SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN YEKA SUB-CITY: NATURE, CAUSES AND IMPACTS ON URBAN LAND MANAGEMENT WITH EMPHASIS ON KEBELES 15 AND 16

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<tr>
<td>AARH</td>
<td>Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOWUD</td>
<td>Bureau of Works and Urban Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSA</td>
<td>Central Statistical Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCB</td>
<td>Hollow Concrete Blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MWUD</td>
<td>Ministry of Works and Urban Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUPI</td>
<td>National Urban Planning Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORAAMP</td>
<td>Office of the Revisions of Addis Ababa City Master Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPHCC</td>
<td>Office of Population and Housing Census Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNCHS</td>
<td>United Nations Center for Human Settlement</td>
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ABSTRACT

It is readily understood that the problem of housing shortage has been serious and rampant in Addis Ababa. The acute shortage of housing in the city has been aggravated by high rate of population growth, migration of people urban wards and the prevalence of poverty. The prevalence of certain constraints in urban land allocation and housing provision further worsened the shelter problem in the city. In a nutshell, formal housing provision has proved to be inadequate in the city of Addis Ababa. Thus, a considerable proportion of the dwellers of the city are forced to squatting mechanisms, especially in the peripheral and expansion areas of the city to meet their shelter needs.

Squatting, though it appeared to be helpful in alleviating the problem of housing shortage to a certain extent, has negative implications to urban land development and management.

In light of this, the city government has been trying to control the squatting practice mainly through demolishing squatter houses. However, the squatting problem has continued unabated owing to various reasons.

This study focuses on squatter settlements that are found in the Yeka Sub-City. The principal objective of the study is to assess the nature, causes and impacts of squatter settlements on formal urban land development and management. In order to achieve the objective of the study a questionnaire survey covering a total of 240 sample squatter household heads was carried out in the kebele 15 and 16 of Yeka Sub-City. The data was analyzed using SPSS data processing method.

The study revealed that the majority of the sample squatter household heads were migrants, young age groups and male-headed households. They were forced to squat mainly due to lack of formal housing provision in the central parts of the city. In most cases, the formal mechanisms of obtaining housing and construction sites have been unaffordable and inaccessible due to mainly low-income conditions of the households concerned. Thus, most of them opted for squatting in the periphery of the city where access to land has been relatively easy. Migration, new household formation, constraints in housing and land market, low income and high rental prices proved to be the major contributing factors for the expansion of squatting in the locality. In addition to these causes, the tolerant attitude of the government to let squatters occupy hilly and green areas, the governments’ inability to control and execute these settlements, inefficient control of the code enforcement service to deter illegal housing construction, are some of the factors that have contributed to the emergence and proliferation of squatter settlements in the study area.

Therefore, in order to reduce in short term and ultimately solve the problem of squatting, the researcher come up with the recommendation that the root cause of housing shortage in Addis Ababa should be studied further and low cost housing developments be encouraged by the middle level real estate developers as well as the public at large.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

More and more of the world’s population are moving from rural to urban areas. Twenty-five years ago, less than 40 percent of the world’s population lived in urban areas. In the next 25 years this share could rise to nearly 60 percent. Of the urban dwellers of the future, nearly 90 percent will be living in developing countries. Half a century ago just 41 of the world’s 100 largest cities were in developing countries (World Bank, 2000: 9).

African urban areas, particularly primate cities, now display the world’s fastest rates of population increase. The pace and scale of urbanization has changed so much within the last 30 years that some scholars have recognized the importance of studying the urbanization process as a means of reorganizing the spatial structure of many African countries (Obudbond and Mblanga, 1988: 5).

There are complex linkages among population and land and housing issues. Throughout the developing world, rapid population growth from continuing high rates of natural increase and rapid in-migration has resulted in a high rate of consumption of urban land (J.J. Vander Linden, 1986: 74).

One of the main causes of such high population growth, according to Tadesse (2000), in the cities is migration of people from rural areas. The rural-urban economic imbalance and the concomitant push factors in rural areas supplemented by the pull factors of the urban areas, attract the rural population to urban areas. This, added to the natural growth, created a large population requiring shelter provision and the accompanying urban services. However, the urban services were incapable of meeting these needs; the result was a considerable shortage of housing and other services (Tadesse, 200: 1).
In Ethiopia, the shortage of housing, among other things, is also aggravated by high rates of urban population growth, which is in the order of 6 percent per annum, in the last three decades and the stagnation in the construction of residential houses. In 1967, only 7.5 percent (or 1.6 million) of the total population was living in urban areas. By 1984, the population increased by 11.0 percent or 4.3 million and had almost doubled in a decade from 4.3 million to 7.3 million or 13.6 percent in 1994 (Tadesse, 2000: 1). One of the obvious consequences of urban development is increased demand for urban services and shelter. Housing problem is seriously felt in many urban centers of the country both in quantity and quality.

An estimated 3.4 million inhabitants of Addis Ababa live in some 527,800 housing units with an average density of approximately 6 person’s per-household. According to Mathewos (2005), 80% of the residential neighborhoods in the city represent the slum dwellings, 30% of the households live in informal (squatter) settlements and 5% are homeless sleeping on the streets (Mathewos, 2005: 2).

Addis Ababa, the primate capital city of Ethiopia, has been growing since its foundation in 1886. It took the city 90 years to reach the 1 million population mark, but only 30 years to triple and pass the 3 million mark. This rapid growth in population and the corresponding demand for land has resulted in fast physical expansion of the city. The built-up area exhibited a marked expansion between 1975 and 1985, fully consuming 21,000 hectares of land (except the North Entoto Mountain) within the then Municipal administrative boundary (Mathewos, 2005: 2).

Currently, the city of Addis Ababa, is suffering from the challenges of housing shortage particularly exacerbated in the last three decades. Similar to other poor countries, the urban housing problem is mainly attributed to continuous population increase, low level of economic performance (manifested by low household incomes), urban inequalities, and inefficient service delivery
particularly land), inadequate urban management and regulatory framework (Mathewos, 2005: 4). As a result, a large number of urban dwellers are forced to live in overcrowded, congested and substandard houses.

On the other hand, considerable number of people who have some kind of income in the urban centers and some rural-urban migrants, resort to other means of shelter accommodation, such as subletting and squatting, the major focus of this study is the latter one.

Addis Ababa, as one of the cities in the developing countries, has experienced rapid rate of population growth and physical expansion. The physical expansion trend of the city is largely influenced by spontaneous growth. This spontaneous growth has resulted in the emergence and development of squatter settlements.

As new houses are being built in the already existing squatter settlements, the number and size of squatter settlements in the city have been increasing through time. This situation has aggravated the unplanned horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city, which in turn leads to increasing cost of infrastructure and basic urban services provision.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

For the millions of the poor in developing countries of the world, urban areas have always been perceived as means for improving their quality of life and environment by providing them with better job opportunities and incomes. This perception, in contrast to deteriorating conditions in the rural areas, has generated a considerable flow of migrants to cities, particularly in the last three decades. Priorities of urban migrants change over time depending on various conditions that they find themselves in. But one of the first dilemmas that they face and which persist for a long period is the question of adequate housing. With little resources, financial or otherwise, skills or access to them, illegally occupying a vacant piece of land to build a rudimentary shelter is the only one available option to them (www.gdrc, 2003: 1).
In almost every city in the Third world, spontaneous settlements are found both in small groups and in clusters of thousands. They are found throughout the city, in both inner and outer areas, though the largest settlements are almost always the peripheral (Dwyer, 1979: 30).

In the cities of America and Europe, squatting seldom occurred because law and property rights were firmly rooted in them. But in the cities of less developed world today, squatting is usually open and defiant. The success of squatting tempts more squatting. It has affected not only government owned land but also private land, including land developed with costly facilities. When squatting exists widely, orderly development and expansion are hindered. Investment in urgently needed enterprises may be discouraged (Abrams, 1964: 10).

In Ethiopia, the ever-increasing number of people who live in squatter settlements and slums indicate the existence of a significant mismatch between the increasing demand for and supply of housing to the booming urban population that emanates from urban natural growth and rural-urban migration. As a result, the urban poor are increasingly resorting to taking shelters in slums and squatter areas as one coping mechanism to “strike a balance between legal title on expensive land and insure tenure on marginal, low cost land” (www.ethiopian reporter com. 2003: 1-2).

Informal/squatter settlements in Addis Ababa have been increasing through the periods. A study prepared in 2005 shows that there were a total of 30,000 squatter housing units in the peripheral areas of Kotebe, Akaki, Kolfe, Bole, and Nefas Silk areas (Mathewos, 2005: 6). A lot of factors have contributed to this large scale proliferation of such settlements. Constraints in the formal supply of land for housing, low household income are among the major causes. The city government has responded to the rapid proliferation of squatter settlements by demolishing and regularization. Destruction of the informal/squatter settlements without the provision of land for formal housing construction decreases the housing stock, increases poverty and only shifts such settlements to other locations (ORAAMP, 2001: 8, Mathewos, 2005: 6).
Squatter settlements, therefore, need special attention in policy formulation for urban development. It is essential to understand the causes of squatting, the nature of land acquisition, housing conditions and the effects of squatter settlements on formal land development and management.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to assess the nature of land acquisition, causes of squatter settlements, housing types and their impacts on formal urban land management.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. The general objective of the research is to assess the nature, cause and impacts of squatter settlements on the formal urban land management in Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular.

1.3.2. Specific objectives: the specific objectives of the research are:

1.3.2.1. To assess the major causes of squatting in the study area.

1.3.2.2. To identify the income groups of the society who are participants in the squatter settlements.

1.3.2.3. To identify the special problems related to urban land supply that contributed to the problems of squatter settlements.

1.3.2.4. To assess the impacts squatter settlements have on formal land management.

1.3.2.5. To suggest possible solutions to alleviate the problems of squatting in Addis Ababa, based on the findings of the research.

In order to attain the above objectives, the following research questions are formulated.

1.4. Research Questions

1.4.1. What are the major causes of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular?
1.4.2. Which income group of the society participates in squatter settlements?

1.4.3. What are the special problems related to urban land supplies that contributed to the problems of squatter settlements?

1.4.4. What are the major impacts of squatter settlements on formal urban land management and development?

1.4.5. What would be the possible recommendation that can be made to alleviate the problems of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa with the particular reference to the study area?

1.5. Research Methodology

1.5.1. Sample Size and Sampling Technique

With the general objective of achieving efficient and effective urban administration system, Addis Ababa has been restructured into 10 sub-cities and 99 kebeles. Of these 10 sub-cities, Addis Ketema, Lideta, Arada, and Cherkos sub-cities are located in the central part of the city while Bole, Yeka, Akaki Kaliti, Nifas Silk Lafto, Gulele, and Kolfe Keranio sub-cities are found to the peripheries.

In Addis Ababa, squatter settlements are mainly located in the peripheral areas of Eastern, Southern, and western parts of the city. First, Yeka sub-city is selected for this study, purposely because it is one of the peripheral sub-cities where the problem of development of squatter settlements is prevailing. Besides the researcher is familiar with the sub-city as a dweller for more than 10 years, and this is believed to facilitate the attainment of the objectives of the research. Second, from the total of 11 kebeles in Yeka sub-city, kebele 15 and kebele 16 are selected because these kebeles are located in greenery and open hilly parts of the sub-city where squatter settlements are intensified and have flourished.
Thirdly, squatter household heads are selected from the two kebeles in order to have the sample units of the study. As data obtained from the offices of the above mentioned two kebeles show, a total of 300 and 900 squatter housing units are found in kebele 15 and 16 respectively. In order to select the squatter settlers, a sampling frame was obtained from the two kebele record offices. Accordingly, a total population of 1200 squatter household heads lives in the two kebeles. Based on this information, therefore, out of the total of 1200 squatter household heads of the two kebeles, a 20 percent sample or 240 squatter household heads are selected using a systematic random sampling technique. Thus, a total of 240 household heads are selected for interview and squatter household heads in every fifth move are approached during the field survey.

**1.5.2. Sources of Data**

In order to achieve the objectives of the study both primary and secondary data were collected and used. The primary data concerning the causes of squatting, land acquisition process, demographic and economic status of the squatters, nature and housing conditions of the squatter settlements in the study area were collected from the sample household heads using structured interview.

Primary data were also collected from key government officials and administrators using unstructured interview. Accordingly, relevant government officials, working in the study area, at kebeles and sub-city levels, have been interviewed to obtain information about the situation and problem of squatting, government’s legal responses to the problem of the emergence and development of squatter settlements, and impacts of squatting on formal urban land management in the study area.

Secondary data were collected from the review of related literature including books, legal documents, published and unpublished sources, MA thesis done
on squatter settlements. Data on the total population and the number of squatter housing units in the study area were obtained from kebele 15 and kebele 16 Offices of the Yeka Sub-City.

1.5.3. Data Analysis
After the collection of the necessary information, the data were coded and edited. The data processing was performed with SPSS and the data were analyzed using different statistical methods and techniques such as tables, percentages, ratios, and figures. Descriptive statistics was used as the main method of analysis in this study.

1.6. Significance of the Study
In spite of the fact that housing is one of the fundamental needs of man and has a multiplier effect on the national economy, a large number of urban centers particularly those in developing countries are today facing serious problems of housing shortage. This is also true in Ethiopia where housing problem is seriously felt in the major urban centers in general and in Addis Ababa in particular (Taye, 2002 :1).

The huge extents of urban ward migration and high natural population growth have already been identified. Within the cities themselves it produces immense social problems, the most immediate of which is inadequate housing. Partly as a result of the size of the problem, partly as a result of the limitations of national municipal resources and partly as a result of social systems which inhibit the equitable division of resources, little shelter is provided through formal and planned channels. The result is that the immigrant population collects in extensive peripheral areas of settlements (Carter, 1995: 352).

The prices of houses constructed by the newly emerging real estate developers are also obviously beyond the financial capacity of the majority of the dwellers
of Addis Ababa. Many people cannot also afford the acquisition of land through land lease system. The land lease policy has more or less become a bottleneck even for those, who are said to be financially strong. Besides, subletting which is becoming some what common in Addis Ababa is unaffordable for many lower and middle – income groups (Berner 2001, quoted in Taye, 2002: 8).

As a result, a significant number of people forced to squat in the periphery of the city. Though such a mechanism of getting shelter may have contributed to increase the housing stock at fair value, and thereby minimize the shortage of housing to certain extent, it has got various negative impacts on the formal urban development activities.

The squatting activity certainly violates the Master Plan of the city. It also obstructs effective urban land management and hinders formal housing development and investment activities (BOWUD, 2000:5). The Addis Ababa city Administration has tried to control the proliferation of the squatter settlements by bulldozing and demolishing the squatter houses. Through this action, thousands of squatter settlements were demolished in the past few years alone.

However, demolishing/bulldozing of squatter settlements without the provision of any alternative housing to the settlers had never been a solution before and will never be an appropriate solution in the future too (Shimelis, 2003 :15). This shows not only the magnitude of the problem, but also the failure the administration to appropriately address the root cause of squatter settlements.

This study, therefore, by studying the main causes, characteristics and impacts of squatter settlements on formal urban land management, it is believed, will make a significant input to policy formation regarding squatter settlements in Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular. It is also hoped that the findings of the study will help to obtain additional information to undertake further study regarding the problem of squatting and help urban managers to have a better
understanding of the squatter settlements in the peripheral areas and equip them with information needed so as to give an effective and sustained solution to the problem.

1.7. Definition and Delimitation of the Study

1.7.1. Definition

Different authors described urban squatter settlements by different names, which highlights their positive, neutral or negative attitudes and approaches towards them; these are: Informal settlements, low-income settlements, shanty towns, spontaneous settlements and unplanned settlements (Srinivas: 2002). In this thesis, the term “squatter settlement” is used, and I believe, it carries equal weight with that of informal settlement.

Squatter settlement, for the purpose of this study, is defined as “urban settlement that has come about through the unauthorized occupation of public land and construction of houses/shelters”.

1.7.2. Delimitation

As to the delimitation, this study only deals with squatter settlements found in the peripheral areas of the city of Addis Ababa. Furthermore, the other faces of informality or illegality related to plan, design, encroachment, etc, will not be treated in this study.

1.8. Limitation

Because of the illegal land acquisition of the squatter household heads, some vacant squatter housing units were found in the study area during the field survey where necessary data could not be collected. Besides, full information was not obtained from the selected squatter household heads because of fear of security and other related problems anticipated by the sample respondents. In addition to the above, there was a problem of underreporting of household head
income, and these all may have certain limitations on the analysis and results of the study.

1.9. Organization of the Thesis

The thesis has six chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction that includes background, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions, research methodology, significance of the study, definition and delimitation, and limitations of the study.

Chapter two, presents the highlights of related literature review on definitions of certain basic concepts, the concepts of formal and informal housing, the origin and characteristics of squatter settlements, squatter settlements and government policies of developing countries. Besides these, the proliferation of squatter settlements and their causes in developing countries and squatter settlements in Addis Ababa are included in this chapter.

In chapter three, attempts are made to describe the physical, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study area; socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the squatters.

Chapter four examines the causes of squatting, method of land acquisition and housing conditions of the squatter household heads in the study area.

Chapter five deals with the major impacts of squatter settlements on formal urban land management, while chapter six, presents conclusions of the study and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Definitions of Certain Basic Concepts

2.1.1. Squatter Settlement

Definition of a squatter settlement varies widely from country to country and depends on a variety of defining parameters. In general, it is defined as a residential area in an urban locality inhabited by the very poor who have no access to tenured land of their own, and hence “squat” on a vacant land, either private or public (Srinivas, 2002: 1-2). Due to its illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate.

2.1.2. Squatter Settlements- Alternative Names

A common confusion regarding squatter settlement is its relation to the term “slum”. Slums are areas of old housing that are physically and socially deteriorating because of overcrowding and lack of services and maintenance in which family life is made difficult or impossible. Bad housing is a major index of slum conditions. By bad housing is meant dwellings that have inadequate light, air, toilet and bathing facilities that do not provide opportunity for family privacy (Kasarda and Parnell, 1993:84). Therefore, while a slum settlement refers to the condition of a settlement; a squatter settlement refers to the legal position of the settlement.

There are a number of names by which squatter settlements are described by various authors which indicate their positive, neutral or negative attitudes and approaches towards them. These, according to Srinivas (2002) are: Informal settlements, low-income settlements, semi-permanent settlements, shanty towns, spontaneous settlements, unauthorized settlements, unplanned, and uncontrolled settlements (Srinivas, 2002: 10).
2.1.3. Local/Colloquial Names-

No single term describes the various types of squatter settlements, often known by different local terms in different countries of the developing world: Ranchos (Venezuela), Barriadas (Peru), Favelas (Brazil), Callapas, Campamentos (Chile), Villas Misarias (Argentina), Kachi Abadi (Pakistan), Colonias Laterias (Mexico), Barong Barong (Philippines), Kevettis (Burma), Gecekondu (Turkey), Bidonville (French-speaking Africa) and Shanty towns (English-speaking Africa) (Kasarda and Parnell, 1993: 84; Srinivas, 2002:3). To add one more to these, it is also called “Yechereka Betoch” in Ethiopia.

2.1.4. The Squatter

A “squatter” is a person who settles in new especially public land without title; a person who takes unauthorized possession of unoccupied premise. Therefore, a residential area occupied by squatters becomes a squatter settlement.

2.1.5. Physical Characteristics of Squatter Settlements

A squatter settlement, due to its inherent “non-legal” status, lacks basic infrastructure facilities and services like roads, water supply, waste collection and disposal, storm water drainage, public phones, electricity including security lighting. Squatter settlements are characterized by visually unpleasant buildings (usually old dilapidated houses, plastic and jute covered shelter), no repair and maintenance of the built structures. It has unhealthy environment, that is, it is characterized by environmental pollution (land, air, water, noise) (Srinivas, 2002: 2).

2.1.6. Social Characteristics

Squatter settlement households belong to the lower income group, either working as wage laborer or in various informal sector enterprises. On average, most earn wages at or near the minimum wage level. But household income
levels can also be high due to multiple income earnings and part time jobs (Srinivas, 2002: 2).

2.1.7. Legal Characteristics
The key characteristic that delineates a squatter settlement is its lack of ownership of the land parcel on which the squatters built their houses. The land could be vacant government or public property, or marginal land parcels like railway setbacks or “undesirable” marshy area. Thus, when the land is not under “productive” use by the owner it is appropriated by a squatter for building a house (Srinivas, 2002: 2).

2.2. The Concept of Formal and Informal Housing
The notion of formal and informal settlements in developing countries in particular dates back to the time of colonial period in Latin America, Africa and Asia. For instance, Colonial cities in Latin America were planned. Such cities were planned and built according to pre-conceived model under a carefully drawn-up set of norms and regulations. The indigenous population lived in the unplanned parts of cities in the conquered countries, whereas the white people from Europe inhabited the planned areas (Shidlo, 1990; Quoted in Taye, 2002: 11).

The biggest investors in low-income housing are the poor themselves. With only limited assets, many of the informal settlements/the poor find land in the city, invest in housing, negotiate for the services and secure land tenure, often in that order. This is the reverse of the formal process of housing development, in which land is purchased, infrastructure installed and housing constructed. In the informal sector, infrastructure comes last (UNCHS (Habitat), 2001: 79; Baken and Vander Linden, 1992:16). Pressures of urban growth in developing world have put enormous strain on urban housing markets. During the early 1980s, nine new households were formed for each permanent dwelling built in
low-income developing countries. The gap between supply and demand in most
developing countries is widening.

Most cities grew in unplanned, loosely structured fashion that left many vacant
interstices. Central city dwellings were often located on large plots suitable for
construction of additional structures. Public authorities frequently owned large
tracts in central areas that could be used for the construction of shelter. As
urban growth rates accelerated, the price of central city sites increased
dramatically, becoming far too expensive for low-income residential occupancy
and creating pressures to expel the existing residents. On the periphery,
entrepreneurs could often purchase farm land to subdivide and resell (Kasarda
and M. Parnell, 1993:75).

According to the United Nations, by the year 2000, half of the population of
most Asian cities will live in slums and squatter settlements. In most Asian
Cities, inadequate housing is characteristic of 25 to 80 percent of the
population. Inadequate housing in African cities ranges from a minimum of 33
percent to a maximum of 90 percent. The presence of slums and squatter
settlements in a society is a clear indication of the failure of society and
government to provide adequate habitat for human development (Aldrich and S.

The housing problem is so complex and so sensitive that few governments have
found it easy to resolve. In certain cases- as will be demonstrated later-the
solutions proposed have themselves generated further alarming problems.
Inspired by political, economic and social ideas the problems of shanty towns
and inner cities has been approached by many different strategies. Thus as far
back as 1940, numerous cases of demolishing low income housing estates were
already recorded in Singapore, the main intention was to discourage the influx
of rural migrants to the city. A world wide response to the housing question has
come much later in 1960s and 1970s, when millions of people were living in
housing conditions which were described by the United Nations as 'a menace to health and an affront to human dignity' (Richard E. Stren, 1975:62).

2.3. The Origin and Characteristics of Squatter Settlements

Squatter settlement in its evolution as major urban form is much more recent; indeed its being very recent constitutes a significant facet of the overall problem. In fact only within the last decade has the importance of study and planning for such settlements been at all recognized. The first large Favela in Rio de Janeiro is said to have originated in 1910 as a result of an influx of population from the countryside, after an unsuccessful uprising against large land lords (Juppenlatz, 1970; cited in Dwyer, 1975:18).

In a more recent publication by the United Nations Center for Human Settlement, 'Global Report on Human Settlement 1986', the characteristics of squatter settlements (are identified by various names as Barriada, Gecekondu, Katchi Abadi, etc) are discussed in detail. Squatter settlements are also referred to as spontaneous settlements to suggest the absence of government aid and control. It is also called uncontrolled settlements to refer to their lack of regulation; shanty towns, in reference to the poor quality of construction; popular settlements, in recognition of the fact that they are inhabited by low-income people; marginal settlements, in reference to the role inhabitants are assumed to play in urban society and to their location within the city; and transitional settlements, as an expression of the positive view of the fact that they can, over time, become consolidated and permanent settlements (UNCHS (Habitat), 1986:10).

The urban poor obtain shelter on land left over from other markets that are marginal either in a spatial sense (locationally peripheral) or in an environmental sense (of intrinsically poor in terms of site quality) (Hamish Main and Stephen Wyn Williams, 1994: 152).
2.4. Squatter Settlements and Government Policies of Developing Countries

For many years, the residents of slums or squatter settlements were assumed to be the 'flotsam and jetsam' of the poor urban society, mostly migrant households who contributed nothing to the urban economy but increase pressure on the provision of services. According to Oscar Lewis, such people live in a 'culture of poverty' and lack the ability, incentive or vision to raise themselves from their position. In short, they have not been fully absorbed into the modern urban way of life and exist on its margins. Such notions of marginality fitted in particularly well with the peripheral location of many squatter settlements, situated as they were, on the edges of the city or on awkward sites too costly to develop commercially (Drakakis-Smith, 1995: 93).

Few Third World governments gave much attention to housing problems in the 1950s and early 1960s. The United Nations was pointing out that most Third World Nations would need to maintain a house construction rate of between 8 to 12 new units per 1,000 inhabitants per year but in most nations, only one or two new conventional houses were being constructed and in many, the average was below one. There was a wide spread belief that the diversion of scarce capital to such ends was a waste since economic development would create the conditions for improved housing and a more productive economy. This in turn could provide more resources to invest in social provision. The rapidly growing illegal settlements were often regarded as a transitory phenomenon which would soon disappear as the economy developed. Such an attitude proved convenient for governments since it justified taking no action at all.

In time, however, many governments became increasingly worried about the rapid growth in the size and population of their major cities and of what they called slums or shanty towns. These were often seen as "cancers" and thus in-need of eradication: the most common reaction was large slum and shanty clearance—usually by bulldozing (Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaitte, 1995: 41).
The major responses or policies taken by governments of most developing countries are:

1. Squatter eviction or demolishing policies: since the squatters were not supposed to be where they were, one of the universal policies was squatter clearance. This policy generally involved destroying large amount of housing near places of employment for the unskilled and semi-skilled population and the relocation of its residents to distant fringes of the city. This often meant relocation to another urban squatter settlement. This approach has had limited success and resulted in the relocation of large numbers of urban residents to urban fringe areas or to other regions of the country. Almost without exception, the relocation sites were inadequate in terms of infrastructure and services, because most of the time they were very distant from the jobs held by the residents. The families were often split up with some members living in other slums or squatter settlements near their work and commuting on weekends. In other instances, it only succeeded in moving residents to other slums and squatter settlements. These policies generally created a great deal of social unrest leading to injury, death, and often the development of major political unrest (Aldrich and S. Sandhu, 1995: 27).

By the 1950s and 1960s, there were large squatter bulldozing programs in many Latin American cities. Attempts by low-income groups to invade land were usually quickly suppressed. In many Brazilian cities, there was a major drive to eradicate squatter settlements (or Favelas) during the 1960s and early 1970s. In Caracas, Venezuela, throughout much of the 1950s, there was large-scale bulldozing of the ranchos combined with attempts to re-house their population in high rise public housing estates-the superbloques; those living in the ranchos often had no more than a few hours warning before the bulldozers arrived. More recent examples include the squatter eradication program of the Military Government of Argentina between 1977 and 1980. The eviction and control of squatter invasion in Chile after 1973 under Pinochet and a city "beautification" program in Santo Domingo started in 1988 (Jorge E. Hardoy
and David Satterthwaitte, 1995: 41-43). The justifications of Third World governments for the eviction of squatter settlements were:

1. To "improve" or "beautify" the city. In Manila and Seoul, many evictions took place just before international events: in Manila, prior to the Miss Universe Contest and the Visit of the Pope; in Seoul, Prior to the Olympics,

2. Because of the common belief that slums and squatter settlements are centers of crime and havens for criminals (Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaitte, 1995: 45-46),

3. For the purpose of re-development, that is, to use the cleared land more intensively, or to build public works or facilities,

4. Sometimes demolition was to discourage migration into the city, but more often it has been part of an urban renewal project or used to maintain the zoning laws. Unfortunately, urban renewal and demolition programs have never been very effective in helping the displaced population (Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler, 1992: 136).

5. Government agencies also tend to think of illegal/squatter settlements as disorganized or unplanned and this becomes a justification for demolishing some or all of the houses to allow for a planned development (Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaitte, 1995: 40).

2. Sites-and-services and upgrading policies: Two general policies can be classified under this general description. The first one is to upgrade the existing settlements while the second is to ease the development of new settlements (sites-and-services). The two policies obviously go hand in hand, promising to channel more resources directly to the poor and to give them greater security on the tenure of their land.

During the seventies, a consensus emerged that most Capitalist Third World governments are incapable of building sufficient homes to remove spontaneous housing and that greater reliance must be placed on some kind of self-help policy.
Major Institutions such as the World Bank, government planning agencies, and many architects began to accept the advice of John Turner and others that more should be done to provide service land and to leave the actual building to the people themselves (Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler, 1992: 140-141).

The sites-and-services approach projects vary from providing plots of land with a few shared facilities to individually-serviced plots with a partly finished house. They never provided a complete house. The typical elements of sites-and-services approach are cost recovery, replicability and affordability (Mulkh Raj and Petter Nientied, 1990: 93-94). Laquin (1977) in Allan Gilbert and Josef Gugler 1992, has criticized early sites-and-services efforts because they were 'located in urban peripheries, requiring relocation of inner-city squatters and slum dwellers, resulting in economic, social and personal dislocations' (Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler, 1992: 143).

3. The Enabling approach/policy

The Global strategy for shelter replaced sites and services and squatter upgrading policies emerged with a totally different policy initiative referred to as the 'enabling approach'. This new directive, articulated by the United Nations, the World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral agencies concerned with housing, focused on implementing reforms to improve the overall efficiency and effectiveness of housing markets. Instead of direct interventions to improve squatter housing conditions or provide sites and services, the enabling approach was introduced to revise or eliminate policies or regulations that impeded the provision of housing. Overly restrictive land and housing development regulations were seen to prevent housing supply from responding to demand pressures (UNCHS (Habitat), 2001: 45).

The 'enabling approach' stressed the role of the market, not the government, in housing delivery, and it focused on regulatory and institutional reforms, not on direct housing production.
2.5. The Proliferation of Squatter Settlements and their Causes in Developing Countries

Urbanization accompanied by massive rural-to-urban migration is universally regarded as an inevitable development process for almost all economies. Associated with this development is the high demand for affordable urban housing. However, rural migrants in many Third World Cities are not able to afford housing at market prices, and governments have failed to provide sufficient low-cost housing. As a result, there has been a rapid growth of squatter settlements and slums in cities of developing countries.

In response to the inability of governments to deal effectively with the overwhelming demand for housing in cities, the idea of self-help has been the focus of much attention as a feasible solution to the housing needs of the urban poor (Patrick Le Gales, 2003: 913-4).

Public sector attempts to provide new housing for low-income groups in developing countries have not met with much success. Sometimes the locations chosen have been inappropriate, but more often building regulations have priced the target populations out of the market. In most developing economies formal building regulations are largely unrealistic, mandating oversized plots and rights-of-way and setting standards for infrastructure and building materials as a result of which structures low-income households cannot afford. Thus, it is not that surprising that, the stock of housing complying with these regulations has not been able to satisfy the demand for the urban population. The result of this shortage of shelter is a proliferation of privately developed and quite illegal settlements in many cities throughout the developing world (World Bank, 2000: 145).

According to D.C.I Okpala (1999), the phenomenon of slum and squatter developments in African cities, as in most cities of other developing regions,
could be said to be derived from two main factors: first, the magnitude and rapid rate of urbanization and the activities of a fast growing population after the second world war that tended to overwhelm the efforts of city managers and administrators to provide adequate services in advance and to control, direct and manage urban development effectively; second, pervasive mass poverty is the other strong driving force, and a complicating factor (D.C. I. Okpala, in Third World Planning Review edition, 1999: 2-3).

Squatting is mainly a reflection of two economic factors. These are shortage in socially acceptable housing and shortage in formal employment opportunities. As Richard E. Stren (1975) states, one of the major reasons for squatting and overcrowded slums is the short fall between housing need and demand, on the one hand, and housing supply, on the other (Richard E. Stren, 1975: 9).

Payne 1982, in Vander Linden (1986: 8) describes how from the 1940s onwards, squatting in Ankara was a relatively cheap way for the poor to house themselves. Circumstances which promoted this process were: an adequate supply of public and poorly registered private land in the city's periphery, and laws, which on the one hand limited possibilities of evicting squatters, and on the other hand facilitated legalising and upgrading of illegal settlement. Amis (1982), cited in Vander Linden (1986), on the other hand three factors which have set this process in motion: first is continuous city growth creating a permanent excess of demand for housing over supply, second is failure on the governments' part to provide sufficient public housing, third, over the years, informal system of provision of housing becomes politically accepted. Rather than opposing illegal settlement, such as the government had done during the sixties, the government's role is now one of administrative control (Vander Linden, 1986: 10).

Koenigsberger 1976 in (Hamish main and Stephen Wyn Williams, 1994) had explained that the rapid growth of population and increasing rate of unskilled
and semi-skilled migrants from rural to urban areas have been adding to the problems of over-crowding and unemployment in towns and cities. The consequences of too many people sharing too few resources are obvious one cannot fail to review the growth of squatter colonies, the congestion, the shortage of solid shelter and near break-down of municipal services and transport systems in any metropolitan region (Hamish Main and Stephen Wyn Williams, 1994: 191).

Cities are currently absorbing some two-thirds of total population increase in developing countries. During the period 1990-2030, the population of urban areas will grow by about 3.3 billion, of which over 90 percent will be in human settlements in developing countries. According to UNCHS (1996), cities have become synonymous with growth, and they are increasingly subject to dramatic crisis especially in developing countries. Poverty, environmental degradation of existing infrastructure and lack of access to land and adequate shelter are among the main areas of concern (urban studies, vol. 34, No. 10, 1997: 1636).

Table 2.1: Squatters in Selected Cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of Households Living as Squatters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Guayaquil</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>49.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vlaanbaatar</td>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>48.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Monrovia</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>42.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tacna</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>30.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>18.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>17.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Phnom Phen</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jinja</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>16.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Pokhara</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Camaguey</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>10.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>San Salvador</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cajamarca</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Vietiane</td>
<td>Lao</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Algiers</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Buenos Aires</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Belgrade</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNCHS (Habitat), 2001: 20, the state of the world’s cities.
The fundamental issue in most cities is more complex than a limited supply of urban land. The issue is more of speculation and inefficient land use, with large vacant areas in the central city held by speculators, forcing workers to live on the periphery and commute long distances to the city center.

According to UNCHS (1989b), as developers and speculators tie up large areas of land on urban fringes, land markets are becoming bottlenecks in the development process. Moreover, governments are frequently required to service such developments at the expense of efficiently planned structure elsewhere.

In addition to creating an artificial scarcity and escalating prices, speculation has other undesirable effects. In cities of developing countries, speculation has distorted the residential land market and caused a highly dispersed, discontinuous pattern of urban development (Kasarda and Parnell, 1993: 75).

The solutions to the rigidities and inefficiencies of public actions and administration on land and the high proportion of city population with very limited capacity to pay for housing have been the cause for the development of illegal or informal land markets which result in the flourishing of informal settlements (AR and Associates, 2002: 1).

Lack of tenure security is also a major bottleneck in efficient functioning of land markets. Tenure security can have powerful effects on developers' incentive to invest in housing and associated infrastructure. In many developing countries it is a precondition for access to formal mortgage financing. Another dilemma in granting tenure is the fear that granting any form of tenure will be tantamount to legitimizing an illegal act, encouraging further squatting. As Doebelel (1987), cited in Kasarda and Parnell, (1993: 78-79), argues in some cities granting security of tenure has produced upward filtration middle-income households buying out low-income residents.
2.6. Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa

2.6.1. Housing Shortage and the Proliferation of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa

In most cities in the developing world a multiplicity of land delivery mechanism exists, which has not generally been acknowledged by government. This has led to the emergence of large irregular settlements, which are either not, or undersupplied, with basic municipal services. Constraints on the supply of serviced land have a similar impact on housing supply. Access to shelter is impeded by these factors. This is closely linked to the question of access to employment, land, infrastructure and other shelter-related services. This is important, as adequate housing is not just a basic human need but also provides socio-economic stability and is a form of asset creation and savings. Furthermore, it provides a basis for access to the urban economy and it is a key source of employment. However, in most countries urban land supply is highly restricted because of antiquated land legislation, a confusing and expensive institutional framework, inefficient and costly land registration procedures and systems, and high standards associated with land development.

Migration is the main cause of urbanization in Ethiopia. In many towns it is found that migrants form a significant proportion of the population. In 1984 and 1994 migrants accounted 47 and 46.7 percent, respectively in the city of Addis Ababa. A continued migration to urban areas coupled with the fast natural increase, will undoubtedly compound the urban problem especially that of housing problem in Addis Ababa city (Tegegne, 2002: 67-68).

According to the 1994 population and housing Census, a total of 374,742 housing units were identified within the urban Addis Ababa. Out of this total, 97.2 percent (or 364,072 housing units) were non-storied buildings and 2.7 percent (or 9,942 housing units) were multi-storied. In terms of structural quality, rates of occupancy, and availability of other amenities (indicators of
durability and healthy living environment), the Addis Ababa housing environment scores very low. Of all the total housing units, 2.2 percent are independent makeshift shelters made up of waste materials, while 82.3 percent of the housing units have wood and mud walls and only 8.8 percent are of durable materials such as hollow concrete block and stone. More than 96 percent of the houses have roofs made up of corrugated iron sheet (Abrahams, et.al., 2000: 4).

Major informal/squatter settlements are located at the peripheries of the city at former woredas 16,17,19,24,27 and 28 (at the south, south eastern, south western and Northeastern parts of the city) that are potential development and expansion areas (ORAAMP, 2001, cited in AR and Associates, 2002: 3). However, there is no significant squatter housing development in the Northern part of the city where there is no expansion possibility and where infrastructure development is limited. Here, topography plays a role. It is terrain, not the laws and regulations that has prohibited the squatter settlements (AR and Associates, 2002: 3). According to the same source, an estimated 300,000 people live in the estimated number of 60,000 housing units in the squatter settlement areas of Addis Ababa.

The major causes for the emergence of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa, according to ORAAMP (2001) and RA and associates (2002), include:

1. housing shortage; lack of land provision, insufficient provision of rental houses, and discouragement of rental income by the rental income tax levied on real estate developers,

2. affordability-high cost of construction standard and building codes which are not compatible with the socio-economic level of the poor, such as inability to present block bank account to receive a plot through association or draw, absence of housing financial institutions and credit services,

Table 2.2: Random Observation on Informal /Squatter/ Settlements Types: Location and Area Coverage in Addis Ababa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Location Area/District</th>
<th>Woreda</th>
<th>Kebele</th>
<th>Area (Hectare)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Repl</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>228.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jimma road on the right side of the road to Sebeta</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>138.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jimma road, the location same as above but smaller in size</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The settlement around the Ayer tena UNDP housing settlement</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>115.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Furi Hana, on three spots along the left and right side of the 1st phase ring road</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>288.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kaliti around the waste water treatment plant, settlements along side the river</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kaliti, Worku Sefer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>95.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>South of Worku Sefer, the settlement around branching from Debrezeit Road</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>North of Worku Sefer, Sarris area</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gourd Shola South of Transport Ministry Workers residence settlements</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>117.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>CMC area a settlement North of the Special housing Project houses</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Meri at south and Northern part of the road to Ayat housing project</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>90.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Kotebe, the North part of developments along the Main road the range extends to the whole settlements including the last development on both sides of Dessie road</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>48.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>46.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>81.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kara Alo, settlement along both sides of the Dessie road at the boundary of the city</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>350.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>112.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ORAAMP 2001, in AR, 2002: 4

2.6.2. Origins and Development of Squatter Settlements in Addis Ababa and their Impact to Unplanned Land Management of the City

Squatter settlements are dense settlements comprising communities housed in self constructed shelters under conditions of informal or traditional land tenure. They are common features of developing countries and are typically the product of an urgent need for shelter by the urban poor. Such settlements occur when the current land administration and planning fails to address the needs of the whole community (Saff, 1996: 235).
Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries of the world. The level of urbanization in Ethiopia is low even by African standards. According to the population Reference Bureau of world population Data Sheet 2002 report, while the urban areas in African countries on average accounts for 33 percent of the total population, Ethiopia’s level of urbanization was only 15 percent.

Despite the low level of urbanization, however, there is a rapid rate of urban growth in the country due to high rate of natural urban population increase and large rural to urban migration. Urbanization is highly dominated by the primate city of Addis Ababa. The 1994 population and housing census results show that 28.4 percent of the national urban population resided in Addis Ababa. According to the same source, out of the total population of the city in the year 1994, about 46.7 percent were migrants from rural and other urban areas of the country (CSA, 1999; cited in Minwuyelet, 2004: 33).

Development of squatter settlements is one of the major urban problems currently facing most cities of developing countries. Like in other cities in developing countries, in Addis Ababa the development of squatter settlements has become one of the major urban planning and management impediments in the city today.

In pre-1974 period, there were no possibilities for squatting in the urban areas of Ethiopia. This may be mainly due to private ownership of land and strict control, which was usually made by the land owners of the time (Solomon, 1985; cited in Taye, 2002: 36).

In Addis Ababa, squatter settlements are commonly known in Amharic as “Yecherka Betoch” meaning “the moon light houses”; a name given to such structures because most often than not they are constructed under the moon light and are found appearing as a mushroom would overnight. These squatter settlements are constructed in a very short period of time, in two or three
nights. The squatters usually carry out the construction of their houses during the night when the kebele administrators are out of duty. And then the squatters and their families move into the shelter as soon as it takes the form of some kind of a house, which they upgrade gradually. Squatters falling under this category are people who have the capacity to construct a house if they were supplied with the required land (Tamirat, 1997: 50; Tadesse, 2000:12; Minwuyelet, 2004: 45).

2.6.3. Squatter Settlements and Their Contribution to the Unplanned Expansion of the City

The formal ways of housing provision in Addis Ababa currently include standard and legally constructed houses for residential purposes either by real estate developers or comprises other houses that are privately owned. Besides this, houses built by the municipality (city administration), and those legally built and held by owner-occupiers themselves are also considered to be formal houses. The owner-occupied houses can be of two types. The first one is the individual person based housing construction, while the second is those houses built through housing cooperatives, which officially had begun during the Derg period.

According to Taye (2002), the main reasons for the proliferation of squatter settlements and unplanned expansion of the city at the peripheries of the Addis Ababa city are: the peasant associations and individual peasants around the city who would provide urban land to individuals for housing construction without the consent of the concerned legal urban authorities; from 1982 to 1986, formal housing construction had not been carried out because during this period a new housing policy was under preparation and hence, there was no any regulation for housing construction and consequently, many urban dwellers could not tolerate, and some tried to accommodate themselves through subletting, while others resorted to squat in the periphery of the city. Similar
situations also had occurred between 1992 and 1995, during the time, when government had decided market- oriented land and housing development system, especially the land lease policy. While the policy was being prepared, land allocation for residential as well as for other developments came to a standstill due to the absence of clear housing and land development policies. As a result, applications for urban land have been accumulated in the waiting lists of municipalities and offices of the Ministry of Works and Urban Development (MWUD). This situation induced or forced a significant proportion of the urban population to seek land, especially in the periphery of Addis Ababa. Consequently unauthorized constructions and squatter settlements have proliferated in many parts of the surrounding areas of the city such as Bole Bulbula, Mekanisa, Keranio, and Kotebe (Taye, 2002: 37-38).

According to Minwuyelet (2004), the period from 1986 to 1995, was the period where the built-up area of the city had expanded by 2,925.3 hectares and raised the total built-up area of the city to 13,763.3 hectares. During this period horizontal expansion of the city took place in all peripheral areas of the city. Areas like west of Ayer Tena high school, Kaliti, Gergi and Mekanisa were incorporated into the built-up area of the city during this period. Regarding the type of settlements, both legal and squatter settlements have been undertaken. Out of the total 94, 135 housing units built in the city between 1984 and 1994, close to 15.7 percent (or 147, 940 housing units) were built by squatters and have greatly contributed to the physical expansion of the built-up area of the city of Addis Ababa. In 2000, Addis Ababa had an estimated 60,000 housing units with squatter settlements (Minwuyelet, 2004: 38-39).

With regard to informal housing, right from the time of the founding of the city of Addis Ababa, houses that were built did not conform to modern housing construction procedures and codes. According to Payne (1997), cited in Taye (2002), the predominant form of housing in the city had traditional influence than modern. That is probably why most of the houses in Addis Ababa were
considered as informal dwellings. Some writers even argue that about 85 percent of the total housing units in the city are informal type (Taye, 2002: 32-33).

Apart from low level of urbanization and rapid rate of urban growth, another characteristic feature of Ethiopian urbanization is lack of appropriate urban planning intervention. Addis Ababa, throughout its history, has experienced a total of six Master Plans prepared by different planners. Due to several drawbacks, all those plans were not fully implemented and the development of the city was largely influenced by spontaneous growth. Different planners prepared plans including the Master plan prepared in 1956 by Sir Patrick Abercrombie (the famous planner of great London). But all those plans were not fully implemented. As a result, the physical expansion of the city was largely influenced by spontaneous growth (ORAAMP, 1999; quoted in Minwuyelete, 2004: 40).

The provision of formal housing in Addis Ababa and other urban areas of Ethiopia have been either inadequate or unaffordable. Consequently, many urban dwellers have been forced to accommodate themselves in informal shelter or housing, such as substandard housing, slum dwellings, and squatter settlements in the city of Addis Ababa in particular. Furthermore, a significant proportion of the urban population preferred to squat, especially in the fringes of the city of Addis Ababa. Of the total housing units built in the city between 1984 and 1994, close to 15.7 percent were built by squatters. Similarly, in the year 2000 squatter settlements accounted for 13.6 percent of the total built-up area of the city. Thus, in Addis Ababa squatter settlements have contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the city (Taye, 2002: 35; Minwuyelete, 2004: 42-43).

2.6.4. Approaches used to Deal with the Housing Problems in Addis Ababa

Housing, as many people may perceive it, does not mean shelter only, it means more than that. Housing has manifold social, economical, and cultural
implications beyond the basic functional aspect of shelter. The UN define housing as "the residential environment, neighborhood, the physical structure and, all services and facilities needed for the physical and social well-being of the family or the individual" (cited in Bekele, 2003: 17). This definition implies that the concept of housing includes, in addition to the dwelling shelter, accessory physical and social infrastructures as well as neighborhood social networks that have implications on the social, political and cultural lives of households.

It was known that before July 1975, land was privately owned in Addis Ababa and there was strict control of land by the then land owners. In July 1975 by proclamation No. 47/1975, land became public property and private house construction was discouraged and the formal land distribution was complicated and inefficient to keep pace with the growing demand for housing.

In addition, from 1982 to 1986 the formal land distribution process was discontinued (Minwuyelet, 2004: 46). The governments that existed during the pre 1974 period did not significantly involve themselves in the production of housing as was especially during the succeeding Derg period. As such, the activities regarding housing industry were predominantly left to the private sector (Shewanesch 1994, cited in Taye, 2002: 25).

After the nationalization of the urban land and extra houses by proclamation no. 47/1975, land was formally transferred into the hands of the government and begun to be public property, as a result, urban land and housing policy have been based on this proclamation (Negarit Gazeta, No. 41, 1975.10).

The government, driven by the ever-increasing demand and the unresponsive housing supply, was forced to allocate land for residential use and also to adopt the housing cooperative system (Solomon 1985, cited in Taye, 2002: 26). During the Derg period, with regard to the housing industry, the cooperative
scheme was established as one of the major housing policies and the government had also been involved in constructing and renting of houses in urban centers of the country and in Addis Ababa in particular (Birke, 1997: 10).

2.6.5. Current Efforts to Alleviate Shelter Problems in Addis Ababa

In almost every part of the world, housing progress lags far behind other progresses such as industrial development. Moreover, inadequacy of shelter for the majority of the people in urban areas has become a serious problem. The problem of housing shortage is serious and deep in many developing countries like Ethiopia (Hamish Main and Stephen Wyn Williams, 1994: 1993). The majority of the dwellers in urban centers of Ethiopia live in overcrowded conditions with extreme shortage of housing units and public services. In Ethiopia, over 75 percent of the urban population lives in overcrowded, squalid, and shabby areas and houses (CSA, 1999: 18).

Since 2004, the Addis Ababa Provisional City Administration has planned to construct shelter for low and middle-income groups of the city by establishing "Housing Development and Urban Renewal program". According to the data obtained from the Addis Ababa city Administration Information and Culture Bureau Housing Development Agency 2005, the main objectives of the Housing Development and Urban Renewal program were to alleviate the shelter problems of the residents of the city and upgrade the deteriorated slums and shanty houses of the city. It also aims at improving the standard of living conditions of the citizens, especially low-income citizens of the city, who are the majority, through the creation of employment opportunities and the provision of decent and affordable housing units (Addis Ababa city Administration Information and culture Bureau Housing Development Agency, 2005: 95). The agency further states that from 2004/2005 to 2008/2009 (the 5 years plan of the city), on average 250,000 to 300,000 housing units were planned to be constructed with in the mentioned 5 years plan. The following Table shows the number of housing units expected to be constructed in each year.

33
Table 2.3: The Number of Condominium Housing Units Expected to be Constructed by the City Administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of construction</th>
<th>Number of housing units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004/2005</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/2006</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/2007</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/2008</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008/2009</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>315,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from data obtained from the city Administration Information and Culture Housing Development Agency, 2005: 96.

From the total 315,000 housing units expected to be constructed in the specified plan years, it is expected that about 63,000 households of the city on average will be the beneficiaries. According to recent data from the city administration, there is an estimated 250,000 housing units as backlog in the city. Besides, for new household formation due to marriage; additional 35,000 to 40,000 housing units should be constructed each year to fill the gap and to reduce the housing shortage of the city. The target beneficiaries from this housing construction, according to the city administration, are the low and middle income groups of the city.

According to the information from the Housing Development and Urban Renewal program, the major beneficiaries of the housing development are: Tenants of kebele houses, households relocated through land development and lease operation, households relocated from right of way clearance operation, and households relocated from the first phase renewal areas.

It is sometimes heard at conferences and workshops that subsidies that go into the production of new dwelling units in the form of land, basic infrastructure and technical assistance are somewhere in the region of about 30 percent of the project cost of new shelters. In view of this fact, the majority of the target population cannot afford to cover the remaining 70 percent of their respective...
project costs. It appears that most of this subsidy goes to the middle upper income households and not to the urban poor. The following Table shows the condominium housing units that are currently under construction by the city’s Housing Development and Urban Renewal program at sub-city level.

Table 2.4: The Number of Condominium Housing Units under Construction at Sub-City Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-City</th>
<th>Number of Housing Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addis Ketema</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaki Kaliti</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arada</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bole</td>
<td>2130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulele</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkos</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kollie Keranio</td>
<td>2250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lideta</td>
<td>970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nifas Silk Lafto</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeka</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,540</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from data obtained from the city Administration Information and Culture Housing Development Agency, 2005: 96
CHAPTER THREE: PHYSICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

The city of Addis Ababa, since the time of its founding in 1886, has been growing, both in size and volume. From the very beginning its growth and expansion has mainly been towards its south part (Mathewos 1997: 24).

Through time, the city has begun to grow almost in all directions except its northern part, which is the most mountainous region, and commonly known as Entoto. The expansion of the city later on showed to some extent the tendency of following the direction of the major routes or roads that connect the city to its hinterland and the various main regions of the country.

The growth of the city of Addis Ababa has been taking both the form of formal and informal development, i.e., planned and unplanned. The latter form of expansion of the city has been reflected in somewhat spontaneous, informal and sprawling out of the city (Taye, 2002: 44).

In both ways of development, the city expands by incorporating its surrounding rural areas. Thus, it has been growing in size, from the time of its establishment up to the present, mainly at the expense of the agricultural lands in its periphery. For instance, suburb areas and villages like Kotebe, Kaliti, Akaki and a number of rural kebeles that had been under the legal authority of their respective urban kebeles and peasant associations in the periphery were officially incorporated into the city administration in 1992 and after.

In an attempt to create a general impression about the study area, some of the basic physical, demographic and socioeconomic characteristics is briefly described below.
3.1. Physical Characteristics of Yeka Sub-City

Yeka sub-city, in which this study is being undertaken, is one of the 10 sub-cities of the city of Addis Ababa. Yeka Sub-City is one of the oldest settlement areas of Addis Ababa. It had been part of the former Yeka Awraja of the Imperial period and Keletegn 16 of the former Derg regime and later on woreda 16 up to the formation of the present 10 sub-cities in 2003/2004.

3.1.1. Location and Area

Yeka Sub-City is situated in the Northeastern part of the city of Addis Ababa at the outlet of Dessie road. The Sub-City was part of the former zone 4 and presently established as one of the 10 sub-cities of Addis Ababa. It covers about 39,250 hectares (Zewdu and Melashu, 2005:1), and it is located in the foothills of commonly known as ‘Yeka Terara’. Yeka Sub-City presently has 11 kebeles and in terms of size it is one of the largest Sub-Cities in Addis Ababa. It is bordered in the north by Ankorcha, Luke and Abadu Peasant Associations, in the west by Arada Sub-City, in the southwestern by Kirkos Sub-City and East by Bole Sub-City.

The Sub-City is about 10 kms from the center of Addis Ababa to the northeastern direction. Dessie road is the main outlet road to the northeastern direction across the Sub-City. It is among those parts of the city where natural vegetation cover has severely been deteriorated. It has been continuously cleared for the purposes of settlement, construction as well as for the production of firewood. However, the Sub-City, since it is mountainous topographically, has natural- and man- made forests along the northern part of its periphery.
3.1.2. Demographic Characteristics

3.1.2.1. Population

According to the data obtained from Addis Ababa City Administration Population Desk in 2004/2005, the Sub-City had an estimated total population of about 355,575 of which 165,691 or (46.4 percent) were males and 189,884 or (53.6 percent) were females. The following Figure shows the population of Addis Ababa by sub-city and sex and rank by population in each 10 sub-city.

Table 3.1: Population Distribution of Addis Ababa City by Suby-City and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N</th>
<th>Sub city</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Rank by popn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Addis Ketema</td>
<td>196,171</td>
<td>201,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Akaki Kaliti</td>
<td>106,645</td>
<td>114,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arada</td>
<td>155,697</td>
<td>174,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bole</td>
<td>152,914</td>
<td>172,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Gulele</td>
<td>169,155</td>
<td>176,868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kirkos</td>
<td>178,719</td>
<td>196,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kolf Keranio</td>
<td>154,580</td>
<td>159,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lideta</td>
<td>160,425</td>
<td>173,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nefas Silk Lafto</td>
<td>175,256</td>
<td>191,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Yeka</td>
<td>165,691</td>
<td>189,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,615,253</td>
<td>1,747,861</td>
<td>3,363,114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed from data obtained from Addis Ababa City Administration Population Desk, pp. 20-21

As can be seen from the figures in the Table 3.1 above, that Yeka Sub-City in which this study has taken place is one of the densely populated sub-cities in Addis Ababa.

3.1.3. Major Economic, Public and Private Institutions

3.1.3.1. Economic Institutions

Yeka Sub-City has the Shola Market area as one of the major commercial centers which is 2nd to the largest market place 'Merkato' in the city. According to the data obtained from the city’s population Desk, a total number of 355,575
people lived in the Sub-City in 2004/2005. In addition to this, there were about 60,000 housing units in the Sub-City in the same year. With regard to housing in general, the predominant type of tenure in the sub-city is residential and owner occupied. Yeka Sub-City accommodates about three private financial institutions such as Abysinia, Dashen and Nib Banks. In addition to these, there are about 8 standard private hotels, medium and small enterprises and a number of small shops. Some of the standard private hotels in Sub-City are Axum, Central Showa, Queen Sheba, and Ararat Hotel.

3.1.3.2. Public and Private Institutions

Yeka Sub-City contains many public and private Institutions. In this regard, major health institutions like the Menelik II general Hospital and Federal Defence Force Referal Hospital are the main ones. Besides, other higher and medium level privately owned health centers and clinics are found in the sub-city.

In the education sector, the Sub-City accommodates colleges like Kotebe College of Teachers Education, Civil Service College and privately-owned Colleges like Admas and Addis Colleges. Besides these, Senior and Vocational High Schools such as, Misrak and Higher 12 Medium Level Technical and Vocational Schools and other senior high schools like Wondirad and Kokebtsibah are found in the Sub-City.

This Sub-City also contains certain International Institutions and the Embasies of France, Germany, Russia Federation, Kenya, Belgium, Britian, and Israel.
3.2. Physical and Demographic Characteristics of Kebeles 15 and 16

3.2.1. Physical Characteristics

The two kebeles, kebele 15 and 16, in which this study had taken place, are among the 11 kebeles of Yeka Sub-City and are situated in the center of the Sub-City bordering the Ankorcha Peasant Association in the North Mountain or hilly range commonly known as "Yeka terarra". They are 8-10 kms away from the center of Addis Ababa City in the northeastern direction.

Topographically, the two kebeles are situated on a hilly area mainly left for greenery by the master plan of the city. Prior to the public ownership of land and extra houses in 1975, the land in these kebeles had been privately owned like most of other land holdings in the city at large. Dejazmach Wondirad Difabachew, who was one of the prominent members of the royal family in Ethiopia, owned a major part of the land in the area. Wondirad had also built his residence on the top of 'Yeka Terara' hill, which is situated almost in the middle of the two kebeles. There is Yeka Michael, an Orthodox Church, built in this area especially in kebele 15. The remaining parts of the land in these kebeles were owned by other minor land owners of the time. Much of the land in these kebeles is hilly and gorgy and is/was covered by natural and man-made forests. Large plants like eucalyptus tree and cidar (tid) are some of the common vegetation which cover the area. These two kebeles are the sources of construction and firewood for the surrounding residents. The presence of the Shola Market in these kebeles, has contributed to the deforestation of the major plants and firewood collection for sell by the poor women of the area. This practice in addition to clearing the vegetation cover has also created open space for squatting.

It is widely known that before July 1975, land was privately owned in Addis Ababa and there was strict control of land by the then landowners. After the
nationalization of urban land and extra houses in July 1975 by proclamation No. 47/1975, land became public property and there has been little or no control of open spaces since then. Thus, it is stated by some writers that squatting in Addis Ababa began after the nationalization of urban land and extra houses in July 1975. In this case, Solomon (1985), cited in Minwuyelet (2004), has stated that the private land holding system was strong enough to control illegal land occupation and squatting was almost impossible in the pre-1975 periods (Minwuyelet, 2004: 46).

3.3. Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Squatters

In order to identify the major actors of squatting in the study area, an attempt has been made to assess the demographic characteristics and economic status of the squatters. In this regard, certain characteristics like age, sex, marital status, educational levels, occupation and monthly incomes were considered to be some of the important social-economic situations of the squatters in the study area.

3.3.1. Sex and Age Structure of the Household Heads

Age and sex characteristics of a population in particular are the most important and widely employed demographic variables in most of the social science researches. Age is particularly important in that it determines the active and dependent sections of the population. Besides, the involvement of especially female household heads in squatting activity shows their determination of coping with the shortage and seriousness of housing problem to assume such a responsibility in male dominated society.
Table 3.2: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Age and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Household Heads</th>
<th>Male count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Female count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 and above</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>199</strong></td>
<td><strong>82.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>17.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 3.2 above, 18.7 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they are between 20 to 30 years of age, about 46.3 percent of the household heads are between 31 to 40 years of age, while household heads between 41 to 50 years of age constitute 27.1 percent. Those household heads between 51 to 60 years of age and 61 and above years of age accounted for 4.6 percent and 3.3 percent respectively.

As shown in Table 3.2 above, the majority (65.0 percent) of the sample households are between 20 to 40 years of age and they are the major groups who contribute to a large extent in squatting. This might be the age group who migrates to urban areas dominantly and forced to have shelter while household heads 41 years and above constituted 35.0 percent. This clearly shows that squatting in the study area is dominantly undertaken relatively by young age groups of the society. It can clearly be observed from the Table 3.2 above, that the proportion of squatting (7.9 percent) declines towards the early old ages (51 and above years).

As shown in Table 3.2 above, the majority (82.9 percent) of the sample squatter household heads are male. Female household heads constitute only 17.1 percent. Therefore, the figures in Table 3.2 above show that squatter settlements in the study area are characterized predominantly by male-headed
households. In general, out of the total number of the respondents in the sample 82.9 percent, that is the majority are male household heads.

3.3.2. Marital Status of the Household Heads
The majority of the sample squatter household heads reported that they are married, while a small proportion of them fall under the categories of single, divorced and widowed. The table below indicates the situation of marital status in the sample squatters.

Table 3.3: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Sample Household Heads by Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>75.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 above, shows that 75.8 percent of the populations of the sample squatter household heads are married, 7.9 percent are single, while 8.8 percent and 7.5 percent are divorced and widowed household heads respectively. Figures in Table 3.3 above, shows that, the married household heads (75.8 percent) are the major actors of squatting in the area and built their shelters by illegal means, this might indicate that other means of shelter accommodations are more expensive and unaffordable for these married group of people formally.

3.3.3. Educational Status of the Household Heads
Education level is another demographic characteristic that can be used to identify the major actors of squatting. Education as one of the man’s cultural needs is the most important factor to bring forth all rounded development. Education primarily enhances the level of income and quality of life, which can also influence the condition of housing to some extent. Data obtained on the educational attainment of the respondents, is therefore, an important indicator of their levels and sources
of income. Thus, the responses obtained from sample household heads about questions related to their educational levels are presented in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Percentage Distribution of the Household Heads by Educational Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Levels of Household Heads</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read and write</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary education (1-8)</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education (9-12)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA degree and above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the educational levels of the sample squatter household heads, as presented in Table 3.4 above, about 16.7 percent of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they are illiterate, while 83.3 percent are literate. Of which about 35.0 percent have primary education and 23.3 percent have secondary education, and 7.9 percent are diploma and degree holders.

The Table also shows that 17.1 percent can read and write. Thus, it can be observed that almost more than half (68.8 percent) of the sample squatter household heads in the study area are at the level of primary education and below. The highest percentage of the sample household heads is found to have low level of education. This influences the occupational status of the people under investigation as seen in Table 3.5 below.

### 3.3.4. Occupation of the Household Heads

Occupation status of the population is one main factor that shows the involvement of the people in the economic activities in the society. The occupation of sample squatter household heads in the study areas are shown in Table 3.5 below.
Table 3.5: Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Occupation Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employees</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private institution employees</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the table above, 37.5 percent of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they are self-employed (i.e. those who are engaged in informal economic sector activities), about 25.8 percent of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they are government employees; and about 16.7 percent of the sample squatter household heads are private institution employees. The unemployed sample household heads constitute 20.0 percent.

During the field survey, those sample squatter household heads which constitute the majority (57.5 percent) under the category of self-employed and unemployed together, told this researcher that they are engaged in informal economic sector activities and earn their living by performing casual activities such as carpentry, petty trades and daily labor.

Thus, in the study area most of the sample squatter household heads are in the informal sector which shows that they do not have reliable constant sources of income. They might not also have access to urban land for housing through the formal and legal mechanisms. And thus, they were forced to resort to squatting for accommodation. Hence, self-employed and unemployed household heads, engaged in commerce and daily activities, are the major actors of squatting in the study area followed by government employees and private institution employees. Almost one fourth (25.8 percent) of the sample squatter household heads which are government employees have participated in squatting activity.
3.3.5. Ethnic Composition of the Household Heads

The 1994 population and housing census result of the residents of Addis Ababa City indicated that about 48.3 percent of the residents of the city are Amahara. Next to Amhara are Oromos about 19.6 percent, followed by Guragies and Silties together comprised 17.5 percent, while Tigrians accounted for 7.7 percent; others and the non-stated cases constituted for 7.0 percent (CSA, 1994: 32). The details of the study area ethnic groups are presented in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by their Ethnic Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Groups</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amhara</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromo</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigraway</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guragies</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 3.6 above, the majority (51.3 percent) of the sample household heads are Amhara, followed by Oromos constituting 20.0 percent, while Tigrians and Guragies accounted for 19.2 percent and 8.8 percent respectively. Others include Gamo and Kembata who make the remaining 0.8 percent.

The ethnic composition of the sample household heads in the study area is similar to the ethnic composition of the city population as a whole.

The above figures of ethnic composition of the sample squatter household heads indicate that there is segregation of squatters by their ethnic group in the study area. As can be seen from the Table 3.6 above, Amhara ethnic group constituting 51.3 percent of the sample squatter household heads are the major actors of squatting in the study area. Some of the sample squatter household heads responded that they have preferred their present area to squat as a result of the existence of their relatives who had already settled in the area.
before. The responses of sample squatter household heads to the question about the reason for their present site preference are presented in Table 3.7 below.

**Table 3.7: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Reasons of Site Preference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Site Preference</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because of the presence of other relatives in the area</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easier access to obtain land</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 3.7 above, about 23.8 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they have preferred their present area to squat as a result of the existence of their relatives who had settled in the area before. But the majority (68.8 percent) of the household heads has replied that they had preferred their present site because of easier access to obtain land for house construction. About 7.4 percent of the sample household heads have reported access to work places and closeness to the city center as reasons for their site preference.

As presented in Table 3.7 above, it is possible to conclude that direct occupation of the green and open areas reserved by the master plan of the city was the major way of obtaining land for housing in this part of the area. The tolerant attitude of the city government to residential land use and green areas and loose control of the local code enforcement service contributed to direct occupation of land by these squatters.
CHAPTER FOUR: CAUSES OF SQUATTING, METHODS OF LAND ACQUISITION AND HOUSING CONDITIONS OF THE SQUATTERS IN THE STUDY AREA

There was no evidence for the presence of squatting practice in the area during the pre-1974 period. Later on, however, certain types of squatting activities had begun to appear.

Development of squatter settlements has become one of the major urban planning and management impediments in Addis Ababa today. A number of factors may have contributed to the emergence and development of squatter settlements in the city in general and in the study area in particular. In this regard, an attempt has been made to identify the factors that have contributed to the emergence and development of squatter settlements in the study area.

4.1. Causes of Squatting

There are a number of factors that gave rise to the emergence of squatter settlements. Some of these factors are site-specific while others are applicable to all sites. In general, there is one common ground to the emergence of all forms of squatter settlements. That is shortage of affordable housing or affordable plots especially to the urban poor. Almost in every city and town the demand for urban land is elastic, due to various socioeconomic and demographic factors, while the supply is somewhat inelastic. In such conditions, it is very common to have a mismatch between demand and supply. But, what matters is the “degree of scarcity or the gap between demand and supply”. In a situation where there is high scarcity the price of land and housing become very high and, in the meantime, it becomes unaffordable to the urban poor. Such conditions, therefore, forced the poor to look for other options. One of the most common solutions has been squatter settlements (Shimelis, 2003: 10).
To assess the emergence of squatter settlements and its magnitude in the study area, sample squatter household heads were asked questions related to the date of construction of their houses or occupation of the land. Their responses are presented in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Time of Construction of Their Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of Construction</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre- 1991</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1994</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1998</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2002</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003 and after</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 4.1 above, 15.4 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they had built their houses before 1991, about 40.0 percent have replied that they had built their houses in the period between 1991 and 1994, while 27.1 percent of the sample squatters have replied that they had built their houses in the period between 1995 and 1998. Those who constructed their houses between the periods 1999 to 2002 and 2003 and after are 15.4 percent and 2.1 percent respectively. As shown in the Table, the majority (82.5 percent) of the sample squatter household heads had built their houses before 1998.

As can be seen from figures in Table 4.1 above, the proportion of houses built by sample squatters in the period between 1991 and 1994 were high, (40.0 percent). This was the period in the country where government change and the transition period had occurred and might have contributed to the proliferation of squatters who tended to exploit the situation and occupy the land. During that time any effective control could not be expected from both the outgoing and the incoming governments.
According to the data presented in Table 4.1 above, squatting practice in the area was the highest (40.0 percent) in the periods of 1991 to 1994. This time also coincides with the time of the formal incorporation of the area into the city of Addis Ababa, which in turn might have induced the aggravation of squatter settlements in the area.

Regarding the causes of squatting, some main factors have been identified in the study area. These factors include migration, new household formation, constraints on legal housing provision and low income and unaffordable house rent, among others.

4.1.1. Migration

The rapid rate of migration from rural areas to urban centers, especially the capital city Addis Ababa, is one of the root causes for the prevailing housing shortage and proliferation of squatter settlements in the city in general and in the study area in particular. The 1994 population and Housing Census has shown that 46.7% of the total populations of Addis Ababa are migrants originating from rural areas as well as urban centers of the country. The rate of migration is seen as a response to the contrasting difference in development between the capital city and other urban centers and rural areas of the country.

Perceived better job opportunities and better access to social and economic services serve as pull factors for migrants to flow into the capital city, while decline of income and population growth in rural areas serve as push factors, compounding the problem of housing shortage in the city (Tadesse, 2000). As information collected from the respondents during the field survey, about 88.3 percent of the respondents in the sample population have reported that they were basically migrants to the city of Addis Ababa. The remaining ones, which account for 11.7 percent of the sample household heads, have replied that they were non-migrants. The proportion of squatter household head migrants in the
study area is much higher than the overall proportion of migration in the city, which was reported to be nearly 47% in 1994. The following table 4.2 below shows the response given by the respondents for coming to Addis Ababa.

Table 4.2: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Causes for Migration to Addis Ababa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes for Coming to Addis Ababa</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job opportunities</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better education</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better health services</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job transfer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business reasons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>212</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 above shows that 58.8 percent of the squatter household heads replied that they migrated to Addis Ababa looking for jobs, about 7.1 percent of the household heads replied that they came to Addis for looking better education, while household heads which accounted for 3.3 percent replied that they came to Addis Ababa looking for better health services. Those household heads who came to Addis because of job transfer and problems of displacement accounted for 4.2 percent and 17.5 percent respectively, while 8.3 percent of the household heads did not mention their reasons.

As can be seen from Table 4.2 above, many of the household heads in the sample, who are currently living in the squatter settlements, are found to be those who voluntarily migrated to the city. In this regard, about 74.2 percent of the sample households categorized under the migration section permanently moved to Addis Ababa voluntarily, which means in one way or the other they migrated willingly. The other segments of the squatter household heads that have been grouped under the category of the displaced constitute 17.5 percent of the sample population. Most of these household heads were the war-
displaced group during the 1998-2000 Ethio-Eritrean border conflict. These migrants were unable to obtain shelters through formal mechanisms. These squatter households, therefore, reported that squatting was their only option.

4.1.2. New Family Formation

As indicated earlier, migration was not the only factor that induced squatting in the study area. In this regard, the results of the study also indicated that out of the 28 non-migrant household heads, which are 11.7 percent of the total sample population, have resorted to squatting because of various reasons like the formation of new household, problems of overcrowding and displacement. The problems by which these households were forced to squat are presented in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Squatting</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New household formation</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowding</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displaced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health problem</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 4.3 above, the majority (67.8 percent) of the non-migrant household heads in the sample have reported that the main reason that forced them to squat in the area was that they have formed new household. While about 21.4 percent of non-migrant household heads had reported that the reason that forced them to squat in the area was overcrowding. Those household heads that replied displacement and health as problems that forced them to squat accounted for 7.2 percent and 4.6 percent respectively. This shows that, in general, in the study area the usual desire of people to form a new household has also become one of the factors that contributed to the expansion of squatter settlements in this particular area of the city.
Another very important point that has to be considered with regard to the migrated population in the sample is that many of the squatter household heads did not occupy land during their immediate period of their migration to the city center of Addis Ababa. This is because of the high housing rent in the center of the city could not be afforded by those newly migrated household heads. This can be shown by the responses of the sample household heads, which are presented in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Distribution of Sample Household Heads by Place of Residence before Squatting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former Place of Residence</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the central areas of Addis Ababa</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other peripheral areas of Addis Ababa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In other areas outside Addis Ababa</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>212</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the data shown in the Table 4.4 above, more than half (55.2 percent) of the sample household heads had replied that they initially migrated to the central parts of the city rather than the periphery. As far as the sample household heads are concerned, various reasons like acute shortage of dwelling units and probably the exorbitant rent price of houses in the central areas of the city might have forced them to squat in the outskirts of the city. As can be seen from Table 4.4 above, 10.8 percent of the sample household heads replied that they had a residential place in other peripheral areas of Addis Ababa. Those squatter household heads that had lived outside Addis Ababa and directly squatted in the study area on arrival accounted for 34.0 percent.

4.1.3. Constraints on Legal Housing Provision and Land Market

In Addis Ababa, there are different housing projects that are being developed by individuals, government, and real estate developers. Most ongoing housing projects focus on supply of housing for middle and higher income groups of the society.
Generally speaking, housing development has been influenced by government policies of the sector and access to urban land. Likewise, housing development and provision in Ethiopia has been dictated by policy frameworks and situations that have determined the production of owner-occupied houses and other mechanisms such as formal rental accommodations. In this respect, the provision of owner-occupied houses has been performed through cooperative mechanisms and private house building efforts.

In order to get building plots from the municipality one has to fulfill requirements or preconditions like depositing part of the construction costs in closed accounts and building a blocket-walled housing unit. These preconditions have been creating problems for housing construction by low-income groups.

In the case of Addis Ababa the accommodation through formal rent has also been the other important means to address housing shortage to a certain extent, though very expensive and thus unaffordable for the majority of the urban poor, certain attempts have also been made to provide housing through private investment. Table 4.5 below shows the supply of housing units in the city constructed in the periods from 1996/97-2002/03.

Table 4.5: Houses Constructed from 1996/97-2002/03

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>No. of Houses</th>
<th>Percentage share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>7409</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cooperatives</td>
<td>24,820</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Individuals</td>
<td>22,225</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Real estate developers</td>
<td>3520</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Informal sector/ squatters</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87976</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As presented in Table 4.5 above, looking into the supplier’s response to the demand for housing in the city reveals that the informal sector (squatting) was the largest, which was 34.1 percent in the period extending from 1996/97-
2002/03. This is an indication of the formal market failure. According to Mathewos (2005), considering the housing units required to fill in the present gap and the required units to replace dilapidated houses, the estimated total current deficit of housing units is 367,000 (Mathewos, 2005: 6).

The outcomes of these efforts and measures, however, have not helped much to alleviate the problem of housing shortage in the city of Addis Ababa in particular. Due to high shortage of housing in the city and ineffective efforts made to reduce the housing problem, a significant number of people were forced to look for other options of alleviating the problem of shelter like squatting in the peripheral areas of the city.

Sample squatter household heads of the study area were asked whether or not they attempted to construct or to buy houses for owner-occupation and whether the squatter household heads had also attempted to rent houses from the public rental agencies before they decided to squat in the present area. Their responses are presented below.

Table 4.6: Percentage Distribution of Sample Squatter Household Heads that Attempted or did not Attempt to Construct Own Houses Through Legal Means

| Legal Mechanism | Attempted | | Did not Attempt | | Total |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 | Count | Percent | Count | Percent | Count | Percent |
| Permit          | 38 | 15.8 | 202 | 84.2 | 240 | 100.0 |
| Cooperative     | 53 | 22.1 | 187 | 77.9 | 240 | 100.0 |
| Lease           | 0 | 0.0 | 240 | 100.0 | 240 | 100.0 |

Table 4.6 above, shows that out of the total number of 240 sample household heads only 53 (or 22.1 percent) attempted to construct owner-occupied houses through cooperatives, while 187 (or 77.9 percent) of the household heads in the sample did not. On the other hand very small number of the sample household heads that is, 38 (or 15.8 percent) had attempted to build houses through legal
permit, while 202 (or 84.2 percent) did not attempt at all. None of the sample household heads tried to construct own houses by using the lease system.

As can be observed from Table 4.6 above, there is low proportion of the squatter household heads who attempted through all the legal mechanisms of housing construction. This may be due to the inefficient mechanisms that were setup; high building standards of the legal houses; belated responses of the city government for legal applications of plots for housing; and procedural problems in general and most probably unaffordability by many of the lower income group of the study area in particular and the city in general. Moreover, no one squatter household head in the sample attempted to use the prevalent lease system. Most of the sample household heads reported that the lease system is entirely unaffordable to them. In fact most of them as they have no idea about the lease system did not attempt to use it as a means for constructing their houses.

The sample household heads who have attempted the cooperative system have failed to secure the owner-occupied houses for various reasons some of which are presented in Table 4.7 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Reported</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could not afford the cost of construction</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissolution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic bottleneck</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in the Table 4.7 above, out of the 53 sample household heads 36 household heads (or 67.8 percent) did not succeed because they could not afford the cost of construction of houses. Those household heads that had replied default as reason for not to construct their houses through cooperatives accounted for 1.9 percent. The same Table also indicates that about 11.3
percent of those who tried the cooperative means of construction were not successful due to the dissolution of their cooperative association due to various reasons. The remaining households (9.5 percent) could not succeed due to bureaucratic problems.

Very high cost of construction was the main reason for the failure of construction of their houses through cooperatives. The cost included, among others, the cost of construction that amounts to 20 percent of the total cost which should be deposited in advance, and not released until the foundation of the house is built, the cost for the plan of the house; the cost for sketch plan and permission cost for construction are expenses which the squatters could not pay for..

Generally figures from the Tables 4.6 and 4.7 above, show that the majority of the squatter household heads in the sample could not own houses through legal mechanisms such as cooperatives. The major constraints to formal housing construction are the problem of affordability, which is directly linked to the low income capacity. But this does not mean that the entire squatter household heads in the sample have low financial positions. An attempt has also been made to know the attitude of the sample squatter household heads towards the land lease policy. The results are presented in the Table 4.8 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses to the Land Lease Policy</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Un-affordable</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides inadequate plot size</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have no idea about lease policy</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 4.8 above, the majority of the sample household heads (67.9 percent) in the sample replied that they have no any idea about the land lease
system; 19.2 percent of the respondents in the sample reported the lease system as unaffordable and unacceptable; while 0.4 percent of the sample household heads replied that this land holding system provides inadequate plot size which is not acceptable; and about 12.5 percent of the sample household heads did not give any response to the land lease policy.

The other way of owning a house is through purchase of houses from real estate developers. Data collected from the squatter household heads in the study area shows that the majority (85.8 percent) of the sample household heads replied that they had no any plan to buy residential houses from the private house builders because the high price is far beyond their financial capacity; while 14.2 percent of the sample household heads did not state any reason.

Public rental housing is one of the alternatives to obtain accommodation in the city of Addis Ababa. The sample squatter household heads in the study area were asked whether they had attempted to rent houses from the public housing rental agency. The majority (70 percent) had not attempt at all. Even those who had attempted (30 percent) did not succeed for various reasons such as bureaucratic bottlenecks and inaccessibility conditions.

4.1.4. Low Income and Unaffordable House Rent

Economic status of the household heads is the other characteristics used to identify the major actors of squatting and causes for squatting in the study area. The following Table shows the former tenure type of the sample squatter household heads.
Table 4.9: Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Former Tenure-Type of their Houses before Squatting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Tenure type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rented from private household (subletting)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>67.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared with other family</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-occupied</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• AARH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kebele</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 4.9 above, the majorities (67.1 percent) of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they were living in the houses rented from private households; about 20.8 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they were living in shared houses before squatting in the present area. About 2.1 percent were living in their own dwellings, while only 1.3 percent and 2.5 percent of the sample squatter household heads were living in rental houses from Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses (AARH) and Kebele rental houses respectively. About 6.3 percent of the household heads constitute the not stated cases. The figures in Table 4.9 above generally show that, the majority (87.9 percent) of the sample household heads was living in houses rented from private households and others have shared arrangements before they start to squat in their present squatter housing units. Both subletting (rented from private households) and shared types of housing are the manifestations of housing shortage in the city of Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular. However, subletting and shared housing, though they appeared to ease housing shortage, both are typical features of a high rate of overcrowding. This situation obviously leads to the deterioration of the housing condition, which results in poor health and discomfort conditions.

Those who had been sheltered under subletting and shared-housing mainly in the central areas of the city have also complained the unaffordable rent they used to pay for the owner-occupied or legal holder of the houses they rented for residence.
Many of the squatter household heads treated in the sample were unable to pay the exorbitant rents of the houses in which they lived. The Table below clearly shows the low-income conditions of the sample household heads in the study area.

Table 4.10: Distribution of Household Heads by Amount of Reported Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Income of the Household Heads (in Birr)</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-600</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-700</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701-800</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-900</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>901 and above</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be indicated in Table 4.10 above, about 21.1 percent of the sample household heads have replied that their monthly income is less than birr 100, the majority (70.9 percent) of the sample household heads earn monthly incomes of birr 100 to 500, while 7.6 percent of the sample household heads earn birr 501 to 900 per month. Those sample household heads with monthly incomes of birr 901 or more constituted only 0.4 percent.

According to the Central Statistical Authority Revised 1995/1996-Household Income, Consumptions, and Expenditure Survey result, 15.6 percent of the households in Addis Ababa earn less than 2,000 birr annually (or less than 170 birr monthly), while 67.25 percent of the household heads earn on average an annual income of less than Birr 5, 400 (or a monthly income of less than birr 450), 17.16 percent earn 12,000 Birr or more annually (or more than 1,000 birr monthly) (Central Statistical Authority Revised 1995/1996 Household Income, Consumption, and Expenditure Survey Result, 1998: 196).
As mentioned in Table 4.10 above, in the study area, about 92.0 percent of the sample household heads earn monthly incomes of Birr 500 and less and about 8.0 percent of the sample household heads earn monthly incomes of Birr 501 or more. Generally, from the figures presented in Table 4.10 above, in comparing monthly incomes of squatter household heads in the study area and that of monthly income of the residents of the city as a whole, squatter settlements in the study area are inhabited generally by the low income groups of the society or the urban poor.

The low-income condition is also confirmed by Tadesse (2000), cited in Bekele (2003, 55), unaffordability is another factor contributing to housing shortage or lack of access to housing by the major group of households in the city. Housing affordability is generally low, because of low household income.

Table 4.10 above indicates the monthly incomes reported for the whole sample household heads that were treated in the study area. The monthly income of those household heads that had once been under the subletting housing arrangement is presented in Table 4.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Income of the Household Heads (in Birr)</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-200</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-600</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-700</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>701-800</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-900</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>901 and above</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>161</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11: Monthly Income Reported by Household Heads of the Sample Squatters who had been Under Subletting Arrangement
As indicated in Table 4.11 above, about 24.8 percent of the household heads who had been under subletting housing arrangement before squatting have replied that their monthly income is less than birr 100; about 37.3 percent of the household heads who had been under subletting earn monthly income of birr 100 to 200; while 20.5 percent of the household heads earn Birr 201 to 300 per month. Those sample household heads that had been under subletting housing accommodation before squatting with monthly income of birr 301 or more constitute about 17.4 percent.

Generally, the majority (82.6 percent) of the sample squatter household heads who had been under subletting housing arrangements earn monthly incomes of birr 300 or less. As mentioned earlier, in Addis Ababa as a whole, about 67.25 percent of the household heads earn monthly incomes of less than 450 birr. In the study area, about 93.8 percent of the sample household heads who had been under subletting as shown in Table 4.11 above, earn less than 500 birr monthly income, and only about 6.2 percent of these household heads earn monthly incomes of birr 501 or more.

In general, in comparison to the monthly incomes of the squatter household heads in the study area and that of monthly incomes of the residents of Addis Ababa as a whole reveals that the squatter settlements in the study area are mostly inhabited by the low income groups or the urban poor. Hence, squatting in the study area in particular and in the city of Addis Ababa in general is poverty driven.

The sample squatter household heads, who had been under subletting housing accommodation before squatting, have also complained that they could not afford the rent of private houses in the central areas of the city. These sample squatter household heads were forced to leave their houses for reasons that can be presented in Table 4.12 below.
As presented in Table 4.12 above, the majority (44.7 percent) of the sample squatter household heads who had been under subletting shelter accommodation replied that they could not afford the rent of the houses of the private owners and were forced to leave the houses for squatting in the present area. About 24.8 percent of the sample squatter households reported that they left their previous houses and squatted in this area due to the problem of overcrowding. Those households that reported new household formation and displacement as their reasons for leaving their previous dwelling units constitute 25.5 percent and 1.9 percent respectively. Only about 0.6 percent of the sample household heads reported that proximity to work as being the reason for leaving their previous dwellings, and about 2.0 percent constitute the not stated cases.

As indicated earlier, the two major reasons that forced the sample household heads for leaving their dwellings and squat in the area were the exorbitant private house rent and overcrowding problems which constitute about 69.5 percent of the reasons provided. Due to the acute shortage of housing in the city of Addis Ababa in general and the study area in particular, private house owners have been exploiting the situation by providing rental houses some even by partitioning the rooms they live in. What can be observed from this situation is that subletting housing, though it appears to ease the problem of housing shortage on one hand, has aggravated overcrowding on the other.
Generally, one can observe the fact that squatting, even if it happens to be illegal, has been playing a significant role in easing up housing shortage as well as the problem of overcrowding in the city of Addis Ababa in general and the study area in particular. The serious shortage of housing that has prevailed for more than a decade, especially in the city of Addis Ababa, has contributed a lot to the expansion and proliferation of squatter settlements in the outskirts of the city.

### 4.2. Methods of Land Acquisition of the Squatters in the Study Area

In this subsection, an attempt is made to discuss the methods by which squatters in the study area had acquired land. The methods used in the acquisition of land for housing in this study area have been mostly outside the legal and formal ways of acquiring land.

It was found out that there have been different methods of land acquisition in the study area as can be observed from the data collected. The main methods of land acquisition include: purchase of land from the surrounding peasants, purchase of land from land speculators (former squatters), supplied by relatives, and direct occupation. The details of these methods are provided below.

**Table 4.13: Methods of Land Acquisition Reported By the Sample Squatter Household Heads**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method of Land Acquisition</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase from surrounding peasants</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase from land speculators (former squatters)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplied by relatives</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct occupation</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated in Table 4.13 above, the major ways by which squatters in the study area obtained land for housing construction were in a descending order of importance: direct occupation, purchase from land speculators, supplied by relatives, and purchase from surrounding peasants.

4.2.1. Direct Occupation
As can be seen from Table 4.13 above, 52.0 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they had obtained land for housing construction by direct occupation of the open spaces and forest areas of the area. Such type of land acquisition has been a typical kind of squatting practiced in areas where there is loose control of the open spaces and green areas located on hilly and gorgy areas.

During the field survey, the researcher has observed the existence of squatter housing constructed in the deep river gorges and green areas reserved by the master plan. By examining Table 4.13 above, it is possible to conclude that direct occupation of open spaces and green areas was the major way of obtaining land for housing. However, land purchase from land speculators and purchase from the surrounding peasants were also other means of occupation.

These forms of land acquisition had led to the proliferation of squatter settlements in the area. As can be observed from the city's master plan, this area is reserved mostly for residential use and green area purposes. Perhaps, that is why the city government is tolerant to the squatting practice in the area.

4.2.2. Purchase from Land Speculators (former squatters)
Table 4.13 above, indicates that 24.2 percent of the sample squatter household heads in the study area had obtained the land for housing construction by buying from the land speculators in the area. People who had already been
squatted in the area earlier might have sold out their holdings either wholly or partly by subdividing it.

Information obtained from government officials and administrators working in the sub-city and kebele levels in the study area indicate that land speculators had bought agricultural lands from the surrounding farmers for speculative purposes. Land speculators in this part of the city had bought the reserved green and forest areas by the master plan and had sold them to the present squatter household heads. The result of the tolerant attitude of the city government had facilitated the illegal purchase of open and green areas. Thus, this loose control of the city government regarding the open spaces administration has contributed to the proliferation of squatter settlements in the study area.

4.2.3. Supplied by Relatives
As indicated in Table 4.13 above, about 15.4 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they had obtained land for housing from their relatives. This reason is usually a cover for the illegal occupation of land by the respondents.

4.2.4. Purchase from Surrounding Peasants
Illegal land purchase from the surrounding peasants is one of the methods by which the squatters in the study area obtain land for their housing construction. As presented in Table 4.13 above, about 3.8 percent of the sample household heads have replied that they had obtained land for housing through purchasing from the surrounding peasants. As mentioned by one respondent in the study area during the field survey, peasants in the area used to sell part of their agricultural or grazing land by parceling, and keeping the remaining one for their cultivation and or grazing. This situation explicitly shows that illegal land market has been taking place in this area of the city.
As a result of this illegal land market, the agricultural land of the area has already been used by the squatters and converted into urban land use, which has resulted in the loss of farm lands and deforestation.

4.3. Land Holdings of the Squatters in the Study Area

As discussed in the previous section of this Chapter, direct occupation of the open and green areas has been the major way of obtaining land for housing in this study area. In order to analyze the utilization of urban land in these squatter settlements, the responses obtained from the sample squatter household heads about the plot sizes of their holdings is shown in the table 4.14 below.

Table 4.14: Distribution of Household Heads by Total Area of Holding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total area of the Compound (in m²)</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 175</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175-200</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-300</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301-400</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 and above</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As presented in Table 4.14 above, almost half (48.3 percent) of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they have plot sizes of less than 175 square meters, while about 24.6 percent of the sample household heads have plot sizes of between 175 and 200 square meters, 16.7 percent of the sample household heads replied that they have plot sizes of between 201 and 300 square meters, and those sample household heads who have plot sizes of 301 and more constituted 10.4 percent. The figures in Table 4.14 above show that nearly more than two thirds (72.9 percent) of the sample squatter household heads in the study area have plot sizes of 200 square meters or less.
The figures in Table 4.14 above generally show that, as compared to plot sizes of the legal land provision of the city, squatter settlements in the study area are characterized by small plot sizes as there are no large and open spaces in the area. The response obtained from sample squatter household heads about the total floor area of their holdings is presented in table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15: Percentage Distribution of Household Heads by Floor Area of their Houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Floor Area (in m²)</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 20</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-40</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-60</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-80</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 and above</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 4.15 above, about 37.9 percent of the sample household heads have reported that the total floor area of their houses is less than 20 square meters, about 40.8 percent of the sample household heads have total floor area of between 20 to 40 square meters, while 14.6 percent of the sample household heads have replied that total floor area of their plot is between 41 to 60 square meters. 5.4 percent of the sample household heads have total floor area of between 61 to 80 square meters. Those household heads with 81 and more total floor area of their plots constituted 1.3 percent.

As it was presented in Table 4.15 above, that more than two thirds (78.7 percent) of the sample squatter household heads have reported to have 40 square meters or less of total floor area of their houses. In fact, the size of the plot and floor area of the houses in the sample most probably depended on the financial house building capacity of the holder and method of land acquisition for housing. That is the floor area of the houses was influenced by the methods of land acquisition discussed earlier. Those who have acquired land through permit either by local or higher government officials appeared to be more secure.
and mostly constructed relatively houses of large floor sizes in the area. In contrast, those who have occupied land for housing through purchase from surrounding peasants or have directly occupied land were less secure. Consequently, the latter groups of squatter settlers built small houses or shelters, containing small floor areas on the land they have already held.

In addition to this, the size of floor area was also influenced by the financial capacity of the holder of the land, in that those with low incomes built initially what may be called the core houses which were later improved and expanded with the improvement of their income. In general, in this part of the study area, small plot sizes and floor areas were the dominant features.

The houses in the squatter settlements are different in their plot sizes, floor areas, and nature of construction from the formal housing units. Since such squatter houses are unauthorized and informal they did not conform to the sequence of formal land occupation and housing construction. As can be readily understood, informal land occupation and housing construction follow the sequence of occupation-building-servicing-planning, in contrast to the formal one which most often follow the sequence of planning-servicing-building-occupation sequence (UNCHS (Habitat), 2001: 79).

Most of the sample household heads reported that they followed the incremental process of housing construction, rather than completion of construction before occupying their respective houses.

As regards the nature of the construction of houses, about three fourths (75.0 percent) of the sample household heads have reported that their houses were gradually built, improved and expanded to full accommodation from time to time. Those sample household heads who constructed their houses wholly before their occupation constitute only 25.0 percent.
It is essential for them to follow the incremental or gradual improvement process of housing construction since most of the sample household heads were low-income earners. Not only are most of them low-income earners, but most of them have also been engaged in informal sector activities in which their income sources were not that much reliable and sustainable.

4.4. Housing Conditions and Facilities in the Squatter Settlements

Adequate shelter and facilities are basic needs of human beings like food and clothing. The housing condition, especially its durability, is related to the materials used in the construction of walls, roofs, and floors. Availability of a housing unit itself and access to facilities could thus be considered as the most important components of household welfare.

Poor environmental sanitation, insufficient and unsafe water supply, inadequate or lack of waste disposal system and inadequate access to basic infrastructure services affect the status and wellbeing of the society. Housing amenities and facilities such as type of lighting, source of water supply, availability of kitchen, and toilet facilities are some of the characteristics of housing condition and they are also the major indicators of the level of good housing conditions.

In this section an attempt is made to discuss the type of construction materials used in the construction of housing units in the study area. The distribution of housing units in the study area by the type of materials used in the construction of walls is presented in table 4.16 below.
As can be seen from Table 4.16 above, the majority (97.5 percent) of the sample household heads have replied that their houses are made up of wood and mud walls; about 1.7 percent of the sample squatter household heads have reported that their houses are made up of stone and cement walls; while housing units made up of hollow concrete blocks (durable materials) walls constitute only 0.8 percent.

Thus, it can be observed from the figures in the Table 4.16 above, that the majority of the housing units in the study area are made up of wood and mud walls (temporary construction materials). The poor urban household heads in this part of the city used non-durable construction materials (wood and mud) for their housing unit construction which also indicates their standard of living and income. The floor materials of most of the houses considered in the sample are of poor quality. We can observe this situation from Table 4.17 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Floor Materials</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soil or Earth</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the construction materials of floor as can be seen in Table 4.17 above, almost the majority (86.7 percent) of the housing units in the sample have soil or mud floors; about 13.3 percent of the housing units in the sample have cement concrete floors; while none of the housing units have wood and
plastic floors. This clearly shows that the majority of the houses in the sample were constructed by non-permanent and fire-prone building materials. On the other hand, all of the roofs of the houses in the sample were covered by corrugated iron sheet.

Almost all (99.2 percent) of the houses in the sample were covered by corrugated iron sheet, and only very few (0.8 percent) of the houses in the sample were covered by wood.

Almost all the houses (99.2 percent) in the sample are of traditional type and low quality, whereas, only 0.8 percent of the houses are villa type; there were no apartments in the sample. This shows that, most of the houses are owned by the low-income group and very few by better off people since the condition of housing more or less is the reflection of the standard of life of the dwellers concerned.

Data on the availability of adequate water supply, means of dry waste disposal, availability of toilet and kitchen facilities, and source of lighting were collected during the field survey. The availability of these facilities is also considered to be the most valuable indicators associated with the quality of housing unit. With regard to the study area under investigation an attempt has been made to discuss the conditions of housing facilities and amenities. The data obtained from the respondents are presented in the following Tables.

Table 4.18: Distribution of Household Heads by Source of Drinking Water

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Water Supply</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purchase from private tap/shared</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Tap (Bono)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Tap</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community water supply (Transported by)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Donkey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Man</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River or spring</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>240</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As presented in Table 4.18 above, the majority (48.8 percent) of the sample household heads have replied that they obtained water by purchasing from private taps or shared piped water supply from their neighbors, while 33.8 percent have reported that they obtained water from public tap (bono). Only 20 household heads or 8.3 percent of the sample household heads replied that they obtained water from their own taps. Those sample household heads who obtained water from the community water supply and river and spring constitute 3.3 percent and 5.8 percent respectively. Figures in Table 4.18 above, generally show that, the majority of the household heads could not own their tap waters as their land acquisition and construction of houses are illegal and could not obtain formal tap water from the public or government.

The issue of waste disposal is one of the important indicators of housing condition and thereby environmental hygiene and sanitation. With regard to the study area, the sample household heads have reported that they have used various means of dry waste disposals. It is possible to observe their means of disposing dry waste in Table 4.19 below.

**Table 4.19: Means of Solid Waste Disposal Reported by Sample Household Heads**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of Solid Waste Disposal</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burning</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burying</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumping on open space</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumping in nearby river</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throwing in cans</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 4.19 above, 38.3 percent of the sample household heads have reported that they dispose solid wastes by burning; 7.5 percent of the sample household heads by burying the solid wastes they have produced; while the majority (41.7 percent) of the sample household heads have replied that they dispose their solid wastes either by throwing into open spaces in the
nearby area or by dumping into nearby river. Only 12.5 percent of the sample household heads use garbage cans as means of solid waste disposal. Throwing solid waste into the nearby river or in open spaces has been one of the worst means of waste disposal as it contributes to the environmental pollution and easy transmission and spread of communicable diseases in the area.

Availability of toilet facilities in the study area was found to be very poor. Most of the toilet facilities in the area were found to be dry pit latrines. The data obtained from the respondents during the field survey are presented in table 4.20 below.

**Table 4.20: Availability of Toilet Facilities as Reported by the Sample Household Heads**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toilet Facility</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Available</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.20 above shows that, 50.8 percent of the sample household heads reported that they have dry pit latrine, while 48.3 percent have no toilet at all, and the non-stated cases constitute only 0.9 percent.

The fact that 48.3 percent of the households in the sample squatter areas have no toilet facilities at all indicates the gravity of the health problems to which the respondents are exposed. These household heads even could not try to build the pit-latrines which do not cost them much, as most of the household heads are not aware of the advantages of having toilet facilities.

The type of lighting in the housing units is also one of the indicators of the quality of housing condition. The Table below shows the types of lighting in the study area.

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As has been presented in Table 4.21 above, 48.0 percent of the sample squatter household heads have reported that they used electricity as source of energy. Out of these, 13.8 percent have reported that they have owned electrical meter readers, while about 34.2 percent have shared meter readers. The majority (48.3 percent) of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they use wood as source of energy, while those sample household heads that used kerosene and charcoal as source of energy constitute 2.5 percent and 1.3 percent respectively. The majority (48.3 percent) of the sample squatter household heads have replied that they used wood as source of energy, this implies that, the presence of plants in the area has created conducive atmosphere to exploit the energy source of the area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Lighting</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Own meter</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Shared meter</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FIVE: IMPACTS OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS ON FORMAL URBAN LAND MANAGEMENT

In many cities in the developing world there are thousands of people who live in rudimentary shacks built on sites that are illegally occupied on which they can have little hope of permanency or secure tenure. That is to say, because the land holding status is always either to be adopted or to be taken away. Therefore, since settlers are suspicious of either loosing or gaining, they do not dare to build better houses by incurring higher costs for building the house. This phenomenon affects the image of the city, as is observed today in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa (ORAAMP, 2002: 8).

Squatter settlements are found usually in unplanned and irregular locations and use whatever building construction materials, such as plastic materials, Tin cans, and are usually disgraceful, unhealthy, lack of civic sense and spirit of nationality (Srinivas, 2002).

Most of the 1984 Master Plan proposals of the city of Addis Ababa are challenged by these settlements. According to the study made by OPAAMP (2001), these settlements have both negative and positive impacts on urban development, they create:

i. spontaneous growth and sprawl (unplanned growth) creating difficulty of integrating them with the existing structure;

ii. settlements are susceptible to hazards such as flood, fire, and could cause sanitation problem and environmental degradation (in some areas), quality of construction is also poor, (a significant percentage of the houses are built with temporary scrap materials), creating slum areas at the peripheries;

iii. they could also encourage unlawful act and negatively affect the Municipal income (revenue) from land building tax;
iv. inefficient utilization of land and infrastructure and there by creating
difficulty in providing the necessary services (ORAAM, 2001: 9).

5.1. Impacts on the Physical Environment

Squatter settlements in the present area, for instance, occupied land reserved
for greenery, those in Bole Sub-City occupied land which was reserved for legal
residence, industry and services. Those squatter settlements found in former
woreda 19 (now Nifas silk Lafto Sub-City) infested land reserved for forests,
legal residence and industry (AR and Associates, 2002: 7). From these above
situations we can conclude that, proliferation of squatter settlements in the
urban Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular affect the
legal/formal urban land use and development in the city.

Due to the expanding growth of the squatter settlements, especially in this part
of the city boundary, much of the eucalyptus and pine trees surrounding the
sub-city are destined to be over taken by the outwardly expanding settlements.
During the field survey, key respondents, at the sub-city and kebeles, informed
the researcher, that squatter settlements in the areas created obstacles to
planned development. These settlements are built on area reserved for
formal/informal green along the rivers, public parks, civic spaces, and sport
centers.

The low level of services, amenities and infrastructures, and scarcity of open
spaces are major indications of the poor quality of most housing units of the
squatter settlements. In this study area 97.5 percent of the housing units were
built from non-durable construction materials (Wood and Mud) as discussed in
chapter 4 of this paper. This low quality of the housing units of the squatter
settlements affects the area in every aspect. Such as sanitation, old and
dilapidated houses and therefore, create slum neighborhoods at the expansion
areas.
5.2. Impacts on Urban Land Use and Development

Housing in squatter settlements is illegal in two senses, land is occupied illegally, and the site and the building are developed and built illegally—contrary to zoning regulations (which specify the use to which land can be put and often the number of units allowed per hectare), sub-division regulations (which specify the standards needed for access roads, water supply, drainage, and often the minimum size of plot allowed) and building regulations (Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterth Waitte, 1995: 26).

Accordingly, during the field survey, this researcher had observed in this study area, that almost half of the squatter settlements are far from the existing structures, such as, water supply, electricity, drainage and solid waste disposal systems. These settlements in this part of the city of Addis Ababa create unplanned growth resulting in difficulty of integrating them with the existing city structures. As information obtained from the government officials working at sub-city and kebele levels reveals, the study area was covered by thick plantation and later on cleared by the squatters for housing construction and firewood. This practice has contributed to the deforestation of the area. Less government control of the green and open spaces, limited capacity of the code enforcement service (Task force) to control illegal house construction also contributed to the loss of vegetation cover of the area and consequently flooding has become a problem in this part of the area especially kebele 15.

Information obtained from government officials working at the sub-city and kebele levels in the study area (key respondents) indicates that because of loose control of the green areas; squatter households easily occupied land for the construction of their housing units.

As observed during the field survey, the city government is tolerant to squatter settlements located in residential zoning areas on the master plan and especially to
the hilly and green areas similar to this study area. Thus, the green areas reserved on the master plan are infested by the squatter settlements easily in this part of the city. This loose control of the city government, regarding open spaces, has created conducive atmosphere for the squatters and consequently led to the proliferation of squatter settlements in the study area.

Deforestation and loss of greenness is the other negative consequence of unplanned and rapid proliferation of squatter settlements. The natural and man-made vegetation resources in and around the city, which have a multi-dimensional importance with respect to the environmental protection, soil conservation, watershed management, provision of construction and fuelwood, has been drastically destroyed.

The physical expansion trend of the built-up area of Addis Ababa discloses that it is expanding rapidly; and the horizontal expansion is the major form of development that the city has undertaken throughout its history. The physical expansion of the built-up area of the city has occurred through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements. Squatter settlements have proliferated in different parts of the city of Addis Ababa, mainly in the peripheral areas. They have greatly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city (Minwuyelet, 2004: 104).

According to Mathewos (2005), from a total number of 87,976 housing units constructed in the city of Addis Ababa by cooperatives, real estate developers, the public, and informal sector/squatters, during the periods of 1996/97-2002/03, about 30,000 housing units or (34.1 percent) were constructed by the squatters (Mathewos, 2005: 6). This shows that, though squatter settlements are illegal in nature, have contributed to an increase in the housing stock of the city and the built-up area of the city. It was found out that in 2000, Addis Ababa had an estimated 60,000 housing units in the squatter settlements in
the peripheral areas and the total area covered by squatter settlements was 2000 hectares, which was about 13.6 percent of the total built-up area of the city (ORAAMP, 2001; in AR and Association, 2002: 4). In the same year, squatter settlements occupied about 639.4 hectares of land in the study area. Squatting, though it has got positive as well as negative implications upon the living situations of the squatters themselves, it also has become highly problematic in terms of land management and formal development of the city in general and the study area in particular. For instance, it is not possible to launch formal development according to the master plan’s land use system, especially in the study area; since a large number of squatter settlers have occupied the land illegally.

The Addis Ababa city administration has been trying to alleviate the squatting problem mainly through demolishing of the squatter houses, and partly by regularization. The demolishing practice was not successful in most cases. The regularization attempts made by the city government so far have been aggravating the problem of squatting rather than alleviating it (Minwuyelet, 2004: 108). So, the root causes of squatter settlements in general and the acute shortage of shelter in Addis Ababa should be given due attention to solve the real problem of squatting problem.
6.1. Conclusions of the Study

One of the areas in the city of Addis Ababa where squatting as a typical form of informal settlement has developed is Yeka Sub-City. The physical expansion of the built-up area of the city has occurred due to the construction of houses through legal landowners, real estate developers, and squatter settlements. This study attempted to assess the nature, causes and some impacts of squatter settlements on formal urban land development and management.

Emergence of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa came to being from the year 1975 onwards (i.e., after the nationalization of urban land and extra houses by proclamation No. 47/1975). Through time, squatter settlements have proliferated in different parts of the city, mainly in the peripheral and expansion areas of the city. They have greatly contributed to the unplanned and irregular expansion of the built-up area of the city and destruction of much of the green areas around.

In the study area, emergence of squatter settlements occurred after 1991. The majority (84.6 percent) of the squatter housing units were built after 1994. Squatting practice in the area was the highest (40.0 percent) in the periods 1991 to 1996. This period also coincides with the time of the formal incorporation of most of the peripheral areas of the city into the urban Addis Ababa, which in turn might have induced the aggravation of squatter settlements in the area.

Regarding the demographic characteristics of the squatters, it was found out that about 82.9 percent of the household heads are male. About 65.0 percent of the squatter household heads are between 20 to 40 years of age, and about 75.8 percent of them are married.
With regards to other demographic characteristics of the squatters, it was found out that migrant, young aged groups who are married and male-headed households are the major actors of squatting practice in the study area. There has been also certain non-migrant group of people who were forced to squat, especially due to the reasons of new household formation, which implies that, natural population growth in the city in general and in the study area in particular also contributed to squatting.

The highest percentages (68.8 percent) of the sample squatter household heads in the study area have primary education and below. This influences the occupational status of the households under investigation.

Certain aspects of the demographic characteristics of the squatters in the study area are like ethnic composition found to be 51.3 percent Amhara which coincides with the ethnic composition of the city of Addis Ababa.

Thus, it was found out that some of the squatter household heads have preferred the present site to squat as a result of the presence of their relatives who had already settled in the area before. In the study area, it was found out that more than half (57.5 percent) of the sample squatter household heads were unemployed and self-employed, who are engaged in informal sector activities and earn their living by performing causal activities such as carpentry, petty trade, and daily laborers. About 68.8 percent of the sample household heads had preferred the present squatting area because of easier access to open and green land.

Certain causes have been accounted for the expansion of squatter settlements in the area: Migration, new household formation, constraints on legal provision and land market, low income and unaffordable house rent found to be the major contributing factors for the expansion and proliferation of squatter settlements in the study area.
About 88.3 percent of the respondents in the sample population known to be basically migrants to the city of Addis Ababa. More than half (58.8 percent) of the migrant household heads have migrated to the city of Addis Ababa for the main reason of better job opportunity. In addition to the mentioned causes for squatting, government officials working at sub-city and kebele levels of the study area have reported that less government control of open and hilly green areas of the area are also found to be causes for the emergence and expansion of squatter settlements.

The non-migrant household heads in the study area were also forced to squat due to new household formation, which is a natural increase of population in the city, also contributed to squatting practice in the locality.

Owing to the constraints in formal housing provision and inadequate land supply for housing construction in the city of Addis Ababa, many of the sample squatter settlers were forced to squatting. The majority of the squatter household heads could not afford to obtain housing through formal means since most (70.9 percent) of them have been earning low income (100 to 500 birr). The few squatter household heads who had attempted to construct their houses through cooperatives, about 67.8 percent of them failed to do so due to unaffordability of the cost of construction. The majority (67.1 percent) of the sample squatter household heads, who had subletting tenure type accommodation before squatting, had left their tenure for the reasons of unaffordability of the exorbitant rent of houses that they sublet. The majority (82.6 percent) of those samples squatter household heads who had been under subletting housing arrangements used to earn monthly income of birr 300 or less. They also failed to obtain residential housing in rent from public rental agencies, mainly due to unavailability and inaccessibility of such houses for them.
The majority of the squatter household heads in the study area failed to construct the housing units through the cooperatives due to unaffordability of the costs of construction. In addition to this no one of the squatter settlers attempted to acquire land for housing through the land lease system. Even the majority of them have no any idea about this type of land provision system. Not only they failed to use the lease system, but also almost all of the squatter household settlers in the sample did not try to obtain housing from real estate developers. Consequently, most of the sample squatter households had tried to accommodate themselves through subletting arrangement that has become common practice in the city of Addis Ababa in coping with the housing shortage.

The sites occupied by squatter settlements in the area vary from deep river gorges, hilly areas reserved for greenery on the master plan to plain areas reserved for legal residential use. In these squatter settlements, the major ways by which squatters obtained land for housing include direct occupation, buying from land speculators, supplied from relatives, and purchase from the surrounding peasants. Thus, direct occupation of hilly and green areas reserved by the master plan has been the major way by which squatters in the study area obtained land for housing construction.

Reasons such as supplied from relatives in this part of the area seem to be a cover for the squatters in fear of eviction or demolishing by the local governments. After acquiring land through direct occupation and other means, the squatter settlers managed to construct their housing units on a gradual and incremental ways, as most of them are low-income groups. The vegetation cover in this part of the city had been destroyed gradually by the squatters for housing construction and firewood.

Regarding the land holding of the squatters, about 72.9 percent of the household heads have plot sizes of 200 square meters and below. Almost half
(48.3 percent) of the sample household heads have plot sizes less than 175 square meters (which is the legal plot size of the time).

Housing conditions of the squatter settlements look generally poor as the majority (97.5 percent) of the squatter housing units are made up of temporary construction materials of walls (Wood and Mud). The poor urban household heads, in this part of the city, used non-durable construction materials (Wood and Mud) for their housing unit construction, which also indicates their standard of life and level of income. Almost all (99.2 percent) of the housing units in the sample are of traditional type and low quality, about 86.7 percent of the floor materials of the housing units of the households are made-up of soil or earth and 99.2 percent of the houses in the sample are covered with corrugated iron sheet. Basic services and infrastructures are lacking-in the area. The other amenities and facilities are either lacking or inadequate for the settlers. The lack or inadequacy of such basic services and facilities certainly affected their welfare and living conditions.

With regard to the means of solid waste disposal as reported by the sample household heads, only a few (12.5 percent) of them use the legal method of disposal, while 87.5 percent of the sample household heads dispose the solid waste they produced near by area and open spaces, which contributes to the environmental pollution and easy transmission of communicable diseases in the area. In the study area almost half (50.8 percent) of the sample household heads have simple dry pit latrine, while 48.2 percent of them have no any toilet facilities at all. The result of which is the development of squalid and polluted environment.

Constraints in formal housing provision by the public rental housing agencies especially for the low income groups of the city and inadequate land supply in the city were also the main causes for squatters forcing them to squatting. The majority of the household heads in the study area could not afford to obtain
housing through the formal and legal means since most of them have been earning low incomes obtained from informal sector activities which are unreliable and inconsistent.

The tolerant attitude of the local administrative bodies (Kebeles and Sub-city) and loose control of green and hilly areas of the study area has helped the squatters to occupy the land directly for squatting.

Regarding the land holdings of the squatters, as compared to other peripheral areas of the city such as Kolfe Keranio and Nifas Silk Lafto as previous studies suggest, have small plot sizes, as there are no open spaces in this part of the city.

The squatter settlers in this part of the area have contributed to a large extent to the destruction of much of the vegetation cover of the area which was reserved by the master plan. The tolerant attitude of the city government in general and the loss control of the code enforcement team in the area to the squatter settlements located in the residential zoning areas and hilly green areas of the study area has created conducive atmosphere for squatting practice.

6.2. Recommendations

Squatter settlements have greatly expanded and contributed to the unplanned and irregular horizontal expansion of the built-up area of the city. In such conditions, formal development and management of the city of Addis Ababa is very difficult. If there is no mechanism to halt such illegal development and illegal subdivision of land by squatter settlements, orderly development of the city will be impossible. The situation of squatting has a significant implication on urban development on one hand and the situation of the squatters themselves on the other. Due attention should be given to alleviate the
prevalent urban housing shortage. In view of these negative consequences of the squatting problems discussed, the following recommendations are made:

1. It is believed that the existing acute urban housing shortage and problem is essentially the result of the rapid population growth of the city caused by rural-urban migration of the poor for better job opportunities and natural population growth. The rapid migration of the young people to the primate city of Addis Ababa aggravated the situation of poverty in the city and has created pressure on the demand of housing and other urban facilities. As the standard of living and development in rural areas and small and medium urban centers of the country improve, the pressure on the capital city might eventually be minimized. For this situation to happen due attention should be given to the development of the rural areas in general and regional urban centers in particular. This situation would contribute to minimize the magnitude of migration of the poor and thereby serve to alleviate the problem of squatting in Addis Ababa in general and in the study area in particular.

2. Regarding housing shortage in the city of Addis Ababa, an appropriate housing policy that especially will target the housing accommodation of lower income groups should be forwarded. Middle level real estate developers should be encouraged by providing land and financial facilities, so that the middle and low-income households of the city will have access to housing. The existing real estate developers mainly focus on the high-income groups of the city.

3. The majority of the household heads in the study area are low-income groups and they were forced to squat mainly due to the unaffordable and inaccessible conditions of the formal housing and the pre-conditions of the legal house building procedures like depositing part of the construction costs in closed accounts and building a blocket walled houses. These conditions are beyond the reach of most of the urban poor, so policies that encourage low cost housing by the public and real estate developers should be in place.
4. Regarding the existing squatter housing units, relocation to other near by residential areas should be implemented as the majority of them are constructed on green and hilly areas reserved by the master plan.

5. In case of further squatting, comprehensive and clearly defined legal controlling mechanisms towards green areas in particular and open residential areas of the city should be formulated. The code enforcement service of the kebeles should be strengthened with the necessary human and material support.

6. The city's environmental Authority Bureau should give due attention to the vegetation cover of the area as most of it is already deforested by the existing squatter settlements. The green areas reserved by the master plan should be protected for the wellbeing of the residents of the city.

7. The local administrative bodies such as kebeles and sub-city should be more responsible and accountable to control unauthorized and illegal constructions and squatting.

8. Generally detailed studies concerning the root causes of squatting and that of shelter problems of the majority of the urban poor and possible solutions should be given by the concerned bodies.
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UNCHS (Habitat). (2002). Financing Adequate Shelter for All: Addressing the Housing Finance Problem in Developing Countries, the Habitat Agenda (Istanbul).


Other Sources

Addis Ababa City Administration Information and Culture Bureau Housing
ANNEX 1
Definitions of Terms

In order to avoid ambiguities in the usage of certain key concepts, the following terms/concepts have been contextually defined.

**Housing**- is defined as the living environment of humans, constituting the dwelling unit, the infrastructure associated with the dwelling units such as roads, water supply, sewage system, electricity, etc, and the community facilities, like schools, health centers, recreational centers, etc.

**Housing unit**- refers to only building or construction, which is principally built to serve only a single household or a single family for residential purposes. The terms housing unit and dwelling unit are interchangeably used in the study.

**Household**- Refers to persons who dwell in the same housing unit and have common arrangements for meals.

**Housing shortage**- is the discrepancy between the total number of households and the total number of housing units in a given geographical unit as a result of marked excess of the former over the latter.

**Housing problem**- refers to lack of basic accommodation of shelter or house or dwelling unit with its associated infrastructure and facilities to lead ones life conveniently.

**Household head** - a person who economically supports or manages the household.

**Overcrowding**- is the sharing of one room by three or more persons or the sharing of one housing unit by more than one household.

**Squatter settlement**- refers to settlement on land without permission, especially on publicly owned land.

**Squatter**: a person who settles on public land without title.
**Sub-city**- an administrative unit in Addis Ababa city composed of a number of kebeles administrated under it.

**Land speculator**- a person who buys and sells land illegally for making profit.

**Subletting**- a from of house renting in which the tenant of house or an apartment rents part of it to some one else, and also includes renting part of the owner-occupied dwelling units.

**Housing condition**- refers to housing quality, which includes the size of the house relative to the number of its inhabitants, the quality of construction materials, and the extent of provision for water supply, electricity, sanitation and drainage. It also includes the availability and provision of other facilities and amenities like schools, health services, infrastructures, etc.

**'Yecherka Betoch'**- refers to the common Amharic name of squatter housing units in Addis Ababa.

**Kebele**- is the 3rd level administrative unit in Addis Ababa city administration.
ANNEX 2

1. Questionnaire to be filled by the Sample Squatter Household Heads

I. Demographic and Socio Economic Conditions of the Squatters

1. Identification

1.1. City ____________
1.2. Sub-city ____________
1.3. Kebele ____________
1.4. House No ____________
1.5. Respondent Number ____________

2. Household heads sex

2.1. Male □
2.2. Female □

3. Age ____________ years old

4. Ethnicity ____________

4.1. Amhara □
4.2. Oromo □
4.3. Tigray □
4.4. Gurage □
4.5. Other /specify/ ____________

5. Marital status

5.1. Single □
5.2. Married □
5.3. Divorced □
5.4. Widowed □
5.5. Other /specify/ ____________

6. Place of birth

6.1. Addis Ababa □
6.2. Outside Addis Ababa □

7. Total number of household members ____________ in number

7.1. Male total □
7.2. Female total □
8. If born outside Addis Ababa, when did you come to Addis _____ year (E.C.).

9. Reasons for coming to Addis Ababa
   9.1. Looking for job
   9.2. Looking for better education
   9.3. For better health services
   9.4. Job transfer
   9.5. Displaced
   9.6. For business
   9.7. Other /specify/ ________________________________

10. Educational status
    10.1. Illiterate
    10.2. Read and write
    10.3. Primary education (1-8)
    10.4. Secondary education (9-12)
    10.5. Diploma graduate
    10.6. BA degree and above
    10.7. Other /specify/ ________________________________

11. Occupation
    11.1. Government employed
    11.2. Self employed
    11.3. Private institutions employed
    11.4. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) employed
    11.5. Unemployed
    11.6. Other /specify/ ________________________________

12. If you are self-employed, what specific job? ___________

13. Amount of monthly income of the household _______ Birr.

14. From where did you come and squat in this area?
    14.1. From the central area of Addis Ababa
    14.2. From other peripheral areas of Addis Ababa
14.3. From other areas outside Addis Ababa □
14.4. Other /specify/ __________________________

15. Place of work
   15.1. With in your kebele □
   15.2. Outside your kebele but with in the sub-city □
   15.3. With in Addis Ababa but outside your sub-city □
   15.4. Outside Addis Ababa □
   15.5. Other /specify/ __________________________

16. Approximate distance between place of work and place of resident in kms ____

II. Land Acquisition, Housing Construction and Housing Characteristics of the Squatter Settlers

17. When did you obtain the land? ________ year (E.C).
18. How did you obtain the land for the house? It was
   18.1. Permitted by
         Peasant association □
         High level government officials □
   18.2. Bought from
         Peasants around □
         From squatter/land speculators □
   18.3. Inherited □
   18.4. Gift □
   18.5. Direct occupied □
   18.6. Other/specify __________________________

19. If you bought, how much did you pay for the land? ________ Birr.
20. The land was acquired
   20.1. With a house on it □
   20.2. With out a house on it □
21. Type of the house
   21.1. Villa
   21.2. Apartment
   21.3. Ordinary/ traditional
   21.4. Other /specify/ _____________ 

22. Plot area of the compound (in m²) ____________

23. Floor area of the house (in m²) ______________

   24.1. Wholly constructed in the beginning
   24.2. Gradually improved while living in it
   24.3. Other (specify) ________________

25. Type of construction material of the wall of the house.
   25.1. Wood and mud
   25.2. Stone and mud
   25.3. Stone and cement
   25.4. Hollow concrete blocks (HCB)
   25.5. Bricks
   25.6. Other /specify/ ________________

26. Type of construction material of the floor.
   26.1. Earth/soil
   26.2. Wood
   26.3. Cement tile
   26.4. Cement screed
   26.5. Plastic tile
   26.6. Other /specify/ ________________

27. Type of construction material of the roof.
   27.1. Corrugated iron sheet
   27.2. Concrete slab
   27.3. Wood/plastic
   27.4. Other /specify/ ________________
28. Total amount of money needed to construct the house _______ Birr.

29. Source of drinking water supply.
   29.1. Own tap  
   29.2. Public tap (Bono)  
   29.3. Shared from a neighbor /buying/  
   29.4. Buying from public supply (transported) by  
   - donkey  
   - man  
   29.5. Spring/river  
   29.6. Other /specify/ ________________________

30. The estimated distance in kms of water supply ________

31. Availability of toilet facility
   31.2. Available  
   31.2. Not available

32. Method of solid waste (Garbage) disposal
   32.1. Burning  
   32.2. Burying  
   32.3. Dumping in the vicinity open space  
   32.4. Throw in to the near by river  
   32.5. Garbage Cans used  
   32.6. Other /specify/ ________________________

33. Source of energy in the house.
   33.1. Electricity
       - With private meter  
       - With out private meter  
   33.2. Fuel wood  
   33.3. Kerosene  
   33.4. Charcoal  
   33.5. Other (specify) ________________________
34. Availability of kitchen
   34.1. Available
   34.2. Not available

35. Do you have major problem in obtaining energy?
   35.1. Yes
   35.2. No

36. Which facilities are available in your present residential area?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of facility</th>
<th>Distance in (km)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.1. Clinic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>36.2. Health center</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.3. Hospital</td>
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<td>36.4. Kindergarten</td>
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<td>36.5. Primary school</td>
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<td>36.6. Secondary school</td>
<td></td>
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<td>36.7. Market place</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.8. Other (specify)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

III. Reasons for Squatting in the Area

37. Where had you been immediately before squatting in this area?
   37.1. In the kebele of the present residence
   37.2. In the central areas of Addis Ababa
   37.3. Outside Addis Ababa
   37.4. Other /specify/ ___ ____________

38. The house you were living in immediately before you came and squatting?
   38.1. Owner-occupied
   38.2. Rented from private household (sub letting)
   38.3. Rented from kebele
   38.4. Rented from Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses (AARH)
   38.5. Shared with other family
   38.6. Other (specify) ___ ____________
39. If it was rented the house you indicated in question number 38, how much did you pay for it per month ________ Birr.

40. Why did you left the house you indicated in question number 38 above?

41. Why did you prefer to squat in the present area?
   41.1. Because of the existence of other relatives in the area □
   41.2. Because obtaining of land was easier □
   41.3. Other (specify) ______________

42. If you bought the land, how much did you pay? _______ Birr/m² _______ total Birr.

43. Have you ever tried to build your own house by using legal means, as
   43.1. Legal permit □
   43.2. Cooperative □
   43.3. Lease form □
   43.4. Other (specify) __________________

44. Have you succeeded in your attempt to construct you own house through the legal means?
   44.1. Yes □
   44.2. No □

45. If your answer to question number 44 is no, what was the reason?

46. Have you attempted to buy a house from a real estate developer?
   46.1. Yes □
   46.2. No □

47. If your answer to question number 46 is no, what was the reason?

48. What kind of problem you faced because of squatting in the present area?

49. Have you ever attempted to rent a house from public rental agencies?
   49.1. Yes □
   49.2. No □
50. Do you have title deed to the land?
   50.1. Yes □
   50.2. No □

51. If your answer to question number to above is No, what was the reason to construct house with out title deed?
   51.1. Untimely responses and procedural problems of the legal house construction □
   51.2. High building standards of the legal houses □
   51.3. The bureaucratic steps of the legal housing construction □
   51.4. Other (specify) ___________________

52. What do you think about the current urban land lease policy? ____________

53. Do you have a plan or intention to improve the present condition of your house?
   53.1. Yes □
   53.2. No □

54. If your answer to question number 53 above is No, what is your main reason?

2. Questionnaire to be Filled by Government Officials and Administrators at Various Levels in the City
1. When did squatting begun in this area?

2. What facilitated the emergence of squatting in this area? ______________

3. Which income groups of the society is active in the squatting activities?
   3.1. The poor □
   3.2. The lower-income group □
   3.3. The middle-income group □
   3.4. Land speculators □
   3.5. Other (specify) __________________

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4. Why do people preferred to squat in this area?
   4.1. Due to less control of the urban land
   4.2. Due to easy access to land
   4.3. Other (specify)

5. Is there any economic /business/ motives behind the illegal occupation of the land in the area?
   5.1. Yes
   5.2. No

6. For what purpose is assigned this area according to the Master Plan of the City?

7. Is there any impact has squatting on the urban land management?
   7.1. Yes
   7.2. No

8. If your answer for question number 7 above is ‘yes’, what is the major impact?

9. Is the current controlling mechanism of squatting effective?
   9.1. Yes
   9.2. No

10. If your answer to question number 9 above is ‘No’, why?

11. What kinds of problems have you usually encountered in controlling the practice of squatting in the area?

12. Did demolition of squatter houses bring the expected results?
   12.1. Yes
   12.2. No
13. If your answer to question number 12 above is ‘No’, why? 

________________________________________

14. What should be done to prevent the illegal occupation of land? 

________________________________________

15. What major solutions do you suggest to avoid the impact of squatting on urban land management? 

________________________________________

________________________________________
DECLARATION

I, the Undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Zebene Kesede

Signature

September 2006.

Confirmation

This thesis can be submitted for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

Prof. Mekete Belachew
September 2006