

Beyond Urban Relocation?

Expectations and Concerns of
Children and Caregivers in Addis Ababa and Hawassa

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Summary

This paper documents the views of children and their caregivers about an impending relocation (that has been on the cards for a while) in the context of plans for central areas of Addis Ababa and Hawassa to be developed.

The findings suggest that most of the children and their caregivers have heard about the planned relocation from various sources. A significant proportion of caregivers mentioned promises made to them, mainly regarding improvements in housing and services, notably water and electricity. However, they did not have any clear idea about the likely timing of the move, an indication that the people most directly concerned have not been sufficiently involved and consulted in the planning process. Some suggested that they would need time to prepare for relocation. A significant proportion of the caregivers and some children know people who have already been moved, confirming that this is a fairly common experience in the two cities.

Most children and their caregivers were hopeful that they will experience improvements in housing and sanitation, and girls valued the prospect of having better toilets and kitchens. Some caregivers felt that the new relocation areas would be better for bringing up children. However, children and adults both expressed major misgivings. They feared losing sources of livelihood in informal activities in the city centre and worried about finding a place to live. Some mentioned concerns that services, notably health care and education, would become unavailable, distant, poor quality or unaffordable; others feared the loss of existing close-knit relations with neighbours, friends and relatives. A few, particularly elderly caregivers, were strongly opposed to the relocation. Others, however, were optimistic suggesting that whatever happens they will be better off living elsewhere.

The issue of urban development and the resulting relocation has important policy implications. Poor people living in inner city areas would prefer to remain in the same area where their livelihoods are based after the area is redeveloped; reserving part of these areas for housing for the urban poor would therefore be an equitable pro-poor policy. Given their poverty, replacement housing in condominiums or other affordable housing schemes deserve priority since they are unable to build housing on their own. Greater participatory planning, involving not simply transparent, timely advance information and adequate compensation and/or replacement housing, but involvement of communities in the planning and execution of the relocation would be an improvement on the current process. Redevelopment and relocation in stages could also prevent unnecessary excessive disruptions. In the new relocation areas, the development of adequate infrastructure and services, as well as the linkages between housing, livelihood opportunities and recreational facilities, especially for children, deserve greater consideration.

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About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, following the lives of 12,000 children in 4 countries (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) over 15 years. www.younglives.org.uk

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1. Introduction

This paper is one of a set of three reports resulting from a study conducted in four sites in two Ethiopian cities, three in the national capital, Addis Ababa, and one in Hawassa, the capital of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). The study involves families from Young Lives, a longitudinal study of childhood poverty, who we have been working with since 2002. It asks what children and their caregivers living in these areas that are due to be redeveloped think will happen to them, and it presents their hopes and concerns regarding the planned move.

The first two papers, as well as summary briefs based on them, have been posted on the Young Lives Ethiopia website (<http://www.younglives-ethiopia.org/publications>). The first of these presented the views of children and caregivers about their living conditions before the impending move. It considered children's and adults' perceptions of their home and neighbourhood environment, and the importance of their social support networks. The second paper focused on housing and considered how children and caregivers viewed the prospect of moving to condominium housing,¹ and their perceptions of their ability to afford the costs involved.

This third paper reviews the attitudes of children and adults towards the planned relocation, and their expectations, hopes and concerns about the move. The report discusses their perceptions of the potential positive and negative consequences of relocation in terms of the living environment, housing and sanitation, access to services, notably water, health and education, opportunities for employment and impacts on social relations.

The paper is divided into six sections. After a general introduction, in the second section we enquire about the extent to which children and adults are aware of the plans for relocation, from whom they have heard about it, when they expect the move to take place and the rationale for the relocation. In the third section we ascertain what children and adults know of other people who have already been relocated, and how they fared. The fourth section presents the expectations of children and caregivers about the problems posed by the process of moving, and expected problems and opportunities in the new setting. In the fifth section we discuss the overall expectations of children and caregivers about their life after relocation. The final section draws out conclusions and potential policy implications.

1.1 Background to the relocation study

The urban landscape in Ethiopia is currently undergoing a fundamental transformation, with whole neighbourhoods in the centre of major cities being cleared for urban development. The urban renewal programme has the twin objectives of promoting urban growth and providing improved housing for the urban poor. On the one hand the clearing of areas without high-value buildings is viewed by developers as freeing urban space for the construction of office blocks, shopping centres and real-estate development. On the other hand, low-cost condominium apartments are being built by the government and offered to urban residents of the areas that are being demolished who can afford the down-payment and subsequent

1 A condominium is a residential building in which each homeowner owns their individual dwelling unit and all the people living in the building share the communal areas and facilities. The Government of Ethiopia has embarked on a massive scheme of condominium construction as a form of low-cost housing to address the urban housing shortage.

monthly payments. Some of these condominiums are in the vicinity of areas that are being redeveloped, whereas most are being constructed on the outskirts of the cities.

The redevelopment of urban centres for business and improved housing has historically led to displacement worldwide. The study of the process and consequences of relocation in Africa has focused mainly on rural resettlement, notably on resettlement due to the construction of the large dams such as Kariba, Aswan and Volta and irrigation projects (Brokensha 1963; Chambers 1969, 1970; Colson 1971; Scudder and Colson 1979, 1982; Scudder 1968, 1973). In the Ethiopian context the literature on resettlement has focused largely on rural-to-rural resettlement in the context of drought and famine in the 1980s (Pankhurst 1991; Yintiso 2001; Abbute 2002; Pankhurst 2009; Rahmato 2010). Until recently there were comparatively few studies of urban relocation in Africa, apart from the pioneering work of Marris (1961), based on interviews with families cleared from Lagos slums.

The main body of more recent theoretical literature on reactions to resettlement, focusing mainly on the household level, is based on the pioneering work of Michael Cernea, who developed the *Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model* (IRR) (Cernea 1997, 2000), which was influential in shaping the World Bank guidelines on resettlement (World Bank 1998). The model rests on three basic concepts: risk, impoverishment and reconstruction. The major displacement-related risks of impoverishment that were identified were landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity and a decline in health, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources, social disarticulation, and risks to host populations (Cernea 2000: 22). Cernea first considered the question of urban relocation in a World Bank discussion paper (Cernea 1993). He noted that there was limited research on urban displacement, and that the first studies were by sociologists in the 1960s in industrialised countries, writing mainly about slum clearance, particularly in the United States. Cernea noted that further sociological contributions came in the 1970s, including some ex-post impact assessments which influenced US legal regulations on property expropriation and compensatory payments. He pointed out that there was much less known about urban relocation in developing countries, and certainly not enough to influence domestic policies, legal frameworks, actual projects or donors' assistance programmes. Cernea cites the influential study of *favela* relocation in Rio de Janeiro by Perlman (1976), and a handful of cases in Asian countries such as a study in Delhi by Misra and Gupta (1981), and a few in African countries, such as a Nigerian case study (Adekolu-John 1988).

Cernea predicted that urban relocation in Africa will become 'larger in Africa than population displacements in any other single sector, dam-building included' (Cernea 2005: 212). He further remarked: 'Against this imminent trend, the paucity of urban relocation in Africa's mega- and medium-size cities is hard to explain' (2005: 212). A UN Habitat scoping study, *Guidelines and Practices on Evictions, Acquisition, Expropriation and Compensation*, suggests that there is 'evidence to show that market-based urban displacement is on the increase as a result of economic development and globalisation' (UN-HABITAT 2010). A further UN Habitat publication assessing the impact of evictions notes:

Forced evictions are a global problem. Every year millions of people around the world are evicted from their homes and land, against their will and without consultation or equitable compensation. These evictions are carried out despite the fact that international law explicitly recognises the right to security of tenure and adequate housing, and has repeatedly declared the practice of forced eviction to be a gross and systematic violation of human rights. (UN-HABITAT 2011)

Poverty is seen as a major contributing factor in the eviction of the poor, as Oliver-Smith argues: 'It is their very poverty that subjects the poor to processes of displacement and resettlement' (2009: 18). The fact that the poor often lack formal tenure security can make them immediately vulnerable to removal from land that is needed or desired by the powerful. The fact that they live in unwholesome conditions can, in itself, become grounds for their eviction from an area so that, through their removal, the assets of the wealthy are promoted (UN-HABITAT 2011).

As Du Plessis argues, the impacts of evictions can be manifold. People's property may be damaged or destroyed; their productive assets may be lost or rendered useless; their social networks may be broken; their livelihood strategies can be compromised; their access to essential facilities and services could be lost; and, as violence is often used to force them to comply, they suffer severe and lasting psychological effects as a consequence thereof. Indeed, he suggests that the prospect of being forcibly evicted can be so terrifying that it is not uncommon for people to risk their lives in an attempt to resist; or, in even more extreme responses, to take their own lives when it becomes apparent that the eviction cannot be prevented (Du Plessis 2006). The report of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS 1991) distinguished between two levels of impact: (1) impact on the social organisation of the people relocated; and (2) impact on their employment and financial situation. It also considered the impact on women, as a third category warranting special focus (UNCHS 1991: 38–40).

Cernea (2005), using his IRR model, cites three studies of urban displacement in Africa, one in Mauritania (Faure 2004), and two in Ethiopia (Tadele 2004; Lamessa 2004). The former was a case of successful resettlement of shanty-town dwellers whose livelihoods improved, although Cernea remarked that this was not usually the case, citing his own report on the removal of 500,000 people, mainly refugees and squatters, from the Sudanese capital Khartoum (Cernea 1993). Lamessa's study of refugees from the war with Eritrea highlights disarticulation of community solidarity and tensions with established inhabitants in the area, but also re-articulation in patterns of mutual help and development of new solidarities and ways of coping and adjustment, based on social and religious concepts. The predicament and coping strategies of the same community have more recently been the subject of a book by Aptekar (2010). The study by Tadele considers peri-urban resettlement of peasants as the city of Addis Ababa expanded, highlighting the loss of housing and grazing and dilemmas in the use of compensation payments, which seldom led to re-establishment of sustainable livelihoods.

There have been very few studies of urban relocation in Ethiopia from city-centre areas designated for renewal, most of which are theses emanating from Addis Ababa University in Social Anthropology and Regional and Local Development Studies. Four of these focused on people relocated from the area designated for the building of the Sheraton Hotel (Baye 2000; Gossaye 2001; Resome 2006; Ogato 2006). Melese (2007) focused specifically on female-headed households in the same area. These were a rather privileged group, provided with relatively good housing in the outskirts of the capital city; however, despite better housing, they no longer had employment opportunities in the informal sector on which they had relied in the city centre, and also they faced daily commuting costs, which were initially subsidised.

Lika (2013) also considered poor female heads displaced in Arada sub-city and concluded that the urban poor, especially women, are highly affected by housing and urban (re)development schemes, suggesting that poor women deserve special consideration in housing development. More recently, Habtamu (2011) focused on the livelihoods of people

displaced from Arat Kilo area. In this study the findings suggest that not only did relocation negatively affect the livelihoods of the people, but their social networks and traditional institutions were also impaired; and the latter are usually not given due attention. There was also a study by Teshome (2005) on the impacts of the ring road which split communities (Pankhurst and Piguet 2009). A study by Hadis (2011) focused on the participation of affected groups in the redevelopment programme in one area in the centre of Addis Ababa. This study found that the project under study, although it had its own drawbacks and lacked sufficient participation, was a step forward in the history of the city in terms of involving affected groups in urban development.

1.2 The context of this study

The environment in which children grow up provides an important context for their welfare and opportunities for their development, and partly shapes their sense of identity. Children growing up in urban poverty often live in crowded housing, sharing space with many family members in dilapidated houses, sometimes conducting all daily activities in a single room, without adequate kitchens, toilets and washing facilities. Although children and caregivers are aware of the deprivations and hardships of life in such conditions, they also often value aspects of their home environment, notably cohesive and supportive social relations within the home (Pankhurst and Tiemelissan 2013a).

The neighbourhoods in which the Young Lives children live in the city centres in Addis Ababa and Hawassa are congested and tend to be unhealthy environments, with inadequate sanitation, open sewerage and limited facilities for the disposal of liquid and solid waste. Moreover, children often do not have space to play, and, according to caregivers, may be exposed to 'bad habits', including the addictive consumption of cigarettes, *chat*, *shisha*, alcohol and pornography from a very early age. Many poor people live in such circumstances not out of choice but for lack of other opportunities. However, people also value certain aspects of the neighbourhoods where they live, particularly access to informal work opportunities, markets, social relations and supportive social networks (Pankhurst and Tiemelissan 2013b).

1.3 The research and selected sites

The research was conducted in four Young Lives urban sites in two Ethiopian cities. Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, commissioned by the University of Oxford. The research is conducted in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, involving a longitudinal study from 2000 to 2015. In each country 3,000 children in two cohorts were included in the research. The first-cohort children, born in the year 2000, are the main subjects of the research and were aged 10 or 11 at the time of this study in January 2012. The second-cohort children were 7/8 years old in 2000 and were around 17 or 18 at the time of this study.

The Young Lives research is conducted in 20 different sites, in four major regions: Amhara, Oromia, SNNP, Tigray and the city of Addis Ababa. In the 20 sites, three rounds of quantitative surveys have been conducted, with a fourth round underway. In five of the sites, one from each region, there have been three rounds of in-depth qualitative studies involving a smaller sample of children and caregivers. Young Lives has also conducted a number of sub-studies in selected sites, including two rounds of school surveys, a study of vulnerability and a study of child work/labour.

This paper is a product of one such sub-study, using data from a cross-sectional study called 'Relocation Sub-study' conducted in four Young Lives sites: three in Addis Ababa (Bertukan,² Duba and Menderin) and the fourth (Leku) in the city of Hawassa, the capital city of the SNNPR. In two of the sites in Addis Ababa, Bertukan and Menderin, relocation has been mentioned as an issue of concern in the previous rounds of the main Young Lives survey, and residents have been told by the authorities that they will have to move. Both these sites are in the central part of the city, in areas where relocation is therefore expected to take place, although the exact timing is still unknown. Likewise, the site in SNNPR is in the centre of the city, and some relocation is believed to be likely. The fourth site, Duba, is on the outskirts of Addis Ababa and relocation does not seem to be a major concern; the study included this site for contrast as a 'control' site. However, the site is situated in the main industrial zone of the city, and the main road out of town may stimulate investment, leading ultimately to some displacement.

All four urban sites are in poor areas in either the national or one regional capital; however, they present particular characteristics which are worth outlining.

Bertukan is located in the central part of the capital city in an old quarter in the part of the city developed during the Italian occupation. Addis Ababa, which was established at the end of the nineteenth century, grew slowly during the early part of the twentieth century. During the Italian occupation (1936–41) urban planning was introduced, with sections of the town reserved for administration, commerce, residence for Italian occupiers and residence for the local population, some of whom were relocated from the centre to the outskirts in the west (Giorghis and Gérard 2007). Bertukan is located close to a major market where many of the households find casual employment in the informal sector. The site is heterogeneous both in terms of ethnicity, with Amhara and Gurage being the largest groups, and in terms of religion, including as it does both Orthodox Christians and Muslims. Many Young Lives households rely on informal-sector activities, notably petty trade in the market, street vending, wage labour, sale of food and beverages, and carpentry. There is a large proportion of female-headed households, some of whom are involved in commercial sex work, for which the area is known. Several adjacent areas have already been demolished and are being redeveloped, and this area is also within the priority areas for redevelopment. Although most of the redevelopment is earmarked for businesses, three blocks of condominiums have been built in the area, and about a dozen very poor people were able to obtain flats within them with the support of NGOs – although none of these was a Young Lives household.

Duba is located on the outskirts of the capital city in an area that was first developed as an industrial zone in the late imperial period. The area is close to a main road and a major river, which is subject to industrial pollution from the factories. It is less congested than the two sites in the centre of the city. The area is mixed in terms of ethnicity, with Oromo, Amhara and Silte being the major groups. The population is predominantly Orthodox Christian. The main forms of livelihood involve wage labour in the informal sector, retail trade and street vending, and – some men – factory work. There is relatively good access to health and education services. There are no immediate plans for redeveloping the area,³ although there has been an increase in industrial development in the vicinity and along the road passing through the area, which may well lead to some displacement along the road.

2 All names of children and sites used in this paper are pseudonyms, used to preserve the children's anonymity.

3 This site was selected as a 'control' site to compare with the areas where relocation is expected to take place.

Menderin is in the centre of Addis Ababa in a very congested area which has a reputation of being one of the poorest parts of the city, with badly constructed make-shift dwellings. The area experiences pollution from open sewers and waste in the streets, and air pollution from a cigarette factory. The site is mixed in terms of ethnicity, with four major ethnic groups: the Amhara, Gurage, Oromo and Tigraway. The majority of the population are Orthodox Christians, although there are large Muslim and smaller Protestant Christian minorities. There is an important market in the area. The main forms of livelihood are based on informal-sector activities, including petty trade, street vending, retail selling, woodwork and daily labour; some residents earn wages in government or private organisations. Several adjacent areas have already been demolished and are in the process of being redeveloped, and some condominiums have already been built. The area has been designated for redevelopment, and the residents have been informed that they will have to move.

Leku is located in an old neighbourhood in Hawassa, the capital city of the Southern Ethiopian Nationalities, Nations and Peoples Administrative Region (SNNPR). The ethnic composition of the site is heterogeneous, with three major groups among the Young Lives sample being the Wolayta, Amhara and the Oromo. There are also a few Gurage and a few Tigraway and Sidama. In terms of religion the site is also mixed, with Orthodox Christians and Protestants representing the largest groups. In terms of livelihoods, most people in the community are engaged in informal-sector activities, notably petty trading, daily labour and street vending, or other forms of self-employment. Children are involved in such activities. There is a high prevalence of female-headed households. The community is considered to be very poor, and a few NGOs have been engaged in distributing aid and educational materials. Some parts of the area are expected to be demolished for renovation, although the boundaries are not yet clear.

1.4. Methods and data

The relocation sub-study, conducted in January 2012, comprises both qualitative and quantitative parts. As noted earlier, large areas of urban centres in the big cities of Ethiopia, notably in the capital, are being redeveloped, and hundreds of thousands of people are having to move to make way for business centres and condominium housing.

In this study the quantitative survey comprised a total of 466 caregivers and 451 children. This represents 15.8 per cent of the Young Lives children and 40 per cent of those living in urban areas. Of the 451 children, 299 (64 per cent) are among the Younger Cohort (aged between 11 and 12 years old at the time of the study), whereas 152 (36 per cent) are among the Older Cohort (aged between 17 and 18 at the time of the study). Of the total, 232 (51.4 per cent) are girls and 219 (48.6 per cent) are boys.

In the qualitative survey, interviews were conducted with 79⁴ children and their caregivers, 10 boys and 10 girls in each of the four sites. Since Bertukan and Leku are Young Lives qualitative sites, we used the existing qualitative sub-sample children, including both the main 'index' children and the 'reserve' children. In the other two sites, a qualitative sub-sample was generated from the main survey sample. The selection criteria included the wealth quintile of household, house ownership, and other social characteristics such as religion and ethnicity, with an attempt to include a mix from different categories and equal numbers of boys and girls from both cohorts. Key-informant interviews were also conducted

4 One boy selected in Bertukan has moved and could not be located.

with respondents from formal and customary institutions in each community. Focus-group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with children, taking into account their age and gender cohorts, with separate FGDs for boys and girls for each cohort, as well as with their caregivers. FGDs were also held with influential community members.

The interviews were conducted by researchers who had already worked in the Young Lives qualitative-study teams, were familiar with interviewing children in these sites, and had experience with qualitative methods and the ethical issues and procedures that Young Lives has adopted. In particular, since the topic is sensitive, the researchers explained clearly that they were not part of the government administration but were carrying out a sub-study of the wider Young Lives study in which they had already taken part. They explained that the purpose of the study was to find out about their views, given that relocation was being planned in the city, emphasising that their views would be presented anonymously. The rationale for the study was to understand the views and attitudes of children and caregivers towards their home and community environment, and their expectations, fears and hopes about plans for relocation. The main general topics of discussion were knowledge about relocation and anticipation of opportunities and problems associated with the impending move. The sections used for this paper included questions on expectations of living place; overall change; expectations of problems in moving and living in new areas; expectations of opportunities; and overall outlook. The data were written up by the researchers, using the protocols, and were analysed for this paper by considering evidence of recurring themes in terms of site, cohort and gender.

2. Knowledge about relocation plans

2.1 Understandings of the resettlement rationales

Children in the three sites in Addis Ababa and Hawassa where urban redevelopment (and hence displacement, relocation and resettlement) is being envisaged were aware of different rationales: urban development to clear land for investment as well as to provide condominium housing. Even in Duba, the control site, there was a mention of the probability of small-scale relocation for roads and investment, in an area which is considered as part of the city's industrial zone.

In Bertukan, one of the inner-city sites in Addis Ababa, an Older Cohort boy called Bereket said that the area was needed for investment and would be sold through the lease system, and Netsa, a girl from the same cohort, said it was required for city development, in the project known as 'making the city clean and green'. In contrast, Belayneh, a boy of the same cohort, only mentioned the city's need for condominium construction.

In Menderin, the other inner-city Addis Ababa site, Hamza and Esayas, both Older Cohort boys, suggested that the area was needed for investment purposes, although their reactions differed. Hamza felt happy that this would bring about positive change, whereas Esayas was very sad at the prospect of having to leave the area. In contrast, Misgana, an Older Cohort girl, thought that the government needed the neighbourhood for the construction of condominiums.

In Leku, the site in the centre of Hawassa, an Older Cohort boy named Denbel said that the area was needed for the construction of condominiums and high-rise buildings. However, Yordi, an Older Cohort girl, thought that part of her neighbourhood might be cleared to make way for the road leading to the condominiums under construction adjacent to their neighbourhood.

In Duba, the control site in Addis Ababa, some children mentioned the possibility of relocation from specific parts of the neighbourhood. Two children mentioned investments: Hasabu, an Older Cohort boy, said that he heard a year ago about the possibility of relocation of some people because the place was going to be given to an investor. Likewise, Tadelech, an Older Cohort girl, suggested that the area was needed 'for investment and for constructing many buildings'. Zeneba, an Older Cohort girl, mentioned a road affecting a neighbourhood where houses will be pulled down. However, Beza, another Older Cohort girl, said that she had not heard about relocation but that the roads in their neighbourhood would be improved and widened, using cobble stones.

In general, Younger Cohort children were less aware of relocation, although a few, especially in Menderin, were able to articulate the rationales. For instance, Meron, a young girl, mentioned the need for construction of modern buildings; Matias, a young boy, and Hamelmal, a young girl, both living in the same site, mentioned that the area would be given to investors, whereas a few others mentioned that condominiums would be built.

2.2 Information about relocation

As shown in Table 1, most half the children and adults overall in the three sites where urban redevelopment may happen said they had heard that the areas where they were were due for demolition. The highest proportions were in Menderin (more than 80 per cent of both children and caregivers). The awareness of respondents in this site may also have been influenced by the fact that neighbouring areas have already been demolished. In Leku more than half the children, but only 40 per cent of the caregivers, said they had been informed. In this site too there is evidence of some relocation having already taken place. In Bertukan fewer than a quarter of caregivers and only 10 per cent of children said they knew about relocation plans. As we shall see, though, some caregivers who had been told repeatedly that the area they were living in would be destroyed and that they should get ready to be moved doubt that it will happen, precisely because they have been told about it so often without it happening.

Table 1. *Percentage of children and caregivers reporting being told the area was due for demolition*

	Children			Caregivers		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	10.0	90.0	0.0	22.8	77.2	0.0
Menderin	83.3	16.7	0.0	85.2	14.8	0.0
Leku	52.8	44.4	2.8	39.6	59.5	0.9
All sites	47.3 (N=53)	51.8 (N=58)	0.9 (N=1)	48.6 (N=162)	51.1 (N=170)	0.3 (N=1)

In interviews with children from the qualitative sub-sample, most of the Older Cohort children in the two inner-city sites in Addis Ababa where relocation can be expected to happen had heard about the planned large-scale relocation of their neighbourhoods. Children in Leku and Hawassa and those in Duba, the control site on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, mentioned the possibility of relocation of only part of their neighbourhoods, especially in relation to the construction of new roads and investment. In general, Younger Cohort children were less aware of the issue than Older Cohort children, and some had no clue about it; indeed, a few heard about the possibility of relocation for the first time during the interview for this study.

In terms of when they had heard about the prospect of relocation, some older children in the central Addis Ababa sites said they had heard four or five years ago, and others said about two years ago, whereas others reported hearing about it only shortly before the sub-study was conducted in January 2012. For instance, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, said: "I first heard about the relocation plans for people in our area this week on Sunday." In Leku an Older Cohort boy called Denbel said that the city administration had informed the people concerning the possibility of relocation five months ago.

Regarding sources of information in the two central Addis Ababa sites, children had heard about relocation from various people, including parents and other family members, neighbours, school friends and *kebele* officials, either directly or from others who had heard from the *kebele*. Bekele, an Older Cohort boy in Menderin, heard two years ago when his parents were discussing it with neighbours. Yared, in same site and cohort, said he had heard about relocation from his parents at that time, but he had also heard about it from a friend recently. Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in Bertukan, had learned about it from her mother and her aunt. Bereket and Afework, both Older Cohort boys in the same site, said they had not heard directly from *kebele* officials but from people who said they had been informed by the *kebele*. Muhaba, a girl in the same site and cohort, said she had read a letter that her mother had received from the *kebele*. She said:

"I first heard about the relocation plans this week on Sunday when I read the paper my mother had received from the *kebele* after attending a meeting. I found out that people in our area are going to be relocated. And also condominiums are going to be available for those who can afford the price and *kebele* housing for those who cannot afford it. We have not heard when the relocation might take place, but I do not think it will take too long. I feel glad of the relocation when I think I will no longer be living in this noisy area. However, I feel sad since I expect that I will not make friends easily."

Amina, Menen and Meron, Older Cohort girls in Menderin, said they had heard about relocation from people in the *kebele*, although Amina had also recently heard about it from friends in school. However, Adane, an Older Cohort boy in the same site, thought that the issue of relocation was just a rumour; he added: "I wish it were true, as I would be very glad to leave this area since this might result in a change in our lives."

Caregivers who were interviewed gave similar answers to the children, sometimes providing more details, particularly in Bertukan. Some said they had heard about it many years ago. The mother of Berhane, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, first heard about relocation some ten years ago in a *kebele* meeting. She said they were told they would be housed in a temporary shelter and would be given condominium housing once the construction was complete; however, nothing had happened so far. The mother of Genet, an Older Cohort girl in the same site, mentioned being asked by the *kebele* about her preferences. She said: "People from the *Kebele* came recently going door to door asking three groups of questions – about house ownership, the condition of our houses, and finally what kind of house we would

want, but they did not say when relocation might happen.” The brother and caregiver of Afework, an Older Cohort boy in the same site, mentioned some resistance by elders. He said he had heard about the plan for relocation when the government initiated discussions with the community. Some elders said: “We want to live and die in Bertukan.”

In Menderin several caregivers mentioned reasons why people thought the move would take place soon, notably that people from neighbouring areas had already been moved, and that new local development had been stopped. The mother of Lemlem, a Younger Cohort girl, said she had heard about relocation the previous year, and some people from a neighbouring area had already been relocated. Likewise, the mother of Hamelmal, another Younger Cohort girl, said she had witnessed some people being moved. She mentioned that people from the *kebele* had come to ask what kind of housing they wanted. She added that recently when neighbours wanted to have a private water tap installed they were told that the neighbourhood would soon be cleared. The mother of Serawit, an Older Cohort boy, said she had heard about the relocation five years ago in a meeting, where people were made to sign to confirm their willingness to leave the area. She said: “Though I signed the willingness form to leave the area, honestly speaking, I would prefer dying before I leave this neighbourhood at my age.”

In contrast, in Bertukan there was a sense expressed by some caregivers that the relocation might be on hold, or it might not even happen. The mother of Berhane, a Younger Cohort boy, said that the prospect had been in the air for many years and she had heard about it in a *kebele* meeting several years ago, when they were told they would be put in a temporary shelter and would eventually be given condominium housing; however, she no longer believed this, since nothing had happened. Similarly, the grandmother of Miki, an Older Cohort boy, who heard about the relocation a year ago, thought it must have been cancelled, since local development was taking place. She said: “If this area is going to be knocked down, then how come the people from the *Kebele* came to our compound to ask me to build a new toilet on the place where our tap is located?” The grandmother and caregiver of Bereket, an Older Cohort boy, said that *iddir* funeral associations had started to collect contributions from people that would serve for down-payments for condominiums. However, when no further information was forthcoming, people took back what they had saved. Another view was that the area was not conducive to the construction of large buildings. Samrawit’s mother said she first heard about the plan of relocation 16 years ago, when a big building was constructed near the area. However, she had heard that since a river passes under the neighbourhood it is not suitable for the construction of big buildings.

In Leku few caregivers mentioned specific information about relocation. However, the mother of Ayenew, a Younger Cohort boy, said that she knew about a plan for relocation. Even in Duba, the control site where relocation is not a big concern, a few caregivers mentioned that some specific areas might be affected; reasons mentioned included the prospect of road and railway construction, as well as investment and the construction of condominiums.

2.3 Resettlement promises

Overall, slightly fewer than half the caregivers said that promises had been made to them about the relocation, the highest proportion being in Bertukan (almost two-thirds of interviewees) (Table 2).

Table 2. *Percentage of caregivers reporting promises were made about the relocation*

	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	64.5	35.5	0.0
Menderin	43.9	56.1	0.0
Leku	38.5	57.7	3.8
All sites	45.9 (N=83)	53.0 (N=96)	1.1 (N=2)

Among caregivers who mentioned that promises had been made, replacement housing was the main one, mentioned by almost 60 per cent overall and three-quarters in Bertukan. This may be in part because most of the households live in *kebele* housing. Monetary compensation was mentioned by only one in five respondents, and access to services by an even lower proportion, with electricity being the most commonly cited form of compensation, followed by access to water; much smaller proportions mentioned health care and education. Limited mention of access to services may be partly due to the assumption that access to electricity and water was taken for granted as part of the housing provision. However, as we shall see, access to water, health care and, especially in the case of children, education were serious issues of concern (Table 3).

Table 3. *Different promises made to caregivers (%)*

	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Replacement of housing	75.0	61.5	40.0	58.1 (N=72)
Monetary compensation	14.3	18.6	30.3	20.8 (N=25)
Access to electricity	37.5	15.4	17.1	20.2 (N=25)
Access to water	29.2	15.4	17.1	18.5 (N=23)
Access to health care	26.1	9.2	11.1	12.9 (N=16)
Access to education	21.7	9.2	11.1	12.1 (N=15)

In the in-depth interviews some caregivers, particularly in Menderin, who were not registered with the *kebele* and who did not have housing of their own but either rented rooms from private owners or were given shelter in other households' rented accommodation, expressed worries that they would not be given replacement housing and would not be able to find housing if relocated. For instance, the father of Bekele, an Older Cohort boy in Menderin, said he was shocked when he heard about the relocation, since he is a *debal*⁵ who rents space in a *kebele* house and is therefore not legally registered. He said: "The relocation plan does not consider people like me as being eligible for replacement housing." He concluded: "If we are relocated, we have nowhere to go." On the other hand, others without proper housing welcome the possibility that resettlement would enable them to obtain better opportunities. For instance, the mother of Lemlem, a Younger Cohort girl in Menderin, said: "I don't think this will affect me negatively because I am already living in a shelter. And there is no place that is worse than this shelter, and the move might give us many opportunities."

5 The word *debal* refers to a person who is not a family member, who is 'additional', and may be a distant relative, or someone given shelter, or a lodger.

In Leku concerns that compensation would be minimal were expressed by the mother of Ayenew, a Younger Cohort boy; she said that some people who had heard about relocation had started to sell and leave the neighbourhood. There were also fears expressed by the father of Tadios, an Older Cohort boy, that relocation would benefit the rich but that the poor would suffer. He said he had heard people sarcastically saying: “The poor will perish, the rich will flourish”.

2.4 The timing of resettlement

Awareness about when relocation might happen was limited among caregivers. Asked if they knew when it was expected to happen, two-thirds answered negatively, and a further 15 per cent said they did not know. The highest proportion saying that they knew when it would take place was in Menderin (a little more than a quarter).⁶ See Table 4.

Table 4. *Percentage of caregivers who knew when the relocation might happen*

	Yes	No	Don't know
Bertukan	4.5	81.8	13.6
Menderin	26.2	66.0	7.8
Leku	17.9	55.1	26.9
All sites	17.8 (N=44)	66.8 (N=165)	15.3 (N=38)

Asked when specifically they thought it would happen, almost 60 per cent of caregivers overall said they did not know.⁷ Among those who said they did know, the vast majority – almost a third of all respondents – thought it would happen after the following Ethiopian calendar year (i.e. after September 2013). Most of the remainder thought it would happen during the 2005 calendar year (September 2012–September 2013), and only five respondents thought it would happen in the remaining seven-month period of the 2004 Ethiopian calendar.⁸ Menderin was the site with the greatest number of respondents expecting the resettlement to happen relatively soon (Table 5).

Table 5. *When caregivers expected the relocation to happen (%)*

	In 2004 (current year)	In 2005	After 2005	Do not know
Bertukan	6.0	3.0	43.9	47.0
Menderin	1.5	14.9	23.9	59.7
Leku	0.0	0.0	26.4	73.6
All sites	2.6 (N=5)	6.4 (N=12)	31.7 (N=59)	59.1 (N=110)

The results of the quantitative data suggest there is very little knowledge about resettlement planning and timing, and limited expectations that it is imminent.

⁶ Most of the children did not answer this question, and no data were available from Bertukan; of those who did answer, two-thirds in Menderin said they did know. As the data from the children seem unreliable, they have not been included in the table.

⁷ Most children did not answer this question, and no data were available for Bertukan, so we have omitted their data from the table. Only 17 children gave positive responses, most suggesting that it might happen within the next five years, and only four children in Menderin expected it to happen by the end of 2005.

⁸ From January 2012, when the interviews took place, to September, the end of the Ethiopian calendar year.

In the qualitative survey in all the three sites where some relocation can be expected to take place at some point, some of the children, especially those in the Older Cohort, thought that relocation might happen soon, and most seemed to think that it would take place within the coming five years. However, some of the Older Cohort children mentioned that relocation might not happen, at least in the foreseeable future, since it had been mentioned repeatedly without anything happening so far.

However, there were notable differences within and between the sites. In Bertukan, an Older Cohort boy named Afework said that relocation might happen within five years. Two other Older Cohort boys, Bereket and Belayneh, expected that relocation might happen after a year and said they were optimistic about the possibility of the move. In contrast Netsa, an Older Cohort girl, said that although she had heard about relocation five years ago, nothing had happened so far, which suggested to her that it might not take place. However, Rahina, another Older Cohort girl, expected relocation to happen soon, despite nothing happening so far. Muhaba, a girl in the same cohort, thought it might not take too long, but she did not know when. In contrast, Samrawit did not think it would happen at all, as her mother said this had been claimed for quite a while.

In Menderin, an Older Cohort boy called Serawit said that for the last three years they had been told that they would leave the area within six months, but the relocation kept being postponed. He thought that relocation might happen within two years. However, Lemlem, a Younger Cohort girl, expected that it might happen in the coming few years.

In Leku, some children were sceptical about the prospect of relocation happening. For instance, Seifu, an Older Cohort boy, said that relocation might not happen soon, because top officials concerned with the issue had been imprisoned for corruption. Yitbarek, another Older Cohort boy, said that relocation was not their concern, because they were living in their own house and therefore would not be relocated.

Even though most children did not know when the demolition might take place, and some expressed scepticism, three-quarters thought it would eventually happen; the highest proportions were in Menderin, followed by Bertukan.

2.5 Expectation that resettlement will take place

The findings presented in Table 6 suggest that most children are realistic in expecting that urban development is likely to lead eventually to their displacement, relocation and resettlement.

Table 6. *Percentage of children who expected their area to be demolished*

	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	71.1	23.7	5.3
Menderin	85.7	14.3	0.0
Leku	71.0	25.8	3.2
All sites	75.3 (N=73)	21.6 (N=21)	3.1 (N=3)

2.6 Migration plans

Asked whether they had thought about moving from their area, more than half of the caregivers said Yes. The highest proportion was in Menderin, where only 15 per cent said they had not thought of moving, followed by Bertukan, where 60 per cent had thought of

moving. In Duba and Leku more than half the respondents said they had not thought of moving, which suggests that there was less concern about migration in the site on the outskirts of Addis Ababa and in the regional capital. See Table 7.

Table 7. *Percentage of caregivers who reported having considered moving*

	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	59.6	40.4	0.0
Duba	39.2	58.4	2.4
Menderin	84.1	15.0	0.9
Leku	41.7	53.7	4.6
All sites	55.5 (N=252)	42.5 (N=193)	1.9 (N=9)

Although most caregivers, especially in the inner-city sites, have thought about moving, there is considerable uncertainty among both children and caregivers about where they think they will be living in five years' time.

3. Knowledge about other relocated people and changes in their lives

3.1 Knowledge about other relocated people

Almost half the caregivers overall knew people who had been relocated, which is one indication that both cities are undergoing rapid changes. The highest proportion was in Menderin (more than two-thirds), where part of the adjacent community had been moved. Next came Bertukan (almost two-thirds), where respondents mentioned that people from nearby areas that had been demolished had come to live in their neighbourhood. In Leku the proportion was less than half, suggesting that urban renovation and rehousing are of less concern in this regional capital city. The proportions were lowest in Duba, the control site in Addis Ababa, where only a fifth of the caregivers knew other relocated people. See Table 8.

Table 8. *Percentage of caregivers who knew someone who had already been relocated*

	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	64.0	35.1	0.9
Duba	20.2	79.8	0.0
Menderin	67.6	32.4	0.0
Leku	46.2	52.1	1.7
All sites	48.6 (N=226)	50.7 (N=236)	0.6 (N=3)

3.2 Residence of relocated people

Asked where people whom they knew to have been relocated were living, the vast majority (79 per cent of children and 73 per cent of caregivers) mentioned condominiums. The majority of these relocated people, mentioned in more than half the responses from both children and adults, were living in condominiums on the outskirts. *Kebele* housing was the next most significant category, with much higher proportions of caregivers mentioning this (23 per cent) than children (15 per cent). Only a handful of caregivers knew of relocated people living in rented accommodation in the city; three caregivers and three children knew of relocated families living in other urban areas, and one caregiver in Duba mentioned a household living in a rural area. See Table 9.

Table 9. *Where relocated people are now living (%)*

	Children					Caregivers				
	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites
In condominiums in other areas in the outskirts	67.5	88.9	38.1	65.5	58.3 (N=70)	60.3	68.0	49.3	46.4	54.2 (N=123)
In kebele housing	20.0	0.0	19.0	6.9	15.0 (N=18)	27.4	4.0	24.7	23.2	22.9 (N=52)
In condominium in the same area they lived in	10.0	0.0	38.1	17.2	20.8 (N=25)	12.3	16.0	23.3	23.2	18.9 (N=43)
In other urban areas	0.0	0.0	2.4	6.9	2.5 (N=3)	0.0	4.0	0.0	3.6	1.3 (N=3)
In rented accommodation areas on the outskirts of the city	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0 (N=0)	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.8	0.9 (N=2)
In rented accommodation in other parts of the city	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0 (N=0)	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.4 (N=1)
In a rural areas	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0 (N=0)	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.4 (N=1)
Do not know	2.5	11.1	2.4	3.4	3.3 (N=4)	0.0	4.0	1.4	0.0	0.9 (N=2)

In the qualitative interviews some children, especially from the Older Cohort in the city-centre sites, knew people who had moved due to development-related works and were living in condominiums. In Bertukan some children knew people who had been relocated far away but also others who had been moved into condominiums within their neighbourhood. Netsa, an Older Cohort girl, said she knew families who had been relocated to other areas, both to *kebele* houses and condominiums, but she also knew people who had moved into their neighbourhood from a nearby area. Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy, said he had heard about people who were relocated due to development work near a market area not very far from where he lives. Miki, an Older Cohort boy, said he knew a person who moved to live in a condominium in another part of the city who unfortunately died as the result of a car accident.

3.3 Changes in the lives of relocated people

Asked in what ways the lives of relocated people had changed, the views of both children and caregivers were generally positive. Overall more than half the children and 44 per cent of

caregivers thought that their lives had changed for the better. An additional fifth of the children (21 per cent) and 16 per cent of caregivers thought that the change had been mainly positive but that it had some negative aspects. Only one in ten caregivers and 8 per cent of children thought their lives had changed for the worse, and 6 per cent of caregivers and 3 per cent of children thought that the move was mainly negative but had some positive aspects. The findings suggest that children had more positive views of how resettled people known to them were faring. The notable site-related difference is that Menderin has the highest proportion of both children and caregivers mentioning positive change.

Table 10. *Life changes for relocated people (%)*

	Children					Caregivers				
	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Positive	47.5	44.4	69	38.7	52.5 (N=64)	33.3	39.0	58.3	43.8	44.2 (N=128)
Mainly positive and some negative	25.0	22.2	14.3	25.8	21.3 (N=26)	26.2	14.6	8.3	15.0	16.3 (N=47)
Negative	2.5	0.0	7.1	19.4	8.2 (N=10)	11.9	2.4	13.1	10.0	10.4 (N=30)
Mainly negative and some positive	5.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	3.3 (N=4)	6.0	7.3	2.4	10.0	6.2 (N=18)
Do not know	20.0	33.3	9.5	9.7	14.8 (N=18)	22.6	36.6	17.9	21.3	22.8 (N=66)

The qualitative data provide more evidence of details and site differences. Many children mentioned improvements in housing and infrastructure, but they had also heard of concerns about distance from the city centre and loss of social ties.

In Bertukan, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl, knew relocated people who had benefited from the construction of a primary school in another *kebele* and were happy about the change. She said: “They received better condition houses and appreciate the larger size and cleanliness. Water taps are available within their house and there is no noise in the area. They have maintained their social relationships with their neighbours because they all moved together.” She added: “I have not seen any negative side to their current situation.” Amira, an Older Cohort girl, said three families living behind their house were relocated and were given condominiums in the same neighbourhood. She said they did not like “living up in the sky”, and that they would have preferred to have a house on the ground. Belayneh, a boy in the same cohort, knew people who had moved into the neighbourhood because the area they previously lived in was cleared. He said that they complained of separation from their former neighbours and friends. However, he suggested that the women were happy to live in Bertukan, because of the vegetable market in the neighbourhood.

In Menderin, several Older Cohort boys mentioned that relocated people liked their new housing and better infrastructure; however, some faced problems with transport and adapting to a new environment. For instance, Adane, an Older Cohort boy, knew some people who had moved to condominiums and had better housing conditions; however, they were not happy in some respects. He said: “Some families have been taken to Jemo.⁹ Their housing conditions are good and they are living in a relaxed neighbourhood. But they are not happy about their social life and the problem of transportation.” Likewise, Menen, an Older Cohort

⁹ Jemo is an area on the outskirts of the city of Addis Ababa, where there are many condominium complexes.

girl, said she knew people who moved to other areas and who are not satisfied. Younger Cohort children had less contact with people who had moved. However, Bedilu, a Younger Cohort boy, said one of his friends had to leave his school after his family was relocated.

In Leku there was less experience of relocation. An Older Cohort boy named Tagesu mentioned both positive and negative aspects of relocation experiences. He said: "I know families who were relocated due to the construction of a fuel station. They were provided with good houses. But it is very far from town and they have a problem of electricity and water." Yordi, an Older Cohort girl, said she knew families who used to live in a camp. They were moved out from the camp when condominiums were constructed on the former camp area and they were now living in rented houses.

In Duba, the control site, only one Younger Cohort girl said that she knew someone who had moved to live in a condominium, but she had not heard anything about how they were faring.

Adults had much more awareness and knowledge about people who had been relocated. In Bertukan several caregivers mentioned specific people known to them who had been resettled. The caregiver of Afework, an Older Cohort boy, said he knew six people who had moved away from the neighbourhood. Some were allocated accommodation in condominiums, while others moved to *kebele* houses. The family of a friend of his moved to Akaki on the city outskirts, but his friend had been staying with him for five months since he could not afford to leave his work in Bertukan and the new place is very far away. He also said that about 50 households that were relocated from the Arat Kilo area were given *kebele* houses in Bertukan. Likewise, the mother of Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl, said she knew several families who had been living in *kebele* houses who had subsequently left the area to live in condominiums. Their former *kebele* houses were given to people who had been relocated from Arat Kilo. The mother of Hamelmal said that her nephews were relocated from Arat Kilo. They were given land in Alem Gena on the outskirts of the city. However, she said they were not happy with the move.

Caregivers in Leku had mixed views about relocation implemented in the past and raised concerns related to compensation, loss of work opportunities, inadequate housing and services, and even corruption in the process. The mother of Destachew, an Older Cohort boy, said she knew some people who had been relocated from the neighbourhood to the outskirts of the city. Some were well compensated, but others were not. Although they got housing, they are unable to run their petty businesses. Likewise, the mother of another Older Cohort boy called Seifu mentioned that someone she knew who was relocated to the city outskirts had lost his petty business and was not leading a good life. The mother of a Younger Cohort boy said she knew of some 50 households who were relocated from the city centre. She said they were living in houses made of corrugated-iron sheets, and the village is therefore called *korkoro sefer*, literally 'corrugated-iron neighbourhood'. She added that they are very far from facilities, services, and work and business opportunities. The father of Yitbarek, an Older Cohort boy, claimed that relocation was being conducted to suit some officials wanting to make money from selling off the land. He suggested that some of those involved in corruption had been imprisoned, and that in one of the areas where relocation took place people were fighting. He said:

"As far as I know, no relocation has taken place in Hawassa. However, six months ago, there were rumours that there will be relocation, which I believe is in the interest of some corrupt officials of the region who wanted to sell the land to people wanting to build homes. An attempt was made to move more than 300 households but they resisted, leading to conflict. Some of the officials were imprisoned."

4. Expectation of changes after relocation

4.1 Overall expected change after the relocation

Asked about their expectations of how their own lives would change overall after the move, almost a quarter of children and a fifth of caregivers said they did not know. Among those who did express an opinion, generally the view was positive among both children and caregivers, with more than 40 per cent expressing outright positive views and approximately a further fifth of the samples suggesting that the change would be mainly positive with some negative aspects. Fewer than one in five caregivers and children thought that their lives would change for the worse or mainly for the worse, and fewer than 10 per cent thought that the change would be mainly negative with some positive aspects. See Table 11.

However, the views of respondents varied by site, with more than half the children and adults in Menderin having outright positive views, and a quarter of children and 15 per cent of caregivers in Leku having outright negative views.

Table 11. *Expectations of life after relocation (%)*

	Children				Caregivers			
	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites ¹⁰	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Positive	40.5	57.1	21.2	38.8 (N=38)	41.1	52.8	30.3	41.0 (N=139)
Mainly positive and some negative	5.4	3.6	15.2	8.2 (N=8)	7.1	5.6	23.5	12.4 (N=42)
Negative	27.0	14.3	21.2	21.4 (N=21)	26.8	18.5	12.6	19.2 (N=65)
Mainly negative and some positive	5.4	0.0	18.2	8.2 (N=8)	8.0	3.7	8.4	6.8 (N=23)
Do not know	21.6	25.0	24.2	23.5 (N=23)	17.0	19.4	25.2	20.4 (N=70)

4.2 Problems associated with moving to new areas

Regarding problems in moving to the new area, what worries most of the caregivers and the children is finding a place to live. The proportion was about half for the caregivers, while it was a little less than half (47 per cent) for the children. However, whereas a higher proportion of caregivers worried more about the cost of moving belongings than about the practicalities of moving, the reverse was true in the case of children, suggesting that parents were more concerned than their children with the financial implications. See Table 12.

¹⁰ The responses for caregivers in Duba, where relocation is less likely, were limited and were not available for children, so data for this site have been omitted in this and the following tables.

Table 12. Problems expected by children and caregivers during the move (%)

	Children				Caregivers			
	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Finding somewhere to live	48.6	38.9	54.3	47.2 (N=50)	55.4	48.1	47.9	50.4 (N=171)
The costs of moving belongings	17.1	5.6	17.1	13.2 (N=14)	23.2	11.1	15.1	16.5 (N=56)
The practicalities of moving belongings	22.9	22.2	28.6	24.5 (N=26)	10.7	24.1	23.5	19.5 (N=66)
Do not know	11.4	33.3	0.0	15.1 (N=16)	10.7	16.6	13.4	13.6 (N=45)

In the qualitative interviews the issue of housing was also mentioned repeatedly by the children. For instance in Bertukan, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl, and Degu, a Younger Cohort boy, expressed concern that they would face problems finding a place to live. Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, shared their concern but thought this would happen only if the *kebele* did not provide them with a house. Genet, an Older Cohort girl in the same site, foresaw many problems while moving and also worried that the houses might be too small. She said: “We might face difficulties to find a house to live in. Even when a place is found, moving by itself is very tough. If we are given a small house we will face difficulty as we have many things.” In Menderin, Hamza and Serawit, both Older Cohort boys, thought there would be problems in finding a place to survive initially. In Leku, Tagesu, an Older Cohort boy, suggested that finding a place to live would present a serious challenge.

Some children also mentioned the cost of moving. Miki, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, said that moving belongings would be very expensive. His grandmother and caregiver worried that they had many old things in their house and would not know whether to take them or how to dispose of them. Afework, a boy in the same cohort and site, added that the problem would be greater if the place to which they moved was very far, and Serawit, an Older Cohort boy, said moving belongings would be difficult and there might be theft. A number of children also emphasised problems resulting from the breaking of social ties if some family members did not want to move. For instance, Rahina, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, thought that some family members might want to stay in the old area, and this would result in separation.

Although many children did express concerns about the move, some thought these concerns were not very significant, compared with their current problems. For instance, Fatuma, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, said: “There will be no problem at all while moving. There cannot be a greater problem than the current living area.” Habib, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, said he did not foresee any problem while moving, because the condominium could not be outside Addis Ababa.

Caregivers’ responses echo those of the children, although several expressed worries about the cost and potential damage to property. For instance, the mother of Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, worried about the cost of transporting belongings to the new area and feared that furniture might be broken or damaged and belongings lost.

4.3 Problems associated with living in the new area

As far as the problems of life in the new area are concerned, fears about adaptation to the new environment were reported by the vast majority of children (83 per cent) and by slightly fewer caregivers (70 per cent).

Problems of social adaptation, in relation to finding friends and helpers and establishing good relations with neighbours, were reported by somewhat higher proportions of children than of caregivers. However, finding work was a more important concern for a greater proportion of caregivers than for children. Whereas the cost of transport was mentioned by a higher proportion of caregivers, the availability of transport was mentioned by more children.

Services were mentioned by fewer than half the caregivers and children. Access to education and health was mentioned by a greater proportion of children, and access to water by more caregivers. Access to places to play was also a concern for almost a third of children. The highest proportions of concern about most of the problems mentioned, except finding work and transport costs for caregivers, and about all aspects for the children, were reported in the Leku site. See Table 13.

Table 13. *Problems expected in the new area (%)*

	Children				Caregivers			
	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Adapting to the new area	77.1	86.1	86.5	83.3 (N=90)	66.1	67.6	76.5	70.2 (N=238)
Finding friends and helpers	77.1	77.8	83.8	79.6 (N=86)	60.7	63.0	71.4	65.2 (N=221)
Establishing good relations with neighbours	80.0	77.8	81.1	79.6 (N=86)	58.0	59.3	78.9	62.2 (N=211)
Finding work near living area	36.7	44.8	58.1	46.7 (N=42)	52.7	52.8	56.3	54.0 (N=183)
Cost of transport to previous work	27.3	41.2	55.6	41.7 (N=43)	55.4	43.5	45.4	48.1 (N=163)
Availability of transport to previous work	43.3	51.7	51.6	48.9 (N=44)	52.7	43.5	37.8	44.5 (N=151)
Access to education	34.3	17.1	45.9	32.7 (N=35)	25.9	21.3	37.8	28.6 (N=97)
Access to water	23.5	19.4	27.8	23.6 (N=25)	23.2	18.5	38.7	27.1 (N=92)
Access to health care	25.7	19.4	40.5	28.7 (N=31)	17.0	19.4	33.6	23.6 (N=80)
Access to places to play ¹¹	25.7	22.2	45.9	31.5 (N=34)	-	-	-	-

When the children were asked what they thought would be the most important problem they would face in the new area, almost two-thirds mentioned adapting to the new area. Social factors were also fairly important, accounting for almost a quarter of responses, with establishing good relations with neighbours regarded as more important than finding friends and helpers. However, other concerns, such as finding work near the residential area, access to water, and transport availability, were mentioned by only a few children. See Table 14.

¹¹ This question was asked only of the children.

Table 14. *What do you think will be the main problem for you in the new area? (children)*

	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	Total
Adapting to the new area	54.5	76.7	61.1	63.6 (N=63)
Establishing good relations with neighbours	18.2	16.7	13.9	16.2 (N=16)
Finding friends and helpers	12.1	0.0	8.3	7.1 (N=7)
Access to education	3.0	3.3	5.6	4.0 (N=4)
Finding work near residential area	9.1	0.0	2.8	4.0 (N=4)
Access to water	0.0	0.0	8.3	3.0 (N=3)
Transport availability	3.0	3.3	0.0	2.0 (N=2)

In the qualitative interviews, when asked about problems that they expected to face, children raised issues concerned with housing, infrastructure and services, notably water and education, costs of living and transport, social disarticulation and adaptation, and access to employment.

Housing

Some children worried that they might start off in temporary shelters, or that, if they found housing, it might lack services such as water and electricity. Serawit, an Older Cohort boy in Menderin, thought this might lead young people to spend more time away from home. Others expressed concerns about life in condominiums. For instance, Degu, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, said: "If we are going to live in a condominium the steps will be difficult for me." Likewise, Yerusalem, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, was concerned about safety for her younger sister. In Leku, some children were worried that they might be relocated outside the town and have to live in a rural area.

Infrastructure and services: water and schooling

Several children, especially in Leku, expressed concerns that infrastructure, such as water, roads and electricity, might be less good in the relocation area. For Instance, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, feared they would experience water shortages. Likewise Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, thought that, although they would have private toilets, they might not have enough water to keep them clean.

Some, such as Yerusalem, a Younger Cohort girl in Bertukan, worried about having to leave their current school. Likewise Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, feared that his current school would be too far away. Others were concerned that there might not be schooling available, or that it might be far away and that they might have to use public transport, which would be expensive. Genet, an Older Cohort girl, feared that she might have to drop out of school altogether.

Several caregivers also expressed concerns about services, notably water and health care. The mother of Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, suggested that, whereas they currently did not experience a water problem and there were several clinics in the neighbourhood, these might be constraints in the new areas.

Costs of living and transport

Some children expressed concerns about likely increased costs of living away from the centre of town. Miki, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, put it succinctly, saying: "Even buying tea leaves might be more expensive". Others, such as Bekele, an Older Cohort boy in Menderin, were worried about the availability and cost of transport in the new areas. For the children this was mainly about travelling to school and to visit areas where they used to live, whereas for the adults the primary concern related to travelling to places where they worked.

Social disarticulation and adaptation

The risk of families splitting in the move was mentioned by several children. For instance, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, said she thought her brother would not agree to leave the area where they currently lived. She also thought it would take time to get to know neighbours and other people in the new area. Destachew, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, thought the separation from friends and neighbours and making new friends would present challenges. Miki, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, added: "The new neighbours might even speak a different language." Afework, an Older Cohort boy in the same site, was concerned about separation from family members and the disintegration of social institutions such as *iddirs* (funeral associations), and *iqqub* (credit associations). He thought that after the move family members might be in touch only by telephone. He wished that the whole neighbourhood could be resettled together, to avoid these problems. However, Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, did not think that separation would be a problem, arguing that they would ensure that they met relatives and friends no matter what.

Employment

Children were less conscious than caregivers of the potential problems concerning employment. Nonetheless, Habib, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, mentioned that, although he did not understand it fully, he had heard people say that their current area was good for daily work opportunities, whereas in the new area there might be fewer opportunities. However, for some working children this would be a problem. For instance, Tagesu, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, said they might need to wake up early to go to work in town.

Concern about the potential lack of employment opportunities was a major worry for many caregivers, and was considered more likely to affect the poor who made a living from petty trade. The mother of Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, said: "Working conditions are going to be difficult especially for the poor. Most people here lead a hand-to-mouth kind of life; they buy something and sell it at a price that is a bit higher. This is the way they survive."

4.4 Opportunities in the new areas

Regarding opportunities in the new areas that they looked forward to, the aspect most commonly mentioned by both children and caregivers was improved sanitation, cited by more than three-quarters of children and two-thirds of caregivers. Likewise, improved housing was mentioned by three-quarters of children and almost two-thirds of caregivers. Almost half the children (48 per cent) and 45 per cent of caregivers mentioned their expectations of a less polluted environment. A better environment to bring up children was mentioned by roughly the same proportions of children and caregivers. Safety of the environment or reduced levels of crime were mentioned by a higher proportion of children than caregivers, as was improved access to water. Better access to health care and

education was mentioned by roughly equal proportions of children and caregivers. One striking difference between the caregivers and children is that new employment opportunities were ranked second by caregivers (56 per cent) but were ranked last by children, of whom only 18 per cent suggested a greater concern with work issues among adults, although in the qualitative survey worries were expressed that employment might not be available.

Regarding site differences, Bertukan had the highest proportion of positive answers given by both caregivers and children in all respects, except for improved water access, for which Menderin had the highest proportion. This might well suggest that caregivers and children alike in Bertukan are keen on the imminent relocation. See Table 15.

Table 15. *Expected opportunities and benefits of the new area*

	Children				Caregivers			
	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Improved sanitation	94.3	61.1	77.8	77.6 (N=83)	75.4	66.7	59.5	65.9 (N=303)
Improved housing	97.1	63.9	72.2	77.6 (N=83)	76.3	64.8	52.6	63.7 (N=293)
Less pollution	65.7	41.7	37.1	48.1 (N=51)	71.1	40.7	31.9	45.2 (N=208)
Better environment for bringing up children	57.1	38.9	37.8	44.4 (N=48)	63.2	42.6	31	43.0 (N=198)
Safer environment/ less crime	60.0	36.1	37.8	44.4 (N=48)	53.5	45.4	34.5	39.3 (N=181)
Improved water access	45.7	47.2	41.7	44.9 (N=48)	38.6	47.2	37.9	38.7 (N=178)
Better health facility	42.9	13.9	36.1	30.8 (N=33)	39.5	29.6	30.2	30.4 (N=140)
Better education facility	42.9	16.7	21.6	26.9 (N=29)	35.1	25.9	22.4	25.2 (N=116)
New work opportunity	26.5	13.9	13.9	17.9 (19)	78.1	61.1	56.0	64.6 (N=297)

When children were asked to single out the most important opportunity they foresaw in the new area, improved housing came top by a long way: it was mentioned by more than 90 per cent in Menderin and by more than 80 per cent in Bertukan. Other opportunities were mentioned as most important by fewer than 10 per cent overall, with improved sanitation being the second most commonly identified opportunity, and a handful of children mentioning a safer environment/less crime, less pollution, and one child each mentioning better education and a better environment. See Table 16.

Table 16. *What do you think will be the main opportunity for you in the new area? (children)*

	Bertukan	Menderin	Leku	Total
Improved housing	82.4	92.3	62.5	78.3 (N=72)
Improved sanitation	11.8	0.0	12.5	8.7 (N=8)
Safer environment/ less crime	0.0	0.0	12.5	4.3 (N=4)
Improved water access	0.0	0.0	9.4	3.3 (N=3)
Less pollution	5.9	3.8	0.0	3.3 (N=3)
Better education facilities	0.0	0.0	3.1	1.1 (N=1)
Better environment to live in	0.0	3.8	0.0	1.1 (N=1)

In the qualitative sub-sample, improved housing and sanitation were also emphasised by most children. Many expect housing conditions to be much better and more hygienic. Hamelmal, a Younger Cohort girl in Menderin, said: "The house is going to be clean; there will be good drainage system for liquid waste disposal and there will also be a toilet for each family." Belayneh, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, said: "I expect we will have big bedrooms for all of us in the family, a private kitchen and toilet, so that the toilet will be cleaner than now." Kebebush, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, was enthusiastic about the prospect of separate rooms for sleeping, cooking and washing. Likewise, Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, was looking forward to having separate rooms with "proper space to put things". Bekele, an Older Cohort boy in Menderin, appreciated the prospect of having his own room to himself. Melaku, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, was expecting the new housing to be of much better quality, made from modern materials. Caregivers mentioned similar advantages. The mother of Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, added that with the improved housing they would not be facing the problems of fleas and other parasites.

Several children expected that the new areas would be cleaner and quieter, with less air pollution and noise. Some said it would be safer for children to play, with fewer risks of violence and accidents. Many mentioned that they expected there would be enough places for children to play in the open, unlike in their current neighbourhoods. A few children thought there might be better opportunities for education and work in the new areas.

Several caregivers, particularly in Bertukan, felt that relocation could only bring improvements. For instance, the father of Hawa, a Younger Cohort girl in Bertukan, suggested that whatever happened he would not face a life that was worse than the one that he led currently.

Improvements in the environment, less pollution, potentially better health and education services, and more suitable places to bring up children away from sources of addiction were mentioned by many. For instance, the mother of Birhane, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, who is asthmatic, said: "Although I do not think there will be better work opportunities than in Bertukan, I will be happy even if I move out of Addis Ababa. There will definitely be clean air, better health and education." She added: "I will be able to raise my children in a better way, in a way I always wanted to, in a place free from addiction. And for me, I will be able to breathe clean air and live longer." In Leku, where security seems to be a problem, some thought that relocation would result in improvements in this regard. The mother of Kudus, a Younger Cohort boy, identified the major opportunity that she looked forward to in the new area would be "peace and escape from robbery and group gangs". She said there had been several attempts to steal her property. However, she was also afraid that if they were relocated to the outskirts of the town, security might be a problem.

4.5 Aspirations for the future after relocation

Overall more than half of the caregivers and children were hopeful that their life would change for the better after the move. There were somewhat higher rates of optimism among the children (63 per cent) than among caregivers (54 per cent). The proportions were highest for both caregivers and children in Bertukan (more than two-thirds), followed by Menderin. In Leku 60 per cent of the children are optimistic, but only 41 per cent of caregivers, and in Duba half the children are hopeful, compared with 44 per cent of the caregivers. See Table 17.

Table 17. *Percentage of children and caregivers who are hopeful for positive change*

	Children			Caregivers		
	Yes	No	Do not know	Yes	No	Do not know
Bertukan	68.6	20.0	11.4	66.7	21.1	12.3
Duba	50.0	0.0	50.0	44.3	34.4	21.3
Menderin	61.1	11.1	27.8	64.5	8.4	27.1
Leku	59.5	27	13.5	40.7	34.5	24.8
All sites	62.7 (N=69)	19.1 (N=21)	18.2 (N=20)	53.7 (N=245)	25 (N=114)	21.3 (N=97)

4.6. Expectation of future residence

Overall, more than a third of children and almost half the caregivers said they did not know where they would be living in five years' time. About a third of caregivers and children thought they would be living in the same area in the same housing. About 12 per cent of caregivers and 14 per cent of children thought they would be living in condominiums, with a much larger proportion of the children thinking that these would be on the outskirts of the city, rather than in the centre. Only small proportions of caregivers and children thought they would be living in *kebele* or rented housing elsewhere, and a few children but no adults thought they would be living in other urban areas or abroad. See Table 18.

Table 18. *Where children and caregivers expect to be living in five years' time (%)*

	Children					Caregivers				
	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Same area in same housing	31.5	48.4	11.1	42.4	34.0 (N=155)	42.9	50.0	12.1	25.8	33.1 (N=43)
Same area in condominium	12.0	2.5	7.4	1.7	5.7 (N=26)	10.7	5.3	6.1	0.0	5.4 (N=7)
In a <i>kebele</i> house elsewhere	9.3	0.8	4.6	2.5	4.2 (N=19)	3.6	2.6	12.1	3.2	5.4 (N=7)
Outskirts of town in condominium	11.1	2.5	11.1	0.8	6.1 (N=28)	3.6	7.9	18.2	3.2	8.5 (N=11)
In town in other rented accommodation	1.9	3.3	2.8	0.8	2.2 (N=10)	3.6	2.6	0.0	6.5	3.1 (N=4)
In other urban area	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0 (N=0)	7.1	5.3	3.0	12.9	6.9 (N=9)
Abroad	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0 (N=0)	3.6	0.0	3.0	3.2	2.3 (N=3)
Do not know	34.3	42.6	63.0	51.7	47.8 (218)	25	26.3	45.5	45.2	35.4 (N=46)

In the qualitative interviews, likewise most of the children said they did not have any idea of where they would be living in five years' time if relocation happened. However, most of those who gave their opinion thought they would be living in the outskirts of the city in *kebele* houses, and very few thought they might go to live with relatives or move to condominiums. While some children living in houses owned by their families believed that they would be provided with replacement housing, others living in private rented houses expressed uncertainty as to whether they would be entitled to replacement housing.

In Bertukan, Miki, an Older Cohort boy, who did not foresee the possibility of settling in the city centre, thought they would be living in a remote area. Likewise, Afework, a boy from the same cohort, thought they would be living in a distant place in *kebele* housing. Similarly, Genet, an Older Cohort girl, said she expected to live in a *kebele* house on the outskirts of the city. Belayneh, another older boy, concurred, because he felt that *kebele* housing was the only kind of housing available to them. Rihana, an Older Cohort girl, thought that the investor who was taking possession of the area for development would give them a place to live in exchange. Yerusalem, a Younger Cohort girl, said that if they had to leave they would go to live with a relative who owned a big house.

Similar views were expressed in Menderin. Yared, an Older Cohort boy, said: "Other options like living in a private rented house and living with relatives would be very difficult. The only option left is to live in a *kebele* house on the outskirts of the city. But everything depends on my family's financial capacity and provisions from the government." Other reasons given by the children who said they would be living in *kebele* housing were the fact that they were currently living in a *kebele* house and would be unable to afford payments for condominiums or other forms of housing. Bekele, an Older Cohort boy, said: "Kebele houses in the inner city are good, but on the outskirts housing is very difficult. A house rented from individuals is worse and we cannot afford it." Serawit, an Older Cohort boy, said he was not sure where they would be living. He thought it might be in a temporary shelter until they were given a house. Otherwise he thought they might be relocated to Bishoftu, a city some 45 km from Addis Ababa. Lemlem, a Younger Cohort girl, said she would be living with her aunt in another part of Addis Ababa. Hamelmal, another Younger Cohort girl, who is living with her family in their own house, thought they would be given compensation and land on which to build a house. Only two children from the Older Cohort, one girl and one boy, thought they would definitely be living in condominiums.

In Leku, Yitbarek, an Older Cohort boy, said he did not think that his family would be affected by relocation, since they were living in their own house. Emebet, an Older Cohort girl, living with her family in a private rented house, said that she had no idea where they might end up living if relocated.

Caregivers, particularly in Bertukan, expressed concerns about being moved far from where they were now living, given their reliance on livelihoods based on work in the informal sector. Some therefore expressed the hope that they might be able to remain in the area after it was redeveloped. For instance, the mother of Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl, expected that they might be living in a very remote place, which would be difficult. She said:

"For our kind of life, Bertukan is the best. We survive! I don't think I can survive anywhere else. It would be good if they redevelop this area and put us back here. I do not think that we will have a better life anywhere. Here we have the means, we have something to do. If we go somewhere else and try to come work here, our earnings will be gone for transport."

In Menderin the mother of Yared, an Older Cohort boy, said she wished to live in a *kebele* house if relocation happened, and was worried that other forms of housing were unaffordable. She added: "It would be very difficult to live with relatives or in a rented house. I would prefer to live in my own *kebele* house with my family even in the outskirts of the town and if need be without eating food."

In Leku many caregivers were concerned that they might be relocated to sites far from the city. An additional concern was that this might be in Oromia region rather than in the SNNPR,

and some expressed fears that this might lead to disagreements and quarrels with the local farmers.

The vast majority of children expected still to be living with their parents in five years' time. In Leku, however, one fifth thought they would be living on their own, and in Bertukan one tenth thought they would be married, and a handful thought they would be living with siblings or friends. See Table 19.

Table 19. *Older Cohort children's expectations of who they will be living with in five years' time¹²*

	Bertukan	Duba	Menderin	Leku	All sites
Parent	70.0	88.6	78.8	75.0	78.6 (N=99)
Sibling	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6 (N=2)
On own with friends	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8 (N=1)
On own by myself	10.0	8.6	15.2	21.4	13.5 (N=17)
Married with spouse	10.0	2.9	6.1	3.6	5.6 (N=7)

5. Overall expectations about the changes

The discussions held with children and their caregivers suggested that their concerns related mainly to the environment, housing, services, especially schooling and transport, and social relations. Especially in the inner-city sites, children had clear views of what aspects of their lives they felt would improve after the move and what aspects were likely to deteriorate.

The improvements that they expected were largely to do with housing and sanitation, and places to play. Children were generally positive that relocation would bring about improvements in the environment in which they lived. Many felt that there would be less pollution, especially of the rivers and drains, but also less noise pollution; some even felt that owning their own house, as opposed to living in rental accommodation, would result in a 'change in ways of thinking'.

However, children expected their quality of life to deteriorate with regard to some services and they had worries about water, transport, and employment. Many had concerns about the likely social disarticulation, especially separation from friends and former neighbours. Some also expected worsening security and difficulties for certain groups such as the disabled and elderly.

On the whole most children were generally positive. However, some were pessimistic, particularly Older Cohort boys in Leku. For instance, Destachew said: "No positive thing will come, we will be disconnected from neighbours, there might be theft in the new area and

¹² This was considered to be less relevant for Younger Cohort children, who were not asked this question.

there is nothing clear about the changes.” Tagesu shared his concerns, suggesting that the problems of adjustment would be very great.

Some children, such as Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, expressed worries about the move: “Change is good but this one fills me with uncertainty.” Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, said he was afraid of the move, even though he thought they would get their own house. Other children, such as Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl, and Degu, a Younger Cohort boy, both in Bertukan, said they would feel sad to leave the area where they had grown up. Lemlem, a Younger Cohort girl in Menderin, said she would be not only sad but also angry. Many children said they would miss their friends, but Miki, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, foresaw a positive consequence, saying that it would lead him to study more. Teje, a Younger Cohort girl in Leku, said she would be happy to move, even though it would mean separation from her friends.

A few children said they hoped that the relocation would not happen, or at least that it would be postponed. Bedilu, a Younger Cohort boy in Menderin, hoped that it would not happen until he had completed primary school, and hoped that they would not be relocated to a rural area. A few, such as Destachew, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, said that they would not have wanted the change if it had not been imposed by the government.

As with the children, many caregivers were generally positive about the prospects resulting from resettlement, although some foresaw serious challenges relating to finding housing and work. The mother of Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, was generally optimistic, but also pragmatic, since she thought the move was inevitable and that there was therefore no point in resisting. She concluded: “Change is inevitable because the country is on the journey of change. So it would be better if we cooperate with the change.” However, some caregivers were pessimistic, particularly in Leku, where there was a fear that they would be moved to rural areas outside the town. This sentiment was expressed forcefully by the mother of Hunegnaw, a Younger Cohort boy, who said: “It feels like moving to the jungle.”

5.1 Environment and safety

Most children thought that the environment they would move to would be nicer, cleaner, neater, safer and more child-friendly. In particular a lot of Older Cohort girls in Bertukan were optimistic. Genet said she thought that the new area would be good for children, since it would be cleaner, which meant that the children would not get sick. Muhaba shared their views: “The positive change cannot be overemphasised and will result in improvement even in the way we think.” Rahina was also optimistic, saying that the move would result in a new set of experiences. Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, looked forward to not having smelly sewage channels close to their houses. Amira, an older girl in Menderin, felt that the environment would be better, less dusty and cleaner, so she believed that the relocation was appropriate for everyone in their area. Likewise, Misgana, another Older Cohort girl in the same site, felt that the new neighbourhood would have a nice look, with good access to water and better schooling.

Many children, including boys and girls from both cohorts, mentioned a great hope that the new areas would have better opportunities for playing, some predicting that they would find wide open spaces with fresh air, and others expecting the provision of recreation centres.

Most children also thought that the new areas would be safer and more peaceful. For instance, Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, contrasted their current neighbourhood, which was unsafe due to frequent theft, with the expectation that the new areas would be

safe. Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in the same site, said there would be lights at night in the new location. Afework, an Older Cohort boy also in the same site, thought that the presence of guards in the condominiums would make them safer. Misgana, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, concluded: "More than anything else I expect good safety since the houses will be locked."

Improvement in security was also mentioned by many caregivers. For instance, the mother of Degu, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, said that the major positive thing about the relocation would be freedom from the fear of theft and the sight of people fighting each other.

However, a few children expressed some security concerns. Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, was worried that the new areas on the city outskirts could be unsafe. Denbel, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, was concerned that the new areas might be more remote and less secure, as there might not be police stations. Likewise, Seifu, an Older Cohort boy in the same site, thought that security could be an issue, especially for women and children. Belayneh, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, feared that they might be relocated in a remote area where there could be wild animals such as hyenas. He also worried that the area might be unsafe for his brother, who had a physical impairment.

5.2 Housing, sanitation, water and kitchens

Generally, children felt that the move would mean better housing, with more space and additional rooms. Miki, an Older Cohort boy who lives with his grandmother in a single room in Bertukan, said: "If we move to a bigger house, I will get a place to study and maybe even my own room, and I will get better results in school." Kudus, a Younger Cohort boy in Leku, said that the housing was bound to be better, since they were currently living in a dilapidated house. However, there were a few children such as Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, and Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, who worried that the house that they got might be smaller than what they currently had; others, such as Belayneh, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, feared that it might be in poor condition. Cleanliness and a private separate kitchen were mentioned as important, particularly by girls such as Fatuma, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan. Having separate clean toilets was mentioned by many children as an important advantage of the move, especially to condominiums, and better waste disposal was also mentioned by some, such as Denbel, an Older Cohort boy in Leku.

Having their own privately owned, better-quality and modern housing was mentioned by many as the main advantage. Seifu, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, said that their house was not only too small for a large family, but was also falling down. He described the toilet as disgusting and complained that there was no space to play. He foresaw the opportunity of having a bigger compound and even raising cattle. However, while appreciating the prospect of new housing, some expressed concerns about its size and quality. For instance, Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, thought that their new house would not be as big as their current one, and Emebet, an Older Cohort girl in Leku, who was generally optimistic about the move, feared that the government might not be able to provide good-quality housing for all. Kudus, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, worried that if they received a big house his mother would not have the means to furnish it. Some children, while looking forward to better housing, foresaw some negative consequences. Several older boys in Menderin feared that they would lose friends and face adaptation problems in the new environment. Yared, an Older Cohort boy in the same site, added: "It is not fair to separate neighbours that are strongly attached and support one another."

However, a few children, such as Meron, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, were concerned that they might face water shortages. Likewise, Muhaba, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, was living in a house with a water well, so her household did not experience any water shortages; she was also concerned that they might have to go farther to get access to health facilities.

5.3 Services: schooling, health care and transport

On the whole, children also felt that the provision of social services would improve. However, some, especially boys, raised concerns. Mekonen, a Younger Cohort boy in Menderin, expressed worries about access to services as well as the quality of services. Such concerns were expressed more strongly in Leku, where there were fears about lack of facilities outside the town. Denbel, an Older Cohort boy in Leku, worried that, although housing and sanitation would be better, there might be shortages of facilities such as schools and health-care centres, and that transport shortages and distance from business and work opportunities might be constraints. Likewise Seifu, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, expected that they would face problems related to water and health facilities, and schooling and transport access, and security problems for children and women. A few children such as Hawa, a Younger Cohort girl in Menderin, and Miki, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, suggested that private water supplies and better sanitation and a cleaner environment would lead to better health. Fatuma, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, suggested that the move would give them psychological satisfaction and a feeling that they owned their own private assets.

Although some children in Menderin thought they might have access to better schooling, many, especially in Bertukan, expressed worries about schooling, mainly related to fears that they would have to leave their current school and have farther to travel to school and that transport might be a problem. Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in Bertukan, said: "I might have to change schools and if the new one is far, transportation and getting there may be a problem". Genet, an Older Cohort girl in the same site, was worried that schools might not be available close to their new homes, and Ahmed, a Younger Cohort boy in the same site, was concerned that the quality of education might not be as good as at the school that he currently attended.

Several children, particularly in Menderin, mentioned fears that the cost of transport would be greater. Matias, a Younger Cohort boy, went so far as to say that this was the only negative aspect of the relocation. Hamelmal, a Younger Cohort girl, expected to have to use a taxi to go to school, which she was looking forward to.

5.4 Social relations

Although most children generally had a positive outlook on the prospect of relocation, the likely disruption of social relations, neighbourly relations and especially separation from friends were major concerns of boys and girls, mainly from the Older Cohort, in all the sites – reservations most strongly expressed in Bertukan and Menderin.

Several Older Cohort girls in Bertukan made their views clear. Genet said: "We have very good relations here; everyone knows the neighbours, so social relations will be affected negatively, as we will be far from each other and getting to know new people, form new friends, and build social relations with them in the new place will be difficult." Likewise, Muhaba said: "Social adaptation also will not be easy until I know my neighbours well. We will also lose our *idir*. My two aunts, a cousin and a wife of my uncle live in the same area as

we do, when relocation takes place we will be distant from each other. I do not wish to have to establish friendship in the new area." Rahina mentioned the positive aspects of the move, but she also raised her concerns, saying: "The negative side of the move is losing good neighbours that have no replacement. The move will be appropriate for individualistic people and not appropriate for elderly and those who have strong social relation with their neighbours." Older boys also voiced their concerns. Miki, who also saw many advantages of the move, was pessimistic regarding the effect on social relations: "There will be negative impacts on social relations. The people we meet will be new and it will be hard to adjust. We might even have a neighbour who speaks a different language." He added: "Relatives who live nearby might get houses located very far away. Family members might also be split because of working conditions. It is going to be difficult to re-establish friendship and to remain in contact with your old friends." Likewise, Afework, who loves playing football and expects a good change in terms of sports grounds, said: "The negative thing about relocation will be that we might get separated from our friends. We may meet friends and relatives only by telephone." He added: "And it will be difficult for elderly people. Some say they prefer to die in the same place." However, he concluded that if people from one area were relocated to the same place he would be optimistic; otherwise he did not see anything positive about the move. Belayneh put this bluntly, saying that he was not afraid of anything about the move, except missing his friends.

In Menderin, Older Cohort boys in particular had misgivings. Esayas said he felt worried about the prospect of relocation because he would miss his home, relatives, friends and neighbours. Bekele said the move would be good for him, but it would be difficult for his parents to adapt to the area, and it would be sad for his younger brother, who had a strong fear of missing his friends and neighbourhood. Some of the boys mentioned people whom they knew who had been resettled and whose social life was affected. For instance, Adane said he knew some people who were relocated to a place called Jemmo, and that they were not happy about their social life. Likewise, Yared knew some people who were relocated; he said they were doing better overall, but they missed their former social life in Menderin. He thought that small children would adapt better, but that it would be difficult for him and for adults with strong attachments to their friends and the neighbourhood. He concluded: "Moving for us is not a good news." Serawit thought the problem of loss of social ties could be resolved if people from one neighbourhood were resettled together.

Among the girls in Menderin, concerns were expressed by both Older and Younger Cohorts. Menen, an older girl, felt that, despite improved services, the loss of social ties and problems of adjustment meant that relocation was not appropriate for anyone. Meron, another older girl, had worries about the separation from neighbours and being far from relatives. She said: "Social relations are going to be weak and superficial because all the people are new to each other." She added: "Adapting to the new neighbourhood may be easy for me but it will challenge for my mother, because she had many friends and relatives living in the nearby area." Hamelmal and Lemlem, two younger girls who were generally very positive about the move, said that their only concern was that they would miss their friends. The latter added that if she was separated from her friends she could not see anything good about the move, adding: "In the new area I may not be able to find children of my age."

In Leku several children were worried about disruptions of social ties. Yitbarek, an Older Cohort boy, said that relocation would affect social networks such as *iddir* funeral associations, *iqqub* credit associations and *teqemach* money-saving mechanisms. Destachew, another older boy, said: "I hate the change [relocation] because I will be

disconnected with my friends and making new friends will be a challenge.” Teje, a Younger Cohort girl, said she expected positive change in every aspect except missing the social life.

In Duba two girls expressed their worries. Tadelech, an Older Cohort girl, said that the move would not be good for social relations, especially if her family were moved to condominium housing. Some houses were rented, and different people came to the house, and the people might leave after a time, so it could be difficult to continue social life. Tigist, a Younger Cohort girl, said that if they moved to condominiums people might not be as co-operative as they were currently, because there would be no common things which needed the co-operation of the people.

As with the children, many caregivers also expressed concern about the disruption of social ties. This feeling was most strongly voiced by some elderly caregivers in Bertukan. The grandmother of Miki, an Older Cohort boy, compared it to dying:

“Here if we do not have injera, we borrow from our neighbours and we do not sleep on an empty stomach. But if we are moved to a place we do not know with new people, it worries me very much. For me to be relocated to another area, out of Bertukan, is like losing my life, dying. People who have been living together should be given the honour to bury each other when they pass away.”

This was also the view of Bereket’s caregiver, his grandmother, who said: “I would like to be here. I am praying to live here till my death.”

Several other caregivers in Bertukan expressed misgivings and worries about the effects on social ties. Afework’s caregiver said:

“There would definitely be family splitting in some cases. For instance those who have their work at the local vegetable market will have to come early or will be forced to stay with friends here. For example I have a friend who spends the night at our house. They have moved to Akaki. So he does not go there at all. He started to spend the nights at our house since last September.”

He also mentioned the impact on social institutions: “Our neighbour still comes and pays for her *iddir* now. Most mothers say that even if the government might force me to leave this place I will not leave my *iddir*. I have been paying all my life.” However, he thinks that if many people are relocated, the *iddirs* also will be disrupted. Samrawit’s mother said that if people moved to condominiums there might be family splitting. She added that she knew some people who had been separated from their children. The children were renting accommodation and living in the locality. Berhane’s mother, who is asthmatic, said: “Losing ties with neighbours, relatives and friends will hurt me a lot but I will not face all the problems I am facing now. It is a matter of life and death for me. I will feel like I will be given more years to my life.” Kebebush’s caregiver, her grandfather, said: “I heard that there is limited interactions among people who live in condominiums. Many people find it difficult to start a new social life.” He added: “Social life is more [important] than food especially for elderly people.”

Similar views were expressed in Menderin. Helen’s mother felt that social adaptation would be a challenge. She said: “People may be suspicious of each other because they do not know each other. Re-establishing friendships and building social relations will be a challenge. The people here grew up together. They know each other very well. Now, they may need to work hard to make new friends.” Searawit’s caregiver mentioned her wish to be relocated with the same people in the neighbourhood where she was currently living, if moving was

mandatory. She said: "Generally moving is not good for anyone but it might be easier for younger people, since they can easily make friends in the new neighbourhood."

Likewise caregivers in Duba were apprehensive. Zewditu's mother strongly opposed the prospect of relocation, as it would mean separation from the people who were living together. She said: "I would prefer to live in the area as a poor person rather than having comfortable life out of this area. There will be problems with adapting to living with new people and establishing good relationships and finding trustworthy good people will be difficult." Tigist's caregiver said: "I will feel bad because I will miss my *iddir* members whom I know very well." She expressed the view that people in condominiums do not have strong relationships and help each other; and she said she would be sad if she were not moved with her neighbours. Tidenek's caregiver said: "If we are moved to condominiums our social life will be affected negatively. This is because many people in condominiums are renters. Since these people are not permanent residents no one can start a lasting relation with them."

In Leku a few caregivers also expressed reservations. Hunegnaw's mother mentioned the difficulty of moving away from neighbours. She mentioned the proverb: *Keruuq zemed, yekirb gorebet*, which literally means 'Better a neighbour who is close than a relative who is far away'. She is not optimistic about the change: "It feels like moving to the jungle because there is no one I know in the new place I might be going." Tadios's father considered social adaptation as the most trying aspect of relocation. He said: "People need to re-establish their social relations after the move and that is the most difficult part."

A number of caregivers were particularly worried about losing links with their associations, notably funeral and religious groups. For instance, the mother of Samrawit, a Younger Cohort girl in Bertukan, feared that she would miss her funeral association. She said: "*Iddir* is something that is given much more value than even having children. When someone dies people do not ask if that person has children but if that person has an *iddir*." Similarly the father of Kebebus, a girl in the same site and cohort, was worried about the break-up of his religious association: "I stopped being a member of Medhanealem *mehaber* because some members moved to live in a condominium. Social life is more than food for people especially for the elderly."

5.5 Work opportunities

Very few children mentioned work. However, Miki, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, expressed his worries bluntly: "If there are no work opportunities in the new area, there will be no change." Caregivers were much more concerned than the children about employment opportunities. The uncle of Habib, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, went so far as to say: "There is nothing positive that I expect other than the improved housing conditions. Here in Bertukan anyone can survive with the living conditions." He concluded that difficulty in finding work would be the major constraint if they moved. Likewise, the grandmother of Bereket, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, who said she was praying to live in the area until her death, said it was a good place for work opportunities and she had been able to raise her children and four grandchildren there. The mother of Amira, an Older Cohort girl in Menderin, said: "It will be difficult to survive out of Menderin; it is very risky for people like us, because our means of subsistence is in the neighbourhood."

The caregiver of Tigist, a Younger Cohort girl in Duba, whose house might be affected by the construction of the road, mentioned her concern that everything depended on where they would be moved to. She said: "We may have a better, clean house in the condominium;

however, simply having a clean house could not become food unless there are better opportunities for work.”

5.6 Views on differential adaptation

Some children expressed the view that richer people would adapt better, because they could afford condominiums, and that the poor and elderly would find adaptation more difficult and would feel cheated and sad. For instance, Afework, an Older Cohort boy in Bertukan, said he thought it would be tough for old people to move, as they would have preferred to die in the same place. Conversely, several children said they thought that young people would adapt much better. Genet, an Older Cohort girl in Bertukan, who is generally optimistic about the move, said she thought that males would adapt better, because they move around. Habib, a Younger Cohort boy in Bertukan, said that children and youth would adapt better because they could form new friendships more easily. Yared, an Older Cohort boy in Mandarin, thought it would be difficult for his age-group, as they would miss their friends, but easier for younger children. Misgana, an Older Cohort girl in Mandarin, thought she would adapt easily wherever she went, but her sister, who worked outside the house, would find it difficult to find work.

6. Summary, conclusions and policy implications

6.1 Summary

Understandings of the rationales for resettlement

Most of the Older Cohort children in the qualitative sub-sample in the three sites where resettlement is being envisaged were aware of various rationales: urban development to clear land for investment, as well as to provide condominium housing. Even in Duba, the control site, there was a mention of the probability of small-scale relocation for roads and investment, no doubt because the area is considered as part of the city's industrial zone. Younger Cohort children had less clear understandings of the reasons for the relocation, although a few were able to articulate the main rationales.

Information about relocation

Almost half the children and adults overall in the three sites where urban redevelopment may happen said that they had heard that the areas where they were living were due for demolition; however, there were considerable site differences, with awareness highest in Menderin and lowest in Bertukan.

Children and caregivers heard about the impending relocation from a variety of sources, including discussions held with *kebele* officials, other people who had heard from the *kebele*, neighbours, family members and relatives. Children also heard from school friends. Some respondents mentioned hearing about plans for relocation ten years earlier, or even more. The fact that relocation had been mentioned repeatedly without its happening led some to assume that it was on hold or had been cancelled. However, some children and caregivers

had heard about it fairly recently, within the past few months or even weeks. Nonetheless, some, especially Younger Cohort children, did not hear about the potential relocation until they were interviewed for this study.

Resettlement promises

Overall slightly fewer than half the caregivers (46 per cent) said that promises had been made about resettlement. The highest proportion who mentioned promises was in Bertukan (65 per cent). Replacement of housing was the first and foremost promise, mentioned by about 60 per cent of the caregivers overall. Although the proportion was small, monetary compensation came next, mentioned by approximately one fifth of respondents. Other promises mentioned by smaller numbers of caregivers included access to electricity, water, health care, and education. Leku, the site in Hawassa, had the lowest proportion who mentioned replacement housing and the highest proportion who mentioned monetary compensation, which may be related to the larger proportions who own housing in that site.

Some caregivers in the qualitative sub-sample mentioned worries about whether they would be included in plans for alternative housing if relocation happened, because they were living in a privately rented houses or as dependent *debal* lodgers, which meant that they were not registered with the *kebele* local administration and therefore might not be eligible for compensation or replacement housing.

The timing of resettlement

Knowledge about the timing of relocation was very limited, suggesting that the city administration had not given the inhabitants a clear idea of when they might be resettled. The highest proportion of positive responses to this question was in Menderin (approximately one quarter of the caregivers). About a third of respondents thought that relocation would take place after the following year, and only five caregivers thought that relocation might happen in the current Ethiopian year, while only 12 caregivers thought it would happen in the following Ethiopian year. Although there was a lack of clarity about when resettlement might happen, most of the children believed that the area where they were living would be redeveloped at some point, which suggests that they were realistic about the prospect of urban development leading eventually to their displacement.

In the qualitative interviews, children expressed very mixed views about when resettlement might happen within and between sites. There seemed to be a difference between the two inner-city sites: in Menderin the fact that new local improvements were on hold led respondents to believe that relocation was likely to happen soon, whereas in Bertukan the fact that urban development in the area was on-going and that resettlement had been mentioned repeatedly without happening meant that some children and caregivers believed that it might have been postponed or cancelled. In Leku, since some attempts to relocate people had been successfully resisted and officials accused of corrupt interests in the land from which people were to be moved had been imprisoned, some respondents thought that relocation was less likely. In Duba, only partial relocation related to road building and expansion was thought to be imminent.

Knowledge about other relocated people and changes in their lives

Almost half the caregivers overall knew other people who had been relocated – one indication that both cities are undergoing rapid changes. The highest proportion of such

respondents (more than two-thirds) was in Menderin, where part of the adjacent community had been moved. Next came Bertukan, where almost two-thirds of respondents mentioned that people from nearby areas that had been demolished had come to live in their neighbourhood. Fewer than half the caregivers in Leku knew people who had been relocated, which suggests that relocation has not yet become a significant issue in this regional city. Only a fifth of the caregivers in Duba, the control site on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, knew people who had been relocated. Most of these people who had been relocated had moved to live in condominiums, mainly on the outskirts of the city, and only a small proportion had been rehoused in the same area. Most of the rest were now living in *kebele* houses, and very few had moved to rented accommodation in other areas of the city, or to other towns.

Regarding changes in the lives of relocated people, most of the caregivers and the children alike believed that the changes experienced by the relocated residents were on the whole positive, with a greater proportion of children than adults having a more positive view. Children and caregivers in the qualitative sub-sample also mentioned changes that were mainly positive: the relocated people were said to be generally happy about the housing facilities, the cleanliness of the environment, the absence of noise, private access to water, and ownership of separate kitchens and toilets. Some people who had been moved to Bertukan from a neighbouring area were happy because of the work opportunities in the area. However, some people who had been relocated farther from the city centre had expressed concerns about work opportunities and the availability and costs of transport, as well as separation of family members. Some relocated families in Hawassa were still living in corrugated-iron shelters, with limited access to infrastructure and services.

Overall expected changes after relocation

Although a quarter of children and a fifth of caregivers said they did not know how their lives would change as a result of relocation, most of the respondents felt that the change would be generally positive, with more than 40 per cent expressing outright positive views, and about a fifth suggesting that the changes would be mainly positive. Fewer than one in five respondents thought that the change would be for entirely for the worse, and under ten per cent thought that the consequences would be mainly negative.

Problems in moving to and living in the new area

Finding a place to live was the most pressing problem that both the children and the caregivers expected to face if they were relocated. More than half of the caregivers and slightly fewer than half of the children mentioned worries about finding a place to live. Whereas a greater proportion of caregivers were more concerned about the cost of moving belongings than about the practicalities, the reverse was true for children, which suggests that the financial implications of moving were more on the minds of the adults.

Caregivers and children in the qualitative sub-sample also mentioned that finding a place to live would be the major challenge. They also raised the possibility of damage to furniture and theft during the move. But some said that there was nothing worse than living in their current neighbourhood, and they were ready to endure hardships during the move.

In terms of living in the new area, high proportions of children and caregivers were concerned about the challenges of adapting to the location, of finding friends and helpers, and of establishing good relations with neighbours. Finding work near the new location and the

costs and availability of transport back to their former places of work were also major concerns, especially for the caregivers. Access to services, notably education, water and health care, were mentioned by smaller proportions. Anxieties about access to places for play were also mentioned by the children.

Asked what they regarded as the most important problem, children mentioned adaptation, followed by social questions relating to establishing good relations with neighbours and finding friends and helpers. Access to services, work and transport was mentioned as the most important problem by only a few children.

In the qualitative interviews, housing was mentioned as a concern, as well as related services, notably electricity and water. Children expressed worries that there might be water shortages; that their journey to school might be longer and therefore involve transport costs; and that the schools might be of poorer quality. However, the main concerns raised by children related to social issues. In particular they worried about families being split in the move and about the problems of getting to know neighbours and forming new friendships, and the risk of the break-up of social institutions. Moving people together with their neighbours was suggested by some as one way of avoiding such problems. Children were less concerned about employment opportunities, but many caregivers emphasised this as their central concern and the one that affected the poorest most, since they rely on informal work.

Expectations of opportunities in the new areas

Children and caregivers most looked forward to improved sanitation and housing. A less polluted and safer environment which is more healthy for bringing up children was a major attraction. Potentially better access to health care and education was mentioned by fewer adults and children. Asked to single out the most important opportunity that they foresaw, most children mentioned improved housing, followed by improved sanitation. Private kitchens and toilets were mentioned as important improvements to which children, and especially girls, looked forward. Children expected to be living in areas where there would be more safe places to play, and caregivers also thought that the new environment would be cleaner and less polluted and that it would be a better and safer place for children to grow up free from crime and addiction. Generally more than half of the children and caregivers were optimistic that life would improve after the move.

Expectation of residence in the future

Overall, more than a third of children and almost half the caregivers said that they did not know where they would be living in five years' time. About a third of caregivers and children thought they would be living in the same area, in the same housing. About 12 per cent of caregivers and 14 per cent of children thought they would be living in condominiums, with a much larger proportion of the children thinking that these would be on the outskirts of the city rather than in the centre. Only small proportions of caregivers and children thought they would be living in *kebele* or rented housing elsewhere, and a few children (but no adults) expected to be living in other urban areas or abroad.

Most of the children expected still to be living with their parents in five years' time. In Leku, however, one fifth thought that they would be living on their own; in Bertukan one tenth thought they would be married, and a handful thought they would be living with siblings or friends.

Overall expectations about the changes

The discussions held with children and their caregivers suggested that their concerns related mainly to the environment, housing, services (especially schooling and transport) and social relations. The improvements that they foresaw largely related to housing and sanitation, and places to play.

Children were generally positive that relocation would bring about improvements in the environment in which they lived. Many felt there would be less pollution, especially of the rivers and drains, but also less noise pollution; some even felt that owning their own house, as opposed to living in rental accommodation, would result in a 'change in ways of thinking'. However, children expected their quality of life to deteriorate with regard to some services, and they had worries about water, transport, and employment. Many had concerns about the likely social disarticulation, especially separation from friends and neighbours. Some also expected worsening security and difficulties for certain categories of society, such as the disabled and elderly.

As with the children, many caregivers were generally positive about the prospects resulting from resettlement, although some foresaw serious challenges, notably in relation to finding housing and work, and rebuilding social relations and institutions, and a few felt that they had no choice but to go along with the changes, which they perceived to be inevitable.

6.2 Conclusions

The findings of the study suggest that both children and caregivers living in the inner-city areas are aware that urban redevelopment is likely to lead eventually to their relocation and resettlement, and that this is more likely to mean removal to the outskirts, rather than within the areas where they currently live in the city centre. The results also suggest that there is a lack of clarity and transparency about the timing and the process of urban redevelopment and potential relocation of residents living in the areas due for redevelopment. Respondents were generally unaware of which areas would be affected, when the resettlement would be implemented, and what categories of household would be eligible for which kinds of rehousing or compensation.

On the whole, children and caregivers were optimistic about the potential opportunities that relocation could provide, and they had heard of improvements in the lives of people who had already been relocated. In particular, they valued the possibility of obtaining better housing in cleaner and safer neighbourhoods. Children, especially girls, looked forward to the prospect of having separate private toilets and kitchens, and living in areas where there would be more space for children to play in safer environments. Caregivers likewise hoped for better housing in cleaner and safer environments.

However, children and caregivers expressed a number of concerns about resettlement and the problems of adapting to a new environment. Potential disruption of social relations, with some family members not wanting to move, and the risks of the disintegration of social institutions such as *iddir* funeral associations, *mehaber* religious associations and *iqqub* credit associations, were major concerns of adults. In addition, children were worried about being separated from friends and neighbours, and apprehensive about adapting to a new environment and establishing new friendships.

A central concern of caregivers and children was whether they would be offered alternative *kebele* housing, or how they would survive if they could not afford condominium housing. Some expected relocation to favour better-off families. Respondents who live in private

rented accommodation or are *debal* lodgers feared that they would not be eligible for replacement housing, because they are not registered with the *kebele* local administration. Some households living in temporary shelters or in very poor crowded and insanitary housing welcomed the prospect of relocation, since they expected that it could only result in improvements in their living conditions.

Caregivers were particularly worried that employment and livelihood opportunities in the city outskirts where they were likely to be relocated might be limited, and that transport availability and the costs of commuting might be prohibitive. Children were concerned that there might not be schools nearby, which would require their families to pay for transport, or that the quality of education might be poorer in the new settlements. Adults and children also worried that there might be water shortages, and health facilities might be limited. Some caregivers and children were reluctantly resigned to the prospect of having to move, but the majority were hopeful that relocation would bring about positive changes in their lives, as long as adequate housing, infrastructure, water, health and education services, as well as income-generation opportunities and leisure facilities, were made available.

6.3 Potential policy implications

Given the need to generate revenue, current urban redevelopment programmes have tended to prioritise the interests of commercial investors and businesses over housing projects. Greater emphasis on reserving at least an agreed proportion of land for condominium or alternative housing projects within the areas to be redeveloped would be welcomed by residents, who have a strong preference to remain living in the centre of the city, where there are more work opportunities. This will also contribute to maintaining and enhancing the mixed settlement pattern which has been a positive feature of the social and economic landscape of the city of Addis Ababa, and thereby avoid the risk of creating ghetto settlements on the outskirts of the city.

The on-going programmes to provide housing-ownership opportunities for the urban poor are commendable. It is important to ensure that all those who are eligible are registered and considered for rehousing and/or compensation, to allay the fears of residents who currently own their own dwellings. Moreover, provisions for those living in private rented accommodation and in temporary shelters should be considered. Given that many of those living in the areas to be redeveloped are among the poorest urban residents, who may not be able to afford payments required for condominiums, alternative housing options should be planned and discussed with them.

There is a need for greater transparency in the planning of urban redevelopment. Residents living in areas that are going to be cleared should be involved in the process and should be given realistic information about the time-frame of relocation, and the options for resettlement, replacement housing and compensation. This would enable residents who are to be re-housed and/or relocated to participate in the planning, consider their options and prepare themselves for changes.

The process of redeveloping large areas should be conducted in stages, with the involvement of the residents, allowing time for some new housing to be constructed, both in the areas to be demolished and in alternative locations on the city outskirts, thereby also avoiding excessive disruption to the social and economic life of city residents.

In planning urban housing programmes, it is important to ensure that basic infrastructure, notably electricity, adequate water supplies and effective sewerage facilities, are in place

before moving people. Moreover, ensuring that urban redevelopment is not restricted simply to housing and infrastructure but that it also considers health and education services in an integrated manner is crucial to ensure that relocation results in improvements in living standards and avoids the risks of service shortages or inadequate or inferior quality of provision.

Linkages between housing, services and employment opportunities need to be planned and realised in the design and implementation of new housing projects. This is especially important for the urban poor who rely on job and livelihood opportunities in the informal sector and in trade which may not be available in newly redeveloped areas outside the city centre. The current emphasis on improving public transport from the outskirts and suburbs of cities to the centres is commendable, and further improvements could alleviate employment problems. Income-generation schemes and credit programmes, particularly for young people and women, should be planned and incorporated in the design of urban redevelopment and housing projects.

As an integral aspect of the design and implementation of new housing projects, provision should be made for spaces and facilities for children to play, and also kindergarten centres, youth activity centres, open and green spaces, and parks for family recreation and for gatherings of social groups, to ensure that this particular major concern of children and their caregivers about relocation is addressed.

Where relocation is inevitable, as far as possible families, relatives, friends and members of closely knit groups living within the same neighbourhoods should be offered the option of being resettled together, close to one another, to avoid the risk of disruption to social networks and institutions.

Where relocation is envisaged, the planning time-scale should be clear and sequenced, and the residents who are to be moved need to be informed and allowed time to prepare themselves for resettlement. The process should be planned with sufficient time for the construction of alternative housing to be completed, along with adequate infrastructure, facilities and access to services before the move. This would avoid the need to place relocated people in temporary shelters and would ensure that they benefit from improvements in their livelihoods from better housing, sanitation and services. Care should be taken to ensure that the actual move is carried out in a smooth manner, to avoid the risks of family separation, and the destruction or loss of possessions.

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Beyond Urban Relocation? Expectations and Concerns of Children and Caregivers in Addis Ababa and Hawassa

This paper documents the views of children and their caregivers about an impending relocation (that has been on the cards for a while) in the context of plans for central areas of Addis Ababa and Hawassa to be developed.

The findings suggest that most of the children and their caregivers have heard about the planned relocation from various sources. A significant proportion of caregivers mentioned promises made to them, mainly regarding improvements in housing and services, notably water and electricity. However, they did not have any clear idea about the likely timing of the move, an indication that the people most directly concerned have not been sufficiently involved and consulted in the planning process. Some suggested that they would need time to prepare for relocation. A significant proportion of the caregivers and some children know people who have already been moved, confirming that this is a fairly common experience in the two cities.

The issue of urban development and the resulting relocation has important policy implications. Poor people living in inner city areas would prefer to remain in the same area where their livelihoods are based after the area is redeveloped; reserving part of these areas for housing for the urban poor would therefore be an equitable pro-poor policy. Given their poverty, replacement housing in condominiums or other affordable housing schemes deserve priority since they are unable to build housing on their own. Greater participatory planning, involving not simply transparent, timely advance information and adequate compensation and/or replacement housing, but involvement of communities in the planning and execution of the relocation would be an improvement on the current process. Redevelopment and relocation in stages could also prevent unnecessary excessive disruptions. In the new relocation areas, the development of adequate infrastructure and services, as well as the linkages between housing, livelihood opportunities and recreational facilities, especially for children, deserve greater consideration.

About Young Lives

Young Lives is an international study of childhood poverty, involving 12,000 children in 4 countries over 15 years. It is led by a team in the Department of International Development at the University of Oxford in association with research and policy partners in the 4 study countries: Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam.

Through researching different aspects of children's lives, we seek to improve policies and programmes for children.

Young Lives Partners

Young Lives is coordinated by a small team based at the University of Oxford, led by Professor Jo Boyden.

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