

Urban Redevelopment and Displacement in Arada Sub-City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis on topic *Urban Redevelopment and Displacement in Arada Sub-city of Addis Ababa* is of my own work and that I have received no other assistance than the stated sources and citations.

Name

Date

Signed

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Abstract

As the title indicates, this research is concerned about the displacement and resettlement situation in Arada sub-city, Addis Ababa. The City Administration is implementing an urban redevelopment program to improve the poor infrastructural facilities, service provision, sewerage, sanitation, housing quality and supply. The implementation of these projects displaces households from their residential area exposing them to various impoverishment risks. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (Cernea, 2000), which is a tool used for managing risk identification, prevention and mitigation, stipulates displaced people could encounter one or more of the eight potential risks of landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, social disarticulation, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity and loss of access to common property resources. Thus many development practitioners advocate the importance of democratization of the displacement and resettlement processes to reduce potential risks.

The purpose of the research is to investigate how the displacement and resettlement process has been undertaken and to describe the impoverishment risks displaced households faced. This will contribute to the improvement of the program and other similar programs in the future as it is implemented with short, medium and long term plans. Thus it will indicate more constructive ways of implementing the displacement process that reduces risks by informing concerned agencies of more sustainable ways to configure and implement their work. Academically, the research will test the feasibility of the risk variables described by the IRR model to an inner area of urban context.

Therefore, the research will answer the following questions: What impoverishment risks do the households face due to displacement and resettlement to the temporary and condominium houses? What coping mechanisms do households employ to adapt to the new circumstances? Was there access to information? Was the displacement and resettlement process participatory?

The research noted that the displaced residents are exposed to impoverishment risks of homelessness, marginalization, lack of services, health hazard and economic impacts.

The construction of the Condo house is of a much better standard than the temporary shelters. As a result the transfer of households to the Condo house has relieved them from the risks they had faced at the temporary shelter. However, the design of the Condo building, omission of basic facilities like a customary kitchen and the adopted communal neighborhood regulations imposes new type of risks such as the discontinuation of informal business and unsuitability to daily and cultural practices. The discontinuation of informal business both at the temporary shelter and later at the Condo house severely affected household income generation potential of poor households. These households are afraid that they may end up homeless as they are unable to pay the much more expensive house rental fee.

The research concludes the impoverishment risks that displaced households faced could be mitigated by making the displacement and resettlement process participatory, transparent and by coordinating the activities of the implementing agencies. Moreover, this can be achieved by curbing the “demolish and relocate” approach used in the displacement and resettlement process to “relocate and demolish”. This will help to avoid housing the displaced in temporary shelters and associated governance shortcomings from the process which occurred due to the “demolish and relocate” approach.

Keywords: Addis Ababa, urban, inner-city, redevelopment, upgrade, displacement, dislocation, relocation, resettlement, impoverishment-risk

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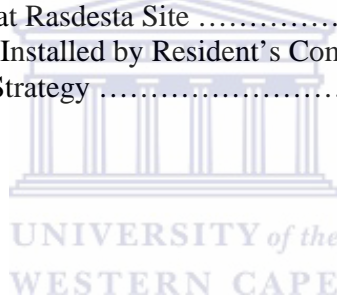
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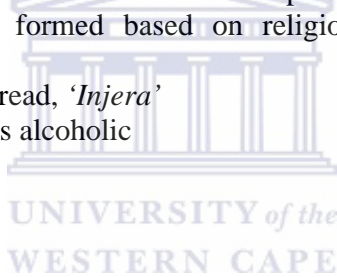
Acronyms

AACAICB Addis Ababa City Administration Information and Culture Bureau
AACA Addis Ababa City Administration
CBLSED Citywide Baseline Survey for Environment and Development
CGS Condominium Housing Scheme
DIDR Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement
HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IRR Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
LDP Local Development Plan
NGO Non Governmental Organization
UNDP United Nations Development Program

Glossary of Local Terms

Birr Name for Ethiopian local currency
Baltina Home based food and spice processing and preparation
Debal Local term for co-residence, renting a house and live together
Difodabo A special kind of home made bread
Gulit A public space for village market where informal business operates
Idir Neighborhood mutual support association for bereavement and burial
Injera Pancake like bread made of “*Teff*” flour and eaten with sauce.
Kebele The lower local administrative structure in Ethiopia
Mahber A social organization formed based on religious, ethnic, place of birth etc.
backgrounds
Midja Local oven used to bake bread, ‘*Injera*’
Tela Local home made drink, less alcoholic

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Chapter I

General Background

1.1 Introduction and Contextualization

“Compulsory displacements that occur for development reasons embody a perverse and intrinsic contradiction in the context of development ... they reflect an inequitable distribution of development’s benefits and losers” Cernea (2000:11). Such development projects frequently expose the losers, namely displaced people, to various impoverishment risks such as breaking of social ties, marginalization, exposure to health hazards, loss of shelter, economic activities and social services, to name but a few. Cernea (2000:11) reported that “during the last two decades 10 million people ... every year have been globally displaced due to development projects”. He further elaborates that displacement occurs due to projects such as industries, irrigation, transportation highways, power generation, as well as urban developments such as hospitals, schools, and airports as causes of displacement.

The Addis Ababa city administration is currently busy implementing various urban redevelopment projects which are intended to ameliorate the city’s deteriorating conditions. These projects are planned to benefit residents of the city by improving the existing socio economic situations, infrastructural provision, dilapidation and shortage of the housing stock, environmental sanitation etc. The main strategic projects currently being implemented are the Condominium Housing Scheme, infrastructural, road and bridge expansion and private investment building projects. The implementation of these projects necessitates displacement of households from their residential areas.

This research addresses inner city redevelopment programs that are being implemented in Arada sub-city, which is located at the centre of the capital city, Addis Ababa. About 1099 households have been displaced by various redevelopment projects in the target area. This investigation intends to examine the impoverishment consequences of these projects on the displaced households which have been transferred to temporary shelters

and the newly constructed Condominium houses. In addition it addresses the governance situation, participation and transparency, of the displacement and resettlement process. The research contributes to an understanding of the current displacement situation and will shed light on the negative consequences and governance of the implementation of the redevelopment projects.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Aims of the Study

Redevelopment programs are being implemented in Addis Ababa in order to improve the socio-economic and infrastructural problems of the city. Infrastructural and road expansions, housing, environmental sanitary and investment projects are currently being widely carried out in the city. The projects will certainly improve the lives of many people, however the “involuntary displacements caused by such projects also creates major impositions on some population segments”, as stated by Cernea (2000: 12).

The problem of development induced displaced persons is deeply rooted, in that, according to De Wet (2006:6), “there does not seem to be effective international protection for, or national consensus on their rights and entitlements”. Governments do not address such development projects in a comprehensive manner making sufficient preparation in terms of both resource and design.

Similarly, the Addis Ababa city administration has displaced numerous people, in the name of urban redevelopment, without having sufficient preparation and replacement houses to transfer the displaced households to. The implementing agencies follows a “demolish and relocate” approach which forces some households to stay in temporary shelter, mostly made of corrugated iron sheets or dilapidated houses, until they are finally transferred to Condo houses. These Condo houses are much more expensive than their previous homes and poor households are unable to afford the higher rentals. As the households are forcedly displaced they have no options to choose from or control over their lives, both during displacement and thereafter.

The transfer of households to temporary accommodation places such households in a state of limbo where they can not adequately prepare themselves to permanently re-establish their lives. In the context of the urban cash economy this causes enormous impact on the income generating potential of poor households, who rely solely on informal business. Above all, the rise in the inflation rate to 40% (IMF, Public Information Notice (PIN) No. 08/87) makes the situation very complex for the poor.

The present research examines the impoverishment risks and governance situation of these displacements. Thus it attempts to answer questions such as what type of socio-economic impacts displaced households are faced with due to the displacement and resettlement processes? What coping mechanisms do households develop so as to adapt to the new circumstances? Was the displacement and resettlement process participatory and transparent? What implementation (coordination) problems exist in the displacement and resettlement process?

It is against this background that the specific aims of this research will be to:

- Identify impacts and implications of the impoverishment risks caused as a result of the redevelopment projects;
- Describe the coping mechanisms of the dislocated households; and
- Examine the governance situation, particularly participation and transparency, of the displacement and resettlement process and coordination among the concerned implementing offices.

1.3 Research Design

A qualitative research approach, supplemented with a questionnaire survey, was predominantly adopted for the purpose of this research. Qualitative research is mainly used because it “helps to explore, explain and describe” (Clayton, 1997:25) the life experiences of displaced people throughout the displacement and resettlement process.

Another most important reason for emphasizing qualitative research is that it “pursues to understand important meanings of the interactive process that results from the spoken and unspoken symbols that represent social realities” (Flick, 1995:4) Qualitative research allows in depth discussions of the issue of the displacement and resettlement process and diverse experiences of displaced households which is advantageous in this respect. Moreover it enable researchers to be concerned in their research with trying “to accurately describe, decode and interpret the precise meanings to persons of phenomena occurring in their normal social context and are typically preoccupied with complexity, authenticity, contextualization ...and minimization of illusion” (Cassell and Symon, 1994:2).

The quantitative survey data was used to supplement the qualitative information. It helps to produce quantifiable data that are generalizable to the larger target population. The quantitative figures are used to enrich the qualitative descriptions of the displacement and resettlement process and its impoverishment consequences on displaced households.

The integrated use of qualitative and quantitative methods is advocated “if this can advance our understanding about the phenomenon under the investigation” (Katrin, 2000:1). It is also suggested that researchers in social sciences should “get on with the business of attacking our problems with the widest array of conceptual and methodological tools that we possess and the demand” (Torow, 1957:35). Moreover it renders triangulation of “several data sources, methods and investigators one can neutralize bias inherent in one particular data source, investigator or method” (Jick 1979)

1.3.1 Research Methodology

Various data collection techniques have been utilized in the research endeavour. Due to the specific nature of the study, qualitative tools such as semi structured interview, focus group interview and case histories are intensively utilized together with a quantitative survey questionnaire in gathering the information that is required to answer the stated research questions and aims of the study. Both primary and secondary sources of data are used in the research.

1.3.1.1 Primary Data

Primary sources of data enabled the researcher to gather first hand information directly from the target affected people and officials. Information relating to the life circumstances and consequences of displacement on affected people both at the temporary shelter and Condo building has been gathered from the displaced households themselves. On the other hand the semi-structured interviews undertaken with officials from pertinent offices involved in the implementation of the displacement and resettlement processes helped to source information about the implementation process including regulations, procedures, plans etc. from the officials view point.

According to the information gathered, about 1099 households are displaced from the target Arada sub-city and live in various parts of the city. Displaced households live in all the four Condo building sites selected for the purpose of this research. The research focuses only on displaced households and those who are living within the sub-city.

1.3.1.1.1 Quantitative Tools

A structured questionnaire survey was administered in order to gather quantitative data from the four selected target Condo house sites namely Rasdesta, Tourist, Ginfle and Kebena. The number of residents at these sites is 184, 24, 182 and 75 respectively. A total of 132 (45 from Rasdesta, 18 from Tourist, 50 from Ginfle and 19 from Kebena site) randomly selected household heads participated in completing the questionnaires. The survey helped to generate information concerning personal and family background, housing facilities, employment and income data, as well as coping strategies and attitudinal issues about temporary shelter conditions.

1.3.1.1.2 Qualitative Tools

Qualitative research tools assisted the researcher to learn about and explore the process and consequences of displacement and also to understand how the concerned implementing agencies are coordinating and discharging their activities. Therefore diverse and detailed information could be generated concerning the complex and

sensitive issues about the impoverishment consequences imposed on affected households. Besides, the level of participation and access to pertinent information throughout the process of displacement could be described using this data. Specifically the following tools have been employed to gather the field data.

- *Semi-structured interviews* were conducted in order to question both household heads and officials from relevant offices. Eight, two from each site, selected household heads from the residents of the targeted Condo sites were interviewed. Questions were asked concerning the displacement process and its consequences, participation of households in the displacement process, situations at the temporary shelter and duration of stay there, the condition of the Condo house, its affordability and suitability including the services and term of tenure, social and economic condition at the Condo house, temporary shelter and previous house in a comparative manner.

Pertinent officials from the sub-city Land Development Agency (two persons), one person from Housing Development Agency, two persons from House Transfer Office and two persons from GTZ, the bilateral consulting organization, were interviewed. The questions focussed on the displacement and relocation plans and its implementation, shortcomings and complaints from affected people, the number of affected people, the monitoring process and participation of the people, the administration of the Condo house, its current status and future plans. This has been helpful to learn about the implementation process including regulations, procedures, plans etc. from the officials view point.

- *Focus group discussions* were conducted to examine the existence of consensus among the different groups on some common and specific issues. Focus groups discussions have been vital to identify and discuss issues common and important to all and get their consensus on the same. Issues addressed included the way the displacement process was carried out, impoverishment risks encountered, the transition process and conditions at the temporary shelter and Condo house etc. Four

focus group discussions one in each of the target Condo site was held at every site with between six and eight participants in each focus group.

- *Case histories* of four selected household heads are recorded from Rasdesta, Tourist, Ginfle and Kebena sites. Case histories have been important to organize a wide range of data about the cases and then analyze their meanings and looking for patterns in it. It is also important to deepen discussion on pertinent issues related to the displacement process, participation, access to information, availability of choice, impoverishment risks faced, quality of life at the temporary shelter and Condo house etc. The researcher has been able to explore and reflect specific details of the practical life experiences of displaced households regarding the impoverishment risks households encountered due to the displacement and resettlement process.

Characteristics like age, gender, socio-economic backgrounds were considered in selecting informants for the case history and focus group discussions. The use of these diverse techniques of data collection has been vital for triangulating the information gathered from various sources.

1.3.1.2 Secondary Data

Secondary sources such as books, academic journals, research reports and recorded data by concerned relevant offices and unpublished documents were collected for reference purposes and to extract pertinent information on the subject. Secondary sources were important in this study in order to acquire basic data regarding plans, regulations, reports and direction of the city redevelopment program and the handling of the displacement and resettlement process. Moreover, the literature review helped to lay the theoretical basis of the research.

1.3.2 Data Processing, Analysis and Interpretation

The empirical data collected includes both qualitative and quantitative data. This data was compiled according to the identified impoverishment risk variables which are drawn from the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model namely homelessness,

joblessness/economic impact, social disarticulation, marginalization and access to social services and facilities. They are presented in line with the displacement and resettlement process which includes the process of actual dislocation, life at the temporary shelter and later at the Condo residential housing scheme.

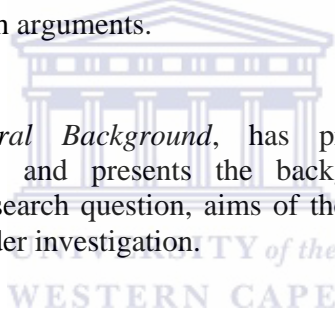
Accordingly, the governance variables, such as participation and transparency, are examined by analysing the actual execution of the dislocation process. This was helpful in order to reflect on how the displacement process was executed, who participated and what happened to displaced households in the process. The empirical data compiled according to the corresponding impoverishment risk variables are examined both at the temporary shelter and later at the Condo house with reference to the changes occurring and their future prospects. The data analysis was done in a comparative manner with respect to the previous residential area, the temporary shelter and the Condo house.

The data is presented both quantitatively and qualitatively. The case histories are put in pertinent sections where they are relevant to enrich the specific discussion under consideration. Besides, figures and tables which are produced based on the empirical data are put in relevant sections to supplement the qualitative discussions. These figures and tables were helpful for summarizing and presenting information in an easily understandable way.

The survey data was analysed with the use of software namely Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data was used wherever deemed important to supplement the qualitative discussions and enrich arguments.

1.4 Research Agenda

Chapter One, entitled *General Background*, has provided the introduction and contextualisation of the topic and presents the background to the problem under consideration. It sets out the research question, aims of the study and the methods used to answer the research question under investigation.



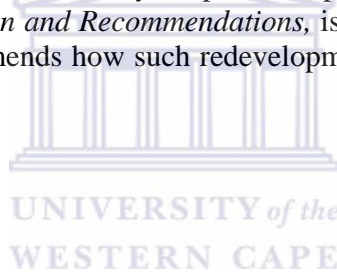
The remainder of the thesis is organized into four distinct and interrelated chapters. Each chapter is further divided into appropriate sub-sections. The following highlights the subsequent chapters around which the thesis is organized.

Chapter Two, entitled *Literature Review and Theoretical Framework*, presents the literature review and lays the theoretical foundation of the study. Relevant literature to the topic and the theoretical model employed in the research will be presented and discussed in order to provide a conceptual framework from which to evaluate the empirical findings in the case study area.

Chapter Three, entitled *Background and Contextualization of Arada Sub-city and Addis Ababa*, provides the socio-economic situation of the city of Addis Ababa in general and the target area Arada sub-city in particular. It describes the poor socio-economic and infrastructural condition that provides the justification for the initiation of the redevelopment program. It also highlights the type of redevelopment projects that consequently necessitates displacement of residents.

Chapter Four, entitled *Findings of the Research*, presents the empirical findings of the research. It describes the displacement process in terms of how residents are transferred, firstly to the temporary shelter and then to the Condo house. Issues such as participation, transparency and coordination are examined and documented. In addition, the impoverishment risks displaced households faced due to displacement and resettlement are presented together with the mechanisms they adopted to cope with the new challenges.

Chapter Five, entitled *Conclusion and Recommendations*, is the final chapter which provides general conclusions and recommends how such redevelopment programs could be improved in the future.



Chapter II

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The following section will focus on the literature and theoretical debates on development induced displacement and its consequences. Firstly, pertinent literature, related to the subject under consideration, will be reviewed. Thereafter, the concept of development induced displacement, its magnitude and consequences will be addressed. This will be followed by a presentation of relevant theoretical frameworks that are important for understanding and explaining the displacement and resettlement situations. Here two types of models are discussed and analysed. The first type of model focuses on the process of displacement, resettlement and situation of planned human settlements in a new area. The second type of model will illustrate the consequences or impoverishment risks of displacement and its possible reversal mechanisms.

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Development Induced Displacement

Development induced displacement is a condition by which people are forced to move away from their residential area for the purpose of implementing development projects, which are deemed to improve people's lives. However, displaced people face various socio economic risks of impoverishment and often live under far worse conditions than before. In most cases "the affected people have been compelled by the authorities to move, whether they wanted to or not, and, short of resisting, they have effectively had no say on the matter" (De Wet, 2006:1). Governments justify such displacements "by invoking goals of national growth and development, and the belief that the greater good justifies some loss" (Koenig, 2006).

Development induced displacement, the case under consideration, differs from other forms of displacement such as refugee and internally displaced persons due to its causes and the principles that govern displacement circumstances. Moreover, "unlike most

refugees, forced resettlers (this refers specifically to those displaced by infrastructural projects) have no choice about leaving their homes and can not entertain the slightest hope of returning to them” (Turton, 2006).

Basically development induced displacement is caused by the motive of officials “to benefit a much wider population than that of the displaced themselves” (Turton, 2006) and its consequent realization through planned actions in the form of projects. This obliges the authorities to give proper protection to affected people and respect their needs and human rights. As a result in the case of development induced displacement “the state is seen as having an obligation to protect their rights as citizens it has displaced in terms of the legal provisions of eminent domain” De Wet (2006:3) further argued that this obligation should hold “principal policy objectives ... restoring the income-generating capacity’ of resettlers”.

2.1.2 Magnitude and Consequences of Displacement

Cernea (2000:11) observed that “during the last two decades of the previous century ... some 200 million people globally” have been displaced by development projects. Furthermore, as noted by Koenig (2006) “it has long been clear that those displaced or resettled by development projects have not usually benefited from the process”. Turton (2006) further argued “in practice ... those displaced by development projects are not only, typically, amongst the poorest and politically most marginal members of a society, but they are also likely to become even more impoverished as a result of the move”. Accordingly, the pros and cons of development projects attract arguments from both sides. Koenig states that “some have questioned whether projects that involves large-scale DIDR ever offer just development, while others have argued that impoverishment can be mitigated or avoided by careful planning that includes development initiatives for the affected”.

Experiences shows that no matter how well development projects are designed, in most cases, their result is problematic for displaced persons. Koenig (2006) calls attention to the fact that development induced displaced persons “have most often been

impoverished, losing economic, social and cultural resources”. This has been evident in Asia, Latin America and Africa. Fernandes (1991) reported that in India “the country’s development program has caused an aggregate displacement of more than 20 million people during roughly four decades, but 75% of these people have not been rehabilitated”. Reddy (1999:4) also observed, in India, that urban upgrading programs deteriorates the overall living standard of displaced people due to limited employment opportunities. He found that particularly women were affected as it increased travel time for work and deprivation of established mutual help networks.

In Douala, Cameroon, the Nylon Urban Upgrading Project which aimed at restructuring and improving conditions of informal settlements has affected many people. Manga (1994) observed about 45,000 people were affected by the displacement and resettlement program of the project. Consequently it discouraged the affected people from setting up permanent residence.

De Wet (2006: 5) acknowledges that

‘forced resettlement impoverishes people, in part because it takes away their power to make decisions about where and how they are to live, the conditions under which they are to have access to and use productive resources, and the autonomy they are to exercise over the running and reproduction of their own socio-political institutions’.

2.1.3 Development Induced Displacement in Ethiopia

Similarly, development projects affects people in Ethiopia. Pankhurst (2004:15) categorizes four types of development projects causing displacement in Ethiopia and names (1) agricultural development projects, (2) the creation of national parks, (3) the construction of dams and (4) urban expansion as examples of such projects. He described in detail the magnitude, cause and consequences of these projects in the country. Africa Watch (1996) draws attention to development projects in the 1970s and particularly refers to the cotton irrigation farm, constructed at the Awash River, which displaced more than

20,000 farmers. The establishment of the Awash National Park also used more than 80,000 hectares of land that belonged to the Kerreyu, Ituu and Afar pastoral communities. In addition the resettlement programs implemented during the 1980s adversely affected the lives of the resettlers, the host communities and the environment (Pankhurst, 1992:56; Tadesse, 1995:74). Furthermore, the expansion of towns in the country affected farmers and pastoralist communities taking apart their socio-cultural life, livelihood and degrading the environment. In Addis Ababa, Berhanu (2006) assessed the livelihood impacts of the Casanchis urban redevelopment program. He observed that the program neglected the priorities and the needs of the urban poor and contrarily people were impoverished and marginalized. Alebel and Genanew (2005) analysed the willingness and forms of compensation preferences in Addis Ababa. Their research indicated that the resettlement programs did not meet the compensation needs of displaced households. Moreover, it was carried out without participation, negotiation and consent of the affected people. Fitsum (2007) also assessed the socio-economic impacts on displaced households who were transferred from the inner part of Addis Ababa to the peripheral areas, namely Akaki and Gurara. He reflected that families whose income generation activity was based at the displacement area lost their economic base and also faced social disarticulation due to distance. Moreover, conflict arose among the relocatees and host communities due to unemployment and the host's ambition to control the existing limited daily labour employment opportunities.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In this section, three relevant theoretical models relating to the investigation will be presented and discussed. These include two process oriented models, namely the three staged general transformation model of Chambers (1969) and the four staged theoretical model of Scudder and Colson (1982). The third theoretical model, the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, originated as an attempt to offer a more complete explanation about the situation of displacement and resettlement.

2.2.1 Process Oriented Models

There have been many attempts to understand and explain human resettlement situations of both a voluntary and involuntary nature. Many social scientists have tried to examine and understand the different processes of human development in a planned resettlement program. Students and scholars were searching for ways of explaining and comprehending similar programs and processes in new areas, particularly in Africa and Latin America. Among others, Chambers (1969) attempted to trace the origin and extent of planned human settlements by focusing on the administrative aspect of settlement programs. In his case study, which focused on the Mwea settlement scheme in Kenya, he looked at the interrelationships of various stakeholders of the program and departments, including the socio political circumstances that contributed to its effectiveness.

Subsequently Chambers (1969) introduced a three staged general transformation model based on African experiences. This model indicated how to anticipate the changing phases, different activities and range of organizations that were needed on a complex settlement scheme, as well as the necessary flexibility in staffing, departmentalism and government administration that would be required to facilitate the development process. The value of this model was later confirmed by Nelson (1973), who examined various planned land settlement projects in new lands of Latin America. Cernea (2000:15) witnessed “both Chambers and Nelson generalized the experiences of voluntary settlers and conceptualized the institutional or organizational dimensions of managed land settlement programs”.

Based on this model, Scudder and Colson (1982) later developed a four staged theoretical model that explained how settlers and socio economic systems respond to resettlement situations. The model stressed key concepts of the different stages and the various strains that resettled persons face and their behavioral reaction they exhibited at each of these stages.

The model proposes that successfully settled persons pass through four key stages such as recruitment, transition, development and incorporation or handing over. During the

recruitment stage planners formulate settlement programs without consulting the targeted people. During transition, communities are informed about their future status and this is accompanied with sharp stress. Once relocation occurs, the development stage follows and communities start to live a new life at the relocation site. They adapt to the new situation and reconstruct their socio economic life. The final incorporation stage refers to the settlers handing over the new socio economic and community leadership to the next generation.

2.2.2 Origin of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

However, the above models are unable to offer a complete explanation about the situation of displacement and resettlement. They address only the institutional aspects and the stages of the displacement and relocation process and the associated stresses. While they focus on planned voluntary settlements, involuntary settlements were not properly addressed. Although the Scudder and Colson's model has subsequently been adapted to include involuntary settlements, it still does not elucidate the situations of failed projects where displaced people do not pass through all the four stages. Moreover, cumulative effects of displacement on the life of the affected people could not be addressed by any of the above models. Thus, there has been a quest for theoretical models that are able to fill this gap. Brenchin (1991:17) calls for a comprehensive model as follows:

What is too little understood both by professionals and scholars alike is the social impact of displacement and relocation. When resident peoples are forced to move, certain general impacts can be expected. But the collective social impact on the community or other social organizations differs widely from case to case; to date no model exists to predict the cumulative effects.

2.2.3 The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

Therefore, the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model emerged as an attempt to fill this gap of explaining the "cumulative" effects of displacement and including a focus on addressing involuntary settlements too. The model was developed during the 1990s and its preliminary version was applied to more than 200 World Bank

funded projects (Cernea, 2000:16). Cernea declared that the origin of the model is both empirical and theoretical. He explains that empirically it is based on the large accumulation of field data from the World Bank sponsored projects and can be used as a methodological tool for the preparation of projects as well as to manage risk identification and prevention. On a theoretical and conceptual level, the model incorporates and captures knowledge of both the structure and anatomy of impoverishment and reconstruction.

The IRR model highlights the inherent risks of particularly impoverishment due to displacement and resettlement circumstances. It underlines concepts of risk, impoverishment and reconstruction associated with displacement and resettlement. Displacement intrinsically holds certain potential risks which could be changed into actual impoverishment once displacement occurs. Though the level varies due to project's specific conditions, any displacement processes holds the risks of potential impoverishment.

The sets of specific risks of impoverishment the model predicts include landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources and social disarticulation (Cernea, 2000:11). Cernea further stressed that the convergent and cumulative effects of these processes is the rapid onset of impoverishment. Description of each impoverishment risks is presented below.

Landlessness: Displaced people could be exposed to risks of detachment from land holding as a result of displacement. Such people could also be uprooted from the place they lived for many years affecting their productivity and economic life associated with land. Concerning the consequence of landlessness, Ranjit (2000) observed that “people directly depend on land for their livelihood is at risk of landlessness whenever the event of the alienation of land arises. Landlessness is a social hazard for such people because it brings with it a cluster of vulnerability that gives rise to impoverishment”. Both in rural and urban centers such households are alienated from their livelihoods and means of

survival they are associated with for many years. “This is the principal form of de-capitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital” (Cernea, 2000).

Joblessness: with regards to joblessness there is high risk of unemployment and underemployment of both employed and self employed persons after displacement. Formal or informal business operators could lose their place of work taken by development projects or access to use of certain communal resources important for their work and economic survival. Therefore, for Maria (2000: 144) “one of the most difficult challenges in the resettlement of populations involuntarily displaced by development projects is the reestablishment and improvement of prior economic activities and income levels”. In this case the livelihood reconstruction would be reemployment and rehabilitation of economic life.

Homelessness: Development projects claim areas where people live and demolish the houses of the residents in the project target area. People are forced to move away from their original residential areas without proper replacement of shelters. Unless a replacement house is provided people could become homeless. Particularly in an urban area “informal settlers are the most vulnerable...and the problem is more complex ... as large number of people do not have any legal title occupied structures and properties” (Reddy, 2000: 168). Sometimes, though displaced people are provided with replacement house, homelessness remains to be a lingering problem for many years due to the poor quality of the house or higher rental fee.

Marginalization: Marginalization occurs when displaced people lose resources important for their livelihoods and this is accompanied with psychosocial marginalization. Cernea (2000:26) argued “economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychosocial marginalization is reflected in a drop in social status, loss of confidence in society and in themselves, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability”. He also described that marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral downward mobility path together with dwindling family

property and income. Such persons might not also be able to use their previously acquired skill due to un-marketability to the new areas or being obsolete.

Loss of communal property resources also causes marginalization “because the laws of most developing countries do not formally recognize the right of these communities over these resources of their livelihood, they are deprived of their livelihood without compensation and without any alternative” (Fernandes, 2000: 205). Moreover, according to Fernandes (2000: 212) “the link between the marginalized state of the displaced persons before displacement and the deterioration of their self image subsequent to it” is disregarded by agents who execute displacement.

Increase morbidity and mortality: Displacement could also have adverse consequences on the health status of displaced people. It could lead to further degradation and worsening of the health status of dislocated persons. It “exposes them to psychosocial stresses and outbreak of relocation–related illnesses, particularly parasitic and vector–born diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis. Unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increase vulnerability to epidemics and chronic diarrhea, dysentery, etc” (Cernea 2000:28).

Food insecurity: displacement also exposes relocated households to food insecurity either temporary or chronically depending on the resettlement situation. Displacement uproots households from the land on which they produce or make their livelihoods from, which consequently leads to reduction of food production and household income. Reduction in household income incapacitates families to meet the necessary basic daily dietary requirements. Thus, “forced uprooting increases the risk that people will fall into chronic undernourishment ... and food insecurity ... is both symptom and result of inadequate resettlement” (Cernea, 2000:27).

Loss of access to common property resources: Common property resources are communal assets which community members have access to. These resources are vital for poor households as they are not able to access such resources by themselves. Gaim

(1996) underlined how the concept of common property resource applies to such assets if they are regulated by formal or informal rules which prescribe what individuals are allowed or prohibited to use and the circumstances associated with it. Therefore, leaving once residential area consequently causes loss of access to such facilities if the services are not available at the relocation area. Thus, the resettlement process should consider the availability of such resources at relocation sites.

Social disarticulation: Displacement dismantles social ties and networks that communities have established for many years. Cernea (2000: 30) observed that "life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized mutual service are disrupted". This results in the separation of family members and the breaking of ethnic ties. Furthermore, families can be separated from existing social organizations, where ties and networks are vital in drawing socio-economic supports.

Depending on the existing situation or context of the respective target project areas, displaced people could face one or more of these risks. In addition to the above mentioned impoverishment risks, other scholars like Downing (1996:57) considered additional risk variables such as risks of loss of access to social services, disruption of formal education activities and loss of civil and human rights. In addition the model is also used to tackle the displacement risks. The model helps to project possible impoverishment risks in advance and advises planners to incorporate corresponding risk reversal mechanisms in resettlement programs from the inception of projects.

The IRR model can be used to analyze the impacts of displacement and resettlement not only on displaced persons, but also host communities where the settlers are relocated to. Proponents of this argument advocate that though the level varies, resettlement could have negative consequences on the life of the host community, thus "the analytical categories and models used to understand the situations of settlers can also be employed to examine the experiences of the hosts" (Gebre, 2003:1). Accordingly, he employed the same model to analyze the resettlement program of the Metekel Lowland in Ethiopia and

highlighted the risks of insecurity or increased conflicts in addition to the risks of impoverishment risks listed above. In this regard Fitsum (2007) also reported series of conflicts arose in the Akaki relocation area between youths from the host and relocatee with aim to control the available meagre daily labour job opportunity.

2.2.4 Improving Displacement Outcomes

Good governance is vital to reduce negative consequences of development induced displacement and Koenig (2006) advocates democratization of the process to that effect. He specified that this includes commitment to participation, greater transparency in planning, capacity building among local and administrative organizations, creating coalitions and increasing choice. All stakeholders should actively participate in program implementation which enhances its responsiveness and accountability. With full participation people can express their interest if they are provided with the opportunity to do so. Feeney (1998) stressed that effective participation means influencing decisions, not simply involvement in implementation. It is an essential component of political life.

Similarly transparency enhances knowledge and provides displaced people with the opportunity to make informed decisions. Transparency International (2002) defines transparency as “a principle that allows those affected by administrative decisions, business transactions or social activities to know not only basic facts and figures but also the mechanisms and processes”. The African Development Bank (2001:28) also states that the underlining idea of transparency is “the issue of access to information and free flow of information”. In this regard all parties concerned with specific displacement circumstances need to have access to relevant information concerning “resettlement time, legal entitlements and eligibility, due process and grievance mechanisms” (Cernea: 1996a: 30) to realize the full consequences of displacement. Therefore availability of reliable information reduces uncertainty and enhances predictability and informed decision.

Otherwise “the fact that many government agencies decide in secret often forces people to participate by opposition and resistance rather than by bargaining and cooperation”

(Cernea: 1996a: 29). This increases uncertainty and unpredictability and impedes the smooth implementation of projects causing severe consequences to affected persons.

The benefit of good governance has been acknowledged by many practitioners. This is mainly due to the benefits it contributes to displacement outcomes and also “many in the power sector appear to have realised the high economic, social and political costs of corrective actions” (Serra, 1993: 67). In this regard The World Commission on Dams (2000) noted that information disclosure has increased steadily since the 1950s and transparency linked with public participation has led to improved outcomes.

The existing regulation of the Addis Ababa City Administration that guides the displacement and resettlement processes in the target area, Arada sub-city, has no provision concerning participation and access to information. Rather, it requires the target population to cooperate in the smooth implementation of the displacement and resettlement process. As a result, the target population was excluded from the planning of displacement and the resettlement process and were not part of decisions about their future and livelihoods. Their voice and concern was not heard and no choices or alternatives were given to them. Rather, they were merely ordered to follow certain directives given from the administration. As a result organized resistance occurred in a place like Sumale Tera.

The current research efforts in Ethiopia do not address the issue of governance related to displacement and resettlement programs. The present research specifically focuses on the redevelopment program and Condo housing schemes in Arada sub-city, Addis Ababa. The research will employ the IRR model to diagnose the specific impoverishment risks that displaced households encountered as a result of displacement. Particularly risks of joblessness, economic impacts, homelessness, marginalization, loss of access to social services and social disarticulation will be addressed. Moreover, the research will address the issue of governance particularly participation, transparency and coordination among the implementing offices.

In this chapter, the literature relating to the topic has been reviewed and the conceptual and theoretical framework for the study has been presented. This provides the research with the theoretical foundations from which to launch the empirical fieldwork. The next chapter will present the contextualization of the target research area, Arada Sub-city in particular and Addis Ababa city in general. It will highlight the existing socio-economic background of the area and intended redevelopment projects which have been implemented to tackle the cities multifaceted problems.

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Chapter III

Background and Contextualisation of Arada Sub-city and Addis Ababa

This chapter highlights the socio-economic circumstances of the city of Addis Ababa in general and the target Arada sub-city in particular. It will provide basic information about the existing situation that calls for the planning and implementation of the renovation programs the city Administration is currently engaged in the form of urban redevelopment and displacement programs.

3.1 Overview of the City of Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia and the seat of the African Union and many other regional and international organizations. The city is located almost at the centre of the country. King Menelik II and his wife Empress Tayitu founded the city in 1886. At its earlier stage the city was concentrated at the three nodal points of the Menelik Palace, St. George Church and the Arada Area, which serves as the city centre. The Menelik Palace was the political centre for the administration and St. George's church acted as centre for religious activities. The Arada area, found between the palace and the church, used to serve as a cultural and commercial centre. Sahlu (2006:11) argues that earlier settlements started to sprawl around these centres.

Since then the city has expanded tremendously in four different directions. The population size also grew enormously as people were attracted to the modern life of the city and in search of labour. Mekete (1997) recorded that in the 1920s the city covered an estimated area of 33 square kilometres, in 1984 an estimated area of 223.6 square kilometres and in the 1990s it grew to an area of 518.7 square kilometres. The Central Statistic Authority (2004) reported that 2,887 million people live in the city with a density of 5445.7 persons per square kilometre. The following table illustrates the population growth of the city from 1994 to 2005 with a net growth of 774,259 persons.

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<u>Table 3.1. The Population of Addis Ababa, 1994-2000 and 2005</u> Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2005
Male	1,023,452	1,045,000	1,074,000	1,105,000	1,136,000	1,132,000	1,202,000	1,386,997
Female	1,089,285	1,112,000	1,146,000	1,181,000	1,218,000	1,292,000	1,293,000	1,499,999
Total	2,112,737	2,157,000	2,220,000	2,286,000	2,354,000	2,424,000	2,495,000	2,886,996