

**URBAN DISPLACEMENT BY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT AND ITS LIVELIHOOD RISKS IN BAHIR DAR,
NORTH WESTERN ETHIOPIA**

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ABSTRACT:

This study attempts to explore urban relocation impacts on the livelihoods of poor households displaced by development project in Bahir Dar, North Western Ethiopia. Population displacement has become a global problem particularly in developing countries. Internal displacement is a risky venture that disrupts the life of people. The literature has documented multifaceted risks faced by displaced people by different causal agents which are regarded as the challenges for sustainable development practice. Studies also indicated that development is the largest cause of population displacement globally and commonly termed in the literature as Development-Induced Displacement (DID). This study deals with the urban displacement in particular by development project and its associated risks faced by poor households. To this end, the qualitative methods were used to generate the necessary data. The findings identified that the urban relocation caused a variety of livelihood risks such as the loss of home or shelter. According to the study, the relocated households are made to live in the new neighborhood with no mainstream urban infrastructures including road facility, electricity, marketing, and potable water services, inability to get cash compensation for rehousing, landlessness experienced by some groups of relocated households. They are also experienced separation from small cohesive social groups notably coffee members. Though the displaced households are exposed to various livelihood problems and challenges, those who received housing land are partly happy with owning legally recognized urban land. The study has implications for addressing the needs of these vulnerable groups of people for sustainable development endeavors. The study urges the need to make feasibility study to address the unmet needs of poor urban residents being displaced by urban development projects.

Keywords: Displacement, Homelessness, Landlessness, Livelihoods Risks, Internally Displaced Persons

INTRODUCTION

This article deals with the livelihood impacts of internal displacement. Risks analysis related to displacement has emerged as the new development paradigm in which development is seen both as bringing benefits and imposing costs. Among its greatest costs have been the involuntary displacements of millions of vulnerable groups of people which is regarded as the challenges for sustainable development endeavors (Shami, 1993). Displacement is broadly defined as uprooting of people from their place of habitual residence (Cernea, 2005). Population displacement has become a global problem, particularly since the end of the Cold War (Cernea, 2006; Cernea & Macdowell, 2000). Cernea and MacDowell (2000) note that “displaced populations have been part and parcel of modern history and often people are being displaced in the name of progress” (p. 49). The literature review outlines the major causes of internal displacement into three typologies namely development-induced displacement, conflict-induced-displacement and disaster-induced displacement (Tesfaye, 2007; Getu, 2005). There are also various terms that are used to describe a wide range of displaced population: refugees, development displacees, environment and disaster displacees, internally displaced people or persons (IDPs), and forced resettlers, internal refugees, environmental refugees, and climate refugees (Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), 2010).

This study is conducted among Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) by urban development project, Bahir Dar Ethiopia. Internal displacement is the risky venture. What is more important here is that development is the largest cause of population displacement globally and commonly termed in the literature as Development-Induced Displacement (DID) (Hussain, 2008; Cernea, 2000). DID is the process that takes place when people are forced to leave their homes as a result of development projects such as the construction of dams, roads, airports, urban clearance initiatives, mining and deforestation and the introduction of conservation reserves (Baviskar, 2009; Mathur, 2006). The magnitude of urban development-induced displacement in Ethiopia has also been increasing (Birhanu, 2006; Fitsum, 2007; Gebre, 2008; Nebiyu, 2000). The recent urban development policy of Ethiopia is designed to address the various urban challenges through the slum clearance initiatives, and infrastructural projects such as housing projects (Tebarek, 2013).

The magnitude of population displacement by development projects in developing countries has increased particularly since the 1960s and 1970s (Dessaelgn, 2003). World Bank assisted projects in most developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America account for an ever increasing number of displaced populations globally (Thomas, 2002). Some of the important projects have been in Malaysia (the FELDA project), in Sri Lanka (the accelerated Mahaweli project), in Indonesia (transmigration project), in Colombia (Caquetá), and in Brazil (Polonoreste) (Cernea & MacDowell, 2000). Recent research by Cernea (2009) indicates that, in India alone during the period (1949-2000), development programs have displaced over 6 million people; in China in a similar period (1950-2005), about 70 million people have been displaced” (p. 290). According to Cernea (2009):

every single year in the first decade of the twenty first century, development programs forcibly uproot and displace from their houses and fields cohort of populations conservatively estimated to total at least 15 million people, which is equivalent to between 150 and 200 million for the decade (p. xxvi)

In particular, post-independence African countries witnessed large-scale development projects, especially the construction of dams for power production and agricultural production. Some of the earliest displacement literature in the African context documents the estimated numbers of displaced populations; in Ethiopia (25,000 pastoralists), Nigeria (42,000 farmers), Zimbabwe (56,000 peasant farmers), Ghana (80,000 farmers), and Zaire (13,000 farmers (Chamber, 1969; Colson, 1971). This process initiated research on the impact of displacement and resettlement on livelihoods that the negative outcomes of resettlement projects in Africa has grown and reveals some of the unintended livelihoods consequences on displacement of people (Colson, 1971; Chamber, 1969; Scudder, 1993).

The main objective of this study is, therefore, to explore the livelihood impacts of the urban development-induced displacement that involved the transfer of poor squatter settlers from inner city to the outlying parts of Bahir Dar city. In order to conceptualize how urban development-induced displacement relates to vulnerability, livelihood assets (capital), livelihood activities/strategies, policies, institutions/associations and processes that determine people's choices in shaping livelihoods and livelihood outcomes, which are the results of livelihood strategies (Scoones 1998). As a result, the effect of urban displacement on relocatees' livelihood in terms of physical, natural, financial, social solidarity and basic services and infrastructure assets, activities, process and its outcomes are assessed.

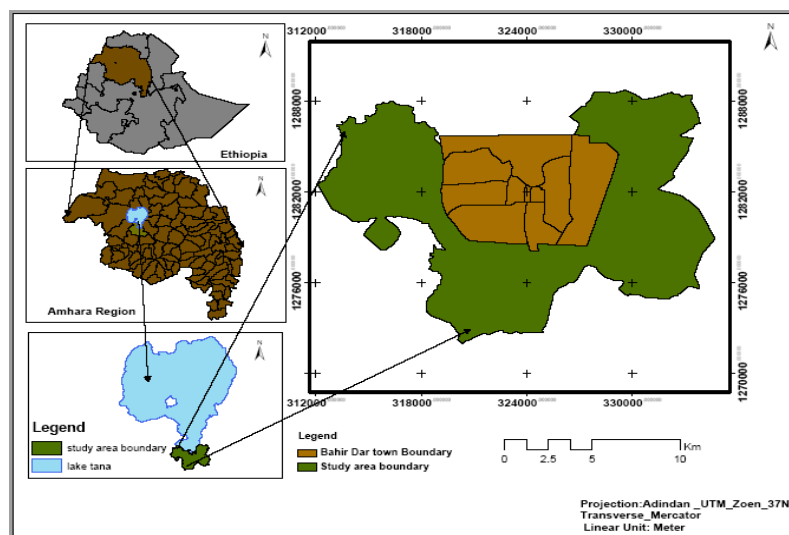
Most studies emphasize the inherent socio-economic risks of involuntary displacement (Shami, 1993; Downing, 1996). Case-by-case studies across the world indicate how the displaced population experiences risks (Pankhurst, & Piguet, 2009). In this regard, displacement research has made remarkable achievements in documenting the livelihood risks people encounter due to involuntary displacement. Cernea (1993; 2000; 2005; 2009) in his multiple studies provides lists of the inherent livelihood risks faced by people forcibly displaced for various reasons. These include landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of common access to common property resources, and social disintegration (Cernea, 2000). Analysis of livelihood risks related to displacement has resulted in the identification of supplementary risks. One is the loss of access to community services, which includes anything from clinics to educational facilities that may result in post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among displaced people (Aptekar & Behailu, 2009). Another identified risk is the violation of human rights (Andinet, 2010). Displacement from one's habitual resident and the loss of property without fair compensation is considered a violation of human rights (Robinson, 2003; Abebe, 2009).

In Ethiopia, there are some evidences (Birhanu, 2006; Dejene, 2005; Feleke, 2009; Fitsum, 2007; Gebre, 2008; Ashenafi, 2001) gathered from case studies on urban development-induced displacement particularly in Addis Ababa. The studies indicated that displaced poor households are exposed to various dimensions of livelihood risks. The process usually involves the transfer of poor residents from inner parts of cities and towns to peripheral areas that exposed to the problems of getting access to basic social or public services (Birhanu, 2006; Dejene, 2005; Feleke, 2009; Gebre, 2008; Ashenafi, 2001). The process of relocating people from the inner city to the outskirts has also disrupted business ties with customers and broken informal networks (Tebarek, 2013; Fitsum, 2007). Urban displacement resulted in the separations of work site from home site of female-headed households (Habtamu, 2014; Etenesh, 2007). Moving out of the inner urban neighborhood resulted in the fragmentation of social networks and loss of neighborhood-based organizations (Gebre, 2008; Fitsum, 2007).

As reviewed above, urban development-induced displacement affects the various aspects of livelihood assets and activities of poor households, (Habtamu, 2014); some others focus on the impacts on female-headed households (Tebarek, 2013; Etenesh, 2007); and still some others on the livelihood outcomes in terms of the coping and survival strategies of relocated residents in the urban contexts (Ephrem, 1998; Tesfu, 2014; Dinku, 2004) and that most of the previous studies have been confined to Addis Ababa. With no prior study that attempts to investigate how urban relocation erodes a community's access to all the elements needed for livelihood- physical, social, natural and financial capital, this study attempts to explore the livelihood impacts of urban relocation with a particular reference to Bahir Bar city located in North Western Ethiopia. The study also considers the positive aspects of urban development-induced displacement in context.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

This particular study is conducted in Bahir Dar city located in the north western parts of Ethiopia. The research has been conducted in the Kotatina resettlement neighborhood inhabited by IDPs by a single urban development project in Bahir Dar city. The Bahir Dar Hulegeb Stadium project is a relatively large-scale project covering 15.5 hectare of land in Bahir Dar city (Bahir Dar City Service Office, 2000). The construction of a Stadium has resulted in the displacement of 352 heads of households. The displaced households were required to resettle in the outskirts of the city. Those displaced live in a new resettlement neighborhood, which is popularly known as *Kotatina Sefer* or *Mender*, which is located in the southwestern peripheral area of Bahir Dar city. The place name of *Kotatina* refers to the hill place and its surroundings that was identified and marked by authorities for the settlements of IDPs in the outlying area of the city. The map of the study area is given below.



METHODS OF THE STUDY

The study is based on qualitative methods that involved in-depth interviews with key informants, observations, two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) one with male group; and the other with female group, and documentary assessments. One of the advantages of qualitative methods is for understanding participants' experiences within context (Creswell, 2007).

Understanding the experience of internal displacement, therefore, requires the careful selection of key informants who are representative of displaced households or communities living in the Kotatina neighborhood. Key informants were contacted by co-investigators through attending public gathering places in the community such as churches, mosques, and community-based associational meetings. Participants for interviews were informed of the purpose of the study through a written document and signed an agreement to participate in the study. Local leaders or executive committee members of informal Iddirs, Ikub and other informal associations were selected as the key informants. The selection criteria included individual heads of households displaced by the Bahir Dar Hulegeb Stadium project, and given plots of land as compensation for rebuilding their homes. Considering gender, six male and six female Iddir leaders were identified and interviewed. Each interview was conducted using an Interview Guide, with questions followed by probes to elicit in depth information as well the two FGD also conducted by using FGD guide. Key informants are noted as A1, A2, A3, A4, and so on to A12 in terms of analyzing, organizing, and presenting the major themes emerged from the in-depth interviews.

THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Currently, the IDPs live in close proximity. Resettlement involved transferring urban poor residents from their squatter settlement to a new neighborhood named Kotatina, which is located in the periphery of Bahir Dar city. Internal displacement and resettlement as experienced by the IDPs involved a relatively shorter physical distance from Kebele 15 to Kebele14 of the city administration. Their resettlement site refers to the hill place and its surroundings in the outlying area of the town identified and marked by authorities for the settlement of the IDPs. Before the influx of IDPs, the Kotatina site, a stretch of land in the outlying area the city administration, was possessed by people engaged in agricultural activities. Now the new resettlement site is made to be part of Kebele 14 of the city administration.

The study explored the impacts of internal displacement that caused a variety of livelihood impacts such as the loss of home or shelter, concerns about the sustainability of their life in the new resettlement neighborhood with no mainstream urban services such as road facility, electricity, and potable water, inability to get cash compensation for rehousing, separation from coffee members. The following subthemes outline and describe the controversial issues of such livelihood risks such cash compensation, homelessness, basic housing services, job opportunity, transportation problems, and social disintegration as well as some of the positive aspects of urban development-induced displacement.

PHYSICAL CAPITAL: HOMELESSNESS

One of the pressing problems or livelihood risks faced by individual households following the internal displacement was homelessness. The study found that relocatees' financial capacity has also got worse due to extra housing expenses during the transitional period of relocation. The issue of homelessness has been fundamental problem of those people displaced by the project. The project planners and designers did not propose any cash compensation for displacement and resettlement. On the one hand, participants considered their displacement and resettlement without compensation as a wrong doing committed against their rights. They raised their grievances to Municipal authorities. On the other hand, authorities and municipalities argued that for IDPs who had been squatter settlers in the urban locality the allocation of land is viewed as compensation. an ad hoc committee drawn from community members was formed to work temporarily with the registration of household

heads, and identify households entitled to compensation. All informants openly reported about the compensation related issues, and how it was justified by concerned authorities.

The sudden dislocation was traumatic and stressful for the displaced people. According to informants, all residents were told to leave their housing within two week time period with no prior preparations. The situation of homelessness especially during the transition period compelled all displaced households to live and stay in rented houses for two to four months. These all are also assured by both the two FGDs'. One informant recalled his experiences:

I have passed through many challenges and problems since the date of my displacement in Kotatina. It was in February 2008 that all residents in Ketel Sefer were told to leave the place required by the government for the purpose of building a big stadium in Bahir Dar. Authorities passed orders suddenly to all of us to leave within a week time period by saying all of you go and 'Jefijifeh giba' literally to mean build your own temporarily family shelter using leafs or plastics in a places you are provided . And, I was forced to stay in a temporary housing that I rented from local residents in kebele-14. For that house, I was paying 300 Birr monthly (Informant, A3).

LACK OF ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES

Another livelihood-related risk faced by displaced persons is getting access to basic housing services such as electricity, tap water, toilet and other drainage. Access to housing services is still one of the critical problems facing IDPs in Kotatina. Though authorities discussed this issue with a group of IDPs and promised to work to develop infrastructure, but nothing was done. As one informant recounts:

The place of Kotatina was devoid of any basic services and very detrimental for my life and housing especially during the first two years. There was no water, electricity and even road services which has been still the main problem. Being an IDP especially during the first two years of my displacement and resettlement was the worst experience ever I experienced before (Informant, A4).

According to this particular study, not all IDPs have access to basic services such as electricity, drinking water and toilet services for their new housing built in sites. The existing services are very limited number of individual heads individual households. Both FGD and key informant respondents reported that they have been still compelled to buy daily drinking water. Individuals who did not have access to basic housing services are now compelled to pay money to other persons who are getting access to the basic services for the newly built home. The study participants reported that they were made to resettle outside of the mainstream infrastructure established and providing services for urban population of Bahir Dar city. One of the informants describes the situation:

I have experienced loss of housing that was accessible to the main road, direct electric services, and potable water supply. Still, the serious problem of me is payments for one electric bulb. I am paying 25 Ethiopian birr on a monthly basis that indirectly extended from another relocated person through negotiations and agreements. I am also suffering from regular or daily payments for buying potable water because of the shortage of water supply here

in Kotatina. For instance, for one 'Jerika', which could contain ten liters of water, I am supposed to pay 40 cents through agreements and negotiation with local residents (Informant, A1).

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM

Study participants also described distinct transportation problems largely in connection with their livelihood strategies. Physical mobility within and beyond their locality is a common characteristic of the economic life of displaced people. Physical mobility is an aspect of survival strategies of the poor IDPs who are currently living with various hardships and challenges. According to the respondents (FGDs' and Key informants'), everybody strives to survive in the informal labor markets of the urban economy.

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are obliged to commute between the areas of home residence to working places daily. In this regard, (Gebre, 2008) found that some lose site-related advantages of both formal and informal employment or major livelihood assets and activities; others lose home-sites, and still others lose both. One common quote taken from two Informants A3 and A6 say; "everybody here strive to survive by smaller activities". Being the poor segment of the wider socio-economic spectrum of the society, the survival strategies or mechanisms of IDPs is largely the informal economy. They are predominantly engaged in the informal labor markets such as Gullet, which is a daily buying and selling activities, daily workers (hired), handicrafts and daily laborers, and construction workers. The most common is small business activities in the informal sector of the urban economy commonly referred to as Gullet-Gebeya (informal and small trade activities) regularly on a daily basis at market places located in Kebele 16 and 4 of Bahir Dar.

In securing or obtaining income, daily travel from Kotatina to market places located in the inner parts of the city in Kebele 4 and Kebele 16 is necessary. As Informant A6 stated, "if somebody comes into Kotatina resettlement site early in the morning, every individual of both women and men of a household member are seen coming out from their home and travel for searching for informal activities on a daily basis" Or as Informant A4 put it, "if somebody comes to Kotatina neighborhood in a day time; most houses are getting closed due to their engagement in daily informal works far from the lace of thier residences." Individuals return from daily informal work at dusk for sleeping and no time for doing anything else. Another problem is related to the nature of the muddy situation of the areas located between their neighborhood and mainstream urban transport services. The neighborhood is cut off from taxi services.

FINANCIAL CAPITAL: COMPENSATION ISSUES

The redeeming effect of cash compensation was not considered during the relocation process. One of the most common subthemes is the absence of compensation related to displacement. Informants describe the process leading to their sudden eviction from Ketel Sefer and relocation to Kotatina. A few weeks before their immediate eviction, authorities called a sudden meeting for discussion with the community. An ad hoc committee drawn from community members was formed to work temporarily with the registration of household heads, and identify households entitled to compensation.

The project planners and designers did not propose any cash compensation for displacement and resettlement except allocating 105 meter square plot of land for individuals in Kotatina as compensation. One of the complex problems of poor urban residents internally displaced by development projects is related to the legal statuses of their land and housing. On the one hand, participants considered their displacement and resettlement without compensation as a wrongdoing committed against their rights. They raised their grievances to Municipal authorities. One key informant said, “I bought the land from the local inhabitants though the municipality didn’t give me legal document”. On the other hand, IDPs who had been squatter settlers in the urban locality viewed the allocation of land as compensation. All informants openly reported about the compensation related issues, and how it was justified by concerned authorities. One of the informants describes the responses provided by concerned authorities in the following way:

The concerned authorities justified that the compensation is offered in forms of land. Your previous land was possessed illegally. You don’t have legal grounds to complain against the action of this development project. The project is built for the benefits of all people including you. They warned us not to raise the issues of cash compensation that may be at risk of losing the plots of land provided for housing reconstruction (Informant, A3).

A number of internally displaced households obtained their former housing land through informal arrangements. The informal land transactions were affordable for the poor urban settlers. Most participants admitted that their settlement was considered as being an illegal settlement. One informant added that the formal means of obtaining urban land was unthinkable for poor people. A personal recount of one informant indicates this.

I came to Bahir Dar area in 1983. I bought the land of Ketel Sefer in the same year 1983 informally from the local farming inhabitant and built a home and lived there until I was displaced in 2008 (Informant, A 8).

Nevertheless, relocation was implemented without any compensation given to the poor households. Each displaced person remained uncompensated. The money spent for the land and previous housing was overlooked by authorities. There was no compensation either to move from their homes in the squatter settlement, or to rebuild new housing in Kotatina. Participants reported that the absence of any compensation related to their displacement by urban development was a critical problem. It hampered rebuilding of family houses by themselves in the new resettlement place. The decision to relocate them without any compensation was traumatic and stressful. The scenarios indicate that the absence of any compensation left heavy burdens on poor residents in rebuilding their new home place, as it was expressed by both FGD groups. Key informant participants openly expressed their grievances against being displaced without compensation and one of the key informants expressed it as mentioned below.

I didn’t get any compensation for all properties I lost. Initially, authorities promised to give us compensation for the costs of the displacement and resettlement processes. Later, that was not materialized. The situation exposed me to extra and unexpected expense. For instance, I paid 713 Ethiopian birr for the plot of land to get the master planning paper done. Besides, for the first two months in the immediate aftermath of the eviction, I paid 100 Ethiopian birr for the rented house. A lot expenses to buy ‘enchet’ (wood), tin for reconstruction of the home. I was also made to

buy water for drinking and for construction purposes. Thus displacement makes me to expend much money, to construct my house, and weakened my financial capacity and makes the day to day lives difficult. (Informant, A3).

NATURAL CAPITAL: LANDLESSNESS

In this particular study, not all displaced households received housing land. The displacement and resettlement scenarios ended up with a crisis of housing land issues for some groups of IDPs. Although the registration of all displaced households was conducted, approximately 65 displaced households were not given plots of housing land regardless of lengths of residency in Ketel Sefer. The issue of landlessness is very complex to understand among IDPs, especially in relation to households who did not receive land. Similarly, Asmamaw, (2011) confirms that the displacement and resettlement of squatter settlers further aggravate the risks of homelessness. Although the authorities conducted their registrations, individuals reported that they remained landless:

Mine is a very unique case... I have faced the worst experience of being IDP especially of being homelessness. I have been living for 25years in my Ketel Sefer residence. And I had my own house. As opposed to other IDPs, I have remained landless for the reason that I couldn't know. Currently, I am living in a rented small room shelter for which I am paying 70 Ethiopian birr monthly (Informant, A11).

In relation to landlessness, the size of the land is important. Participants expressed their grievances against the size of the housing land the displaced households have received in Kotatina resettlement sites. They reported being unhappy with the size of the housing land that was measured and allocated for the displaced households. The size of the land is estimated to be 105m², which is very small compared to land for urban residence in Bahir Dar city. Such reduced housing land size for rebuilding a new family home residence curtailed the home-based services and other related activities of households. As one informant reported that “we share a single toilet for three-four households. Lack of maintenance makes it unclean. We could not make a private toilet due to the compactness of the land”. Based on observations, IDPs are currently living in crowded living conditions in the new resettlement neighborhood.

HUMAN CAPITAL: LACK OF EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH SERVICES

The displacement also affects negatively the human capital which is more or less similar to the above mentioned impacts on the other aspects of livelihood capital. Because of its newness, the transport/road, water, electric and telecommunication infrastructures were not in place before relocation. As a result, the school, health post, health center and hygiene related developments are by far the worst when they are compared to the other infrastructural developments observed in the neighborhood. As a result, some of the school age children in Kotatina remained in their house rather they attend whether in Kindergarten or primary school.

Related to health and hygiene also the family member are suffering from the emergence of malaria, and even sometimes it's emergence reaches infestation. There is no health service center accessible to Kotatina neighborhood. It takes them two to three taxes to reach the health center which is far off. The situation is also described by one of the key informants as follows:

I have four children's all of them reach at school age but only the two have got the opportunity to attend school and the remaining are around their home because of one of them can't walk long journey to reach the school and one of the children as is guarding the house during day time when both of us-mother and father are not around homestead in order to win the house livelihood. As I mentioned, we (husband and wife) regularly come back home at the day fall and are engaged to accomplish the remaining housing activities. One day when the smallest kid was ill due to malaria, we were not around our home and nobody was calling us about the situation and the child remained at home until we come back to our home. At that day, we were frustrated by the moment. After a lot of ups and downs, we were able to take him to one of the far off health center and saved our child (Informant, A8).

More importantly, the same informant explained that the problem is common phenomenon to most relocated residents of Kotatina. The relocated poor residents in Kotatina are suffering from getting access to adequate health services and facilities.

SOCIAL CAPITAL: SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION

Relocation caused changes in the social ties of IDPs. The disintegration of previous or long-lasting networks of relationships was evident among geographically or physical neighbors among IDPs. Housing-based ties were not considered by concerned authorities in the process of household identification, registration, and the provision of small plots of land. One of the Informants describes how internal displacement affected his social ties:

The displacement affected only parts of our social life in terms of the disintegration of groups of persons who attended the coffee ceremony together. My close persons of the coffee groups are now disintegrated. Some live in the right corner of the new locality and the remaining is living in the left corner of the locality. It is rarely we are in contact with such coffee members. Now, I have established a new coffee group here in the new place of residence (Informant, A12).

The disorganization of their housing arrangements or patterns is largely due to internal displacement and relocation process. Informants described the ways in which each head of household is made to resettle in a new place of residence. From the registered individual or households, most were identified as eligible for plots of housing land. Without consideration given to geographic or residential proximity, IDPs drew lots to have the opportunity to choose a parcel or their share of the plots identified for resettlement in Kotatina. Such haphazardly designed land provision led to the disorganizations of the pre-displacement ties of neighborly groups. One informant describes how the displacement separated him from his close neighbors in the following way:

Right! "ke dero gorebetoch gar terarekenal" literally my long lasting and old neighbors are separated and I have lesser contact and relationships with them in Ketel Sefer are now made resettle in very separate places of residences(Informant, A7).

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT-DISPLACEMENT IN CONTEXT

Understanding the positive aspects of urban displacement was made possible through informant interviews. Study participants were asked their views about the positive aspects of being displaced and resettled into a new neighborhood located in the outlying area of Bahir Dar city. The interviews identified some of the positive aspects of internal displacement and resettlement. IDPs are now the owners of the land legally registered by the municipality. Though exposed to various problems, they are partly happy with owning urban land. One of the informants recounts his experience:

Thanks to God after a lot of ups and downs, now my housing facilities are better than other IDPs in Kotatina. Now I could be able to get legal land for my housing though built of wood and mud. During our life in Ketele Sefer, we were repeatedly asked by governments to leave the public land (Informant, A3).

Another positive aspect of internal displacement and resettlement is that the pre-existing informal associations remain intact following relocation. There are various self-help associations that remained intact among IDPs following relocation in context. Traditional voluntary associations broaden the system of social relations among urban inhabitants. Self-help associations such as *Iddir*, *Ikub*, and *Senbet-Maheber* are used as means to establish stable patterns of relationships between individual members of the association. Currently, the communities of IDPs are actively engaged in multiple forms of informal associations. According to informants, most of the informal associations were formed prior to their displacement. The IDPs have a shared experience of participating in informal associations such as *Iddir* and *Ikub* in both of the two neighborhoods. Displaced communities are able to maintain major informal associations after being displaced from their local neighborhood. As one Informant states:

One of the strengths I realized is that attempts have been made by authorities to resettle all displaced communities in one locality that would help us protect the disruptions of the existing associations and relationships. This really helped us to maintain our long lasted Iddir and Ikub associations. For instance, I was and still am the cashier of the Iddir since the last ten years even before the displacement of residents from neighborhood in the year 2008 (Informant, A6).

DISCUSSION

The current study uncovered the contextual problems and risks faced by IDPs that are useful for practical interventions especially for social protection programs and activities which are one of the agendas of sustainable development endeavors. The contextual risks include homelessness, loss of access to basic housing services, loss of access to transportation services, and parts of disintegrations of social ties. Nevertheless, the livelihood risks are interlinked and interconnected and hence influence each other though some play a primary role for impoverishment of the affected poor urban residents. One of the observable features of livelihood risks related to displacement is that the intensity of the individual elements or variables of livelihood risks vary even at times (Cernea, 2000; 2005). Data across FGDs indicated that one of the most common livelihood risks faced by individual head of households was the complete destruction or loss of their shelter temporarily with no any compensation packages. The situation during the transition period compelled each head of household to stay in rented houses as survival strategies lasted for two-six months.

The relocation process also entailed the complete loss of getting access to basic public services. Getting access to basic housing services such as electricity, tap water, toilet and other drainage services as well as educational and health services are still some of the critical problems. Another characteristic of the livelihood risks of internal displacement is related to the pattern of the risks that varies across the affected communities (Cernea, 2000; 2005). In this particular context, the FGDs in particular indicate that women and children as well as elderly people are more vulnerable to the livelihood risks faced by the project affected community.

Finally, but more importantly, researchers seem to take for granted that development-induced displacement leads to the disintegration of social networks in the form of family separation or neighborhood disintegration. Nevertheless, the interview data as well as the FGDs provided an understanding the formation of new or disruption of old or pre displacement networks of individual persons displaced by the project was examined. Parts of social networks of IDPs are changed such as coffee groups formed based on geographic proximity of neighbors. The change and continuity of networks of IDPs were also understood by referring to the retention of existing social networks. As proved by the respondents the displacement was not consider their livelihood contexts even it denies the right to live and to say something about their own lives and local development thus result in a number of undesirable consequences on the IDPs'. On the contrary after a lot up and down the IDPs' own selves overcome the undesirable consequences by developing contemporary strategies and try to recover their lives like in the previous state even if still some of them remain as poor and unable to recover.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As it has been presented so far, urban development -induced displacement resulted in numerous consequences on the livelihoods of poor urban residents. As it indicated by most of the literatures and this investigation have shown that development-induced displacement result in further impoverishments or deteriorations of the livelihoods of the poor households' especially vulnerable groups such as women and children. It had greatly affect physical assets of displaced communities; which includes loss of their home, potable water, electricity, and road, school, and health infrastructures and it has strong effect on financial assets.

The implementation of the project also failed to address loss of main assets of the whole IDPs, especially the land and physical assets that are important for the generation of other asset. Though some of them received land compensation, that was not adequate and don't give meaning to say compensation for what they have lost due to the implementation of the project. The relocation also created burden by adding a number of extra expenses that were not conceived by the poor households that means great implication on financial asset. Lack of market services and accessibility also hampered their income generating activities and sources of self-employments.

In addition, urban development-induced relocation partly resulted in the disintegration and loose of their social ties which were the most important resources for getting various socio-economical supports and assistances in times of unexpected household crisis. Furthermore, the relocated urban poor residents remained in poor position in getting access to adequate services to schools and health centers which are located far off places from their place of neighborhood and women's are more affected by the undesirable consequences when compare to men's. on the contrary, it seems positive for some

displaced people that households were able to secure small plot of housing land which is legally recognized by the municipality of the city administration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Currently, social protection is one of the agendas of sustainable development endeavors. Social protection is needed that consists of public actions, policies, and programs designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labor markets, reducing people's exposure to risks. The study also suggests that knowledge of the multifaceted problems and livelihood risks faced by IDPs by projects is important to consider in the implementations of development programs. Thus the relocation process should be implemented with feasibility studies that should consider the negative impacts of development-induced displacement on the physical, financial, natural, human and social capital of low-income households.

The study also suggests that understanding the positive aspects of internal displacement which is an important avenue for needs or problems based development approaches and interventions in the forms of undertaking rehabilitation measures and actions. There is the need to understand the interest and consents of individuals and communities experiencing development-induced internal displacement and resettlement. Currently, the relocated communities are demanding the concerned authorities to get access to basic infrastructures available in the mainstream urban society of Bahir Dar city. The study advises that urban development plans need to include the implications of relocation on the lives and livelihood opportunities of poor households.

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