Bachelor of Science in Development Studies

Department of Human Geography

**In the name of Development: Gentrification and Domicide**

**The case of redevelopment programs of three low-income neighborhoods in Addis Ababa**

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*"Addis Ababa inner-city neighborhood residents who are living in scattered houses are ordered to prepare themselves for displacement by the Land Development Agency. The agency in collaboration with Arada Sub-city Kebele 10 Administration office has posted fliers and official letters, dated October 15, 2004, around the neighborhood, commonly known as DoroManekia announcing that the area is needed for development projects. In the announcement, the residents were supposed to leave their homes from October 18 to 22, 2004. Piazza, churchil road, sengatera, lagar, and megenagna are the first areas of many others needed for re-development program."*

Addis Lisan Gazeta, 2005

**Abstract**

Gentrification is a process of neighborhood change where the low-income group is displaced to leave the space for middle or high income residents or investors, whereas domicide is the killing of homes. The political economy and its basis operate where there is private ownership of major production on land and rent-seeking behavior of the capital and social. This is a very powerful primary influence for processes of gentrification and domicide. Because the powerful actors see there is potential yield, and say if we push these people aside and put on a built environment where these people can use the place there is a lot of wealth in there. The increasing influence of neoliberal policies on the Ethiopian land-market has made displacement and gentrification an imposing obstacle in the development of Addis Ababa. In Addis Ababa both the government and the rich elites are the gentrifiers for renewal/redevelopment program and facilitating investment. Therefore, the majority poor low-income groups are easily being displaced from their old inner-city neighborhoods and the wealthy investors and well-connected people enjoy these land and better infrastructures. In this research, therefore, I will try to investigate the implications of the government housing program on the lives of the inner city Addis Ababa residents. By reviewing previous researches in the topic and carrying out qualitative semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, this thesis exposes the ongoing gentrification and domicide. Based on evaluation and qualitative description of observations the thesis concludes that the low-income groups in Addis Ababa are highly marginalized and affected by gentrification and domicide. Overall, the research outputs suggest the need for extensive land reform and bottom-up approach should be taken into consideration.

*Keywords*: gentrification, domicide, redevelopment, government housing, displacement, Addis Ababa

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**Abbreviations:**

| | |
|---|---|
| AACA | Addis Ababa City Administration |
| AAHDE | Addis Ababa Housing Development Enterprise |
| CBE | Commercial Bank of Ethiopia |
| FDRE | Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia |
| GIZ | German Technical Agency |
| GTP | Growth and Transformation Plan |
| IHDP | Integrated Housing Development Program |
| LDURA | Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency |
| MoUDC | Ministry of Urban Development and Construction |
| MoUDHC | Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction |
| NUDP | National Urban Development Policy |
| PASDEP | Plan for Accelerated & Sustained Development to End Poverty |
| SECR | State of Ethiopian Cities Report |
| UN-Habitat | United Nations Human Settlements Program |

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## 1. Introduction

Recently, many international media, particularly African based media, seem to have no other topic but to talk about Addis Ababa's fast development. One article which attracted me most is on Africa Business Pages, titled "Addis Ababa: The 'Dubai' of Africa". The article showcased the high-rising buildings and the remarkable transformation the city has been undergoing as a sign of a poor country on the rise to becoming a middle-income economy. Such reports are "being used to dismiss concerns about the harmful effects of market-oriented urban policies of privatization, homeownership, …and dispersal strategies designed to break up concentrated inner-city poverty" (Kathe Newman and Elvin K. Wyly, 2006: 1). The harmful effects, Newman and Wyly discuss in their paper are gentrification and displacement.

> *Gentrification is a process which involves change in land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital"*

(Clark, 2005: 258, in Atkinson, R. and Bridge, G. (2005)).

This thesis particularly focuses on domicide and gentrification that are associated with urban development projects. Both gentrification and domicide are processes of neighborhood change. Domicide is the process of demolition of the home(s) of poor individuals or community (Porteous and Smith, 2001). Everyday domicide is when the killing of homes is for the purpose of urban development. Gentrification goes beyond the killing of homes, involving the dispossession of wealth by higher class groups or the state leaving the poor for displacement. Both processes one way or the other involve displacement. Domicide is very clearly connected not only with gentrification but more tightly connected with displacement.

The "remarkable transformation" Addis Ababa is going through comes at the cost of marginalizing and displacing the poor inner city residents leaving the space for powerful actors like the government, rich investors and selected elites. In addition, the Western-like environments – buildings, markets and lifestyle – that are built through investment are forcing the low-income groups to evacuate from the homes and neighborhoods they consider are dear to them.

In this research paper, I want to investigate the effects of displacement or relocation of low-income neighborhoods in Addis Ababa due to urban development process. I have chosen the government housing project as a showcase for this study. By implementing desk study and qualitative field research, I will further delve into expose the challenges the poor community face in the process, the main problem of displacement and occupation of the neighborhoods by the government and private investors in the name of development.

## 1.1 *Motivation*

What inspired my research was mainly my personal observation on the changes that were dramatically happening in nearby neighborhoods I lived in Addis Ababa. The areas I was once fond of for their cultural heritage and beauty were gone in few days and replaced by new movers who I considered them to be destructors of cultural, social and economic capital of the city. The courses I have taken in my bachelor program have given me scientific perspective to my insights in ways I look at the things that were going on in my environment. What most interested me was the significant histrionic change in neighborhood occupants specially, in the inner city areas. I heard people cursing the government for killing the homes of the poor and eventually leading to their displacement to new areas subsequently allowing occupation by the elites. At the same time, I heard others praising the actions taken by the government to change the look of the city into one of the Western like. Therefore, I wanted to combine my study with the situation on the ground which interested me most. The result is this research paper.

## 1.2 *Objectives and research question*

Different studies and my personal observation discovered that gentrification increases impoverishment of the poor, inequality of urban dwellers and widen the gap between the poor and rich. In the past ten years there are obvious changes in the occupation of inner city areas where

predominantly were homes and living places for the past century and now are centers of international standard hotels, organizations and apartments. This clearly is urban colonialism. Majority poor low-income groups are certainly displaced from their old inner-city neighborhoods leaving for the wealthy investors and politically affiliated people to enjoy the land and new infrastructures.

Previous researches conducted to evaluate the housing strategy, plans and projects carried out by academics and the state have not studied gentrification as the source of disparities among the city residents. Some argue that there have been great developmental achievements, presenting facts and figures, compared to the past. Others provide reasoning to prove that government needed to utilize all the potentials. But the question most advocates of the governments' strategy do not want to be raised is to what/whose cost? What kind of implications does it have to the people who are innocently losing the little resource they are surviving on? The aim of this thesis is not to give answer to everybody's question but, to make the situation on the ground visible and allow policy makers and concerned body to rethink/revisit the path Addis Ababa is taking.

This research is a new approach to the study of displacement in Addis Ababa. I envision to fill the gap that other studies did not capture: domicide of inner-city homes and gentrification of low-income neighborhoods that come simultaneously with displacement and/or relocation. This paper will focus more specifically on one of the relocation strategies (condominium housing development program) which is implemented by the city administration.

The following research objectives and research questions are designed to respond to the problem statement.

***The main objective of this paper is***: to examine and expose the side effects of the state-led re-development practices, particularly the government housing program called IHDP. The study will show that gentrification and domicide are being actively undertaken where there is development-induced displacement/relocation.

The specific objectives are:

- To describe the major revolutions that Addis Ababa housing situation has been experiencing since the beginning of 21st century

- To probe the housing project planning, implementation and outcomes
- To explore the impact of the housing program on the living condition of the displaced people
- To demonstration the governments' strategies and its effect on the relocated households
- To raise public awareness on the rights and power of poor residents on influencing policy making for development projects
- To draw policy recommendation on how to mitigate, the so called "necessary evil" which is the displacement and impoverishment of certain group associated with development programs

***The research questions are:***

- What are the impacts of new improved housing projects on the lives and livelihoods of different Addis Ababa residents?
- How do residents of different urban groups perceive the projects as well as their new housing?

1.3 *Significance of the research*

Gentrification and domicide are global phenomena that happen every day and everywhere. However, the study of these processes have not been broadly assessed in Ethiopia and Africa, in general. Gentrification is recently being applied to the Global South urban development studies but has not been studied in Ethiopia. As developing countries like Ethiopia are highly investing their resources and time on development, gentrification has been occurring in every corner of the streets of the cities, significantly in Addis Ababa, since the past twenty years.

As development projects in Ethiopia are increasingly being undertaken, the problem with displacement is simultaneously looming. It is quiet compelling to see Peter Marcuse arguing that 'gentrification is as inherently linked with the displacement of lower-income households' (1985: 934). Various researches have been conducted regarding the low-income neighborhood displacement and relocation in Addis Ababa. I have explored researches covering Addis Ababa's housing projects in different time periods, informal land transactions and divisions, policy on

government housing for urban poor, urban expansion and impacts of resettlement schemes on low-income households. Nevertheless, I have not come across a study approaching from gentrification and domicide perspective. This thesis will provide a fresh look at the ongoing urban development program contributing a new look at the existing literatures. It will also give a perspective for planners and development agents to see their work from holistic view rather than standing as standing alone separate entities. It will also pave the way for future researchers, young and old research institutes to engage themselves in extensive study of the topics.

The findings of this thesis will benefit different government sector offices, real estate owners and international organizations who are engaged in housing development projects to help them see the situation on the ground from new perspective. It will also help them create/develop mechanisms to mitigate the effects of urban redevelopment process.

1.4 *Methodology and Data Collection*

This thesis will take the government housing project in Addis Ababa as a case study to examine gentrification and domicide in inner city neighborhoods. The information obtained from extensive materials from various sources to offer an in-depth picture of the situation (Creswell, 1998). To be specific the case will have multiple sub cases, both intrinsic and instrument cases, which means collective case study is applied. This wat the data itself guides in developing understanding of the topic and making in-depth analysis (Punch, 2005: 144). In this particular case I will examine the feelings, reactions, and perceptions of individuals and/or groups toward development projects and their displacement. I will also take into consideration the voice of others – meaning the rich and politically attached people benefit from the process – to have holistic understanding especially in time of data analysis.

*Data Collection*

The initially proposed method for this thesis was to do a desk study of different literatures and reports. However, the nature of the study and the shortage and lack of availability of the necessary information encouraged me to add field research as additional source. After making detail study on various literatures on gentrification in urban studies, I opted for addition of qualitative field research in Addis Ababa, specifically in three areas where majority of the displacements occurred.

Most qualitative researches are carried out in groups or individual semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observations (Punch 2005 169-178). The typical form of qualitative cross-sectional research is when the researcher employs un-structured interviewing or semi-structured interviewing with a number of people (Bryman, 2008: 48, 436). Therefore, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 local poor people in the study area who are displaced because of the redevelopment project and three government informants and seven middle/high-income home owners and subtenants who benefit from the projects (Table 1). Some leading and guiding interview questions were prepared.

I recruited two assistants who speak fluent English, Amharic and Tigrinya languages and live in the proximity of the study areas. The assistants were involved in the data collection as guides in selection of informants and ensuring the involvement of relevant local communities. People from various groups were participated according to their difference in social, economic or political engagement to have varying perceptions on the projects and even on the displacement of certain groups and demolition of homes. This helps me to make objective remarks of the topic. The interviews help to discover existing situation of relocatees in comparison with the former area and identifying why and how this phenomenon has occurred. Having the advantage of coming from the country will help identify the right interviewees and speaking same language that will ease interpretation, enhance the validity of interview responses. Moreover, qualitative interviews will help to expose the ongoing gentrification.

| Former location of participants by Sub city | Number of participants | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Low-income group | Middle/high income group | Key informants | Female | Male | Sub city total |
| Arada | 12 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| Lideta | 5 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Nifas Silk Lafto | 5 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 10 |

| Total | 22 | 7 | 3 | 17 | 15 | 32 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Table 1. Interview participants

While it is important to critically reflect on your research design and methods, it is also important to reflect on your own role as the researcher throughout the research process (Bryman, 2008; 39).

*Data Analysis*

The use of many analytic strategies helps to look at different perspectives on the research questions, whether complementary or contrasting in qualitative data analysis. However, the method should be described and scrutinized to find transparent results and conclusions. "This variety and diversity in approaches underlines the point that there is no single right way to do qualitative data analysis" (Punch, 2005: 194). As indicated the thesis comprises literature review and primary sources – semi-structured interviews and observations – therefore, I will be collaborating different data analysis methods.

For the literatures and secondary data, I will be applying discourse analysis which entails interpretative reading of texts by asking and answering different analytical questions that focus on the connotative and physical context of the data source. Punch argues that analysis of narratives and stories deal with qualitative data holistically right from the start. Since my data will probably need to be collected and interpreted, the use of narrative analysis will give a "uniquely subtle understanding of life situations" (ibid: 217).  Again here making using of observer researcher benefit is an ample opportunity to understand social and cultural context of the topic.  As Punch describes narratives being social constructions where power structures and social backgrounds are located, hence, intersection with discourse analysis. Which means both methods would make use of contextual understanding.

Secondly, since I am using semi-structured interviewing and it involves asking follow up questions during the interview, then when analyzing my data, it would be particularly fundamental to understand the interviewees' own perspectives. I applied narrative analysis for this type of data source. Narrative analysis is an approach to the analysis of qualitative data that emphasizes the stories that people employ to account for events (Bryman, 2008: 560). This method allows

researchers to detect stories and events in peoples' lives and accounts relating to episodes by stimulating the story from conducting interviews.

The research output will be based on evaluation and qualitative description of observations during the data collection process. Hence, I will try to create interconnections between the collected stories and/or interview data and the already existing literatures and evidences that exist in text and images.

### 1.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethically conducted development researches serve the purposes of the greatest number of people of concern in a study. Beforehand, I secured permission to conduct the field study from the Ethiopian Ministry of Education by presenting a letter of support which I received from the Lund University Department of Human Geography.

By adopting a participatory approach, I ensured key stakeholders and the communities were meaningfully and appropriately involved in selection of key informants, interviewees and area of study. Informed consent was obtained from all respondents (including government informants) prior to their participation. The researcher made clear the purpose of the research, observance of confidentiality of data, and sought the respondents' permission to be quoted appropriately. This helped to gain trust and confidence of all participants and avoided the fear of giving detail information allowing respondents ample room and confidence for sharing personal life experiences). As Slater (2009) highlights, many qualitative studies of gentrification have revealed a sense of grief associated with being displaced, providing the best evidence of displacement. Therefore, it was crucial to make sure open environment was created.

Participation in this research was voluntary, per se. I guaranteed that all data provided by respondents were kept anonymous and treated as confidential materials. All personal information provided in this research are received from the informants except, the names of informants of coming from the displaced community. In cases where names do not appear I will use location, age and gender to make clear the social status/ group the respondent belongs to. After each interviews and focus group discussions participants were presented with the summary of the data collected to ensure their full acknowledgement and validity of information.

*1.6 Scope and limitations*

The main limitation of studying displacement is that very often it is invisible, in a sense that people who gain from it and are active perpetrators of displacement do not want it to be processed or disclosed. Limited number of published literatures in Addis Ababa was also another one. Gentrification and displacement are wide-ranging phenomena; their impacts reach from neighborhood up to city level affecting all aspect of life. Since my resources were limited I also limited myself into doing intensive study on gentrification in three selected locations of inner city Addis Ababa. I was mainly dependent on resources I collected from former literatures on inner-city displacement and government reports.

It is only government entities and their affiliate international organizations who did extensive study and possess real statistical information of the situation on the ground which could support this study. Therefore, it was difficult to get updated data out of them. Moreover, information gathered from or found in government offices are not necessarily objective and can be influenced by their agenda. Nevertheless, the intensive work I have put in extracting information from available resources and the methods applied in this thesis are suitable to answer the research question and draw conclusion.

The other limitation is the subjectivity of the research in terms of applying personal observation as a general finding. To avoid such cases, appropriate methods were applied and the selection of informants was done by third party who were not directly affected by the redevelopment program.

The country went through a State of emergency for nearly a year which blocked my moves and created uncomfortable environment for interviewees to give information. In Ethiopia's context such moves could easily be interpreted as extracting information for act of terror which also delayed the timely completion of the study. Within this period, the only possible way to avoid the risk that comes with it was to refrain from carrying out any field work in this period of time.

## 2. Literature Review

*2.1. Definition and theoretical discussion of Gentrification and Domicide*

*2. 1. 1 Gentrification*

Half a century has passed since the British Sociologist Ruth Glass (1964) coined the term "gentrification" in a book she wrote about urban and social change in London, demonstrating the invasion of working class neighborhoods by the middle classes. Different literatures by academics, journalists and others contributed to the term for having broader definition in urban studies and planning. Defining gentrification is significant part of the study, but also challenging. Therefore, in this thesis I opt to carefully use Eric Clark's definition of gentrification:

> *'a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital'* (2005: 258).

This definition goes hand-in-hand with the claim of Smith (1996: 39) that physical and social transformation of neighborhood through gentrification involves both "rehabilitation of existing stock… and redevelopment that involved wholly new construction" which creates a new class in the urban area. The poor and marginalized group or 'previous users' often become the victims of 'inevitable development' as Glass puts it. The process of neighborhood changes as Peter Marcuse (1985: 195) further elaborates "contributes to increasing residential polarization of the city by income, by education, by household composition, and by race." Gentrification mainly happens when the few higher-income household or group is favorites over the populous lower-income poor people over resource use/ownership. Gentrification could come in different forms; it could be sudden or gradual community disturbance. One common thing they both share is that both forms happen through unjust displacement of lower-income households to the outskirts of cities. Gentrification is increasingly becoming an important phenomenon in the Global South urban development. Studies are also increasingly being conducted and should carefully be done so in the contextual theoretical understanding of the cities.

*2. 1. 2 Domicide*

In most cases, the consequence of gentrification is domicide, which is also a process by which people lose their homes and communities. Though it is recently devised term in urban studies, Domicide, the murder of homes, is well defined by Porteous and Smith (2001: 12) as: "the

deliberate destruction of home by human agency in pursuit of specified goals, which causes suffering to the victims" – the 'specified goal' here is 'urban development'. It occurs in two forms according to Porteous and Smith: either through 'extreme' domicide or everyday domicide Extreme domicide is resulted from violence by someone or some group deliberately plans destruction of home through war, colonial geopiracy, and resettlement projects. Everyday domicide however, is more frequent than extreme domicide, it happens by the name of urban and economic development. Both forms of domicide are planned and violent destruction of homes however, while extreme domicide is infrequent and less global, the latter happens frequently and tends to occur everywhere.

Everyday domicide, especially, in Third World countries has the form when the state co-operates with aid agencies or operates self-sponsored, using development projects as reasons to violently dislodge poor urban residents from their homes. It is this form of planned destruction of homes, homes ranging from a single dwelling to entire neighborhood, which results in forced eviction, thereby, displacement. Everyday domicide is sort of the ball and chain of the market where the market does its thing. This form of domicide, everyday domicide – the destruction of home on account of urban and economic development – will be discussed further and readers are advised to take this into consideration throughout this paper.

*2. 1. 3. Gentrification and Domicide*

Domicide is the process of demolition of the home(s) of the poor and marginalized. And gentrification is when this same vacated or evicted neighborhood is being occupied by the higher-class 'new users'. We have seen in brief discussions of gentrification and domicide that both have commonalities in effect and the consequences that come with change in neighborhood. Three common characteristics, inter alia. First, both cases, particularly as I want to study in this paper, are planned and/or state-led processes inflicted by power difference between the gentrified/victims and the gentrifiers/destructors. Porteous and Smith (2001:19) argue that "someone or some group is responsible for the suffering." The 'someone or some group' are "people with greater resources and power, people who think they have a "better" use for a certain building, piece of land, or neighborhood" (Hartman et al., 1982: 4). It is caused by humans: either by internal class division

or categorization between the powerful and powerless or by the collaboration of external (outside) agencies and the elites of Third World countries.

Secondly, the most popular justification behind gentrification and domicide processes is common good or public interest, which is not the reality in hand for most. "From the point of view of domicide the common good concept is flawed, for it excludes the victims it creates" (13-14) because the evident truth is that very often beneficiaries are the powerful elites or wealthy group, middle or upper- classes, at least for the short term. This mostly results 'deepest wound for one's identity and self-esteem' (**Porteous: 5**) and displacement from their loved homes. Displacements that come with development projects are "especially detrimental to indigenous groups, which are strongly attached to… particular places, or set of places" (Porteous and Smith, 2001: 115).

Thirdly, the damage and/or transformation they bring in the lives of the displaced. Gentrification demolishes whole or part of neighborhood and community living in certain place, whereas domicide may only be a single home destruction problem. According to Kathe Newman and Elvin K. Wyly (2006: 6) – on their critically challenging study of 'positive gentrification' – "gentrification is not a minor phenomenon that affects a few communities; it is evidence of vast urban restructuring." In the same way, domicide also brings change in social and physical environment of individuals and groups by erasing "the physical place of memory and source of identity not by conscious choice, as when one changes homes, but through the deliberate acts of others" (Porteous and Smith, 2001: 62).

## *2. 2. Shortcomings and Critiques of Gentrification*

The themes that I am going to discuss in this section can be the restrictive aspects for the study of gentrification according to the way they are understood. Two among various aspects are discussed here: the globalization of gentrification (specifically confusion in contextual understanding of the term for particular place) and the social class difference and its importance in the basis of gentrification.

Started as city center urban process in big cities like London, gentrification has now spread to peripheries of cities and to smaller cities like Malmö, even more so it has also become a burning topic of urban-rural interaction of Ethiopia. Over time gentrification emerged as Global South

urban process as Neil Smith (2002) discussed about 'gentrification as global urban strategy' expressing the change in key actors and particularities of place in making urban space and Atkinson and Bridge (2005) in the form of new urban colonialism. A more general study on 'the geography of gentrification' by Loretta Lees (2012) shows that contextual understanding must be applied in comparative gentrification studies through questioning the usefulness and applicability and the ways how research is conducted in the Global South. Lees (ibid: 158) argues that gentrification in Global South should not be read as "simply the recreation of the periphery" and its temporality needs to be considered. Therefore, we need to be aware of the sensitivity of the 'complex challenge of gentrification' because "the battle grounds in different places will be different" (ibid: 167).

Moreover, the scale and diversity of gentrification it should be noted that when investigating its variation from housing-centered to broad-based multi-sectoral redevelopments. Similarly, it has developed horizontally, being recognized in almost all cities and vertically, where the process extended downwards to smaller cities as well.

Another shortcoming in the study of gentrification is the understanding of the various social class division structures from place to place and its change through time. The lower, middle (lower-middle and upper-middle), and upper class categorization of society is being transformed over time. Researchers like Tom Slater (2009), Elvin K. Wyly and Dan Hammel (2001) and Neil Smith (1992) argue that class inequality as the spearhead of gentrification, while on the other side Jacob Vigdor (2002) and Chris Hamnett (2003, 2008) came to ignore the significance of class difference in gentrification. The very essence of gentrification is the set of power relation in social class (Slater 2009) and the "changing class structure – how many people fit into certain pre-defined class categories – of capitalist societies" and how it is redefined in other countries' context (Slater in Bridge, 2011: 575).  Therefore, it is important to have contextual and theoretical understanding of cities on how and why gentrification emerges in particular place and time.

*2. 2. 1. Positive Gentrification?*

Over the past two decades, research on gentrification is being portrayed as a positive incentive for urban development and urban renaissance. Growing number of researchers have promoted and

contributed to this perspective (Freeman and Bracoli 2004, Freeman 2006, Vigdor 2002, Hamnett 2003 and 2008, Duany 2001).

In 'Three cheers for gentrification' Andres Duany promoted gentrification as follows:

Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle-class and in the process improves the quality of life for all a community's residents. (2001: 36).

He therefore recommends that if one needs to prevent gentrifiers from moving in to neighborhoods, lessening the attractiveness of neighborhoods is a proven solution. Andres also argues that "the most surefire technique for permanently preventing gentrification is to provide dismal architectural and urban design" (ibid: 38).

Similarly, Lance Freeman's (2006) study on how residents of Clinton Hill and Harlem, New York feel when gentrification comes to their neighborhoods concluded that gentrification is more than a story about displacement, and mobility and the influx of gentry to 'previously decaying' neighborhoods brings the possibility of upward mobility through poverty de-concentration. By advocating for neoliberal urban policy he claims:

Certainly the gentrification of Harlem… (was) abetted by policies that encouraged private institutions to invest or lend in these neighborhoods and policies that encouraged middle class to move into or stay in these neighborhoods (ibid: 202).

However, it is this neoliberal urban policy serving as the driving force behind gentrification and displacement of the poor and marginalized that allows the middle class significant role to play. Smith (2002) describes "gentrification as global urban strategy is a consummate expression of neoliberal urbanism" (446). It is important to understand the difference in appreciating change and accepting change in gentrifying neighborhoods (Newman and Wyly, 2001) because neo-liberalism is associated with statistical disappearance of its costs and victims (Wyly et al., 2010). Rowland Atkinson (2003) provides an insight on gentrification creating both class inequality and displacement and how this is perceived by neo-liberalists:

Issues of social justice and equity have driven the view that gentrification has represented a generally corrosive influence on urban neighborhoods…. The problem of gentrification here is often not simply the social cost of local household dislocation but also the difficulty of reentering the inner city…. For those on the political right, the social cost of gentrification appears unimportant when set against city decline, decaying neighborhoods and dwindling local tax-bases (2345).

On the other side the counter positive gentrification, critics of gentrification, have tried to show the shortcomings underlying in the positivist approach to gentrification (Marcuse 1985, Slater 2006, Atkinson 2004, and Newman and Wyly 2006, Smith 2002). Positivist gentrification ignores the fact that gentrification fundamentally is associated with displacement and social class difference as well as the benefit of qualitative study of the working class society (Marcuse 1985, Slater 2006). Slater (2006) criticizes Vigdor for his neo-classical approach when writing about the city in which one of the first displacement taken place that ignores class inequality but rather claims gentrification brings "general equilibrium" framework. Slater (2010) argues that "class inequality is at the forefront of any consideration of gentrification" (295) and the new positivist gentrification studies have not done qualitative research on working class people rather focus on the gentry (Slater, 2006).

## 2. 3. Gentrification and Displacement

Peter Marcuse boldly stated: 'gentrification is inherently linked with the displacement of lower-income households' (1985: 934). Due to the limiting problems in methodology and data availability for measuring displacement (Atkinson 2000, Hartman and Robinson 2003, Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008), given that displaced people are usually long gone and hard to track some research studies conclude that there are no or few evidences for displacement. Therefore, it simply is assumed gentrification does not negatively affect or displace people from their neighborhood. The common good approach has for long ignored the consequences that come with development projects or else policies are not made to protect basic rights of displacees. In many cases "…victimhood may be recognized but dismissed by project proponents because of the immeasurable greater benefits they believe they are bringing to the public at large (Porteous, 2001: 12). Hence, Atkinson (2004) concluded that "the aims of an inclusive renaissance agenda appear

to have been discarded in favor of policies which pursue revitalization through gentrification and displacement."

Various reasons can be discoursed regarding the facts or evidences of displacement that come with gentrification. Firstly, the gentry are powerful and have the upper hand voice in front of the state. Harvey (2010) on the accumulation by dispossession describes as "in places without secure private property rights… violent expulsions of low-income populations by state authorities often lead the way with or without modest compensation arrangements (244). Secondly, researches funded by governments, government agencies or institutions advocating neoliberal urban development structures mostly come up with conclusions favoring for the donators or facilitators. Gentrification happens in the name of the common good and therefore the statistics show the positive side of projects and researchers apply these findings in driving theoretical frameworks. Thirdly, the role of the state in development project policies is also critical reason behind displacement. As Atkinson (200) argues "the role of local authority and a political will in general to stand back or become involved is critical in the way that gentrification proceeds" (357).

Lastly, but not least, particularity of gentrification and its effect on the displacement of low income groups must express that particular place. On the study of comparative urbanism Lees argues as follows:

"Other works on the Global South has tended to view gentrification process in the Global South through the lens of Anglo-American urban theory…. But I would like to see gentrification researchers learning through different urban theory cultures of the city…. The battlegrounds in different places will be different. Given the visceral scale of the (direct) displacements happening in the Global South… the battlegrounds there may be, and may yet be, more bloody, as authoritarian governments stamp out anti-gentrification protest and resistance" (Lees 2012:166-167).

Displacements that come with development projects are "especially detrimental to indigenous groups, which are strongly attached to… particular place, or set of places" (Porteous, 2001: 115); but they are also avoidable. "The direct and indirect consequences of development induced displacement which harm the lives and livelihoods of people in the Developing and Developed World are avoidable, and the harmful effects, which are being more widely recognized and

understood, can be mitigated through more enlightened national and international policies" (McDowell, 1996: 1).

However, "when prosperity is absent or restricted to some groups, when it is only enjoyed in some parts of the city, when it is used to pursue specific interests, or when it is a justification for financial gains for the few to the detriment of the majority, the city becomes the locus where the right to shared prosperity is claimed and fought for" (UN-HABITAT, 2012: 10). Article 11.1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) as interpreted in General Comment No 7 states that "…evictions should not result in individuals being rendered homeless or vulnerable to the violation of other human rights"

## 3. Case study Addis Ababa

In this section I will present the empirical data collected through desk study and interviews with respondents. With regards to the literature review and research questions, the first part of this section will briefly introduce the past fifteen years' government housing project in Addis Ababa and its achievements reported according to different sources. I will go back and forth the time to bring correlation among the different evidences to draw the readers' attention into the gentrification and domicide that is going on in Addis Ababa. Different responses of the informants, mainly of local leaders and communities, will be incorporated in the discussion in a way it substantiates the context.

Throughout this section, associations to the theoretical framework will be made by emphasizing on important concepts that appear in the data. In addition, my own insights will be used as link between topics expressed in references.

### 3.1 Recent Redevelopment Programs for Low-income Neighborhoods

Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia. The population of the city is growing by an alarming rate of 3.8% per year creating shortage and increase in the price of land. There is an increase in migration of rural people, especially the youth, in search of employment in industries and better living conditions concentrated around the city, which is causing the existing low-income

residential neighborhoods to be overcrowded and dilapidated. Other wealthy people from the Diaspora and the regional states are coming to Addis Ababa in search of properties to store their liquid cash in the form of fixed asset. The government, public entities and private investors see the potential yield the city possesses. For example, Dashen Bank alone owns 27 buildings in the city, three more currently under construction (Business Review Ethiopia, 2017). These inner city neighborhoods are being transformed into Western style urban space displacing the low-income residents through forced evictions and changes associated with the built environment. In 2015 alone, out of the total 829.1 ha of land the Addis Ababa Land Development and Urban Renewal Agency (LDURA, 2015) transferred for development, 440 hectares were transferred for government housing project, which is the topic for discussion from here on.

Until 2005 there has been no concrete housing policy formulated at national level. However, Addis Ababa City Administration (AACA) has been applying housing proclamation which follows the neoliberal free market economic policy adopted in 1991. The principles formulated on the new National Urban Development Policy (NUDP) create conducive atmosphere for the private sector, particularly the real estate companies, to participate in housing development. The proclamation enacted by the federal government on urban development strategies gave high attention for alleviating housing problems of urban areas emphasizes on redevelopment of inner-city slum neighborhoods and onsite resettlements (FDRE, 2005).

In 2001, the city administration Urban Development and Works Bureau (UDWB, 2002) formulated a ten-year strategic development framework which was called "Addis Ababa in Action: City Development Plan 2001-2010". The goal of this plan was to make Addis Ababa an "international standard" core area. Being the capital city of Ethiopia and base for African Union and many other international organs, it is very much believed by governing authorities that Western style quality buildings and cleanliness of the city portray modern image towards the whole country. This image building process placed, according to the Office for the Revision of Addis Ababa's Master Plan (ORAAMP 2002: 48), housing development, slum upgrading, inner-city development, roads construction, industries and warehouses establishment, and protection and development of the environment as the six priority strategic development areas to be achieved during the ten-year plan.

After five-year implementation of Addis Ababa in Action plan, UN-Habitat (2008), the organization promoting human rights, reported that concentration of slum dwellings, and poor housing, infrastructure and sanitary development are Addis Ababa's challenges in catching-up with the decades of neglect. There was still long way to go with the plan not yet started to be implemented until 2004; when the focus of the administration was fully turned to redeveloping inner city low-income neighborhoods. According to Ministry of Urban Development and Construction (MoUDC: 2002), close to 80% of the houses located in the inner part of the city needed complete replacement because of dilapidation.

*3.1.1 Government housing project: Phase One*

In 2004, the Ethiopian government announced its new urban development strategy of the country under the five-year Plan for Accelerated & Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), covering from 2005-2010. In response to the challenge in housing problem, the administration outlined a vision for low-income urban housing, known as the Integrated Housing Development Program (IHDP), encouraging all slums and scattered housing to be cleared within 10 years' time. The objective of IHDP is to reduce housing problem of the city by 50%, mainly through clearing of slums and relocation of low-income community to government owned condominium houses and kebele houses (owned by the state). The IHDP has been implemented with multiple objectives which includes achieving economic use of land; improving the image of cities; generating employment for the youth and women; and others.

Based on the categories set by the city administration (AACA, 2004), low-income person is anyone who is a registered resident in the municipality and earns 60 USD (1 USD=20 ETB) and below HH monthly income where the source of the income is employment in an organization or company, and that he/she is able to provide evidence of monthly saving of 10 USD and tax payers number. With this, 560,000 applicants were registered in year 2005, most of them (>50%) coming from the inner-city where there is immense displacement pressure. The reports by UN-Habitat (2008) and Yntiso (2008), and assessment result of ORAAMP (2002) show 41% of households in Addis Ababa earn monthly income of less than USD 45, which means majority of the dwellers live below poverty line. Therefore, they cannot afford to build, rent or buy a decent house. Households who built house on illegally obtained land, which proportionate about 25% of the total units,

(ORAAMP 2002:34) are not secured to legal status and are vulnerable to forced eviction. These are the community who lived in the inner-city neighborhoods and are vulnerable for displacement.

The city administration has established legal institutions like Housing Development Agency – an organ responsible for the construction and transfer of government owned condominium houses which was later called Addis Ababa Housing Development Enterprise, the Housing Construction Project Office within the Agency, and Micro and Small Scale Commercial Enterprise. German Technical Agency (GIZ), the World Bank and the government funded the program. For the plan to come to realization, Technical and Vocational Education Training programs were developed and trainings were given to unemployed youths to work in the housing construction. It improved the employability of the youth nevertheless, the quality and standard of the construction fall in to question. This has also created population pressure because of in-migration of youths from other areas of the country in search of job opportunity.

According to GIZ report (2014), within ten years' period, 2004 to 2014, from the started 164,140 housing constructions only 80,245 houses were finalized including those to be rented for business. However, information obtained from MoUDHC states that the administration has managed to transfer a total of 143, 487 units via 10 rounds of lottery draws until March 2015, without including those under construction.

*3.1.2. Government housing project: Phase Two*

The second phase of PASDEP was replaced by Ethiopia's five years Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) which also primarily plans to upscale the administration and development of houses for low income residents. During this period the municipality cooperating with the new owners of homes – the Addis Ababa Housing Development Enterprise (AAHDE) and Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE) – unveiled its project under the five year GTP. In addition to the government owned condominium scheme in 2012 the MoUDHC came up with more diverse modalities commonly known as 10:90, 20:80 and 40:60 schemes, stipulated in a strategic framework for urban housing provision (MoUDHC, 2013b). These modalities refer to the initial amount (10, 20 and 40 percent) of savings individuals are expected to make to be eligible to get condominium units through a lottery arrangement and targeting the low, lower-middle, and upper-middle and high income groups, respectively. These schemes are named after the savings-to-loan ratio. For

example, in the 40/60 scheme 40 percent is individual savings and 60 percent is bank loan plus interest that would be paid within 17 years (MoUDC: 2012). The most shocking fact of all is that there are more than 1.2 million registrants in all types of government housing schemes. The 40/60 alone registered 165,000 homebuyers where the administration plans to build only 10,000 houses. Based on the information gathered for a study called, the State of Ethiopian Cities (2015) Addis Ababa city administration provided that it has housing demand ratio of 361 per 1,000 populations which is a proxy indicator of registrants for different types of government housing and residential plot of land.

### *3.2 Gentrification and Domicide: discussion of ongoing situation in Addis Ababa*

Nowadays, if one drives through Addis Ababa it is possible to easily spot young people demolishing homes in the presence of code enforcer police, poor people arguing against the act and sad faces standing around and looking. AACA is using the need for improving the image of the city and the usage of inner city space as well as the poor quality of scattered housing as a ground for expelling low-income groups in a very deliberate attempt to possess and demolish central city neighborhoods and allocate them to inventors to build high class, high-priced housing, hotels and business area. Despite its initial plan to construct low cost housing and relocate the low-income groups into the new-build houses, the administration failed to address the housing demand and left them displaced to other areas and their old neighborhoods are owned by investors.

The housing construction was initially planned as a neighborhood redevelopment program in the city center where the low-income groups were displaced from. On the contrary, those areas are now occupied by hotels, international organizations, real estate apartments, commercial buildings and investors creating a city center of international character. This is a perfect example to show the magnitude of gentrification in Addis Ababa. The city administration argues "the changes are made because we received better proposals from different bodies and the potential yield they showed us for these areas were different from what we initially could bring to the city from our own means" (http://www.addisfortune.net/). Even for someone who wants to return to their old neighborhood, the price of the real estate apartments is unimaginable to afford. For instance, a city center called Kazanchis is now occupied by diplomats, investors, and high income earners displacing 700 households within three months from the neighborhood they lived for more than

half a century. One of the big technocratic gentrifiers in the area is the office of United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UN-ECA) covering a total area of 150 ha (MoUDHC, 2015).



*Source: UN-ECA Addis Ababa*

In the second phase of the housing project, priority is given to the upper-middle and high income group because according to the ministry's rationale, some of them have already made full payments and the rest were believed to have the resource to immediately pay back to finance the other schemes construction. By mid-2017, nearly 1,300 people received housing out of the 11,000 who have already made full payment of savings to their CBE account. The enterprise clearly stated that the houses are delivered to those who paid full. This has created frictions with the enterprise because the beneficiaries of the housing program are the very few rich elites who can afford to save quickly or pay upfront and repay the loan to the bank. The then Minister of MoUDC

responded that the ministry "did not plan it as an option for the civil servants…and we never thought we would address the whole housing demand with the initial plan." Unfortunately, for those whose homes are demolished and are displaced to make room for the redevelopment they remain forgotten and marginalized.

State of the Ethiopian Cities Report (MoUDHC, 2015) revealed that actual beneficiaries have been better-off families who could readily pay down-payments or the full selling price of the condominium units. In 2016, Addis Ababa city administration carried out a census campaign to verify rightful owners and illegal occupants of condominium beneficiaries (MoUDHC, 2016). The big scandalous result of the campaign was that the whereabouts of 93 buildings which were initially reported to be constructed cannot be identified, which shows the magnitude of corruption in the housing program. The report also showed that most of the registered owners of a house are fabricated names, in some other cases one person owned 14 condominium houses. These people were found to be making money by renting the apartments. As an active observer, it was possible to witness that some of the residents in those condominium houses are those who afforded to pay monthly rent. Moreover, 25 percent (four out of 16) of the focus group discussants witnessed that they have rented their condominium house from someone who owns at least one additional apartment. As a result, most people are struggling to cope up with the ever increasing rental fees, where there is no policy developed to protect private tenants. All of the subtenants are middle-class group.

All of these subtenants I have interviewed reported that the rent imposed on them by the home owners has increased by threefold in the past five years. The price the government has setup also increased from time to time. For example, the down payment expected from low income lottery winners to take up a two-bedroom apartment was set at USD 250 but after a year the price was raised by eight fold to USD 2,000 (Addis Lisan Gazeta, 2007). Which means only those who can afford are able to own an apartment. Most of Addis Ababa's poor are dependent on income from informal sectors which is "unreliable, inconsistent, and holds little hope for advancement or long term security. It also provides no opportunity for obtaining housing loan which is part of the project" (Medhanit Berhanu, 2008: 4).

The State of the Ethiopian Cities Report (MoUDHC, 2015) also showed that because of the loss of funding for construction of new housing, the houses that are built were given to those who afford to pay their share in order to compensate for the loss of income, which leaves the low income group hopeless and marginalized. However, the newly formed ministry (MoUDHC) does not accept this to be the main reason. Responding to this allegation, the ministry reported that 30 percent of the families that won the condominium lotteries could not readily take the units for they found their cost to be unaffordable, or the allocated houses are too far from their business (http://www.addisfortune.net). The other option the ministry could take was to riffle and allocate the houses from among those who have readily saved their share. Moreover, the report states that some could not raise additional finance to complete the finishing work, while other households with large families could not readily take the smallest (studio) units because of their small size (MoUDHC, 2015). There is no alternative mechanism developed for those who cannot afford to make deposits and at the same time displaced from their neighborhoods.

The condominium houses, originally planned to be constructed as redeveloped housing in the displaced neighborhoods, are now constructed in the outskirts of the city where the inner-city displacees are settled. The reason some interviewees provide for their lack of uptake of condominium units include inappropriate location of the condominium buildings with respect to administrative and social services such as schools and health facilities, market places, absence of access roads and difficulty to connect water/electric power to the units and poor quality of sanitary and electrical installations.

The housing strategy lacked details; it was not participatory and studies have not been conducted taking into consideration different societal settings. H. Gebre (2014) in his qualitative study of relocatees from Arat Kilo area has noted that inner city residents "were relocated with no much consideration of the livelihood activity, and social, human, physical and financial assets consequences of relocation" (P 43). People with different income and source of income were not treated differently (most displaced people are dependent on informal businesses commonly known as *gulit*). The "inner-city redevelopment processes…took place with little or no involvement of the affected communities as they were centered on clearing the sites and relocating residents to the expansion areas (G. Yntiso, 2008: 62). Most displacees leave their livelihood that they support their family with and are forced to look for new financial means of support. One informant says "I

am forced to become a prostitute in my early youth in order to support my old mother and my younger siblings" (Arada, 17, F). The displacement has affected their means of income which they are daily dependent on as their business success relies on social trust (community based saving and credit associations (idir) and providing loan-service to neighbors).

In a city where there is high scarcity of rental places the preparation time given for re-settlers was very short, in some cases seven days' notice and others not beyond three months. The burden for victims who do not have title deeds is extreme. Some who were lucky were able to stay with their relatives and friends, some settled in the outskirts of the city to live in plastic shades (best condition would be in corrugated iron sheets) – creating new slum area. People displaced from Kore area informally settled mainly nearby the city's garbage dump, the largest garbage dump of Addis called *Koshe*. In the beginning of 2017 Koshe was hit by a massive landslide claiming the lives of more than 115 lives who were buried alive, still dozens were reported to be missing. The cause of the slide remains a mystery so far. However, some argue that a new road construction which passes by the dump may have destabilized it resulting in a simple failure of an over steepened slope.

*3.2.1 Sample cases of domicide in the selected inner city neighborhoods:*

The struggle that poor communities of the city are going through because of their displacement from their old neighborhoods is beyond one's comprehension. One homeless respondent, who lives under a bridge, has revealed that he has become homeless and is living under a bridge after being displaced from the one-bedroom home he has official title deed over a property from a relative who moved abroad. When asked about the status of his registration for the condominium housing, he responded that: "it would be foolish of me to have hope on someone who forcefully demolished my home with a bulldozer while I was inside." While this respondent, there were others who were not willing to leave their homes, until construction workers drove tractors on their houses while their belongings were still inside, others were imprisoned because they were "motivating strikes of terror" against the project.

By the end of 2016, in the past three years alone, over 40,000 households living in the inner city of Addis Ababa were involuntarily displaced leaving their neighborhood for new investments – hotels, government and private apartments, big malls and bank headquarters (AACA, 2016). Since the start of the 21st century, various studies (G. Yntiso, 2008; Medhanit, 2008; and UN-Habitat

2012) reveal that more than 60 percent of displacement in the inner-city Addis Ababa is initiated in the name of the new housing development program. Most of this projects are developed at the cost of killing homes. Out of the total demolished structures, these projects resulted in the killing of 95 percent living places, homes and small-scale businesses. The share of living places is believed to take the most percentage as most of the small-scale informal business owners live in the same place they do their business. A report by a government owned newspaper has revealed:

*Approximately 400 homes were demolished in Arada and Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-cities between March and April 2013 and another 205 homes were demolished in Arada Sub-city on 24 May 2013. Authorities carried out forced evictions with as little as seven-days prior notice to residents.*

(Addis Lisan Gazeta, 2007)
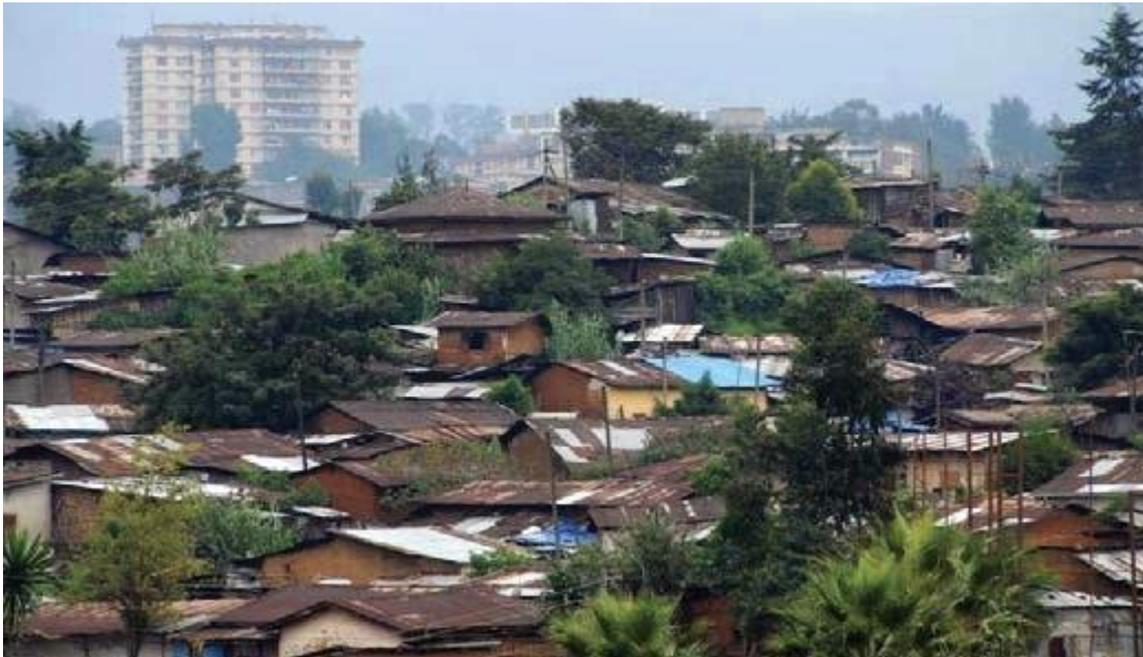


P.1 Doromanekia, a typical old residential neighborhood which is now demolished

*Source: State of Ethiopian Cities Report, 2015*

In Lideta site, a total of 1,442 units comprising 1,112 residential and 330 kebele gulits covering 280 ha of land were demolished when the site was cleared for redevelopment (LUDRA, 2013). In the fiscal year 2016 alone 15,909 houses in the inner city Addis Ababa were demolished covering 186 ha of land (http://www.addisfortune.net). According to Mr. Abera an officer in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-city, Woreda 02, in 2016 the city administration doubled its cash compensation offer and makes one-time payment of USD 1,500 for rental expenses to those who can provide document of property ownership. The regulation (MoUDHC, 2013) states that "once a person agrees to take the compensation, they have three days to leave their properties" therefore, many people stay until they secure a new accommodation. Five of the relocates (from Kore area) that were interviewed said that their houses were demolished one month before the deadline that they were given while 12 others (from Lideta and DoroManekia areas) say they were given a week notice. The City Government's Code of Enforcement Regulation No.54/2012 demands declaration of an oral notice followed by a written warning, which stipulates that anyone failing to vacate the area selected for development after these notifications will face a penalty of USD 250, and forced demolition by the Code Enforcer. For the displaced people, their displacement is far more than a spatial dislocation. It is a sense of feeling of home, security and safety they are losing, which is a difficult situation to go through. Even though it looks dilapidated to others, for them it is their irreplaceable wealth that, in their own words, "take care of it as one of their children".

### 3.2.2. Relocation or re-displacement?

Most residents are aware of the need to have a better housing situation; however poor urban dwellers are being displaced to areas where they struggle to adapt to new neighborhoods. It is only when they lose hope they start to consider taking compensations which the government considers would sustain their life until the promised houses are delivered to them. A specific problem refers to the limited attention given to *in situ* resettlement and public participation in inner-city redevelopment interventions such as those already implemented in the pilot project in Lideta and planned to be undertaken in other sites (MoUDHC, 2015). In kore area neighborhood, according to relocated respondents, the initial agreement between the administration and the community was that the relocation would be temporary until the improved houses are built by the enterprise. Respondents of Arada Sub-city however confirmed that there was no one they know of who

received the housing service, except for those who affiliated themselves in the government's five-one control system which also demands registration as the ruling party member.

DoroManekia area, the opposite side of the Prime Minister's residential palace, where low-cost houses were guaranteed to be built as improved residential place for the low-income group is still fenced and no development activity has been done so far. The respondents are currently living, on average, 10, 18 and 21 kilometers away from their old neighborhood (Box 3.1).

*Box 3.1: The case of Mr. Yebo*

Mr. Yebo, who is a single father and works as a guard in a local organization, used to live in DoroManekia is now homeowner from the government housing scheme. When displaced from the area, because the replacement house allocated for them was too far Mr. Yebo along with his children moved into his sister's place, who fortunately lived in a close by neighborhood. The entire family lived there for a year and a half until he received the condominium house. The house he received is in Summit area, 16 Km away from DoroManekia. After moving into their new home, Yebo had to make choices which of his children to send to school, one university and two high school students, because of financial shortage. "Because I can barely support one, I had to make a choice which will benefit us all in a long-term", recalls Yebo. He said: "my older son who will be graduate after a year and half will support his siblings and then they can continue with their studies." Therefore, the youngest child continued living with her aunt until she finished school and the middle one was working as a shoeshine boy in the new neighborhood. However, at the time of this interview, Mr. Yebo and his children are no longer living in Summit. They moved to a new location (*anonymous, but 22 Km from Doro Manekia*) so that they can earn money by renting their house. "I could not afford to pay the mortgage, transportation to and from work and household expenses. Most of all, I could not afford to live without my youngest daughter.

*Source: Semi-structured in-depth interview*

**3.3 Financing mechanisms:**

The plan states that finalized condominium units are transferred to beneficiaries identified through a lottery system (FDRE, 2005). However, the majority of this houses are given to those who can afford to pay the first installment. Initially, it was planned to distribute the houses to the low-income groups taking into consideration their previous local community based institutions like *idir and ekub* so that they continue with their saving to pay their debt. Idir is built on members living close to each other and ekub based on trust which is developed through time. These are also the communities' coping mechanism in time of trouble like funerals and ceremonial seasons like weddings. Such community ties have been destroyed and for those who want to keep up their old ties it has become difficult to make it function in order to save money to pay the first deposits expected from a lottery winner.

All respondents were asked if they will (or were able to afford) afford to make the initial installment payments using the money saved through their old saving group. However, only two respondents said they hoped to cover part of the installment with their ekub savings, while the rest responded that the savings are mainly used for their household expenses. Those relocated to new kebele housing until they receive an apartment through the housing schemes and those who received condominium house said their previous community-based networks no more exist and that they are now trying to make new friends to start saving and credit associations. Establishing new social institutions in new neighborhoods is challenging, because of the frequency of incomers and out-goers in the community which makes it impossible to build trust and attachment.

Most of the displaced poor communities I have interviewed are yet to receive the housing. The likelihood of securing them is ever gloom as the housing enterprise recently made a decision to give priority to those who saved more in their accounts. Since the introduction of market-led policies executed in the post-1991 period, subsidized interest rates on mortgages were removed and this gave leverage for banks to introduce collateral agreement requiring providing evidence of ability to cover one-third of the construction and significant increase in lending rates (UN-Habitat, 2010).

Very recently, along with the introduction of the new savings-to-loan system, CBE has started mortgage financing on condominium units distributed to beneficiaries. For an individual to be able to secure loans, he/she is required to fully pay the down-payments and make agreement with CBE

so that the bank would seize the condominium units as collateral, while households will be given up to 10 years to make full repayment of the loan (with 11% annual interest rate which begins to count when the beneficiary signs and receives the home) (MoUDHC, 2015). Others like Mr. Yebo (Box 3.1, above), sublet their condominium units to middle and/or high income households enabling themselves to earn income that support their livelihoods and/or pay their mortgages.

### 3.4 Participation of displacees:

Other major problem is that people who are the direct concern of gentrification are not the topic of discussion in a process that primarily leads to their displacement and their choices are not taken into consideration either. One district housing development officer asked of the government's opinion on the negative impact the displacement brought to the community. He said: "in a development process when we believe disruption of some section of society is inevitable. However, we have managed to answer most of their concern ahead of time." For the district officer and the entire government planning system displacement is only about spatial dislocation. It is possible to draw from this statement that the perception is that the process is unavoidable necessary evil for the greater common good. The MoUDHC recently acknowledged that one of the reasons the housing project was not effective in its outcome is the lack of community participation and is currently holding more discussion in district level (http://www.addisfortune.net/). The questions which remain unanswered are which concern the government believes is most important and if the responses are being given depending on studies detail studies, criteria development and categorizing of different cases as well as community conversations.

### 3.6 Compensation mechanisms:

FDRE (1994) Article 44(2) states that "All persons who have been displaced or whose livelihoods have been adversely affected as a result of state programs have the right to commensurate monetary or alternative means of compensation, including relocation with adequate state assistance". As per the expropriation and compensation proclamation which was developed depending on this article and the Federal Negarit Gazeta proclamation No. 455/2005 does not have clearly defined situation analysis. It is limited to the replacement cost of properties despite their locational value, which most properties would normally fall into the highly valued areas. According to the proclamation (FDRE, 2005), a property falls into compensation category depending on the landholding rights:

private owners; private and Kebele tenants; and public tenants. Private owners: if they have willingness and capacity to re-develop, then they have to do so. Otherwise, they will be relocated and receive cash compensation. Private and Kebele tenants will receive new housing from the left over condominium houses of the administration or kebele house in other areas. Public tenants and who work in small businesses will be relocated to other areas. According to this proclamation, the city administration has the power to expropriate land holding when it reckons that it should be used for a development project to be carried out by public entities, private investors, cooperative societies or other organs.

For example, a report on Addis Lisan Gazeta (2013). from 82 residential and 42 *gulits*, in Doro Manekia area, which were promised to be given a replacement place and/or cash money, only 16 of the residential places have been compensated. The respondents displaced from this area were provided with the opportunity to read this report and give comment. All of them confirm the receipt of cash compensation of four months and haven't received the rest of it. They also agree that "recipients of residential compensation from our area were cadres of the government or those who are well-to-do and could bribe the body who is responsible for the distribution".

A 43-year-old Adanech and her neighbors signed agreement with the government to evacuate their homes and be compensated with USD 750 per year until a replacement home was provided. After a year and a half however, Adanech says that they have only received a four months' compensation. Resolute in their search for favorable answers from the government, according to Adanech, the residents came together and wrote letters to federal level officials, hoping that their mediation might end their trouble. They wrote a letter to Parliament, to the House Speaker, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and the Federal Ethics & Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC), to protest about their condition and seek immediate response. "We even went to Parliament once," recalls Ms. Adanech. "But nothing happened."

The relocation plan has other component where private owners who can provide documentation for title deeds and show their willingness and capital for redeveloping their land could avoid relocation. However, there are private owners who declare their will to re-develop their land but still were displaced. Ms. Aster Demeke who was a home and medium-scale business owner has testified that "I and my friends have begged the administration not to displace us from our homes

and livelihoods without reviewing whether or not we have the capacity to develop the area in union. The administration's lease office however, told us that we must leave the area within ten days." The administration response was that they have given these people two years notice that the area has already been signed to handover to an international investor.

Those who are not entitled to receive any compensation are living in new informal settlements where there is low/no access to basic services like clean water and electricity, where women are vulnerable to walk long distance to fetch water. They live in poor condition (in plastic tents) without nearby public schools, hospitals/health centers.

"M*ost of us are using wooden bed to carry a sick person to get them to main roads, which is 5 to 7 km out from this neighborhood, to beg for cars to get us to a nearby health center*." (Gelanfuri, 54, M)

"*We used to have power at least for 5 or 6 days per week. But here we have to light candles and go to bed early. If I have exam, I cannot stay at home and study because there is no electricity. I have to both spend the night at school library and then take the exam the next day without any rest for more than 24 hours. As I am also a girl, I risk my life when I spend my night away from home*." (University student, 21, F)

Respondents, low income displacees and middle income tenants and subtenants, were asked which neighborhood they prefer to live in. The responses I received varied depending on their proximity to basic services, while their response was mainly observed to be influenced by two factors, attachment to properties and living cost. Ownership status and level of income were not found to have significant influence to their responses. While 82% of the low-income group preferred their old neighborhood mainly because it offers the feeling of being at home, proximity to basic services and city center, it provides security and less household expenditures, and their choice to keep their local networks. This group incorporated home owners who received compensation as well as forcefully evicted informal resettlers. The rest of low income respondents preferred to live in their new locations because they own new houses which they sublet and earn money from, although they prefer their old social life and still feel detached from settings they consider are dear to them. Interestingly, all of the middle income group also used their attachment to their old neighborhood as the main reason to prefer to live in the old neighborhoods. The rise in living cost, including the

ever increasing rental fees was the reason for most tenants to prefer to live in their gentrified neighborhoods. Most women respondents (10 out of 13) prefer to live in the former neighborhoods because their livelihood is dependent on the informal business or small-business (gulit) they are engaged in and the security they had because of edir membership.

## 4   Results and Conclusion

The rapid growth of urban population, high demand for real-estate development and public and private development projects are attributed to the increasing demand for land in Addis Ababa city. Major processes observed leading to displacement of the Addis Ababa poor neighborhoods are expansion of the city, demolition of slum areas, rent-seeking behavior of the high-class and government, increase in price of properties and redevelopment projects. The inner city redevelopment projects have degraded the living condition of gentrified neighborhood residents.

A specific problem discussed is the limited attention given to on the site resettlement which was the plan according to the original urban development plan and the agreement between relocatees and the respective responsible governing body. The redevelopment of low-income neighborhoods to larger condominium units are occupied by more affluent middle-class households. This means people were gentrified as middle/high class people come and take over their neighborhoods. The plans of the city administration were seen to be easily manipulated by those who have the capital to invest on a land of their choice. Such repeated incidents erode the trust people have on their administration. Rowland Atkinson (2004) alludes to the effect in neighborhood change the area is gentrified middle-class households increasingly be heard while encouraging the removal of low-income "unsightly" housing and social problems such as homelessness and street-begging. Rich people have effortlessly identified the soft spot of the government, coming up with a Western style design and putting enormous amount of money on the table for leasing land. Lack of availability of subsidized loan system for the low-income groups, particularly for informal business owners, has exacerbated the situation. As a result, poor people opt for simple tent-like, plastic or corrugated iron housing.

Access to financing system plays major role for securing affordable housing for low-income residents. There is lack of diversity in the sources of housing financing systems given the

dominance of a single for-profit institution, in Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. The poor people have very little capacity to own minimum-standard housing which could be arranged through mobilizing the institutionalization of the local networks they possess in their proximity. In a culture where local community-based institutions like idir and ekub play major role to sustaining livelihoods the plan could make use of these untapped local resources. Instead of dismantling them and forcing creation of new cooperatives it is possible to be innovative to exploit these institutions for a better mitigation measures. The loss of such social capital does not only harm their financing mechanism but also their social solidarity and security.

Those who are forced to leave gentrifying neighborhoods are finding it more and more difficult to compete with rich and elite gentries to own housing or at least sustain their ownership. They are rendered from rich local social networks and pushed into an ever more competitive housing market shaped by increasingly difficult balancing of factors like affordability, overcrowding, and access to services, all of which are not attainable at once.

The market-oriented policy the government is following should revisit its guidelines and principles and clearly set collective measures for every sector of housing projects; private, cooperative, government owned or real estate development. Compensations delivered in cash or land replacement form do not take the location of the property in to consideration. Although, when leasing out this same land, the government sets the price depending its proximity to the city center. The human rights of the low-income groups who are continuously being displaced should be respected and mechanisms to do so should be developed along with the participation of all concerned stakeholders, mainly the local communities.

As the country, particularly the city, is massively investing its resources to develop the image, quality and life standard of the city, it is learned from the study that the administration is convinced that displacement is unavoidable process. This nevertheless, in no way gives leverage to any actor to think less of any group of people. Instead, the situation is asking for rigorous work to be done on ways to mitigate its effect with appropriate participatory methods.

Even though there is improvement in terms of creating platforms for discussion with communities, the concerns raised by them are not taken into consideration. Local leaders perceive the communities as unable to understand strategic development plans and therefore, are not included

in decision making process. Any practice of marginalization of communities, who are already suffering from poverty, in the name of development should be intolerable in the implementation of urban development policy.

As I have indicated in the literature review and supported with evidences, gentrification affects the entire city's structure, especially the low-income groups. There is no single perpetrator that we can point our fingers at since it disturbs the geographic, social, economic and political aspects. The blame game must stop. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the different sectors coming together to come up with a concrete plan. The market led by the very few benefiting elites is dictating the game. The time for top-down approach should come to an end and be replaced by bottom-up approach where the policies are developed through participation of the mass. The local communities have to make use of the available opportunities to make their concerns known. The role of participatory government housing project and its urban housing policy are vital to alleviating these challenges.

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Appendix 1.

| Term | Explanation |
|------|-------------|
| *Gulit* | A small basically informal neighborhood-level open market for retailing basic consumer items. |
| *Idir* | A traditional community-based insurance organization established to comfort bereaved families and assist them in covering costs related to traditional funeral ceremonies. |
| *Iqub* | A traditional community-based saving and credit network, which involves collection of regular contributions from members and distribution of proceeds on lottery basis. |
| *Kebele* | The lowest grassroots administrative unit after Sub-city and *Woreda/district*, which is recognized by both federal and regional constitutions. |