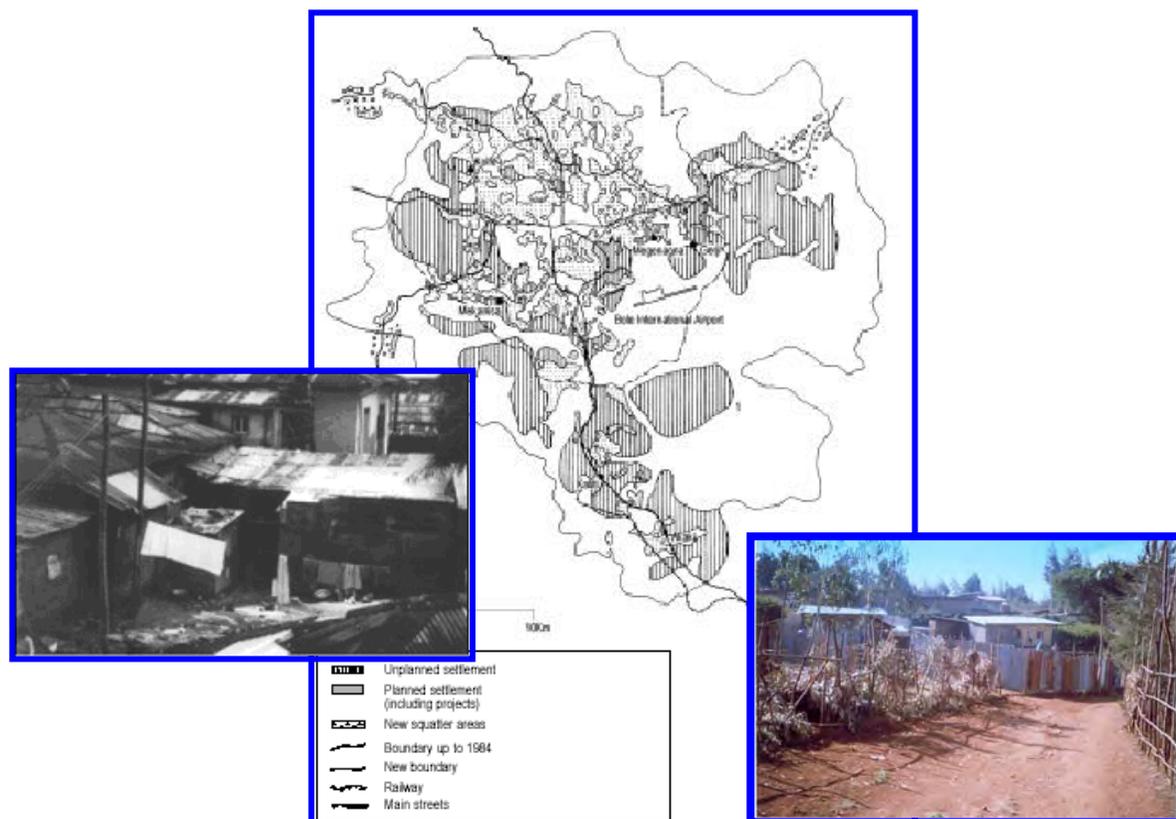


UDP-705 HOUSING IN URBAN CONTEXT

INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN Addis Ababa



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February 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction
 - . Background
 - . Statement of the problem
 - General objective
 - 1.3.1. Specific objective
- 1.4. Research question
- 1.5. Research method
- 1.6. Significance of the study
- 1.7. Scope and limitation
- 1.8. Organization of the paper

2. Literature review

- 2.1. Conceptual definitions
- 2.2. Urban poverty
 - 2.2.1. Urban Housing poverty
 - 2.2.2. Major Indicators for Housing Poverty
- 2.3. The Issue of Informal settlements
 - 2.3.1.** Main aspects of informal land management
 - 2.3.2. The rise Informal settlements
- 2.4. Historical Aspects of Informal Settlements
- 2.5. How it has been emerged
 - 2.5.1. Factors Contributing to Informal settlement in LDCs
- 2.6. General characteristics of Informal settlement
- 2.7. Experiences of DCs and LDCs Informal Settlements
 - 2.7.1. Enormity of Informal settlements
 - 2.7.2. Strategies used to ameliorate the conditions of Informal settlement

3. INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN Addis Ababa

3.1. The Housing Situation in Addis Ababa

- 3.1.1. Current Housing Conditions
- 3.1.2. The Housing Sector

3.2. Factors that lead to Informal Settlements in Addis Ababa

- 3.2.1. Socio-economic Condition
- 3.2.2. Urbanization factor
- 3.2.3. Contribution of urban land management
- 3.2.4. Influence of urban land price
- 3.2.5. Impact of government regulations

3.3. The Extent and Pattern of Informal settlement in Addis Ababa

- 3.3.1. Development of Semi-formal and Informal Housing
- 3.3.2. Impact of informal settlements on the overall development

3.4. Main Characteristics of Informal settlements in Addis Ababa

3.5. Government Responses to informal settlements

4. Findings and discussion

- 4.1. Socio-economic situation
- 4.2. Regulation 1, 1991 E.C. and its implication on urban development
- 4.3. Treatment and control of informal settlements

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

5.2. Recommendations

- 5.2.1. Strategies used to ameliorate Informal settlements in Addis Ababa

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in the world. According to the recent national population data, the current urbanization of Ethiopia is 14.5 % (CSA: 1998). The same source also reveals that 28% of the total national urban population resides in the capital city of the country, i.e. Addis Ababa.

Addis Ababa was founded hundred seventeen years ago; the city emerged first as a garrison town and then become permanent seat of central government since its foundation. Over the years, Addis Ababa has grown into an important urban center in the country. Currently, the capital covers a total of 540km² and about 3 million populations, which are ten folds of the population of the second largest city in the country (i.e. Dire-Dawa). From the outset of this general information, one can imagine how Addis is dominant in Ethiopian urban hierarchy

Primacy of Addis is explained not only by the size of its inhabitants, but also by concentration of economic, social, political and cultural activities of the country. As virtue of its geographical location, Addis is the transport and commercial hubs of the country; almost all the import –export transactions take place in the capital. The city hosts a number of international and regional organizations; it is headquarter of AU and UN-ECA, as well as seat of many other multinational organizations and diplomatic missions.

Despite of such National, regional and International importance, Addis hardly meets the required urban quality and standard of international city in its physical fabric as well as in the level of infrastructure and service provisions. The larger parts of the city including inner and expansion areas of the city are predominantly occupied by unplanned, irregular/informal settlements characterized by dilapidated and substandard structures, faulty road alignments and unsightly activities.

A distinguishing feature of the urban growth in developing countries has been the growth of informal settlements. The UNCHS (1996 p. 292) estimated that between 20% and 80% of urban growth in developing countries is as “informal”. This figure is 85% for Addis Ababa City with the housing stock located in unplanned areas or informal settlements (ORAAMP, 2001). The improvement of living conditions in informal settlements is one of the most complex and pressing challenges facing cities of developing countries like Addis Ababa today.

This paper will focus on the history and development, the extent and pattern of informal settlements, major characteristics that led to informal settlements, and the strategies used to ameliorate the conditions of informal settlements in Addis Ababa.

1.2. Statement of the problem

A distinguishing feature of the urban growth in developing countries has been the growth of informal settlements. The UNCHS (1996 p. 292) estimates that between 20% and 80% of urban growth in developing countries “informal”. This figure is 85% for Addis Ababa City with the housing stock located in unplanned areas or informal settlements (ORAAMP, 2001).

Informal Settlements are defined as residential areas of the urban poor more often in the cities of the developing world. They are found on public, private or customary land accessed by invasion or developed against planning, building and ownership regulations (Abbott, 2001). Informal refers to the whole city it is estimated that close to 85% of the housing in Addis Ababa is as “informal”.

On the other hand, informal settlements have been expanding at an alarming rate in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa. For instance, from 1984 to 1994 such settlements had been growing by 15.7% and the figure rose to about 30% in 2001(ORAAMP, 2001).

The same source reveals that the total informal housing units in the expansion areas alone are estimated to be 60,000 and housed a total population of 300,000. In similar manner, the total area supposed to be occupied by informal settlements is about 2000 hectares with the plot size generally varies from 200-2000m².

The improvement of living conditions in informal settlements is one of the most complex and pressing challenges facing cities of developing countries like Addis Ababa today.

Abrams (1964) illustrates the process of squatting as a "conquest" of city areas for the purpose of shelter, defined both by the law of force and the force of law. Turner (1969) takes a positive outlook and portrays squatter settlements as highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban areas of developing countries. Payne (1977) similarly puts the development of squatter settlements in the overall perspective of urban growth in the third world and its inevitability. A vast number of case studies at the Habitat Conference at Vancouver in 1976 highlighted the conditions in squatter settlements, calling for a concerted and committed approach towards solving the problems.

1.3. General Objective of the study

The Principal objective of this research is to investigate how Informal Settlements evolve and develop, how to improve the quality of life of local residents, and to help them integrate effectively and fully into the social and economic life of the city.

1.3.1. Objective of the study

- To assess the nature and growth of informal settlements as organic components of the urban system in Addis Ababa.
- To see some attempts made in a different countries context to shape the informal settlements to be incorporated, these into the legal and formal framework as well.
- Government attempts to alleviate housing problem and forward different devices and strategies in Addis Ababa.
- To review the extent and pattern of informal settlements in the city.
- To identify strategies used to ameliorate the conditions of in formal settlements in the city.

1.4. Research questions

- How and why do Informal Settlements develop?
- What policies exist for ameliorating informal settlements?
- What are the socio-economic factors that contribute to the formation of informal settlements?
- What are the constraints associated with the land policy and institutional frame works?
- What are the impacts of informal settlements on the overall urban development?
- What measures have been taken sofar to improve the housing deficit as well as informal settlers?

1.5. Research Methodology

- The data for the study is obtained from primary data of site Observation and mainly from Secondary data obtained from published documents and references
- Obtained data are analyzed and interpreted with tables, graphics pictures and subjective narrations.

1.6. Significance of the Study

In the meantime, strategies of informal settlements in Addis Ababa have reached a “deadlock” situation where by innovative and effective measures to properly address the challenges of informal growth barely exist.

To maximize the overall socio-economic and environmental impacts of the various efforts, which have been made so far, two things to be done simultaneously. The city should be able to implement its newly revised master plan on one hand, and how informal settlements have to be treated effectively within that legal framework on the other. In this regard, therefore, a lot is expected from the city managers, planners and designers in giving fast and sustainable solutions to ameliorate the conditions of informal settlements before it reaches a stage where intervention become difficult.

To have sustainable solution: first, there should be a change of attitude regarding informal settlement among the concerned authorities, second, Examining regulations and strategies developed regarding informal settlements. Proposing solutions for the improvement in order to create sustainable livelihoods incorporating people participation; informal settlements have to be perceived not only as bottleneck but also as solution for urban poor. And third, there should be a package of solutions depending on their situations and spatial pattern.

To attain these, there is a need for a comprehensive study on how informal settlements are developed, institutional legal framework and how informal settlements are treated in reality, evaluating the appropriateness and responsiveness of the regulation set so far by the municipality become indispensable. Thus, it helps to formulate and develop responsive and appropriate strategies to ameliorate the condition.

1.7. Scope and limitation of the study

This paper is limited to the review the history and development, the extent and pattern of informal settlements, major characteristics that led to informal settlements, and the strategies used to ameliorate the conditions of informal settlements in Addis Ababa.

1.8. Organization of the paper

This study is organized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introductory part that includes the statement of the problem, objective of the study, scope of the study, research questions, and scope of the study with limitation and methodology used, Chapter two deals with literature review and definitions of terms. Chapter three describes about the background of the study, Chapter four deals with causes and effects of squatter settlement. Chapter five is the main body of this study that deals with the descriptive analysis and of the characteristics of squatter population, based on the findings of the survey data. Chapter six is the final chapter that deals with conclusion and recommendations

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Conceptual definition

Slums: -

Slums are highly congested urban areas characterized; by substandard, housing that is unsanitary buildings, poverty and social disorganization (World Bank, 2002).

Encyclopedia Britannica defined as “residential areas that are physically and socially deteriorated and in which satisfactory family life is impossible”.

- Bad housing is major index of slum conditions
- By bad housing is meant dwellings that have inadequate light, air, toilet and bathing facilities.
- In Simplified expression slums refer to the environmental aspects of the urban are where a community resides.

Squatters

Squatters settle on land, especially public or unoccupied land, without right or legal title. Squatters include those who settled on public land under regulation by the government, in order to get legal title to it (World Bank: 2002).

Squatting

Squatting is the act of squat (setting on a piece of land without permission) or the act of occupying a given piece of public land in order to acquire title to it.

The Squatter

A squatter is a person who settles on a new especially public land without title, a person who takes unauthorized position of unoccupied premises (Habitat; 1983).

A “squatter” (in the concise dictionary) is a person who settles on a new especially public land without title; a person takes unauthorized possession of unoccupied premises.

Speculator

Absent owners usually invest in squatter settlements to occupy large plots of land for speculation of future benefits and provide space for others in order to gain more rental income (Tilahun; 2002). In this study speculator refers to those persons that occupy large plot of land and have alternative house.

Squatter settlement

The definition of squatter settlement varies. However; a common theme is that they are areas where people build home in violation of formal rules about property rights, zoning types and quality of construction (Epstein; 1972, William; 1985). The defining characteristic is the illegality of tenure. The squatter occupies land that is legally owned by another without his consent. The other attribute is that the appropriate local authority does not formally approve their existence. It infringes on existing land regulation and building standards (Seymour; 1976, William; 1985). More generally, squatter settlement refers to the legality of the land ownership and other infrastructure provision.

In Ethiopian context these types of settlements are known as “Chereka Bet”. The term Chereka bet in its Literal Translation means “ house of the moon” implying the illegal construction of houses over night using moon light, thus, they are defined as a settlement built on land occupied or used without the consent of the city council and without having any construction permit grantee by the city council.

Informality is generally considered to be the characteristics of low-income settlement both caused by poor and beneficiaries:

- Illegal appropriation of land
- Illegal subdivision
- Built with inappropriate materials or unserviced land etc.

Therefore,

Informal settlements:

Informal Settlements are defined as residential areas of the urban poor more often in the cities of the developing world. They are found on public, private or customary land accessed by invasion or developed against planning, building and ownership regulations (Abbott, 2001). They lack basic social services and infrastructure facilities. Baken (1991) classifies Informal Settlements as those settlements

- Occur due to (un) authorized invasion and development of public and private land,
- Are through subdivision that are not registered officially or subdivisions that do not conform to planning regulations,
- Are within areas covered by customary tenure which have been made part of the city through Cities expansion,
- Are built without permits from the local authorities.

Informal Settlements are therefore unauthorized residential areas.

2.2. Urban poverty

Different professionals as well as institutions and organizations have attempted to define urban poverty differently. According economists the term poverty refers to those who:

- Earn below fixed minimum income/ absolute poor.
- Earn below the certain proportion of the national average income in the country are considered as poor/ relative poor.

But the definition fails to address other factors that affect the poor people negatively like access to social services, crime, safety, security, social segregation, social alienation, vulnerability and etc. which could not be measured in terms of income.

As to UNDP poverty is multidimensional:

- Lack of access to social services
- Lack of access to safety net (elderly, child, disabled/
- Lack of access to housing/shelter
- Those who are exposed to:
 - Environmental and water pollution
 - Congestion/overcrowd ness/
 - Unsanitary environment

According to Robert Chamber “poor” are people who are:

- Disabled
- Widowed
- Can not decently bury their death
- Vulnerable to shocks
- Draught
- Natural and man made disasters

2.2.1. Urban Housing poverty

Housing is highly visible dimension of poverty. It is defined, as poor housing conditions are clearly a reflection of poverty. And urban poverty is synonymous with the growth of slum and squatter settlements in cities and towns.

Therefore, Housing poverty (Pugh, 1995) is often used to illustrate broader visions of poverty in the developing world. Frequently images are evoked of ramshackle, squalid shantytowns in order to evidence a variety of ills ranging from the evils of uncontrolled capitalism to the perils of uncontrolled fertility. Although in many cities the problems relating to finding adequate shelter are indeed worsening, such widespread generalizations often cancel the considerable efforts that squatters make to provide shelter for themselves and their families.

Data on the nature of housing poverty are readily available from innumerable empirical studies and in their local context these often present powerful and shocking scenarios. ESCAP, for example estimates that, in spite of the region’s economic successes, by the end of the century some 60% of the Asian Pacific’s urban population will be living in slums/squatter settlements (Pinches, 1994). Individual countries reveal equally pessimistic figures. Well

over one-third of Egypt's urban dwellers live in unauthorized settlements characterized by inadequate construction materials, and limited access to basic services, such as water and sewerage systems. The worst situation occurs in greater Cairo where 5.5 million people live in such settlements. Similarly in India the majority of the cities in the high-density regions of the Ganges plains and the east coast have more than one-third of their populations living in slum settlements (Drakakas Smith, 1999).

However, Alan Gilbert (1992) has argued that international comparisons of data on shelter are bedeviled not only by unreliability but also by their subjective nature. What is acceptable as adequate shelter to a poor household in Sao-Polo may be quite different from that of a similarly disadvantaged family in Singapore or Lagos. The different requirements of various points in the life cycle of the migrant/ or the low-income household will add further complexities.

Many governments in developing countries have persistently refused to see the provision of adequate shelter as a priority issue in the development process. Low-cost housing provision, in particular, is considered to be resource – absorbing rather than productive and loses out to investment in industry or industrial infrastructure. There are, however, two dimensions to this debate. On the one hand there has been an intense discussion on the place that shelter provision ought to play within the development process as a whole. For many years now this debate has been conducted at the global rather than the national level, with international agencies dominating strategy discussions with the governments. In parallel with, and often increasingly separate from, these events there has been another debate about practical policies for housing provision- the programs and projects which are put into operation in the real urban world. For the most part, such activity occurs at a series of levels from the national state downwards to the citizens themselves. Over the years of the nature of this debate has evolved around how the various agencies involved in shelter provision can best be combined within the delivery system to improve accessibility by the urban poor to better housing (Potter and Lloyd-Evans, 1998).

In the 1960s and 1970s the shelter debate was dominated to a great extent by discussions about housing provision- in particular, the merits and demerits of the various forms of aided self-help housing. Many of the protagonists had had field experience of the poor and their housing needs, and the main disciplines involved were geography, sociology, architecture and urban planning. In many ways this debate has not been resolved and much of the literature on shelter still revolves around the same issues. It is partly for this reason that this area of discussion on shelter provision has been overshadowed in recent years by the macro-level policy debate on the place of housing provision within the broader context of the development process per se- a debate which has become much more dominated by economists and political scientists.

This shift began in the 1980s, partly in association with the imposition of structural adjustment programs, which saw a substantial retreat of the state even from the limited extent of welfare provision in which they were engaged. Housing provision suffered enormously and a major intensification of the urban housing crisis ensued in the face of continued urban population growth. The response of the poor was an expansion of informal housing- not only in squatter settlements but also, and more particularly, in renting. The reaction of the development agencies was to express a real concern for growing urban poverty, basic needs deficiencies of all kinds and potential instability. The result was a cluster of policies set within the 'new political economy' approach that ostensibly favors partnership and integration between all the actors involved in housing provision in order to enhance the capacity of low income households to improve their accommodation. However, as yet this is still a largely theoretical debate with only a few highly publicized successes.

2.3.1. Major Indicators for Housing Poverty

In India, in 1991, over 46, 000,000 people lived in slums, and 92 million live in substandard dwellings. This indicates that the supply of housing in most of the developing countries falls much short of the present needs of the population in terms of location, size and tenure.

For example, the city of Bombay had a backlog of 900,000 houses in 1991. The supply of housing including private housing co-operatives is about 20,000 units, but the total effort is far too short of demand. Because, as supply of housing units increases by 5,000 units, shortage increases by a rate of 30,000 housing units. These figures are evidence that the cause for the rapid increase of slums and squatter settlements is that due to the failure to supply houses at affordable cost compared with demand. Low capacity of local governments to address the increasing demand for housing in terms of urban poor is a critical issue in developing countries.

It is only to demonstrate the effects of poverty on housing in most third world cities. On any index of service provision, household density, or physical quality, a majority of the urban population is living at standards that are clearly unacceptable when compared to the way most Europeans or North Americans live. In India more than half the urban households occupy a single room, with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons (Rosser, 1972). In greater Bombay 77% of households with an average of 5.3 persons live in one room (Misra, 1978: 375-6) and many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night (Ramachandran, 1974).

In terms of service provision, the situation is equally alarming. In Djakarta only 8% of houses were supplied with both electricity and water in 1969, and 76% had neither facility (Oliver, 1971:66) in Cape Coast, Ghana, 73% houses lacked water and 25% Electricity.

Therefore, major Indicators of housing poverty:

- Expansion of slum and squatter settlements
- Lack of unemployment opportunity
- Lack of urban services and facilities
- Barriers to entry into the small-scale enterprises and the proportion of the participants
- Lack of access to get developed land
- Lack of access for credit
- Lack of social security and access to land tenure
- Inflexible regulations and standards
- Lack of access for private developers in housing
- Lack of property rights (e.g. Nationalized housed in Ethiopia)
- Density per room/housing density (more than or equal to 2.5person per room according to UN's standards) or overcrowd ness.
- Unsafe/unsanitary environment.

Thus, poor housing conditions are clearly a reflection of poverty. And urban poverty is synonymous with the growth of slum and squatter settlements (informal) in cities and towns.

2.3. The Issue of Informal settlements

The issue of urban informal settlements, as observed in most urban centers of Africa, east and Southeast Asia, is broad, complex and dynamic. Much of the complexity around informal settlement has been arising from perception differences. These include the difference observed in defining, identifying the causes and effects and in taking measures so as to alleviate the problem. Further more, its overlap meaning with the "illegality" makes the situation even more complex. Regarding this Wehrmann (2001) pointed out that:

It is easy t get confused by the notions of informality and illegality. Often they are used synonymously. Sometimes the notion of illegality refers to explicitly to the law, in other cases it is used to describe non- conformity (non-appropriate or informal) norms and plan regulations.

To know more about essence of informal settlements, one has to understand first the different informal land and land related processes. This is because such informal processes are the bases of for the emergence of informal settlement. In this regard, Wehrmann (2001) identified three major informal land and land related processes: informal; land occupation, informal land tenure rights and informal land transfer.

2.3.1. Main aspects of informal land management

- Informal land occupation comprises so-called illegal and semi-legal land occupation. The first one violates existing ownership as well as rules and regulations. The second one only offends against building and planning norms.
- Informal land tenures rights are 'per definition' non-conformist because they always refer to regulations a certain social group has agreed upon. Non-formal property rights' are neither based on customary rights (rights which are based on the group's culture and religion) nor on modern state law. Yet, they represent 'de facto' rights. Customary and non-formal property rights' are, therefore, non-conformist because the land is not registered and the settlers' do not own formal titles. They simply represent 'de facto' rights.

- Informal land transfers: are usually created through the authorized transfer of land from the original owner to the land developer and speculator. Or from the land developer to his client or simply by building shacks. Land transactions without formal registration often include corruption and speculation (Wehrmann: 2001).

However, the demarcation between “Formal/ informal” and Legal/ Illegal” practices are very subjective. What is formal practice in one country can be informal in the other. This is mainly because of the different legal arrangements existed in each country. As the result of such differences therefore, there is no one uniform definition that suits all forms and conditions of informal settlements. Instead many policy makers suggested that formal / informal and legal/ illegal practices can better be defined locally using own unique cultural, social and political values into consideration. Having this idea into consideration, therefore, an attempt is made to give one “simple but comprehensive’ working definition of informal settlements as indicated earlier.

2.3.2. The rise Informal settlements

The rise of the urban poor is caused by high migration rate from rural to urban areas in search of job opportunities and better living conditions and natural population growth. The migration process is termed as urbanization (Schmid, 1994). Thus, poverty in the cities has been attributed to rapid urbanization. People are still coming into these cities; children are being born in these cities, because people believe that better life lies in front of them. But many of these cases are being cheated and many continue to be cheated (Hall, 2000).

According to Srivinas (2000), the cities are not prepared for the high magnitude of growth nor do they in reality have the jobs and facilities. The migrants find themselves with no or low paying jobs and with no affordable shelter. This leads to squatting on available vacant government, private or customary owned land. The squatted areas are called squatter settlements. Natural population growth, unavailability of land and affordable housing lead to densification and over utilization of facilities in once planned areas giving rise to slums (Cities Alliance: Upgrading Urban communities, 2001). Slums are highly congested urban settlements. Slums form the Informal Settlements in the cities dealt in some of the upgrading projects.

Migration to cities according to Hall (2000) is due to several factors that differ from country to country. He identified industrialization as one contributor in the 20th and 21st century. Transport revolution is another contributing factor in that people are able to move from the rural areas to the cities far easier and cheaply than before. On the other hand, political transformation in the developing countries has opened hitherto restricted urban areas to all (Jere, 1984). The political transformation is in the former colonized countries where the colonizers restricted the locals from entering and residing in urban areas. This was the case with colonies under the British rule. However, urban growth has brought sharp rise in urban poverty with half of the world’s poor living in the cities (Hall, 2000) and in the Informal Settlements.

In most developing countries, poor economic performance caused by both internal and external factors has led to the growth of informal settlements parallel to the formal one. Informal settlements provide cheap accommodation and economic opportunities for a large part of the population that means these settlements respond both to housing needs and to the search of economic activities.

People living in the informal settlements seem to be more innovative than the planners and manager of large city in most cities and towns of developing nations. They have come up with innovative solutions that are able to accommodate and provide services for the majority of urban residents.

A. Spatial planning in cities

Land use in the urban areas is regulated through site planning. Planning determines what should take place and where (Van Lier, 1994). Spatial planning (physical planning) mainly aims at economic use of land, orderly settlements and permanent safeguarding and maintenance of physical environment. Spatial planning covers all activities of man in its spatial aspect (Schmid, 1994) This is what professionals in planning wish to fulfill through zoning plans, master plans and land use plans. Formal city has a development sequence as per planning and building regulations. The sequence as Baross (1990) puts it is; planning, service provision, building and occupation (PSBO).

However, implementation of plans has not been easy as seen through the phenomenon of informal settlement. The aspect of economy to land means that land goes to its most profitable use while zoning limits some activities to certain areas. Cost limits the poor from accessing land for housing. High rents in the public and private sectors

makes developed houses unaffordable. Access to land for housing by the poor is through invasion of public and private land and construction of unauthorized houses. The process of development in the Informal Settlements is by occupation, building, servicing and planning last (OBSP) (Baross, 1990).

B. Tenure

Payne (2002) defines tenure as the mode by which land is held or owned, the set of relationships among people concerning land or its product. He adds that tenure as a concept is difficult for it incorporates several meanings and situations for example, cultural, historical, legal and economic associations that affect people's perceptions and behavior. In cities, tenure is guaranteed by registration of rights of ownership. Right to land can also be determined by customs (Dale and McLaughlin, 2000). Squatters settle on land without right or title. The component of tenure and its security is said to be important in house improvement (Habitat, 2001). According to Angel (1983), people left on their own gradually improve their shelter. They invest considerable amounts of energy and ingenuity on the construction and improvement of their housing. The improvement can only be done if there is tenure security and no fear of eviction.

For the urban poor the right to use land may be more important than the legal ownership (Baross 1983), resulting in forceful occupation of unoccupied land, rental arrangements and buying through unapproved subdivisions. (Dale and McLaughlin, 2000). As Dale (2000) points out, use rights may entitle the occupier to some or all the profits that arise from using the property. Statutory framework regulate the formal city, de facto rules regulate Informal Settlements, concludes Angel (1983). Informal rights exist in the community in the form of agreement amongst members as to where and how each can exercise the given rights. The social basis of informal ownership is often clearly defined (Dale 2000)

2.3.3. Role of Informal Settlements

In any case, the informal settlements have advantages and obvious disadvantages too as under:

- As long as urban areas provide means of living for the migrants, large cities will be subjected to the housing problems and as a result to the problem of informality
- There is no universal solution that can solve all the problems of informal housing system. Change in attitude towards squatting, informal settlement should be the only solution for various governmental and public authorities.
- **Advantages:** No need of subsidy, self financing system, affordable to buy or to rent, and good operational and maintenance system.
- **Disadvantages:** Loss of agricultural land, Poor block arrangement, uneconomical plots for building, lack of public space, and poor water supply and sewerage is a constant threat to health.

2.4. Historical Aspects of Informal Settlements

As noted before, Informal Settlements are as a result of various reasons. In most developing countries they have a historical aspect dating from the colonial period. Cities by then were exclusively for the colonizers. The locals were allowed in for the services they could offer and were housed in certain localities with no free means of acquiring land. With independence, the flow of locals to the cities was and has been too large for services planned for a small number of people (Jere 1984).

Besides the above, rural poverty and opportunity differences have contributed to mass movements from rural to urban areas. There are other factors like influx of refugees common in Africa and some Asian countries, natural calamities associated mainly with weather and economies that do not seem to improve (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000). Poverty as noted by the World Bank (1996) is a real challenge in the 21st century. The urban poor have resulted to living in the Informal Settlements where they build their houses with their own hands with no title or official permission and depend on informal economy (Hall and Pfeiffer, 2000). The unofficial occupation makes them lack support from authorities for the provision of basic social services and infrastructure. The official reaction was originally eviction and clearance of Informal Settlements.

A. Eviction

In the very beginning, government's reaction was to evict and destroy the settlements. Laws supported evictions. The dwellings being on private and public land and others on physically unsuitable areas helped to enforce the laws.

Eviction however, has not succeeded as Informal Settlements have continued to increase in number and size from country to country and have ended up housing the majority of the urban dwellers. Besides the urban poor have through time consolidated their resources and number and tried on their own to improve their dwellings (World Bank, 1996). Though evictions still occur in a number of countries, other alternatives had to be sought.

B. Housing programs

Some governments started housing programs to replace the earlier programs of slum clearance. Mass housing on the other hand requires resources in terms of funds and skills. This is in short supply in developing countries and most of them are said not to have had housing policies, which contain clear and effective measures to deal with major housing constraints (Payne, 1984). It is also noted that most governments cannot afford to house large number of the urban poor. Present level of public investment in housing is inadequate in relation to demand and private housing agencies are building very slowly (Shah; 1984 and Acquaye and Asiama, 1986). In any case the programs by most governments targets the public employees and not the informal employed persons who cannot afford the rent.

C. Sites and service schemes

The urban poor have never stopped the struggle for housing. With or without services the settlements have continued to spread and the density in them has increased. From being initially dwelling units for owner-occupiers they have become commercialized for rental purposes (Amis, 1984; Okpala, 1999). With self-help groups, community organizations and Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) some have acquired a level of improvement leading to recognition by the government officials.

It is in recognition of these efforts to house one-self that the governments and World Bank came up with the sites and services schemes. Hall and Pfeifer (2000) rightly put it that the poor have built their own city, without any reference whatsoever to the whole bureaucratic apparatus of planning and control in the formal city next door, and they are rightly proud of what they have achieved.

Sites and service are meant to provide the low-income groups with serviced plots that have tenure security, which they should develop on their own with their own resources or soft loans from governments. The location of the sites is on the other hand discouraging for it means having them on the city peripheries far from job locations. The standards of expected development is still beyond the means of the poor and they end up not with the target group but with government employees' and those with regular incomes. Alongside site and services, the World Bank further noticed the advantages of having on site improvement by availing those basic services that Informal Settlements lack. This new shift is referred to as upgrading and often is carried out at the same time with sites and service schemes when World Bank is the sponsor of the project.

D. Upgrading

According to World Bank (1996), upgrading at its most basic level involves improving the physical environment of the slums and squatter settlements. This includes improving and installation of basic infrastructure like water, sanitation, waste collection, access roads, footpaths, storm water drainage, lighting, public telephones and land regularization among other things. The Cities Alliance (2002) put it slightly differently by saying that upgrading consists of physical, social economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, and local authorities to ensure improvements in quality of life for individuals. To Abbott (2000) it is the improvement of the settlements ensuring minimal relocation of the residents. What is emphasized through these definitions is the on site improvement by provision of basic services and through the participation of the residents.

Informal settlers have accessed land and build their houses on their own. With the help of self-help groups and NGOS, they have acquired some basic services. The issue of what to provide in an upgrading project so as to improve the living condition of the residents and to give the settlements a legal outfit becomes the main question.

There are those services, however, that individuals cannot afford to do on their own outside the formal government set up (Payne and Davidson, 1983) These include expensive undertakings like building roads, schools, legal tenure and planning among other things. These are the ones that the World Bank aims to meet in housing projects.

Informal settlers have incrementally been improving their dwellings and the environmental state of the general settlements for a long time (Silas, 1984). Settlers organize themselves along Church bodies and other small area

groups for this purpose (Abbott, 1996). To find out how successful upgrading has been it requires looking at some specific upgrading cases. The packages offered are in terms of tenure, physical site planning, social services and infrastructure provision.

2.5. How it has been emerged

Informal settlement has been emerging due to a number of social, economic and political factors. Some of the major important factors, from international perspectives, are listed in the following box 2.3

Box 2.3 Factors of Informal settlements

- **Socio-economic factors:** - housing shortage, increasing urban poverty, high rate of rural-urban migration (rural poverty). High rate of unemployment, high/rising cost of living, economic recession etc.
- **Institutional factors:** - absence of accountability and transparency, corruption, absence of capacity (human and technical), poor situational set-up and absence of co-ordination, poor enforcement, unclear regulation and long procedures, misuse of public lands etc.
- **Political factors:** - lack of political commitment, less emphasis to urban issues, civil war, in appropriate policy, impact of colonization (segregation) etc.

(Source: World Bank, 2000; Habitat, 2001)

Abrams (1964) illustrates the process of squatting as a “conquest” of city areas for the purpose of shelter, defined both by the law of force and the force of law. Turner (1969) takes apposite out look and portrays squatter settlements as highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban areas of developing countries. Payne (1997) similarly puts the development of squatter settlements in the over all perspective of urban growth in the third world and its inevitability.

2.5.1. Factors Contributing to Informal settlement in LDCs

The fundamental factors for the emergence of informal settlements are of much diversity that ranges from **socio-economic, institutional and political problems as discussed in section (2.2.2)**. More over, the gap between the cost of the house and house holds income as well as the fast urban population growth is the main factors for the proliferations of squatter settlements.

A. Ever- increasing urban population

The 1983 conference for habitat (Land for Housing the Poor, Stockholm) recognized that the accessibility to land is crucial for dealing with the housing problems of the poor. The large increases in urban population of third world countries have dramatically increased the demand of urban housing.

The 20th century had been the era of urbanization with high concentration of population in urban area all over the world. On 1800, only 3.9% of the world’s population lived in urban areas and in 1950 the level of urbanization in the world increased to 29% and after 25 years (1975) the figure rose to 38% of the total population. Now, more than 50% of the world’s populations are living in cities and out of this developing countries account for 41%.

Africa has with low level of urbanization relative to other LDC countries and the world. However, it has the world’s highest urbanization rate (4.6% per annum in 1970s), (Housing Hand out, 2005).

Table 2.1: Evolution of urbanization level in the World and in Ethiopia (in percent).

Year	1950	1960	1970	1990	2000
World	29.3	34.2	36.6	43.1	47.5
Developing countries	17.3	22.5	25.1	34.7	40.7
Developed countries	54.7	61.3	67.5	73.6	76.3
East Africa		7.4	10.4	19.2	24.6
Ethiopia			9	13	15

Source: Habitat (1987)

B. Regulatory Impact of Housing Supply

Urban areas have instituted many different planning regulations all of which may influence the performance of the land and housing supply system. These regulations are intended to enhance the environment and to stimulate orderly and efficient development that serves the public interest. Example of the most important includes building codes, which stipulate materials for use in construction, design and construction practices. Land use of regulations, often embodied in zoning laws and master planning regulations, which control how land is subdivided, road right of way, residential densities, and provision of land for public purpose, and permitted land uses.

Regulation can, for example, have major impacts on the cost of land and housing inputs. Urban regulation can affect housing and land markets in several ways (World Bank policy paper, 1993: 81-84)

- Regulations can make housing unaffordable to low income groups
- Regulations can restrict residential land supply
- Regulations can create bureaucratic bottlenecks that cause delay.

The Major actors of Informal Settlement: -It becomes known that behind the different informal practices there are actors who behave in illegal ways. The major informal actors, as observed in many African cities including Ethiopia are informal land developers, corrupt civil servants, brokers/ speculators and the urban poor. The same poor people have also involved in speculation. The so-called professional squatters always leave their shacks (cottage/ small house) after they have been up-graded and or legalized and build new ones at the new periphery. It is, therefore, such kind of practice (by professional squatters and speculators) that makes the solution hard and complex.

2.6. General characteristics of Informal settlement

There are essentially three major defining characteristics that help us to understand squatter settlement: the physical, the social and legal with the reasons behind them being interrelated.

Physical characteristics: -A squatter settlement, due to its inherent “non-legal” status has services and infrastructure below the “adequate” or minimum levels. These services are both network and social infrastructure, like water supply, sanitation, electricity, road and drainage, schools, health center, market place etc (World Bank, 2002).

Social characteristics: -Most households that reside in squatter settlements belong to the lower income group. They are either working as wage laborers or in various informal sector enterprises. On an average, most earn wages at or near the minimum wage level squatters are predominately migrants, either rural-urban or urban-urban (ibid, 2002)

Legal characteristics: -The key characteristic that delineates a squatter settlement from other settlements is its lack of ownership of the land parcel on which they have built their houses. These could be on a vacant government or public land, or marginal land parcels like railways set backs or undesirable marshy land (Shido, 1990). Thus when the land is not under productive use by the owner, but sometimes the owner can sell even the building or the house (World Bank, 2002). For more information see the overview in the table below.

Characteristics	Informal		Formal
	Early	Consolidating	
Residents' income	Low	Diverse	Middling
Builders	Users	Users/paid labor	Contactors
Mode of production	Artisanal	Mixed	Industrial
Value	Use	Co modifying	Exchange
Tenure	Illegal occupation	Mixed/illegal	Mixed but illegal
Infrastructure	Little	Impoverished/illegal	Provided
Legal status	Illegal	Mixed	Legal

Source: Adapted from Potter and Lloyd Evans (1998).

2.6. Experiences of DCs and LDCs Informal Settlements

2.7.1. Enormity of Informal settlements

Literature has shown that urban growth in most developing countries in the last few decades have led to a short fall in many sectors, primarily housing. The majority of the people moving to the urban areas have lacked the necessary asset and financial holdings in order to acquire a 'decent' house. On the other hand, the designated government agencies and bodies have not provided sufficient housing units, which are affordable to the majority of the urban poor. The proliferation of slums and squatter settlements has been the result of this phenomenon (Shido, 1990).

Interestingly, the attitudes in the developing countries had parallels in both Britain and the USA. During the 1950s and 1960s urban authorities in these countries had invested a great deal of resources in clearing these houses. Whilst such a policy was highly popular at first, it became progressively less so. This was partly because of dissatisfaction with the housing provided by the public authorities' often high-rise, and lacking proper facilities and partly because of regret at the destruction of established communities (McKee, 1971, Davis, 1992).

However, planners, bureaucrats and politicians continued to concern themselves with the "proper standards" whether or not these could be achieved, with the fact that such settlements were "illegal" or were not in conformity with the plan, and with effect on the "public image" of the city. Thus the bulldozing was strategy widely practiced throughout 1970s, as a way of solving the problem created by squatter settlement.

2.7.2. Strategies used to ameliorate the conditions of Informal settlement

Responses to informal settlements have changed over time. Eviction and demolishing of informal settlements have been followed by new curative and preventive practices. As early in the 1960s, it has been known that secure leads to self-help activities of Informal settlers. Over the years, legalization, Physical upgrading, and later on the integration of informal settlements in the urban fabric (formalization) has become common responses to informal settlements. In some countries, site and service projects have long been the most popular preventive measures. But now a day, since "site and Service" turned out to be costly, thus missing their target groups, current approaches rather offer "sites without services".

An other strategies, recently introduced in Cameroon and Rwanda, is the so called 'guided development' which is more similar to former site-and -service projects, but "integrate informal actors" such as traditional chiefs and land developers (Wehrann: 2001). Furthermore, corrective measures such as resettlement scheme to a better serviced site, housing subsidy, housing finance program and low cost housing program/ housing cooperatives) have been put into practice in different countries.

2.7.2.1. Examples of Some best practices

It is well known that the issue of urban informal settlements has been one of the hot issues in almost all developing countries. However, the tenure and intensity of the problem varies from region to region and so

does the measures taken so far. Here under, the experience of four countries namely, **Egypt, Sudan, South Africa and Brazil** will be discussed. From the experiences of these countries a good lesson, that will help us in formulating a better strategy, can be drafted.

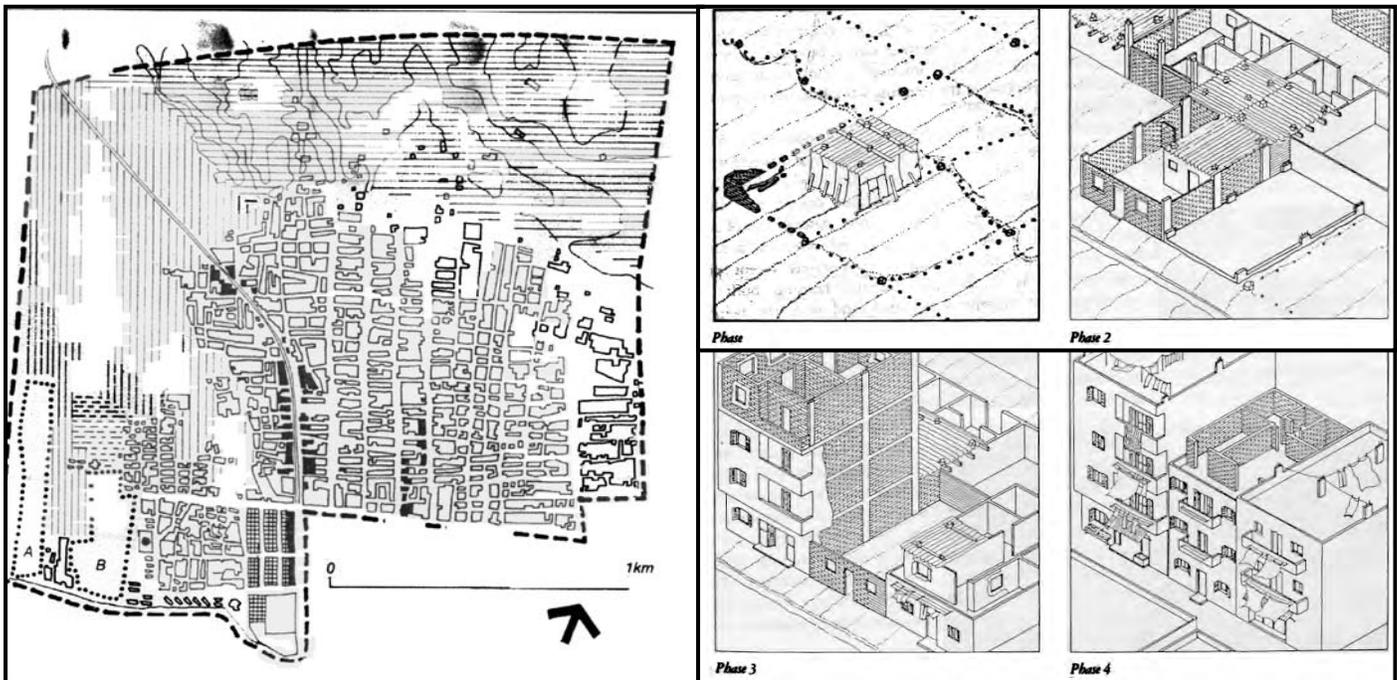
1. Egypt

Problem: the Machete Nasser settlement is located at the heart of great Cairo city. The entire settlement is built on government owned mountainous site. Half a million population of the settlement have no legal tenure of their shelter or land. The site also lacks basic social services and infrastructure.

Measure: the rehabilitation and upgrading of the Manshiet Nasser informal settlement is a unique initiative to improve the living environment of more than half a million inhabitants. The project is about relocating a percentage of inhabitants into a closely by planned settlement equipped with all services and amenities and then phased land development and renewal on the very site of the existing slum. The project’s priorities include providing affordable housing options and access to housing credits.

Process: the project was bases on participatory socio-economic survey with local inhabitants in both planning and management phases. The project strategy was an integral part of the national program of informal settlement integration and upgrading that aims to achieve sustained poverty reduction, socio-economic development and creating and institutionalizing participatory urban management entities and mechanisms in these areas. The process consists of nine phases, to complete the biggest project of its kind in Egypt.

Achievement: the project utilized (and still) a pool of resources in the planning, implementation and management stages and able to built 70,000 housing units. Thousands of houses were also upgraded. (Source: UN Habitat, Best practices database, 2002).



Layout of informal settlement from Ismailia, Egypt

Development stage of informal apartment in Cairo, Egypt

2. Sudan

Problem: in 1930s informal settlements started in Khartoum and gradually spread to other cities and towns. Before the end of 1990 the squatter and displaced population was about 1.8 million. The result was indiscriminate use of private and public land. These settlements caused environmental degradation and political pressure. The urban population as a whole was suffering from the poor urban service and inadequate infrastructure.

Measure: the government had no option but to this serious problem having in mind that several attempts were made by past government but were unsuccessful due to the complexity of the problem, lack of political will and weakness of the government organization concerned. On the 20th of May 1990 the council of ministers issued a decision to treat all squatters, displaced and unauthorized settlements as recommended by Khartoum structural plan consultant. The consultant recommended three types of treatment processes: relocation, planning and incorporation into the urban fabric. Three townships and several sub-divisions were established to resettle the affected population, after being provided with the necessary public services.

Achievement: the total number of the families that benefited from the treatment processes till 2002 were about 250,000 (from a population of 1.6 million). The benefits of the treatment program gained by the government, the public and squatter and unauthorized settlers in Khartoum are so numerous that tempted others and local government in different parts of the Sudan to adopt the treatment criteria and methodology wherever applicable.

Threat: however, due to imbalance development between the states forming the Sudan republic, these benefits together with others related to better living conditions in Khartoum state, kept the rate of migration and internal displacement at its highest levels. This is one of the serious challenges facing Khartoum state (UN Habitat, Best practice database, 2002).

3. South Africa

The Problem: according to the 1995 National Housing Census, the urban housing backlog in 1995 was about 1.5 million units. In addition to this 720,000 housing units required upgrading, 450,000 people were living in hostels. It was estimated that in order to eradicate the existing backlog over a period of 10 years, 200,000 units would have to be built every year. However, this assumes no increase in the backlog. If growth in number of households continues at its current rate, 350,000 houses would have to be built each year for the backlog to be eliminated. One response to the shortage of housing has been the growth of informal settlements. In 1998 there were 180 informal settlements in Gauteng province alone claimed to be housing more than one million people. A number of factors have caused this growth of informal settlement.

Measures: New housing policy formulated: some of the core points are: Encourage self-help housing, provision of state land for low income households, ensuring tenure security with a permanent residential structure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection, providing services (water, light, waste disposal facility, drainage etc), Subsidy schemes (in the form of serviced land or serviced land with rudimentary structures). The actual amount of housing subsidy varies from R 5,000, to R 15,000 depending upon the level of household income.

Achievement: many organizations including the city government embarked upon a new program linked to the housing subsidy scheme, to address the issues of landlessness and tenure insecurity. As a result, many informal settlements were upgraded and many of them relocated to the better site. Thousands of families ARE relocated by building of housing units were constructed in short period of time. For example, in one of the province, two programs constructed Gauteng, alone about 60,000 units. (Lucy Stevens and Stephen rule, 1998, moving to an informal settlement: the Gauteng Experience, South Africa).

4. Brazil

Issued a law on 1986 called “the law of squatter removal and re-housing (Ley de esfavelamento). This law provides two ways by which the government is able to improve tenure security for residents in informal settlements. The law has two sections according to the type of land on which the squatters are located.

A) Squatting on public land:

Problem: squatters occupy parcel of public lands that are suitable for more intensive commercial development.

Attempted solution: a developer who wishes to develop such lands, in addition to paying the government owner for the property rights, must also receive a change in zoning (higher floor area ratio) to realize a more intensive development. Fifty percent of the value of the increased FAR must be returned to the government in the form of cash, land, provision of infrastructure or the construction of houses for those displaced. The government will use the cash, land or infrastructure to construct alternative housing and negotiate with the squatter community to agree to vacate all or part of the site.

Achievement: the Sao Paulo law of formalization and housing broadening the concept of land sharing, which was first used in Bangkok. Its success depends on the government putting squatter areas into a low-density zoning category and then making a change for creating valuable development rights by means of a greatly increased FAR.

Threat: In exchange for the land or money to solve the re-housing problem, the government assumes responsibility for difficult negotiations with the squatter community.

b) Squatting on the private land

Problem: squatting on the private land that has a much higher potential for commercial use.

Attempted solution: the private owner must actually provide suitable new housing before the government will grant a higher FAR and negotiate for resettlement.

Achievement: this system helps with the fiscal cost of re-housing squatters and makes government attempts to deal with them easier because new housing is available.

Threat: the process a complex one in which the government must negotiate first with the private owner about the amount of increased FAR to be given and the type of new housing to be provided and then to negotiate with the squatter community to accept the arrangement. This could be a lengthy process. (Source: Geoffrey Payne, (1977), *Urban land tenure and property Rights in Developing countries*).

5. Other Attempts in Various Least developed countries

1. Clearance

In Kenya, the official policy was to demolish nascent settlements the so-called illegal. This resulted in the government demolishing more housing units than it provided. From 1970s onwards, the demolition policy began to be questioned, this is because the policy was based on the mistaken assumption, but so far this has failed and alternative approaches are still being sought (ibid, 1998).

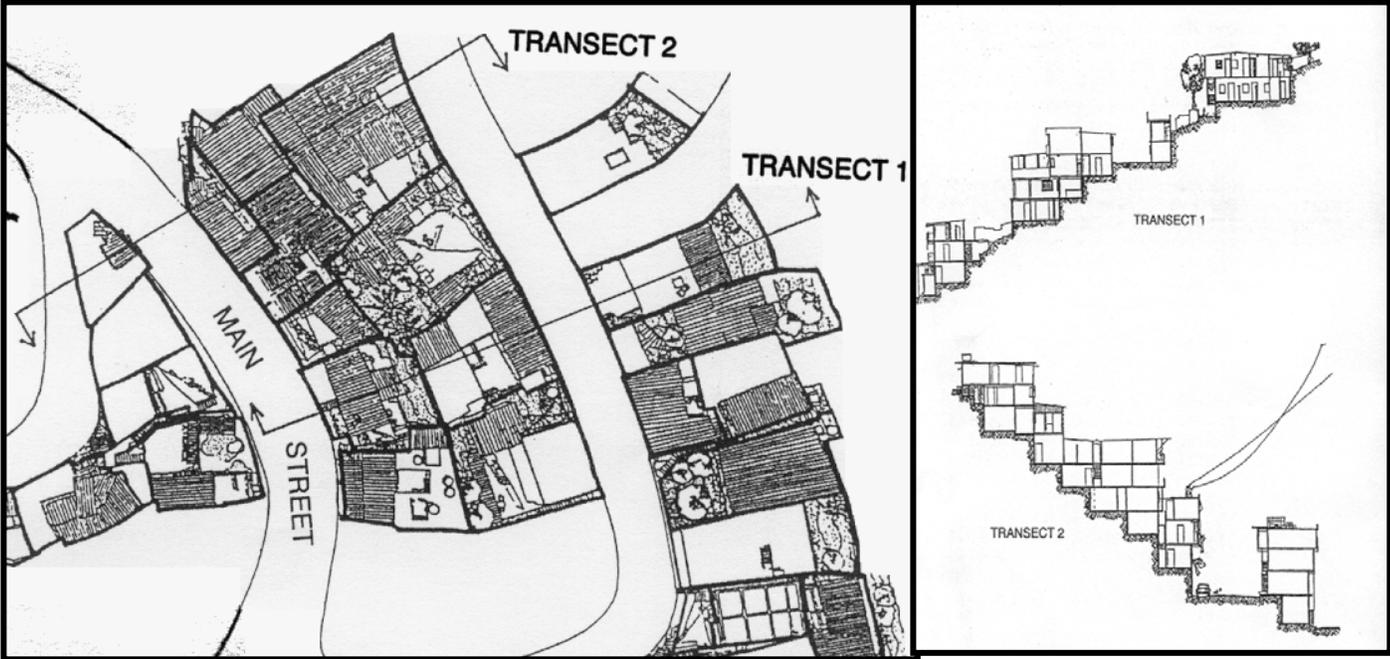
In general, squatter clearances have resulted in many disadvantages. For instance, it reduces the housing stock, and leads to social disruption rather than advantages. In fact at any rate, informal settlement has so far been impossible to eradicate (ibid, 1998).

2. Squatter settlement Recognition and Up-grading Method

The government of Hong Kong has adopted up-grading program since 1982. The improvements were in the provisions of metered water, electricity, garbage collection and drainage installing, public toilets, and creating fire brakes. The trend for the population of squatter area through this strategy is down with less than 300,000 people in 1985 living at present compared to peak of 750,000 in 1981 (Caldeich, 1995).



Plan and section of informal housing in marginal land (sloppy site) in Rio, Brazil



3. Administrative Reform

Another mechanism by which the problem of squatter settlement can be controlled is through administrative reform which tends to improve the output of services providing agencies without necessarily making them more responsive, but making them play the role of facilitators. Considerable experiences of community self-help and participatory projects facilitated through administrative reform have been documented, and it is important for planners to learn from this in order to assess realistically the scope for involving residents and to ensure that the intended adopted mechanisms are appropriate. Devise (1980) noted the application of this mechanism in Japan and South Korea.

An enabling, participatory approach facilitated by administrative reforms assumes the existence of effective providers of services, with relation of trust and accountability between politicians and officials and willingness on the part of the residents of the community. Besides they can increase their understanding of urban residents need and make services more accessible.

4. Land Readjustment (Land policy reform)

Land policy reform in general is advantageous. For instance, Holland and Sweden are often cited in literature as countries that have been able to implement a successful housing program through the land policy reforms. This has been achieved by slowing down the rate of growth in land price with program of public land purchasing. In addition, tax on vacant land is sometimes imposed as penalties to bring about development of sites held off the market, usually for speculative purposes (Litchfield and Darin-Drabkin, 1980; Davis, 1992).

On the other hand, Botswana has been one of the few countries to undertake a program of land and service provision on scale which comes anywhere near to matching the needs of land for urban housing that takes recognition of the urban poor (Viking, 1990; Davis, 1992).

5. Tenure Regularization

The state governments of LDCs are now the major controlling forces of both the regularization and the supply of new land from expropriated community properties (Caldeich & s. 1995). The majority in all LDC cities overwhelms the efforts of the city administrator, planners, tax and health building inspections. In some cities including Manila, Bogotá, Lagos, Cairo, Bangkok, Bombay, and Delhi more than a million people live in illegally developed settlements. In Manila, there were 328,000 squatter families a population of close to two million living in 415 cities (McAuslan, 1987). Finally, in the major LDC cities, the proportion of the inhabitants in such illegal settlements is increasing especially in Kenya. In these cities, tenure regularization can be used to ensure rights of owners and or users to enable them to conduct transactions safely and quickly.

However, tenure regularization need, skilled manpower, high level of coordination, finance, motivation accountability, good governance and an environment which is accepted by the wider populace.

3. INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN Addis Ababa

3.1. The Housing Situation in Addis Ababa

3.1.1. Current Housing Conditions

Big backlogs, substandard physical substances and lack of infrastructure facilities mark the housing situation in Addis Ababa. Including all housing types, the average available living space in 1994 was only 4.3m²/person as compared to the African average of 6.5m²/person. 1 over half of the housing stock is constructed out of temporary materials and deteriorates from time to time. As per Baker only 21% of the total housing stocks meet the local definition of acceptable housing (Baker et al., 1997:102) 2. Although big efforts have been made in infrastructure construction and maintenance and still going on, the need is still very high, mainly for sanitation and water supply. The following data show the percentage of houses without adequate material and technical service in relation to the total number of houses:

- 80% Chika wall (wattle and daub construction),
- 95% metal roofing,
- 55% tamped earth floor,
- 90% without shower and bathroom,
- 25% without toilet and 63.1% with dry latrine,
- 5% without kitchen (CSA, 1995:180-9).

Despite the initiatives being made by dwellers and ongoing formal housing programmes, the deterioration of existing houses is alarming and the construction of new houses very low. 80% of the population are currently overcrowded and live at an average density of 2.6 persons per room. This is a result of the inefficiency of the formal sector and low level of the semi-formal and informal sectors. A recent data (Baker et al.1997) shows that the total housing needs arising from population growth and new family formation, easing the existing overcrowding and replacement of obsolete dwellings has been estimated to be about 50,000 dwelling units annually (1995–2000):

- Population growth: 106,000 (44%)
- Overcrowding: 46,000 (18%)
- Replacement of obsolete houses: 93,000 (38%).

Housing-need assessments reveal also that the low - income group share 63% of the new housing needs and shows the urgent need of new housing production, which should addresses this income group (Table 1). So far, the problem has been tackled only in terms of numbers. The long-term settlement regeneration has never been addressed and the situation remains to be a vicious circle.

3.1.2. The Housing Sector

The main housing sectors in Addis Ababa could be categorized into formal, semi-formal and informal housing. This category is based upon their origin, development processes and legal status. However the focus of this study is dealing with informal settlements.

a. Formal Housing

The formal housing sector refers to the public or private houses that are planned and built as complete units according to the regulations and permission procedures of the regional municipality. It comprises private houses, low-cost housings, rental houses and apartments. The Municipality of the city, with its agencies, is in charge of formulating and coordinating the formal housing and urban development policy and provides guidelines for their implementation. It is responsible for the identification and issuance/leasing of land for individuals, cooperatives and developers and preparing housing standards. It also constructs and administers rental houses through the Agency for the Administration of Rental Houses (AARH). However, due to lack of appropriate housing policy the output of this sector and the way it addresses the low -income people is very low – both at regional and national level at large.

Most of the developing countries allocate 3%–6% of their GDP for housing. The total national urban housing investment in Ethiopia is only 0.5% of GDP. Available data for 1976–92 indicate that the formal housing supply in Addis Ababa satisfied only 7.0% of the entire requirements (MWUD 1993:15), which addressed only a small portion of the population. This attributes to the bad use of human, financial and material resources available and more specifically, to the lack of appropriate policies to mobilize private resources, and refers to the accumulated

Effects of the pre-1974 monarchic monopoly of urban land and dwellings, the nationalization of land and extra houses in 1975 and the recent ambiguous land policy. Most of the built-up areas of the city are therefore a result of spontaneous building and extension activities (Fig. 1).

b. Semi-formal and Informal Housing

As a result of the inefficiency of the formal sector, this is the new form of housing provision and maintenance of existing housing stocks in the capital, which holds true for both owner occupancy as well as government –owned ones. It comprises the incomplete legal dwellings that transform with time through dwellers' initiation and the illegal settlements in the city outskirts. In order to address the main objectives of this paper, the following part gives a general picture of the semi-formal and, more specifically, the informal housing in Addis Ababa.

Historical development of informal settlement

There is no sufficient written document that indicates that when informal settlements emerged. However, squatting in Ethiopian cities and towns has come recently, predominantly after the downfall of the imperial era. So no one has a right to construct his house on privately owned land. The construction of residential house on the public land without the consent of any concerned body, increased greatly after the fall of the Derg Regime (Tegegn: 1997, cited: Tilahun, 2001:15) particularly in Addis Ababa.

Various studies have shown that the magnitude of Informal settlements indifferent countries is considerable and huge today. They have become the fastest growing type of human settlements in developing countries. Their growth is closely linked to the rapid urbanization that has been taking place in most developing countries over the past three decades. In most cases it seems therefore that, the absolute quality of land are rarely problem. The break down is in the system of delivering land to urban poor, which makes it legally accessible often aggravates the problem on one hand. On the other hand, in former socialist countries where there is no land market the origin of illegal statement is not due to market rather than government failure and public inefficiency in land management.

For instance in Ethiopia, following the nationalization of the land by the socialist regime in 1975, urban land become under the stewardship of different city authorities. Regarding rural land, peasant associations were established all over the country and they were given the responsibility of administering land in their jurisdiction. Thus, monopoly power by the government and the multiple management of land by different authorities created a loophole for many illegal activities including the emergency of Informal settlement.

The above evidence and information is also true mainly for Addis Ababa, that high expansion and emergence of informal settlements sin Addis Ababa. As we know Addis was starting from garrison town that illegal development starts from them, as per illegal development of settlements on the other. However, the extreme expansion of informal settlements was in the Dergue Regime as explained above. For example, in Kotebe area, high expansion of informal settlements by displaced Eritrea's etc.

3.2. Factors that lead to Informal Settlements in Addis Ababa

Informal settlement in the urban area caused by the migration from the rural areas, and high population growth, the first problem for the people swarming into the cities is to get a roof over their heads; land and housing are therefore assuming new importance in the struggle for survival. The migrants to the cities generally arrive with out income or skills and often continue to live on a level of poverty. As a result, squatting, street sleeping, slum, and overcrowding have produced new human situation in the rapidly growing cities (United Nations, 1977).

Due to the success or failure of internal migration, many people living in the cities of developing countries, have no benefit from the amenities, dwellings, services, and economic opportunities. The urban area cannot offer basic needs to the migrants. They are struggling for their survivals. As cities grow number of people unable to afford a legal house will increase.

Generally the cause for squatting is many and diversified that ranges from social, economical, procedural, institutional and political problems. Having the gap between the income and the cost of minimum quality of houses;

and the rapid population growth are the main factors for the proliferation of informal settlements in our country. In this housing context, the housing crisis is usually aggravated by:-

- Very high cost of minimum standard of housing
- Renting from housing developer is unaffordable and high price of land
- Absence of clearly demarcated urban-rural boundary in the district
- Weak controlling mechanisms to stop parcel of land for the urban poor illegally by peasants
- The availability of serviced land is limited
- Mismatch between the supply of housing and population growth & High bureaucratic bottlenecks
- Land controlling system is very poor
- Famine, Low income status of the population and The effect of migration
- Transferring property from private to government or private needs long period of time & etc...

3.2.1. Socio-economic Condition

With an average per capita income of \$120 a year, Ethiopia is a 'low-income developing country'. More than 80% of its population lives in rural areas and its economy is heavily dependent on the earnings of the agricultural sector. The share of this sector on the gross social product is around 56% and its annual growth only 0.1%. The average life expectancy at birth is around 47 years; the infant mortality rate about 135 per 1000 live births. The unemployment rate in Addis Ababa was in 1984 10.5%. In 1993 it became more than 20% and in 1994 35% (CSA, 1995:117). These facts show the low level of socioeconomic development and indicate the fact that housing deficit and low standard of dwelling in Addis Ababa are a direct outcome of poverty and vice versa. As some public investigations show, the city population could be roughly categorized into three income groups based on average monthly salaries: 'low-income', 'middle-income' and 'higher-income group'. The proportion of each to the total population, their average income and the corresponding need of housing units from 1995–2000 are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Income and housing needs in Addis Ababa 1995-2000

Income group	Monthly income Birr	Household 1995 %	Existing units 1995 No	Need 1995-00 No.
1	2	3	4	5
Low	< 340	50	212,214	162,440
Middle	340-670	24	89,923	66,698
Upper	> 670	26	67,000	16,650
Sum		100	369,137	245,788

Sources: Column 2 = Coleman & Woldeyesus, 1995:8; Column 4/5 = Ditto: Annex A; Column 3 = Author
1 Birr = Around 1.21 SEK

The average monthly income in the city lays around 391 Birr. A household should give 29% of this income for basic needs such as food and water, and 21% for housing. But 60% of the households earn below 340 Birr per month. According to Coleman & Woldeyesus (1995:7) the minimum existence threshold is 340 Birr. This part of the population can invest only 10–20% of their income for housing. This shows that the lower middle-income and especially low -income population is the main victim of the housing problem. As there are still no fundamental policies to improve the socio-economic conditions of the urban poor, there exists a big disparity between provision of basic needs (such as living space, infrastructure and employment) and demographic growth. So this leads to unplanned growth of the city as well as to overcrowding, decay and spontaneous extension of existing dwellings. Therefore this factor is on the visible dimension for the proliferation of informal settlements in Addis Ababa.

3.2.2. Urbanization factor

Over the last few decades, cities in both developed and developing countries have emerged as the major form of human settlement. By the turnoff this century, we will be witness to a ubiquitous scenario where more people will live in and around cities than in rural areas (World Bank, 2002).

Addis Ababa is a young but fast growing city, which changed from a garrison to a metropolis without any fundamental physical planning. As a permanent city, its foundation stone was laid in 1886. By then it had only 2,000 inhabitants. In 1912 the number of inhabitants reached 85,000 and in 1952 about 318,000. The urbanization

rates in the 1960s and 1970s were very high and uncontrollable. Annual growth rates of 7.5% and 7.8% were registered in the respective decades. Due to the new political system and strict control of population mobility the urbanization rate declined in the following years. Consequently, the annual growth rate between 1974–78 was only about 3.0%, 1978–84 around 5.4% and 1984–90 4.8%. Despite the high rural-urban migration as a result of the previous control on population movement exists, official sources estimate the growth rates today between 4.1% and 4.9%. It could be however assumed that Addis Ababa would have exceeded the 3 million in the beginning of the new century.

The main reasons for this are:

- Distribution of infrastructure in the country is still unbalanced,
- Basic social facilities and agricultural technologies are still backward in rural areas and result regular and seasonal rural-urban migration, and
- The age, sex and income structures of the population in the capital will bring about further population explosion. This has played big role for the expansion of informal settlements in the capital.

3.2.3. Contribution of urban land management

Land is a crucial issue in the planning and management of the human settlement. Land, because of its unique nature and the crucial role it plays in human settlements, can not be managed as an ordinary asset, controlled by individuals and subject to the pressures and in efficiency of the market (Habitat, 1982).

For instance, in Addis Ababa, urban land management is very weak. There is no information on the location, ownership, type of use, and regulation pertaining to the use of urban land in an organized way.

The cumulative effect of this inefficient urban land management system is: -

- Uneconomic use of land
- Illegal land holding of public green areas and buffer zones
- Increase difficulties in the regulatory and procedural system of allocation Population growth mismatched by plot delivery, lack of clearly defined title deed etc.
- Negligence and abuse of responsibility
- Availability of unused sites

3.2.4. Influence of urban land price

In many developing countries, the main problem in housing the urban poor is usually not the construction of dwellings but rather the availability of land, the regulation and planning of its use. Therefore the reason for housing crisis in most developing countries is that an urban land market excludes the urban poor (Habitat, 1983).

For example, in Addis Ababa, land bought by lease is more expensive than land bought from private property owners. At present a 300 sq.m of land around Imperial Hotel is bought for Birr 240,000 by lease and the same plot of land around the same area is bought for 200,000 Birr from private property owners (ORAAMP, 2001). This shows that land lease is very expensive than 10.5.

Table 3.2 showing urban land price in Addis Ababa and some regional towns

Type of activity	Addis Ababa price in Birr/m ²	Oromia Price in Birr/m ²	Tigray Price in Birr/m ²
Commercial	600-4300	1.36-7.20	1.25-3.0
Industry	205-240	1.40-2.10	1.25-3.0

Investment office, 1996, ORAAMP, 2001

The table clearly shows that there is wide disparity in the land price. The implication is that lease price in Addis Ababa is very high as we compare with other regions in the country, especially that the Oromia that surrounds the city of Addis Ababa (ORAAMP, 2001).

The lease holding regulation specifies the term and conditions of acquiring land for housing in the city. In Addis Ababa, plots of 175m² or less are distributed through a lottery system while those above 175m² are obtained by auction.

3.2.5. Impact of government regulations

Land Policy

The other factors that gave rise to the proliferation of informal settlements/ the current housing problems in Addis Ababa are the land policy short-comings since the foundation of the city. They usually favor specific income

groups and employee and impede investments in the housing sector. Thus, failure to use and mobilize human, financial and material resources appropriately prohibits the low-income population from having access to shelter.

Pre-1974

The time before 1974 was marked by monopoly of land, speculation and exorbitant rent. At the beginning of 1974 only 7% of urban land was owned by private citizens, while the imperial family, the Ethiopian church and the feudal lords, with the exception of another 7% owned by foreign embassies, almost equally shared the remaining percentage. Owing to economic aspirations unplanned, low quality and temporary rental units emerged. But the majority was almost totally excluded from access to urban land and house building and ownership. Thus, unlike the practices in other cities of developing countries, the participation of low-income people in building activities was very limited. The current substandard dwellings and low level of building skills are a direct result of this past experience.

1974–91

This period was characterized by a socialist economy and social structure that the military government adopted in 1975. Urban land and all extra houses were nationalized and house rents were reduced to 15%–50%. The rent revenue was supposed to be used for maintenance and compensation of original owners. But due to planning and management problems and lack of motivation over 60% of the city housing stock remained archaic. It can be argued that the confiscation of indigenous dwellings, which normally needs an annual maintenance, was a big resources failure in the history of Ethiopia. The corresponding theories and thoughts of Karl Marx and Fredric Engel's should not have been applied in pre-industrial and archaic dwellings. It has to be however admitted that the cooperative housing programs, the technical supports and the credit systems promoted by the government have contributed to ease the housing shortage in the capital.

Post-1991

Since 1991 the economic development plan and sociopolitical orientation of Ethiopia base on the premises of free market economy, public ownership of land and on the recognition of the fact that urban land is a scarce resource. This has brought about a new land and housing policy. The main shift was that the former financial subsidy and technical assistance for housing co-operatives were abolished and a land-lease policy at national level introduced. Accordingly, the regional government of Addis Ababa adopted this and proclaimed a land lease policy in 1993 (Ethiopia, 1993). The policy fixed the minimum and maximum sizes of plots for private dwellings between 73–175m² and the lease period up to a maximum of 99 years. Lots are distributed to applicants through a lottery with a fixed annual rent of 0.5 Birr/m². The regulation states that plot below 73m² are issued without any charge, but individuals who wish to have more than 175m² for housing would acquire the whole lease hold by public tender (Region 14 Administration, 1994). So far, plots are at the outskirts and there is no clear policy to find a complementary answer for the spontaneous inner city settlements that are characterized by socio-economic problems and highest land value and to utilize the lease revenue for infrastructure. The current policy of land allocation and housing construction eliminates all low-income households from participating in the housing sector as it urges an advance deposit of 20% of the construction cost (Baker et al., 1997:28). This is almost twice the minimum annual income of the city when compared to the smallest standard house prepared by the municipality. No credit schemes have been, however, introduced. Hence individual ventures play still the biggest role for shelter production and improvement. These are however improvised, rural type and lack the necessary legislative, technical, financial and logistic support for a sustainable consolidation.

More briefly

From the origin of Addis Ababa, which dated back to 1886, the land holding system, which was adopted, was traditional and ineffective. Until now the delivery system is not effective. “During the Derg Regime, the Derg administration issued the proclamation to provide for government ownership of urban lands and extra houses (proclamation No 47/1975). This proclamation was the major legislation defining the urban land and housing policy. This proclamation allowed ownership of only a single dwelling house, no person or family organization was allowed to obtain income from land or house rent” (Taddese, 2000).

The implicit objectives inherent in proclamation No 47/1975 which were stated in the form of rules and regulations, despite their concern for equity created serious bottlenecks in the housing sector and the largest share of the housing need remained unattained.

After down fall of the Derg, the economic policy of the transitional period of Ethiopia was issued in November 1991. Article 8 of the policy devoted to urban land and house construction policy during the transitional period. Urban land remains under the control of the government. Sub-article 8.2 of the policy points out the need to expand and strengthen participation of private investors in the areas of urban development, housing and construction sector. Any one who wants to construct houses for residential or other purposes shall obtain land in accordance with government directives, and shall be given security of ownership and the right to sale, rent bequeath, etc the house. Both National and foreign investors are allowed to participate in any construction activity.

On the other hand, Addis Ababa city administration pro.No.3, 1993 established a lease holding system in which the region allocates all plots above 175m² in various areas by allocation, the land price is determined by the market plots 73 to 175m² are allocated through drawing lottery.

The main problem encountered in, lease system on the side of urban population is low level of awareness. Monthly payment for the construction of houses could be afforded by individuals with a monthly income of 2226Birr (PADCO, 1995) this income will be attained by 4% of city's population (Tegegn, 2000). The problems of lease are that high rate of payment of lease discourages investors and raises house rent. In addition lease payment determined by public bid will be beyond the reach of most middle and low-income investors.

This will discourage investment in housing sector for rent purposes. The following table shows some of the Real Estates in Addis Ababa tried to participate in the housing development (see table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Showing real estate participation in housing production.

No	Name of Real Estate	No of plot they asked	No of plot that already given
1	Ayat	25,000	6,250
2	Bertha	1000	300
3	Selame	300	300
4	Addis	200	200
5	Jakros	250	250
6	1 st real estate	250	250
7	Yegeta	50	50
8	Lealoche	100	100
9	Seaf construction	5000	Rejected

Source: Addis Ababa UDWB public relations (2001)

Among all these real estates only Ayat and Jakros have begun to deliver constructed houses, while others are in the pipeline to begin construction. However, these are highly expensive for affordability of the urban poor. This is why many people tend to an illegal acquisition of land in the city.

More generally, the Root Causes in Addis Ababa,

There are a number of actors that give rise to the emergence of informal settlements. Some of these factors are sitting specific while others are applicable at all levels. In general, there is one common ground to the emergence of all forms of squatter settlement. That is shortage of affordable housing or affordable plots especially to the urban poor. Almost in every cities and towns the demand for urban land is elastic, due to various socio-economic and demographic factors, while the supply is somewhat inelastic. In such condition, it is very common to have a mismatch between demand and supply. But, what matters is that “degree of scarcity or the gap between demand and supply”. In a situation where there is high scarcity in price of land and housing become very high and, in the mean time, it becomes unaffordable to the urban poor. Such condition, therefore, forced the victims (the poor) to look for other salutations. One of the most common solutions has been “**informal settlement**”.

The supply of land here in Addis Ababa was and still is very limited and the system as a whole is inefficient has a direct negative impact on the study area. Furthermore, the supply of land has bounded by so many preconditions and criterion that makes the situation unbearable to the urban poor. Land and land related problems, which aggravated the situation of informal settlements, are so divers but interrelated. A failure at one point or process definitely affecting the other, however, from the Addis Ababa context, these problems (factors) can be divided into socio-economic, procedural, institutional and legal sub groups (AADIPO, 2003))(see box: 3.1).

Box: 3.1 Major factors for informal settlements in Addis Ababa

Socio-economic factors: housing shortage (backlog 230,000 housing units), unaffordable building standard (about 20% of the total building cost in block account). Absence of housing finance, poverty and speculation.

Procedural factors: absence of accountability, lack of coordination among concerned bureaus (for example among BWUD, AAWSA), high bureaucracy in every process, absence of transparency in land supply, corruption (due to absence of clear procedures and regulations).

Institutional factors: absence of housing policy, limited and supply (inefficient formal land provision), absence of an effective land inventory (cadastre) and control mechanism poor human and technical capacity to enforce the existing rules and regulation.

Legal factors: (law, policy, regulations and directives): absence of clear policy direction regarding informal settlement, lack of clearly articulated regulation which addresses all forms of informality (regulation No-1 is premature), lack of clear directives on informal land transfer or land transaction (from farmer to developer; or land change from farm lands to housing)

Source: AADIPO 2003, BWUD 2002

3.3. Characteristics of informal settlements in Addis Ababa

There are essentially four major defining characteristics that help us to understand informal settlement: the physical, the social and legal and environmental with the reasons behind them being interrelated.

- a. **Physical characteristics:** -an informal settlement, due to its inherent “non-legal” status has services and infrastructure below the “adequate” or minimum levels. These services are both network and social infrastructure, like water supply, sanitation, electricity, road and drainage, schools, health center, market place etc
- b. **Socio-economic characteristics:** -Most households that reside in informal settlements belong to the lower income group. They are either working as wage laborers or in various informal sector enterprises, urban poverty and unemployment.
- c. **Legal characteristics:** -The key characteristic that delineates informal settlement from other settlements is its lack of ownership of the land parcel on which they have built their houses.
- d. **Spatial characteristics:** most of the informal settlements are located at normally planned expansion areas for different urban functions. Which is different from some cities of developing countries that located in environmentally sensitive areas (rivers, flood prone areas, marshy etc).

3.4. The Extent and Pattern of Informal settlement in Addis Ababa

The first sign of squatter settlement in Addis Ababa appeared in the late 80's on government land, but administered by the peasant association (Haddis; 2001). In the first few years following nationalization, land delivery in the city was relatively efficient, but with the exhaustion of the few serviced vacant land in the city, serious shortages started to manifest.

Using the opportunity, peasants associations living in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa started to sell their land illegally by attracting urban residents and migrants who could not afford the prices of administration agencies operating under government.

In 1987, the Addis Ababa administration established an office with many responsibilities, paramount amongst which is demolishing force under it to control illegal settlements. One way through which this illegal settlement was being addressed is through demolition. Thus, despite the first bulldozing activities that destroyed 2,500 to 3000 illegal housings in 1988, in different woredas mainly in Woreda 28(including study area) and 16 (today's Yeka Sub-city), this could not however deter the proliferation of illegal settlements in the city (Haddish; 2001).

After the downfall of the Derg regime in 1991, the problem has continued extensively. A study prepared in 1991, shows that, there were a total of 4,394 informal housing units in Kotebe, Akaki, Lideta, and Nefasilk areas. This figure accounts for 1.6 % of the total housing stock in the city. According to data compiled by the study of PADCO and NUPI, “out of the total 94,135 housing units built in the city between 1984 and 1994, close to 15.7% (14,794) housing units were provided by the informal sector (ORAAMP, 2001). This is because the provision of residential land has stopped for the first three years i.e. (1991-1993), until the new urban land policy was enacted.

There are about 60,000 dwellings in different squatter settlements of the city providing shelter for, more than 300,000 people (ORAAMP, 1999). Although the Addis Ababa Works and Urban Development Bureau have the power to demolish these settlements and control its tendencies, this doesn't seem to give long lasting solution to the problem of housing. **So, what is to be done regarding this settlement within the context of the new urban housing policy from the focus of the study?**

3.4.1. Development of Semi-formal and Informal Housing

Self -help building activities comprise in Addis Ababa informal extension of traditional inner-city settlements, unplanned extension of public-provided houses, progressive development of legally acknowledged land, and unplanned development of illegally occupied land. As some studies show 90% of the houses erected between 1980–85 and 80% between 1984 –95 in Addis Ababa were results of unplanned and informal buildings and extensions (Baker et al. 1997). It is very evident that this share is related to the semi-formal and informal settlements. The origin, form and consolidation tendency of dweller-initiated building activities can however hardly be compared with that of other developing countries. For a better understanding of this matter the self-help building activities of low-income people in Addis Ababa are categorized on the basis of their genesis and legal status in three forms:

- Spontaneous extension in the traditional inner city settlements areas which eventually changed from autochthonous neighborhood to slums,
- Unplanned development in legally acknowledged lots and progressive extension of incomplete housing units,
- Illegal occupation of land in undeveloped peripheral areas and successive developments.

Despite the scantiness (shortage) of data on the proportion of these three settlement typologies, the author believes that the first two models are the dominant forms in the city. The following descriptions portray comparatively the genesis and peculiarity of each type of settlement.

1. Distribution of Informal settlement in the Expansion areas of Addis Ababa

This refers to the illegal occupation of undeveloped land and unplanned building activities. It has started since a couple of years and could be compared with the second phase of informal settlement in cities of Latin America. As experiences show, extreme overcrowding in existing settlements brings about new squatting in city outskirts. This is however still in its earliest stage in Addis Ababa and could be hardly compared with the organized land invasions in other countries that are induced by industrialization and political systems. The main factors for the nonexistence of an organized land invasion and land development and a struggle for ownership recognition in Addis

Ababa is to be looked for in the economic system, in the long central-state oriented political structure of the country and in the predominantly passive attitude of the social substratum. At this time only individual persons or families occupy undeveloped public land and erect improvised housing units. The units consisted of mostly one or two rooms and are constructed with mud and wood and/or iron sheets. There is no technical services and social infrastructure in such settlement areas. But the author believes that a substantial improvement can be achieved if the local authority acknowledges their existence. It should be also noted that the isolated and slow occupation of public land could turn to a massive scale unless the housing policy addresses the shortage of housing.



New squatter settlement in the Periphery (example in Kotebe area) (environmental degradation)

According to (ORAAMP, 2000), has conducted the field survey in 16 sites, which were selected purposively. These Kebeles including Kara-Alo alone accounted for about 80% of the squatter settlements in the expansion areas. However, most of the informal settlements are known (better identify) by their local names rather than by Kebele numbers (see the following table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Areas of Informal settlements: location and area coverage.

Location Area/district			Area (in hectares)
	Woreda	Kebele	
Kotebe (Kara-Alo) along both sides of the Dessie road	28	03	112.5
Kotebe	28	02	81.25
Kotebe	28	01	62.5
Kotebe (Yeka)	16	22	48.75
Reppi	24	16	228.13
Jimma road on the right side of the road to Sabetha	24	16	138.75
Ayer Tena the settlements around the UDPO housing project	24	15	115.63
Hanna Mariam along the left and right side of the ring road	19	60	288.13
Kaliti around the waste water treatment plant (along the river)	27	11	62.5
Nefas silk Worku Sefer	19	59	95.00
South of Worku Sefer	27	11	38.75
North of Worku Sefer (Adjacent Bole Bulbula)	17	20	80.00
Gourd shoal (south of transport ministry workers residence)	28	04	81.25
CMC (North of the special housing project houses)	28	03	350.00
Meri (south and northern part of the road to Ayat)	28	03	90.63
Estimated total area (approximately)			2000 hectares

Identified as informal settlements (ORAAMP: 2001)

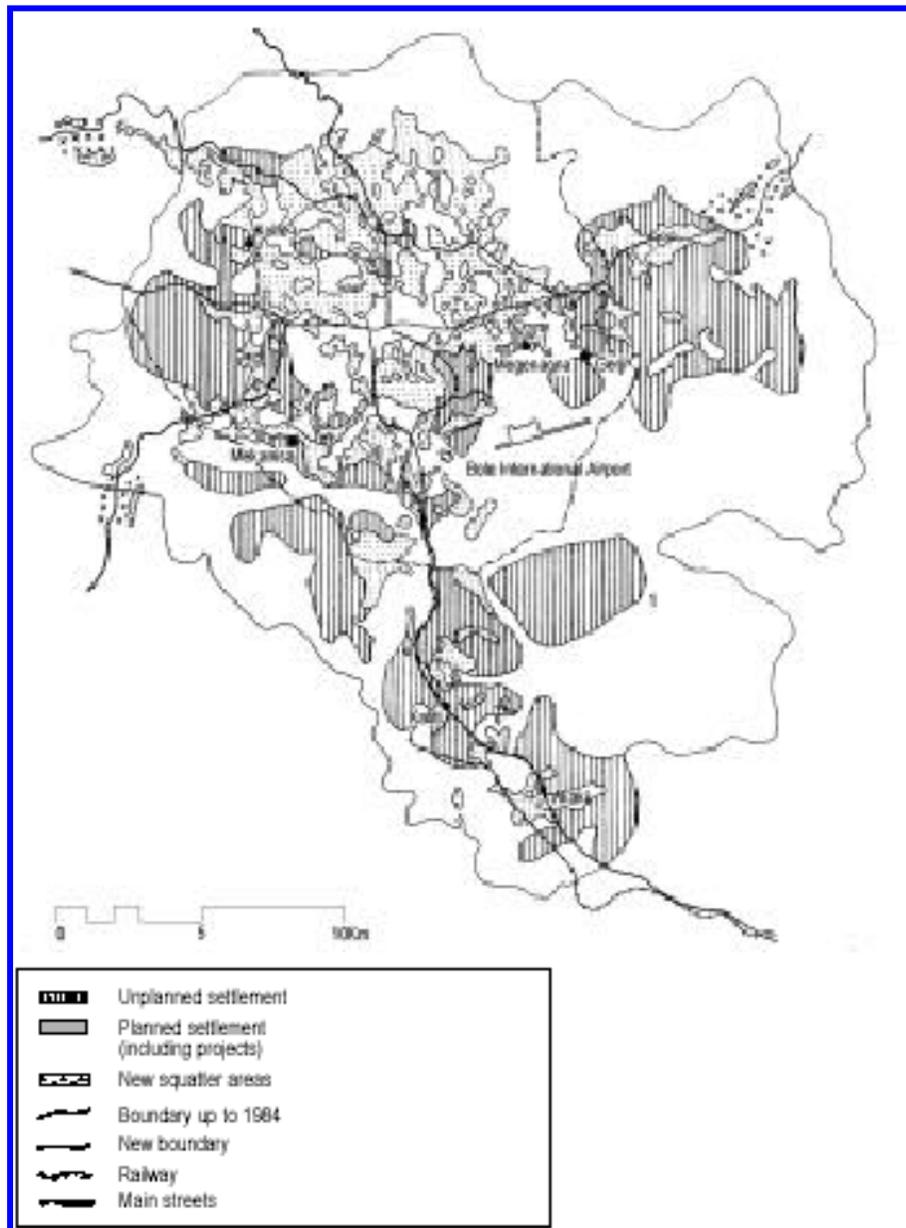


Figure 1: Spatial distribution of planned and unplanned settlements in Addis Ababa (Baker 1997:61; Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office; Author)

2. Spontaneous Extension in the Traditional Inner City Settlement Areas

This refers to the inner city, which eventually changed from traditional neighborhood to slums and which could be seen in connection with overcrowding and decay of urban units. The origin of the primary housing stocks in the inner city of Addis Ababa lies in the monarchic period (1886–75). Originally they consisted of round huts and cellular neighborhood structures in conformity with traditional- rural settlement practices and construction methods.

The extensive pre-1975 speculation and the centralized economic systems and general development problems after 1975 led to improvised extensions, through which high population density and rudimentary structures emerged. In light of statistical data a population density of 538 inh/ha was registered in 1995 in such quarters (Fig.2). One of the most important reasons for the over crowding of these areas is that housing programs have never addressed low-income groups and as a result new household members and immigrants must double up themselves in existing units

and make precarious extensions. Both original houses and extensions are one storied and constructed with temporary structures. Hence one third of the housing stock of the entire city must be newly replaced (Baker, 1997).

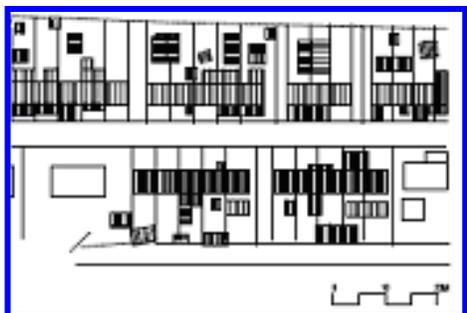


Spontaneous settlement, example from Gefersa area

3. Informal Development in Legally Acknowledged Lots

Absorption of immigrants and new family members through improvised extension was a typical characteristic of the old settlement. However since the 1970s informal development on legally acknowledged property and extensions of formerly planned houses have been customary in the city. Despite the fact that plot development without building permits are strictly prohibited, almost all semiformal settlements have unplanned dwellings and are built mainly through self-help. This sector plays therefore a big roll in filling the lacking efficiency of the formal sector.

Plots are parceled, issued and usually serviced by the government. In most cases the dweller should build all parts of his house and cover also infrastructure costs. In some cases basic housing units and infrastructure are provided by the Municipality or NGOs and developed further by dwellers. Dwellers carry out progressive horizontal extensions on the orthogonal plots until a saturated level is reached. Owing to the continuous growth of householders and family sizes, the usage degree of urban infrastructure –not intended for such magnitudes – increases considerably. Due to the ownership status, socio-economic conditions and the low level of building technology in the country, the self-built parts are almost similar to the first type and constructed mainly out of improvised materials. It could be therefore argued that settlement typologies that are not integrated with social and economical activities would come in few years as redevelopment area in the list.



Informal extensions in legally recognized lots, example in Gergi

3.3.2. Impact of informal settlements on the overall development

Informal settlements create obstacles to planned development. As shown in the table below these settlements are built on areas reserved for formal /informal green along rivers green (public parks), civic spaces, sport centers, freight depots, industries hostels etc. most of the 1984 Master plan proposals are challenged by those settlements.

Negative impacts

- Spontaneous growth and sprawl (unplanned growth) resulting in difficulty of integrating them with the existing city structure

- Settlements are susceptible to hazards (flood, fire etc) and could cause sanitation problem and environmental degradation (in some areas). Quality of construction is also poor (significant percentage were built with temporary scrap materials) creating slum areas at the peripheries.
- Could encourage unlawful act and also decreases municipal income (revenue) from land and building tax.

Positive impacts

Provide shelter for those that could not be provided by the formal housing provision system especially the urban poor. Thus, bridge the gap between population increase and housing supply.

Table 3.2. Location of informal /squatter settlements and the corresponding 1986 Master Plan Proposals

Location	Land use zoning occupied by informal settlements
Along the road to Tatek (Sega-Meda)	P3- formal green (public parks) P2- informal green along the river 2R4- residential in the expansion area and infill according top detail plan C2- Civic space at Kifle Ketema
Around CMC	R1- high rise residential infill according to detail plan X1- embassies and international organizations I6- special industry of building materials C1- civic space at Kefetegna C7- sport center R5- special residence 2R3- residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan P2- Informal green along river
Worku Sefer, East of Kality	T3- truck freight depot 2R4- residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan
Gourd Shola Area	I5- special industry of metal works E6- research institute R1- high rise residential infill according to detail plan
East of Drivers training area	T3- truck freight depot I3- general Industrial Building 2R2- residential in expansion areas P2- informal green along rivers
Near the Kality treatment plant	C3- digesters and sewerage treatment P2- informal green P3- Formal green for public Parks
South Airport	P2- Informal green along river 2R2- residential in expansion areas and infill B15- Hostels
Around Lafto Area	P2- Army Camps I2- Light industrial building 2R3- residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan I3- general industrial building P2- informal green along the river E3- senior secondary school
Ayer Tena and Reppi	P2- informal green along river 2R4- residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan IR4- existing residential in built up area covered by intervention proposals H4- Referral Hospital
	X3- Army camps 2R3- Residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan P2- informal green along the river 2R3- Residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan Cc4- Public Cemetery B17- big Hotels X1- Embassies and international organizations 2R4- residential in the expansion areas and infill according to detail plan

Location of informal settlements, and the corresponding 1986 Master plan Proposal, (ORAAMP, 2001)

3.5. Government Responses to informal settlements

The approaches, which have been used to alleviate the problem of Informal settlement in Addis Ababa, are ranging from total demolishing to partial regularization. These approaches, in general, are can be divided in to three major groups: regularization, land supply and demolishing.

1. Regularization: - the city government was issued a regulation “known as regulation No.1” in 1992. With regulation an attempt was made to legalize holdings occupied till the date of the title deed survey (July 1996). However, settlements under this category will be legalized only if they are found in compliance with the master plan. Besides this, they are also expected to fulfill the preconditions indicated in the law.

2. Urban land supply: -despite its limitation, the city government has provided thousands of plots to residents of the city. For example, from 1990 to 1996 E.C about 40,000 plots were distributed for different purpose (most of the plots for residential use). To support the low-income group, land for housing up to 175 sq. m is given free from charge. Besides this, especial emphasis was given and is still given housing co-operatives. For example, of the total 40,000 plots supplied in the past six years about 60% was given to housing co-operatives. However, despite all these efforts, there is a huge gap between demand and supply. The delay in providing land, insufficient institutional set up, unfavorable procedures and requirements in land supply etc are among the major factors that worsening the situation of land supply.

3. Demolishing: -this has been taking as one of the solutions to tackle squatter settlements Addis Ababa. With this thousands of informal settlements were demolished in the past few years alone. The office for the revision of Addis Ababa master plan (ORAAMP) has recommended that those squatter settlements found on 1070 hectares (54% of the total 2000hectares occupied by such settlements) should be demolished and relocated. One of the main reasons given by office is “their location on critical sites preserved for other purposes (business and industrial districts, important public landmarks, green frame and block right of ways).

However, demolishing /bulldozing of squatter settlements without giving the settlers any alternatives had never been a solution before and it will never be a solution in the future too. To be effective, therefore, “bulldozing “should be complemented by measures that address the housing need of the low income people. Other wise, bulldozing alone produce nothing other than aggravating the problem.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Spatial & socio-economic Situation

There are two major views regarding the core spatial characteristics and root causes of informal settlements in Addis Ababa as one of the major Findings. The first line of view, which has been emphasized by the city government, is that most of the informal settlements found in the expansion areas of the city are **“non poverty driven”** in character. The main essence of this view is, informal settlers in the expansion areas have occupied large plots (on the average 300sq.m/h.h) and close to 70% of them have good services (water, electricity, access road and in some cases telephone)(rapid appraisal). In terms of income, most of the settlers are “middle to high income groups’ and speculators”. On the bases of this assumption, therefore, the city government was emphasizing, **“demolishing”** as a major corrective measure and as the result thousands of housing units was demolished in the past few years alone.

The second line of view is the perception held by many scholars and organizations including the World Bank and UNCHS (Habitat). This point of view generally perceives informal settlements as **“poverty driven”** settlements, which have evolved due to a number of socio-economic and institutional problems. Informal settlements, according to this view, are self-built settlements occupied by people living in the situation of poverty. On the bases of this assumption therefore, they emphasized, **“regularization”** as one of the major corrective measures to the existing informal settlements.

As far as informal settlements in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa are concerned, it is very difficult to conclude whether they are **“poverty driven or not”**. This is because of the fact that some of these settlements do not have a sign of poverty (rather they are good housing, have large compound and full services) while other are suffering from lack of services, are highly crowded and located at environmentally sensitive areas.

4.2. Regulation 1, 1992 E.C. and its implication on urban development

The size of informal settlements has been increasing nowadays is so large that measures of demolishing as a means of curtailing the settlements are not feasible. This forced the city administration to issue a regulation, which gives recognition to part of the informal / squatter settlements specifically those built upon 1995 in April 2000. According to the city administration, the regulation is expected to solve problems of owners who have been given recognition for along time; owners who want to sell part of their property and others. The main specific contents of regulation are targeted at:

- Units before regulation 47/74
- Housing and land holdings after 47/74
- Housing and land holdings that were allocated through various ways after 1974, these include those allocated by municipality and peasant associations up to 1995 and rented holdings with temporary certificates.
- Will also design strategy to deal with other similar developments in the future.

The public has misunderstood the regulation. It is generally believed that informal settlements are going to secure legal status. But contrary to this, there are conditions stated thereof in the regulation that renders more than 40% of these settlements subject to demolition. Other implications of this regulation have to be waited and see. However, one thing is clear that this regulation will increase the number of informal/squatter settlements yet to be built in the future, since regulatory and control mechanisms that have to be set to mitigate the proliferation are not prepared. There are also some indications that new houses are being built in the already existing informal settlement areas. This situation will complicate the already existing problem of housing legalization. To ameliorate the condition a lot of awareness creation efforts should be made.

Informal/squatter settlements since they are located at potential expansion areas of the city; hinder planned development, result in the misuse of land resource and infrastructure and other negative consequences. The following are the main causes that contributed to the flourishing of informal settlements.

- Problems of land allocation and management
- Manpower capacity and weak institutional arrangement
- Low financial capacity and household income

Thus, there should be a need to propose new regulation expected to solve problems but a lot has to be done properly implement it. In addition to this, problems related with land provision should be solved; otherwise informal settlements are and will continue to be great challenge in the future.

4.3. Treatment and control of informal settlements

The city government has attempted to treat and control informal settlements that are largely located at the southern, eastern and eastern parts of the city (2000 hectares). It was discussed that informal housing sector produced the majority of all new housing units in Addis Ababa especially within the recent past. The city government had responded to the situation by partly demolishing these settlements without the provision of land for formal housing constructions. These, aggravated, instead of alleviating, poverty, it increased the housing stock, increased poverty and only shifted such settlements to other locations.

Informal housing could become a solution because it requires minimum public investment. Informal settlements, regardless of quality, provide affordable housing for the poor. As governments are unable to build houses for all the needy, they should support the efforts of people to provide housing themselves.

Thus the existing informal settlements that fulfill criteria stated in regulation, 1 1991 E.C and those that are built on land reserved for residential use in the revised structural plan are proposed to be maintained and improved (refer the table below). While those that are built on areas reserved for uses other than residence should be demolished. However, the land is that required to accommodate the needs of households affected by these activities are reserved and are included in the land budget estimation.

Table 3.5: Informal settlements to be demolished and maintained and intervened

Location Area/district			Area (in hectare)	Measure
	Woreda	Kebele		
Kotebe (Kara-Alo) along both sides of the Dessie road	28	03	112.5	Demolished
Kotebe	28	02	81.25	Inte and maint
Kotebe	28	01	62.5	Interven and maint
Kotebe (Yeka)	16	22	48.75	Demolished
Reppi	24	16	228.13	Demolished
Jimma road on the right side of the road to Sabetha	24	16	138.75	Inte and maint
Ayer Tena the settlements around the UDPO housing project	24	15	115.63	Inte and maint
Hanna Mariam along the left and right side of the ring road	19	60	288.13	Demolished
Kaliti around the waste water treatment plant (along the river)	27	11	62.5	Demolished
Nefas silk Worku Sefer	19	59	95.00	
South of Worku Sefer	27	11	38.75	Demolished
North of Worku Sefer (Adjacent Bole Bulbula)	17	20	80.00	Inte and maint
Gourd shoal (south of transport ministry workers residence)	28	04	81.25	Inte and maint
CMC (North of the special housing project houses)	28	03	350.00	Inte and maint
Meri (south and northern part of the road to Ayat)	28	03	90.63	Demolished
Estimated total area (approximately)(hect)			2000 hectares	
Estimated total are of settlements to be maintained and intervened (hect)			930 hectares	
Estimated total area of settlements to be demolished (hect)			1070 hectares	

Identified as informal settlements (ORAAMP: 2001)

However, it is recommended that the intervention in these settlements shall be guided by a detail socio-economic and spatial study. Careful investigation of beneficiaries, and needy people shall be undertaken. Strategies to implement these should be devised. Below are the major recommendations towards this goal.

1. Provide title deed

An estimated 60% of informal/squatter settlements in Addis Ababa can get title deeds according to the regulation issued in 1998 and the revised structural plan. In the structure plan these are indicated as proposed residential areas, while those that are affected are separated. Decisions regarding these settlements should be based on a thorough study. The areas should be re-identified. According to the regulation and also in reference to healthy development of the city demolition of part of settlements is indispensable. In such cases appropriate resettlement measures should be taken. Below are recommended steps towards this goal:

- Strengthen and facilitate the ongoing registration and GIS development of the whole city, focusing on sensitive areas.
- Collect other data at different sources kebele and sub-cities
- Work with the community and facilitate the formation of neighborhood association if they don not exist already
- Identify the residents
- Undertake detail surveys of land use and other data
- Identify the problem in the area
- Prepare detail improvement plans
- Devise implementation and phasing and mechanism
- Prepare action plans and programs
- Implement accordingly and undertake feedback studies.

2. Land regularization

The study of informal settlements shows that land is not efficiently and equitably utilized in such areas. So land should be regularized to counter balance such shortcomings (ORAAMP, 2001):

- Study the pattern of land development and utilization.
- Specify the minimum and maximum allowed land for housing.
- Select the best plot development option.
- Prepare detail plan.
- Act accordingly in collaboration with kebele, and the community.

3. Improve infrastructure through supporting community-based construction and management

The city government through the kebele should facilitate the involvement of the public in the execution of specific tasks in the construction of infrastructure and provision of services. This system has also proved to be an effective tool for poverty alleviation through labor-intensive projects. However, it requires training of both public authorities and community groups in participatory approaches and effective technical supervision and assistance.

- Involve the community and create awareness
- Improve infrastructure through the involvement of the community and use of labor-intensive methods.
- Identify spaces for the provision of facilities based on the detail studies.
- Develop shared improvement and development vision
- Prepare detail action plans
- Implement accordingly and follow –up the result.

4. Control of informal settlements

The issue of informal settlements should be controlled appropriately. Thus, it is recommended to develop a system for the control of informal settlements parallel with the encouragement off the formal land development.

a. Definition and conditions of informal settlements

A housing unit be defined as informal if,

- It is built on public owned land without the legal ownership and property right and or on an illegally acquired plot area without the required permit. And in addition to this,
- It does not respect the local building codes, laws and regulations and does not meet the minimum requirements of a habitable housing.

b. Institutions to be involved and duties and responsibilities

Kebele shall be charged with the control of development of informal /squatter settlements since they are found to be efficient institutions when it comes to the issue of facilitating and bringing the efforts of community together. Above the kebele, the Sub-cities shall provide the technical support and taking of the appropriate legal measurements for those who do not respect the law. The duties of the kebele is:

- Check the developments are undertaken through acquiring the required permits
- Protect public land within their boundaries
- Protect forest and green areas
- Protect areas reserved for public uses.

c. The System

An appropriate system and channel for communication and coordination of activities at the sub-city, kebele and municipality shall be devised. To this end training shall be provided for the staffs to be involved in such activities. The public shall also be educated about the disadvantages of squatter settlements.

5. Best practices in housing

In the recent past different approaches were used to develop housing in Addis Ababa. Among these, housing cooperatives are found to be the major and most successful ones.

In Addis Ababa and in Ethiopia in general, housing cooperatives have a history of 2 decades. During the Dergue Regime 1440 housing cooperatives have been organized with completed constructions except for the 267 that were delayed due to various reasons. After 1990 E.C. among the 123 cooperatives having a total number of 2670 households, 101 have completed construction. In 1991, 338 cooperatives with 6378 members were organized. Among this, 221 have completed construction. Similarly, 7 cooperatives with 127 members have been organized. But the latter ones did not complete the construction. In addition to this, 31 cooperatives with 578 Ethiopian members living abroad were also organized (ORAAMP, 2002).

In general, Since 1990 E.C 1032 cooperatives with 20759 members have been organized which to a large extent have successfully completed housing construction.

Cooperatives have also been found successful in constructing multi-storey developments, protection of communal facilities, and achieving economic benefits. 'Addis Apartama', 'Tebaber Berta' and 'Semay Tekes' housing cooperatives can be cited as examples.

In some extent, this has played a role in minimizing the expansion of informal settlements in the city as well as decreasing the number of housing backlogs.

4.4. Summary of findings

- As far as informal settlements in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa are concerned, it is very difficult to conclude whether they are "poverty driven or not". This is because of the fact that some of these settlements do not have a sign of poverty (rather they are good housing, have large compound and full services) while other are suffering from lack of services, are highly crowded and located at environmentally sensitive areas.
- According to the literature review, major problems, which aggravated the expansion of informal settlements, are difficult to get land for residential housing and inflexible building standard.
- The other factor, which constrains access to formal housing, is the level of infrastructure provided to improve the accessibility to use. As evidenced from the past experience of the municipality, the capacity to supply infrastructure service was limited.
- The size of informal settlements has been increasing nowadays is so large that measures of demolishing as a means of curtailing the settlements are not feasible.
- The study of informal settlements shows that land is not efficiently and equitably utilized in such areas. So land should be regularized to counter balance such shortcomings (ORAAMP, 2001)
- The absence of appropriate policy of informal settlements is the major problem, which leads to the expansion of the settlements.
- One of the bottlenecks, which constrain access to formal housing finance, is inappropriate building standard which was fixed without the consideration of the low-income groups. These standards exclude the most disadvantaged groups of the city.
- The present regulations, standards and procedures precludes those who seek to involve in housing construction particularly the low-income group not to joint housing co-operative and that is why significant number of co-operatives had dissolved rather than crossing through the needle hole.
- Out of the total housing units the houses rented by the government accounts only 1.5% of the total rental houses. Besides that, most of the houses are highly dilapidated or inhabitable due to lack of maintenance and follow up. This indicated that, the contribution of governmental rental houses is not significant. In spite of their inadequacy and bad quality, the government rental houses have been experienced unfair distribution for those who need to get rental houses.

- An estimated 60% of informal/squatter settlements in Addis Ababa can get title deeds according to the regulation issued in 1998 and the revised structural plan. In the structure plan these are indicated as proposed residential areas, while those that are affected are separated.
- The city government through the kebele should facilitate the involvement of the public in the execution of specific tasks in the construction of infrastructure and provision of services.
- Intervention in these settlements shall be guided by a detail socio-economic and spatial study. Careful investigation of beneficiaries, and needy people shall be undertaken. Strategies to implement these should be devised. Below are the major recommendations towards this goal.
- Cooperatives have also been found successful in constructing multi-storey developments, protection of communal facilities, and achieving economic benefits. 'Addis Apartama', 'Tebaber Berta' and 'Semay Tekes' housing cooperatives can be sited as examples.
- The issue of informal settlements should be controlled appropriately. Thus, it is recommended to develop a system for the control of informal settlements parallel with the encouragement off the formal land development.
- Spontaneous growth and sprawl (unplanned growth) resulting in difficulty of integrating them with the existing city structure.
- Settlements are susceptible to hazards (flood, fire etc) and could cause sanitation problem and environmental degradation (in some areas). Quality of construction is also poor (significant percentage were built with temporary scrap materials) creating slum areas at the peripheries.
- Upgrading as one of the strategies used to ameliorate informal settlements in the city with minimum relocation.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

The present regulations, building standards, land delivery system; procedures to obtain housing finance from institutions coupled with lack of institutional capacity hampered the accessibility of formal housing. Thus, informal housing is the only remedy for their survival.

However, as informal settlements in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa are concerned, it is very difficult to conclude whether they are “**poverty driven or not**”. This is because of the fact that some of these settlements do not have a sign of poverty (rather they are good housing, have large compound and full services) while other are suffering from lack of services, are highly crowded and located at environmentally sensitive areas.

Besides, lack of proper land management, corruption, absence of clear housing policy, limited plot of land delivery bureaucracy are some of the causes of housing problems. These have brought about explosive horizontal expansion of the city faster than it is over all socio-economic development, particularly infrastructural expansion. Illegal housing construction has led to extravagant use of urban land and created serious challenges in service and infrastructure provision.

Moreover the population of cities is increasing at alarming rate, while the housing production is tediously (not much with the population growth). To the response to the mismatch between demand and supply, proliferation of informal settlement is taking place in cities. Despite its planning effect the settlement has its own contribution to fill the gap between demand and supply of formal housing. As evidenced from experiences of different developing countries, people tend to squat due to lack of land accessibility, unaffordable building standards and other constraints. In fact it is true that unless unforeseen conditions exert pressures, no one like to live in an environment where, infrastructures and services are inadequate or absent, right to use and develop occupied land is highly restricted, Right to contract, transfer and use it is impossible; right to keep the owned property is unsafe.

In response to informal settlers action, the city has practiced bulldozing (reaction) of this settlement considering as a best solution and strategy to control them. However, the trend of expanding informal settlements is not yet stopped unless the problem is addressed adequately. Since bulldozing did not bring any change as expected, local governments has to correct the failure of the past, admit the mistakes and recognize the already existing informal settlements.

Therefore, The dilapidation of inner-city settlements, emergence of informal settlements in the outskirts and the lack of long-term sustenance in informal formal settlements in Addis Ababa could be ameliorated only through a comprehensive approach. This requires appropriate policies and extensive strategies that enable integrated development, partnership between different sectors and capacity building.

5.2. Recommendations

Strategies used to ameliorate Informal settlements in Addis Ababa

- a. The bulldozing trend of informal settlement which resulted reduction of the total housing stocks and increase of social cost need to be avoided. Hence recognition of informal settlements with minimum penalty has to be developed. Then the recognition has to include the following considerations:
 - The improvement of the living environment of this settlement in terms of infrastructure and services, improvement of infrastructure and services need to incorporate the participation of the informal settlers themselves in the form of labor, material, finance and planning.
 - Since the emergence of informal settlements is in response by the people to land inaccessibility for housing and in appropriate or unaffordable building standards, therefore, the solution is not only recognizing these settlement to the urban frame work, but also to formulate policy relevant for the low-income group regarding their affordable capacity and making land accessible with less difficulty or acquisition procedures.

- b. According to the literature review, major problems, which aggravated the expansion of informal settlements, are difficult to get land for residential housing and inflexible building standard. Thus, the local government has taken the following measures in order to create enabling environment.
- Efficient utilization of the available serviced land in the city. This option has an important role in avoiding the handling of unutilized land in the hands of individuals, it also decrease the horizontal expansion of the urban development and wastage of resources in service delivery.
 - One of the instruments to facilitate the release of under utilized land, which was occupied by the individuals, is the capital and income gain tax. Therefore, this need to be revised and right has to be given to rent open spaces according to planning point of view.
- c. To improve the underutilized land for housing local government has to develop the following conditions:
- Building institutional, administrative and financial capacity in order to carry out the duties and responsibilities effectively and efficiently.
 - Then, the local government should develop clear and transparent administrative procedures, regulations standards.
- d. The other factor, which constrains access to formal housing, is the level of infrastructure provided to improve the accessibility to use. As evidenced from the past experience of the municipality, the capacity to supply infrastructure service was limited. Therefore, the municipality has to improve the capacity in terms of finance, administrative, and technical. In order to attract private investment. The preparation of adequately serviced land, the extension of infrastructures and services lines to their sites has to be adopted as a facilitator, to co-ordinate joint efforts among the public, individuals, co-operative and private sectors.
- e. Designing and proposing appropriate and the most responsive policy, which includes the most, disadvantaged groups of the society, the poor in informal settlements.
- f. Strengthen and facilitate the ongoing registration and GIS development of the whole city, focusing on sensitive areas.
- g. One of the bottlenecks, which constrain access to formal housing finance, is inappropriate building standard which was fixed without the consideration of the low-income groups. Therefore, the cost and the benefits of the regulations that influence urban land and housing market should be balanced, especial attention need to be given for the low-income group and remove regulations and standards, which unnecessarily hinder formal housing supply. Thus, affordable alternative standards for formal housing development through the use of local building materials and construction methods need to be adopted and also revised to bring the cost of housing to an affordable level with different options. Thus, the standards need to be “compatible with local resources, evolutionary, realistic and sufficiently adopted to local culture and socio-economic conditions (Hardy and Waite, 1981).
- h. The present regulations, standards and procedures precludes those who seek to involve in housing construction particularly the low-income group not to joint housing co-operative and that is why significant number of co-operatives had dissolved rather than crossing through the needle hole. Therefore, the reason of the existing regulations and standards should address the capacity of disadvantaged group of people.
- It is this unaffordable building standard which influence the demanders not to construct their shelter according to their capacity and prefer to appreciate service quarter type of housing typology. Since housing is process, not one finished product, local government should understand housing as an incremental approach rather than once fixed standard. Therefore, service quarter type of housing has to be recognized and adopted as incremental process unless it does not discouraged the construction of the main house.
- i. Housing finance was profiled at a subsidized interest rate, where mortgage loans were provided to co-operatives and private home builders substantially below the market interest rate (4.5%) in Derg Regime 9Ethiopia), but presently this is open for market. Consequently, the low-income group failed to compete in the market under the fixed building standard. Therefore e the reform needs to be appropriate to reduce the constraints on both demand and supply side. Thus, mechanisms should be set to tap potential sources such as security funds, NGOs, donors and lending agencies in well-integrated and co-coordinated manner. Care Ethiopia could be one example of who is providing housing assistance by organizing low-income groups.
- j. Policies regarding housing finance are particularly important, but it is clear that for the housing finance sector to work well, not only financial policies be well designed but other complementary policies regarding property rights, the regulatory frame work and subsidies among others must also be carefully thought. In designing the policy framework, it must be remembered that, those most disadvantaged by base policies and lack of policy options are the low-income group.

- k. Developing the institutional framework for managing the housing issues; strengthening institutions, which can oversee and manage the performance of the housing sector as a whole; by bringing together all the major public agencies, private sector, representative of NGOs and community based organizations; and ensuring that policies and programs benefit the low-income group.
- l. Currently the municipality is not capable to carry out all the duties and responsibilities as expected. Therefore, it is this capacity that determines the growth or failure of cities. Thus;
 - The municipality should have full autonomy to plan, implement and revise activities under their jurisdictions.
 - The municipality should improve it as financial as well as administrative capacity.
 - Public participation needs to be developed in planning and implementing activities

Therefore, the municipality should be differentiated from the local government with the necessary delegation of power and authority and by avoiding overlap of duties and responsibilities with other institutions.

- m. Out of the total housing units the houses rented by the government accounts only 1.5% of the total rental houses. Besides that, most of the houses are highly dilapidated or inhabitable due to lack of maintenance and follow up. This indicated that, the contribution of governmental rental houses is not significant. In spite of their inadequacy and bad quality, the government rental houses have been experienced unfair distribution for those who need to get rental houses. Therefore, the local government or the concerning authority should withdraw from providing government rental houses (which were nationalized) and shift to play enabling role in providing serviced land, flexible regulations and standards, facilitating housing finance and services and infrastructures adequately.

The other factor which affects access to formal housing is that, shortage of private and government owned rental housing at affordable level. To improve housing problem, the involvement of house developers need to be encouraged by providing incentives, have to by removing restraints and inputs should be available in sufficient quantity for private houses developers.

- n. The living conditions informal settlers need to be improved by providing them with basic services and income earning opportunities. The effort to improve this settlement should incorporate the participation of dwellers themselves. For instance, if public sanitation units were to be used, they must be under the authority of users, giving them power to decide location and quality of services and to elect management team.

In order to minimize this urban housing poverty (slum and squatter settlements) and the other issues, the government should design appropriate policy in the delivery of services and housing in urban areas. In terms of housing government, should remove regulations, which hamper the growth of housing sector. Thus, considerations should be given to the regulation regarding the minimum standards, housing finance and land supply. In addition measures to alleviate problems in the construction materials need to be considered. Moreover efforts should be made to engage the community in the delivery of the urban services. Generally supply inputs need to be available insufficient quantities restraints have to be removed and incentives should be given, then private firms, could provide housing products at lower cost and can respond more quickly to change in housing demand.

The Istanbul Declaration and The Habitat Agenda:
with subject index
Istanbul Declaration: Paragraph 4

To improve the quality of life within human settlements, we must combat the deterioration of conditions that in most cases, particularly in developing countries, have reached crisis proportions. To this end, we must address comprehensively, *inter alia*, unsustainable consumption and production patterns, particularly in industrialized countries; unsustainable population changes, including changes in structure and distribution, giving priority consideration to the tendency towards excessive population concentration; homelessness; increasing poverty; unemployment; social exclusion; family instability; inadequate resources; lack of basic infrastructure and services; lack of adequate planning; growing insecurity and violence; environmental degradation; and increased vulnerability to disasters

The Istanbul Declaration and The Habitat Agenda:
with subject index
Istanbul Declaration: Paragraph 9

We shall work to expand the supply of affordable housing by enabling markets to perform efficiently and in a socially and environmentally responsible manner, enhancing access to land and credit and assisting those who are unable to participate in housing markets.

The Istanbul Declaration and The Habitat Agenda:
with subject index
Istanbul Declaration: Paragraph 12

We adopt the enabling strategy and the principles of partnership and participation as the most democratic and effective approach for the realization of our commitments. Recognizing local authorities as our closest partners, and as essential, in the implementation of the Habitat Agenda, we must, within the legal framework of each country, promote decentralization through democratic local authorities and work to strengthen their financial and institutional capacities in accordance with the conditions of countries, while ensuring their transparency, accountability and responsiveness to the needs of people, which are key requirements for Governments at all levels. We shall also increase our cooperation with parliamentarians, the private sector, labour unions and non-governmental and other civil society organizations with due respect for their autonomy. We shall also enhance the role of

women and encourage socially and environmentally responsible corporate investment by the private sector. Local action should be guided and stimulated through local programmes based on Agenda 21, the Habitat Agenda, or any other equivalent programme, as well as drawing upon the experience of worldwide cooperation initiated in Istanbul by the World Assembly of Cities and Local Authorities, without prejudice to national policies, objectives, priorities and programmes. The enabling strategy includes a responsibility for Governments to implement special measures for members of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups when appropriate.

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