

of the riots was the spacial segregation and ghettoisation of community.

On the other side, slums, particularly the inner city one, have enormous locational advantages. Income generating opportunities and accessible social services are often concentrated in slum areas (Gebre, 2008). A multitude of formal and informal income generating activities is available for the inner city slum (UNCHS, 1991). On the other hand, slum area is serving as a temporary destination of migration to cities (Marx et al, 2013). Poor, mostly emigrants from rural areas, are concentrated in slum areas (Sufaira, 2013).

Conventionally, slum has been, however, perceived by most of people as a settlement that smash the quality of urban area. It is seen as the urban cancer (Dickenson, 1983). The most common reaction to such settlements has been, therefore, to carry out large slum clearance project (Tsegaye, 1998). Gebre (2008) also states that urban development and renewal programmes often target such areas.

3.4 Views on Urban Relocation

Urban compulsory relocation thinking is fundamentally uneven. Different Scholars have different insight on development-induced relocation. According to Meikle & Walker (1998) the proponents of relocation argue that individuals are expected to sacrifice for the state. They argue that the prime land occupied by slum dwellers need to be utilized for economically more productive purposes (See, Perera & Viratkapan, 2004), rather than being occupied by low income people.

The critics of resettlement projects usually argue that relocation creates tremendous negative impacts on communities as well as the micro- economy of the area (Perera & Viratkapan, 2004), and thus reject development-induced relocation. Others also argue about the asymmetrical benefits of development-induced relocation. Concomitant to this, Mathur (1995) and Harrison (1993) asserted that development project that cause disruption on the lives of the people relocated reflect the interests of the rich because the way development has worked over the years make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Other scholars, however, are less compromising, and to them sustainable development could be attained through well-developed course of action. According to World Bank (2004), the adverse impacts of development induced relocation can be mitigated by careful planning that specifically targets the relocatees. Thus, Pettersson (2002) argue that if the relocatees are not properly resettled and rehabilitated, it is irrelevant whether the project forcing them off their land is of an *overriding public interest* or not.

4. Slum Relocation in Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa has been showing transformations since the 1990s (Gebre, 2008). The city municipality has also been greatly investing on urban renewal to improve and increase the productivity of inner-city. The renewal approach has multifaceted impacts on the relocated communities as of discussed hereunder.

4.1 Pros of Slum Relocation

The inner-city of Addis Ababa contained a high concentration of poor housing quality. Lack of adequate water supply, sanitation, toilet and kitchen has also contributed to the poor housing condition (see CSA, 1994 and UN-Habitat, 2008). Thus, better housing quality is one of the positive results that have been achieved by relocating slum dwellers. Studies by Nebiyu (2000) and Habtamu (2014) found out that relocating people from Addis Ababa's inner cities to another location enable them secure quality housing with adequate toilet, kitchen, water supply and sanitation. Specifically, the study by Gebre (2008) revealed that for the majority of relocatees the latrines in the new sites were much better than their old latrines.

Similarly, 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. Specifically, experiences from Shanghai, where the relocation project had relocated over 15,000 residents from several neighborhoods shows that, the new apartments were built at standards higher than the houses subject to demolition (Cernea, 1993). If this is the case, hast generalization, the negative consequences of relocation, is not always true. It has not brought losses in all dimensions, instead, it ultimately generates certain benefits for those people who are relocated from slums.

Health conditions in slum areas are poor (UN-Habitat, 2003). Similarly, slums in Addis Ababa expose dwellers to health risk. Moreover, in inner city slum areas of Addis Ababa, sharing facilities (UN-Habitat, 2004) are risk factors for communicable diseases (Habtamu, 2014). Intervention to slum, therefore, helps reduce the occurrences of diseases caused by slum related risk factors. The study by Habtamu (2014) revealed that relocating people from Addis Ababa's inner-city slum to outskirts has resulted in better health status among dwellers thereby improving risk factors such as, unsafe water, poor sanitary condition and overcrowding. Similarly, Nabiyyu's (2000) study found out that the relocatees have had a far better access to facilities that have resulted in creating a healthy environment than the old location. Therefore, the negative consequences of relocation on the health of the relocatees resulted from unsafe water and sanitation (Robinson, 2003 and Cernea, 1993) may not be the case for communities relocated from slum areas.

Moreover, in slum areas women particularly girls are the primary water collectors. The study conducted by UN-Habitat (2004) in Addis Ababa on urban inequities indicates that women are responsible for water collection in over 90 per cent of the households, and of these 45 per cent are girls. Habtamu's (2014) and Nabiyyu's (2000) studies found out that relocation resulted in the availability of water tap inside relocatees' houses. This appears to reduce burden of water borne by women and/ or girls, which is a phenomenon in turn has implication on girls' ability to pursue education that enables them even competent in their future life scenario.

4.2 What are the cons of Slum Relocation?

4.2.1 Livelihood Activity

In addition to the proximity of clients 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 (NUCHS, 1991). Similarly, accessible economic activities are far better in Addis Ababa's inner cities slums. Most of slum dwellers are engaged in informal livelihood activities, such as, fruit or vegetable vendors, street hawkers, charcoal selling, local drink making and selling, *injera* baking and selling, etc. Thus, the studies by Nebiyu (2000), Berhanu (2006), Gebre (2008) and Habtamu (2014) on the impact of development-induced relocation on relocatees in Addis Ababa revealed that loss of formal and informal economic activities is among the challenges that relocatees faced. This means that relocation of dwellers from inner cities to the outskirts has disrupted livelihood activities of relocatees.

Experiences of urban relocation in different countries have evidenced this phenomenon. The study by Mejia (1999) on World Bank funded project in Latin America shows that alarming loss of economic activities among relocatees. Other empirical evidences (Cernea, 1993 from Jakarta) (Indonesia) and Khartoum (Sudan) and Evans, 2007 from Senegal) indicate the adverse impacts of relocation on relocatees' income earning activities. As a result, unemployment or underemployment is among the challenges relocatees often endure long after physical relocation has been completed (Robinson 2003). For the 26 Latin American-urban resettlement projects, the proportion of unemployed averaged around 15%, about 25% of the relocated populations were underemployed (Mejia, 1999).

Moreover, since informal activities often depend on the surrounding environment (Perlman, 1982), relocation is disastrous for people deriving their incomes from these enterprises (World Bank, 2004). This is particularly true of women who frequently earn their livelihoods from a number of sources in the informal sector (Hoadley, 2008). Therefore, economic activities loss that occurs among relocatees in various cities of different countries has implications that urban relocation projects have given little attention to relocation affected income earning activities.

4.2.2 Social Network

Social network is usually used as a means to cope up with social, economic and environmental shocks. According to Mitchell (1995), network relation enhances the transfer of information among individuals and transfer of material goods and services among people. In Ethiopia, people have evolved self-help institution and neighborhood ties which play an important role in the struggle of their daily life and a source of strength (Pankhurst and Andrias, 1958). Nonetheless, various studies on urban development-induced relocation indicate that this social network benefit has been under pressure.

Gebre's (2008) research on urban redevelopment in Addis Ababa focusing on households who were relocated from the inner city to 14 relocation sites in the outskirts found out the adverse impacts of relocation on social network of relocation

affected communities. The study undertaken by Berhanu (2006) also revealed that about 96 per cent of relocated people loss previous neighborhood ties. Nebiyu's (2000) study on communities moved from the inner-city to another destination shows that about 67 per cent of relocatees claimed that the relocation scheme brought about break up of former neighborhood ties. Other qualitative study by Habtamu (2014) on those communities relocated from inner city to outskirts indicates loss of access to mutual help, child care arrangements, exchange and borrowing opportunities, and other informal support systems.

Similarly, a range of literatures (for instance, Cernea, 1993; Pandey, 1996 and World Bank, 2004) also argue that the social disruptions in neighborhood ties and community organization disintegration are the other consequences of relocation. The findings of these all studies undertaken by different researchers in different areas enable to understand that the importance of social network is neglected by urban relocation project.

4.2.3 Urban Services

In Addis Ababa, since urban services tend to concentrate in the inner cities, dwellers living in these areas enjoy better access to urban services compared to those live in the suburbs. Various studies conducted in Addis Ababa found out that relocation of people from inner cities to outskirts has resulted in hindering access to urban services such as education, health and transport. The studies by Nebiyu (2000), Berhanu (2006), Gebre (2008) and Habtamu (2014) revealed that in the new place of residence schools are not accessible in terms of distance and cost to relocated people. The availability of accessible education service is, therefore, better in the inner cities compared to the outskirts areas. These studies further state that school dropout, walking to the previous school in old location and using transport instead of walking were difficulties experienced by relocated people.

Regarding to health services, Gebre's (2008) research shows that for 83 per cent of the respondents, the distance from current homes to the nearest affordable health care facility is far or very far. The studies undertaken by Nebiyu (2000) Berhanu (2006) and Habtamu (2014) found out that the relocation project has led to loss of accessible health service. This is mainly because of that the public and NGO-operated healthcare facilities are concentrated in the city center, largely inhabited by low-income households (Gebre, 2008). Inaccessible transport, the location of bus-termini far away from place of residence and unaffordable transport cost are difficulties that relocatees have experienced in the new settlements (Berhanu, 2006; Gebre, 2008 and Habtamu, 2014). Cernea (1993) argues that one of the consequences of the relocation of people to the periphery is unaffordable transportation cost or absence of transportation. The findings of the studies imply that relocation projects have given little attention to accessible urban services.

4.3 How to attain Sustainable Slum Redevelopment?

4.3.1 Meaning of slum

The term slum which is derived from an old English or German word meaning a poorly drained place, was

originally applied to describe the cheap rental housing of the working class (d' Cruz & Satterhwaite, 2005 citing Hoskins, 1970). Since then the connotation given to slum areas predominantly associated to the physical and legal characteristics. Literatures which prevailed in 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s described slum as illegal settlement and an eyesore to the larger community. This connotation is continued up until now. For instance, the operational definition given by one of the most concerned international organization to slum area, UN-Habitat, is that slum is characterized by inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Since its origin, slum has simply been defined from the point of view of material aspect leaving economic, social and other values aside. This often justifies and rationalizes relocation approach that often focuses on physical dimension. The conventional meaning of slum, which leads to problem to be improperly stated, is therefore grossly misleading. Having various evidences including form my case study, I am more in agreement with the writing of Georges Bernanos, "there is no greater evil than a problem mis-stated." Therefore, we need to advance our understanding of slum. Understanding the multi-faceted nature of slum helps attain sustainable redevelopment.

4.3.2 Cooperation between the Main Public Sectors

The socio-economic challenges relocatees face, in areas such as unemployment, lack of accessible health, transport, education, energy and poverty require an integrated approach. There can be no sustainable urban relocation without strong cooperation between various public bureaus, such as Addis Ababa urban redevelopment, water, transport, Ethiopian electric power cooperation, telecommunication, education, sewerage, micro and small enterprises, saving and credit bureau and others. In fact, in Addis Ababa, there is absence of coordination between such sectors, and thus, has resulted in unsustainable slum redevelopment. Therefore, it is rare to bring about sustainable development without different sectors well cooperated effort.

4.3.3 Participation

The relocation project often neglects the participation of local community in decision making process. The study by Habtamu (2011) revealed that local people involvement in decision making process of slum redevelopment was inadequate. In fact, community participation oriented development became important since 1980s, when there was a significant shift from a top-down, technocratic planning to bottom-up or participatory development approach. The shift occurred due to that top-down development approach was unable to recognize local context or social, economic, cultural and environmental traits in development process. The approach did not give the local community the chance to participate and contribute in shaping their own development. Thus, it failed to achieve sustainable development. There is, therefore, a need to enhance participation of local communities in development process-project design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Rahmena (1999) indentified participation is no longer a threat to development; rather it has been accepted as an instrument for effective implementation of projects. In general, it is impossible to achieve sustainable development without the participation of local people in development process. Therefore, it is essential to involve local community throughout decision making process of slum redevelopment projects. As many empirical evidences in China, India and Mali show, community participation in process of relocation projects enables to identify people that can be mostly vulnerable and of course their interests. In addition, the community gains a sense of ownership of the project and they less likely perceive themselves as victims.

4.3.4 Households' Economic Activity

One of the issues that contribute towards unsustainable redevelopment is that mostly relocation projects overlook households' economic activity, particularly informal sectors up on which majority of livelihoods rely. Urban redevelopment-induced relocation often disrupts much economic activity of affected people. This is mainly because of that urban resettlement pays little attention to the economic impact of relocation. Lloyd-Evans and Potter (1998) argues that the scheme, which stands as one of the largest public housing programmes in the Third World, is basically designed to settle slums and not as a means for assisting low-income families *per se*.

The same concept in different words, Dwyer (1975), Drakakis-Smith (1979) and Yen (1990) argue that a strong motive on the part of government was to free sites-occupied by slum dwellers for more lucrative permanent development. Clearly, Mejia (1999) indicates that most current urban resettlement programs were based primarily on housing. Moreover, even though, in developing countries, the role of informal sector in employment and survival especially in the poor sections of society is crucial (UN-Habitat, 2003), Mejia argue that the reliance of poor on the informal economy has not been sufficiently studied or taken into consideration. Giving much attention to slum households' economic activities, mainly informal sector, is required to achieve sustainable slum redevelopment.

5. Conclusion

More than two-third of Addis Ababa's people reside in slum areas. Various efforts have been made by different actors to redevelop slum areas. In Addis Ababa, one of the predominantly implemented redevelopment approaches is relocation. Relocation erodes communities' access to all elements needed for their well-being-economic activity, social ties and urban services. There are also evidences that reveal the desirable impacts of relocation on relocated people. It also creates a better living scenario for relocatees-quality housing with adequate water supply, sanitation, toilet, kitchen, low risk factors for disease and manage burden of water collection borne by women, specifically girls. However, it has fallen to attain sustainable redevelopment. This is mainly because of that the multi-faceted nature of slum is seldom reflected in this approach. Failing to involve local people in overall redevelopment process, neglecting dwellers' economic activity and lack of

cooperation between various public sectors were also the other factors that contribute to unsustainable redevelopment.

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