

The Impact of Urban Redevelopment-Induced Relocation on Relocateses' Livelihood Asset and Activity in Addis Ababa: The Case of People Relocated *Arat Kilo Area*

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ABSTRACT— *The focus of this study was to explore the relocatees' livelihood assets and activity. The study employed qualitative research methodology. The main primary data collection methods were semi-structured interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation. Relocating people from slum area to another location is important in providing relocatees with good housing quality and reducing women and children burden who were responsible to collect water prior to relocation. However, relocatees have been directly affected by loss of livelihood activity, social network, accessible education, transport and health services. Thus, Relocatees livelihood assets and activities would have had sustainability if slum areas had been conceived from different perspective.*

Keywords—Livelihood Assets, Livelihood activity, relocatees and urban redevelopment

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the mid-twentieth century, there has been intervention to slum arena. Most expected slum free urban area: an expectation that generally remained unfulfilled. The theoretical recognition of the multifaceted nature of slum is seldom reflected in the prevailing strategies adopted by most slum reduction programmes. This and other inadequacies have therefore resulted in slum augmentation in the last decades. Inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status are often required for an area to be considered a slum. Intervention to slum has therefore focused to address such malevolent display. Hence, the most common reaction to these settlements has been to undertake large relocation project (Tsegaye, 1998).

However, various literatures (Cernea 1993 & 1996; Ashenafi 2002; UN-Habitat 2003; Perera and Viratkapan 2004; Berhanu 2006; Gebre 2008 Sumka 1987; Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998) indicate the adverse impacts of relocation on the livelihoodof relocatees. Experiences from countries such as Jakarta, Khartoum and Bangkok also revealed that without full and holistic strategy for relocated people, relocation is unviable (Cernea, 1993). Because, people dislocated from inner cities are likely to lose important locational advantages (Gebre 2008). This implies that in addition to being an asset per se, housing location is often a key determinant of other assets (Turner, 1967; Farrington et al, 2002).

Thus, John F.C. Turner, who has ample experience on urban relocation, has put relatively a comprehensive intervention approach, slum upgrading. Many countries and international organisations have accepted and realised Turner possible recommendation, albeit it has constraints. Thus, Rondinelli & Cheema,(1985) and UN-Habitat,(2002) indicate to accept the very idea of the development of a new and sustainable approach to urban development as the common theme. On the other hand, UN-Habitat (2000) noted that much more will need to be done if cities without slums are to become a reality. This is not to deny urban development indeed. Instead, if the lives of slum dwellers and urban areas are to improve, development strategy adjustment is needed. The livelihood assets and activities of urban dwellers ought to be identified as main strategic musts for the development of sustainable human settlements.

Nonetheless, relocation approach is yet highly realized in some countries. Like other cities of developing countries, in Addis Ababa (capital city of Ethiopia), wheremore than 80 per cent of people live in slum area (Elias, 2008), relocation is largelythe selected redevelopment approach. The relocatees who were recently moved from Arat kilo area to anotherlocation is a case in point. They were relocated with no much consideration of the livelihood activity, and social, human, physical and financial assets consequences of relocation. Relocation does not necessarily have the same effects on different households or even on the different individuals in those households (World Bank, 2004). It affects women headed households, children and tenants differently.

Various scholars (Koenig, 2001; Downing, 2002; Perera&Viratkapan, 2004) stated that the effects of relocation have been documented and studied systematically for at least 30 years. For instance, to mention few, Chambers, 1969; Hansen & Oliver-smith, 1982; Scudder, 1981, Cernea, 1990s are the well-known researchers on the subject of relocation. However, the available studies have predominantly focused on non-urban development caused relocation. The urban relocation still remains a seldom discussed companion of urban growth and renewal in third world countries (Cernea, 1993). Concomitant to this, Koenig (2001) stressed that, though there are diverse reasons for community relocation, perhaps the best researched examples of development induced relocation are dam projects. On the other side, despite many slum relocation projects have been implemented during the last three decades, studies undertaken on some of these projects have focused on the impacts of relocation on slum dwellers, with a particular focus on socio-economic hardship (Perera&Viratkapan, 2004).

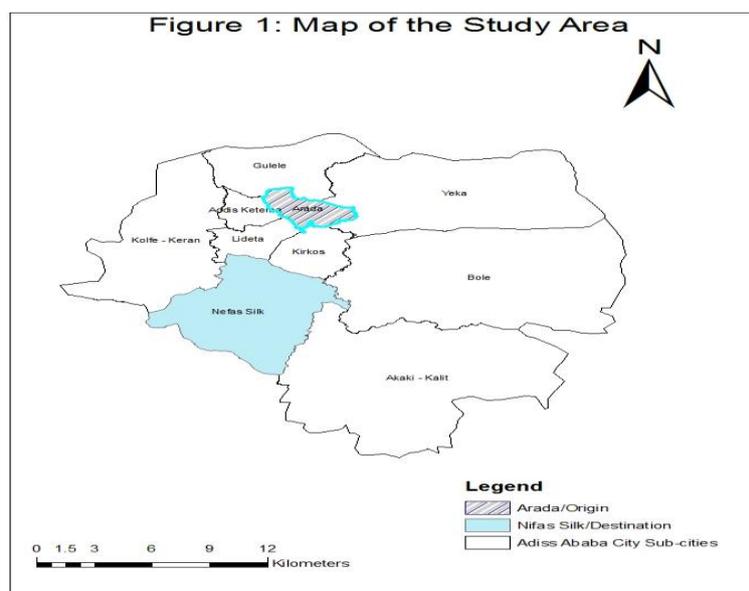
Thus, Ethiopia is one, where urban relocation has been under researched (Gebre,2008). Given that the lionshare of Ethiopian population lives in countryside, within academia, research on relocation is highly focused on this area. In fact, few researches (Ephrem, 1998; Dinku, 2003; Birhanu, 2006; Gebre, 2008; Biruk, 2009) have been undertaken on urban redevelopment-induced relocation. However, they did not look into the livelihood of relocated people in holistic manner.

The has study, has therefore, been undertaken to fill the knowledge gap in the course of investigating the impacts of relocation on relocatees' livelihood assets and activity in Addis Ababa with the particular reference to people who were relocated from *Arada* sub-city (*Arat Kilo*) to *Nifas Silk* sub-city; *Gofa* camp, *Lafto* and *Jamo*. The study has been done with the specific objectives of assessing the livelihood assets of relocatees, relocatees' livelihood activity and the most vulnerable group to the adverse effects of relocation.

The study will overcome methodological inadequacy by employing a qualitative approach that allows catching the relevant variables that well explain the complex and many dimensions of relocatees' livelihood. It put emphasis on the diverse and many sided relocatees' livelihood. To this end, it enables to understand the livelihood of relocatees from different perspective. Given the fact that there are many other slum areas in the city, the findings from this research provide lesson as to what could be done in the future to attain sustainable urban redevelopment.

1.2 Study Area

The city of Addis Ababa is only 126 years old. It is located almost in the center of Ethiopia. Astronomically, the city lies between $80^{\circ} 55'$ & $90^{\circ} 05'$ North latitude, and $38^{\circ} 40'$ & $38^{\circ} 50'$ East longitudes. Currently, the city contains ten sub-city and 116 weredas. The studied communities were relocated from *Arad* sub-city, *Arat Kilo* area to *Nifas Silk* sub-city: *Gofa Camp*, *Lafto* and *Jamo* areas. I deliberately selected Nifas Silk Lafto sub-city because more than half of relocatees of *Arat Kilo* were moved to this place.



Source: Author's Construction

2. METHODOLOGY

Since qualitative approach enables to understand the phenomenon in depth, it was employed in this study. I have purposely selected respondents who could provide access to the desired information. In order to get the target group, snowball sampling was also employed. The data were, therefore, generated using semi-structured interview, key informant interview, focus group discussion and observation. Then, they were analysed after they were categorised into different themes based on their characteristics. To make further analysis and interpretation, the categories were again disintegrated to phenomenon. Some meaningful responses have been placed in the analysis as quotes.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Relocation Outcomes

Relocation erodes a community's access to all the elements needed for livelihood-social, human, physical and financial capital. Therefore, relocation of people and communities has been one of the challenges facing the livelihood of relocated people. Relocation disrupts much economic activity of the relocatees. This is primarily because urban relocation pays little attention to the economic impact of relocation. Dwyer (1975), Drakakis-Smith (1979) and Yeh (1990) argue that a strong motive on the part of government in developing region was to free sites occupied by slum for more lucrative permanent development. Clearly, Mejia (1999) study conducted on World Bank funded projects in Latin America suggests that most current urban resettlement programs were based primarily on housing. Mejia adds that, among other things, the reliance of poor on the informal economy has not been sufficiently studied or taken into consideration.

As a result, unemployment or underemployment among relocatees often attributable long after physical relocation has been completed (Robinson, 2003). This is particularly true of women who frequently earn their livelihoods from a number of sources in the informal sector (Hoadley, 2008). There is also a lot of evidence that reveals the social impacts of relocation on the communities (Cernea, 1993, 2000; Pandey, 1996). Cernea further explains the non- questionable costs, such as, the loss of access to mutual help, child care arrangements, exchange and borrowing opportunities, and other informal support systems. Especially, social loss is common when the existing social groups cannot resettle together (Koenig 2001).

The other consequence of relocation is manifested on relocatees' health. Massive population relocation threatens to cause serious decline in health levels (Robinson, 2003). In the same vein, various literatures show that the use of unsafe water supply and improvised sewage systems increases vulnerability to various disease.

This, however, is not always true. Relocation may result not only in losses or unsafe living environment, rather it may ultimately generate certain benefits. As it is indicated in this study, relocated people have accessed relatively better water, sewerage systems, toilet, and are less vulnerable to epidemics and various diseases. On the other hand, Lloyd - Evans and Potter (1998) stated that in the resettlement scheme when the state acted as provider in many parts of third world countries, there were individual housing units more spacious, having their own toilets, water taps and kitchens.

4. IMPACTS OF URBAN RELOCATION ON RELOCATEES' LIVELIHOOD ASSET AND ACTIVITY

4.1. Relocatees' Livelihood Assets

4.1.1 Financial Asset of Relocatees

The financial resources available to people include income, savings, credit, debt, remittances and pension (Scoones, 1998; Rakodi, 2002). The study found that relocation has affected relocated peoples' financial capital. Loss of job and higher transport cost are among the challenges that resulted in decreasing relocatees' income. The findings of this study also identified that renting out houses was a means of income for the large number of residents in the former location. They sub-divided houses and rented out to lower income people. As they stated, it is unbearable to do so in the new place of residence. In general, relocation has abated relocatees' income. Similarly, the research conducted by Nebiyu (2000) and Gebre (2008) in Addis Ababa found a decline of households income after relocation.

The study found that relocatees' financial capacity has also got worse due to extra housing expenses. They spent a lot of money to finish the built of the newly given housing: for paint, door (for dormitory and kitchen room), ceramic in the toilet room and repairing toilet flush and toiletries. Moreover, in the study site, majority of the relocated people are wallowed in debt of paying housing cost, including the down payment. As a result, relocatees are not able to save money. According to informants, in the previous location, they used to save money in *iddir* and in the form of *iqub* for emergency expenses, especially to use it when one gets sick. *Previously, I used to save 100 birr per month at iddir. Currently, however, let alone to save, I need, more than 100 birr per every month for my expenses*, a respondent said. This shows that how relocation obstructs the saving capacity of relocatees. On the other hand, after relocation, majority of informants have received financial support from siblings. Particularly, remittance from western and Arabian countries is of highly indispensable to maintain relocatees' livelihood.

4.1.2 Relocatees' Social Assets

A number of researchers and international institutions have arrived at the conclusion that social assets contributes to make livelihood safe. Because, social network enhances the transfer of information, materials goods and services among people (Mitchell 1995 cited by Ephreme, 1998). On the other side, literatures on relocation indicate that relocation has often brought social disintegration. In this study, I found that relocatees have lost their long established social asset that used to help out them at a time of adversity. The relocatees lived for many years at the former settlement, and this helped them to know each other well and develop culture of reciprocity, support and trust: manifested in child care, looking after homes when one go to somewhere, information exchange, borrowing money, borrowing foodstuff, such as, *injera*, salt, *shiro*, *berbere*, and other home materials.

Moreover, unlike in the new settlement, previously they had a tendency to call each other in coffee ceremony and holidays, and spontaneously used to share life experience and information from each other. *We very rarely exchange greetings, let alone to call each other in times of holidays and coffee ceremony.....which is peculiar to our previous location, one informant noted.* In addition, in times of adversity; death, sickness and other socio-economic problems, they used to support each other as close family members. Contrarily, they found difficulty in accessing such reciprocal social benefits in the new location. Thus, the importance of social asset has not been recognised in this development project. The study by Nabiyu (2000) conducted in Addis Ababa on Sheraton Hotel project-induced relocation also found out the breakup of former social ties following relocation.

4.1.3 The Physical Asset of Relocatees

It includes secure shelter, adequate water supply, transport, sanitation, drainage and energy. The assets enable people to use their knowledge and skill appropriately in their effort to attain secure livelihood (Moser, 1996 cited by Emebet, 2008). Productive activities are not possible without basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation and drainage (Ali, 2002), and also lack of transport can have a profound effect on the livelihoods of people (Brown & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). Responses from study participants regarding physical asset are resembled assenting. In the previous place of residence, homes were small and did not keep out wind and rain. It was not in a condition to deal with cold in the winter and heat in the summer. There were respondents who indicated that someone from their household had infected to cold illness due to the inability of the houses to shield cold temperature out. In addition, students used to access inadequate place for studies. But, in the new settlement, relocatees are living better because new houses could keep out cold temperature, wind, rain and heat, and give students comfort for studying. Moreover, the current housing adequately accommodates relocatees' families.

The new location has provided relocatees with safe toilet. Previously, long queues at communal toilet were inevitable. Moreover, relocatees were easily susceptible to communicable diseases resulted from communal toilet. They, however, appreciated the current living place as they possess private toilet and get free of queue and transmissible diseases. Particularly, in the previous settlement, women and children were not safe to use the communal toilet because it afforded little or no privacy since it did not have door that could give them privacy by protecting them from passers-by glance. And, most of them used to fear to use toilet in night since it was located far from their home. Differently, respondents reported that the new location gives women and children an opportunity to use toilet freely whenever they want to.

Water accessibility and affordability was the other constraint in the previous location. Irregular access, inadequate water supply and long period queue up (for those people who purchase/access water from private and communal water taps) were the problem facing respondents in the previous location. As a result, they were in a difficult condition to manage hygiene. Women and children, who were responsible to collect water, used to walk long distances with heavy load of water. There were times that children did not go to school, especially, whenever they faced long time queue up. In the new location, relocatees own private taps, even if some of them are still experiencing irregularity. Unlike the previous location, in the new location, when water comes once, they could, however, fetch and store sufficient amount of

water that will be even adequately utilized for many days. The study result is in agreement with Nebiyu's (2000) study result which indicates that the relocation scheme has avoided the inconvenience to the inhabitants regarding to water supply.

Access to education, health and transport services is the serious problem in the new location. Taking responses given by respondents in to account, the problem can be seen from distance and cost perspective. Access to education, health and transport services are much better in the previous location than the new place of residence. Relocation has, therefore, made such vital services inaccessible. Education and health services are located far away from the new place of residence. The shortage of government owned education and health services nearby the settlement gets worse the access. Moreover, inaccessible transport service has aggravated this problem. Lack of mini-bus, location of bus termini at distant, long time queue up and high transport cost are among the manifestations of inaccessible transport. Similarly, various studies by Berhanu (2006), Nebiyu (2000) and Gebre (2008) conducted in Addis Ababa on relocation revealed that the relocation of people from inner parts of the city where accessible and affordable facilities are concentrated to the periphery has resulted in hindering the easy access of relocatees to urban services. Therefore, the physical quality of housing alone, with inaccessible urban amenities, is worthless to make the livelihood of people innocuous. In supporting this idea, Moser (1998) and Satterthwaite (2002) argue that better quality and more secure housing with good quality infrastructure and services is highly significant in household well-being.

4.1.4 The Relocatees' Human Capital

Human capital refers the labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimension. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities, whereas the later refer to the skills, education, ability to work and health status and physical capital of household member important for the successful pursuit of livelihood (see Scoones, 1998; Rakodi, 2002). Relocation, therefore, can adversely affect relocatees' human capital.

In this study, responses given by respondents were varied. A substantial number of respondents stated that there was a decline of the number of those household members who were involved in income earning activity due to that new place is not suitable to carry out informal activities and high transport cost to get the former location work place. Time available to take part in income earning activity for households has, therefore, gone down. In contrast, some respondents mentioned that the number of labour force in household has increased following relocation. Those people who have been pensioned returned to another income earning activities, such as guard and driver. And also, children either after school hours or by dropping out of school are engaged in income earning activity to support households' livelihood.

In the previous location, informants reported that, it was impossible to get appropriate sleep at night because there were frequent violence, night club noise and quarrel between drunkards and prostitutes. This further affects the ability of residents to work adequately in day times. Respondents asserted that the new location has made them to sleep comfortably in night and, thus perform their work successfully in day times. Children were more vulnerable to this phenomenon. According to respondents, adults relatively used to pay little attention to the frequent violence and quarrel, whereas children found it frightening and did not get real sleep rather than simply lying on their beds. As a result, they found difficult to attend schooling, and used to sleep in the class room. This, therefore, affected children performance in education. The trend did not continue in the new location, according to informants.

On the other side, relocation has exposed children to inaccessible education. Students who have continued education by going to the previous location (since the relocation time was inappropriate for transfer) were not able to attend many of the first periods of class. Some students (who have transferred to the new school) walked to school that is located far away from the residence site and thus, were unable to study after school because they have been tired of walking longer distances. Due to these, students were not sure that whether they will be promoted to the next grade. Regarding to health, informants showed positive responses. Health conditions in the previous area were poor. Respondents stated that in the old area they were vulnerable to diseases, such as, diarrhoea, malaria, common cold and asthma. In the new location, they are free of diseases which are caused by poor environmental condition and frequent contact with the already infected people in the communal toilet, kitchen and water tap.

4.2. Relocatees' Livelihood Activity

In addition to the proximity of clients and locations to obtain the necessary raw material, and due to high population density and a concentration of various public and private firms, a multitude of formal and informal income generating activities are available for the inner city slum (UNCHS, 1991). This study found out that the older location, which is situated at inner city, is much better for generating income by engaging in either formal or informal economic activity than the new place of residence.

In the previous location, on-home and off-home economic activity, such as, making and selling *injera*, *shiro*, *berbere*, *areke*, *tella* and petty trade: selling candle, egg, *qollo*, onion, potato, charcoal, salt and cabbage, respectively, were sources of livelihood for majority of relocatees. Due to lack of customer, market place, easily accessible raw materials and difficulty to perform some of the activities in the new house, they currently either quit or hardly perform such means of income. In addition, similar to the argument of Robinson (2003) some individuals cannot also use their earlier-acquired skills at the new location; human capital could be lost or could become inactive or obsolete. On the other hand, job losing among relocatees who were engaged in low return formal activity is the other consequence of relocation, because they couldn't afford for transport cost to get to down town, place of work. In general, relocation has resulted in a loss of livelihood activities.

This finding is in agreement with Gebre's (2008) study that indicates relocated people quit their jobs because of distance and high transport cost. In the study area, increasing dependence upon others, unemployment and underemployment are, therefore, the serious problems facing majority of respondents due to the direct and indirect impacts of relocation. Relocation project, therefore, did not make much attempt to facilitate relocated people replace or sustain their former income earning activities.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The urban-redevelopment induced relocation caused disruption on the livelihood activity and assets of relocated people. Those relocatees who used to engage in various on-home and off-home livelihood activities either quite or rarely take part in such income sources of activity following relocation. Lack of customer, market and high transport cost were major reasons to relocatees' livelihood activity disruption. Relocation has resulted in the upheaval of neighbourhood social networks, which prior to relocation, played a significant role in supporting the relocated people at times of adversity. Income decline, debt, extra housing expense and inability to save money are challenges facing the relocated people. The study found out that there are some people in the studied community whose financial source in the form of remittance has increased following relocation. On the other side, relocation made relocated people to get relatively better housing in terms of size, tenure, construction material and availability and accessibility of kitchen, toilet and water services. However, due to unavailability and high cost, relocatees have very limited access to transport, education and health services.

Therefore, the urban-redevelopment should move beyond the narrow understanding of housing: physical dimension and consider its locational benefits: for urban services, social and economic activity access. The distance between various urban services and relocation site should be considered during decision making and planning process. Facilitating micro and small enterprises and credit services for relocated people has a considerable role in mitigating/curtailing unemployment. On the other side, the relocation program should facilitate training for relocatees to increase their skill level to help them get better and stable job.

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