I also observed these workers many times and the time they spend joking with each other is often greater than the time they spend working. This may be one of the reasons why the progress on the installation of electric lines in the relocation site is/was so slow. "Electricity alone is not sufficient to spur economic growth, but it is certainly necessary. Access to electricity is particularly crucial to human development, as certain basic activities such as lighting, refrigeration, running household appliances, and operating equipment cannot easily be carried out by other forms of energy. Sustainable provision of electricity can free large amounts of time and labor and promote better health and education. Electrification can make an important contribution toward achieving economic and social objectives" (Crousillat, Hamilton and Antmann, 2010:19).

One Tuesday afternoon I had a lively interview with one of my key informants, W/ro Tirfe Kebede at her house. I arrived at her house moments after she got back from church since it was a fasting season for the highly celebrated holiday in Ethiopia, Easter. When I arrived, she was drinking coffee with her two children. They greeted me with a warm welcome which was hotter than the coffee they were drinking. Our interview lasted for about an hour and a half with her children's participation every once in a while amidst our conversation. She told me many things she experienced in the relocation site with a bright smile on her face as if she was telling me the most happiest moments in her life. W/ro Tirfe explains what she/they experienced due to the absence of electricity as follows:

As I told you before, it has been over seven months since we started living here. What they promised us during the assembly in Hager Fikr Theatre turned out to be a lie. What they told us was they were going to fix and install electricity in these houses within two months before our entrance. Like the other displacees, this is the main reason why we rented a house elsewhere since we thought they were going to keep their promise and do as they say. But after

a while, we knew this situation was not going to be changed so we decided to do the painting of the house and moved in. there is no electricity for over seven months now.

She continued:

To make matters worse, the woman who manages our site is very rude and disrespectful towards us. One day we told her our problems regarding electricity but she said and I quote “you should be thankful for what you have because people even live in a plastic tent”. She even once told us not to even think about electricity for this year. Let alone electricity, getting the keys to our doors was very challenging.

Informants who consume food in their houses reported that they cannot use kerosene on daily basis because it is ‘expensive’ for them. In addition, the inaccessibility and expensiveness of the fire wood is also another problem for the women. They told me that they usually collect things such as paper, plastics and leaves, to use as fire, from their surrounding whenever they cook their meals. They sometimes use *Kubet*, source of fire made from cattle’s manure, as an alternate means since it is cheaper and can be easily bought from some farmers living close to their site. I asked them why they do not use the ‘*Kubet*’ on a regular basis if it is easily accessible and cheap and they reported that the taste of ‘*Injera*’ and bread changes whenever baked using it.

Some informants, those living with the elderly and kids, in the relocation site, Yeka Tafo, also mentioned that this lack of electricity is has an economic effect too. Most of them use two-three candles a day each costing 3.50 birr. Few of my informants stated they use the electronic light giver but the money they pay for a one time recharge is 10 birr. Women informants also reported that the cost of wood that they usually buy which is useful for a one time only costs about 30 birr and this, as they stated, is expensive for them since most of them are unemployed mothers with children at home.

4.2.2. Supply of Water

Like that of electricity, may be more, water is a very necessary prerequisite in anyone's daily activities starting from personal and environmental hygiene up to preparation of food. Settlers in Yeka Tafo reported that there was no water when they started living in the area but most of them got it within one to two months' time. Relatively speaking, according to some informants who have water in their condos, though the provision by itself is a relief for them, the fact that it, water, being available usually for four days a week is 'challenging' for them. They stated that the main challenge is related to the toilet since water must be available every day since it has to be flushed to avoid an unpleasant smell in the whole house. This is consistent with another recent research finding (Tesfa, 2014:24) in which he states "In the former area the type of the toilet require little, whereas in condominium houses the toilet is flushed type which needs more water. The consequence of this shortage is, dwellers are seriously susceptible and affected for cough and other diseases. When this situation is analyzed from the perspective of livelihood, low-income households is forced to incur additional cost to buy water and pay for health treatment". Informants mentioned that they paid 350 birr to get the water service when they got here. Even though they, almost always, get water for four days a week on average, informants who already have water stated that are really 'happy' with its power of flow even those living on third or fourth floor of the blocks.

Before they were provided with water, informants, i.e. those who lived more than 4 months in the relocation site, reported that they used to buy water from a place commonly known as St. Gabriel Church. They used to pay 1.50 birr for a single (10 liters) jerrycan of water. As I observed, the place is probably about 400-500 meters away from the informants' blocks. Even though the provision of water reached most of the displacees, there are few of them who are still buying from other people. These people buy the water from those who have it on the same block in which they live in or other displacees from other blocks. Ato Yilma Mersha is one of my key informants who still, up to the end of the field work, have no access to water in their own homes. He is an 84 years old man who lives with his wife and two relatives in the relocation site beginning from November, 2014. He told me that the reason why he did not pay the 350 birr to get access to water is because he is a man living out of a money he gets as a government pension which is too little to cover costs like this which was "*supposed to be*

covered by the government’’. He told me that he always buys water from a fellow displacee’s home who lives on the same block with him. In general informants who have water access in their homes reported that the availability and accessibility of water is far from worse relatively speaking with the provision of electricity in their site.

4.2.3. Housing Concerns

In chapter three the government official clearly stated that the finishing works of the condos were left to the displaced people. By finishing works it is meant to refer to works related to the painting, wall and floor, bathroom and kitchen equipment...etc. Ato Abebe Getachew is one of my informants from the relocation site. He lives in a two bedroom house with his wife and two daughters. It has been about two months since they started living in Yeka Tafo. Regarding housing issues, he discusses what he and his family experienced and also observed since they moved in to the condo as follows:

They gave us rooms that were undone and empty and we turned them in to a complete house. I covered all the costs to make this house a house. I spent about 30,000 birr. Isn't it weird when they gave us 15,000 birr of total compensation but we spent more than its double on the condo's finishing jobs which were supposed to be done by them? By the way we spent all the compensation money on a house rent. Their promise was we were going to be relocated to new and already made condos with a full access to the necessary physical infrastructures both inside and outside our homes. All in all, they played a nasty trick on us.

The above case can be strengthened and also is consistent with Habtamu’s (2011:47) research finding in which he reported that “.....The study also found that relocatees’ financial capacity has worsen not only due to the direct impacts of displacement, but also displacement indirectly brought financial crises through making them to confront with extra housing expenses. With this regard, the studied community complained that they were relocated to houses which were not totally completed. As a result, they spent a lot of money to finish housing: for paint, door (for dormitory and kitchen room), ceramic in the toilet room and repairing toilet flush and

toiletries”. This could be potential reason why it is argued that development is not only attributed to growth but also it is related with change, both qualitative and quantitative, too. These development induced changes are, as usual, manifested through the daily routine activities of people, people affected by a development project, from socio-economic and cultural dimensions (Sachs, 2010).

According to my observation, Ato Abebe’s condo is the widest from any other informant’s house I have been to. From this premise, it could be fair to say that the amount of money he said he has spent on his house may not be exaggerated given the high cost of things these days. The case with my other informants is also the same in which they confirmed that all of them covered the finishing costs, depending on their financial strength, to make the houses they received at least a “bit comfortable” to live in. One has to bear in mind that when it is said the people covered the costs for the finishing works of their houses, it might not necessarily mean that they have done all the things one by one without leaving anything undone. Because, there are few informants who could not afford to buy things like toilet seats, cost to get water installation...etc.

The other concern which is mentioned by several of my informants is the absence of toilets in their homes. In every home I went to for an interview, I asked the individuals not to tell but rather show me if they have a toilet in their houses. As a result, I found out that out of my overall 16 informants from the relocation site, only 6 of them have toilets in their homes. According to my informants, those who did not have their own toilets, it has been a while since they have been using a communal latrine built between two blocks in their site. Informants stated that this latrine was built around the end of January, 2015. Though it was meant/ built to be used by the displaced people, informants say that there are several others, whom they do not know, using the latrine making things more ‘difficult’ for them. W/ro Alemitu Motuma is one of my key informants who have an experience of more than five months in the relocation site. She explains the issues regarding the latrine as follows:

For the past two months, until today, I have been using the latrine which is found two blocks away from my house. But today, surprisingly, officials from the Kebele came and gave some of us toilet seats. The latrine we used to use back in Piassa was relatively good and had many rooms. This one,

unfortunately, has only two seats and to make matters worse it is very poorly constructed using wood. We usually stand in queue waiting to use it especially during the morning. It is very unsanitary and unsafe for people especially for the old and sick like me. By the way this latrine was built two months ago. Prior to its construction, I used to go to houses of my relatives located far from here just to use their toilets. The obvious reason why we were using that latrine until today is because we could not afford to buy a toilet seat for our own homes. But for the last two months we collected 60 birr from each one of us, ten households, per month so as to pay a monthly salary of 600 birr for a woman who cleans that latrine every day.

This result is consistent with Gebre's (2008:70) in which he wrote that "regarding toilets, 68 per cent of the respondents reported that the latrines in the new sites were much better than their old latrines. While 20 per cent felt no difference, 10.7 per cent reported serious toilet problems in the new sites". On the day of my interview with w/ro Alemitu, I witnessed the event when she received the bathroom equipment from the Kebele officials. Some informants reported that since there is no electricity in their site, most of them especially girls and the elderly only use the latrine during the day because of safety and security reasons. In addition, few, my elderly informants, reported that, due to the unsanitary nature of the latrine, there have been times that they were exposed and infected by dome diseases such as the flu. One morning I attempted to take a picture of people standing in line waiting to use the latrine but few people who were among those in the queue declined my request to do so. From the previous findings, as explained by the informants, it could be said that the argument which emphasizes on displacement related impoverishment risks, i.e. under the IRR model of Michael Cernea, is well compatible with the finding of this particular research and also others like Gebre (2008), Tesfa (2014), and Berhanu (2006). While describing the issue of homelessness in that theoretical model, homelessness is also attributed to housing conditions that happened to be worse than which relocatees used to experience prior to relocation. For instance, the cases and findings while describing the desplacees' lack of private kitchens and toilets in the relocation site could, to some extent, clarify the argument which considers homelessness as an impoverishment risk (Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

Picture 6: The only latrine in the relocation site (08/03/15)



Source: Author

In addition to the housing concerns, female informants also reported that they do not have an access to a nearby grinding mill. Some of them told me that they used to get the service from a mill grinding house located in the near villages of the farming community but the absence of both formal and informal transportation which can carry their mills or flour forced them to quit going there since they found that to be physically “very exhausting”. Tesfa (2014) also reported that since such kinds of tasks are usually, or better to say traditionally, left for women, they are the ones to be affected financially due to the transport cost and also it wastes their time due to the limited availability of grinding mill in relocation sites or most places in general. As a result few took the option of going to Piassa just to get that service and others chose to buy few amounts of flour from retailers though they experienced a little bit increase in its price.

This finding is also consistent with Gebre's (2008: 71) in which he stated that informants in his research site, Akaki, have a lack of access to a nearby grinding mill and market places. In addition, he wrote "People have to travel long distances and pay for transportation to get mill services and purchase necessities".

4.3. Effects on Social Networks

Gebre (2008:67) wrote "membership in community organizations such as *idir* (funeral associations), *iqub* (saving/credit groups) and *mahber* (religious groupings) is indispensable for low income households because it represents a dependable social security arrangement". Some informants reported that they cancelled their memberships from the *idir* they used to be a member of mainly because of the distance between their site and the other site in which some other members of the same *idir* live in. The other site often mentioned by informants is the place called Jammo which is very far from the informants' relocation site, Yeka Ayat. The cost of transportation is the second reason for these people for cancelling their memberships and quitting attending their *idir* meetings. This is consistent with Dejene's (2005) finding in which he reported that social ties of displacees which existed during pre-relocation times got disrupted as a result of relocating to various resettlement sites. According to him, this made some relocatees to quit their membership from community organizations because of the reasons stated above.

But these people, since they know the value of being a member of a community organization such as the *idir*, reported that they are forming a new one in the relocation site with other people who are not displacees, but, live in the same site. Few informants told me that their *idir* is still functioning though they have a plan of quitting it and join the new one already formed by their fellow displacees as explained above. These informants, in addition, mentioned distance and cost of transportation as the major reasons for coming up with a decision like this. This is why it is argued and stated that:

"When people are forcibly moved, production systems are dismantled, long established residential communities and settlements are disorganized, while kinship groups and family systems are often scattered. Life sustaining

informal social networks that provide mutual help are rendered non-functional.” (Cernea, 1996:1517).

Informants, especially the elderly informants, in Yeka Ayat also reported that they ‘feel’ like as if they are “Socially detached” as a result of their displacement. They stated the government should have done the relocation process differently. They explained that it would have been better for their social life if many other displacees from Piassa were relocated here. According to them the problems which they faced/ are facing in the relocation site would be/have been lesser if more of their neighbors and friends from Piassa were relocated to their site, Yeka Tafo. This finding goes along with another one made on displaced people stating “The respondents’ expression *we consider this displacement as a penalty and it is done deliberately to destroy the integration developed for long time*, clearly shows how relocatees are highly affected and disappointed with the displacement program” (Tesfa, 2014: 28).

Sheer boredom, according to some young informants, is a thing that is “troubling” them for months ever since they started living in the relocation site. Most of the time during my field work, fortunately, I had the chance to meet and talk to some youth and glean their perspectives on some displacement related issues.

Temesgen Zewdu, Dawit Getachew and Eleni Assefa are displacees, in their early twenties, whom I have met in different times during my time in the relocation site. They are children of three of my informants. According to the above three people, their site’s infrastructural situation in particular and their displacement from Piassa in general made their daily life “very boring”. Even though I met them separately at different times, they all share and agree upon two reasons which they believe are the causes for their boredom. The first reason is associated with the lack of electricity in their site. According to them, and also several other informants, i.e. adults, it has been months since they have seen Television and got entertained. They reported that since they do not see any news or entertaining programs in general, they reported that they “feel” like as if they are “detached from the global discourses” which are very important in this particular age of information.

In addition to the above problem, the youngsters reported another “challenge”, a bit related to the former one, in which they are “struggling” to adapt their relocation site since, at least, it

does not have the things they used to have back in Piassa. According to them, the reason for their struggle in adapting this area is its lack of any outdoor activities and places whereby one, especially young people, could pass a leisure time by. These young people reported that their lack of home entertainment could have been compensated by an outdoor recreational center, if there was any. One of the three, Dawit, stated:

We were born and raised in mehal Arada, a place where you usually won't get tired or bored by things easily. We are now living here but the fun we used to have is still there. Leaving a place like Piassa, Arada, and relocating to a condominium site where, literally, there is nothing entertaining has been a terrible experience ever since we got here.

It is clear that being more relaxed promotes improved work performance, better social interactions, and a general sense of wellbeing, all of which reduce stress (SCRA, 2005:20). One of my key informants, W/ro Tirfe, told me that, her two children always spend weekends at their friends' houses since there is "nothing to do or see" in the relocation site or their houses. This is, according to her, attributed to the absence of electricity in general and the inability to see TV, listen to the radio...etc., in particular, in the relocation site and their house respectively. Both of them were in the same room while I was interviewing their mother and they assured me by nodding their heads with a little tip of verbal explanation. I found these two at home because my interview with their mother was on a Thursday afternoon. Amidst the interview, one of them, a female, told me that she and her brother sometimes quarrel over the simple things since the 'boredom and stress killed their lively mood months ago'. They admitted that the fact their recent habit of spending weekends separately in different places, decreased their interaction as a family. "Families that recreate together tend to be closer and more cohesive, and have a greater chance of staying together. This is true with both parent-child relationships and married couples. By participating in activities together, family members elicit feelings of loyalty, trust, harmony, teamwork and goodwill" (SCRA, 2005:25).

4.4. Effects on Children's Education and Socialization

Shortage of schools, uneven distribution, inconvenient location, inefficient management and lack of expansion area are among the most important problems that are a big challenge to the

education center of the City Administration of Addis Ababa (Fitsum, 2007 as cited in Gebre, 2008:65). According to the response of many informants, due to the nature of their displacement, as explained in chapter three, most of their children still go to their schools located in Piassa. This is due to the fact that most of the displacees were “unable” to fix/ give priority to education related matters during the time of their displacement, i.e. a time where they were given ‘very little’ of, to prepare themselves for relocation and deal with issues related with their lives in Piassa. People will only adjust things in their lives if they are well informed about their possible future regarding relocation by the concerning government body. It is also argued that people need to be informed about their displacement or near future in the proper time so that they could get enough time to adjust things prior to relocation (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). All informants, those with kids going to school, except one, reported that their kids still go to schools in Piassa which is very far from Yeka Tafo, a distance well observed by the researcher too. Only one informant by the name Yordanos Kebede explained that she managed to make her kids continue their education in a nearby private school due to her financial ability to cover their monthly school fees. In the overall thirteen woredas of Yeka Sub-City, the total number of secondary and preparatory schools found is twenty one. From these twenty one schools, only seven of them are government schools which make the poor relocatees in the relocation site less fortunate, from the angle of distance, since most of them are located far from the relocation site, Yeka Tafo (AACAILIC, 2013).

In addition, informants reported that their kids always struggle to study during the night. According to them, two major reasons are attributed to this. The first reason is related to the distance between the students’ school and the relocation site. As a result, this ‘exhausts’ the kids only when they go back and forth to school. Since, most of the time, they get home around 7:00 at night, what they usually do is eat dinner and go straight to sleep since, at least, they do not even have the chance to see TV and refresh themselves. The second reason why students in this area are unable to study or do their home works during the night is attributed to the obvious factor, i.e. the absence of electricity. Respondents stated that their kids usually go back to school without properly reading or doing their homework assignments properly. Furthermore, informants, those who have kids going to schools, indicated that the educational performance of their kids have dwindled from time to time ever since they got here due to the reasons explained previously. The absence of electricity is not only attributed to the

relinquishing of some students' educational performance. Respondents mentioned that, due to the absence of electricity and its related problems, they observed some attitudinal changes in their kids and that as a result is influencing the socialization of the youth in the relocation site in a socially unacceptable manner. W/ro Eyerusalem Andargachew is a respondent in the relocation site and she explains this issue as follows:

Our kids spend their leisure times in places far from this site playing pool and play station with other kids. I cannot order or make them not to go to such kinds of places because I always see and understand their boredom and depression as it is. But, at the same time, I am worried because I heard and saw that some of the youngsters they play these games with are kind of delinquents and rude and could potentially be a very bad influence on our kids. My youngest son is fifteen years old and his attitude is changing from time to time ever since he started hanging out in such places. I also heard that some of the youngsters who hang out with our kids over there do some bad things that are very inappropriate for their age. I just hope that they would fix the electricity problem so that my son could spend much time home before it is too late.

4.4.1. Transportation

Informants with kids going to school, in the relocation site, Yeka Tafo, reported that they, since they started living there, always allocate a budget for transportation to their kids. Because, as previously stated, most of the students in the relocation site still go to schools located in Piassa which is a place very far from Yeka Tafo. They stated that they never allocated money for transportation for their children when they were in Piassa because their homes were in a walking distance away from the schools which their kids still go to. One informant called Tadele Alemayehu reported that even though he managed to find a school in a place closer to the relocation site, he stated that allocating money for their transportation is still hard given his "limited earning potential". Informants also stated that they usually allocate an average of eleven birr for a single individual's transportation cost. Furthermore one key informant, Nigisti Abraha, explains:

I sometimes could not make my kids go to school when I could not come up with the money for their transportation. I am an unemployed single mother of two with a ninety years old mother living with me who needs a lot of care more than the kids. To be honest, I really do not think my kids would finish this academic year properly and pass to the next grade.

Gebre (2008:69) reported that, from his informants, ninety four percent households were forced to spend more money on transportation after they got relocated to the new villages. Informants, those with work and school duties, also stated that the transportation problem is not only attributed to its financial dimension. They reported that they always have to get up very early in the morning, around 5:00 in the morning, to get ready for work and school and so as to get there in time. They further stated that when they were in Piassa, the time it used to take them to go from home to school was ten minutes to the maximum unlike the one from Yeka Tafo to Piassa which sometimes even need an hour and a half if a heavy traffic commotion and transport problem happens. Habtamu's (2011) research finding is consistent with this result in which he stated that his informants' kids only need five minutes to get to school prior to their displacement. He states that after relocation to a far area, the time required to get to school changed from five minutes to an hour.

As it is previously stated, the transportation cost is a major reason why some people in the relocation site quitted their memberships from some community organizations such as the *idir* in which they used to be a member during their lives prior to displacement. Overall, it was reported "there was a general increase of households' expenditure in the new settlements. Data from FGD and key informants supplemented their high expense in the new resettlement sites due to many factors such as increased transport cost, increased commodities' price and new house ancillaries. This condition also affected their saving and deposit" (Berhanu, 2006:77).

4.4.2. Unemployment

The issue of unemployment is a problem reported by both groups of informants, i.e. the displaced and the merchants found in Yeka Tafo and Megenagna respectively. Some informants who are living in Yeka Tafo stated that they were engaged in small informal trades

prior to displacement but are now unable to replicate that due to the situation of their site. Some women in this area reported that they used to do works like washing people's cloths, selling *injera* and bread back in Dejach Wube Sefer, Piassa. Yeshiwork Derese shares her part of story regarding the issue at hand as follows:

My monthly income when I was living in Piassa was about fourteen hundred birr. I used to wash people's cloths and sell injera to support my son and mentally ill sister as much as I could. Things got though on me after my husband passed away two years ago due to a car accident. It has been over three months since we started living here but I never landed a single job or resumed my own as a result of this area's uncomfortable situations. I have tried to ask the rich people living nearby if they need a maid but no one has offered me a chance. If I even try to sell injera and bread here like I used to, I will not have many customers because for one it is a condominium plus there are very few people like us living in this site. I am now planning to rent my condo and find another house, one room probably, and live like that to have an income which is a must to survive.

The case above goes along with a research finding stating “data from FGD and key informants showed that most displacees had additional source of income from renting part of their dwelling unit, boarding rooms (night/day) , par time works in nearby restaurants, garages and from many other sources before displacement in Casainchis. On the contrary, the new settlement has no any opportunity and employment” (Berhanu, 2006:77). Another research finding is also compatible with these findings where the author states “...in the new settlements, informants complained that the locations are not suitable either to keep on their former work or to get new employment opportunities” (Habtamu, 2011:62).

I also met others sharing similar circumstances with different contexts. For instance, one informant by the name Meron Tegegn stated that she used to work as a waiter in a restaurant around Arat Kilo but she quitted working there because, according to her, half of her monthly salary is spent only on transportation. In addition to the similar idea in the literature review, and also the above reported finding, it is also stated that:

The single most critical problem associated with urban displacement is not the loss of housing, but the loss of employment or of site-related income sources and the uncertainty of finding new employment in the relocation area. The distance of the relocation site from the original place and jobs often become an insurmountable obstacle to maintaining prior employment (Cernea, 1993: 20-21).

There is a big financial concern for the displacedes living in Yeka Tafo. Even though they chose the condominium, not the number of rooms, as a relocation site, the money that they have been told by the government to pay in the coming years is “such a big concern” for them. One of my key informants, W/ro Alemitu Motuma, explains this issue in relation to her experience and stated:

The sub-city officials recently informed us that the total cost of the house that we are living in now is two hundred and fifty three thousand birr. They made us pay about fifty three thousand birr before we got here. There is no clear cut instruction on how and in how much time we are supposed to pay the rest. To me this is unfair because in the past we used to pay seven birr and fifty cents per month for the rent of our Kebele house. Even though the condominium looks better than our previous house, the issue of affording its total cost is very hard for us. We even paid the first fifty three thousand birr thanks to our daughter who live in France. Overall, the total cost of this condo is such a headache for me.

Even though having a condo as a house, relatively speaking taking the condition of their previous Kebele houses, is an asset by itself for the relocatees, the total cost of the house in addition with their economic standard makes their future very uncertain from the perspective of owning that condo and live in that relocation site (Tesfa,2014).

The above informant showed me the contract signed between them and the government while we were making our interview. According to the information I gleaned from that contract paper, though it says the total cost of the house is the same as the amount mentioned above there is no clear cut instruction regarding how the payment is going to be made. The findings

presented in this chapter, in their own ways, can manifest one of Michael Cernea's ideas which he addresses in his theoretical model, the IRR. According to Cernea, though development projects are needed to improve many people's lives, provide employment opportunity, and also supply better services, since they inevitably displace people while undertaking the construction of infrastructural works, such projects usually tend to create major hassles on some population segments like that of the displacees from Piassa and those merchants and employees located around Mezenagna (Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

Chapter Five

Impacts of the LRTN Project on Businesses

5.1. Financial Effects

Under this sub-chapter, the experiences of the merchants, found in Megenagna, i.e. the second research site, will be analyzed from a financial perspective. Since I have introduced my informants found in Yeka Tafo previously, it would only be fair if I make some statements, as an introductory remark, about the merchants found around Megenagna before directly proceeding to discussing their experiences as intended. These informants are located on the road which connects Megenagna to Haya Hulet around the traffic office. Most of the merchants run their businesses in small shops that are commonly known as *Arkebe* shops in the city. The business being run in these shops extends from cell phone trade and maintenance to the trading of shoes and cloths. The very first day I met these merchants, not all actually, I observed that they were full of zeal to talk to anybody whom they can share their experiences with.

One group of merchants with whom I have held interviews with are those found in the opposite side of the road, from the cell phone traders, in the shopping center known as Legesse Feleke. These people earn their income by selling shoes and cloths. The reason behind disclosing the exact location and job of these informants is because they insisted the researcher to do so. These too were very collaborative in sharing what they experienced regarding their business both prior and after the construction process of the LRTN project got started. These informants on both sides shared their experiences that happened on their lives due to the two major causes which are a high income decline and the more severe one, unemployment. As stated in chapter three, construction works in the city, for the light train project started around September 2013.

5.1.1. Business

Three up to five and a half years is the range of time stated by all informants regarding their involvement in their respective businesses around Megenagna. High income decline, more than half, is a thing these merchants faced, according to the information gleaned from them, ever since the LRTN project's construction started in that place. Fozia Kedir is one of my key

informants who own females' shoes and cloth shop in Legesse Feleke shopping center. She reported that it has been about five years since she started her business. But, according to Fozia, things got changed and took a 'hard twist' beginning from the initial stages of the rail way construction around their area, Megenagna. Fozia explains her experience as follows:

During the early stages of the construction the entrance to our shops and the road in front of our building was blocked while they have been digging the road. As a result, we were forced to close and shut down our shops for about three months and spend time at home without any income. After those three months, we restarted our businesses but there comes, still, a heavy decline in our income since the flow of transportation stopped from that time up to now, for about one year and six months. Consequently the stream of our customers decreased very much. I personally did not even sell cloths well for this year's Christmas as I used to. In the past, I used to get a good amount of money each day; especially Saturday was special for us here. But now, my weekly income is lesser than what I used to get only on a single Saturday. The only reason why my shop is still open is because I am left with no choice but to continue the business since it is obvious that a low income is better than a total unemployment. In addition, the 75% reduction of our rent by the owner of this building plays the greatest role to our survival. It is really tough when you have some people who are financially dependent on you. My youngest sister is a university student and I am responsible for her every financial need. It is hard covering the costs of a university student especially when the university is located outside of Addis Ababa. I just hope our business would revive again after everything is done.

After I finished my interview with her, Fozia took me to the building manager's office to introduce us. W/ro Yenenesh Alemayehu, the building manager, reported that a total of seven people lost their businesses because their shops were demolished when construction of the LRTN was started. These shops were found at the entrance of the building. According to her, out of the seven people, four of them resumed their businesses in other areas and the rest three

‘still cannot find a good place in order to run their businesses as they used to’ in this particular area.

The building manger also reported that another ten people were forced to shut down their shops and get out of their businesses due to the high income decline they faced as a result of the sudden stopping of their customers’ frequent visits to their shops. Like that of Fozia and the other merchants, W/ro Yenenesh told me that they tried to help these merchants in their building by decreasing the rent money by 75% until things go back to normal and their business start showing improvement.

During my visits to Megengana, in different times of the day, I observed two restaurants which are almost always empty. This could be another sign which strengthens the merchants’ report in which they said that the LRTN project’s construction has ‘hit business owners in this area hard’. After the end of my field work I went back to this area to talk to the people managing one of these small restaurants to rely on data that goes beyond a mere observation. I met Ato kebede Worku in his small restaurant one afternoon. Of all the things we have talked about, this is the major thing he mentioned by saying:

Thank God I own this place. I have never been worried about a house rent since the place is mine. I and my family also live in this compound. Though, as you see, the restaurant is not filled with customers I have a strong hope that this will be a completely different story starting from next year. I know from experience that when there is a flow of transportation and people, it also means we, for sure, will get more customers for the revival of our business. This is the only hope that kept my dreams in this small business alive.

The problems stated by the cloth and shoe traders are also challenges faced by those merchants found in front of them across the road. As mentioned earlier, these groups of people sell mobile phones and accessories alongside providing maintenance. The merchants I found in this corner are predominantly male. I met Elias Gizaw and his friends at his small shop one Wednesday morning. After I introduced myself and described the things I wanted to know, they told me they are willing to cooperate and share their experiences only at a particular time of the day, i.e. any afternoon just after they get done chewing *Chat* in groups. During that particular

instance, one of them, Mickiyas Ayalew, told me he once had a similar shop like his friend Elias but got demolished as a result of the construction more than a year ago. Then he said:

I lost my hope when I lost my shop. Now I spend all day doing nothing but stuff like chewing Chat. I am waiting for compensation money, I have big debts to pay and things I owe to my friends and family which I desperately need to repay.

Cases like this one and the other one in chapter four, i.e. about socialization of kids, could be the examples and manifestations of the predictive function of Michael Cernea's model as stated in chapter two.

Minutes later Elias told me that I should get back the next day so that he and I could have an interview. On the next day, me and Elias made our interview and he told me that as a result of the high decline of his income, he is struggling even to save fifty birr per day in the *iqub* (credit group) he has with his friends. He reported that, prior to the starting of the construction; he used to save three hundred birr per day in the same *iqub*. Elias also stated that he used to live in a condo, rented, with three bedrooms together with his wife and his daughter around CMC. According to him, he was forced to leave that condo and moved in a two bedroom condo since the "*rent of condos increase while my income decreases*". But like that of other shop owners, the owner of his shop, decreased the monthly rent from six thousand to two thousand birr. He stated this gesture really helped him not to lose his business at all.

5.2. Unemployment

Unemployment is an issue, also, to the merchants who lost their shops and businesses around Megenagana. Depending on the information I gleaned from W/ro Yenenesh Alemayehu, the building manager in Legesse Feleke shopping center, I attempted to contact some of the people who lost their businesses located in this particular building some time ago. I tried that through phone but unfortunately no one was willing to cooperate for this particular research.

But, fortunately, from those across the road, I found two young men who became unemployed due to the demolishing of their shops. Each of them used to own a cell phone shop. I found

these two the first day when I was introducing myself and my research to the owners of the shops in that area. They were chewing *Chat* in their friend's shop, as mentioned earlier. One of them is Elias's friend Mickiyas and the other one is called Tamiru Gelagay. After we were introduced with each other, they informed me to get back the next day, Saturday, in the afternoon. I went there the next day as they told me to. One of them took me inside informing me there are several others who could contribute to our discussion. In the back of the shop, in a relatively wider room than it, I found nine men chewing *Chat* while watching a movie on a laptop. From the nine people in that room, I found only one additional guy, Takele Ashebir, who lost his business like that of the two men I met the previous day. The three of them, i.e. Mickiyas, Tamiru and Takele, shared their experience by comparing how it was like before and after the construction in a relatively similar fashion and context. Then, Tamiru shared his experience as follows:

I worked in this area for more than four years until my shop got demolished last year. It was a very good business with a nice income. It is so annoying when the government does not take our situation into consideration and attempt to give us even a little amount of compensation. I got out of my parents' house two years ago hoping the business I used to run would change my life and make me even more financially stronger and independent. But now I have no choice but to move back into my parents' house because life is very hard when you are unemployed and does not even have the money to pay for a house rent.

Though the light train transit network project came up with an employment opportunity for over 5000 people, in reverse, it also took away the jobs of some people who used to work as employees in some of the shops. Jemil Awol is a merchant whom I have met during my days around Megenagna who is engaged in selling materials such as shoes, cloths and bags. He explains his story/experience regarding his business as follows:

I opened this shop four years ago with a small capital. When I first started, the only thing for sell in this shop was few pairs of pants and shoes. Even though the things we had for sell were few, our customers at that time were many. The reason behind this was, at that time the number of shops in this

area was little which created a frequent visitation from customers to us. Then after a year, at the beginning of 2013, as a result of a very good income, I hired two people and stopped working by myself to make myself more physically active and engage in other income generating activities. Things went well for about nine months until the construction began around September. Then at that time, we were forced to close our shops and went out of business for about three months. Then when we resumed our business, I knew things were not going to be the same, so I fired one of my employees and also decreased the salary of the other by 200 birr. Consequently, I replaced the fired employee ever since. So, due to the reasons I told you, I stopped engaging in other income generating activities making my income lower.

These kinds of issues are things that were reported by merchants from Legesse Feleke shopping center too. Some of the merchants I interviewed there told me that, before they started experiencing a ‘high’ income decline, there were employees/ an employee to the least in their shops running the business for them.

Most of the merchants, i.e. shoes and cloth traders, also reported another change regarding their business. They told me that after the frequent visitation and stream of customers dwindled very much, they started selling their goods with low prices than before. They mentioned it was a decision without an alternative since customers buy only once in a while which is a phenomenon completely different from like it was before. They reported they would not take the risk of not selling their merchandises since it is a must to make money each day to survive in the business.

5.3. Challenges related to Children’s Education

Challenges related to children’s education, like that of the displacees, are other things which few merchants reported as experiences ever since the project started which in turn resulted their ‘nightmare’, i.e. a high income decline. Ikram Yusuf is another merchant located in Legesses Feleke shopping center who owns a women’s cloth, shoes and cosmetics shop. According to her, she has been engaged in this business for about four and a half years. Besides

the other things we have talked about during our interview session, the following was what she specifically told me in relation to her daughters' education. She states

My daughters are elementary school students who used to go to one of the best schools in the city, 'School of Tomorrow'. As you know most private schools in Addis Ababa are expensive since they give better education to students than the public and government ones. The high income decline I have experienced affected my daughters' education in two ways. First, they got out of 'School of Tomorrow' and , starting from this year, they are going to a much less school in terms of cost. They always tell me that the education is different in their new school especially when it comes to the quality of their teachers. Secondly, they used to have their own personal tutors during the previous years but that is not the case anymore since I could not afford the money for their extra expenses since my income declined heavily in this couple of years.

There are also other merchants who mentioned another problem in relation to their children's education. One thing they mentioned was they stopped paying money for the private transportation service their kids used to enjoy whenever they go back and forth to school. Even though, in my opinion, such kinds of things are somewhat luxurious as compared and relatively speaking to the experiences and challenges which people like the displaced in Yeka Tafo face, still, these people stopped/ became unable to do things they used to do prior to the development intervention. Furthermore they mentioned that since they no longer have employees in their own shops, the task of taking their kids and also bringing them out interfered with their business. In addition some, especially the women shop owners mostly don't work/close their shops in evenings due to their house hold tasks associated with their kids at home. Moreover, when parents make their kids quit the schools that their kids used to go to for years and make them enroll to another new one, they indirectly will break down the social bonds and relationships which their kids built for years. Very specific issues such as these could may be the potential reasons why development experts like Cernea (Isan and Chiper, 2007) argue that development is a complex socio-cultural process in which one needs to study main issues such as patterns of social organizations and social actors in order to understand it.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Conclusion

This study attempted to assess how development projects induce socio-economic impacts on some sections of society by taking people displaced from Piassa, Addis Ababa, as a main target population. One of the objectives of this study was assessing both the pros and cons created as a result of the Addis Ababa Light Rail Transit Network project's construction. In addition, another area of interest of this study was also to understand the project in its wider and general context as explained in chapter three. Furthermore, this research attempted to understand, to some extent, and incorporate, the views and perceptions of some government officials, i.e. in a Sub-City and Woreda level, on matters related to the overall project and displacement of people from their respective Sub-City, Arada.

Displacement of people, as stated in the literature review, is attributed to various reasons. From the various factors resulting displacement, development projects or interventions take the Lion's share. Among these, the main ones are urban infrastructure (roads, highways), water supply (dams, reservoirs), energy (mining, power plants, oil extraction), and agriculture expansion etc. This particular study aimed at assessing the socio economic effects of development. A model of population displacement, IRR, by Michael Cernea, aiming at the impoverishment risks, risk management and reconstruction related to population displacement was found fit and used so as to analyze and assess the lives of people affected by the LRTN project (Cernea and McDowell, 2000; Cernea, 1993, 2000).

The study revealed that displacement disrupts the socio-economic and cultural lives of displaced people, especially if things promised by governing bodies are not accomplished. For instance, displacees were promised that they would get electricity within two months after their relocation but it was found that nothing has been done until the end of the fieldwork. In addition, it is found that a huge gap and impact was created on the social network and lives of displacees as a result of their relocation process which made people who used to live in a same area disintegrate to different relocation sites which are very far from each other. This is one of

the things stressed in the IRR model indicating that development induced displacement usually breaks down the social fabric people uses to enjoy prior to displacement which is manifested in things like mutual help between neighbors and relatives during good times and hardships.

The lacks of necessary infrastructural developments are found to be the main causes that challenge the displaced people from various perspectives. These include the lack of access to electricity, lack of private toilets in most households, absence of nearby market and mill grinding houses...etc. For instance, from the perspective of absence of electricity, it was found that women in the relocation site were forced to build their own kitchen, since they cannot perform various tasks as they normally used to prior to relocation. It was also found that, depending on the time of their arrival to the relocation site, there are people who have been living with no access to electricity for over 4, 5 and up to more than 7 months.

This absence of electricity is also adversely attributed to the educational performance of some of the relocatees' children. Besides the absence of electricity, educational performance of students is also affected by the distance between schools and the relocation site which are places very far from each other, i.e. Ayat and Piassa. Relying on the perception of informants, it is revealed that the absence of electricity could have been given an early solution if it was not for the negative responses and reactions from concerning government institutions especially the EEPCO.

In this study, it was reported by informants from the displaced group that they feel as if they are “detached” from the global discourses due to their inability to see or hear any news most of the time due to the absence of electricity in their relocation site. Furthermore, problems in the socialization of children are also attributed to the electricity issues by informants in the relocation site. It is reported that the inability of children to stay at home by watching TV, forces them to go outside and spend their leisure in places regarded by their parents as “inappropriate”. It is also reported by these informants, those with kids, that children, not all, are socializing with others in an unacceptable way as a result of spending time outside with ‘delinquents’ their age. Moreover, it was found that some children from the displaced ones are “struggling” to adapt the relocation site due to the inaccessibility of youth recreation centers in the relocation. They also reported that the fact that they were displaced from Piassa, a place

regarded by them as joyful, has an influence on them not to adapt or like the relocation site easily given the situation of the relocation site.

Though assessing both the pros and cons of the project was set as an objective prior to the field work, it was found that the only positive attribute, which is actually happening on the ground, of the project is related to employment generation to many local inhabitants. The project has given these opportunities for many Ethiopians exceeding 4500 in number. From these employees, the larger portion is taken by those labeled under the blue collar category. In addition to giving employment opportunity for people directly, the project also came up with the chance for local women to run their own businesses in construction sites by providing and selling foods and beverages for employees in their work place. These gave several women the possibility of attaining a very good income which is sometimes more than most of the hard labor employees' in the construction sites. The second thing mentioned by informants as a positive aspect resulted by the project is the chance of getting condos, setting aside their price concerns that in one way or another are perceived to be better than Kebele houses. But a huge complaint was forwarded by the displacees regarding the government action of leaving the finishing works of these condos to them.

Another objective of this study was to understand how some government officials view and perceive the overall project's impact on people and assess the things done before the displacement of people and the process of relocation. One of the things, for instance, mentioned by a government official revealed that the government made a "mistake" by making the poor displaced people cover the costs for the finishing of their houses starting from the pain up to doors and provision of water. Information regarding the wider context of the project was found and explained by people from the government by discussing what the project was like when it was about to get started, challenges faced and met and the overall process until its stage of near completion in this year, 2015.

The development intervention's effect on people has an economic dimension too. As previously stated, one of the pros of the LRTN project is the provision of employment opportunities for many. This study revealed that people made changes, i.e. financially, in their lives by directly involving themselves as employees in the project or by creating a liable business in the construction site indirectly. At the same time, it is revealed by the study that

though this project enabled to earn money through employment, it also took the businesses of several people and made the income of many other owners decline ever since the project got started. It was also found that the blockage of entrances to shops made the frequent visits of customers lesser and lesser and, also, the contact merchants used to have with their customers dwindled very much too. This, as reported by shop owners in Megenagna, declined their income highly which led to a disruption on some aspects of their daily lives. For instance, some informants reported that they are now “struggling” to save a minimum of fifty birr per day in the traditional credit/saving association locally termed as *iqub*.

The decline in daily, weekly and monthly income is not the only impact reported by shop owners located around Megenagna. This economic impact worsens on some shop owners to the degree of stopping/losing their businesses as a result of the high income decline experienced as a result of the construction process which led to the demolishing of their shops. Others stopped and lost their businesses due to the high decline of their income. The absence of any help from the government to people who lost their businesses is reported to be a catalyst for their failure with very little or no hope of revival.

The financial effects induced by the development intervention also touch the displaced people living in Yeka Tafo # 2 condominium site. Informants in this area reported that they have been forced to cover the costs of various things which “should have been covered by the government” prior to their relocation. For instance, the most common thing reported by all informants in the relocation site is the fact that they covered the costs for the finishing of their condos which, for some people, went over 30,000 birr. Major financial effects reported by most informants include high transportation cost, high cost of fire wood, allocation of daily budget for cell phone recharge...etc. another objective of this study was attempting to understand the perception of some concerning bodies and also affected groups towards the overall project and its effects. By concerning bodies it is to mean that people from the government working in Sub-city and Woreda level. From the field research it was found that people var when they give their own definition of the term development. But, it was found that, most people base their judgment over the notion of development depending on whether it affects them either positively or adversely in an individual or community level.

6.2. Recommendation

Population displacement is an inevitable thing whenever there are development interventions such as urban infrastructure and renewal. This section, based on the findings of the study, outlines major recommendations, i.e. in my opinion, that could minimize future displacees' vulnerability from socio-economic problems.

- ❖ Participating the local community, i.e. those in the radar of being displaced, in the decision making process regarding displacement and relocation will mitigate their problems in relocation sites. Social disarticulation is a problem which, almost always, is induced by development interventions on targeted groups. For instance, displacees in this study were not satisfied with the relocation process. They argue that it would have been better for them if the people from Dejach Wube Sefer, forty nine households, were relocated to the same site than being dispersed to various sites. They say if it was not for the nature of the relocation process, their culture of reciprocity which they used to enjoy back in Piassa would not have been broken. So my recommendation for specific problems like this one is that, it would be better to relocate people from one area to another relocation site other than relocating/dispersing people who have been living together for many years to various relocation sites.
- ❖ Though the issue of affording different types of condos is a reasonable factor by itself, still, taking the size of families into consideration while allocating households should take precedence over money since most displacees are usually poor. Since the guide line regarding the allocation of houses for displacees indicate that they are supposed to get replacement houses based on their family size, that rule should also be applied on the ground to mitigate some housing problems.
- ❖ The plan of development interventions, particularly urban infrastructure, should really be considered from the perspective of the potential effects which it can result in business communities. In addition, replacement shops, either temporary or permanent, should also be given for merchants who get directly affected by such projects. Compensating the landlords of business places is not enough until considering those business communities in those places from the perspective of compensation.

Furthermore, merchants who got unemployed or affected by high income decline should be supported by gestures such as tax exemption until they get back on their feet.

- ❖ Concerning bodies from the government administration should keep promises they made to displacees especially when it comes to the provision of infrastructural development in relocation sites. If such things such as electricity, water and roads are not provided in relocation sites prior to displacement, or in few weeks' time after displacement, the whole process would turn out to be very challenging and severe for displacees.
- ❖ Unemployed displacees, especially those single mothers, should be supported in getting help from micro-enterprises and credit services so as, at least, to calm their financial fears and insecurities and be able to manage their households. This recommendation was forwarded because the previously mentioned point was clearly stated on the policy issues regarding displaced people as stated in chapter two.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide Questions

A. My name is Yidnekachew. I am a graduate student in Addis Ababa University and I am conducting a research here in Addis. The general objective of this research is to assess the socio-economic effects resulted by the construction of the Light Rail way Project. This is an interview guide prepared to collect data from displaced people.

Thank you for your Cooperation!

Personal information

- ✓ Name (optional) _____
- ✓ Age _____
- ✓ Sex _____
- ✓ Marital status _____

1. How long has it been since you started living here?
2. Was there any support from the government during the initial stages of your displacement?
3. Did you receive the new transport and psychological compensation?
4. Who covered the costs for the finishing of your house? If it is you, how much did you spend?
5. Can you explain the infrastructural development of this site? is its provision well? Tell me in detail the things you have and lack alongside their effects.
6. What kinds of effects did you experience on your social life after relocation? For instance, such as memberships in community organizations, Children's Schools...etc.
7. Can you explain the financial impacts you have experienced after relocation?
8. Do you think the compensation is enough? Why?

9. Did you directly come to this place as soon as you left Piassa or have you spent some time by renting a house in another place? Can you explain your experience during the initial stages of your displacement including the time given and the overall process?

10. Can you explain your life here in the relocation site by comparing it with your life prior to displacement?

11. How was your involvement or participation regarding displacement before it happened? Did the government inform you well and granted you with an enough time for preparation?

12. What was your means of income when you were living in Piassa? Did you still manage and keep doing that? What kinds of things do you do around here?

13. How do you describe the transport situation mainly from the perspective of accessibility and money?

14. Did you choose this condo? Was it given to you by taking the size of your family into consideration?

15. What is development for you? How do you define it?

16. By what kinds of activities do you guys pass your leisure time around here? How is life for you as a youngster here when you see it in comparison with what it was like prior to relocation?

✓ **Questions For Government officials in Sub-city and Woreda level**

1. What were the things done as a preparation prior to the starting of this project?

2. How was the displacement of people from Piassa handled? Were they involved in the decision making process?

3. What is the reason to make displacement? Do you think this could damage the living condition of the low income community?

4. What kinds of solutions and compensations did the government gave to the displaced people?
5. Was there a proper meeting to make people aware of their displacement? If yes, when and where was it held?
6. Do you think the time given to the first group of displacees for preparation is enough?
7. Is it possible to know the exact number and current location of the displaced people?
8. What are the main problems that the affected people complain?
9. Is there any compensation given to people who lost their businesses?
10. What is Development in you view? How do you define it?

✓ **Questions for Shop Owners**

1. How long has it been since you have been involved in this business?
2. Can you describe your business/income by comparing it what it looks now to what it was before the starting of the construction?
3. was/is there any support from the government?
4. Have you tried to get any help from the government? What was the response?
5. Did the government give you a heads up about the project and its possible impact on your businesses to make your selves ready?
6. Can you explain your life in a wider picture from the angle of financial strength by relying on the situations before and after the construction started?

✓ **Questions for Employees in the Project**

1. How did you get the job?
2. For how long have you been working here?
3. Are you employed here temporarily or permanently by a contract?
4. How much money do you earn per month?
5. What kinds of benefits did you get after you start working here?
6. Have you learned any new knowledge or skill regarding your expertise as a result of being an employee here?