FRAGMENTED OR INCLUDED? – IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON ADDIS ABABA'S POOR

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Summary: The article challenges the thesis of 'fragmentation' in its radical connotation of a final and irrevocable exclusion from globalizing worlds in current theory discourses, an exclusion of those not expressively needed by globalization. The example of 350 households in Addis Ababa, who were forcibly evicted from their inner-city homesteads in the course of processes of globalization and privatization, depicts a more differentiated societal development. These actors, the victims of the forced eviction, are able to realize a chance of re-inclusion, which, ironically, occurs through the very same globalization processes, which had evicted them beforehand. Against the background of this empirical evidence, the thesis of 'fragmentation' in the sense of an irrevocable and final exclusion as the systemic ultimate implication of globalization is rejected.

Zusammenfassung: Der Artikel stellt jene radikale These der gegenwärtigen Theoriediskussion in Frage, die mit Prozessen der Globalisierung eine 'Fragmentierung' im Sinne eines unbedingt unwiderrufbaren und umfassenden Exklusionszustands all jener gleichsetzt, die nicht unmittelbar in den Globalisierungsprozess einbezogen sind. Das Fallbeispiel von 350 Haushalten in Addis Abeba, die im Zuge von Prozessen der Globalisierung und Privatisierung in der Hauptstadt Äthiopiens aus ihrem Wohnraum in der Innenstadt zwangsvertrieben wurden, veranschaulicht eine deutlich differenziertere Situation der Lebensgestaltung für die Betroffenen. Die Akteure haben eine für sie wahrnehmbare Möglichkeit zur erneuten Inklusion, wobei sich diese Möglichkeit ironischerweise durch die Prozesse der Globalisierung selbst ergibt. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser empirischen Ergebnisse wird die These der unwiderruflichen und umfassenden Exklusion als systemische Begleiterscheinung der Globalisierung abgelehnt.

Keywords: Globalization and fragmentation, societal exclusion and inclusion, theory discourses, forced evictions, individualization

Photo 1: (Photo: S. Tröger)

Introduction

Discourses on global societal developments, namely discourses on patterns of increasing or eventually decreasing gaps between the global well-to-do and their neighbors living in destitute and poverty, are generally centered on the question of interdependencies and interrelationships between these two antipodes. They have focused on the question, in which way and triggered through which mechanisms, processes of marginalization or, on the other hand, developments towards stabilized livelihoods and well-being, can be determined and consequently theorized.

By turning away from this most fundamental concept of related and interdependent forces and processes, some of the more recent theory discourses follow the thesis of 'fragmentation' in the sense of no more related worlds. Some present interpretations take off from the idea of globalization, which will not encroach on the world and its people as one community, but will be characterized by processes of inclusion and exclusion as its constituent and generative elements. Consequently, a scenario of 'islands of well-being', surrounded – but, after all, not truly touched – by vast oceans of destitute livelihoods and poverty, illustrates this theorizing interpretation of present developments – the world of globalization does not need and will not open for the worlds of the poor and destitute!

The following line of argument will focus on this thesis and first of all, will earmark some argumentative lines in the respective theory debate (1). Secondly, the paper will concentrate on empirical evidence from one of the Africa's emerging mega-cities: Addis Ababa in Ethiopia (2). Against the background of these empirical findings, finally, the distinctive assumption of a fragmentation in the sense of complete and irrevocable exclusion in the course of globalization will be challenged (3).

1   Globalization and fragmentation – theory discourses and connotations

In the late 90s, the term 'fragmentation' as the, so to speak, 'natural' counterpart of globalization, was more and more focused on worldwide socio-economic developments in theory discourses. As distinguished from arguments, which simply use this term as a synonym to this of 'marginalization'

in a dependency relation, globalization is then understood as a motor of processes of dis-connected fragmentation. The term 'fragmentation' in this connotation earmarks a status of the globalized world, which does not comprise the chance of reintegration and re-inclusion, which no longer concedes any way back from exclusion to inclusion. Viewing these arguments, we can state a radicalization in development theory, as for example argued by two protagonists, MENZEL (1998) and SCHOLZ (2004).

In 1998, MENZEL explicitly polarizes the two worlds of inclusion and exclusion within the globalized and fragmented world and draws a clear-cut and irrevocable border between them. According to his interpretation, the poor, especially the poor majority of the African continent, will be left out and never be integrated into global achievements and developments. "The 'poor' rest, i. e. Africa south of the Sahara, [….], is no longer needed, has economically been fading into oblivion, both as market and production site. Post-modernity is no longer in need of colonies, imperialist policy does not make sense anymore, when the new 'terra incognita' starts expanding again on the global map" (MENZEL 1998, 198; translation S. TRÖGER). Fragmentation in this sense no longer means an interdependent relationship between development and under-development, in the imperialist sense, which is based on the idea of alimentation of the wealthy by the poor, as stated by the dependencia-thesis. Fragmentation in this radical interpretation means under-development because of a situation of final exclusion from global developments.

SCHOLZ stresses the same argument of irrevocable non-connectivity: "The 'New South' is disconnected – actively disconnected from and by the globalized world. The 'New South' is the three-fold redundant mass in global perspectives – redundant as labor force, redundant as consumers, and redundant with respect to their produce, which is neither needed nor wanted by the global community" (SCHOLZ 2004, 229; translation S. TRÖGER). And at this point, the complete adverse interpretation of the actors, and the resulting effects of disconnected two worlds and exclusion should be noted as the central distinctive element in theory discourses. If, according to the argumentation of any dependencia theses, development in the sense of picking-up can be realized by periodical dis-connection on initiative of the marginalized themselves and deliberately, SCHOLZ stresses the adverse mechanism in development. Fundamentally in line with MENZEL's argument he points at the excluding, irrevocably excluding effects

of a dis-connection, which in times of globalization conversely obey the logic and rules of globalized capitalism and de-personalized agency by global actors and capitalist mechanisms alone. That means, exclusion and dis-connection turns into the ultimate implication of globalization.

In order to illustrate this image of two separate worlds, both authors make use of metaphors and connotations, out of which especially the confrontation of the ocean and its waters on the one side and the rocky and solid fortress of the islands high above sea level on the other illustrate the elementary separation (figure 1 summarizes this imagery).

The following analysis of empirical evidence will challenge this interpretation and will stress the argument of multi-facetted links and interdependencies, which rather depict sceneries of more flexible and double-sided developments in spite of – concededly – a general tendency towards an increase in poverty and vulnerability.

2 Structural frameworks of 'development' in a globalizing world – the example Addis Ababa

Rapidly urbanizing hotspots in globalizing environments are presumed to mirror and emphasize societal, as well as eco-political, developments as if seen through a magnifying glass. Urban environments will host the most decisive societal devel-

opments and transformations. Addis Ababa, with an estimated growth rate of 8%, is one of these hotspots, which is expected to shed light onto the above theorized societal processes, especially because of its explosive situation.

Which changes and transformations can we expect to be highlighted by the expanding locations of urbanized lives and environments? And where will the processes of globalization show off and – eventually – be accompanied by the discussed developments towards fragmentation and final exclusion?

Primarily, we find some indication in literature. Davis (2007, 119) articulates his concern about developments in highly urbanizing environments – in particular, pointing at features of social polarization: "It is important to grasp that we are dealing here with a fundamental reorganization of metropolitan space, involving a drastic diminution of the intersections between the lives of the rich and the poor, which transcends traditional social segregation and urban fragmentation". In his understanding, these gaps and fractions within urban societies are causally interlinked with processes of globalization, namely processes of privatization of land, which means privatization of economically attractive, preferably inner city plots that are turned into private and exclusive locations, and of urban areas selected for infrastructure developments that support the mobility of the wealthy and well-to-do. "Urban segregation is not a frozen status quo, but
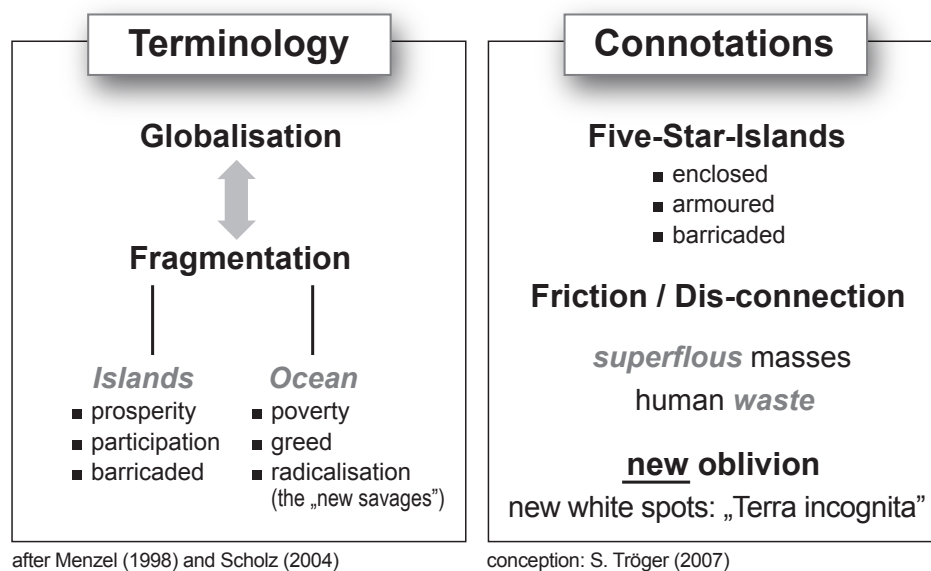
Terminology	**Connotations**
Globalisation ⇕ **Fragmentation**	**Five-Star-Islands** ■ enclosed ■ armoured ■ barricaded
Islands ■ prosperity ■ participation ■ barricaded *Ocean* ■ poverty ■ greed ■ radicalisation (the „new savages")	**Friction / Dis-connection** *superflous* masses human *waste* **<u>new</u> oblivion** new white spots: „Terra incognita"
after Menzel (1998) and Scholz (2004)	conception: S. Tröger (2007)

Fig. 1: Inclusion and exclusion – the two worlds apart

rather a ceaseless social war in which the state intervenes regularly in the name of 'progress', 'beautification', and even 'social justice for the poor' to redraw spatial boundaries to the advantage of landowners, foreign investors, elite homeowners, and middle-class commuters" (DAVIS 2007, 98).

And these developments together with their consequences of 'ceaseless social war' hold true for Africa's highly urbanizing environments – in spite of the general connotation of: "Globalization is passing Africa by!"

Africa has been and is consistently subjected to development measures and development conditionality on various levels – articulated by the world community as well as by diverse NGOs and likewise faith-motivated initiatives. These initiatives – be it the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 80s and onwards or their modernized varieties under the label of the HIPC[1)]-debt release framework and accompanying measures, or be it initiatives in order to increase technology standards or to empower people to participate in development planning – do influence lives and have an impact on Africa and its peoples.

Among the entire range of these globalization impacting measures, those of privatization, liberalization and individualization are especially dominant and decisive for Africa's future. Privatization in Africa usually and decisively means privatization of land, of access to land. According to international standards, this now legalized access to one of the most existential resources in what have been up to now, predominantly agricultural economies, provokes a fundamental transformation of basic interpretations and centuries old societal regulations: it is a fundamental transformation of the structural as well as emotional setting of the African society. Market liberalization takes away those few protective measures, which were installed in times of independence in the aftermath of colonization in order to safeguard some livelihood security for the poor facing the contest of worldwide terms of trade (subsidized grain prices as well as free health care, etc.). Individualization, as the third of the named measures, goes along with the impact of the first two and highly affects the indigenously established systems of reciprocity and social security.

If we now turn again towards our initial question of developments in highly urbanized African environments, i. e. emerging megacities, we can easily spot the impact of this triad of globalizing forces: Privatized access to land means that thousands of households, which occupied the plots for their houses according to customary land regulations[2)], turn into being illegal within their own compounds and houses – and will have to give in to the pressure exercised by the newly defined owners or by the government in its strive for modernization and high mobility, or, as SEABROOK (1996, 267) puts it, "the word 'infrastructure' is the new code word for the unceremonious clearance of the fragile shelters of the poor".

2.1 Local evidence – livelihoods and transformations in Addis Ababa

If we now focus upon our specific regional example of the globalizing African world, we can observe exactly these above named elements of modernization and global integration in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital. According to statistics, almost 80% of its 4 million inhabitants are 'squatters' and have occupied their plots according to customary, indigenous regulations (see footnote 2).

In the year 2000, Ethiopia joined the HIPC-Initiative as one of the first countries in Africa and started the Participatory Poverty Reduction Process (PRSP), one of the central preconditions of the debt release. In 2002, the PRSP was specified and renamed 'Sustainable Development for Poverty Reduction Program' (SDPRP). In 2003, Ethiopia handed in its first Progress Report and achieved one year later the so called 'Completion Point' (CP) in the context of the then proclaimed 'Enhanced HIPC-Initiative'. In the same year, an internal World Bank report (2004, 9–10) praised the country as one of the efficient 'pupils' of structural adjustment: "Ethiopia offered the second-most-improved business environment in the world. […] Government has focused part of its capacity building effort on the institutions servicing the private sector, and it has had notable success in improving the time required to clear customs, tax management, availability of land for business and industry in urban areas, […]".

[1)]   HIPC – Highly Indebted Poor Countries – Initiative by the world community aiming to take a part of the burden of debt repayment from those countries, which were and are considered unable to recover by their own means and strengths from their situation of indebtedness.

[2)]   According to customary land law in Africa accessibility of land is defined by the use of, or the work with the land. Usufruct rights to land are generally allocated by the society's authorities, i. e. elders, chiefs, heads of extended families or, in some cases, spiritual leaders.

Accordingly, the City Development Plan of Addis Ababa (2002, 20) highlights one of the central targets for future developments in the city as "Channel investment to the city's main centre and sub-centers", which means:

- Develop Public Private Partnership (PPP) as a means of improving services in the centers.
- Provide sufficient, cleared, serviced plots at affordable prices and facilitate relocation procedures, change of functions etc.
- Implement the improved lease regulation and provide as incentives for developers to promote investment in the centers.

Nowadays, a few years later, the sale of land[3] – "City land bid prices rocket" (Capital, 22nd July 2007) – and investments by private companies have become a feature of day-to-day life in Addis Ababa. And these developments have a harsh meaning and impact on those, who by the new regulations of private land ownership have become illegal squatters on their own land. They do not have any title deeds to legitimize their claim and soon find themselves subject to forced evictions. In theory, they could quote the statement that is found in the Federal Republic of Ethiopia's constitution: land should be "a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia (which) shall not be subjected to sale or other means of exchange" (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, Article 40, 3). Yet in reality and in contradiction to these basic rights declarations, leasehold agreements for land are negotiated and submitted in accordance with arguments of wealth and power – which in turn means that people without these attributes are being removed from their houses and compounds, where they had been living for a long time – removed in many cases on the basis of a one-week or even shorter notice.

2.2 Livelihoods in Addis Ababa – forced evictions and resettlement

"Taskforce demolishes 180 houses – A campaign against illegal settlements in Nefa-Silk Lafto sub-city of Addis Ababa has left some 180 leveled yesterday" (Capital, 20th June, 2007).

Like the households in Nefa-Silk Lafto, many more households in Addis Ababa have been subject to forced evictions during the last two to three years. According to estimations, some 300,000 people have been faced confronted by bulldozers that tore down the walls of what previously had been their homes – sometimes even while some, mostly handicapped or old people, were still inside the doomed structures. These people had to make room for e. g. the extension of the Sheraton Hotel, for the new Midroc business building, for roads to foster faster traffic flow. Or even for those fellow citizens, who were part of the worldwide Ethiopian diaspora and who had been promised economically viable business sites in order to attract their investment capital they had earned abroad back to Ethiopia (Sub-Saharan Informer: "Ethiopian Government reaches out to Diasporas", 21st September 2007).

In our next point, we will follow 350 households from Kirkos, an inner city area formerly densely settled by people, who about two to three years ago were turned into illegal squatters in the diction and definition of modern land law, and forced to relocate to two places in the outskirts of the city, namely Kaliti Akaki and Beret Deldey. These two locations were selected as research sites according to the criterion of regional differentiation. Both places are in about the same distance to the former settlement in Kirkos. Beret Deldey is better accessible due to more frequent transport opportunities, whereas Kaliti Akaki is situated near to the main country road towards Adama (formerly Nasreth), the regional capital of Oromyia, and further extending to Djibouti, the seaport through which almost all goods are imported to Ethiopia. (Fig. 2)

In accordance with the above stated theory discourses, these people doubtlessly should be categorized as 'excluded' in the sense of 'not needed by the global economy'. They could be the ones pushed into those 'oceans of oblivion', in which they are bound to drown soon – as argued e. g. by Menzel and Scholz – without any chance of escape and/or recovery. Challenged by this thesis, we will now consider some features in detail, which might be taken as indicators for a situation of exclusion or non-exclusion of these formerly 'illegal squatters'.

Up to now, there is no recognized – i. e. 'officially accepted' by the scientific community – and established set of indicators, which could empirically operationalise the status of fragmentation. Accordingly, the empirical assessment of fragmentation will rely on a help construction. The term 'exclusion' describes a livelihood situation, which does not, first of all, give sufficient human security, specified by Sen (1999, 18f.) as "freedom from want and free-

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[3]   Land in Ethiopia basically belongs to the Government, but leasehold rights and title deeds are submitted for 33, 66 or 99 years. These rights, again, can be sold and factually are treated as land-ownership.
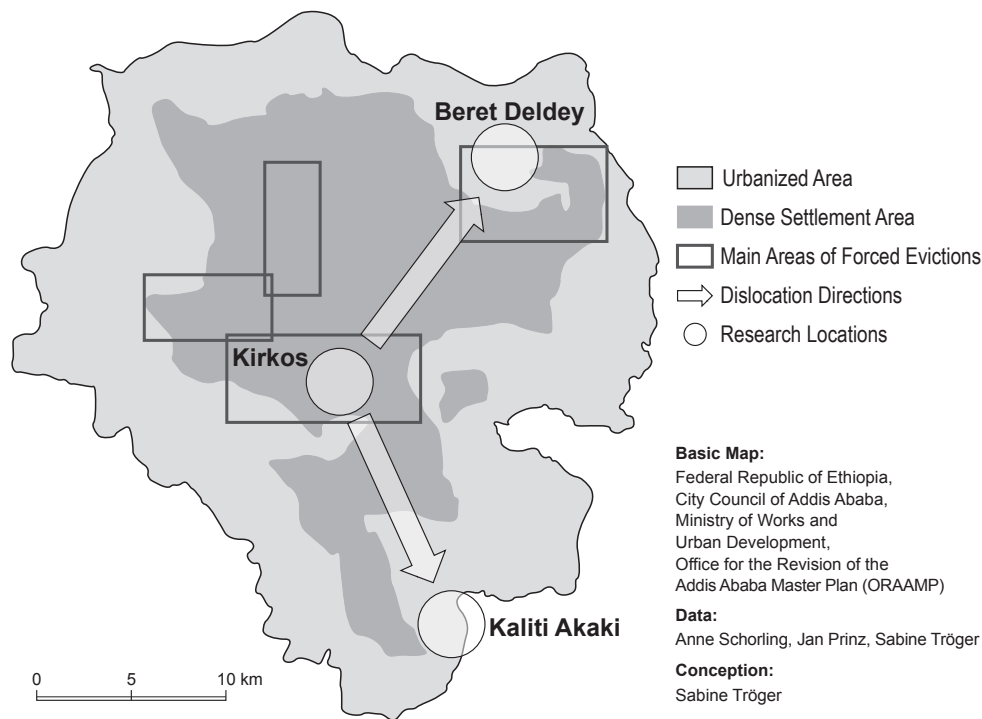
Fig. 2: Origin and present location of the forcibly evicted

dom from need". Furthermore, if we interpret the aspect of fragmentation in the sense of exclusion from societal communication networks and structures (as e. g. in the definition of Sᴛɪᴄʜᴡᴇʜ 2005, 13), the face of fragmentation to be assessed empirically will be one of some disrupted or non-existent accesses to communication and information links beyond the immediate boundaries of the settlement.

Equipped with this set of variables and indicators we now turn towards the people newly settled at the two named locations. Out of the roughly 350 households forcibly evicted from Kirkos, about 1/3 was interviewed. These households were selected randomly.

The first question tackled is the aspect of choice of location for the resettlement, as this choice by itself will determine some variables in livelihoods: We find that this choice was not entirely free in Addis Ababa, as people who had lived in a *Kebele*[4] house in Kirkos were entitled to a municipality financed house at the new place, too. In this case, they had

to follow the directive of where to resettle. In other cases, the inhabitants could choose a new place on their own – and here people argue that Beret Deldey is the better choice because of better chances to keep up and continue with their small income generating activities they used to follow back in *Kirkos* and in other inner-city areas. This argument seems to be plausible, as it causally links economic deprivation in resettlement areas after a comparable forced eviction with the non-accessibility of former localities and bondages of income generation (Fig. 1, 3).

However, in contradiction to this reasoning by the interviewees and concordant preferences in settlement sites, this argument does not seem to be realistic. If we look at the data of the monthly household budget in comparison to the situation prior to the eviction, shortly after and nowadays, we must revise this ever so plausible statement. First of all, we find that the majority of the households – with an average number of four to five household members – belonged and still belong to those living below the statistical poverty line of 1 USD per head and day. This situation has not changed significantly to the negative in comparison to times prior to the eviction. On the contrary, especially in Kaliti Akaki, households nowadays even face a slightly better economic situ-
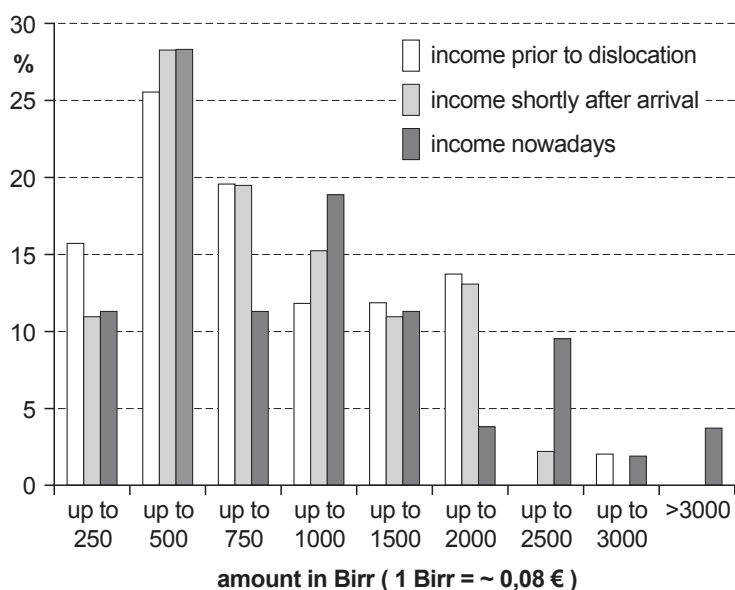
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[4]   *Kebele* is the lowest administrative unit in Ethiopia – in rural as well as in urban areas. People in Addis belong to their respective *Kebele* and are (eventually!) registered there. *Kebele* houses, municipality houses for the poor, were first constructed during the reign of *Mengistu*.

Fig. 3: Relative income situation prior to and shortly after the forced eviction and today in Kaliti Akaki (sample size: 60 hhs)

ation than prior to the eviction (Fig. 3 and 4)[5]. The number of households at the lowest income level has decreased by roughly 5%, from about 15% to little above 10%. On the other side, the number of households earning from 1.000 Birr up to 2.500 and more Birr has increased considerably. This observation, on the other side, does not hold true with the case of Beret Deldey. In spite of better transportation links to the former settlement and income area (Kirkos), only very few households live on a monthly income above 1.000 Birr. This finding, contradictory to the common statements to be found in surveys, needs further consideration (see below).

Let us now, beforehand, look at some data reflecting human security from the perspective of reproductive health and consider the exemplary aspects of sanitation, access to drinking water, and garbage collection[6]. The diagram (Fig. 5) depicts the overall situation, which again is in favor of Kaliti Akaki with respect to all three of the named indicators. More than half of the interviewed households do not have to share their toilet with neighbors, and almost 60% have even invested in a water tap in their own compound in order to be independent from their neigh-

bors and not having to buy water, like the people in Beret Deldey find themselves inclined to do. The price for a tap is between 1.100 and 1.400 Birr, which means that people had enough money and felt the necessity to even afford such an investment.

On the other hand most, of the people in both locations alike are not ready to spent money on garbage collection. Solid waste is collected by private entrepreneurs subcontracted by the municipality. The households have to pay from 20 to 30 Birr per month for this service. But, the majority of the people is very obviously not ready for this additional investment and prefer to either dump the waste somewhere or burn it (both ways will be highly problematic for the environment if we project onto Addis Ababa's mega-city future).

If we now consider the last aspect of our evaluation, i.e. the aspect of exclusion from communication ties of the evicted, the same picture of recovery and reconciliation after the shock of eviction can be observed. When walking through Kaliti Akaki, we see a considerable number of telephone lines as well as quite a lot satellite dishes. Thus, if we presume a correlation between the integration into social community networks and a structural set-up of formal inclusion into societal structures of communication via technologies like telephone, mobile phone or TV, people in both settlements cannot be considered to be excluded from the society in Addis Ababa and Ethiopia. 50.8% of the interviewed households in Kaliti Akaki and even 55.0% in Beret Deldey, have a

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[5]   Although this statement must be considered with care due to an annual inflation rate of more than 10% in Ethiopia for the years in question.

[6]   UN-Habitat lack of water and lack of improved sanitation are taken as two of the main contributing factors of slums (UN-Habitat 2005).
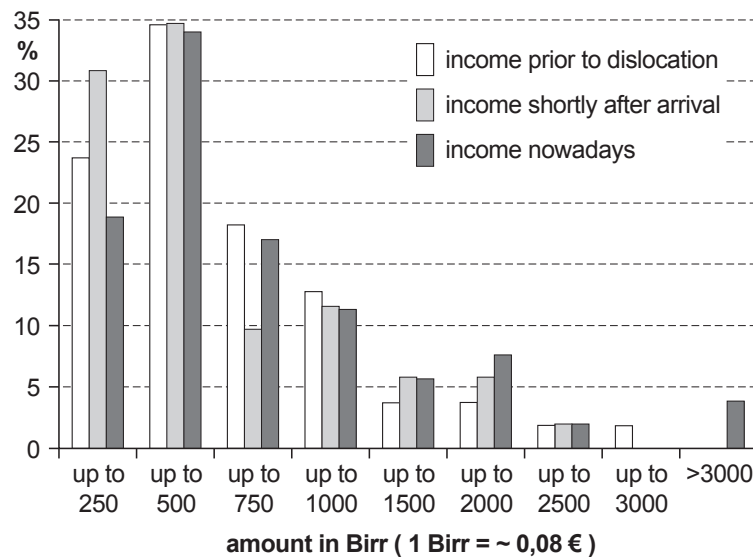
Fig. 4: Relative income situation prior, shortly after the forced eviction and today in Beret Deldey (sample size: 60 hhs)

stationary telephone and even 72.3% in Kaliti Akaki and 68.3% in Beret Deldey own a TV-set. It should be noted that in most cases, the telephone lines were realized through the global player Telecom's special offer to set up a connection on credit for those households that wanted to invest in this means of societal inclusion. (Photo 2)

Photo 2: Kaliti Akaki – telephone lines and satellite dishes (Photo: S. Tröger)

Some of the TVs might not have been connected to the national broadcasting system via satellite and only serve as video station. Yet, all the same, we can state that the people are not excluded from news on relevant aspects concerning developments in their country and the capital. Likewise, they are not excluded from contacting their former neighbors in Kirkos, from mutual assistance via telephone and their family ties. Shortly after the eviction, communication and interlinked social security systems presumably collapsed, but nowadays after a period of two to three years, these systems seem to have recovered and regained some of their strength and impact.

However, in spite of this altogether rather promising and optimistic picture of today's situation, there is some qualification needed – a need which relates to the societal and emotion-cultural relationship among the inhabitants of the settlement.

In the settlement of origin, in Kirkos, the inner security network was predominantly structurally enforced and supported. The households lived together in so-called *Kebele-* compounds of 6 to 8 households. These neighborhoods which were mostly not based on family relations but on neighborhoods bound together over years fulfilled multi-facetted tasks. They gave security in many ways, but also exercised some control on their members. In cases of illness and death, they helped as well as in cases of marriage and necessary investments, and, possibly, did not allow any criminal and de-
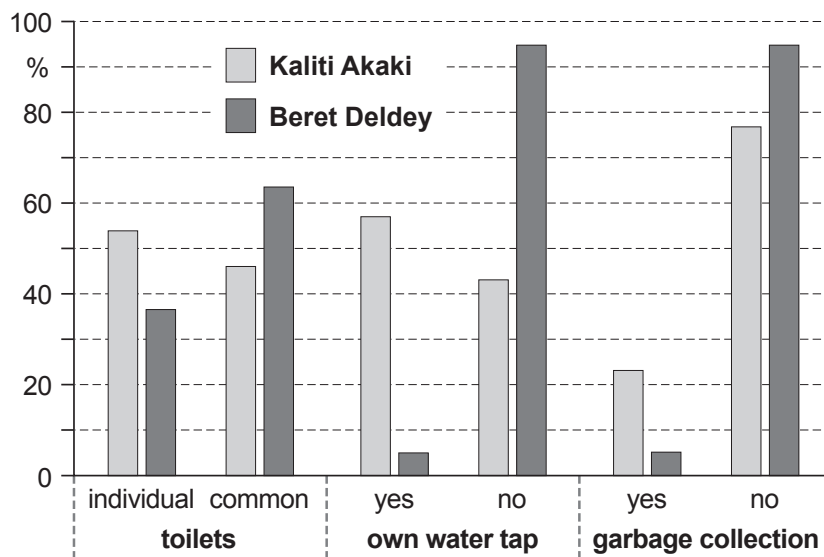
Fig. 5: Indicators of reproductive health in both research areas Kaliti Akaki and Beret Deldey (sample size: 120 hhs)

structive acts, either. They gave security inside and outside the compound. (Photo 3)

On the contrary, today the vast majority of the households in the two locations live in individual houses and compounds, with a high wall around these single entities. The fear of criminal trespasses and the consequently taken measures to create sceneries of security are common in the settlements of Addis Ababa's outskirts. Fences, dogs and the rule and obligation not to stay outside the compound after dusk create some atmosphere of fear and common mistrust. This fear is fuelled by reports about an increase of violence especially against women and girls, which have shaken the city's foundation as a whole in the months passed (The Reporter: "Acid victim shows many women are at risk", 31st March 2007), and have somehow modified the image of modernity in the eyes of the city's inhabitants. Accordingly, people especially in Beret Deldey complain about life in the resettlement area (Table 1). In their point of view no social life has been established there, life is boring and increasingly violent, and therefore they dislike the place.

Likewise, social security ties do not function any more in the way they used to mainly due to the problem of transportation, which is especially true for Kaliti Akaki. Elderly or handicapped people cannot manage to walk the long distances to the church, and thus lose their chance of getting a small financial support from the better-to-do churchgoers – obligatory alms culturally established within the Orthodox Church.

2.3 Fragmented or re-included?

Are forcibly evicted squatters in Addis Ababa doomed to drown in the "ocean of poverty and oblivion" (see 1)? – Considering the livelihood situation as it was presented by the people at the two locations of resettlement, we cannot affirm this position straight away and without further qualification. Surely there has been no considerable change to the positive in a way that could free people from their altogether poverty-stricken day-to-day life. The economic situation is more or less similar to times prior to the eviction.

However – especially in Kaliti Akaki, i. e. the very remote and poorly accessible location far away

Photo 3: Kebele compound (Photo: J. Prinz)

from inner city means of income generation – the average situation of the people and households has slightly changed to the better! There is some improvement regarding health protection (reproductive health facilities), though the comparably high number of individual water taps should be considered as somehow ambiguous. On the one hand, the existence of these water taps can be seen as an indication of a relatively favorable economic situation, as these installations are rather expensive and people can afford them in one way or the other. On the other hand, this phenomenon indicates some change in the social set-up. No further can people rely on the deliberate exchange of goods and mutual consideration and concern.

If we now raise the question of causality behind the observations at the two locations, we find a very obvious explanation relating to processes of globalization. The remote locality, Kaliti Akaki, is only remote in respect to the inner city areas of the capital. Nevertheless, it is rather central with respect to the fast growing industrial expansion along the traffic line towards Debre Zeyt, Adama and, further, Djibouti and the seaport towards the globalized world. People in this area can find some income opportunity – as daily laborers or even acquire some professionalism in the course of on-the-job trainings.

It is a paradox of their livelihoods that they can find a new life and new means of living in the context of the very same processes of privatization and globalization, which at first had made them forcibly leave their former existences behind. Today they work, for example, in construction industries like quarries, which, ironically, at the same time produce filling material and gravel for those roads and housing constructions, which had evicted them from their homes and places of life. This is the situation of Kaliti Akaki – not of the other location positioned near to the mountainous area around Addis Ababa, which does not offer any possibility of commercial and industrial extension. Although, at first sight, this last location offers better accessibility towards inner city areas, these chances do not outweigh the many disadvantages likewise connected to 'modern life' in the resettlement areas. People in Beret Deldey suffer from the disruption of social life and social security and do not have the financial or social capacity to comfortably settle down in their new environment. Thus, they 'dislike the place' and complain about the poor social interaction and ties (see Table 1).

This last aspect indicates another perspective of present life in Addis Ababa in the course of globalization, i. e. the aspect of individualization and increasing separation. People are, be it in Kaliti Akaki or Beret Deldey, less bound within and connected to larger community-networks. In Kaliti Akaki they have seemingly managed to re-establish some social structure which makes them feel at home again – 40% of answers describe a situation of sufficient social ties (Table 1). However, can the co-existence of 5 video shops all around the central market place in Kaliti Akaki, which can all survive and even make a good profit as stated by one of the shop keepers, be taken as an indicator for a growing individualized

Table 1: The perceptions concerning the social situation – comparison of the two research sites (sample size: 120 households)

Perceptions and Interpretations	Kaliti Akaki multiple responses		Beret Deldey multiple responses	
	abs.	%	abs.	%
area is good	21	47,7	6	11,3
area is difficult for the poor	3	6,8	9	17,0
people dislike this area	3	6,8	6	11,3
people are adapting	3	6,8	3	5,7
road-problem	15	34,1	–	–
no transport facilities/area is to far away	11	25,0	1	1,9
water-problem	–	–	14	26,4
no work opportunities in this area	–	–	13	24,5
houses are better	5	11,4	–	–
good social life	18	40,9	4	7,5
no social life	2	4,5	10	18,9
no activities in this area/too boring	–	–	7	13,2

situation? One, in which people do not sit together any more, but rent a video for 1 Birr per night from one of the shops and stay at home.

If we now, summarizing this analysis, turn our attention towards the question addressed in the title – fragmented or included? – we have to agree that people in many cases are re-included into the city and altogether the Ethiopian society. They earn some kind of living and move in the context of communication networks and structures. The communication might be different from the social network before. They no longer meet their neighbors on a daily basis, but rather talk to their family and friends via telephone and/or listen to the news broadcast. In this way they are not excluded from this communication. On the contrary, some even stated that they heard about job opportunities and got market information by way of the phone. However, people's lives have changed to more individualistic and lonely lives with some accompanying fears and perceived threats. It is a kind of life which has some modernistic features as lives everywhere in the world. However, people are not excluded in a sense characterized above in paragraph 2. They are included – although included in the course of 'urbanization of poverty' (UN-Habitat 2004), and not entitled and offered to share the real and big 'fruits of globalization'.

3   Interpretations

The very last argumentative step will now guide us back to the overarching theory discourses and the, in this respect, raised question of fragmentation in the sense of a situation of all-exclusion and disintegration: in consideration of the depicted data, should we appropriately speak of an altogether radicalization of paradigm in development discourses, or should we better highlight the change in perspective? Development in the sense of 'catching up with' or 'adjusting to' the industrialized countries cannot, or even – from a global environmental point of view – should not be the target for the future. But, on the other hand, the idea of polarizing developments, which still are interdependent in the sense that high profit achievements are, as the thesis of 'dependencia' states, linked to exploitation and processes of marginalization on the side of those without power, still holds true for present processes of globalization. Or, as Kappel (1995, 110) puts it: "In general, both effects – polarization as well as trickle down – are still at work. In tendency, back-wash- and polarization-effects are and will be dominant and, thus, there will

be more differentiation and segregation and little adjustment" (translation S. Tröger).

Evidence of the case study indicates many interdependencies and interlinked relations – be it the obvious interest of the global player Telecom in customers even at the very low investment-level in Kaliti Akaki, or the unskilled labor force in gravel production for the booming road construction sector in Addis Ababa. People are exploited in these relationships and the individual worker could easily be replaced by a neighbor, who might give in even more to exploitation. But, in contradiction to the thesis of fragmentation and globalization referred to, people stay interlinked with the system. They can find stony paths towards a – partial – societal re-inclusion, which will, after all, not mean any decisive improvement of their day-to-day lives in poverty and vulnerability. But neither will it mean a life in complete oblivion, as discussed above.

And, again with the summarizing perspective on theory discourses, some 'terminological hygiene' will be needed. If we do not understand the term 'fragmentation' in the above depicted radical sense of irrevocable exclusion and oblivion, what does it then mean as distinguished from 'segregation' and 'marginalization'? Do we need another term – or better a more profoundly empirically based insight into systemic interdependencies?

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