

**Challenges and Livelihood Strategies of Urban Squatters in the Capital of
Ethiopia-Addis Ababa: With Particular Reference to Bole Sub-City**

By

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A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Sociology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master of

Arts in Sociology

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November, 2020

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Declaration

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Nigussie Gammade entitled: “**Challenges and Livelihood Strategies of Urban Squatters in the Capital of Ethiopia-Addis Ababa: With Particular Reference to Bole Sub-City**” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology complies with the regulation of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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External examiner _____ Signature_____ Date _____

Acknowledgement

Praises and adorations to almighty God, for His gracious favor and everlasting mercies upon me. All glories to Him. Amen!

I am thankful to my advisor Dr. Taye Negussie for his constructive comments. I gratefully acknowledge his guidance, critical insights and helpful suggestions with quick responses to the making of this thesis.

I would like to extend my thanks and appreciations to the many people who contributed their ideas and devoted their time as being participants from squatter settlements and key-informants from government bureaus/offices for their cooperation, though it is impossible to mention their names. Also, I would like to express my gratitude to my partners/friends Natae, Dereje and Boki for their encouragement and material support.

My family deserves gratitude. My deep thanks go to my parents, Gammade Tafa and Uddottu Katelo and to all my brothers and sisters for their care and inspiration. My special thanks go to my beloved wife Dursie for covering my other several duties to keep me focused on the research work. I am also indebted to my baby boy Finna, whom I was enjoying his coming into my life and all his lovely manners of infancy during my research. I am glad to have you all in my life.

I Thank You!

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Abstract

The study was carried out in the Bole sub city of Addis Ababa-Capital of Ethiopia, focusing on the life of squatter settlers. The central aim was to assess their challenges and livelihood strategies of the people. The research employed purely qualitative approach by using observation, in-depth interviews with squatter settlers and key-informants interview as methods for producing data. The finding indicated that people in the squatter settlements of the study area face several challenges as a result of where they live and who they are. Being unauthorized resident is found to be the main challenge for squatters because it led them to feel fear and uncertainties about whether or not and when to be evicted and loss of properties as well as it results them to encounter marginalization from basic services and infrastructures/utilities. Squatters in the study site also have environmental problems as living in high proximity to hazardous places which endangers their life. They live alongside polluted river (smelling dirty running water) and in most of the places topography of settlements is sloppy and near hillsides that floods and landslides could get them badly during rainy seasons. On the other hand, squatter settlers have social ties designed to support each other to make a living and influence external threats including the government. Bonds are strong within the relatives/kin and with neighbors based on duration of stay in the dwelling, while ties of the rich squatters with government bodies/officials are found stronger. The prevalent feeling was that major inhabitants of the residents are low-income households who involve in informal economic activities and daily labor as source of income for living. Those low status households are more defenseless and suffer from several challenges of the squatter settlements. Squatters are also professionals and skilled people who work in governmental and non-governmental or private organizations and self-employed who were forced by the persistent lack of housing in the city. Another segment of the squatters is people who make a lot of money from informal transactions of plot of lands/houses even working as brokers. Those are less vulnerable though they are considered as the main actors in the expanding squatter settlements. Some unique behaviors identified in squatter settlers include: acting as old dwellers, pretending to be poor, being watchful of their dwelling and feeling of frustration toward visitors or non-residents. Government should carefully differentiate real poor, the most vulnerable squatters from others who are there to make an extra gain by involving in informal transactions of land and the house. The poor should be empowered and protected while others should be identified and barred from exploiting the resources. Prevention approach should be given more weights rather than depressing the settlements, because it is only effective against the poor squatters. In order to avoid the feeling of uncertainties from squatters and lessen path of corruption, the government should have clear and participatory decisions about what will happen to squatter settlements and the settlers

Key words: Squatter settlers; challenges; livelihood strategies; squatter settlement.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the study

Squatter settlements are unplanned and illegal settlements typically found on urban outskirts and environmentally hazardous lands such as beside rail tracks and along rivers. It is informal and unauthorized residential area found on the government's land or land whose ownership is unclear with little (ownership book/certificate). Srinivas (2015) defines squatter settlement with three characteristics by means of its physical, social and legal attributes. Physically, it has no or below adequate or minimum levels of services and infrastructure. Socially, squatter settlement households belong to the lower income group, either working as wage laborer or in various informal sector enterprises. Legally, lack of ownership of the land parcel on which they have built their house and these could be vacant government or public land or marginal land parcels.

It is estimated that about one billion urban people live in informal or squatter communities throughout the world, and while these communities face significant challenges. Squatters are collectively the largest builder of housing in the world (Robert, 2007). As UN-Habitat (2006) stated, in developing countries including Africa, approximately 924 million people live in informal settlements in the urban areas usually on outskirts of towns lacking basic services. Similarly, Ram (2010) indicated that in less developed nations, squatter dwellers and urban poor people involved in the informal sector and earn insufficient income for their livelihood. Squatter settlers are excluded from basic services like health, education, security and sanitation. Moreover, one billion of urban residents in the world live in squatter and slum settlements are vulnerable to disease, and face social, political, and economic exclusion (Beall & Sean, 2007, cited in Bosena, 2019). Most of squatter settlements are found in developing countries. Over 90% of new urban development in Africa is informal and unplanned development, in which the squatters or informal settlers are affected by a poor sanitary conditions, hazardous location, and lack of or inadequate services (Judi et al, 2010). Ten million more people added to the urban population of Sub-Saharan African countries each year, which accounts two-thirds or 7 million of them live in slums or informal settlements and only 2 million can expect to move out from there. The capacity of new informal dwellers to move out of these degraded environments remains limited (Habitat, 2015b). The final destination of high rate of urbanization in Africa led

to outnumbering of squatters and slum settlements which in turn fall into unresolved long-term urban problems.

Despite Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries, studies show that it has high urbanization rate like other developing countries whereas squatter settlement is one of the significant challenges in urban centers of the country. Sources revealed that a condition in informal settlements is one of the most complex and pressing challenges facing city of Addis Ababa today (Daniel, 2006). The study conducted by Begna (2017) shows that, there was high illegal land holding for housing in Ethiopian towns in spite of little policy contribution to solve the problem. According to his finding, there is a wide gap between rapid urbanization, extent of squatter settlement and housing policy in Ethiopia which resulted to spread of the squatter settlements in the urban areas of the country. Similarly, UN-habitat (2007) conveys that irrespective of its long history of urban development, Ethiopia has no comprehensive national urban housing policy or strategy yet.

Factors behind illegal land occupation in the city of Addis Ababa includes weak law enforcement on squatter settlements, inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy, intervention of brokers and speculators, problems related to the capacity of land administration authority, population pressure and perception problems from the public (Jemal, 2019). The consequences of squatter settlements include inefficient utilization of land and urban planning and other management problems (Bosena, 2019; Jemal, 2019 and Minwuyelet, 2005).

Previous studies in Ethiopia were conducted by giving less attention for the part most of the consequences of squatter settlements on the settlers/squatters. Thus, this study explored the life of the people or settlers in the squatter settlements by recognizing a gap in the literatures about a condition of squatters.

Therefore, this study focused on evaluating the challenges and livelihood strategies of squatters in Capital of Ethiopia-Addis Ababa, particularly in Bole sub-city. It was assumed helpful to understand squatters' problems and their livelihood choices, behaviors and different activities influenced by their settlement conditions.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Today, urban issue is the concern of the majority population in the world, since globally urban population goes beyond the rural population following rapid urbanization process due to industrial process which was started three hundred years ago in Europe. The world has since been rapidly urbanizing, for the first time in human history in 2008, the urban population outnumbered the rural population (UN-Habitat, 2015a). Currently, 3.9 billion people or more than half of the world's population, reside in urban areas. This number is projected to rise to 6.3 billion by 2050 when 66% of the world's population will be considered urban (Williams et al, 2019). Within the urban population, it is estimated one billion squatters in the world today, almost one in six people on the planet and the numbers are on the rise. If current trends continue, there will be two billion squatters by 2030. And by 2050, halfway through this new century, there will be three billion squatters. At that point, one-third of the people on the globe will be squatters (Neuwirth, 2007).

Unlike the developed (the already urbanized) countries, the massive growth of cities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has brought a multitude of new problems to the urban centers. In those developing countries including Ethiopia, urban squatter is one of the most critical problems. As a literature reveals, in most rapidly growing cities of developing countries, part of the population is living in a sharply contrasting environment with unplanned and often illegal settlements, lacking basic services, and with houses that at the beginning at least are generally no more than shacks (Peattie and Aldrete-Haas, 2019).

Related studies conducted in other different developing countries identified that squatter settlers are excluded from basic services like health, education, security and sanitation. They live on marginal land parcels (Migiro 2020, Srinivas 2015 and Ram, 2010). Similarly, the livelihood situation of squatter settlements seems poor, vulnerable and miserable (Shrestha, 2017). Additionally, drug addiction, alcoholism, mental illness and suicide are found as characteristics of squatters (Taher and Arefeen 2014). This also needs to be identified by the context of Ethiopia or the study area.

It is a challenge confronting the entire country's urban centers in Ethiopia. The previous studies regarding squatter settlements in cities such as Burayu by Samuel (2018) and Degu et al (2014),

in Nekemte by Begna (2017), in Gonder by Kelemu (2016) and in Bahir Dar by Daniel (2011) discovered that rate of expansion of the squatters is increasing overtime at an alarming rate. Accordingly, many studies have covered its causes and consequences in various cities. Main causes of the squatter settlements in Ethiopia are found as the poor management, policy gap and unsuitable procedures (Kelemu, 2016 and Minwuyelet, 2005). Similarly, the finding of a study in Nekemte also shows that, there is a wide gap between rapid urbanization, spread of squatter settlement and housing policy (Begna, 2017). On the other hand, Bosen (2019), Daniel (2011) and Tesfaye (2007) confirmed that high rates of population growth with the current natural urban population pressure and significant rural to urban migration places the foremost obstacle in achieving the intended objective in the provision of decent housing for the urban inhabitants which led to unplanned expansion of squatters in different Ethiopian cities.

Literatures reveal that major consequences of squatter settlements in Ethiopia are related with unplanned horizontal expansion, inefficient utilization of urban land which in turn led to urban planning and management problems (Bosen, 2019, Jemal, 2019 Tesfaye, 2007 and Minwuyelet, 2005). A related study in Gonder and Nekemte also confirmed that land in the area is inefficiently exploited and the situation has greatly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area with illegal land holding of the towns (Kelemu, 2016 and Begna, 2017). However, after getting illegal land/house, people (squatters) face another challenge and form livelihood strategies which are overlooked in those studies. In short, the consequence on the squatter settlers was undiscovered in Ethiopia. Most of the studies in Ethiopia relied on identifying the causes, consequences and the magnitude of the squatter settlements and assessing its impact on the management and city planning. There is a gap yet in the previous studies regarding the ways in which different households in the squatter settlements rely on varying combinations of activities and strategies of making a living. Because according to Judi et al (2010), in squatter settlements, the main victims are the inhabitants of informal settlers themselves. Squatters face various problems because of living in the homes built on the illegal parcel of land. There is also a study conducted on the effects of the expansion of the city on the livelihood of the dislocated community in Addis Ababa, particularly in Bole Kotebe, Bole Bulbula, Malekanisa Labu and Keraniyo Booke areas. According to its finding, expansion of the city to peripheries have marginalized the community and negatively affected their livelihoods

(Feyera, 2005). However, this study only focused on the farmers who were the original land holders and have been relatively considered as legal. In addition to varied focus are and issue of investigations regarding squatter settlements, most of previous studies in Ethiopia were employed survey methods and document analysis; as well as some of those researches were used only secondary data source.

Therefore, this study focuses on the squatter settlers. Consequently, the main aim of this thesis was identifying the challenges and livelihood strategies of people in the squatter settlements of Bole Sub-city of Addis Ababa-Capital of Ethiopia.

1.3 Objective of the study

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the study was to identify the life of squatter settlers concerning their constraints and strategies of livelihood.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

More specifically, the study has the following precise objectives.

- ✓ To examine feeling of the squatters about their illegal dwelling/residential area of the study site
- ✓ To evaluate illegality-induced challenges of the squatters with regard to the access to the basic services and its quality
- ✓ To assess the interactions/social ties and its purposes concerning to their challenges among squatter settlers
- ✓ To explore occupations or livelihood activities of squatters to make a living in the study area
- ✓ To explore unique behaviors and choices of the squatters in the of context their settlements

1.4 Scope of the study

The study was delimited to focus on the challenges or problems and livelihood strategies of the squatters in the squatter settlements of Bole sub-city. Challenges are problems or encounters that people face as a result of being squatter and living in a squatter settlement. Here, challenges are not what push/force people to make squatter settlement, but what they face later after starting living as squatters. Those problems were identified from the side of illegality circumstances,

basic services and environmental conditions. The livelihood strategies are ‘what’ and ‘by what means’ (or how) people in the study site can sustain their life and handle with the challenges which in long-term became their strategies of livelihood. It is their lifestyle choices, activities and behaviors manifesting due to legal/political, social and economic influences.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study will contribute to knowledge on squatter settlements regarding the challenges and livelihood strategies of squatters. It will also help to provide relevant information for decision-makers on the issues of the squatters in which the poor (majority) is at risk and needing cares whereas understanding the benefit-based relations between rich squatters and officials/regulators and other behaviors of the squatters is also helpful to prevent squatter settlements and to save resources of the city/public. The results could also be used by socioeconomic and spatial urban planners of Addis Ababa to solve problems and improve life of illegal residents. Additionally, it expands views of people about squatters and as a result, it contributes for the further responsiveness of any organizations or groups and individuals working for and with them.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Because of the sensitive nature of this study and the coronavirus pandemic, some purposively selected squatters and informants were showing less willingness to participate which forced the study to take extra time and cost. However, the involuntary ones were replaced by other voluntary participants or informants from the population. The coronavirus (COVID-19) has restricted closeness of the researcher and participants and familiar way of contact during greetings and slightly affected communications. The study could not include participants from the high-income levels as the data showed their existence in the squatter settlements because of their lack of willingness and unavailability. Though this study provides a rich insights and contextualized understanding of squatter settlers in the study site, it has a limitation regarding making of generalizations or drawing of broad inferences from this specific case.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is structured in five chapters. The first chapter introduces a background overview of the thesis, statement of the problems, research objective, scope, significance and limitations of

the study. The second chapter delivers the literature part which offers a critical review of empirical studies and theoretical perspectives. Chapter three deals with the methodology by offering research approach, methods and process of data collection and analysis, whereas the fourth chapter provides primary data analysis and discussions. The last (fifth) chapter presents conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of the related literature

This portion of the thesis presents the critical reviews of the literatures related to the study. The vital area of the thesis was assessing the challenges and livelihood strategies of the squatter settlers. In Addis Ababa, a significant number of people live in the squatter settlements facing multiple challenges and having their own lifestyle choices and activities as a means of making a living influenced by legal, social and economic conditions. As a remedial strategy to the problems of squatter settlements in general, an investigation focusing on challenges and livelihoods strategies of the people in the squatter is necessary. Previously, numerous researchers who have conducted studies on the squatter settlements in Ethiopia mainly rely on the causes and its consequences on the spatial patterns of the cities. Out of those studies, most related were reviewed on sequence of the general concept to the specific focus of the thesis. Accordingly, the literatures are arranged from the conceptual definition, global trends and status of the urban squatters, different arguments or point of views on the squatter settlements, causes and consequences of squatter settlements in Ethiopia, challenges and livelihood strategies of squatter settlements and finally, to theoretical perspectives of urbanization and urbanism/urban society. The thesis has no great contradictory ideas with existing literatures rather it realizes and magnifies the area that has got fewer attentions, which is the life of people in the squatter settlement. It is very important to take into account constraints and livelihood strategies of the squatters that manifest itself in the lives of the people.

2.1 Definition of terms

Squatter: - A squatter is a person who settles on a new especially public land without permission. That means a person who takes unauthorized position of unoccupied sites (UN-habitat, 1983 cited in Daniel, 2006).

Squatter settlement: - Squatter settlements are places where the residents have no legal rights or claim on the land they occupy. These residential areas are found in urban localities and they provide housing to the poorest people in the world. These houses are initially built using poor

materials, which are cheap or free and discarded materials from waste. Squatter settlements are common in developing countries (Migiro 2020).

However, this definition partially contradicts to the situation of squatter settlements in Addis Ababa. All squatters are not very poor and all the housing of the squatters is not only built using poor materials. For instance, according to Daniel (2006), there is a view that most of the root causes of informal settlements in Addis Ababa are not poverty driven in character and squatters are not poor homogenous group. Also, Degu et al, (2014) confirmed that the root cause for development and expansion of squatter settlements in Burayu town is not economic poverty of the squatter households. But the main cause found is corrupt procedures and very poor performance of land development and management agency to deliver the land to those who demand. The central feature of squatter settlement is the illegality of tenure. It refers legality of the land ownership and other infrastructure provision. The squatter occupies land that is legally owned by another without his/her consent. The other weak quality is that the appropriate local authority does not formally approve their existence. It encroaches on the existing land regulation and building standards (Seymour; 1976, William; 1985 cited in Daniel, 2006). Squatter settlements in Ethiopian context are known as '*Chereka Bet*'. The term Chereka bet in its literal translation means "house of the moon" implying the illegal construction of houses overnight using moon light. They are defined as a settlement built on land occupied or used without the legal procedures and permission grantee by the city council (Daniel, 2006).

Moreover, in urban squatter settlements, housing is generally defined as informal because it has been constructed without the formal approval of the authorities. The informal housing does not meet legal standards for construction, for instance, regarding building objects/materials, or the distance between housing units. It is constructed on land which is not legitimately owned by the inhabitants (Judi et al, 2010). However, the concept of land tenure again matters in expressing the land legality issue.

In Addis Ababa, illegal/squatter settlements are typically found at the city outskirts, in expansion areas, where the large farm lands are available. Illegal settlements are primarily the result of land invasions. However, many of the illegal residents in the peripheries of Addis Ababa claim to have purchased the land from farmers. Since the land that is claimed to be purchased essentially

belongs to the government, the farmers who are using it are not permitted to sell it. The language in the agreement is designed not to incriminate the seller and states simply the transfer of user rights to the buyer, not have a formal title. Thus, “purchase of land” is done on the basis of an “agreement letter” in the presence of witnesses. Both the “buyers” and “sellers” recognize that this is not a legal agreement and document, but it serves as protection against any conflicting claims to reside on the land by the seller or others (Mathema, 2004). Houses which are built without construction license or legal procedures on the illegally acquired land are considered as houses of squatters.

Slum settlement: - Slums are the most deprived and old form of unplanned settlements characterized by poverty and overcrowded derelict housing often located in the most hazardous urban land in urban centers. Like squatter settlements, slums are settlements of low income, bad facilities, bad hygiene, and high crime rate but unlike the squatters, slums may have a legal right to their shelter and have registered formal housing name. However, slum dwellers also lack formal supply of basic infrastructure and services, public spaces or open areas, and they face eviction from their settlement and are constantly exposed to diseases and different type of violence (Habitat, 2015b). Slums are usually formed from squatter and unplanned settlements in gradual processes.

Informal settlement: - Informal settlements are residential areas where inhabitants have no security of tenure of the land or house they inhabit, in which the neighborhoods usually are cut off from services and relevant infrastructure and the housing may not adapt with current planning and building regulations (Habitat, 2015b). Informal settlements may include squatters, slums and all kind of organic and unplanned settlements. According to Daniel (2006), informal land occupation comprises so-called illegal and semi-legal land occupation. The first one violates existing ownership or land holding as well as rules and regulations of building. The second one legally owns the land but only offends against building and planning norms. This study focuses on people of the first status of illegally formed settlement that violating existing ownership of land and regulations of building. According to Bosena (2019), means of informal land acquisition in Addis Ababa include buying from farmers, buying from other informal dwellers, invading land which is allocated for other purposes by the government and by the means of

inheritance from the relatives. This study only includes households of the squatters who live in illegally built houses on the informally held plot of lands by above means.

Challenges: - Challenges, according to the context of this study, are any problems or constraints squatter settlers face because of where they live-in illegal settlements and who they are-illegal residents. Mainly from their legal challenges, shortage and low-quality of basic services and environmental problems.

Livelihood: - Oxfam states, a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. The capabilities, material and social resources or assets and activities required for a means of living are components of the livelihood (FAO, 2007). According to FAO and ILO (2009), a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks. Sustainability of the livelihood depend on maintaining or enhancing its capabilities and assets by providing net benefits to other livelihoods locally and more widely, both now and in the future without undermining other resources. Accordingly, the extent to which a livelihood is sustainable is determined by the interaction of various forces and components. The components of the livelihoods framework are: vulnerability context, livelihood resources or assets, policies, institutions and processes livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes or goals.

Livelihood strategy: - Livelihood strategies are the series and combination of activities that people normally make and their choices in stable and peaceful times in order to attain their livelihood goals (FAO, 2007). In a squatter settlement context, it refers to the choices of squatter settlers, their capabilities, their assets (both material and social) and activities required for a means of making a living.

Characteristics of the squatter settlements: - As most of the literatures indicate, one of the features of urban squatters is illegality. Squatters are illegal settlements. Another feature is that due to its illegal status, squatter settlements lack an adequate supply of various infrastructures. Squatter settlements have poor system of disposing liquid and dry wastes and roads, water supply, others service centers. Even though these resources are available in some settlements, they are below the quality, poorly managed and unreliable. They also lack various essential services that are present in other formal settlements like firefighting, medical facilities, mail

delivery, and policing. Moreover, squatter settlements are built on the outskirts of numerous cities in poorest nation of the world. They are located mostly near trash dumping places, rivers, and railway road. They can also be constructed on marginal unoccupied pieces of land like marshy or swampy land and steep hillsides (Migiro, 2020; Srinivas, 2015).

Other attributes of squatters: - some authors associate the features of squatters with its conditions and as it vary from place to place; squatters are usually characterized by social problems such as crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, high rates of mental illness, and suicide. Squatters of the poor countries face high rates of disease due to lack of sanitation, basic health care and balanced diet. Moreover, the squatters use substandard building materials to create their living space. Most houses are made of easily available objects such as old and used tin sheets, wood, plastic sheets and other recycled materials. Use of traditional building materials in these settlements that are easily accessible from nature is also a character representing these dwellings (Taher and Arefeen, 2014). However, it is difficult to say the living units in the squatters are perhaps, the best examples of the most optimum utilization of living space. Because for instance in Addis Ababa, squatter settlements are characterized as an exploitation of land through horizontal expansion rather than vertical development which help to use plots of land effectively.

2.2 Global trends and status of squatter settlements

Squatter and slum residential neighborhoods are a global urban situation. They exist in urban contexts all over the world, in various forms and typologies, dimensions and locations. While urban informality is more present in cities of the global south, housing informality and substandard living conditions can also be found in developed countries (UN-Habitat, 2015b).

2.2.1 Squatter settlements in developed countries

Even though squatter settlements are not common in developed states, evidences revealed that there are cities of developed countries with shanty towns. The entry points of the European Union from cities like Athens and Patras have shanty towns because of the high number of the immigrants. Settlements such as Canada Real, a low-class settlement in Madrid, is considered to be the largest slum in Europe. Squatter settlements in Portugal, are mostly occupied by immigrants from their previous colonies. Various American cities like Oakland and Newark have

witnessed the structure of informal cities in the past. Other towns like Colonias near the Mexican border resemble shanty towns (Migiro, 2020).

Similarly, UN-Habitat (2015b), indicated that urban areas of developed regions are not protected to urban inequalities among the living conditions of their citizens. For instance, Europe, has experienced a rise of urban dwellers who cannot afford to pay rent, with housing costs rising particularly rapidly in the more prosperous large cities. This is especially the case for the Southern and Eastern parts of the region, while Western European countries are said to have more than 6% of their urban dwellers living in extremely precarious conditions. Trends in other developed regions such as North America, Australia and New Zealand suggest that there are significant proportions of people who could be classified as living in contextually poor and informal neighborhoods.

Though squatting movements in different European countries each have their own unique characteristics, several common conditions generally prevail: Severe housing shortages, mounting homelessness, availability of empty and idle buildings, growing disaffection with the government housing bureaucracy and an incipient trend toward self-help and direct-action in the housing sector (Kearns, 1979). The occupation of empty and idle buildings or houses to satisfy housing needs has been a widespread practice all over Europe since the 1970s. It also occurred occasionally in the past (Bailey 1973; Colin 2010, Wates and Wolmar 1980 Cited in Martinez, 2012). Though most of the developed countries have insignificant squatters compared to their urbanization level, still they are not sealed from the squatters. In developed countries, the potential squatting was happening in the past time of the rapid urbanization processes. Recently, squatting is mostly presented as occupying of bare or idle houses or buildings that owners do not work or live in.

2.2.2 Squatter settlements in poor countries

Informal settlements account for the majority of housing in many cities of the developing countries. In global south, urban informal settlements, usually defined by certain criteria such as self-build housing, sub-standard services, and residents' low incomes, are often seen as problematic, due to associations with poverty, irregularity and marginalization (Lombard, 2014).

According to UN-Habitat (2015b), in developing countries, squatter settlements and slums are caused by a range of interrelated factors such as population growth and rural-urban migration, lack of affordable housing for the urban poor, weak governance (particularly in the areas of policy, planning, land and urban management resulting in land speculation and grabbing), economic vulnerability and underpaid work, discrimination and marginalization and displacement caused by conflict, natural disasters and climate change. In Africa, over half of the urban population (61.7%) lives in informal settlements and by 2050, Africa's urban dwellers are projected to have increased from 400 million to 1.2 billion. In Asia, home to half of the urban population of the world, 30% of the urban population resides in slums. Informal settlements continue to be a momentous feature of urban areas with at least 24% of the Caribbean and South American regions, where formalization of informal housing has historically contributed to providing housing solutions for urban population still living in such kind of settlement, in spite of a 9% decrease in recent years.

Compared to other urban dwellers, people living in informal settlements suffer more, social economic and spatial exclusion from the benefits and opportunities of the broader urban environment. In poor countries, squatters face constant discrimination and an extreme disadvantage characterized by geographical marginalization, lack of basic service, poor governance frameworks, inadequate access to land and other properties, dangerous livelihoods. Due to location of informal settlements, high vulnerability to the adverse impacts of poor and exposed environmental disasters and climate change (Ibid).

Besides, a report on informal settlements in Africa examining differing approaches to its challenges in Nairobi, Kenya, and Kigali, Rwanda, with an emphasis on the environmental aspects of the settlements, broadly described that the population of most African cities have been growing since the 1960s at some of the fastest rates in the world. It is estimated that by 2050, about 55% of Africans will be living in urban areas up from 38% in 2000. However, it is indicated that over 90% of new urban development in Africa is informal and unplanned development. Though there are various aspects such as building standards, locations and population density in Africa, most of informal settlements face severe problems. The quality life expectancies of the squatters or informal settlers in many African cities are affected by a poor

sanitary conditions, hazardous location, and lack of or inadequate basic services (Judi et al, 2010).

The evidence indicates, the 10 million more people added to the urban population of Sub-Saharan African countries each year, which accounts two-thirds or 7 million of them live in informal settlements or slums and only 2 million can expect to move out from there. The capacity of new informal dwellers to move out of these degraded environments remains limited (Habitat, 2015b).

The final destination of high rate of urbanization in Africa led to outnumbering of squatters and slum settlements which in turn fall into unresolved long-term urban problems. Ethiopia is an ascribed member of this part of Sub-Sahara Africa and one of the countries facing worst problem of urban squatter settlements.

Lack of affordability and inadequate housing in developing countries: The central causes of squatter settlements

Features of squatters are the direct reflection of lack of affordability and inadequate housing which is a common urban problem in the developing countries. As UN-habitat (2014) indicated, a number of conditions must be met before particular forms of shelter can be considered to constitute adequate housing. These elements of adequate housing are just as fundamental as the basic supply and availability of housing. For housing to be adequate, it must, at a minimum, meet the following criteria such as: Security of tenure: housing is not adequate if its occupants do not have a degree of tenure security which guarantees legal protection against involuntary removal and harassment. Another element is the availability of basic services, facilities and infrastructure: housing is not adequate if its dwellers do not have clean drinking water, adequate sanitation, and energy for cooking, lighting and waste disposal.

Besides, it is not affordable or adequate if its cost threatens or compromises the occupants' enjoyment of other human rights. Habitability is one of the elements that housing is not adequate if it does not guarantee physical safety or provide adequate space, as well as protection against the cold, heat, rain, wind, other threats to health of the dwellers and physical hazards. Moreover, accessibility is another element that housing is not adequate if the specific needs of disadvantaged and marginalized groups are not taken into account. Likewise, location is another

important element that housing is not adequate if it is cut off from employment opportunities, health-care services, schools, childcare centers and other social facilities, or if located in polluted or dangerous areas. Finally, cultural adequacy is also considered as significant issue that housing is not adequate if it does not respect and take into account the expression of cultural identity (Ibid).

Accessibility of urban land and the urban Poor

Land is one of the crucial assets. In sub Saharan Africa land is a significant factor and an indispensable asset that determines the quality of life of not only the rural communities but also that of the urban dwellers too. Naturally, in a market economy, access to the use and enjoyment of this land depends on the purchasing power of individuals concerned. Where the affluent individuals are able to purchase and occupy a choice location, the urban poor are left to grope with the marginal areas. In addition, the pulling nature of the cities which lead to intensively pressure on municipal services and facilities. With the limited funds available to the government, provision of these services is always tilted against the area occupied by the urban poor. This is more so where they encroach upon government lands or other areas where development permits cannot be given. Because of inability to acquire developable urban land within the city, most of squatter settlements will change into a complete slum (UN-Habitat, 2003 cited in Samuel, 2018).

Security of tenure

Security of tenure is a critical factor contributing toward people's housing processes around the world. Lack of ownership rights to their settlement urge communities of the urban poor to invest in something that they will eventually have no ownership right or squatter settlement. Securing the tenure for the squatter dwellers transforms their homes into a tangible asset, however, it is not without its complexities and often leads to indirect eviction. For instance, they look for a new informal settlement for themselves when the value of the tenure becomes high forced by their own poverty. This reflects, simply giving of the property ownership to poor has been increasing squatter settlers and placing them at the big poverty market. High income people with their vision of entrepreneurial development, approach the owner to resell or rent the new property. As a result, the low-income owners sell the tenure which they received as a gift or support, then go back to live in slum again because they can't develop it. One of the main goals to improve living

for urban squatters should be, to create tenure situations that work for communities without subjecting them to increased market forces (Taher and Arefeen, 2014).

The rapid urbanization rate with poor system to handle it have been leading to unattainable expansion of squatter settlements in developing countries and it has been shaping the development of their cities and activating a lot of challenges challenges to residents.

2.3 Different point of views on the squatter settlements

2.3.1 External reasoning as a factor for squatter settlements

Judi et al, (2010) argued, a city or country cannot simply work with informal settlements without doing away with poverty. Following the sudden demolition of slum housing in old areas, new temporary houses appear in surrounding areas because of the poverty which is the big external force. Slum dwellers do not disappear in such circumstances; they are merely displaced to other slums. Such settlements exist not only because of interest of settlers but global, national and local socio-economic structures which distribute land, skills, jobs and other opportunities amongst the world's population.

Squatter settlements cannot be viewed as isolated phenomena of the squatters. Informal settlements are the result of a need for cheap housing escaping from unaffordable legal way of housing, which itself is a result of poverty. Therefore, the magnitude and harshness of squatter settlements are determined by the structure and development level the country.

Thus, in Ethiopia also, studies revealed that illegal settlements were not only the outcome of squatter settlers rather the main causes are external aspect. Degu et al, (2014) verified that the root cause for development and expansion of squatter settlements in Burayu town is corrupted and weak procedures and very poor performance of land development and management agency to deliver the land to the applicants. That means the economic level of the squatters is not the big factor that differently affecting them. Also, as studies conducted in Nekemte and Addis Ababa by Begna (2017) and Bosena (2019) respectively, gaps in housing policy and lack of good governance mentioned in mainly perpetuate the squatter settlements. Furthermore, as Daniel (2006) indicated, informal or squatter settlements are the result of multiple factors. He stated as,

Informal settlements, like most of the problems confronting people living in poverty in the urban centers of developing countries, are the outcome of failed policies; inappropriate regulatory frameworks and administrative procedures; dysfunctional land markets; unresponsive financial systems; bad governance; corruption; and a fundamental lack of political will (:45).

Therefore, in Addis Ababa also the factors behind engorgement of squatters are mainly rooted in the weak policies, corrupted and failed structures of government and other institutions in the country as general and the city administration as particular.

2.3.2 Informal settlement is not outside ‘normal’

Likewise, another scholar Lombard (2014) also argued that informal settlement should not be perceived negatively. He identified gaps in urban theory and limited understandings of urban informal settlements mean that they are often treated as outside ‘normal’ urban considerations, with material effects for residents including discrimination, eviction and displacement. This article uses an idea of place-making approach to discover the spatial and social construction of place in this context. It stands against some of the assumptions or arguments underlying discursive constructions of informal settlements, and how these relate to spatial and social marginalization. He carried out a research using a qualitative, ethnographic methodology in two case study neighborhoods in Xalapa, Mexico. Despite an extensive land tenure regularization program, at least 60 per cent of urban dwellers live in informal settlements, neighborhoods with informal characteristics. The research found that local discourses reveal complex and ambivalent views of informal settlements, which both reproduce and undermine marginalizing tendencies relating to informality. He underlines that a focus on residents own place-making activities hints at prospects for rethinking urban informal settlements. By capturing the messy, dynamic and contextualized processes that construct urban informal settlements as places, the analytical lens of place-making offers a view of the multiple influences which frame them.

The article suggests imagining urban informal settlements differently, in order to re-evaluate their potential contribution to the city as a whole. Informal settlements should not be treated as informal or as abnormal, because it has been leading to discrimination, evictions and displacements. This argument is convincing in that when the squatter settlement is perceived as

‘outside normal’ that could lead to prejudices and discriminations on people which is in turn, the negative end itself. We have to go down into the squatters understand their challenges and livelihoods to come up with something helpful for the people first and then for the city, but the act of squatting should be disgraced.

2.3.3 Seeing positive contribution of squatter settlements

Additionally, Judi et al (2010), perceive that informal settlements are contributing positively by cleaning the environment through a relentless recycling of refuse, and in this sense may be considered environmentally friendly. They believe that since housing in the squatter settlers is often constructed from scrap materials, and entire families may survive by processing landfill sites and they identify and resell items of some minor value, such as glass bottles or old tires, it has positive role. Although such occupations are hazardous, they perform a great social and environmental service. What is more, they consider that poor people typically feel strongly about the need for a clean environment.

However, it is hard to calculate the value of environmental gain with losses as working in hazardous places by people who dwell in the squatter settlements. How effective is that cleaning of environment to remain clean and healthy for future? Thus, the idea could be criticized for failing to prioritize those vulnerable people.

On the other hand, informal settlements are characterized by a relentless recycling of refuse, and in this sense may be considered environmentally friendly since housing is often constructed from scrap materials, and entire families may survive by processing landfill sites, to identify and resell items of some minor value, such as glass bottles or old tires. Although such occupations are hazardous, they perform a great social and environmental service. (Judi et al, 2010). But still it is difficult to count the environmental advantage at the expense of the life of squatter settlers in the hazardous occupation.

In addition, there is a positive outlook and portrays that consider squatter settlements as highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban areas of developing countries (Turner, 1969 cited in Srinivas, 2015). Furthermore, squatting often provides immediate relief from the burden of rent and the threat of eviction, and it offers the longer run prospect of at least a minimum of

comfort and respectability. Because of the self-improving nature of squatter settlements, the United Nations Center for Housing, Building, and Planning now stresses the acceptance and support of their longer run existence and of adequate pre-planning for their future development. Conversely, Hansen confirmed that it is acknowledged that attempts to clear such settlements generally waste scarce public resources and aggravate the problems of the people concerned. Thus, the Center recommends that governments make normal urban utilities and community services available to transitional settlements, according to priorities worked out with the collaboration of the residents themselves. Better still, of course, would be planned land acquisition and development in advance of need, taking account of utility and community facility requirements as well as transportation and residential location in relation to employment opportunities (Berry, 1973 cited in Hansen, 1977). However, it is difficult to think again about as successful solutions to housing problems with illegal settlement which is not sustainable.

2.3.4 Urban informality as a way of life

Grounded on the Wirth (1938) on the idea of Louis Wirth's 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' which described the urban or city as compared to rural life based on the rapid development of Chicago city, Birch (2019) on her article argued that 'urban informality' is a way of life itself. She believed that urban informality is individuals' negotiation of jobs, shelter, and public services, outside of customary legal institutions has exploded across the globe, largely in places with high rates of urbanization and poverty. In fact, for a large proportion of the world's population this informality shelter and livelihoods has become a way of life. The proliferation of informal settlements or slums, now housing more than 900 million people (1/6 of the world population and 1/3 of all city dwellers) is one of its physical manifestations. Street vendors or rag pickers searching for funds or recyclables are another visible marker. Informality characterizes everyday transactions in cities around the world, whether it be in residents' procuring food, transportation, health, education, employment, or other necessities of life.

Hence, an urban squatter settlement which is one of the urban informalities is understood as a way of life that experienced and for a long time by a large number of the world's population, the idea is more practical in the cities of developing countries like Addis Ababa. Almost everything mentioned above as informal are our way of life and perceived commonly as so.

2.4 Magnitude, causes and consequences of squatter settlements in Ethiopia

2.4.1 Magnitude of squatter settlements

From the entire the urban population of Ethiopia, 70 percent of them is living in slums and squatter settlements (Samuel, 2018; Degu et al, 2014).

In different urban areas of Ethiopia, the recent expansion of urban centers is mostly the result of dissemination of squatter settlements. Studies regarding squatter settlements in cities such as Burayu by Samuel (2018) and Degu et al (2014), in Nekemte by Begna (2017), in Gonder by Kelemu (2016) and in Bahir Dar by Daniel (2011) specified that urban centers are expanding because of the encroached land by the squatters and its rate of growth is increasing overtime.

As various studies in the country indicated, Squatter settlement in Ethiopia is at an alarming rate. Jemal (2019) point out, new houses are being built in the existing squatter settlements and unoccupied areas, the number and size of illegal settlements in Addis Ababa has been increasing over time. Similarly, according to Tesfaye (2007), from time to time people are squatting at a high extent from various peripheral area of the city. Though the emergency of the squatter settlements in peripheral areas like Kolfe-Keraniyo sub-city is a recent phenomenon that has occurred since 1994 as Minwuyelet (2005) confirmed, the rate of expansion is higher particularly at outskirts or peripheral area of the city.

On the other hand, conditions in informal settlements in Addis Ababa is one of the most complex and persistent challenges. Addis Ababa hardly meets the required urban quality and standard of international city in its urban setting (spatial or physical pattern) as well as in the level of infrastructure and service provisions. The larger parts of the city are predominantly occupied by irregular/informal settlements (Daniel, 2006). As a result, Bosen (2019) concluded that the expansion of informal settlements in Addis Ababa becomes a major urban planning and management problems.

What matters more is that all this significant majority of urban dwellers which is the urban squatters face various problems and sustain their lives through different strategies.

2.4.2 Major causes of squatter settlements in Ethiopia

2.4.2.1 Poor management, policy gap and unsuitable procedures

Empirical studies suggested that there are several causes of squatter settlements in Ethiopia that are related with problems of managing, controlling and affording land and houses. Unsuitable processes and benefit seeking culture of different actors play a great role in the expansion of squatters. For instance, the finding of two different studies in Gonder and Addis Ababa, Kolfe-Keranio sub-city identified that high building standards of the legal houses, delayed responses and procedural problems of the legal land provision, high housing rents in the city center were the causes of squatting. In addition, weak control of open or undeveloped land by the government, its limited capacity of the code enforcement service to control illegal house construction, absence of a comprehensive legal response towards the problem of squatting are the factors. The practice of land sale by land speculators as a means of making profit are other factors that have contributed to the emergence and proliferation of squatter settlements (Kelemu, 2016 and Minwuyelet, 2005).

Other causes are related with policy gap. In Addis Ababa, inappropriate adoption of approaches, strategies and principles for the formulation and implementation of regulations on informal settlements with weak status of institutions resulted to informal settlements. The financial and policy aspects and poor land information systems also contributed to the extension of informal settlements (Daniel, 2006). The finding of a study in Nekemte also shows that, there was a wide gap between rapid urbanization, spread of squatter settlement and housing policy. It identifies that total price of the lease cost was not affordable when it is compared with the actual income of the squatting people indicated in the research (Begna, 2017).

Other studies in Burayu disclosed that the root cause for development and expansion of squatter settlements in the town is not even economic poverty of the squatter households; rather the main reason found is cumbersome procedures and very poor performance of land development and management agency to deliver the land to the people who requested through legal process. Inability of the local government to effectively respond with the fast urbanization and increasing demand of housing or land for housing is the clear factor. This is rather mainly related with the very poor supply of land which is the problem of land accessibility (Degu et al, 2014). Additionally, Samuel (2018) unveiled that the main actors of illegal settlement were networked

government bureaucrats and brokers. According to him the root cause for development and expansion of squatter settlements in Burayu city is not only economic scarceness of the squatter households but lack of the neat procedures and very poor performance of legal ways to deliver the land to the applicants was also a reason to the expansion (Samuel, 2018).

Moreover, according to Yirgalem (2009), there are various actors in informal land delivery system that are perpetuating the expansion of informal settlements in Kolfe-Keranio sub-city. They are: Local residents: - they are either the original landowners or squatters who owned plots through informal subdivision. They are active actors who are involved in the informal land subdivision. In some cases, they became leaders of the informal subdivision on their own land. They also play a key role as information center for the newcomers who want to buy land in the area. Local residents also act as sub-brokers by linking the new buyers to the main land brokers to get their proportional share. Another one is Land Brokers: Their main activity is to bring buyers and sellers together. The brokers usually get information about plots through the owner or by their own information networks. Brokers in the area have wide-ranging social interactions through which they can get information on land. This network allegedly involves even officials in the Land Administration and Development Authority. Gatekeepers: they are people who are employed by the City administration to control illegal land occupation, construction and the sanitation of the neighborhoods with the formal duties with regard to the regulation of informal land subdivision and illegal construction are to patrol around the expansion areas and take different actions, which ranges from warning to demolition. The gatekeepers are not professionals but they knew very well how the informal land subdivision and unauthorized development are taking place. But they act as double agents and do multiple jobs as brokers.

Similarly, another study also confirms the main reasons for the spread of squatter settlements and unplanned expansion of the city at the peripheries of Addis Ababa are that peasants local residents around the city provide land to individuals for housing construction without the consent of the concerned legal urban authorities (Taye, 2002 cited in Jemal, 2019).

In addition, a study in Bahir Dar city revealed that the land grabbing activities of urban speculators, the original holders of the farm land have also participated in the construction of the informal settlements (Daniel, 2011).

Besides, the basic factors behind informal housing in Addis Ababa, Nifas Silk-Lafto sub-city according to Bosen (2019) includes relying on unpublished regulations, directives and manuals. Depending on the previous aerial map has been resulting in lack of clear land information. In addition, low practices of good governance in the sub-city paved a way for the informal settlements.

2.4.2.2 Population pressure

On the other hand, natural population growth and migration are marked as factors of squatting. According to Jemal (2019), the trend of squatter settlement is partly influenced by spontaneous growth. Similarly, Bosen (2019), Daniel (2011) and Tesfaye (2007) confirmed that high rates of population growth with the current natural urban population pressure and significant rural to urban migration places the foremost obstacle in achieving the intended objective in the provision of decent housing for the urban inhabitants which led to unplanned expansion of squatters in different Ethiopian cities.

2.4.2.3 Poverty driven Vs non-poverty driven views

According to Daniel (2006), there are two views on the characteristics and root causes of informal settlements in Addis Ababa. The first one is that most of the informal settlements found in the expansion areas of the city are ‘non-poverty’ driven in character. The main spirit of this view is, informal settlers in the expansion areas have occupied large plots (on the average 300sq.m) and close to 70% of them have good services (water, electricity, access road and in some cases telephone). Accordingly, most of the settlers are middle to high income groups and speculators. In this view informality is not considered as the only domain of the poor; it is also an area of strong groups and networks that have power and influence.

The second view perceives informal settlements as ‘poverty driven’ settlements which have evolved due to a number of socioeconomic and institutional problems. This is the perception held by many scholars and organizations including the World Bank and UNCHS (Habitat). Informal settlements, according to this view, are self- built settlements occupied by people living in the situation of poverty (Ibid).

On the other hand, Jemal (2019) assumed that as far as informal settlements in the expansion areas of Addis Ababa are concerned, it is not easy 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. On the other hand, many factors for squatter settlements have militated against effective land management in the city of Addis Ababa including weak law enforcement, inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy, intervention of brokers and speculators, problems related to the capacity of Land Administration Authority, population pressure and perception problems from the public.

It is difficult to single out what and who the squatter settlers are. They are large and complex population with different situations. It is undeniable that significant urban populations living in squatter settlements are those unable to afford legal housing due to poverty, though the number of people in squatter settlers having economic power but still using the management gap and corrupted ways as to make benefits are not insignificant in Addis Ababa. However, in Addis Ababa, squatter may not be the very poor people compared to the degree of poverty in the country. Because they squat on vacant land through negotiations and informal payments to brokers or private land holders and in case when they occupy the land freely, they pass through different expenditures for construction materials.

2.4.3 Consequences of squatter settlements in Ethiopia

2.4.3.1 Unplanned horizontal expansion and inefficient utilization of urban land

Because of informal settlement, urban land has been inefficiently utilized and it has contributed to the unplanned and horizontal expansion of the city. A related study conducted in Kolfe Keranio sub-city also point out that compared to the plot sizes of the legal land provision, the plot sizes of the land held by squatter settlers in the study area are larger. Thus, land in the area is inadequately exploited and the situation has greatly contributed to the informal and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area which makes the city difficult to lead by plan (Minwuyelet, 2005). According to Bosena (2019), when squatting exists widely, orderly development and expansion are hindered. Addis Ababa has experienced a rapid rate of physical expansion because of squatter settlements. She also verified that it is resulting in inefficient

utilization of the land by the informal settlements and it has contributed to the unplanned and horizontal expansion of the city. A related study in Gonder and Nekemte also confirmed that land in the area is inefficiently exploited and the situation has greatly contributed to the unplanned and rapid horizontal expansion of the built-up area with illegal land holding of the towns (Kelemu, 2016 and Begna, 2017).

2.4.3.2 Urban planning and management problems

Widely undertaking squatter settlements are bringing unmanageable urban problems and affecting planning and implementing to shape the future environment of urban centers into an intended spatial and social appearance.

The expansion of informal settlements in Addis Ababa becomes a major urban planning and management problems though government has focused on regularization of informal settlements (Bosena, 2019). Formal way of development and management of the city of Addis Ababa is very difficult. The situation of squatting has a significant implication on urban development issues (Jemal, 2019).

The excessive accumulation of slums and informal residential houses in the capital city of Addis Ababa has been facing the brutal problem on the proper growth of the city. The city being one of the places where the highest quantities of sub-standard and informal residential houses are found, it seems that the task of achieving sustainable urban expansion is by far beyond the reach of the prevailing tactics. This in turn, adds up on the stocks of urban problem prevailing in the city. The implication of unplanned urban expansion usually ends up in placing obstacle on proper development of a nation (Tesfaye, 2007).

2.6 Measures taken as preventive or curative to squatter settlements in Addis Ababa

The findings of studies by Jemal (2019) and Tesfaye (2007) indicate that though the city government of Addis Ababa attempted to prevent and control the construction of illegal settlements by issuing various regulations and taking measures including demolishing of the residential houses of the informal settlers so as to minimize the informality and its problems. However, the regularization measure which has the intention of curbing informal settlement rather seemed to induce further informality and the illegal settlement has continued unabated. The preventive measures failed because of both in the implementations of the regulations and

demolitions, the city administration faced many problems such as high temptation for illegal construction, population pressure, weak law enforcement and inefficient institutions. The success of squatting tempts more squatting. Thus, demolitions had taken place in parts of the city where preventive measures failed. The regularization process also failed because of the process and cost.

2.7 Challenges and livelihood strategies of informal or squatter settlers in Ethiopian cities

There is no enough literature regarding the challenges that squatters face in their livelihood strategies in Ethiopia. Most of the studies have identified that unplanned horizontal expansion and inefficient utilization of urban land as well as urban planning and management problems as consequences and challenges (Begna, 2017; Kelemu, 2016; Tesfaye, 2007 and Minwuyelet, 2005). Jemal (2019) stated that squatting has a significant implication on the situation of the squatters. He mentioned that the collective burdens of informal settlement have been basically detrimental to the Ethiopian cities, to the total urban population, and to the dwellers of informal settlements themselves. Yet, detail situation of the squatters in Ethiopia is overlooked in those studies. Bosen (2019) also mentioned that informal settlements in Nifas-Silk Lafto sub city have low access to water supply and have almost all access to electric utilities. Moreover, Daniel (2011) identified that unplanned settlements in Bahir Dar led to high social cost since residents live in isolation from the city and they have no any contact in its legal meaning with the authorities. The construction of the informal settlement takes a huge amount of money, which is considered as wastage. As a result, squatters encounter various socio-economic challenges. In addition, environmental pollutions and degradations are mentioned as common impacts. However, those studies failed to recognize detail problems that squatter themselves face because of who they are and where they live as well as their strategies of making a living. Thus, it is useful so far to investigate features of those issues in the Bole sub city.

2.8 Theory of livelihood strategies

Livelihoods are framed as assets that are the resources used for gaining a livelihood and the capabilities that are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labor or command labor of a household. It also includes the vulnerability context or the range of factors in the external environment that make people exposed. Assets and capabilities are closely linked

to household livelihood security. For example, households could have assets without having the ability to use them fully. A household may have capabilities to engage in livelihood activities, but not enough assets to use these capabilities fully (Rick, et al 2002).

Livelihood assets are both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living. These are such as natural, physical, social, financial and political assets. Natural capital comprises such as land, water and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival. Physical capital includes buildings, electricity, irrigation canals, roads and machines which produce goods and basic infrastructure needed for them to function productively to support their livelihoods. Human capital refers to the labor available within a given household; it also includes level of education, skills and health of the household members. Social capital indicates a mutual affiliation within or among households and communities. This relationship is based on trust and reciprocity. Social capital pays more attention to family networks, kinship and close friends that the households will depend on in time of crises. Social capital is multidimensional, and a common distinction is made between bridging and bonding social capital. Bridging social capital refers ties among heterogeneous members and while bonding social capital is a closed form of network within groups that are fairly homogeneous. Social capital has direct impact upon other types of capitals. Financial capital refers to households' access to stocks of money. It is the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies. People use financial resources to achieve their livelihood objectives. Political capital is the individual powers to act politically that are generated through participation in interactive political processes linking civil society to the political system. It is about ability to engage in political decision making; their capability to make a difference in these processes (empowerment) and their perception of themselves as political actors (Sorensen and Torfing 2003; Ellis, 2000 cited in Khatiwada, 2013). According to FAO (2007), livelihood strategies of people are influenced by or depend on the access to assets.

How people access and use these assets, within the social, economic, political and environmental contexts, form a livelihood strategy. The range and diversity of livelihood strategies are vast and various across communities. One individual may involve in various activities to meet his/her needs based on the access and contexts. One or many individuals and households may engage in common activities that contribute to a collective livelihood strategy. Within a single household

also, individuals often take on different responsibilities to enable the provisions and growth of the family. In some cultures, this grouping may expand to a small community, in which individuals work together to meet the needs of the entire group (International Recovery Platform, ?). In short, livelihood strategies can be manifested in terms of the decisions and choices that people make about how to engage in livelihoods, and their circumstances or the specific connections and opportunities that influence these decisions (Rick, et al 2002).

In squatter settlement access to those assets is limited. Squatters by definition are people who do not have an ownership certificate. They lack house ownership title and better job which provides high income which leads further generates social capital. Financially they are weak that they cannot invest in their children's education and good health services. Squatters are excluded from the health care facilities in the settlement. They cannot afford the cost for doctors outside the community (Khatiwada, 2013). Similarly, (Shrestha, 2017) described that livelihood situation of squatter settlements seem poor, vulnerable and miserable. Living condition in these settlements suffered from overcrowding, inadequate accommodation, limited access to clean water and sanitation, lack of proper waste disposal system and degraded air quality

In Addis Ababa, livelihood assets are limited especially in informal settlements. Accordingly, Daniel (2006) mentioned that the achievement of sustainable livelihoods and the substantial potential for human development presented by urban life constrained and also the opportunity to optimize the benefits of urbanization by urban poor communities denied because of various factors.

2.9 Other theories of urbanization and urban societies

2.9.1 Theory of alienation and political economy

Karl Marx's concept of alienation refers a various kind of separation and breakdown or destructive of true sociality as a consequence of urbanization under capitalism. In his view, alienation or exploitation is experienced by the working or poor class in modern urban societies, which are the real causes of other problems. This concept also embraces disconnections, feeling of unsafe and having a sense of exclusion such as being a minority in a group. Cities and its systems produce wealth for the capitalists/rich and but pollutants for the entire poor urban

communities. Particularly, people in urban people of the capitalist societies became alienated/estranged from the natural world (Ritzer, 2011; Foster, 1999 and West, 1969).

Theory of political economy emphasizes the interactions and processes of political and economic institutions in urbanization which is led by elites. The main assumption of the theory is that political and economic elites in cities, in the name of urban development, often takes the form of displacing poor urban residents from their homes so that high-rise-buildings favoring the rich for their wealth and power can be built rather than as setting where real people live, work and have other acquaintances (West, 1969). Recent sociologists, Logan and Moloch (2007) also used the term ‘machine ideology’ to describe the modern urban situation in which policies and practices of elites guide the cities irrespective of considering the mass residents.

2.9.2 Ferdinand Tonnies’s concept of ‘community’ and ‘associational society’

According to Tonnies, *Gemeinschaft* (community) is a rural/peasant or traditional and simple communities. They have strong ties with people caring for each other and looking out for one another on the basis of family, kin and religion ties. These communities have direct face-to-face relations that are determined by natural will or tend to be affectional (arising from the emotions and expressions of sentiment). Membership in this kind of communities is a self-fulfilling. There is a family-based favoritism and tribal organization and economic inefficiencies. While *Gesellschaft* (associational society) is modern, complex urban society with weakening social ties and becoming more impersonal, when their values and interactions are displaced by scientific rationality and self-interests. *Gesellschaft* is instrumental for its members. He was critical of this change in the traditional bond of family and loss of a strong sense of community and feared that a sense of rootlessness in these societies begins to replace the feeling of stability steadiness characteristic of small, rural societies. Features of *Gemeinschaft* relationships may be found in modern industrial societies, but they do not typify the dominant type of relationship of that society (Harris, 2001/1887; Waters, 2015).

2.9.3 Emil Durkheim’s concept of mechanical/organic solidarity and anomie

Mechanical solidarity is typical of small, rural societies with a sense of community, whereas organic solidarity represents larger urban societies where bonds of relationships are based on the interdependence of roles and division of labor. He focused on the social solidarity as one of the

important functions of social order and situation of anomie to refer the circumstance of the individual's whole whose relationship to social whole is weak in mainly modern urban people, and he explains the difference in suicide rates across societies as the result of different level of solidarity and its opposite, anomie (Matthewman et al, 2007; Ritzer and Goodman, 2004). On the other hand, recent research by Guest et al (2006) tend to emphasize that a sense of community strong social bonds exists among urban people. In cities also, people know and look out for each other, have connections by living in neighborhoods.

2.9.4 Louis Wirth's concept of 'urbanism as a way of life'

Louise Wirth argues that social characteristics of the urbans or cities are large, socially and culturally complex or heterogeneous, dense population and people of permanent settlements compared to rural in his concept of 'urbanism as a way of life'. He took both a positive and a negative view of cities. He agreed with Tonnie's that cities have a weaker sense of community and social bonds than do rural areas, with Durkheim also that cities generate more creativity and greater tolerance to new ways of thinking (Wirth, 1938).

2.9.5 Herbert Gans's 'a classical typology of urban residents'

Gans identified five types of urban residents based on their lifestyle and experiences. These are: cosmopolites- such as students, writers, musicians and intellectuals. They are people who live in a city because of cultural inviting and attractions. Another type is unmarried, childless and couples- who live in a city to be near their jobs and enjoy various kinds of entertainment. Ethnic villagers (recent migrants and members of various ethnic groups who live among each other in certain neighborhoods-these neighborhoods tend to have strong social bonds and sense of community). Gans claimed all these three types are generally found the city inviting rather than depressing or alienating. They have positive experiences urban life. On the other hand, he argued the left two types of residents (the deprived and trapped) are alienated and experience a low quality of life. The deprived have low levels of formal education, work at low wages and they live in a polluted environment. The trapped are those who are may be alcoholics and drug addicts they may be elders and disabled jobless cannot move to a better area (Gans, 1982).

Generally, literatures reveal that in urban area of the Ethiopian cities, the fastest growing of squatter settlements are mainly caused by poor managements of urban lands, gap in policies to

address the problem and unsuitable legal procedures. High population growth and migration from rural to urban are also found the basic factors. The consequence includes unplanned horizontal expansion and inefficient utilization of urban land, urban planning and management problems. But previous studies fail to recognize the issues of squatters in Ethiopia as general and Addis Ababa as particular and, that is the gap requiring an investigation. Thus, overall objective of the thesis is identifying challenges that squatter settlers face and the livelihood strategies being premeditated to make a living.

CHAPTER THREE

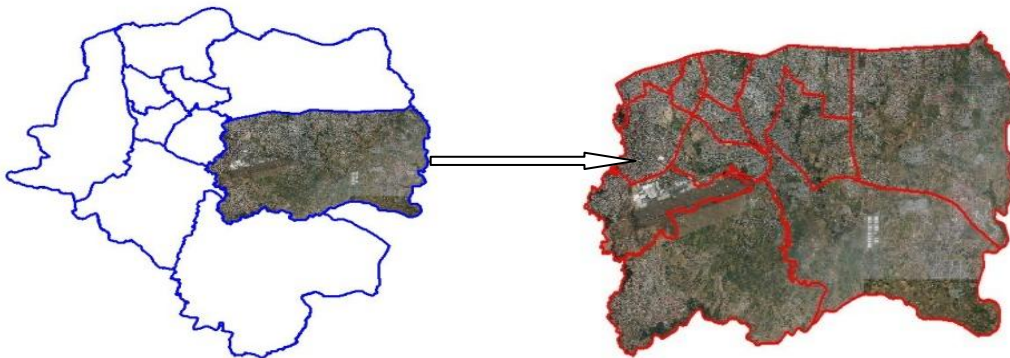
3. Methodology

This chapter presents a discussion of the study area, underlining research approach and reasoning why particular strategies or methods were used, data sources, ethical issues and analysis procedures including the whole data collection process.

3.1. The study area

The study was carried out in Capital of Ethiopia-Addis Ababa, particularly in Bole sub-city. Most of the squatters found in Yeka, Bole, Akaki-Kality, Nifas-silk Lafto and Kolfe-Keraniyo Sub-cities and those sub-cities are the biggest and they are commonly known as the expansion areas of the city. Some studies concerning squatter settlements were conducted generally in Addis Ababa, while particularly in sub cities such as Yeka by Tesfaye (20017), Nifas Silk Lafto by Bosen (2019), Kolfe-Keranio by Yirgalem (2009) and Minwuyelet (2005). The related particular studies are not found in Bole and Akaki Kality sub cities. According to the Addis Ababa City structural plan (2017), Bole is the largest sub-city and with rising squatter settlements. It is found at the eastern part of the city. Four districts/woredas (the smallest administrative unit in the city) from the Bole sub-city (woreda 9, 11, 12 and 13) were selected based on the potential of typical areas of squatter settlements.

Map: Boundaries of Addis Ababa sub-cities and Bole sub-city



Addis Ababa Sub-city boundaries

Bole Sub-city, with woredas' boundary

Source: Addis Ababa City Structural Plan

3.2 Research approach

The study generally explored meanings and insights in a squatter settlement. Objectives of the study were assessing constraints that people in the squatter settlements face and livelihood strategies that were influenced by where they live and who they are. Those objectives required closeness to the area and to the carefully chosen participants or informants. The more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys were preferred. A more relaxed atmosphere of interviews through which to produce information makes people feel more comfortable having a conversation in the process.

It was also essential to going into in a cyclical process of producing data and gaining overview with new insights. According to Snape & Spencer (2003, cited in Ritchie and Lewis, 2003), qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretive approach concerned with the meanings which people attach to phenomena within their social worlds. Analysis and interpretation are activities that are ongoing throughout the research process, because the researcher will reflect and interpret the data while trying to get the overview. The close contact between the researcher and the people being studied is also a key element in the nature of the data generation and to produce detailed descriptions based on or an interpretation of the perspectives of the participants in the social setting. Consequently, observation and interviews were considered methods of data collection that fit for the investigation. To that effect, the qualitative research approach was used.

This is an approach to concept or theory development grounded/rooted in the qualitative data rather than empirical testing of a given theory. It followed a ground theory line in which data are collected and analyzed, and then a theory is developed which is grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 cited in Kumar, 2018). The study was somewhat flexible toward exploring unexpected things during observation and ideas from the participants. As a result, qualitative approach of Grounded theory is assumed to fit and appropriate way for the study. Dawson (2007) confirms that it allows therefore flexibility and enables new issues to emerge that the researcher may not have thought about previously.

In this study, qualitative was preferred in order to explore the particular challenges and livelihoods of the people in the settlements in the study area. Data was produced through in-depth interviews which aimed to gain access into the hidden ideas and perceptions and

qualitative information of the subjects. Interviews helps us to understand lived experience and to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience (provides a multi-perspective understanding of the topic) or perception, to uncover what is usually and simply unseen via ordinary reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience (Johnson, 2002 quoted in Marvasti, 2004).

Therefore, an observation and semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions in interview guides were employed. It was found difficult to conduct Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) because of the sensitiveness of the issue under investigation that could limit giving honest information and willingness to involve as a group. Again, the survey is found inapplicable for the same reasons and type of information on demand. In addition, there was a doubt that squatters are less educated and illiterate people are assumed particularly less likely to respond to written surveys. With sensitive issue like unauthorized dwelling, it is subject to bias where the intended respondent refers to others in completing the survey. Survey is also typically subject to non-response error (Isaac & Michael, 1997, cited in Glasow, 2005).

3.3 Sources of data

Both sources of data, primary and secondary were conducted to obtain the desired information that answers the stated research objectives. With regard to secondary data, books, articles, legal documents, published and unpublished materials that are more related to squatter settlement were reviewed. For these secondary data sources, an attempt was made to focus on the empirical researches on the situation of Ethiopian in general and Addis Ababa in particular. The primary data was produced from observations, developed via semi-structured interviews with squatter settlers and key informants' interview.

3.4 Methods of data collection

Observation: - to study observable phenomena in naturally occurring settings, direct observations were employed without being part of the participants. Direct observation involves the observation of a subject in a certain situation without much more involving in the lives of the people being observed (Dawson, 2007). This method offers the opportunity to record and

analyze behaviors and interactions as they occur although not as a member of the study population (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

The researcher used complete participant observation, playing covert roles. Memos were taken during observation in forms of short notes and photographs. The researcher decided to play role of covert observation because it was believed that the presence of the researcher cannot influence what would be observed and also important for the researcher to understand situation as it was and also, to avoid artificial behaviors because of recognizing that somebody is watching them for a purpose. Additionally, it was assumed that dwellers would rarely recognize being observed by outsiders since there is no basic difference between members of the dwellers and the observer. However, people who became available and easier to open conversations were informed the purpose of researcher's being there and they were recruited as participants for interview.

Observation was the relevant source of information, in capturing styles and behaviors of the squatters, for instance, in the cases when some people doing different familiar activities in dwelling area outside and nearby their homes. Also, the physical conditions which were the reflection of the challenges and livelihood strategies were observed. However, the observation didn't contain about home-based families' each day routine and what occurs inside their compound except what is noticeable for public from outdoor. The observation was conducted along with field work periods during daytimes and early evenings in the specific study locations as stretched because of fear of Covid-19 from April to mid-August, 2020.

Semi-structured interview: - scholars claimed that face-to-face interviews are useful and well suited than questionnaires for reaching the correct respondents (Salant & Dillman, 1994, cited in Glasow, 2005). Accordingly, main data was produced through interviews with the purposively selected squatter settlers whom most of them were head of households. Regarding the selection of participants, the study took a central focus on households of squatter settlements who have lived nearly five years and beyond in the settlement. To this effect, an interview guide with semi-structured questions was employed. From the squatter settlers, 21 chosen participants involved in the in-depth interviews.

Semi-structured interview was preferred because information which can be compared and contrasted with information gained in other interviews. The same questions were asked in each interview except follow-up questions which were asked on the idea of their respondents and need

to verify and further explanations. However, as Dawson (2007) point outs, the researcher also wants the interview to remain flexible so that other important information can still arise.

Key-informants' interview: - Another method was key informants' interview. This interview was conducted on the issue with knowledgeable individuals and who closely work with people of urban squatter settlements. Key informants were scrutinized purposively from experts of city administration at different level. Consequently, 9 key informants from Addis Ababa City Plan and Development Commission, Addis Ababa Land Development and Management Bureau, Addis Ababa City Administration Construction Permit and Control Authority, from Bole Sub-city and districts or woredas at specific location of squatter settlements. The general data about trends and overall information about the challenges and different strategies through which squatters make a living were generated with the key informants.

3.5 Participant selection

Since the study attempted to get an in-depth opinion from participants for the semi-structured interview and key informants' interview were selected purposively. According to Dawson (2007) for in-depth opinion, fewer people take part in the research, but the contact with these people tends to last a lot longer.

A purposive sample, also commonly called a judgmental sample was employed for the interview. According to Babbie (2001), purposive sampling is used to deal with the situation where it is one that is selected based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. In the purposive sampling, the subjects are selected to go for a variety of types of cases for in-depth investigation because of some characteristics and patterns they know more. For that, the study purposively selected participants and informants who fulfill the criteria of selection. For key informants' interview, also it is appropriate in selecting people who are especially knowledgeable about the topic under investigation and are willing to share their knowledge and experiences.

According to scholars (Glaser and Strauss, 1967 cited in Dawson, 2007) it is difficult to specify how many people will be contacted using interview but until the saturation point is reached. It is time for your research when you really do think that everything is complete and that you are not

obtaining any new information by continuing. Thus, the researcher had critically identified informants to get sufficient information on the challenges and livelihood mechanisms of people in the squatter settlements. Therefore, the interview and key informants' interview were continued with informants/respondents until theoretical saturation point: the point at which new data collected no longer bring additional insights to the research objectives. Consequently, generating data were sustained till finally it was recognized that later some participants were conveying around what was already produced previously.

3.6 Data analysis procedure

Regarding the data analysis, initially field notes were organized and then differently coded by a data segment that assigns meaning in line with the objectives of the research. According to Blaikie (2000), in this process, the researcher is going to use a special form of coding like field notes which is a central activity in qualitative data analysis. Such coding also facilitates description and used for analysis. Therefore, the procedure followed categorizing the meanings into more general concepts according to its flows to get its theme which is more theoretical construct. To this effect, findings were involved breaking down the information into different codes, categories and themes which appear to be important and later became topics and sub-topics of the finding. Fundamentally, the specific objectives of the study were categorized under two main topics, which are the challenges and livelihood strategies and recognized as the leading dissection of the themes, though there are interdependencies between what participants/informants witnessed as the problems in the settlements and as the strategies of their livelihood.

Finally, as discussions, all data sources from observation, in-depth interview and key informant interview's findings as well as different previous studies and theoretical assumptions were cross-checked and its convergences and divergences were analyzed.

3.7 Validity and reliability

There was careful production of qualitative data and triangulation of three different instruments of data collection (observation, semi-structured interview and key informants' interview) and two different sources of data, primary and secondary as a means of ensuring its validity and

reliability. Consequently, to guaranteeing the credibility, conformability, transferability and dependability of the research, all possible ways that consider existing situation were applied. The role of the researcher was to avoid and minimize whatever influence participants to not give honest or believable data. This was done by carefully approaching and convincing the participants that the information they were giving would be appreciated and valuable for the success of the study.

Regarding the degree to which the results of the study can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or settings (transferability or external validity), the research contexts was described and different sensible assumptions to each context were clearly stated. Therefore, the contextual reality of other setting should be recognized in addition to many more what the squatters commonly share as challenges and livelihood strategies in Addis Ababa.

Concerning the dependability (repeatability or reliability) of the result, there might be some changing context within the study area that would have affected dependability of the research. Based on the idea of several participants and some of key informants, squatter settlements encounter pressures for evictions based on legal/political conditions at different times with different extents. During the field work, there was not a feeling of instant warning for dwellers of squatter settlements in the study site. Such ever-changing context of warning and terrifying illegal settlement could have some change on an extent of their challenges and on their livelihood choices and behaviors. However, to minimize limitations, the study explored and described the variations across different conditions by using follow-up questions based on the responses of the participants. Additionally, the time of field work was marked with the global pandemic of corona virus that people were told to ‘stay home’ and keep ‘social distancing’. That direction could have somewhat eliminated or changed observable behaviors or activities in the study area. Despite having a fear to close interaction during the interview as the researcher observed, the fieldwork was proceeded because there were no significant changes on their livelihood activities as reported by the participants other people who were informally communicated for information. Participants were also attracted with suitable safeguards of the Covid-19 pandemic to get the reliable information.

To enhance confirmability (objectivity) strategies of generating the qualitative data were followed. Based on the specific objectives, semi-structured interview guides were prepared and

additionally, by probing or asking follow-up questions during interviews, the vantage point of the participants and informants was grasped. The procedures of the study including the field work process were properly recorded for checking and rechecking data. The attempt was made to minimize biases by not imposing researcher's ideas and beliefs on the participants' and informants' view.

3.8 Ethical consideration

Ethical issues were managed as much properly as possible. Dawson (2007) states that producing code of ethics includes anonymity which is guaranteeing that the researcher will not use any names and addresses in the final report, or store or categorise information using names and addresses. Through guaranteeing confidentiality in which the researcher ensures that he/she will not disclose directly any information provided in this group to third parties. Therefore, Since the investigated issue is illegal, the researcher thought that participants would feel uncomfortable to give honest responses and thus insured participants were informed with about the purpose of the investigation or what is going to happen with the results and as well as their consent to participate was asked. Additionally, the participants were ensured that no names and other personal information go to the third body or for publication and what they said cannot be used against them in the future but ideas would be examined. The styles and characters were respected and language of the informants was used in all ways of producing data. Their choice of places and moods during the interviews were admired.

3.9 The process of data collection

In order to produce primary data, first I decided to go into different peripheral woredas of the Bole sub-city for gathering information about specific locations of squatter settlements. I did early contacts to study area and some people to observe and develop networking to the places and residents. In the Bole sub-city, I had also gathered information about the location of potential squatter settlements. I found crucial places of the squatter settlement in woredas (the smallest administrative units in the Addis Ababa city) to select the participants. Accordingly, the sub city's woreda 9, 11, 12 and 13 were selected. I was not completely unfamiliar with these locations.

The semi-structured interview was conducted being guided by a set of open-ended questions. At that time, I was responsible to check the appropriateness of methods selected and, in that process, also I decided survey was not applicable and chose only qualitative approach. I did have a close relationship with some individuals to help contacts with the people in the site. I was staying and moving in places according to my field work plans where they stay outside home after work and I was meeting people without making any arrangements and I was asking them pre-condition questions for purposive selection. During selections, beside openness and voluntariness of the individuals, living at least for five years (but this was not rigid criteria) in the neighborhood and the other criteria of being head of family or significant role players in the household were checked for selection. For those who met the criteria, I was telling them the purpose of investigation and asking their consent. Those who were not meeting the criteria also asked for other information that help and facilitate successful gathering of data. Then, I was carefully taking notes at the same time using the sign of following the participants during the interview and after the interview, I was trying to organize ideas and making a full statement before going to another participant.

But the data collection process was not easy. Participants/informants were investigating me and my purposes. I was explaining to them about my research and its purpose and also showing them my student identification card to convince them to allow me gathering information. Some of them hesitated to cooperate with me when they recognize the topic is sensitive to them, about challenges and livelihood strategies in their illegal occupation. I tried to convince them and gave respects to them as far as possible. I was telling them that they were free to not give information, but seek their information for the success of my study. I felt no any language barriers in the process of data collection and I could easily convince and clarify them when they feel confused.

Generally, I decided to spend my days visiting the study area and talking with people to check the applicability of methods and instruments for the study. The interview guides were translated into local language to practice and test the use of the tools. For key informant interview also, I went to the areas where they found and arranged important individuals. Long-experienced and high-level experts were given more attention to in the selection of the key informants. They were contacted in and outside their offices (by drinking coffee/tea in relaxed environment nearby their office) based on their choice. Observation of the significant social and physical setting also took

place during the field work. Based on what was observed and relevant to me, I informally asked people 'what' and 'why' questions to verify it. During observation, memos/notes were recorded and some photographs were taken. Key data was being summarized immediately following the interview and to prepare information for verification given in interviews as necessary. Interviewing the participants stopped after recognizing it was done enough because of getting or hearing of the same/matching information from a number of interviewees later. In short, for semi-structured interview, the principles of field-work was followed as Dawson (2007) points out: Recruiting and contacting participants then greeting the chosen and introduce yourself; explain what the study is about, what is expected of the participants, whom the research is for and what will happen to the results. Discuss issues of confidentiality, anonymity and personal disclosure. After that begin with general, easy to answer questions. Listen and take notes during the interview. Ask questions and probe for more detail on important issues and finally thank participants. At last, large amounts of data was generated with the selected method of qualitative research. Then, I spent many times during and after the field work on organizing, coding, merging, and classifying/categorizing under topics and sub-topics to make it look like this organized information.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Primary data analysis, findings and Discussions

The primary data was generated by using observation and from purposively selected participants and key-informants via in-depth interviews with them. Altogether 21 participants and 9 key informants were interviewed along with observing relevant physical and social settings through which the challenges and livelihood strategy of the urban squatters in the Bole sub city of Addis Ababa were being discussed. Almost all of selected participants were head of households and while only two participants were non-head of households that were believed having depth of information about the issue under investigation. Most of the participants have lived more than ten years as squatter settlers. Key informants were purposively selected from long experienced experts of government bureaus at different level of the city, Bole sub-city and woredas.

4.1 Challenges of squatter Settlers

In peripheral woredas of the Bole sub city, many people live as squatters. Their houses are commonly known as '*yechereka betoch*'- to mean illegal houses and state its Amharic term of 'moon houses' which refers houses built during moonlight, at night. However, it doesn't mean all those houses were built during the night. The squatters don't have land titles, their right to live in their homes is regularly challenged by the government in the study area. They have many problems arising out of various situations such as illegality of the dwelling and limited access to basic services and infrastructures. They are found vulnerable in legal, environmental and socio-economic conditions.

4.1.1 Illegality as the main challenge to squatter settlers

Regarding the challenges, the prevalent feeling of the participants was the illegal status of ownership. Most of the participants during in-depth interview conveyed that one of the major encounters of the squatter settlers is ownership issue and the burden originated following it. There are harassments and threats because of the absence of legal protection resulted from lack of tenure security. Being unauthorized resident is the challenge because they can be removed at any time and the source for many other challenges such as deprivation of services or utilities and

their feeling of fear and uncertainties about what will happen to them. There is no possibility of formal request for services and infrastructures from the government living as illegal settlers.

As a result, several participants and key informants witnessed that squatter settlers cannot be certified identification card which confirms being or becoming the city resident despite they can make it through another way. The core issue is not lack of possessing the identification card, but blockage of services and opportunities requiring it. For instance, a key-informant said,

“Without identification as a resident, nobody can be registered for the condominium housing program. In turn, it makes them to stay in illegal house. Unemployed youth cannot be recorded for job creation opportunities like micro enterprises in their woredas if they cannot be verified as the city resident that administration unit.”

Moreover, the illegally built houses cannot be used as collateral property to get loan. It is also impossible to make lawful property transfer since they have no legal titles.

4.1.2 Two-way loss for squatter settlers: Not free, not legal

Numerous participants strongly felt that they didn't occupy land without permission of the authorized body but through informal agreements which involve money payments. Through a regularization process or during total evictions or demolishing of a certain illegal residential area, squatters face losses which matters more in their lives. These are mainly the initial cost of gaining a plot of land or land with house from original land holders (typically farmers) or from others. Wherever they could get even free or cheap land, there is a cost of making house which is mindlessly vanished during the removal. One of the participants (from the squatter settlement) stated the challenge as, *“I knew about the illegality of the transactions we had involved but I paid more than what I have to escape from rental house.*

Similarly, another participant also said,

“Land value is very precious that we spent all resources we have to get this for shelter. There is no land or house of nobody here, nothing comes free, all is held by somebody. We invested all we have here. Even I don't want to think we are illegal, though they call us.”

This reflects the cost of gaining land or making houses and another cost of being termed as illegal settler. Similarly, a key informant confirmed that and conveyed there could be a probability of third level cost of squatters stating as,

“most of the squatters bought a plot of land from farmers and build houses upon it. When government wants the land back, they will be asked to remove houses by themselves and leave but if they show unwillingness, the government will destroy it and force them to pay cost of destroying.”

Almost all participants were certain of that there was nothing free for squatters to occupy private holders' land rather than through forms of different informal transaction and benefit-based negotiations. One of the participants witnessed, *“if you occupy somebody's land instead of paying them, you are not a squatter like us, you are a criminal. You cannot also build unauthorized houses on your own land without making a deal with persons like ‘demboch’. I got involved in that way.”* ‘Dembe-askebariwoch’ or commonly known as ‘demboch’ are people who are employed by the city government to protect rules and regulations (designed to prevent transgression of regulations) including informal housing at each local level in the city. One of the key informants stated as, *“finding somewhere open land is simple, but most of the land property they inhabit is supervised by people, brokers and local authorities.”*

Most key informants felt that squatter settlers, particularly the newcomers serve as the income sources for the local government officials mainly from *regulators*, which is the lower government body to the highest level via a chain of benefits. A key informant described the situation as, *“they simply say as ‘pay it’ or ‘remove it’ those regulators come across squatters building house.”* this reflects the approval of building squatter houses depends on accomplishing the payments when they are asked for beyond its illegality. Therefore, squatters feed local officials and brokers to get illegitimate permission to live there in the settlement. On contrary, key informants be certain of that some of squatters may hold plot of lands in organized way without even informal transactions which were preserved for different purposes by city government. But still on a certain stage they obviously face an expense which doesn't make it free.

4.1.3 Uncertainties and feeling of fear among squatters

Almost all of the participants felt an uncertainty about what will happen to their dwelling. They confessed feeling of unsettledness and there was also a manifestation of actions and behaviors over ways of their life. Dominantly, feelings were in between fear and hope rather than a feeling of complete hopelessness. According to several participants and key informants, lack of clear decisions and interferences in the prevention process of squatter settlement and corrupted system in the regularization process of illegally built houses in a certain year play great role of confusing the squatters in one way or another. On the other hand, this situation found perpetuating the spread of squatter settlements.

Mostly, participants felt that they always worry day and night about their ownership issue and indistinct action of the government. For instance, one of the participants conveyed the feeling as,

“I don’t know what will happen. Sometimes government gives hope and informally as gossip, we hear that everything going to be alright and...we hear that government is working to legalize old illegal houses but sometimes it takes hope away and become grief toward us. Last time the city government declares through media saying all the illegal houses are to be removed which was non-practical everywhere.”

Likewise, another participant stated,

“...But every time I remember and worry about my ownership status, I have a sense of fear now. I haven't been able to work properly with my home because of this. I have no a good feeling and waiting on when the time solves it. Until we become formalized, we feel somewhat like guests in our own house.”

Similarly, majority of key informants also believed that squatters face threats and feel worry which further determines their decision on housing condition. Accordingly, the common character of poor housing is thought not only the result of the economic level, but the reflection of fear and uncertainties. A key-informant from Land Development and Management Bureau said,

“The land that is left open in the city of Addis Ababa is already proposed in plans for multiple purposes such as for green area, communal house development and infrastructure installation. If that public property/land is being used in accordance with the plans, that is better than allowing it to go to devastation of the resource.”

He also conveyed,

“Squatting is occupying land without the permission or authority of the owner (in our case land belongs to government but legal holders are allowed to use), so it follows that it is not legal, they have to leave when asked to do so. But we believe that squatters have the right not to be evicted suddenly by force. Government decides to remove squatters in a certain area when the land is demanded to develop according to the plan or sometimes against it.”

This idea reflects the time of eviction is unknown to squatters until the moment land is required to take action which makes people in the squatter settlement stay awake and worry day and night thinking when they could be told bad news.

Some participants felt that when they see the extent of squatters in the city of Addis Ababa and other cities of the country, they feel confident and think that the government can do nothing except regularizing them. Also, they explained their reason of having to a certain degree of hope which is mainly rooted following ineffective law enforcement, in which most of the current legal settlements in the inner city came through the same scenario of illegal settlements. Moreover, there was also a feeling that that the government has been hearing out the squatters' demands secretly. Still those participants were not fully confident of they could pass through it. For instance, one of the participants confirmed that as,

“With such vast illegal occupations in Addis Ababa, government can do nothing with all these squatters across the city from all dimensions, except the unlucky one. we will see our chance..., unlucky ones are those who encounter problems in the track of development process and other those who might not cope with the system because of not knowing how to work out,”

This idea is referring the corrupted system of assessment for further verifications of the evidences in order to issue them title book during the process of regularization hoped for. They assume that the regularization process by itself causes evictions of some of them and lead them to pay illicit payments in the course. Furthermore, one of key informants confirmed that stating as,

“in the city administration, the prevalence of unclear code enforcements and delayed actions as preventive and remedial mechanisms has been perpetuating the spread of squatter by giving hope to them rather than looking for a chance of getting by means of legal procedures.”

Because of the feeling of terror, most key informants believed that whenever they assume anyone as outsider visiting their residential area, squatters actively follow their action with a sense of frustration and even they may take action of attacking in some cases. From the observation also it is found difficult to make thoughtfully viewing at their inside residential area. Dwellers tell one another “what they are doing?” And observed asking “why you take pictures here”, “what will you do with it,...?” Ordered “do not pass through this way”, though the passageway seems for the public.

Likewise, there is the dilemma of seeking and fearing the social services and infrastructure/utility installation. Numerous participants conveyed that they seek social services and infrastructures near to their residential area. However, some of them felt fear with the expansion of infrastructures and utilities because it may disturb their lives on the other hand. Construction of a road which come across the dwelling area of the squatters may destroy many homes without any compensation. The process of building communal houses around Bole Bulbula and service centers had led to demolishing illegal houses as they witnessed. One of the participants stated this condition as,

“We are in problems. A lot of things make us worry in our residential area. I was feeling very distressed and nervous when they start constructing a road beside my home because they would demolish it without any concern for me, if it was found on their way. I know the roads are for all. I don’t hate to use a taxi from work to my home using this road..., I was going in and out of my

home many times to see them because I was worried onto myself and thinking about what they were doing to others. I was lucky that the road plan passes beside me.”

Generally, uncertainty or fear is a true nature or the best expression of what participants predominantly felt about their dwelling. The feeling was occasioned by the pressure of the illegality circumstances. According to key informants, such feeling of squatters was embedded in the absence of legal permission during the process of settlement.

4.1.4 Environmental problem of the squatter settlements

It was observable that squatters in the study area have high physical proximity to hazardous places which endangers their life and makes them vulnerable. Mainly they are found along with highly polluted river (bad smelling water) sides and in most places topography of squatter settlements look sloppy, near hillsides that floods could get them badly during rainy seasons. Some places in the neighborhood of squatters were full of decayable materials and abandoned objects in the study area. Some key informants also conveyed that squatters have high risk to natural disasters like flood, landslide and land sinking. For instance, they pointed that the majority victims of a rubbish landslide in 2017 at the outskirts of Addis Ababa killed 115 people were informal settlers those who were living by the down side of the *koshe* garbage dump, giant and insecure waste disposal place. There was a feeling that such occurrences have been a common threat in squatters who live particularly following steep topography in the study site. One of the key informants said,

“Squatters live in environments that are poor and below the quality. They may face landslides because most of them found on sloppy land near rivers to hide themselves from view and in search for a parcel of land which its value is cheap compared to others. At those places of hillsides, it is common to have excavated soils, unglued soil, which may cause landslides during the rainy season, terminations of infrastructures such as roads and utilities and at the places waste disposal. Heavy rain may also cause flood threats.”

Similarly, one of the participants said,

“The government has failed to manage a proper sewerage system and solid waste in the city. Our place is a complete jumble and I think we have to clean it but the problem is basically people feel that their compounds are only what matter. The whole incident of environmental sanitation is annoying. I believe inappropriate management of waste materials are the main cause of pollution in this area.”



Figures 1: Dirty and smelling running water closely alongside squatters’ home

Source: field photograph taken on June 27, 2020

People living in squatters dwelling areas have been exposed to preventable communicable and non-communicable diseases. Several key informants believed that various diseases such as the common cold, abdominal diseases (including cholera and diarrhea) and typhoid which people suffered from and may have been caused by polluted water and inappropriately placed garbage. Some participants felt that their health had been deteriorating over the years while living in the squatter area close to heavily contaminated river and waste disposal areas.

4.1.5 Skipped and inaccessible infrastructures and basic services

In addition to the continual worries of people resulted from the lack of legal permission on the process of making a settlement, an overall deficiency of infrastructures and basic services in squatter settlements makes them to crumple in more difficult living conditions. Homes are not

equipped important necessities and lack road access, clean water and electricity. Informants claim that unplanned settlements are always not easy to provide them those necessities because of not merely their illegality-based marginalization but also the settlement characteristics and its landscape are often the challenge to reach them out.

Roads

The road is found one of the challenges in squatter settlements. As one of the key informants stated,

“Since squatter are unplanned settlement, problem of road is inevitable. In some places they have very narrow roads which are difficult even to pass-through by foot. As a result, there is a problem of reaching them during emergencies. It is often difficult to be accessed by fire fighters and health aid providers or Ambulances.”

Most informants shared this idea. Some informants assumed that lack of sewerage system which is installed following road construction have been causing the flood problems in different squatter settlements. Squatters leave no setbacks or spaces for roads when building their house. Participants felt that they encountered various problems because of the absence of or unsuitable roads. However, they prioritize having dwelling place wherever possible to find. During the observation also, the roads were found below the standard for vehicles and even for walking. The problem is not solitary with the width of roads, although in most places they were found dirt and less favorable geographic characteristics for dwellings such as steep slopes and high compactness between built-up areas. The corridors between blocks in some of old squatters in *woreda* 12 area are only four or six feet wide and even lower in some passageways. The recent neighborhood of squatters has relatively wide passageways. Some participants claimed that was planned informally during land sub-division and transactions to escape from formal criticism of authorities which was expected based on their experiences.

Electricity

Electricity is one of the quandaries in the dwelling places of squatters. Prevalently, participants believed that electricity is another burden to them though they are not fully restricted to have it.

After requesting for long times, the authorities can provide electricity for squatters based on the proximity to formal settlement or electric line beside them. The very low standard houses often denied of getting electricity. Most of the participants affirmed that majority households of share one electric source from those who have, the minority among them and from the legal houses by bringing the line across a certain distance. Consequently, participants believed that they commonly face power shortage that only limited for light energy, not for cooking and activating other devices such as freezing machine. On the other hand, informants asserted due to the absence of street light with other facilitating condition offenses expected. For instance, one of the key informants stated that,

“They have no street light in neighborhoods which may facilitate crimes such as robbery and physical attacks causing up to killings during the night in the settlement of squatters. Absence of the street light in addition to constricted roads will be unsafe and dangerous for moving at night.”

Water supply

Supply of clean water is also revealed shortage in the study area. Almost all the participants claim they do not have adequate water for drinking and sanitation purposes in their settlement. Some participants felt the government is doing to them thinking that cutting off the electricity or water supply to the site may discourage squatters. A participant said

“I know there is a problem of water supply for all over the city of Addis Ababa. For others, it is maybe a seasonal problem. But ours is the worst. Living without water is very difficult. Just take a look at how we live without water for drinking and sanitation. Here you can judge why people, especially children and the elderly, get sick all the time. People have to go to legal residential areas to get a bucket of clean drinking water. We are afraid of sickness because of this.”

Down to this problem, another participant said, *“Lack of water is one of the serious problems we face. My child spends most of her daytime looking for somebody who sell water in different places.”* This refers searching for water is the main role of for certain members of households.



Figure 2: People waiting to get from water supply tap nearby squatter settlement

Source: field photograph taken on August 1, 2020

Similarly, a key informant said, *“It is very common among the squatters to be suffered from poor health due to poor sanitation and lack of clean water. For me, this is a kind of torture. Sanitation problems are mainly by reason of water supply.”*

Health centers and schools

Health issues are so rampant in the settlements of squatters as hygiene and healthy living standards and facilities are nonexistent. There are polluted and dirt colored running water in different places nearby the dwelling area of the squatters. Informants strongly believed that there was no way health and education service providing by targeting the squatter despite a large number of people living as squatters in some isolated and remote places from the formal settlement. These altogether have significant implications for health, various related risks and degree of exposure to diseases. One of the participants said, and expressed concern about the wellbeing of his two children, who also often get sick due to poor hygiene in his neighborhood.

“We face multiple health problems..., I don’t know what we can do to get rid of it and how long we can survive in this condition. I don’t even have enough asset to afford medication fee anymore. Last time I took them to the woreda health station, but I didn’t have enough money to take them better place.”

Likewise, one of the key-informants conveyed that,

“In relation to the remoteness and proximity to service providing centers such as health station and their income level, squatters face health problems variously in Addis Ababa, I think. Mostly, children are at high risk of infection due to unsanitary conditions in most old dwelling areas of the squatters. Those squatters who are most affected by poor hygiene and poverty are women because many still deliver babies at home in unsafe environments due to lack of health facilities and health information.”

Also, some key-informants labeled the condition of extremely dense squatters for high risk of facing disease outbreaks such as the recent corona virus pandemic. Because there was a feeling that many low incomes people live there including as looking for cheap rental house. There is probability of ten and even higher daily laborers and informal traders living in a single room. There is also a condition of using private places of households as communal in their residential area, which makes their life interconnected involving others. As a result, the urgent attention and the immediate introduction of health services are needed for the citizens. Failure to do it believed putting many lives of children and mothers at risk.

Like health facilities, government does not deliver schools to the settlement of squatters. This was challenging to particularly for children to follow early educations as walking long distance beyond their capability or missing it. Participants felt that in case when private schools found nearby some of their settlements, its affordability matters for low income people.

Social security

As previously mentioned, the absence of street lights with the prevalence of substandard road facilities, squatter settlements are prone to security issues. In addition to what participants felt about their social security as noticeable issue. It was observed that there were places away from public sights (such as hillsides, narrow routes through jungles) which lead to residential area of the squatters. Moreover, the prevalent feeling of the key-informants was that what makes squatters more security vulnerable is absence of community police assigned to protect them in their settlements in the presence of those things in contradiction of safety.



Figures 3: Narrow roads through jungle leading to the residential areas of the squatters

Source: field photograph taken on April 4, 2020

One of the key-informants said,

“People from the squatter settlement those who work outside their dwelling area travel back to their home on time before the sunset because of fearing robbery and other physical harms they face because of the lack of light and over concerted passageways inside the settlement..., On the other hand, the daily laborers and people who are involved in informal trades (street market, black market) mostly dwell in rental houses of the illegal residents they move in group during night when they return back to their home.”

4.1.6 Injustices and gap of reaching the poor

Another prevalent feeling of informants was that squatters should not be perceived as a homogenous segment of the society. They are living there as people of different income level, occupations and purposes. Many people in the squatter settlement have been facing the unfairness due to the wrong judgments and prejudices without understanding the facts about them. Data revealed that there are non-vulnerable inhabitants who directly play great roles in the expansion of informal settlements in the city. Those people aim making profits through various

informal transactions of houses or parcel of lands. They know how to deceive and confront with the government at the expense of poor. On contrary, informants mentioned that other segments of squatters are easily affected by pressures from any direction as mechanisms of prevention and correction against the squatter settlements. A key-informant confirmed that as,

“In our city, some people or especially the poor squat or occupy lands illegally because they are forced and have got no other alternative besides. There is clearly not a sufficient way to become the owner of a house for the poor in our city. There is a gap of reaching them out..., basically, the government plans for the people of low-class and end up benefiting the rich, because it is often difficult and certainly dangerous to reach the poor through the system already existing. Poor people who are squatting have usually fallen through the gaps and there is no practical way to help them within the squatters also.”

Similarly, another key informant stated,

“For those poor it is not their voluntary lifestyle choice; they are forced by the situation. If we evict them, we will have more homeless people in our city. Though it is difficult to differentiate the poor from those who pretend to be poor, it is the mandate of the government and this generation to improve the living standard of our citizens. For instance, do you remember last time when the city government decided to give condominium houses for the farmers’ children but brokers and high-income level persons where benefited mainly in name of farmers at expense of previously disadvantaged farmers.”

The small action of the government is perceived as highly affecting the livelihood of low-income people. The poor are unable to cope or adjust with government’ corrective action to informal settlements; which makes them vulnerable and not able to recover from loss quickly.

4.2 Livelihood strategies of the squatter settlers

Households of squatters in the study area have their own variety of activities, networks and choices/behaviors to make a living. They have developed social bonds to get daily support and occasional from each other and to protect themselves from exterior threats or attacks. Majority of

the squatters are believed to be the low-income people who involve in low income activities such as daily laborer, informal/street trading and other insignificant business activities in their residential areas. There are also middle-income households whom their members engage in professional jobs and middle level formal and informal businesses but unable to afford formal housing. Squatters are also believed to be including segments of affluent people who mainly participate in business related with land invasion and illegal transactions of informal houses and parcel of lands including working as brokers in the area. They are perceived as the exploiters of resources of the city at expense of the poor squatters. Due to conditions of their settlements, squatters make some choices have unique behaviors that help them to deceive and to get positive considerations from the government.

4.2.1 Social ties designed to support themselves and to influence others

Informants strongly felt that the situation in the settlement of squatters is very attractive for low income segment of society and people in informal sectors. They believed that low income communities have strong social ties than medium and high-income people. One of the key informants stated,

“I know the majority of squatters in the Bole sub city are poor who mainly rely on daily labor, small shops or other minor businesses and employees of lower wages in government and private sectors. It is common that poor community has strong social ties. They support one another in different ways; they share meals and take food items from other household/family to give back later, unlike people of high income who are blocked by their wall of safety living beside one another for long time without knowing each other. Most squatters have no strong fence, they protect one another.”

Similarly, another key informant said, *“Poor tend to have strong informal support because they are neglected by the formal institutions.”* Squatter dwellers develop community-based organizations such as *iddir* and *equb* and have other kinship social supports. Participants assumed that unity of squatters and social togetherness is something worth them is fighting for. One of the participants said,

“Unity is better for us. Because it’s a matter of how many of you there are struggling and fighting against the issue, which brings a result. If there is only unorganized way of defending, there’s no way to influence the government. You need an organized way of defense and then you can pressure the government.” Another participant also stated, *“I never allow them to evict me; it will be over my dead body.”* Another participant said *“If you take down one roof or demolish anything, there’s going to be a chaos here.”*

He felt that the whole community would rise together in that settlement. Many participants felt that they can influence others and they are not powerless.

Purpose of social networks: supporting one another and influencing others

Participants and key informants assumed that networks among squatters are designed for the purpose of helping themselves in their familiar life trends and during emergency times. In most places they have *iddir* (a community based social support of each other in the event of death for funeral services which is from household contribution of a prearranged amount of money.) and *equb* (a community-based saving association) as any other communities in Ethiopia. Some participants suggested that without even in that local institution a culture of helping one’s neighbors is strong among the squatters. A participant said,

“If we identify anyone or family nearby my home or in our neighbor doesn’t have any food to eat, then we give food to them. This is our culture, helping one another is mandatory. That is why we help them out, not only food, during emergencies also, we help one another”

This refers only being nearby to one another is a worth of giving and getting help. Majority of the participants also felt that relatives and neighbors are the most influential source of support in addition to *iddir* and *equb*.

On the other hand, squatters use these networks to fight external threats. They participate in community responsibilities in their dwelling area and develop bonds of togetherness against threats. Some participants felt they needed unity even against legal bodies such as police action

to remove the squatters believing that there should be no easy way leaving properties to be destroyed. One of the participants said,

“We have faced many problems so far, each of us need unity. It is better to take matters into our own hands and not wait for the governments’ help. If we become strong, nobody will easily demolish our home and tell us to go away.”

Besides, most of the key informants felt that squatters have high interaction with regulators (locally known as *demboch*) beside relations among themselves. This bridging social capital is between squatters and lower government bodies are based on benefiting one another and sneaky process of illegal actions in preventing and correcting illegal settlements. Some participants testified that there have been cases when new squatters hold lands for *demboch* to join them and become their member as tit for tat, not to be reported or their house destroyed. Almost all of those regulators have illegal land or houses built on it at different places as a result. They make money every day from squatters when the squatters make houses every day in turn. Informants also strongly felt that regulators (*demboch*) work as double agents (for government and for squatters).

Basis of social ties: Duration of stay and kin/ethnic based bonds

Duration matters in the degree of relationship among the squatters. Without having a similar cultural background, the condition in the settlement makes them develop social bonds. According to informants, conditions such as closeness to one another, substandard housing, security and their income level perpetuate or force them to interact with their neighbors. There was also an observable condition that some houses are accessed through other household’s compound. The dominant belief of informants was that beyond all those conditions, the more they stay together, the more they establish various forms of interactions. On the contrary, most participants felt that people who know one another, relatives or who came from the same place have more relationship and culture of supporting one another. Similarly, a key informant said, *“Most of time those who came from the same origin (place or ethnicity) have strong bond, they fight together against the government and other ethnic based threats.”* This is also rooted in another problem of political agendas in the country. Because some participants felt that there were ethnic based influences and life challenges in the study area. People in the settlement attach

with people from their own area, region and ethnic group/nation to form a group that serves like a social security in the squatter settlements. Because Participants witness that sometimes fighting and violence or damages were available by one group against another in the settlement.

Generally, the prevalent feeling was that there is a close-knit among a community of squatters. They seek a unity to support each other and to pressure the government and stand against any other external threat. They choose to build homes alongside each other for that purpose because they share a common problem of fear that binds them. Most of the participants also claimed that they have built a strong sense of solidarity over the years they have been there in squatters' dwelling and based on the relationship they have from the initial. Kin support is found stronger in squatters' community of the study area because of the formation of tribalism and group-based conflicts which sometimes happen. According to the feeling of most of the participants, they tend to rely on group membership or supports from relatives to make a living.

4.2.2 Livelihood activities and sources of income of squatters

Squatter settlements in the study area are perceived as the dwelling of mostly low-income people such as daily laborers, unemployed and people who mainly work in the informal sectors. On the other hand, also informants asserted that persistent lack of affordable housing has resulted large public servants and non-governmental formal employees to move into squatter settlements. However, the prevalent feeling was that low-income earners and people in the informal sector are major inhabitants. Daily laborers mostly get employment in governmental or privately owned construction site. Informants asserted that people in informal sectors include street traders and/or black markets which are unorganized small-scale market, small shops and businesses for the purpose of increasing household income generation and those who involve as land/house brokers and other people who make a lot of money from informal transactions in and outside squatter settlements.

The disadvantaged segment of squatters

Several informants asserted that low income squatters are involved in urban informal activities in order to survive, which operate without adequate resources and social protection. They stated that most of those squatters spent their income and strife to cover mainly food and other basic

needs. A key-informant said, "... We may get items are at pocket-friendly price when from informal/street traders. But that is not worth of making money that changes their life, rather just for the daily consumptions." Most of participants responded that they spend income on filling their daily food and other necessities such as clothes, medical treatments, education and payments for utilities (mainly water and electric charges) which they mainly get from informal sources. This informal sector is believed to be source of income and employment for the majority households of squatter settlers. The market takes place in strategic areas with heavy human trafficking along with conjunctions, corners of main roads and streets far away or, if any, nearby squatter settlements. Some informants also affirmed that the low-income squatters are those involved in labor forces and engage in informal trades by selling commodities such as fruits (banana, orange, mango, avocado,) most of the time by youth male using wheel barrows, vegetables (tomato, carrot, potato, cabbage,) usually sold by female or mothers/girls. Those items are seasonally affected. Other items such as clothes and portable small things including what they carry on their shoulders or chest are common in this informal trade. These informal trades are also considered as illegal and as a result various conflicts with formal marketers and regulators occur at their work places which exposes them to harassment and loss of their commodities. Some participants felt that they are deprived because of low human and financial capital. For instance, one of the participants said,

"We are living very problematic life here, I have nowhere else to go and have no choices at all. Because I can't read and write as others to get a good job and live a better life. We run our livelihood with difficulty... I cannot save money for a future and to fulfill some needs of my own and my family."

Majority of participants witnessed they do not have essential education necessary for earning and they believe that they are doing what they are doing for a living and to escape from the worst scenario which is hunger and living on street. Conversely, Poor squatters increase their income by engaging more family members at different ages into the labor force. One of the participants stated,

"At first, I had no source of income when start living here. I was completely in shock to myself and my family's survival. But when I tried ways out of joblessness, I realized that there were people like me working in a small

market on the streets for their lives. Since then I have been doing my own business all the days afternoon buying and selling different vegetables..., my daughter also helps me. She can carry out selling in close proximity to me.”

People were seen using polluted running water for washing clothes. Additionally, one of the key informants confirmed that as,

“They wash their clothes and shower their body using the polluted river water. I hope you know the condition of river water in Addis Ababa which comes from inside city and go along the different woredas of the Bole sub city and pass through quarry, stone digging places. Sound pollution from the excavation is also another challenge for them. Remote squatters face multiple problems. They carry drinking water from faraway places.”

For those poor squatters their illegal houses are significant, despite the fact that it cannot make them settled and cannot be used as a guarantee. For instance, one of the participants said, *“Everything of mine is this house. You and others may consider it as an illegal house; you know that I will pay whatever possible to secure my house and family.”* In the same way, another informant said his feeling as,

“I know what rights I have and my condition whatever they call it. I remember the way I came through to this that is why I don’t allow anybody destroy my home. But I am aware of the laws and regulations.”

Generally, according to most of the key informants, the poor segment of squatters are those who are deprived of basic necessities such food and clothing and live in illegal substandard houses within squatters. They rely on hazardous condition, informal utility sources and low-income activities for survival. Most of the participants also witnessed that they face problems and deprived of decent standard of living resulted from the lack of legal land holding, cash, education, skills and deprived health conditions which is a common feature of poor people. However, the findings show that they have good social support system with relatives and neighbors. Low-income/status job and activities such as daily laborers in construction sectors, domestic services (especially by females) and street trading were found as the major income sources of the participants in the study area.

People of medium life standard in squatter settlements

On the other hand, participants and key informants affirmed that there were people who have extra rooms for rental purposes, formal or informal good income jobs. A key-informant said,

“... there are also good skilled persons and professionals living in squatter settlements by working with government or in private medium businesses. But most government employees are even those of lower income”.

Another key informant said,

“Squatter settlement provides cheap rental houses for low income people mainly daily laborers and informal traders. Those low-income people seek for a rental room allowed to live in by a group of persons.”

Other informants also witness that sometimes a single room has served as a dwelling place for five to ten persons which is better to say a ‘sleeping place’ of people of low income because they spend all their daytime at work place and come to the room at night. Some squatter settlers have extra minor houses for different purposes and they do small businesses such as small bar and restaurants in their settlement, rooms renting to others. Some of those near the main roads are taxed whereas the insignificant and businesses out-of-the-way are untaxed.

Most participants also revealed that some people of their neighbors are different from them in terms of their occupation, income and relationships with government. There are brokers, youths who have three-wheel taxi (Bajaj) and work with it, government employees, regulators and people of unknown occupation. One of the participants said,

“... one of my neighbors is a policeman, he has also a condominium house. I do not know well about the owner of another illegal house beside me and what he does. He comes once in a week. He is not as defenseless as us because I think has another house using as home.”

Some of the participants also felt that they have made an improvement on their lives living as squatters. One of the participants said,

“Some friends and I came to this place before a decade. It was open land, mostly employed by farmer lands sparse houses. When we first arrived, the area was a farm land, other nearby places had been occupied, and brokers were moving across the area to link and facilitate the transactions. After a few years, the area was transformed. The value of land and the house became very expensive that made me sell my first illegal house. I made a profit from it. Now I am living in another one.”

Another participant said, *“After four years of living in older neighborhood of squatters, I sold out with a good price and able to buy another house here and I have been using the left-over money for other purposes.”* Likewise, because of the price which increases over time, one informant said, *“Some squatters sell out their home and moves to outskirts to look for cheap land to build houses. Through this system many people have earned extra money for other businesses.”* During the observation also additional house buildings were seen going on inside compounds of some squatters which seems for rental purpose to get income. Correspondingly, this reflects that squatter settlers in the study area include people of middle life standards.

The affluent and greedy land invaders as squatter settlers

Many participants and key informants strongly felt that squatters are not only the poor people who need land/houses merely for shelter. There are also numerous affluent persons who live as squatters and involve in unlawful transactions of land and houses as a typical business activity at different places in order to make a profit. They are believed to have strong covered ties of corruption with officials and regulators. They can hold a lot of illegal lands for sell and/or to make it formal/legal through bribing the officials. They may not directly live in the squatter settlements. For instance, one participant said,

“There are individuals who have several lands and houses at different places. One person can have ten and more plots of land at the same time. To keep the land, they may build temporary houses and allow their relatives or other poor family live there to protect the property until they decide to do something with the property.”

Similarly, a key informant said,

“The main challenge of the city of Addis Ababa is not the poor people living in the squatter settlements, but the invaders who are prosperous and greedy. They are not few in number. They could be people who work as brokers of land. But you know someone who has a multi-store building inside the city, while he works as land broker at outskirts farmlands.”

Another key-informant also said, “...if it could be possible to control the rich and those brokers, other things will be easy”.

However, this type of squatters is not vulnerable to challenges and properties loss. They easily can legalize their land holding and sell to others at an extremely higher price. They exploit resources and are main actors in the expansion of squatter settlements by facilitating the squatting.

4.2.3 Some behaviors and preferences of squatters

Participants and key informants conveyed that there are some distinctive behaviors demonstrated by squatters, including acting as old dwellers, pretending to be poor and watchful and feeling of frustrated.

Pretending to be lived long time in the shelter

Squatter settlers use various mechanisms throughout their activities and behaviors to make others believe them that they are long time dwellers. For instance, a key informant stated that as,

“they say to everyone that they have lived long in the area, not newcomers. They say they have been living here since ten or fifteen years ago, though everybody knows that the house was built two weeks ago. Some of them say that they got this land as an inheritance from their parents and their parents from their grandparents. Most of them tell lies about how long they lived.”

Another key informant too said that,

“they lie to you; they lie to everybody. They say it is their ancestral land. I remember what a squatter settler witnessed during our field work that his grandfather died in Adwa war while living there and he said land belonged to

him. But we knew the reality, the land was sub-divided recently..., this is a means of getting through it.”

To make that seem to be true, they make their houses look old by painting old-looking color and using old and corrugated iron roof. A key-informant affirmed that, “*sometimes they use ashes and dusts which make the new house appear old.*”



Figure 4: Corrugated-iron roof on recently built houses aimed to deceive

Source: field photography taken on July 11, 2020

They try to confuse others and even those who live in the area by calling so many years’ age of their house which perhaps built in recent times overnight. During the whole time of the observation of squatter settlements also, the houses are mostly not painted with bright colors and they look old. They not only choose to come into view as old, but also, they choose old settlement. Some participants felt that new appearing houses in new settlements are more likely to be demolished by regulators. Most of the people also choose to build in the older area; however, they face high cost and scarcity of open area in the old residential places of squatters.

Pretending to be poor and being poor

According to the dominant feeling of the informants, the real poor households of squatters are those who have only one house and live in it as a home for themselves only and having limited income sources. Others considered as pseudo poor or those who act as poor, but owning many illegal land and houses for the purpose of making profits via illegal transactions. Moreover, key-informants witnessed that squatters behave or act as very poor. On the other hand, housing condition of squatters are considered as not only determined by income level, time condition (overnight erection) and fearing of legal actions or demolition but also to appear poor to get

sympathy. Some shelters are very temporary and totally made of plastics and cardboard box. Most of houses were also observed look old and are made of non-durable materials, wood, mud and iron roof sheet. Some participants also felt that squatter settlement is the place where poor is poor and rich also act as poor. They perceived squatters as a community, in fact, often a complex and people of a different hidden status. A key informant said,

“Squatters are mobile. When the government removes them forcefully from a certain place, they will occupy a nearby undeveloped land immediately. Some of them never give up squatting even if they face repeated eviction, they try various mechanisms as farmers, old and legal resident, they cry saying that they have nothing and very poor. They have made squatting as habit in which they have developed different mechanisms of deceiving others.”

Another key-informant affirmed that as, *“...Even some of them have enough money to afford formal house, they choose illegal settlement. They knew how to run and get favor even when demolished. They confess that they have nothing.”* This behavior is constructed to defend themselves and their property from damage during.

Being alert and feeling of frustration toward visitors

Squatters are watchful about their residential area and house. From the observation, it was recognized that people want to know why somebody (non-resident) move around or in their settlement. They ask, “what you want?” ... They say to one another about new visitors and follow their action. Ask what they want to do. Sometimes they show grievances and force the visitors not to do anything such as taking a photo or an attempt of pointing the cameras at them or their settlement. Some participants also felt that they do not want others to recognize where they live. Even very young children are concerned about their situation. For instance, a child living in a squatter settlement around Bole Bulbula told me that their home was recently demolished as a result of road construction and they were living in their relative’s house nearby the area. He knew detail about why their home demolished and what their parents were doing in order to get support from the government. Some key-informants confirmed that due to irritation regarding any action against them there have been constant clashes with government and construction contractors at different times. One of the key-informants said,

“They offer a support to the government during stable times, which is aimed in exchange for keeping them not to be demolished and to intensify any efforts to help them. But most of the time when government takes action of removing informal houses, they fight together. They can easily attack any non-residents in their residential area in such situation.”

Most of the time officials and experts undertake field works in squatter settlements with policemen for the fear of being attacked.

4.3 Discussions

The elaboration and conceptualization of the findings were based on the specific objectives which are linked to the challenges and the livelihood strategies of the squatter settlers. In response to their illegality and its induced constraints in addition to their social and economic problems, squatters in the study area have developed their strategies of living in terms of their bonds of relationship, livelihood activities and behaviors. However, the poor squatters are vulnerable whereas the rich are already protected by the existing failure in the system.

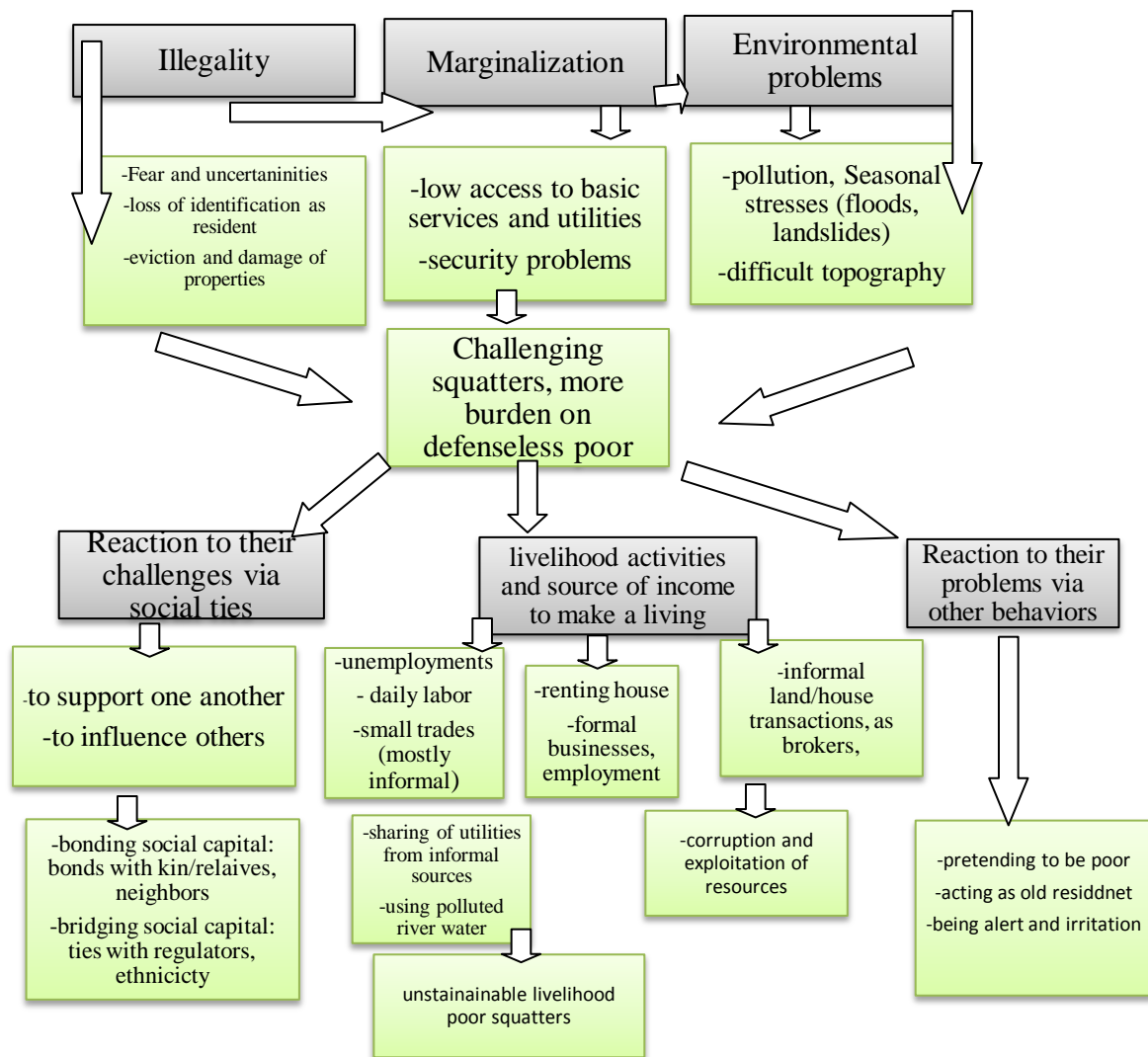


Figure 5: a diagram of key findings in a sequence

Squatters in the study are live in tensions and worries because of fear of evictions and property loss in consequence of their residential area which is labelled as illegal and unclear legal actions and its time counter to them. This feeling of terror and uncertainties among the squatters can lead them to other social and emotional crises that can further affect their lives. Similarly, According to Ritzer (2011), Marx's classical concept of alienation also reflects isolations and unsafe feelings that conquer the poor as an effect of urbanization and working with capitalists, though this evidence doesn't directly refer the squatter settlers. It is difficult to consider their residential as permanent; squatters also do not feel settled and permanency as a result of evictions and threats in contrary to Wirth's (1938) idea of durability of urban people's settlement-in his concept of urbanism as a way of life.

Challenges of squatters are mainly linked to illegality and depressing actions of the government resulted from it; such as ignoring to provide them education and health services and clean water supply to where they live. A finding in a previous study by Bosen (2019) has similarities about informal households' access to water supply, but what was mentioned as informal residents having almost all access to electricity doesn't show the quality of service. Because in the study area of Bole sub-city squatters were found having delayed process to get electricity and they face a deficit of power when from informal sources that mostly cannot be used for cooking, televisions and refrigerator except for light. Having below adequate levels of services, infrastructure and sanitations are the features of squatters beyond Ethiopian context. Squatter settlers are excluded from basic services like health, education, security and sanitation. They live on marginal land parcels (Migiro 2020, Srinivas 2015 and Ram, 2010). In the study area, environmental problems are also found partially from lack of basic infrastructures such as suitable roads, sewerage system and other sanitation problems whereas partially by squatters' choice of looking for land/house which is cheap, out of view and less likely demanded by the government; these are mostly found at hazardous places; hillsides and nearby polluted rivers, for example. Above all, the low-income squatters mainly found in these unsafe places. Theory of alienation and political economy also confirms that the urban poor are marginalized and alienated as a result of political and economic processes of the urbanization which is led by elites (Ritzer, 2011; West, 1969). Isolation of the squatters from a clean environment or living in close to dump sites can reflect a systematized form of this alienation. On the other hand, in the name of making cities a beautiful and attractive with building height regulation based on zoning from

inner city to outskirts as mentioned in Addis Ababa City Structural Plan (2007) is also, the scheme which excludes the majority dwellers, especially the poor the squatters. Similarly, recent sociologists, Logan and Moloch (2007) also used the term 'machine ideology' to describe the modern urban situation in which policies and practices of elites guide the cities irrespective of considering the mass residents.

Social bonds and networks in the squatter settlements are designed to support one another and protect themselves from external threat, which are based on duration of staying and availability of kin/ethnic ties in their residential area. Type and strength of the bonds also vary across their status (as poor and rich). On contrary to the 'Gesellschaft' concept of Tonnies, urban residents' loss traditional bonds of family, intimacy and sense of community which exist and symbolize in rural communities (Harris, 2001/1887; Waters, 2015), a family-based favoritism and tribal ties do exist among the urban squatters in the study area. This also somehow contradicts with the applicability of Durkheim's concept of 'organic solidarity' to urban people regarding the impersonal type of relationship and basis of social bonds on role interdependences. Moreover, Guest et al (2006) also asserted that urban people live in neighborhoods having a sense of community, knowing and looking out for each other. Additionally, the partially contradicting idea is also found in Gans (1982) idea of 'ethnic villagers'- type of urban residents, in which he argued that recent migrants and members of various ethnic group tend to have strong social bonds and sense of community. However, in the study area, the more squatters stay together, the more they have strong bonds of relations. But, similarly to Gans' idea, members of ethnic groups have strong social ties in the study site.

People in the squatter settlements involve in various livelihood activities to make a living. Surprisingly, squatters are consisting people of different segments and scenario. Challenges are harder for poor squatters for the reason that they are materially deprived and easily destroyed when the land is needed for development, while the affluent ones are exploiting the resources (manly illegally invading the land) with probabilities of way-out. Due to their restrictions on livelihood activities such as street trades, low access to health and educational services, inequitable access to other opportunities such as getting resident identification, prevalence of seasonal stresses and exploitation of the poor, livelihood strategies of the poor squatters in the study area is found unsustainable. Similarly, (Shrestha, 2017) described that livelihood situation

of squatter settlements seems poor, vulnerable and miserable. Furthermore, poor squatter settlers can be part of the deprived and trapped type of urban residents as Gans (1982) identified. More importantly, the condition of the poor in the squatter settlements should be seen differently. The law that has criminalized squatter settlements achieves less influence on the rich and their cheating strategies. Interventions in the name of law enforcements are unable to correct the expansion of squatter settlements and corruptive tendencies and to reach the vulnerable communities. This is a sham intervention. Further and more outstandingly, squatters move to squat on a new area after demolitions also thereby cheating the system, in which the poor continue problematic life cycle and pass to their next generation. However, this could be seen as a double-edged sword so that considering the poor squatters' community in the law enforcements also should not be done in the way that it could fuel and lead to more land grabbing and illegal settlements. On the other hand, general idea convergence is also found in (Daniel 2006 and Jemal 2019) which affirmed that all squatters are not very poor and homogenous group and squatter settlements are difficult to conclude as poverty driven. Additionally, according to Daniel's (2006) view, most of the root causes of informal settlements in the city are 'non-poverty' driven in character. Conversely, the majority of squatter settlers in the study area were believed to be poorer. Still the main causes of squatter settlements at initial time can be a non-poverty driven while later main settlers can be the poor. Therefore, carefully differentiating these segments of squatters will help to control the squatter settlements and to help vulnerable poor citizens from injustices.

Another finding is that unique and common behaviors such as pretending to be very poor and acting as long-time dwellers of the squatters in the study are found intended to shield the consequences of illegal settlements. Feeling of alert and frustration toward newcomers/visitors are also due to fear of eviction in their mind. These behaviors manifest in their confessions and appearance of their houses. Old-look houses are not only the reflection of the age, but their mechanism of making it look-old, for instance by using roof of corrugated iron and painting with ashes and dust on the most out layer of the house wall, though fear of demolition also makes them to use non-durable materials in addition to money shortage of the poor squatters. Similarly, a finding of a study in Nifas-silk Lafto sub-city by Bosena (2019), revealed that majority of informal residents can afford to build their houses with durable materials, though mainly or 58.3

percent of houses made from temporary things. This refers behavior or choice of squatters beyond their economic restriction. In the study area, the characteristics of squatters such as drug addiction, alcoholism, mental illness and suicide as mentioned by Taher and Arefeen (2014) felt rarely except crimes such as robbery and conflicts which are resulted from lack of security services, street light and substandard roads. Thus, knowing squatters' behavior is useful for not to be deceived and misguided during interventions to correct and prevent the problem of the squatter settlements.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and recommendation

5.1 Conclusion

The main objectives of this study were assessing the challenges of squatters regarding their feeling of residential area, quality and access to basic services, prevailing social ties/bonds, activities and unique behaviors and in the Bole sub city of Addis Ababa-Capital of Ethiopia. To achieve them, the qualitative approach was employed wherein observation, in-depth interview and key-informants interview used as methods of producing primary data.

The people in the squatter settlements of the study area face various challenges, principally as a result of their identification as an illegal resident. There was a feeling of unsettled, fear of eviction and property loss and uncertainties, in addition to the marginalization from basic services and infrastructures/utilities. Living in high proximity to hazardous places such as pollution, floods and landslides endangers their lives. Huge number of the citizens are suffering from such problems are in the city and becoming defenseless, when still the situation is out of control.

On the other hand, squatter settlers have developed their own strategies of making a living via social ties designed to support each other (especially strong among the poor squatters) and influence external threats which come from different groups, including some pressures from groups as tribalism and law enforcement of the city government. The majority of residents are more vulnerable and suffer from the challenges of the squatter settlements. They rely on low-income activities, which comprise involving in informal trading and working as daily laborers to get income for living. Squatter settlement is the place where mostly the poor squatters fight with their challenges and try to use various ways to save themselves from the worst consequences. Squatters also consist households in the middle life situation, who were forced by the chronic lack of housing in the city. Another segment of the squatters is people who make a lot of money from informal dealings of parcel of lands/houses even working as brokers. They are not exposed to the challenges and loss; however, they are considered as the main beneficiary and role players in the mounting of squatter settlements. The shared behaviors prevalently felt in squatter

settlements are acting as old dwellers, pretending to be poor, being watchful of their dwelling and the feeling of irritation toward visitors or non-residents.

On the whole, the main challenges of squatters are from their legal status, tensions/fear, deprivations of basic necessities, in which the poor (majority) is at risk. It is helpful to shield this vulnerable group. Besides, understanding the benefit-based relations between rich squatters and officials/regulators and other behaviors of the squatters is also helpful to prevent squatter settlements and to save resources of the city/public.

Moreover, there is huge squatter settlements and potential of squatting in Addis Ababa. In addition to the severe impacts on the poor squatters, both squatting and any intervention to it is becoming also one of the politically controversial issues. Therefore, it needs remarkable attention from all who concerned for the sake of solving their problem and the city's at large.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings, it is useful to understand the squatters and take some comprehensive actions.

- Government should carefully differentiate real poor, the most vulnerable squatters from others who are there to make an extra gain by involving in informal transactions of land and house. The poor should be empowered and protected while others should be identified and prevented from abusing the resources. In the face of their differences, due to the mechanisms of deceiving in the squatter settlements such as acting as poor and pretending to be old resident, could easily mislead the information and affect interventions so that there should be another filtering mechanism to be successful.
- It is the role of the government to be effective in low enforcement, but prevention should be given more weights rather than imposing negative sanctions on the squatters, which is only effective against the poor only.
- In order to avoid the feeling of uncertainties from squatters and minimize structure of corruption, the government should have transparent and participatory decisions about what will happen to squatter settlements and settlers rather than situational based degree of pressures, which is neither preventing nor correcting the problem of squatting.

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Annexes

I. Interview guide (with purposively selected participants from the squatters)

Hello! ...My name is Nigussie Gammade and I am a student at Addis Ababa University, Department of Sociology. I am writing a thesis on the challenges and livelihood strategies of squatter settlers in Addis Ababa, particularly Bole sub-city. I would like to talk to you about my study. I will be taking some notes during the session because I don't want to miss a little of your comments. The interview should take not more than an hour. The responses you are going to give are valuable and will be held in confidentiality and will be used only for the purpose of this research. You are also free to respond honestly. I'm not going to record your name. If you agree to cooperate with me, you will be doing so voluntarily and you may end the interview at any time.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Date of interview _____

Specific location _____

❖ Background information of the participant

- Male/Female
- Age of the participant _____
- Family size/number of people in household _____

I. Challenges of living as squatters

1. How long have you lived in squatter settlement? How did you start?
2. What are the problems of living as squatters?
3. What do you feel about your situation of dwelling? Why?
4. Is there anything you most worry about? If yes, what is that?
5. What you think are as the to challenge your neighborhood regarding the following:
 - a. Environmental condition (With physical environment, is there any situation of exposure to risks?)
 - b. Access to infrastructures and services (roads, electricity, clean water, health center, education)

II. Livelihood strategies of squatters

6. What kind of relationship do you have with your neighbors? Please, explain why?
7. Do you think there is any attack on squatter settlements? If yes, what in what case?

8. How do people in squatter settlement protect themselves from attack?
9. How do people of squatter settlements deal with regulators? What kind of relationship do they have any with government bodies?
10. What do you do for income? If any other things you do for living, tell me please?
11. Where do other members of your household spend their time? Doing what?
12. What most of your neighbors do for living? How?
13. What do you like or dislike about the behaviors/activities of the squatters in your resident?
Why?
14. What you think should be done to solve problems of squatter settlers?
15. Is there anything you would like to talk about?

Thank you for your time!

II. Interview guide (with purposively selected key informants)

Dear informant, I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today.

My name is Nigussie Gammade. I am a postgraduate student at Addis Ababa University. I am writing my thesis on the challenges and livelihood strategies of squatter settlement in Addis Ababa, particularly in Bole sub-city. I will be taking some notes during the session because I don't want to miss any of your ideas. The interview should take not more than an hour. You are selected purposively as one of the key informants of the issue under investigation. The honest responses you are going to give are relevant for the success of my study and are kept confidentially and will be used only for the purpose of this study. Your name and any personal information will not be recorded or transferred to third body. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Thank you for devoting your valued time and in advance for your cooperation!

Date of interview _____ Bureau/Organization _____

❖ Background of the key informant

- Position/occupation _____
- Length of work experience _____
- Male/Female

I. Challenges of squatter settlers

1. What is the squatter settlement in the context of Addis Ababa? How do you define them?
2. What are the main problems of squatters you think?
3. Do the squatter settlers have anything terrifies them? What is that?
4. What challenges that squatter settlers face (from legal, environmental perspectives and access to services and infrastructure/utility)? How these affect them?
5. What measures have been taken so far to improve the life of squatter settlers? How was that effective?

II. Livelihood strategies of in the people in the squatter settlement

6. Do you think squatter settlers have any social ties? If yes, what kind of social tie for what purpose?
7. How do people of squatter settlements deal with regulators? What kind of relationship do they have any with government bodies?
8. What do you know about the burden of life in the squatter settlements of the city?
9. What do you people in squatter settlements mainly do for living? Please elaborate their activities and sources of income?
10. How do they handle barriers to infrastructures and basic services?
11. Is there any unique behavior that the squatters illustrate? If yes, what for what purposes?
12. What strategies and interventions should be devised for the squatter settlers? Why?
13. Is there anything more you would like to add about people in the squatter settlements Bole sub-city?

I will be analyzing the information you and others gave me and submitting a report to the university at the end. I'll be happy to send you a copy via your contact addresses, if you are interested.

Thank you for your time!