



The Effect of Development Induced Displacement on Relocated Household: The Case of Addis Ababa

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Dedicated

This paper is dedicated to the memory of my best friend Abebe G/Medihin whom we missed inconceivable. You are always in my heart.

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O' Lord you are great to me. Though I am not deserved, I always thank Jesus and his mother saint virgin Mary.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AARH	Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses
Birr	Ethiopian currency which is equivalent to 0.05 dollar at the moment
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FHH	Female Headed Households
FNG	Federal Negarit Gazeta
HDA	Housing Development Agency
Iddir	Voluntary community based membership organization established to achieve the objective to support each other in the time of death financially, morally and socially
IGA	Income generating activities
IHDP	Integrated Housing Development Program
Ikub	Financial organization established by volunteer groups used as a credit and saving institution to get the service at round way.
Kebele Houses	One type of public houses administered by the kebele
Kg	Kilo Gram
Km	Kilo meter
MHH	Male Headed Households
M2	Meter square
MoUDC	Ministry of Urban Development and Construction
SDPRS	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction strategy
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
Woreda	District (the lowest administrative unit of Addis Ababa city administration)

Abstract

From the total of development-induced displacement, 60% (6 million displaced people) in the world are caused by urban related projects (Stanley 2004, Robinson 2003). Likewise, the city government of Addis Ababa is undertaking huge displacement program aiming to provide decent houses for its dwellers and to change the image of the city through inner city slum rehabilitation. Providing land for the displaced having land tenure right, condominium houses and finally kebele houses are the three relocation strategies but two of the three are the concern of this paper. Generally, what effect does have the displacement program on relocated livelihood and more specifically how the strategies enacted by the city government has affecting the displaced households requires to be examined.

In this paper, the effect of displacement on relocatees livelihood in terms of economy, social solidarity and basic services and infrastructure is assessed using both qualitative and quantitative data collection approach. The findings of the study are substantiated and examined using literatures to see how it suit or deviate from the existing theory farmed through impoverishment, risks and reconstruction (IRR) model, the “right to the city” approach and housing. It argued that displacement program enabled some households to possess condominium houses (who able to pay). However, the paper also explores the former area(inner city) has multidimensional importance for dwellers in terms of source of their livelihood, residence area, centre of social solidarity and as hub of all basic services and infrastructures. In contrary, the new area (both condominium and Kebele houses) accessing all these benefits is too difficult. Kebele dwellers are always scared and continuing unstable since the substitute kebele houses will be demolished soon. Likewise, condominium dwellers are also facing critical financial constraints to cover the mortgage payment.

Relevance to Development Studies

Development-induced displacement is universal phenomenon which affects the overall living condition of displaced households particularly the low-income and vulnerable groups. This paper contributes to understand and explore the effect of development-induced displacement particularly urban programs and projects on the displaced and how various strategies set by different governments are effective enough and efficient to address the real problems of relocatees. Any development activities should not be distractive rather improving the life of people and capacitating their ability. Thus, the paper could add some knowledge to the existing academic literature and mainly for the government policy makers critically view and evaluate the strategies and modalities proposed to address affected people in terms of its use and benefit for them.

Keywords

Development-induced displacement, Relocation, Relocatees, Kebele houses, Condominium houses

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Forced displacement caused by development-induced programs had affected nearly 200 million people only in the last two decades of the previous century (Cernea and McDowell 2000). Forced eviction is the removal of dwellers/owners by the state recognition from their home/land without the willing of relocatees and it is synonymous with relocation, resettlement, forced removal and displacement (Olds et al. 2002). Most urban displacement is undertaken in the name of development and slum rehabilitation. According to Habitat (2003) around 1 billion people are living in slum, where Sub-Saharan Africa accounts 17% in the world. Ethiopia is one of the countries that has the highest slum prevalence in the world (Arimah 2010:8).

Since 2000s a huge development-induced displacement is undergoing in Addis Ababa (capital city of Ethiopia). This paper assesses what effect does development-induced displacement and government strategies have on displaced households using mixed method (both qualitative and quantitative). 50 household (20 FHH and 30 MHH) respondents, 9 government and 1 private institution key informants were interviewed to collect the required information.

Ethiopia has a long history of urban settlement, but until 2005 there was no comprehensive urban policy, though regimes followed their own unorganized proclamations and guidelines. The absence of urban policy, more specifically housing policy has contributed a lot for the present extreme housing shortage and high slum prevalence. Both the pre-revolutionary (1974) and the Derg housing system did not benefit the majority of city dwellers (Asfaw 2005). Similarly, the housing shortage is still critical due to scarcity of urban land, though the new government made investment policy which gives chance for real estate developers (Haregewoin 2007). Thus, slum rehabilitation—which is a cause of many displacement is the contemporary focus of the government (especially in Addis Ababa) to change the image of the city. By citing ORAAMP (2002), Yntiso (2008:54) stated that “Housing, slum upgrading, the development of inner city...are the six priority strategic development goals to be achieved during the ten-year plan”. Since 2013 the government of Ethiopia has ratified and implemented housing policy. This policy has put the following five main housing development strategies: State led, Residential association, organizational based, Private sector (real estate developer) and finally Government-Private share housing development. Regarding inner city development and slum rehabilitation the city government has put three alternative strategies for displaced households: providing alternative land (who have land tenure rights), condominium houses and kebele houses but the focus of the paper is the last two of the three alternatives.

Despite public discussion, the relocatees interest (on-spot relocation/if not relocation without alienating their social entity) and the promise made by the government did not keep well. Most relocation sites were far from the center which made their life miserable because their livelihood is associated with the center. Job availability, accessing all basic services like schools, health centers, markets, even entertainment places were found very close and no transport cost was needed however all these services are difficult to obtain in the relocation sites except some kebele dwellers who received home in the center. Dependency on family support, decreasing basic consumptions items including food and involvement of household members in daily labor work are some of the coping mechanisms taken by relocatees. The social solidarity and related institutions (Iddir, Ekub and Zikir) which have significant value for their livelihood and existed for more than 30 years had drastically abandoned. “Forced displacement epitomizes social exclusion of certain groups of people.

It cumulates physical exclusion from a geographic territory with economic and social exclusion out of a set of functioning social networks” (Cernea 2000:3659).

On the other side, displacement programs have some positive effects, for example it enables relocatees (who can pay) to own condominium house. The condominium house standard (material made, presence of flush type toilet, water) is better than the former however looking the trade-off is very important. The issue is how many of low-income households have benefited from the program. More seriously kebele dwellers are not still stable because the houses they received also would be demolished soon. The displacement effect is more serious not only for FHH but also for women in general. The works done to rehabilitate relocatees are insignificant compared to the attention given for demolishing the inner city and transferring the land for investors. States’ priority is more disposed on regulation of expropriation and compensation rather than working on sustainable impoverishment prevention (Stanley 2004).

1.2 Problem Statement

Due to development-induced programs, it is not unusual to understand the eviction of millions of people and became homelessness everywhere in the world (Du Plessis 2005). In the 21st century, the significance of cities as a driving force in the economic growth is highly recognized – for example, in São Paulo 9.8 million residents are living in 1.5 thousand Km² areas—with a gross national product of US \$ 99 billion and also in all places of the world municipalities are highly engaging to make changes in the inner city to attract investors as well to change the socio-economic and physical status aiming to create beautiful cities (Acioly Jr 1999). The main focus of the government of Ethiopia was on rural areas to address poverty reduction but lately the government has also made urban development activities particularly in Addis Ababa aiming to improve the inner city. Addis Ababa was established in 1988 by Emperor Minilik and his wife Etege Taitu. Being the capital of Ethiopia, it is the seat of African Union and many international organizations. Woreda, Sub city and City administration are the three main hierarchical administrative arrangements of the city from lower to higher ladder respectively. Though Addis Ababa is one of the least urbanized cities in the world, it has also 8% urbanization per annum (Haregewoin 2007). She also stated that 80% of the populations are living in slum due to incapability of the city to address employment opportunities and access services.

The slum rehabilitation program commenced in Addis Ababa has displaced many inner city dwellers and affected their living condition. Acioly Jr (1999:11) stated that

Frequently, redevelopment is associated with drastic physical and spatial changes motivated by demands of housing and real estate markets. It is also often associated with social exclusion and the gradual displacement of the original population due to significant increases in urban standards and housing, property, users’ services and rental prices.

The urban policy to some extent and housing policy in general have been trying to address the housing problem through various strategies, however; the displacement program is different from the general frame which needs special arrangements. FDRE (1994) Article 44(2) states that "All persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of State programmes have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate State assistance”. In addition, FNG (2005) Proclamation No.455/2005 also verified citizens’ right though the intention is mainly based on land tenure rights. Accordingly, the city government has developed compensation and relocation modality for displaced households however this modality is devised based on land tenure rights similar to the proclamation No.455/2005 which did not benefit majorities who do not have land tenure rights. The benefit package arranged by the city government is not in a position to settle the displaced households’ real

problems (Abdissa and Degefa 2011:216). The relocation strategies/modalities implemented by the city government includes providing land (who have a land tenure right), condominium houses and substitute Kabul houses. However, how far these strategies are effective enough in its accessibility and safeguarding the right of relocatees (specifically low-income households) in relation to Article 44 (2) are debatable issue which needs further investigation. Moreover, exploring these strategies in comparison with article 43 of the constitution, which express “The basic aim of development activities shall be to enhance the capacity of citizens for development and to meet their basic needs” FDRE (1994) should be vital.

So far, various studies are done in Addis Ababa on displacement, yet there are some gaps which need to be assessed by this study. For example, the study done by (Yntiso 2008) looked only the public tenants and did not consider the impact on owner occupiers who moved to condominium houses. Tesema (1998) has assessed access to livelihood and the survival strategies of the displaced people without having external support/aid and limited formal social tie. However the displacement matter and the forced displacement which is planned to see in this research is different. Melesse (2007) has made study related to the topic but her finding is limited to FHHs. Furthermore, she did not observe the government strategies which are provided for relocatees. Mejia (1999) has done comprehensive study regarding displacement on World Bank urban funded projects in Latin America and Caribbean but the situation, particularly the strategy implemented in Addis Ababa is different from these countries. Mahapatra (1999) has also explored the experience of Indian forced displacement in connection with economic and social adverse (decline in employment, income generation, education and social distraction) however the nature of the finding is more inclined towards non-urban development displacement. The research done by (Wu 2004) under the title “Residential relocation under market-oriented redevelopment” has showed the impact of the program explicitly however the finding missed to consider the social impact.

Therefore, this research is intended to fill the gap that other studies did not capture well. The effect of displacement on relocated households and more specifically the effect of the two relocation strategies (condominium or kebele houses) which are executed by the city government as a response to displacement would be the fundamental focus of the paper.

The following research objectives and research questions are designed to respond the problem statement. Exploring the effect of development-induced displacement on displaced households: in the case of Addis Ababa is the main objective of this research and the specific objectives are developed:

1. To explore the effect of the relocation program for urban displaced people
2. To explore the governments’ strategies and its effect on the relocated households
3. To draw policy recommendation on how to tackle problems associated with relocation

1.3 Research Question

What effect does development-induced displacement and government strategies for relocation have on relocated households in Addis Ababa?

Specific research questions

What has been the effect of displacement and relocation on the livelihoods of households?

What are differences between the two main government strategies of relocation and how these affected the households?

How do the displaced communities cope up with encountered problem?

1.4 Research Methodology

Considering the importance of exploring the contemporary situation of relocatees compared with the former area, this research has used both qualitative and quantitative approaches (Mixed approach). It has much more advantage than using only a single method (either quantitative or qualitative) because it complements the limitation of depending only on one method. Mixed method is an innovative and comprehensive technique which combines both the qualitative and quantitative method of data collection (Teddlie and Yu 2007:1).

1.4.1 Case Study

Case study is one of the five qualitative research designs, namely narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography and case study (Creswell 2007:35). Case study is important to obtain detailed and holistic information about the issue what you interested to know (Kothari 2004, Hancock and Algozzine 2006). Case study is preferred when the researcher is having very limited power or information on the event (Yin 2009:2). Taking all these advantages into account, I used the case study because I was more interested and intended to explore the existing real situation of relocatees in comparison with the former area and identifying why and how this phenomenon has occurred. All in all, the case study enabled the researcher to identify and deeply understand the dynamic nature of displacement due to the development-induced program that has an effect on relocatees' day to day life. Moreover, case study is the right choice and which provides a wide range of views to compare the effect of displacement in relation to the two government strategies (condominium or kebele houses).

1.4.2 Sampling Techniques and Selection

This research has examined households who originated from Arat killo and Fit Ber and later relocated in Ayat condominium and five kebele house sites. Ayat condominium is selected purposively because: this site is the 2nd bigger next to Jemo condominium which provides more opportunity to obtain respondents idea and displaced households are living since 2010 (almost 4 years) which enables to identify and compare the divergent nature of the pre and post relocation livelihoods.

I have used the snow ball technique for the selection of respondents. Firstly, I met some displaced living in Ayat condominium through a friend of mine and additional information was collected from them to obtain who were influential persons in the former area using the already contacted persons. Secondly, I had communicated the influential relocatees and they are informed about the objective of the research. Due to dispersed relocation, obtaining relocatees who moved to kebele houses were the most difficult work during data collection but lately the problem has solved using the former network (condominium respondents were willing to provide the phone address of kebele dwellers). Based on the preceding procedures, 50 sample size respondents were selected from both condominium and kebele house residents through non random sampling techniques. To protect from distortion of information, the researcher has collected the data by himself using questioner which was translated to local language (Amharic) through home to home visit. To identify the 20 key informants from 50 respondents, I used the opportunity of the former discussion made with 50 respondents during household survey who are more resourceful and knowledgeable about the issue. Former history of respondents, like their active involvement during frequent discussion with government was considered as an additional criterion to select the 20 key informants.

The effect of displacement is also assessed from the perspective of sex (FHHs and MHHs) and their income level (poor and the better ones). Indeed, data has collected from government and private institution key informants. Totally 9 government key informants were selected based on their engagement during displacement program and those who still involved in the implementation area while 1 private institution key informant was selected to understand the debate mentioned in section 5.6. Totally 60 respondents were selected for this paper.

1.4.3 Method of Data Collection

1.4.3.1 In-depth Interview

Qualitative interview provides many opportunities to understand people's feeling, emotion and interest in their own words what they want to convey their message and also gives space to interact the researcher with the interviewee (Kvale 2006). But as stated by (Baker and Risley 1994) qualitative interview is not necessarily concern on new findings like that of law of physics and other natural science rather the aim is more of exploring the issue why and how things are happening. According to Crang and Cook (2007) interview could be handled in highly structured, semi-structured and unstructured way. The required information has been collected from the 20 key informants using the semi-structured in-depth interview. Respondents' preference of time and place were kept during the interview. Some were interested to discuss in cafeteria just by taking coffee and even beer but the discussion made with FHH were at their home. In addition, an in-depth interview was also conducted with government and private institution key informants at their respective office.

1.4.3.2 Household Survey

Supporting the qualitative data with quantitative information using household survey would enrich the research and obtaining basic data (household income, employment condition, demographic character and other relevant issues) enabled to evaluate the existing condition of the new area with the former residence which is the fundamental aim of this research.

Due to the existence of huge displacement in Addis Ababa, it is impossible to assess all programs in this research as it requires abundant resource (finance and time). Renckly (1996) mentioned the advantage of taking large population to make the research more reliable but due to limited resources samples are taken. Accordingly, household survey was used as an additional method to collect the basic data. After selecting the 50 respondents, the researcher has filled the questioner by visiting home to home. If the aim of incorporating statistical data is just to support the qualitative research, taking a minimum of 30 respondents are needed (O'Leary 2004:105).

1.4.4 Data Analysis

The information collected using in-depth interview was analyzed in an explanatory and descriptive way. While the quantitative data gathered to obtain basic information on demographic character and socioeconomic data were analyzed using pivot-table and descriptive way after processing in excel. Secondary data was also part of the analysis. The interview process was not recorded for the sake of respondents' confidentiality however the researcher took notes attentively during discussion and filled the questioner in a separate paper duplicated ahead. The respondents answer was translated from Amharic to English during analysis. The finding has been analyzed using the literatures and conceptual frameworks.

1.5 Ethical Consideration

Ethics has to be placed in the first requirement which guides the people or the organization for better trust building and to protect client from threats associated with the information they gave. “Ethics pertains to doing good and avoiding harm. Harm can be prevented or reduced through the application of appropriate ethical principles” (Orb et al. 2001:93). Displacement is one of the very sensitive issues. Thus, respondents may fear to give detail information and lack confidence since providing this information could be considered as anti-development by majorities’ perception. Practically, most respondents were not interested to disclose themselves. All names mentioned in the case history are the code names given by the researcher to protect from intimidations. I did not also used tape recording to respect the respondents’ interest as they were not comfortable when I asked them just to know their feelings. Some of the respondents and government key informants were not willing to provide information and data, but in the process I tried my best to manage it. The secret behind the success of the data collection is directly linked to the connections made with the respected persons and other respondents. To do this, the researcher has clearly informed the research objective and who I am. Doing this, I made good relation as a family. In addition, once you informed their right even to stop giving information at any time when they feel discomfort, they develop confidence and become very cooperative. Surprisingly, I learned a lot how they are wise enough and free from biases in providing information.

1.6 Structure of the Paper

This paper contains seven chapters. The first chapter presents the introduction, problem statement, research objective, research question, research methodology and ethical consideration. The second chapter deals with the conceptual framework and theory that guide the research. In chapter three, the Ethiopian housing policies, strategies and programs are assessed from the perspective of the past two regimes and the existing government. Chapter four mainly analyzes the relocation experience of Addis Ababa. Chapter five deal with the existing situation of basic services and infrastructures in comparison with the pre-relocation. Income and employment opportunities as well as coping mechanism of relocatees are presented in chapter six. Finally, chapter seven concludes the research findings and policy implication.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This section mainly presents the various theoretical and conceptual frames (IRR, the right to the city, resettlement and housing) which guide the research paper.

2.1. Resettlement and Its Concepts

As defined by (De Sherbinin et al. 2010) resettlement is the movement of people from one area to another due to public and/or private developer enforcement either through discussion or imposition. Displacement loses the physical and non-physical resources like productive land, job, home, social affiliation and ties, relatives, neighbors and so on (Downing 2002). "...largest investment they ever made, and it is the necessary basis for most productive and reproductive activities. Its loss, for instance through eviction, often leads to a downward spiral of homelessness, marginalization and further impoverishment" (Berner 2000:556). Development-induced projects displaced people from well-established system and also it affect the overall living condition of individuals and communities' social fabrics as well (Cernea 1988).

Usually municipalities and city administration officials are busy in slum clearance. However, their main intention is not for the better of the poor rather to facilitate favorable conditions for private investors and business organization. Most inner city displacement is undertaken to preserve center areas for higher class (Beyers 2013). The term "slum" is derived from English or German word to explain the place which is poorly equipped and mostly occupied by the working class (d'Cruz and Satterthwaite 2005). The slum was identified in France, America and India in the middle of the century (David 2006). The UN-Habitat defines from physical and legal features which include inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (Habitat 2003:12). However, still this definition did not consider the very essential ingredient of the socioeconomic situation of the displaced community.

The housing project (BLISS program in the Philippines) did not benefit the poor, though it has demolished many squatter houses (Berner 2000:558). He further stated that because of the so called beatification agenda the shanty areas were hidden from the view of foreign. A lot of governments have used force to evict the urban dwellers. For example, "In **Brazil**, police used tear gas, rubber bullets and nightsticks on May 19, 2000 to evict an estimated 2,000 squatters from homes that they had occupied for 17 years in Sao Paolo" (Robinson 2003:19). Though significant numbers of relocates are affected because of forced eviction in South Africa, no one is showing commitment to stop it (Du Plessis 2005:126). Though forced eviction is universal phenomenon, the condition is more acute in tropical cities (Olds et al. 2002). Forced displacement is also facilitated by the big organizations like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank in the name of development activities including dam construction, for beautification, to conduct national and international events (Olympics), due to political and market enforcement that leads to gentrification and the like (Olds et al. 2002, Du Plessis 2005:123).

Development-induced displacement is problematic at best, even when a state has the best interests of the entire population at heart. Such displacement can be catastrophic when it occurs in the midst of conflict or when a state targets a particular segment of the population ... in these instances, and they are manifold, development-induced displacement constitutes a violation of human rights and

humanitarian law and calls for a response from the international community (Robinson 2003:4).

Understanding the concept of household is vital to see the impact of displacement on relocated households. But obtaining universal definition is problematic consequently different scholars have defined differently, for example (Douglass 2006:421) defined “The household is a basic unit of every society and the foundation of the world economy”. Although the term household and family has some common character and used interchangeably, they are two different (Beall and Kanji 1999) families connected on kinship and include relatives other than non-residents but household do not necessarily based only on kinship or marriage. In Ethiopia, the culture of living together via sharing houses and other resources are very common. The research findings of (González de la Rocha 2007) showed how household members manage problems during adverse conditions through the formation of social networks including the diverse participation of household members in different IGA and pooled down the resources.

Like household, defining urban household is difficult; but it is stated “as task or activity based units” (Beall and Kanji 1999:2). Displacement could affect the entire household members in one way or another but due to difficulty to capture the life experiences of each member of the household, the priority is given on household head to respond the question. However, this study explores how the effect of displacement is understood differently within the household members. Many studies have revealed the existence of inequality among household members especially in the resource allocation. The one who has better bargaining power could take more benefit than the less power mostly children and women (Cockburn et al. 2009). Agarwal (1997) expressed the discrepancy between women and men are not only pertaining in resource and labor but also on their traits, capacities and abilities. Moreover, the author shows how the “unitary” model which explains the household has similar interest and mostly represented by aggregate utility function is replaced by “bargaining power” approach. The new approach argued that households do not have only similar interest and cooperation, but also has a conflict of interest within the intra-household. Even the cooperation outcome may favor one party who has better bargaining power because gaining something for one is losing to the other. Of course, this bargaining power depends on a number of factors that the dealer has backbone to take the upper hand. “Securing tenure for the household does not necessarily secure tenure for women and children. In undertaking the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure, the extension of secure tenure must benefit women and men equally” (UN-HABITAT 2004). Some legal institutions fail to protect the right of women or gender differences from being the decision maker and property ownership (Varley 2007).

2.2 The Right to the City

It is the previous decade phenomena which embarked the social movement on anti-commodification and privatization of urban lands and struggled for fair distribution of urban resources. Henri Lefebvre is the French philosopher and sociologist who laid base for the concept of the “right to the city” late in 1960s for the first time. Following this, a number of social movements are commenced and also many international and local organizations have advocating the notion (Brown 2010). As to Lefebvre, the right to the city is a broad idea. “The right to information, the rights to use of multiple services, the right of users to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in urban areas; it would also cover the right to the use of the center” (Marcuse 2009:189). However, it is not without criticisms. For example, what types of right, for whom this right is deserve and how could it applied in the contemporary global dynamics were some of the points which needs clarity (Ibid). There were also many controversial issues presented here below.

Cities were hoped as to be a panacea for poverty reduction, but the economic growth did not benefit all dwellers equality (Brown and Kristiansen 2009:10). The five financial crises identified by (Marcuse 2009) show the capitalism system failure and unequal resource share. Neoliberal restructuring is alienating democratic citizens (Purcell 2002). Contrary, Harvey (2003) argues that surplus products obtained from capitalism are invested in urban areas which would also contribute to the rising of cities. The contribution of traditional cities on culture, social development and wealth are underestimated by the commercialization and industrialization, consequently two basic rights, namely **Participation** and **appropriation** was necessary to protect the rights of the city dwellers (Mitchell 2003). Lefebvre's notion of participation enables citizens to participate in the use and production of urban spaces, similarly appropriation enacted right of access and use of the available resources (Purcell 2002, Mitchell 2003). Lefebvre's participation discourse enable inhabitants to involve in urban decisions but what types of responsibility should dwellers do is still vague and undetermined (Purcell 2002:106). Fernandes (2007) argues the essentiality of urban law equally with political and social power taking the Brazil experience of urban law which had improved participation of citizens though it needs further effort.

Lefebvre's citizenship includes all urban inhabitants in irrespective of the national citizenship, though it has problematic as it obtained based on the social entity (Brown 2010). Citizenship for (Brown and Kristiansen 2009) is not the formal one obtained from state rather it refers the citizenship from democratic exercise. "Without the occurrence of a struggle for other rights, the Right to the City is deprived of meaning" (Plyushteva 2009:95). Political struggle is taken as the main option to obtain the urban citizenship right (Purcell 2002) but in reality which is difficult to bring each individual's interest in one common issue. This means that the interest of the working class is different from that of gender and the like. According to Marcuse (2009) the right to the city or Lefebvre's right consist both cry and demand. The demand is created when basic needs are not fulfilled for example, being homeless, hunger and even it could be involuntary in the case of hazardous work while the cry is manifested when the system includes superficially (share the material resource) but it hinders their future interest, motive and social relation and also their creative hopes are hanged. "The *Global Campaign on Urban Governance*, launched in 1999, promotes the concept of an *inclusive city* as a place where everyone regardless of wealth, gender, age, race or religion, can participate positively in the opportunities of urban life" (Brown and Kristiansen 2009:11)

Right to public space which is further expanded one step in 1973 was the other basic concept in the notion of right to the city which makes an arena for urban productive space. Public space is considered as a critical importance not only for democratic right but also for the excluded or who are not in the system of commodification (Mitchell 2003). This is because, it is always the center of conflict and continues struggle as people are competing to shape the city according to their demand and also access to the public domain is emanated from it. As explained by (Brown and Kristiansen 2009:17)

the *right to the city* is a vehicle for urban change, in which *all urban dwellers* are urban citizens; it creates space in which citizens can define their needs but, in order to appropriate substantive citizenship, citizens must claim rights of participation and allow others the same right

Various governments (like the city statute in Brazil) and organizations, including UNESCO UN-HABITAT are involved in the promotion of the right to the city. As well written in (Brown and Kristiansen 2009) based on UNESCO UN-HABITAT project, five axes interpretation/policy agendas are enacted to make the right to the city more practicable: enable all inhabitants to enjoy

their right, city governments should work transparently to provide efficient and equitable services especially for the vulnerable groups, inhabitants have the right to participate so conducive environment has to be created by the city administrators, diversity should be respected since cities positioned the leading role in cultural, social and economic dynamic change and finally poverty reduction and sustainable livelihood should be the center of any development activities in the city.

2.3 Housing

At the previous time, urbanization was seen only as a center of industrialization and modernization, however currently urbanization has failed to provide even basic necessities like formal employment for the majority of its dwellers (Berner 2001). He has also clearly showed more than 600 million people are living without having a home which is the very basic necessity of human being. In most developing countries the number of people who live in the urban areas are increasing alarmingly but the response for housing demand is insignificant. The backlog shortage of housing in developing countries is still critical problem and the 1960 and 1970s, public housing production did not result significant contribution (Okpala 1992). “In most developing countries, the formal market mechanism has systematically failed to satisfy the rapidly increasing housing needs of the population” (Berner 2001:293). Even though the existence of housing shortage in Addis Ababa and elsewhere in Ethiopia is not a new phenomenon, the problem is not widespread extremely like the present time. The formal market performed and also the lease policy implemented in the country could not affordable for low-income households. Consequently, constructing self-help housing by the low and also middle income dwellers in the periphery and bare land was very common in Addis Ababa. However, it has now abandoned by the city government. In relation to this, Berner (2001) explains the issue very interestingly that self-help housing is considered as substandard (either because of insecurity or quality) by governments though it has very significant economic importance even for the development of the cities.

The issue of housing is more critical for low-income households and persons whose livelihood is associated with the availability of housing. The existence of home is crucial for women because they are more engaged in home based IGAs (Stanley 2004, Chant 1997). The provision of housing loan for women in India illustrates that the need of housing in economic term and as an asset is becoming increased (Beall and Kanji 1999) Limited availability of low-income housing is associated with: the lease systems which encourage to displace the low-income, lack of housing finance (subsidy), available construction regulation that demand modern building material to maintain private houses, and chronic poverty (Tesfaye 2005).

2.4 The Impoverishment, Risks and Reconstruction framework (IRR) - A

Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement

Impoverishments, risk and reconstruction (IRR) model is developed by Michel Cernia recently in 1990s after having a lot of empirical and theoretical bases with the aim of identifying what risks associated with development-induced displacement program are existed very often and how these risks are circumvent if not minimized from harming huge number of people through the development of tools during planning and implementation of the programs. The model is mainly rigorous on two big issues, namely forced displacement and re-establishment of socioeconomic conditions (Cernea 2000).

Impoverishments risk and reconstruction are the central concepts of the model which have a broad idea and interlinked each other. Understanding the linkage among these variables enables the policy makers and implementers to plan proper solution ahead. Development-induced displacement programs including construction of railways, roads, hospitals and irrigations could benefit some part

of the society in one side while other groups in most cases the poor lose their resources (human, social, natural and man-made capitals). Only in the present decade due to the so called development, more than ten million people are displaced each year (Cernea 1997).

Cernea has also identified the main eight displacement risks. **Expropriation of land** which is a base of livelihood is one of the risks which lead to total property loss. Loss of former employment (Joblessness) is very common, whereas, creating new job opportunity is very challenging in relocation sites. "As relocation sites are rarely provided, and even then in most cases are unattractive in terms of location and infrastructure, evicted people find no alternative but to return to informal settlements in the city. In not a few cases they actually reoccupy their old area" (Berner 2001:295). Following the regime change in 1979 in Cambodia, the government has distributed land on individual titling outside the city to overcome congestions in the city, however it ended up with social disruption and returned back to the city to search work (Payne 2004:176-177). **Homelessness** and living in sub-standard home took long lasting for some displaced households. The 2000 homelessness families due to Douala Urban project in Cameroon and Gleita irrigation project in Mauritania are good examples. **Marginalization** in urban areas has occurred slowly after the reallocation is completed, for example temporarily work that relocatees engaged could not be sustainable. **Undernourishment** is high in forced eviction due to loss of main economic means. The 75, 000 tone food relief provisions in China for several years due to displacement illustrate the **food insecurity**. Vulnerability to diseases like malaria, water born disease, social stress and psychological trauma which lead to high **Morbidity and Mortality** are the usual phenomena. **Loss of Access to Common Property and Services** is the other displacement risk which affect relocatees livelihood and income condition. The worst of forced displacement is the distraction of the social cohesion and interaction of communities existed long period of time which could be mentioned risk of **Social disarticulation**.

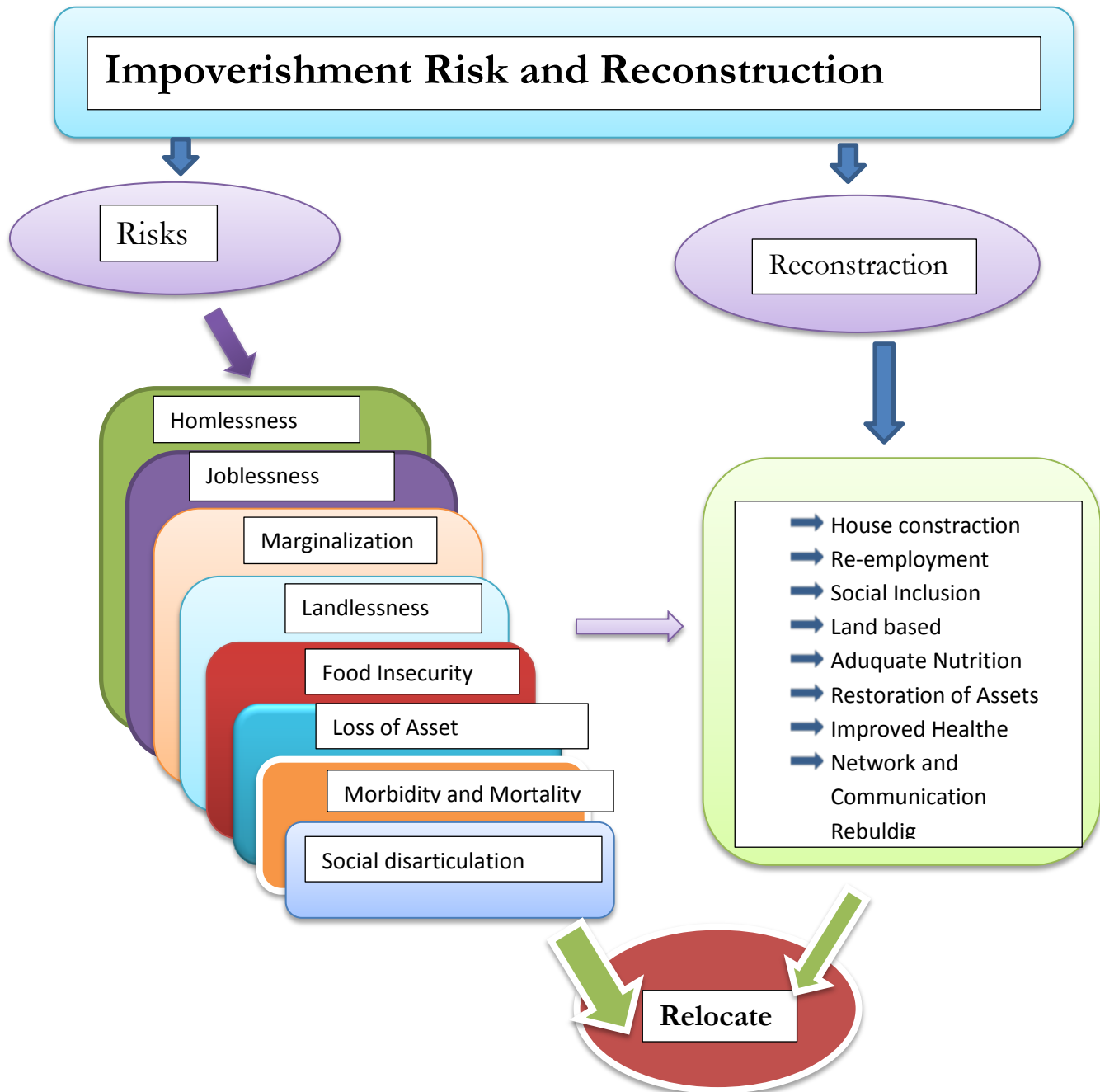
Turning the model on its head shows which strategies must be adopted and which directions should be taken: (a) from landlessness to land-based resettlement; (b) from joblessness to reemployment; (c) from homelessness to house reconstruction; (d) from marginalization to social inclusion; (e) from increased morbidity to improved health care; (f) from food insecurity to adequate nutrition; (g) from loss of access to restoration of community assets and services; and (h) from social disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding (Cernea 2000:3662).

The existing city problems which cause huge displacement are the outcome of the mismanagement and lack of proper land policy that benefit the poor citizen. I argue what Berner has clearly stated the importance of land policy. Housing shortage is associated with land inaccessibility and the failure to benefit the poor through social housing and slum upgrading is also related with excessive land price. (Berner 2000:555). He also stated the poor are more affected by housing poverty than livelihood (mostly their livelihood is depending on the availability of housing). Failure to make housing policy, lack of political commitment to alleviate city problems and inappropriate distribution system aggravated slum expansion and poor living condition (Habitat 2003). The inner city is highly demanded both by the business men as well by the poor. For example, more than 11% of the employment opportunities in Sao Paulo are existed within 5km² area (Acioly Jr 1999). The author also further stated revitalization of the inner city is undertaken either of the two extreme approaches. The conservation approach follows the development of inner city without total change (keeping the existing physical and social resources) but the redevelopment approach make an absolute change by demolishing the existing features, not only the physical but also the social and economic structure to attract investors. Of course, there is also a rehabilitation approach residing

between the two that demands the change should be taken gradually without complete loose of the existing entities. In most developing countries, including Ethiopia, the redevelopment approach is more exercised than the other aiming to create an attractive city preferred by investors.

Any inner city development should respect the principle of equality which safeguarding the rights of the poor (Acioly Jr 1999). By citing Rajagopal (2000), Robinson (2003) has mentioned the five main human rights missed during displacement. **The right to development and self-determination** (get benefit and have the choice to determine), **the right to participation** (participate without reservation and have the right to agree or disagree on the ongoing development projects), **the right to life and livelihood** (everybody should obtain it as a human being), **the right of vulnerable groups** (especially women and disabled) and finally **the right to remedy**. There are conditions that forced to conduct displacement however; the responsible body should design sustainable strategy (socially, economically and culturally) that benefit relocatees in relation to human right and international law (Ibid).

Figure 1 : Displacement Risks and solutions Adopted from IRR



Source: Adopted from Cernea 2000

To substantiate the finding, I found Cernea's IRR model is more appropriate to use as a main conceptual framework provided that the right to the city, housing theories and other relevant concepts are also included. As presented in Fig 1, the model stated that during involuntary displacement these risks are apparently manifested and there should be also mechanisms to rehabilitate the affected people. Thus, in this paper how these risks are identified and what mechanisms are set to minimize the risks would be evaluated.

Chapter 3

Ethiopian Housing Policies, Strategies and Programs

Ethiopia has long history with urban settlement back in the Axumite kingdom from 200-600 AD (Shiferaw 1998). However, until recently the country was not having a comprehensive urban housing policy except some unorganized proclamations which were established by each regime. Based on (Habitat 2007) and other relevant sources the overall housing policies and programs are summarized in three categories.

3.1 Housing Responses Prior to 1975

Often, in the 20th century, most urban agendas including housing were undertaken without well-organized municipalities. However the 1907 proclamation which offered urban land for private ownership right and started in Addis Ababa could be considered as one step forward. The unstable occupation of Italy from 1936 to 1945 has made an influence on housing shortage in Addis Ababa. During the time the Patriots devastated the existed building deliberately, and no new buildings were constructed. Moreover, the economic change that cause for population growth in the city particularly in Addis Ababa has also contributed to the housing shortage. On the other hand, following the expansion of road construction by Italian invasion, many towns and later cities revitalized in the country (Kebbede and Jacob 1985). The unfelt housing demand forced dwellers to construct substandard houses which lack toilet, kitchen and other basic services until the beginning of late 1970.

The government's effort which made to include urban housing issue in the five year plan (1963 to 1967) aiming to provide houses for all income levels could be taken as a pioneer. The 1974-79 plan was committed to fulfill services for the low-income housing needs. However, the final achievements of the entire five year plan were pended on the air. Before 1975, the direction was based mainly on free market that provides right for landlords through leasing the land and constructing house for rent but the attempt made by the government for low-income households was insignificant. For the first time, the proclamation No, 47/1961, and proclamation No 188/1962 that provide finance for house construction and the Imperial saving and Home ownership public Association were declared respectively. But these efforts did not make positive change in solving housing problem.

3.2 Post 1974 Housing Policies and Programs

“Land to tiller” was the hot issues that provoke people to demonstrate on the then government. Following this, the Derg regime that took the power through coup d'état announced proclamation No 47/1975 on nationalization of urban lands and rental dwellings. This provides right to have only one house for residence and one for commercial aiming to protect the exploitation (Habitat 2007). 70% of the arable land was seized by less than 1% exploiters and similarly 95% of private urban land in Addis Ababa was seized by bureaucrats (Kebbede and Jacob 1985). According to Gebre (1993) following the nationalization of the urban land, the government decided to manage these extra houses in two ways: houses which were rented below 100 birr provided for kebele administration (the present kebele houses) while houses rented more than 100 birr were provided to AARH. Since then, these kebele houses have provided shelter for many people and still dwellers did not consider as they are poor as long as legal right are reserved to live in these houses, because once they received legal right no one is forced to leave or increase the price as private renters.

The Derg government has tried to address housing problems through four main schemes namely: **individual housing** in which government was providing up to 500m² land for house construction, **self-help housing** technical support and credit with less than 6% interests rate (the normal rate was 10%) was provided for households whose monthly income is 100 to 200 birr, **Cooperative housing** option was presented for households whose income is 250 birr and above and finally **low-cost housing** construction by the government (Kebbede and Jacob 1985). Cooperative housing was subsidized financially through provision of 4.5% interest rate and free charge land (Tesfaye 2005). “There were about 110 Housing Cooperative Societies in Ethiopia which had produced an estimated 3000 housing units” (Okpala 1992:21). Apart from the 1975 proclamation many legal notice went through concerning rental dwellings, institutional setups and opening of Housing Mortgage Bank. However the expected housing units were also insignificant compared to the actual achievement.

3.3 The Present Government Housing Policy and Programs

When EPRDF come to power in 1991, the country was very poor. Thus, EPRDF has designed various policies mainly for rural development, but like the previous regimes the government was also reluctant to design urban policy. After 15 years of power, independent urban policy has been ratified in March 2005. Of course the land leased proclamation No 3/1994 has its own remark to make market oriented and to provide source of revenue for municipalities though the poors did not benefit from the proclamation.

Despite the government was devoted to include urban issue (addressing housing shortage, decreasing poverty, proper land management and others) in SDPRS-1, there were criticisms that the emphasis given was shallow. According to MoUDC (2013) the IHDP undertaken in cities including Addis Ababa has brought 207 thousand housing units however the achievements so far is not coincide with the huge house demand. The unfelt need of housing is associated with absence of comprehensive housing policy. Consequently, the government has ratified Urban Housing Supply Policy in 2013.

According to the policy document the rationale for the design and implementation of housing policy is related to the provision of fast and problem solving solutions for the multi-faced and deep rooted problems existed in the cities. Unavailability of housing policy was the main obstacle to create cities as the main market center for the growth of agricultural products and also for the transformation of industry due to lack of houses. The policy comprised cost effective housing supply priorities and implementation strategy.

3.3.1 Alternative Housing Supply

It is too early to evaluate the 2013 housing policy but the main housing alternative strategies are presented as follows.

3.3.1.1 State Led Housing Development

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 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). The program has given more attention to benefit women by allocating 30% houses more priority other than equal chance from the remaining 70%, though difficult to conclude they are completely benefited from the program due to financial constraints. 10 % of the IHDP is reserved for displaced households due to development-induced programs. “Social housing produced by the state is the other extreme. With the notable exception of Singapore, however, governments in developing countries have proved neither effective nor efficient as housing providers” (Berner 2001:296). 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.

3.3.1.2 Residential Housing Association

Enabling house ownership through the formation of associations based on closeness in the workplace or neighborhood is the second option forwarded in the policy. Immediately following fulfillment of the requirement (putting 50% estimated cost during formation of association and the remaining 50% when the construction is started) beneficiaries are entitled to have houses when the construction is completed.

3.3.1.3 Housing Development through Institutions

Houses which would be constructed by the organizations/institutions for their workers are also the other option. It has a double effect, in one side workers could get houses and on the other it minimizes the turnover of employees which benefits the organization. The payment modality is similar with residential housing associations, which means that 100% of the estimated cost transferred to Housing Enterprises that undertake the construction process or put in a blocked account if they prefer the house to be constructed by contractors.

3.3.1.4 Private Sector Housing Development

The real estate developers would be the main actors to access houses for higher income targeted groups. To motivate these actors, developed land is facilitated through lease system. Through gradual process individuals would take over housing construction responsibility, whereas government will only involve in strategic activities.

3.3.1.5 Government-Private Share Housing Development

Since land is the property of the government and the public, it is easy to access land for developers who have financial and technical capacity to involve in housing sectors. Thus, working together with these groups to alleviate the housing shortage is taken as one strategy.

Chapter 4

Relocation Experiences in Addis Ababa

This chapter mainly deals with relocation experiences of Addis Ababa and it has organized in to 4 sections. The finding result is assessed by comparing the existing situation with the former area.

Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

	Particular	Frequency	Percentage	The previous area		The present area	
				Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Sex	Female	20	40				
	Male	30	60				
	Total	50	100				
Age catagory	40 to 49	11	22				
	50 to 59	23	46				
	60 to 69	14	28				
	70 to 79	1	2				
	80 and above	1	2				
	Total	50	100				
Marital status	Married female	1	2				
	Married male	28	56				
	Divorced female	9	18				
	Divorced male	2	4				
	Widowed female	10	20				
	Widowed male	0	0				
	Total	50	100				
Household Size	1 to 3			14	28	27	54
	4 to 5			22	44	19	38
	6 and above			14	28	4	8
	Total			50	100	50	100

Source: Survey data

As presented in Table 4.1, out of the total 50 respondent female represents 40% and the remaining 60% were male. The dominance of old age (74% from 50 to 69 years) is associated with proclamation No.47/1974 that has transferred the extra houses to the government. Since then those people who received the transferred houses under kebele administration are living until recently. 22%, 58% and 20% of respondents were divorced, married and widowed respectively. The highest figure for male marriage (28 out of 30) is not a matter of commitment, but due to the centuries old practice, getting repeated marriage is common for male though they have experienced divorce. The size of the household in the new area has decreased dramatically due to household members who were living together become independent by establishing new family or because of long distance some household members were not interested to live in the relocation area.

4.1 Relocation Process and Unaccomplished Promises

In most cases displacement is undertaken in the name of inner city development without having consultation and discussion with slum dwellers (Habitat 2003). However, in this displacement program frequent discussions were held with the committee members and dwellers ahead of the relocation. During discussions, the government has promised to make on-spot relocation. Moreover, political game was also done to convince relocatees for example, in Arat killo two condominium

blocks were built close to the demolished site and transferred through lottery. Consequently, relocatees have developed trust as it would be replicated soon though the final result was out of their expectation. The assumption to relocate in the inner city did not apply and the situation is far from what (Haregewoin 2007) said the condominium program took place in the inner city without distracting former employment.

According to HDA and ASLDCR key informants, the difficulty to undertake on-spot relocation was associated with limited availability of temporary resettlement spaces for enormous displaced people. They also expressed the demolished area was not sufficient to build condominium houses that accommodate all relocatees. The key informants' response does not convince relocatees including me because, currently there are condominium houses built in Arat killo which are not yet transferred though the original people are already displaced. Similarly, many displaced households are relocated temporarily in a camp again their future is not yet known. Moreover, it was already obvious that the place was planned for the well-known Sheraton Addis hotel expansion. This makes the justification provided by government informants unacceptable. Both the right to participation and appropriation mentioned in (Mitchell 2003) are denied.

Relocatees have tried to address their dissatisfaction in various ways. Though not formally declared, respondents mentioned that the hotel owner was in a position to support relocatees. Based on this implicit promise and the former experience (former relocatees have received a lot of benefit from the project), the committee was trying to communicate the owner but due to government imposition they could not get him. *Government does not have an ear to hear the feeling of very poor* some respondents said. Similar to the ongoing struggle started in mid-1980s to fight the dissolution of city dwellers right (Brown 2013), relocatees have conducted demonstration apart from submitting complain to the higher officials which ended with no result.

The respondents argued that this dispersed relocation is done deliberately to minimize the recurrent dissatisfaction and request forwarded by the displaced. On top of this, the government bodies strategically divided the committee members (relocatees representative) through provision of benefits aiming to minimize mass resistance. One of the committees described the situation *in the beginning the committees were very strong and tried to take their responsibility but lately the condition is totally changed*. 4 out of 5 committee members totally forgot the commitment they promised for the displaced. Thus, they received condominium houses close to the center though they were allocated in Gelan site which is far compared to the present, whereas all dwellers are dispersed in 9 different condominium sites and kebele houses which is far from the center. "...in resettling the urban poor it is important to move them the least distance possible from their original location" (Mejía 1999:176). As respondents information the higher official who wrote the letter which express on-spot relocation has removed from his position.

When relocatees recognized displacement program will not altered by any means, they notified their preference from the given alternatives (from studio to 3 bed room) however, they are forced to take one bed room for big size households. The HDA key informant agreed on the complaints but beneficiaries were informed to wait until the ongoing condominium houses are completed. In fact, forwarding available options are appreciated, but considering their situation waiting long time until the completion of the construction affects their life and income. Similarly, around 70 households are still living in the demolished area waiting for kebele houses. Citizens (all city dwellers) have the right to live where they want to live (Brown 2013, Brown 2010). However, relocatees particularly kebele dwellers did not acquire rights to live in the former area.

4.2 Frictions between Relocateses and Government on Relocation Preparation Time

The Proclamation No.455/2005 states the preparation time for displacement should not be less than 3 month (FNG 1994) however relocatees were not well informed the place where the relocation takes place and also the preparation time given did not considered the existing situation of new area. Some disappointed respondents express the situation *we have no option to struggle with government who has all the power other than accepting it.* The city government took fast action to displace and also has established an organized group¹ to demolish the houses. Although government key informants did not agree, respondents said that the woreda brought these groups from other areas to handle urgently without dealing with displaced. Respondents of government, however associate this option with rent seeking sentiment of relocatees. In reality, problem of time was not only the concern of renters but also others expressed how it was inappropriate and very fast. The following two cases explicitly show the chaos.

Box 1: The Case of Mrs. Wubnesh

Mrs. Wubnesh is a 65 years old woman, living with her husband who is blind and disabled (move with the support of wincher). Thus, the responsibility of the household is under her shoulder. When informed to leave the former area, she refused to move because the time provided for preparation was not enough and the road was not constructed as her husband is in need of medical support in the nearby hospital. Imagine how it was difficult to go to the dark place (condominium house) leaving the heaven which I employed all my life. One day when the organized groups demolished the surrounding, the electric pole has fallen down in our home. Thanks to God we survived but next morning we were obliged to leave our home and come to this area. I and my God know how we suffered to go hospital especially during the first two year before the construction of this asphalt road.

Box 2: The Negligence of Implementers

On July 27, 2014, I went to the demolished place of Arat killo to make an interview but I am really shocked with the bad news which I heard. Majority of the former dwellers are already relocated to the new areas; however still around 70 households are remained the demolished place until the free kebele house is available. The day before the appointment, a 3 years child was vanished from her mother and surrounding. Unfortunately the effort made by family and neighbors to look for the child concluded without luck. Finally, the police did an investigation in the surrounding and lately have started to dig out the remaining of demolished houses. The organized groups were focusing to take only important materials like the corrugated iron sheet, window and doors but they left out the wall after taking these materials. At the end, very sadly the dead body of the child was found inside.

¹ team of people recruited by the woreda administration to demolish the slum

4.3 Relocates' Response to the Government Slum Rehabilitation Plan

Since its establishment Addis Ababa has passed almost 126 years, but its development has a serious mismatch with age. Thus, the city government has decided to make beautiful Addis Ababa through slum rehabilitation and accessing decent houses for dwellers. Thus, its accessibility for low-income households and quality of houses should be examined.

4.3.1 Quality of Houses

Quality of house may include a number of parameters and this study has used major quality measurements. All respondents agreed the former houses were made with simple material (wood and mud) while condominium houses are made from hollow block though the quality seems low due to capacity limitations. *Our former house is of course made from light material but what is the value having a house made from hollow block with empty stomach*, one respondent said. This statement assured that the condition of the house is better and preferred by dwellers but the difficulty for house payment loss confidence to get long lasting tenure right. The experience of Cambodia tells that accessing land or houses alone do not satisfy people to remain in the relocation area (Payne 2004). In contrary, relocatees who moved to kebele houses received a house which is made from light material with very bad condition. For example, in the new kebele house the corrugated iron is too old, as a result it always have leakage. (See figure 1). The worst situation is observed while cooking in the dilapidated kitchen, especially during rainy season. Neglecting the poor would create another poverty which was not existed before (Cernea and Kanbur 2002). Of course, the sealing problem is not only the concern of relocatees but also other dwellers allocated in the fourth floor share equally. Since rooms are handed over without sealing, the households are forced to expend an additional cost of 10,000 birr on average for finishing.

Figure 2: The New Kebele House (Substitute) Located in Meshualekiya



Source: Author

Figure 3: Some of Ayat Condominium Buildings



Source: Author

4.3.2 Presence of Toilet

The presence of toilet is the other indicator which measures the quality of the house. Some households were having their own latrine while others were used common latrine in the former area. When sharing the common latrine there was some disagreement and common to see long queue which is not the case in the condominium where all house units have their own flush type toilet though shortage of water and leakage is an obstacle. *How much we are sure as we have better toilet and clean* (two respondents said). *Of course, in the former residence there was dirt outside, but in the new area, it is inside which comes from the above floor toilet (leakage).* Majority dwellers share this problem which is the result of low quality building due to rent seeking and the negligence of responsible government body that control the construction.

4.3.3 Situation of Rooms and the Surrounding

In the former area some households were having enough space and relatively adequate number of rooms which used to rent out, however other households were forced to live in overcrowded houses. Whereas, the size of the houses in the condominium is better that fit to the standard, though not suitable to share portions of it for renting. For most, the new kebele houses are too narrow and one room, consequently they were obliged to sell their furniture. Most respondents agreed on one issue the condominium is more preferable and comfortable in its cleanness or it is free from any contamination and free from contestation which was a missed opportunity in the former area. Children also get enough space to play though additional facilities are not fulfilled yet.

4.4 Give and Take “Entitlement”

This house is not yet belonging to us because if we break the payment for 3 consecutive months, it is deadly sure the bank will confiscate the house. This voice of the respondents illustrated that their ownership is under question. Formerly, relocatees were not having land tenure right but they have kebele house which are almost considered as individual property. Informal workers were also used the open space and the street available around their residence as a working place. But due to displacement all these benefits and rights have been abandoned. Informal workers are obliged to request and struggle to get urban space for their work and resistance (Brown 2013). Relocatees who received condominium house become now house owner which is really an asset but cost they are paying for the bank (See section 6.4) in one side and the existing inflation on the other make their future difficult. “The price of new housing developed by redevelopment is often beyond the affordability of original residents” (Wu 2004:462). When an additional problem is occurring within the already existing problem, there is an Ethiopian proverb called “*beenkirt lay joro degif*”. If the available housing policies and compensation regulation are not in a position to provide necessary measures that compensate the former situation, it ended with homeless (Cernea 1997).

The displacement practice took place in Addis Ababa is a direct manifestation of the above theory. Some households sold their condominium houses due to financial constraints for mortgage payment and become homelessness. According to Cernea, permanent homelessness is appeared occasionally, but in this study, both permanent and temporary homelessness is identified. Relocates who moved to a camp until final decision, could be takes an example of temporary homelessness. According to HDA key informant, even if they do not have legal right to claim, the city government has resettled these households in the camp until they get final decision. The demand for condominium house has increased than before. This is because dwellers are informed that all kebele houses will be demolished through gradual process and getting condominium house is the only option. It is thus obvious that problem of kebele house dwellers is not yet resolved which will be a pending assignment for the government to look for comprehensive options; otherwise it will lead to permanent homelessness to significant number of urban dwellers.

Chapter 5

Situation of Basic Services and Infrastructures: Pre and Post Relocation

5.1 Access to Potable Water

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. For example, in Ayat condominium access to potable water is available on a shift which makes accessing potable water throughout the week impossible. The problem is more severe, in the third and fourth floor due to the less volume of water that could serve in the floors. If you compare this situation from an accessibility point of view only without considering the type of water delivery systems, the former area was better served. In the former area, however 60% of the respondents were utilizing the communal taps (See Table 5.1). During the beginning of relocation 1 jerikan (20 liter) of water was bought 3 to 5 birr. Accordingly, the dwellers are forced to store water for 3 days, which in turn is aggravating the problem of space in the house.

Table 5.1: Water Sources in the Former Area

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Communal	30	60
own tap	20	40
Grand Total	50	100

Source: Survey data

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 are forced to incur additional cost to buy water and pay for health treatment.

5.2 Health Facilities and Overall Situation

The presence of health institutions is indispensable for the well-being of the community. According to respondents, communicable diseases like cough, diarrhea and asthmatic were apparent in the former area due to un-hygienic conditions. It was also easy to get timely treatment in the major hospitals concentrated in the inner city, namely Tikur Anbesa, Zewuditu, Minilik hospitals and private health institution within very close distance. The view that slum is place of communicable disease is not necessary true. Apart from the available health institutions, the presence of public latrines and individual toilet (though it is hardly fits the standard) contributed to minimize communicable disease. Of course, the existences of health problems in some slum places are not denied. Relocated related diseases like vector-born disease and parasites are apparent during displacement (Mahapatra 1999).

Health institutions were not available in the condominium when relocatees started to live. Late after, dwellers have gotten some relief following the opening of private clinic though the facility is not at standard level and unaffordable for low-income households. After long time, the city government has opened clinic almost within 2 km distance but it is not accessible for public transport during rainy season which has an effect on dwellers health condition especially during the time of emergency and delivery. Most health institutions are concentrated in the inner city (Yntiso 2008). Communicable diseases might be a temporal problem which could be treated easily but shows less integration of public services. Due to this displacement some households were very upset and stressed, as a result evidences were presented that some people affected by mental disorder and even have died. As Markuse (2009) stated the right to live in the center and right to get services are denied due to this displacement.

5.3 Availability of Schools and Impacts on Relocatees

The dropout rate caused by displacement is not much recorded because relocated household members have either already completed their education when they were in the former area or they are illiterate or engaged in other activities. However, the 10% dropout problems presented in Table 5.2 should not be underestimated. Moreover, the study did not cover the entire condominium dwellers which make the dropout rate seems very small. Households who have children in school are using the existing government school (grade 1 to 8) but for kindergarten and high school they send to far distance area that forced the low-income households to expend additional transport cost. The 95% dissatisfaction on school location found by (Nebiyu 2000) reveals the problem existed in this finding. Similarly, households who moved to kebele houses faced the same problem. Some families also expressed the problem of child's adaptability in the new environment.

Table 5.2: Dropout Rate Situation

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No	45	90
Yes	5	10
Grand Total	50	100

Source: Survey data

An attempt was made by the private initiatives to open kindergarten and elementary school in the condominium by renting the communal block, but the Woreda Education office did not allow them, because the requested place does not fit the minimum standard to open School. The private school informant did not agree with the justification. He added that similar experiences are available and well-functioning in the other condominiums. According to government informants, the woreda is trying to open a kindergarten attached to elementary school. The high school, which is found almost 6 km far from the condominium, has taken as a solution for the moment. However, the proposed solution planned to begin kindergarten attached with elementary school would not be feasible technically and morally (mixing kids with big students are not acceptable). Likewise 6 kms far from the residence area has serious economic repercussions to the low-income households. In relation to the adult education, majority of women are not educated and this hinders their participation relatively in better IGAs and make them dependent and less competitive in labour market. Proper education enables women to be liberated from man's imposition (Donovan 2012).

5.4 Impact of Displacement on Transport Accessibility and Grinding Mill

In the previous area, all important services like schools, hospitals, markets, shops and even entertainment places were reached with in walk which is not the case in the new area which is located in the periphery. So these services are too costly for the displaced community. For kebele house dwellers transport accessibility and cost vary from one area to another based on the location they are living. Relocates moved to Meshualekiya, Kazanchis and kirkos kebele houses are not affected much whereas for those relocated to far areas like Asko the transport cost is too high.

Based on Table 5.3, 70% of the respondents have spent at least 6 to 10 birr per day using public transport (Bus). If this cost per month is calculated excluding weekends, one person on average would spend 132 to 220 birr. Those who have children in school would cost 150- 200 birr per month for one child using the school bus. In the case of many children it becomes double and triple. Generally, displacement has direct effect on households' income and it increases the dropout rate. "Because relocatees are generally poor they need low-cost housing to move into, as well as funds with which to pay the costs of moving" (Tondro 1968:184). 50% respondents mentioned that the condition of transport is not suitable due to its cost, overcrowding and accessibility especially in the morning and evening. Only 4% of respondents agreed its suitability and the remaining 46% believed that not totally bad or good because at least there are all transport options despite many shortcomings. Civil servants and employed workers were facing critical problems associated with late arriving during office working hours, especially in the first two years of relocation. This may end in losing of jobs. *Because of the transport shortage I was not able to reach on the office hour and I received a warning letter from the office even if I walked up to have a queue since 5 P.M to get bus*, one woman civil servant said.

Table 5.3: Average Daily Transport Cost and Conditions in the New Area

Transport cost	Frequency	Percentage		Transport condition	Frequency	Percentage
6 to 10 birr	35	70		Good	2	4
10 to 15 birr	3	6		Bad	25	50
15+ birr	1	2		Fair	23	46
No use transport	11	22		Very good		
Grand Total	50	100			50	100

Source: Survey data

As indicated in Table 5.4, in the former area 90% of relocatees were using taxi and walk to the workplaces, markets, and other places since all these services were available around. However, in the present area 54% relocatees used bus which is relatively cheaper, 16% used bus and walk interchangeably and 18% were totally depend on foot. Respondents who prefer walking are very often have limited finance or their work nature does not require moving long distance.

Table 5.4: Means of Transport

Transport type	The previous area		The present area	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Bus			27	54
Bus and walk			8	16
Company transport			1	2
Taxi			5	10
Both (Walk and taxi)	45	90		
Walk	5	10	9	18
Grand Total	50	100	50	100

Source: Survey data

On average 24,000 people are living in Ayat condominium (161 blocks with 30 housing units) excluding the commercial houses but there is only one grinding mill. Comparing the existing grinding mill with the number of people and also considering the habit of the people who are not using processed foods available from the super market, the new area missed one of the required elements. Directly or indirectly women are more affected due to limited availability of grinding mill through spending an additional transport cost and wasting their time to find these services because this work is considered as the responsibility of women. Unavailability of market except the existence of shops which are expensive would worsen the life of relocates. Some condominium relocates also complained about the unavailability of fixed phone.

5.5 The Disorder of Social Solidarity and Security

Social solidarity is very important and argued more than what material value gives satisfaction, especially for the traditional societies like Ethiopia. The people used this solidarity to express their feeling, happiness, sorrow and as a problem solving strategy. Social solidarity is more respected of all other things and individual life is weaved under these institutions. Based on the available relation and integration, the community had established various organizations that used to support each other. Iddir, Ikub and some religious associations like “zikir” are the common organizations existed in the country. Dwellers in the former area were using these traditional organizations as a means of coping strategies during the critical time. For example, Iddir used as a means of financial support when members face serious problems like death, health problem and others. This research has found that residing in the inner city alone does not sufficient for their livelihood but also the solidarity built in the previous time had significant contribution especially for the low-income households. “Dwellers want to stay in the inner-city as their livelihood is dependent on the social network built up over time; and attracted by the informal labour or services, only available in sufficient choice and variety in city centers” (Alemayehu 2008:62).

The field visit made in 5 different kebele house sites confirmed well how the scattered relocation program was awkward. For these households missing the former social integration means almost losing infinite benefits. The probability to join the existing social organization in the new area is more challenging. In condominium, the possibility that could get at least the former neighbor is much better than the kebele dwellers. For example, currently, relocatees have established “Iddir” based on their origin to meet each other at least once in a month and to support during the funeral and critical time. However, establishing permanent social organizations in condominium is still challenging, because most dwellers are Lessee (occupants) just for limited time. Some relocatees

strongly argued that social solidarity could be established now and then, because social life is emanating from your own and it is a matter of readiness. They added that the solidarity which was existed in the former area was not naturally gifted and they showed the two different Iddirs established (based on the **origin they displaced** and **proximity they live**) in Ayat condominium as an example for their argument. Actually, the possibility is not totally closed but its assimilation and sustainability is depending on many factors. For example, Kebele dwellers who moved relatively to better off community did not join the existing Iddir due to huge gap in income and way of lives.

Forced displacement tears apart the existing social fabric: it disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organization and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well. Life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized mutual service arrangements are dismantled (Cernea 1997:1577)

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. Berner (2001) any urban developments which have an aim to benefit all the people equally should be either upgrading the existing situation without compromise the living condition of the dwellers or the relocation place should suit for the displaced people. One displaced FHH said that *in my real place (the former residence) I was having infinite houses. My neighbor's home is my home and my home is their home. Nothing is different, if I get shortage of something, I can take from them and they also do the same. If my guest is coming and if I am not around definitely my neighbors would treat properly. Now I am considering as I am living in "monastery". Instead of getting better house here I prefer all in all the former area. That area is everything to me.*

Box 3: The Case of Mrs. Workinesh

Mrs. Workinesh is a 62 years old woman who lived more than 30 years in the demolished area, but lately she and her two children are forced to leave their place without having condominium or kebele house. She does not need to remember the last three years how life was disappointing to live with renting a private house in terms of economy as well privacy. After long complaint she has received one room kebele house around Meshualekiya which in turn is under process to be demolished in the near future. Despite the house is too narrow, dilapidated, close to the public latrine with very bad sniff, she has felt happiness and repeatedly expressed her warmed thanks to the government that gave the kebele house after three years complaint. *Of all, the social network she missed is always in her mind. I started to live here since 1 year and when I came here there was no one whom I know. The social network is totally different from the former, even you do not get any one "Debina Aderesh" meaning good morning in the national language. I smell coffee when my neighbor roasted and prepared and I wish to be invited but how could I ask them. Of course, I used always coffee alone but it did not give me satisfaction without neighbor which is already habituated and transferred from generation to generation. I am always worried with this situation and finally I started prying and took bolly water just to stop drinking coffee because I could not convince myself to take coffee without neighbor. Thanks to God now I stopped drinking coffee and I am trying to forget the former way of living and social solidarity since I could not get it again even if I wish it.*

As shown in Table 5.5, 58% of the respondents prefer to live in the former area whereas, taking the advantage of having your own house and live in modern house the other 48% respondent prefer the new area provided that problem of high payment. More women (13 out of 20 FHH) are interested to live in the former area because they were more engaged in the informal work which was easily undertaken in the former area and their day to day life was highly attached to the social network existed before.

Table 5.5: Relocatees Preference to Live in the New Area by Sex

Preference	Female		Male		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No	7	14	14	28	20	42
Yes	13	26	16	32	30	58
Grand Total	20	30	30	60	50	100

Source: Survey data

It does commonly state by the majority of outsiders; slum area is full of apathy and insecure because of vulnerability for theft, gangers and source of all illegal and criminal activities. And also people who live in the slum lead unstable life. The finding argued most of the assumptions are wrong. Security problem was not the threat of dwellers in the former area because they know each other and protect themselves from external enemy. This is the result of the solidarity built for long time. In addition, the closeness of the area to the palace has also contributed to be safe as it was kept by the security forces. Without any deviation, all respondents agreed that the former area was the site of security and peace. To the contrary, theft is very usual in condominium houses as the nature of the surrounding is suitable for theft as well as the interaction of the people is too loose to protect each other.

100% of respondents assured that the former area was more secured. Though the security problem is not clearly observed in the condominium yet, there are some attempt which could be expressed in the form of theft. The existence of loose solidarity among dwellers could open way for criminality. The 98% respondents answer indicated in Table 5.6 makes the above statement true.

Table 5.6: Security Condition

Level of security	In the previous area		In the Present area	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
No problem at all	50	100		
Only some problem			49	98
Okay			1	2
Grand Total	50	100	50	100

Source: Survey data

Sometimes there were disagreements during sharing common properties like kitchen, toilet and electricity but they have their own norms of unwritten problem resolution mechanism. For example, dwellers have used the system they developed to make an arrangement particularly during holidays when the kitchen is overcrowded. In some exceptional cases, of course the community excludes the faultier however dwellers often cared for their solidarity.

Chapter 6

Income and Employment Opportunities: Pre and Post Relocation

6.1 Effect of Displacement on Relocates Monthly Income

The monthly income of each household is affected by displacement. Based on Table 6.1, before displacement, the households' income more or less exceed 500 birr but now who earn less than 500 birr reached 12% (6 relocatees) which were not exist before. Despite the value of money is depreciating, 26% of respondents (13 relocatees) who earn monthly income of 501 to 1000 birr are still pursuing in the new area. Majority (90%) of kebele dwellers are receiving 501 to 1000 birr monthly income which make their life miserable and also attributed to be homelessness since the price of condominium house is mismatched with their income. The effect of displacement is more serious for FHHs than MHHs. From the total of 8 relocatees who do not have permanent income, women (FHHs) constitute 6 (75%). Compared with the previous area, FHHs who do not have monthly income other than family support have increased from 3 to 6 and also those who earn an income of 1001 to 1500 birr have decreased from 8 to 1. This finding related with (Mahapatra 1999) very often involuntary displacement ends the productive man power unemployed because the available jobs (only in some cases) includes only one household member and leave away the others, for example Ukai project of Gujarat did not secured sufficient job.

Table 6.1: Relocates Monthly Income by Sex

Monthly income in Birr	In Previous area					In Present area				
	Now who live in Condominium houses		Now who live in Kebele houses		Total	Condominium houses		Kebele houses		Total
	Frequency		Frequency			Frequency		Frequency		
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1 to 500						2	1	2	1	6
501 to 1000	3	2	4	4	13	4	3	2	4	13
1001 to 1500	8	7		1	16	6	1			7
1501 to 2000	7	3			10	4	4			8
2001 to 2500	2				2	4				4
2501 to 3000	2				2					
3001 and above	3				3	4				4
Totally dependent	1	2		1	4	2	5		1	8
Grand Total	26	14	4	6	50	26	14	4	6	50

Source: Survey data.

Unavailability of family support has an effect on dwellers livelihood. Of course, extreme dependency on family support has its own disadvantage especially when the support is broken due to many reasons. However, from condominium dwellers experience, the 20% down payment was covered mainly by the family support. As presented in Table 6.2, only 2 out of 10 kebele house respondents have family support whereas majority (8 out of 10) did not have any support rather than struggling to live by their own means. In the former area, some dwellers were receiving support at least for their subsistence from the social solidarity they build apart from the income obtained from informal activities.

Table 6.2: Relocates Additional Income

Relocation	Family support	No support	Grand Total
Condominium	14	26	40
Kebele house	2	8	10
Grand Total	16	34	50

Source: Survey data.

Generally, the income obtained in the former area was better compared to the new area. Leave alone relatively the better ones, low-income households were survived easily though saving was still a challenge. There is local proverb *in Arat killo no starve* (you can get at least something to eat). Difficulty to access open market in condominium and some kebele houses affected dwellers income: firstly, the low-income households could not get any opportunity to engage at least in the usual informal work since they are averted from working in the street. Secondly, they are obliged to buy consumption goods with high price from shops. For example, in the former area 1kg of onion was costing 6-7 birr while in Ayat condominium it costs 9-10 birr (my own assessment on August 8, 2014). Similarly, it was not a must to buy 1kg or less since buying small amount with limited price was possible but now this option is not existed totally. This by itself pushed relocatees to pay additional costs without improving their income. One respondent mentions the situation *my children have their own work but the income they get is not enough to cover the other costs including house mortgage*. From previous experiences in many countries including India, sustaining their former livelihood and income after displacement it too rare (Cernea 1997).

6.2 Relocatees Pre and Post Displacement Income Situation

Obtaining the real information of each household's income is very challenging. The difficulty is not only a matter of hiding but also neglecting to consider the income which is found from community assets. Furthermore, most informal workers do not have a habit of recording their income. In the former area, weather civil servants or self-employed, they were living decent life compared to the present area irrespective of the usual poverty. Generally, the income obtained from different sources has diminished due to many reasons. "Loss of job and higher transport cost are among the challenges that resulted in decreasing relocatees' income" (Gebre 2014:45)

The influence of economic inflation and loss of job due to displacement are virulent. The IGAs which were implemented in the former residence area like selling Injera², kollo (roasted cereals), Tela (local drink) and boiled potato were totally halted. As the situation did not allow to work both in the condominium and kebele houses (no market and the living style is totally different from the former) they are forced to work in the street. However the task forces who are in charge of controlling street trading banned relocatees who are engaged in street activities. When options become narrowed, some women were searching other means to sell Injera inside their home but due to less demand than the supply still impossible to be successful. The existing condition of the new area did not allow displaced households to use their skill efficiently (Mahapatra 1999). Because of limited job availability in the new areas, some relocatees went back and stick in the former areas to continue in the previous work. "In effect, most sites and services projects are carried out in remote peripheral locations, often 30–40 km away from the city centers. Only people without any choice will accept these conditions" (Berner 2001:296).

² staple food in Ethiopia made from "teff" grain

Box 4: The Case of Mr Zenebe

Mr. Zenebe is a 59 years old person who was having 3 room houses in ‘Arat killo’ and he has been engaged as embroidery. Following the displacement, he got condominium house with one bed room in Gofa site which is above 10km far from the former residence area. However, he could not able to make income in the new area. Finally he decided to come back in the former area which, he is already familiar. He said that it would have been better to live in the former place but impossible to struggle with small God (the government who have gun). The income he is making now is not enough to lead his family due to high transport cost, time shortage (going and back home) and reduced number of customers. When he was in the former place, his wife was not working other than house wife but now she has been working as a daily laborer since the income obtained from one source could not enable them to survive..

6.3 Kebele Houses as an Additional Source of Income

In the former area, kebele houses were not only serving as a residence but also households who have more than 2 rooms were renting the extra rooms to generate additional income. Many dwellers have built more rooms with simple materials though these activities are not allowed. This existing experiences deviate with the idea of (Andreasen 1996:360)“...tenants remain unmotivated to invest the energy to improve the value of the property they do not own”. Of course, relocatees do not maintain at the moment since it will be demolished soon but for the last 35 years they were even built extended rooms without having tenure rights. The income obtained through renting was so significant in supporting the living condition not only for low-income households but also relatively for the better households.

Most relocatees who prefer kebele houses have moved to very dilapidated houses, mostly one room with very narrow and far area except few allocated in the inner city. Of course, they are paying almost similar amount like before however generally they are more loser as they lost significant amount of income from renting and also loss of jobs. The researcher saw how one FHH woman was suffering when baking Injera in very narrow kitchen and muddy floor as the roof was not well covered. Surprisingly, if there is unpaid electric fee which they are not utilized in the new kebele house, the new comer (relocatees) is responsible to settle the case. For example, two of the informants have paid almost for one year electric fee which they did not utilized it.

Box 5: Mrs. Yeshi's Working History

Mrs. Yeshi is one of the displaced FHH having one child engaged in selling vegetables and fruits near to her home in the former area. Currently, the woman is leading her life by selling boiled Potato in unstable way. The income which has been obtaining from the present work is insufficient to cover the living cost. In the former area, she was saving at least 200 birr per month in Ikub apart from supporting her mother and her brother who was attending higher education in the University. *Now I am suffering a lot because I could not even lead myself properly as before.* Most of her friends were also engaged in various income generation activities but now they stopped working due to lack of working space. *Always, we are quarreling with the assigned task force who control street trading and we are forced to move up to 15 km away from our residence area to find market to sell Kollo and Injera.* Apart from loss of opportunity in the former area, the place where she lives by now is under the list of the demolishing sites, which aggravates the intensity of the problem. *I have lived here since the eviction, almost 4 years and now the woreda administration has informed us to displace for the second time. Always poor is poor who do not have power and means to protect his/her right.*

6.4 Controversial Payment of Condominium Houses

The condominium house payment for displaced is different from those who got by lottery. For example, for similar quality of house and square meter of two bed rooms, beneficiaries who received through lottery are paying 987 birr (almost 49 dollar) while the displaced are paying 1417 birr (71 dollar). This means, relocatees are paying an additional cost of 430 birr per month which could be extended for 15 years ($430 \text{ birr} \times 12 \text{ month} \times 15 \text{ years} = 77,400 \text{ birr}$ or 3870 dollar). According to HDA the construction process consumed similar resources but the transfer of houses for non-relocatees (lottery beneficiaries) was undergone when the construction is reached at 80% and started the payment since that time whereas relocatees received these houses late after 1 or 2 years, thus the city government was paying the interest rate until transferred for relocates, which was the main reason for cost variation. However, in reality the additional cost that the displaced are paying and the justification provided by the government bodies are not convincing, because relocatees are paying more than the government has paid for the interest. Moreover, once the government is committed to provide decent house for middle and low-income households, relocates situation (income level, opportunity cost they lost due to displacement) should be considered. *If I was having information how much it costs, for sure I would not have been chosen two bed rooms because the cost is beyond my capacity,* one respondent said. "...Additional financial burdens must not be placed on low-income families that are already at risk of impoverishment" (Mejía 1999:157).

Almost majority of respondents are in a critical problem to pay the monthly payment. One of the respondent said that *before coming to this site I was paying 9 birr per month for kebele house and I was subsidizing myself by renting some of the rooms but now do you know how much I am paying for this house? It is 1300 birr.* The amount of money which has been paid at monthly based for condominium house is too expensive and unaffordable for low-income dwellers.

In some cases, slum clearances were followed by the provision of heavily subsidized public housing. Unfortunately, public housing, which in principle

targeted the low-income group, more often than not ended up being allocated to middle and high-income people, its high cost being the main reason for missing its target (Alemayehu 2008:44)

6.5 Relocates' Coping Mechanism

Obtaining an additional income is one of the survival strategies for low-income families apart from engaging in various activities. As indicated in Table 6.3, 32% of the respondents used the family support as one of coping strategies. This does not mean other relocatees do not need support rather the problem is critical for these households compared with the displaced survive by themselves. The difficulty to obtain family support could also be the other reason for those who survive by themselves. 10 out of 20 FHH could not survive without family support while only 6 out of 30 MHH need family support. Because of many reasons, women usually engaged in low earning activities which make them more dependent. Apart from housing the social and economic situation of relocatees should be in to account (Mejía 1999)

Table 6.3: Households' Additional Income by Sex

Means of additional income	Female		Male		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Family support	10	20	6	12	16	32
No	10	20	24	48	34	68
Grand Total	20	40	30	60	50	100

Source: Survey data.

Following displacement, some relocatees changed their work to cope the situation and still others are continuing with the former work. For example, according to Table 6.4, civil servants decreased from 26% to 12% following displacement. This is because, some become pensioner (pensioners increased from 2% to 10%) or have resigned their work due to high transport cost and also keeping their comparative advantage through finding alternative income sources. For most respondents (particularly kebele dwellers) their income is not satisfactory thus, some are engaging in selling boiled potato on streets and also involved generally considered low-income activities just for survival which is totally different from the former work. "The number of households that are involved in nearby market activities dropped from 23 percent in the previous settlement to only 1.2 percent in the new settlement" (Nebiyu 2000:109). Daily labor was the other option that relocatees used as the coping mechanism. Very often this work is the last option when people lose other opportunities. Apart from the household heads other family members especially daughters are engaged in daily labour works. During adverse condition the involvements of household members like women, daughters even boys in addition to the bread winner is one of the strategy to cope the problem (González de la Rocha, 2007). The number of households who do not have work in the present area also increased by 10% compared to the former area.

Table 6.4: Available Employment Alternatives

Employment types	The previous area		The present area	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Civil servant	13	26	6	12
Company	6	12	7	14
Informal	20	40	17	34
No work	4	8	9	18
Pension	1	2	5	10
Private	6	12	6	12
Grand Total	50	100	50	100

Source: Survey data

Minimizing time of feeding interval from three to two times a day was the other mechanism taken by relocatees. They were eating three times a day before but now due to financial constraints associated with displacement they shift their feeding interval to two times and sometimes they eat even once a day. Moreover, the quality and quantity of food that household used is also decreased in the new area. Before displacement, households were consuming animal products at least at certain intervals but now they totally depend on one type of cheapest food like eating *Injera* or bread with “*shiro wol*” (made from beans). Forced displacement leads to undernourishment (Cerneja 1997). “...undernourishment is particularly prevalence in those Indian states where much involuntary settlement has taken palaces in recent decades” (Mahapatra 1999:208). Minimizing the quantity and quality of food is not the only mechanism they used but also the budget set for house utilities and cloth is minimized. Some respondents also mentioned that women who were going to beauty salon are almost stopped.

The contribution of remittance in relocatees’ livelihood is indispensable. Majority of the respondents repeatedly expressed that having a child or a family outside the country is very important and even who wish to have family outside are so many. The households who have family outside are easily covering the cost. For most relocates, the 20 % down payment is covered by the family support either in the form of remittance or better income families in the country. There are also households who live in substandard houses by renting out their condominium house to cover the monthly housing mortgage as a means of coping mechanism.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In the time of capitalism and globalization, displacement in the name of development is not unusual to see worldwide. The problem is more critical in developing countries. Similarly, since 2000 huge development-induced displacement is undergoing in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. Assessing the effect of the program and government's relocation strategies (relocated in kebele and condominium houses) through mixed methodology (both qualitative and quantitative) was the objective of the paper.

I argue rehabilitating slum and accessing decent houses (which was the motive of the city government) are very important intervention however how far the program is accessible for low-income households should be considered. Indeed, government has achieved slum clearance but accessing decent houses especially for low-income households are problematic. Of course, the condominium houses are made from hollow block (provided that quality problem due to capacity limitation and corruption) which is totally different from the former houses made from wood and mud and also condominium sites are preferable from the perspective of less overcrowdings and availability of playing spaces for children. However, being condominium homeowner is difficult because of unaffordability and almost all condominium relocatees are not confident enough to cover the monthly mortgage payment (surprisingly, relocatees are obliged to pay more cost than lottery beneficiaries for similar house). "Due to lack of money they are unable to resettle in the new resettlement houses" (Melesse 2007:76). On the other, majority relocatees who prefer kebele houses (due to critical financial constraints) received very dilapidated houses mostly very narrow, one room and lack many services. The relocation programs almost in all cases did not benefited the displaced communities as advocated (Arimah 2010).

The author appreciated the frequent public discussion held ahead to displacement though relocatees interest (on-spot relocation/if not to resettle without disenfranchise of their former social solidarity) did not acknowledged. The preparation time given to move relocatees did not consider the existing situation of the relocation places. Thus, all these conditions disappointed many people that ended with death and other mental problems. "The 'right to the city' would basically consist of the right of all city dwellers to fully enjoy urban life with all of its services and advantages – the right to habitation – as well as taking direct part in the management of cities – the right to participation" (Fernandes 2007:208).

Provision of basic services and infrastructures is mandatory particularly for the displaced however; with some exceptional kebele houses accessing these services were impossible. Still now accessing kindergarten and high school in condominium surrounding is considered as luxury. This condition leads to extra cost to find schools in far places and also students will be forced to drop their educations which expose for jevounile delinquency. Interruption of formal education and lose of services and violation of civil and human right are the other extremes of displacement (Downing 2002, Robinson 2003). Most relocation sites are found almost 20 km far from the former area which require high transport cost for their day to day activities which is entirely different from the former area where most of the services were found close by.

The social solidarity which was existed for more than 30 years in the former area is always in relocatees' heart. Missing this solidarity makes them (particularly kebele dwellers) to consider as they are alienated and living in monastery. Most women prefer to live in the former area though having own home and relatively standard house is advantages for those who can able to buy condominium houses. Apart from living in the center, social solidarity is essential ingredient for their livelihood but

accessing this opportunity in the relocation area is so difficult and the displacement program totally interrupted all these benefits. Likewise, displacement has annihilated the social organizations like Eddir, Ikub and Zikir. This goes what (Cernea 1997) is saying risk of **Social disarticulation**.

Although it is difficult to conclude all relocatees were having decent life previously, the condition is worst in the relocation areas. Most informal workers lost their job and have faced difficulty to get work both in condominium and kebele houses. Joblessness is one of the eight displacement risks occurring in urban and rural areas which ended with economic and psychological distraction (Cernea 1997, Cernea 1996:1518). Food insecurity which leads to poor health is one of the multifaced effect of low-income (joblessness) that has appeared in this relocation. The survey result of (Yntiso 2008) reveals that 37% of respondents were food insecure after displacement. Moreover, many relocatees become more dependent on their family than ever and decreasing feeding interval, diminishing the quality and quantity, engaging in daily labour works and involvement of other household members in IGAs are some of the strategies taken by relocatees to cope the problem of low-income. "The right for urban inhabitants to seek legitimate employment is crucial if the marginalized urban poor are to access the benefits of city living" (Brown and Kristiansen 2009:32). Displacement also affected the resource pooled mechanism which households were used a coping mechanism because some household members are not interested to join the new area.

The numbers of unstable, confused and disturbed dwellers are increasing alarmingly following displacement. This is because the very poor relocatees prefer kebele houses since condominium houses are unaffordable the problem however is the kebele houses will be demolished soon. Likewise condominium dwellers are also challenged due to financial constraints to cover the monthly payment which puts relocatees in cross roads. Generally, all city dwellers have strong passion to live decent life but the strategy put (particularly kebele house) needs an attention provided that condominium houses payment is unaffordable. In all dimensions, rehabilitating the displaced people and minimize the inequality created due development induced program should not be considered as humanity rather it is a must (Cernea 1997). Finally, due to resource limitation the paper could not address the displacement effect on relocatees who have received alternative land. Thus, it needs further research.

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Appendix:

A Tables and Checklists

Appendix A. 1: List of Respondents

Respondents	Number	Main issues
Ministry of Urban Development and Construction	1	Policy direction and supervision
Addis Ababa City Administration Construction Bureau Housing Development Agency	1	
Addis Ababa City Administration Land Development and City Renewal	1	
Arada Sub City Land Development and City Renewal Office	1	Over all implimentation
Bole Sub City Housing Development Main Process	1	
Bole Sub City Education Office	2	Follow up and support from sector wise
Bole Sub City Woreda 10 Education Office	1	
Bole Sub City Woreda 10 Health Office	1	
Private School	1	
Relocates	50	Overall Process and effect of the program
Total	60	

Source: Author

Appendix A. 2: Survey Checklist and Interview Guiding Questions

Survey checklist for Addis Ababa condominium and Kebele house relocates

Name: _____

Location: _____

A. Respondent

1. Household head age _____

2. Gender Female ☐ (1) Male ☐ (2)

3. Marital status Singe ☐ (1) Married ☐ (2). Divorced ☐ (3). Widowed ☐ (4)

4. Origin Addis Ababa ☐ (1) Other city/town ☐ (2) Village ☐ (3)

5. If applicable: Year of coming to this new site (Condominium or Kebele house) _____

6. Origin relocated site ☐ (1) other slum ☐ (2) non slum ☐ (3)

Assess new compared to old -----

Who allocate? Bribe

Reason

7. Do you prefer to live in the previous area? _____

Reasons for moving: _____

8. Household size

In the previous residence _____

In the new residence _____

9. *Main activity:*

a. In previous (in the former residence) _____ Estimated income from this activity: _____
/month

Current (In the new residence) _____ Estimated income from this activity: _____
/month

b. What were/are the other sources of income?

c. Income sources of other household members?

d. Estimated total household income: in the previous _____ /month

in the new area _____ /month

e. Was there creation of job opportunities to the relocated households? If yes, how many

10. Condition of employment

	Previous residence	Present residence
Permanent full time		
Permanent part time		
Temporary		
Casual		
Other		

11. If there is a change, state the reason _____

12. Means of transport used by household members

Transport types	previous residence	Present residence
-----------------	--------------------	-------------------

	household head	Children in school	Other HH members	household head	Children in school	Other HH members
Walking						
Bus						
Taxi						
Private car						
Other						

13. Daily transport cost for the whole family

1. 0-5 birr 2. 6-10 birr 3. 10-15 birr 4. 15 birr and above

14. How do you rate the transport condition / accessibility?

1. Good 2. Fair 3. Bad

Why good or bad? _____

15. *Education*

a. Household head (Male headed or Female headed)

None ☐ (1) some primary ☐ (2) Primary grad. ☐ (3) Some secondary ☐ (4)
 Secondary grad. ☐ (5) Some university ☐ (6) University grad. ☐ (7) Vocational ☐ (8)

Housewife

None ☐ (1) Some primary ☐ (2) Primary grad. ☐ (3) Some secondary ☐ (4)
 Secondary grad. ☐ (5) Some university ☐ (6) University grad. ☐ (7) Vocational ☐ (8)

Highest education of children

None ☐ (1) Some primary ☐ (2) Primary grad. ☐ (3) Some secondary ☐ (4)
 Secondary grad. ☐ (5) Some university ☐ (6) University grad. ☐ (7) Vocational ☐ (8)

16. Did any of your children drop out of school for financial reasons?

	Previous residence	Present residence
Yes		
No		

17. *Do you consider yourself and your family to be poor?*

Always poor ☐ (1) Not poor before but now ☐ (2)

Before poor but no more ☐ (3) Never poor ☐ (4)

18: *Which of the following assets do you and your family own?*

a. Refrigerator ☐ (1)

b. TV ☐ (2)

c. Computer ☐ (3)

d. Motorbike ☐ (4)

e. Others ☐ (5), which?

19. *Have you taken a loan in the last year?*

No ☐ (1) Cannot tell/cannot remember ☐ (2) Once ☐ (3) More than once or a loan for more than 1 year period ☐ (4)

B. Housing

20. *Type of house*

House types	Previous residence	Present (New) residence
Light materials		
Wood/metal		
Concrete/bricks		
Stone		

21. *Status*

Status	Previous residence	Present (New) residence
Rented room		
Rented flat		
Rented house		
Own flat		
Own house		

22. If renter:

Types of	In the previous residence area	Present residence area
Floor space rented	_____m ²	_____m ²
Rent paid:	_____birr/month	_____birr/month

23. Water provision

Provision types	Previous residence	Present (New) residence
Buy from well		
Buy from tap owner		
Communal tap		
Own tap		
Others		

24. Status of *toilet, Kitchens, Electricity and purpose of housing*

	Parameters	Previous residence	Present (New) residence
Toilet type	None		
	Pit latrine		
	Septic tank		
	Flush		
	Others		
Kitchen availability	Private		
	Shared		
	Open air		
	None		
Electricity	None		

	Flat rate		
	Communal connection		
	Own connection		
Purpose of housing unit	Just for residence		
	Commercial		
	Both for residence and commercial		

25. No of people using by toilet type_____

26. Problem faced while using shared kitchen _____

27. Please rate the residence area in terms of the following parameters:

	Previous residence				Present (New) residence			
	Location /accessibility	Jobs/business opportunities	Availability of shops/service providers	Infrastructure/public services	Location/accessibility	Jobs/business opportunities	Availability of shops/service providers	Infrastructure/public services
Very bad								
Bad								
Good								
Very good								
Others								

	Previous residence			Present (New) residence		
	Space/population density	Prevalence of crime	Prevalence of drugs/alcohol	Space/population density	Prevalence of crime	Prevalence of drugs/alcohol
Very bad						
Bad						
Okay						

Good						
Very good						
Others						

28. Have you ever been evicted by

a) Your landlord No ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) _____ times

b) Government agents No ☐ (1) Yes ☐ (2) _____ times

29. Is there price change in all public services compared to the former residence provided that price inflation is not considered? _____

Social relationship

30. How familiar are you with your neighbor? The degree of tie

In previous residence _____

In the new residence _____

31. Did you meet with the former neighbours? Why and how?

32. Have you been participated in any of social interactions/ organization (mention some of it)? Is still continuing? how and why

In previous residence _____

In the new residence _____

Interview checklist for the displaced household

1. Have you been informed about the relocation scheme? How? What was your response? Was the government response convincing enough?
2. Have you been informed the new residence area before the allocation is undertaken? What was your response?
3. How do you evaluate the new area compared to the former residence place? Please describe it thoroughly
4. Did you participate in the planning & implementation of the relocation scheme?
5. Do you want to go back to your former area, if you are provided a chance? Why?
6. Did you form an organization to submit your complain or you were struggling individually?
7. What options were presented when decided to leave the former residence area? Why you prefer this option and why not the other?
8. If you were provided a loan to construct home in the former area, what will be your response?
9. Was the time given to prepare for the removal enough?
10. Why some people prefer kebele house and the other condominium house?
11. Are you getting support and follow up from the concerned government bodiless?
12. Do you know why displacement has been undertaken? Do you believe with the justification attached to it?
13. What would be expected from government and nongovernmental institutions to improve the life of the affected people?
14. Who are more victims due to lack of job? What mechanism do you suggest to solve the problem of the victim?
15. What coping strategy is implemented by you (the displaced community) to tackle livelihood problems due to the relocation? To what extent the strategy is effective?
16. How do you manage your outside work and your homework? (only for Female HH)
17. Were there benefit package that the government promised to full fill? What was the implementation?
18. In the former residence were there dislocated people who could not include in one of options?
19. Was the compensation enough?

Interview checklist for government officials

1. What is the reason to make displacement? Do you think this could damage the living condition of the low income community?
2. Do you have a guideline concerning the redevelopment programme? What it say about the relocated people? How it is applied?
3. How much was the government dedicated to provide alternative house for the displaced households?
4. Is there a system that the affected community could officially complain? How it is effective?
5. What are the main problems that the affected people complain? How it is treated?
6. If there are demands from the affected group which were unmeet? What was the reason for not addressing them?
7. Do all the displaced households receive an alternative house? If not why? What is their future?

8. Is there a mechanism set up to support the relocated households in re-establishing? what type of support and for how long? If it does not exist, what is the reason?
9. What measures were taken to ensure that relocated families still have access to job opportunities?
10. What are the immediate factors that led for the initiation of the urban redevelopment in Addis Ababa?
11. Why some people prefer kebele house and the other condominium house?
12. Do you have a special consideration and plan for the low income people who live in the *Kebele* who cannot afford to pay down payment for condominium houses?
13. What stand the government has to make on site resettlement understanding the disadvantage of relocation to the other sites?
14. Are there organization working with the displaced households to support them?
15. What would be expected from government and nongovernmental institutions to improve the life of the affected people?
16. Does government has a policy framework to keep the social cohesion in the new area, especially for redevelopment project? How is the policy implemented?
17. Do you providing support for the displaced households especially for the very low income?
18. Who are more victims due to lack of job? What mechanism is set by government?
19. What coping strategy is implemented by the displaced community to tackle livelihood problems due to the relocation and what was the government support? To what extent the strategy is effective?